KORA

A LOST KHOISAN LANGUAGE OF
THE EARLY CAPE AND THE GARIEP

MENÁN DU PLESSIS

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of
the late Mike Besten, whose vision inspired this project,
and in whose honour we have completed it.

MIKE BESTEN, 2007.
(Photograph courtesy of Edward Charles Human.)

Ta a-b kobab ada kāxu-da, ti khoe-du'e!

'Do not let our language be lost from us, you my people!'

(Benjamin Kats)

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CONTENTS

ǁhéba ha mi com. Spreeken

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    - Louis Maingard. "Studies in Korana history, customs and language" *Bantu Studies* 6, no. 2 (1932), 103–161.
      "An historical incident: conflict with the Briqua and Sān," (Matiti and Teteb).
      "The *doro*, or young men's initiation school," (Tabab, with Matiti, two versions).
      "The *gam 'aeb* ceremony," (Tabab, with Matiti, Teteb).
      "The *habab*, the young woman's coming of age ceremony," (Iis and Meis).
      "From the story of Iis," (Iis).
      "Funeral of a chief," (Teteb and Iis).
      "Stone artefacts," (Tatab, Teteb and Iis).
      "Bows and arrows," (Dʒuli, Matiti and Kheis).
      "The making of the !goa !xarib (honey-beer)," (Tabab).
    - Louis Maingard. "Korana texts from Bloemhof." *African Studies* 26, no. 1 (1967), 43–46.
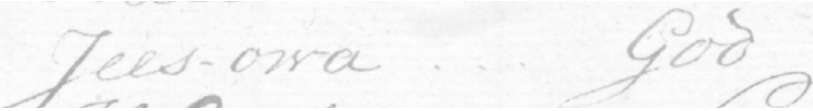
> "The Sore os, or Sun-child," (Kwalakwala and Tabab).
> "The baboon and the quaggas," (Meis and Kwalakwala).
> "Courtship," (Contributors not identified).
> "*Soregus*, or the mutual pact of friendship," (Kheis and Saul van Neck).
> "Peace will come (praise song)," (Mulukab).

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LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

Tables

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GLOSSING OF EXAMPLE SENTENCES

Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
c	Common gender
Caus	Causative verb extension
Conn	Clausal connective
Cop	Copula
d	Dual
f	Feminine gender
Fut	Future tense
Impel	Impellative verb extension
Loc	Locative
m	Masculine gender
Neg	Negative
Oblig	Obligative mood
Pass	Passive verb extension
Perf	Perfect aspect
p	Plural
Poss	Possessive
Prog	Progressive (imperfective) aspect
Rem.Past	Remote past tense
Rec.Past	Recent past tense
s	Singular
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person

INTRODUCTION

Background to the project

This book had its origins in an extraordinary discovery in 2007 by Mike Besten,[1] that two or three elderly people in and around Bloemfontein and Bloemhof still remembered fragments of the old language of the Korana people, which was referred to by its speakers as ǃOra. Until then, it had simply been assumed that the language must long ago have disappeared – and with it, the last traces of the Khoekhoe variety known to have been closest to the language spoken by the original Khoi inhabitants of Table Bay when European sailing ships began to appear around the Cape coastline towards the end of the 15th century. The historical and cultural significance of this discovery was immense.

Besten, who was an historian rather than a linguist, did not lose time in calling for the help of colleagues, and some of us were privileged to accompany him on a preliminary visit to one of these speakers, Oupa Dawid Cooper, in December 2008. Even though Oupa Dawid recollected only a little of the language, it was clear that his variety had all the well-known signature features of Kora (or ǃOra),[2] in terms of its phonetics, morphology and lexis. (The use of the name Kora rather than ǃOra in an English medium context is explained in a note on nomenclature elsewhere in this introduction.)

While the different dialects of Khoekhoe formerly spoken throughout much of South Africa are reported to have been more or less mutually intelligible, the differences between Kora and Nama involved far more than a mere question of 'accent' or minor aspects of local vocabulary, but extended to significant aspects of phonology, tonology, morphology, and syntax. Since it is also clear, as reflected in some of the heritage texts, that the Korana people held themselves to be a distinct political entity, it seems appropriate to describe Kora as a language in its own right. (As hardly needs saying, any given language is itself typically constituted by a range of varieties, and Kora was no exception.)

The language of the Korana people was by no means previously unknown. It was documented in 1879 by Lucy Lloyd, whose main consultant Piet Links not only contributed an extensive vocabulary, but also dictated five full-length narratives, as well as one or two minor fragments. (Her brother-in-law Wilhelm Bleek had already observed[3] 17 years prior to this date that the Kora language was 'nearly extinct'.) Although the fast vanishing language was paid only scant attention throughout the four or five decades that followed, several linguists – Jan Engelbrecht, Carl Meinhof, Louis Maingard, and Douglas Beach – were later drawn to work on it, and sought out the last few dozen speakers who remained by the end of the 1920s and 1930s. Between them, these four scholars compiled more word lists, worked on analyses of the phonetics, tonology and syntax of the language, and managed to acquire a number of additional narratives. While at least one of these linguists is known to have made sound recordings, the limitations of the technology then available meant that these were inevitably fragile, and they have sadly not come down to us. Prior to Besten's discovery, there were only two brief audio recordings of the language in existence, made in the 1930s by D. P. Hallowes, and featuring the speaker Mulukab.[4]

We realised immediately that we had been presented with an almost miraculous last chance to obtain recordings for posterity of the original language of the early Cape and the Gariep. This required us to put some kind of project in place and to obtain the necessary funding as soon as possible.[5] Noting that all of the earlier work on the language was now largely inaccessible to the general public, having appeared in old academic publications with the accompanying text often in German, or else in books long since out of print, we came up with the concept of a linguistic work that would not only offer a comprehensive description of the language – in other words, a reference grammar – but would also provide an edited collection of the heritage texts, as well as a compilation of the various painstakingly assembled early vocabularies into a consolidated dictionary.[6] It occurred to us that if we were able to obtain recordings from the newly found speakers, we might find a way of providing the book with an electronic supplement, where illustrative audio files could then be linked to appropriate chapters. Ultimately, we hoped to produce a book that would be accessible to all South Africans who care deeply about their history, and take a keen interest in the diverse and fascinating languages of their own country, but which at the same time would be accessible to the descendants of South Africa's original inhabitants – and so we also envisioned the eventual translation of the book into Afrikaans, as well as the production, if possible, of a partly subsidised or sponsored edition.

It is probably not accidental that the gradual crystallisation of these ideas took place against the backdrop of the Khoisan revival, which is a currently ongoing cultural, social, and academic phenomenon in South Africa, with issues of identity and historical reclamation at its heart. (It is one of the multitude of bitter facts about the country's oppressive past that the colonising community began, particularly from the 19th century onwards, to spin a version of South Africa's unfolding story that either re-wrote or else virtually erased the history of the Khoi.)[7] Most of the people in Bloemfontein who invited us into their homes and led us in keen conversations were either directly or indirectly involved in the revival movement, and a number

of them were already making the effort to learn Nama, in a conscious attempt to retrieve some part of their ancestral legacy. Because of this heightened awareness, the idea of revitalising the Kora language was raised on more than one occasion, and it seemed to us that the book we had in mind would at least provide a permanent way of accessing Kora as a heritage language, even if not the means to revive it as a spoken language. (The amount of investment, effort and social and political will that are required to revitalise a language cannot be underestimated, and the international success stories most commonly cited are remarkable exceptions.)

The restoring of this lost cultural heritage, while significant enough in its own right from a social and transformational point of view, is only one aspect of the project's value. From an academic point of view, the project has as much to offer. A careful study of Kora should expand our knowledge of the spectrum of Khoekhoe languages, where this more detailed knowledge will help us to fine-tune our understanding of *internal relations* between the various languages that belong to the Khoe family, and the processes over time that have been involved in its branchings, as well as the differentiation of its members. A better knowledge of Kora should also facilitate further research into *external historical relations* between this particular Khoekhoe language, and other languages of the same region. The Ui languages, for example, reflect a high level of borrowing from a Khoekhoe source, where the donor language is most often clearly Kora, rather than Nama. At the same time, it is well-known that Kora was the direct successor of the Khoekhoe variety spoken at the Cape by clans such as the Goringhaiqua, the Goringhaikona, and the Gorachouqua of Jan van Riebeeck's journals, which makes Kora the most likely of the Khoekhoe varieties to have had an early influence on the emergence of Afrikaans from Cape Dutch. The Cape Khoekhoe dialects, lastly, are known to have been much closer than Nama to the varieties of Khoekhoe spoken in the Eastern Cape, where it would have been these varieties (if any) that had an influence on the Nguni languages spoken in that region.

On a more general note, it is worth adding that in the absence of the kind of primary evidence provided by historical records – whether oral, written or pictorial – it is often linguistic evidence that provides us with the next most direct set of clues that can help us to unravel an otherwise undocumented past. The identification of systematic relationships between various languages and the extrapolation on the basis of these of an idealised original (or 'proto') language allows us, for example, to make inferences about ancestral speaker communities, and may even tell us certain things about the probable material culture of such communities, on the basis of whether or not they had terminology that specifically referenced ceramic or metallurgical technologies, or pastoral and agricultural practices. Since linguistic models of this kind are established on the basis of phonetic regularities, they also help us to detect anomalous words, which may constitute evidence of borrowing and so suggest interactions with other communities in the past. Lastly, linguistic evidence can play a valuable role in helping to constrain speculative models, such as those that rest, for example, on the purely material and mute evidence unearthed by archaeologists.

With all of these potential benefits in mind, and given its intrinsic significance, we had good reason to believe that the Kora project would excite the imagination of

the academic institutions we were variously affiliated to at the time, and that it would be easy to find the necessary funding, not only to carry out the fieldwork (which was becoming an increasingly urgent necessity), but for all the other components of the work, including the preparation, translation and publication of the book. It was a great disappointment then, when our proposals were met locally with stony indifference.[8] Unfortunately, this was only the first of a number of heavy blows. In a scramble to find alternative sources of funding, we were in the middle of preparing our application to the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) at SOAS, University of London, when the terrible news arrived that Mike Besten had been killed.[9] Although the event led to questions about our capacity to continue with the project – and there is no doubt that we were to some extent paralysed by the loss – the ELDP finally awarded us the funding we so direly needed, at least for the initial fieldwork component of our project.[10]

The members of the field work team. (a) Edward Charles Human (left) with Chief Johannes Kraalshoek (centre) and Bradley van Sitters (right).

(b) Levi Namaseb with Oupa Dawid Cooper.

(c) Oupa Dawid Cooper with Menán du Plessis.

(d) Ouma Jacoba Maclear with Niklaas Fredericks. (Photographs by Bradley van Sitters and Edward Charles Human.)

With Edward Charles Human having kindly agreed to step in and join our team, we were at last able to carry out our emergency documentation work towards the end of 2011, re-visiting Oupa Dawid Cooper in September of that year, and travelling a few months later to Bloemhof to work with Ouma Jacoba Maclear. On the verge of her 100th birthday, she proved to be the most fluent and reliable of the surviving speakers, with a well-preserved vocabulary and syntax.[11] Ouma Jacoba's speech faithfully mirrored all the characteristic aspects of phonetics, morphology and syntax documented by the various linguists who worked on Kora during the 1920s and 1930s – in places that included Bloemhof – and her memories were quite clearly of the same language.

In addition to Human, who acted as our guide and provided indispensable community liaison as well as technical assistance, the members of our fieldwork team consisted of two Nama-speaking linguists from Namibia, Levi Namaseb[12] and Niklaas Fredericks;[13] a Khoisan activist from Cape Town, Bradley van Sitters;[14] and a general linguist and Khoisan specialist, and the author of this book, Menán du Plessis.[15]

A note on the names for people and languages used in this book

The names we choose to use for ourselves and for each other are always in a natural state of flux, as we constantly redefine ourselves and our relationships both in the past and the present. Inevitably this means that there are many words once commonly used that we try to avoid today because of the offence or hurt they now cause. Such words particularly include names used by various groups of people to identify themselves and others, as well as their languages.

The general term Khoisan is sometimes spelled 'Khoesan', on the grounds that 'khoe' [kʰwɛ] is a more accurate representation, at least in *some* spelling systems, of the way the Khoekhoe word for 'person' is pronounced. However, since it is a purely abstract term, the question of its 'correct' spelling does not really arise, and we have chosen here to retain the original version, though either spelling is acceptable, and both are widely used. The term is only occasionally used in this work, but where it is, this is always in its purely linguistic sense, which is to say as a blanket label for the diverse families that together make up the set of click languages in southern Africa that cannot be assigned to any other group. Use of the term in this broad sense does not imply the existence of any familial relationships between the member groups.

Although it is a topic much debated, it seems that for the moment we can safely use the name Khoi to identify the largely pastoral people of the early Cape, the Gariep, and the Eastern Cape, who spoke various closely related languages belonging to the Khoekhoe linguistic grouping, which is in turn a branch of the extensive family of the Khoe languages.[16] The name Khoi is widely used for self-identification by contemporary community-based activists, and is used officially in the names of

representative bodies such as the Khoi and San Council. It is now also increasingly used in academic circles, as for example in recent work by the historian Tim Keegan,[17] and the literary scholar Helize van Vuuren.[18] We note all the same that the historical Cape herders are still variously referred to by different scholars as Khoikhoi or Khoekhoe, on the basis of terms that occur in the early Cape records. It was briefly popular during the 1990s for academics to insist on the use of 'Khoekhoen', where this form includes the common plural ending –n of the Khoekhoe languages. Contemporary speakers of Khoekhoe dialects in Namibia, however, do not typically use or even recognise themselves in the term Khoekhoen (or Khoekhoe, for that matter),[19] while it is any case not the norm to include foreign morphology in the standardised English version of a name.

Things become slightly more complicated when we need to refer to different groupings among the Khoi. When speaking their own language, for example, the Korana people would refer to themselves as either ǃOrakua, where –kua reflects the masculine plural suffix –ku (plus a), or ǃOrana, with the common plural suffix –n (plus a). There are two aspects of these names that present problems when it comes to anglicising them. Firstly, the exclamation mark represents the (post)alveolar click, which is often expressed in Roman script by the letter 'q'. (Speakers of Namibian Khoekhoe varieties are inclined to spell the name as ǃGora, but it should be noted that the use of the letter 'g' after a click symbol indicates a *plain* click in the Namibian orthography.) Since the click sound was foreign to speakers of European languages, suitably adapted versions[20] of the name began to appear in Dutch, German, French, Swedish, and English accounts from the late 18th century onwards, and we find 'Corannas', 'Koranna', 'Corans', 'Coras' or 'Koras' in various texts, so that by 1811, William Burchell[21] could already refer to 'the people usually called Koranas'. Given this precedent of more than 200 years, we have chosen here to spell the English version of the name without the click.[22]

The same principle will be adopted when referring to the river once known as the Groote Rivier, in an early Dutch translation that may have been provided by Khoekhoe speakers on the basis of their own original name for it, but which came to be known later as the Orange River, following its renaming by Robert Gordon in 1779 after the Dutch royal house. The original Khoekhoe name was ǃGarib (or possibly Kai ǃgarib) meaning 'River' (or Great River').[23] After the second take-over of the Cape by the British, some writers – including the first notable South African English poet, Thomas Pringle, in his famous poem 'The Coranna'[24] – reverted to an approximation of the original name and began to refer to the river as the Gareep or Gariep. This appropriately assimilated form of the name (that is, without the click) has gained currency in recent years, and Gariep is now officially used, for example, as the name of the modern dam on the river at Bethulie. In this instance, the letter 'g' is used in the same way as it is in the spelling systems for Afrikaans and Tswana, and stands for a fricative sound similar to the one heard at the end of the Scottish word 'loch'. We hope that English speakers will find a way to adapt and accommodate this sound, much as they do when pronouncing the place name Gauteng.[25]

The variants of Khoekhoe names that feature the endings –*kua* or –*na* have incorporated plural morphology from the original language. Normally this would be frowned on as non-standard in English, since part of the process of naturalising a guest-word typically involves using it with the regular morphology of the *receiving* language.[26] In the real world, though, speakers do not always follow what might be considered 'rules' (whether of the externally imposed prescriptive kind, or of the more natural and universal kind involving unconscious processes of regularisation). The names Korana and Griqua have become entrenched in South African English over the past two centuries as the regular forms in use, and there would be little point now in insisting on a purely pedantic change. In this book, we use the long established English name Korana for the people, but refer to the language as Kora[27] or occasionally 'the Korana language', in the sense of 'the language spoken by the Korana people'.

The name for the Griqua people (Afrikaans Griekwa) was chosen as an alternative to 'Baster' in 1813 at the urging of the missionary John Campbell.[28] The community based their new name on that of an old Khoi clan to which some of their members had belonged, namely the Grigriqua (perhaps Gurigurikua or Garigurikua), who were encountered near the Olifants River on the Cape West Coast by the members of Simon van der Stel's expedition in 1685. Because of this long-established usage, the name Griqua is used throughout this book for the speakers. As for the dialect they spoke, some linguists currently spell its name as 'Xiri', using the letter 'x' as it is employed in the Namibian Khoekhoe orthography – that is, to express the fricative heard at the beginning of the place name Gauteng, the river name Gariep, or the Afrikaans word *goud*, meaning 'gold'.[29] It will be referred to here as Giri – where the letter 'g' is again used in the same way as it is in Afrikaans and Tswana – or else as 'the Griqua language', even though there is well established precedent for it to be referred to in English as Griqua. (This decision is motivated by the reality that the letter 'x' in a South African context is usually taken to indicate the lateral click of the Nguni languages.) Similarly, the language of the eastern Gonaqua will be referred to as Gona.

In contemporary Namibia, the official collective name for the Khoekhoe varieties spoken in that country is now Khoekhoegowab, for which an appropriate English version is Namibian Khoekhoe. This is a more inclusive term, which acknowledges that in addition to Nama, which is spoken in the south, there are other Khoekhoe dialects spoken in the north of Namibia, by the Damara and Hai om people. In South Africa, on the other hand, it is *only* a variety of Nama that is spoken – in the far regions of the Northern Cape – and so it is entirely acceptable to refer to the language of this region simply as Nama (or perhaps Namagowab when speaking in the language itself).

It is inevitable that mention will be made at times throughout this book of other local communities, including speakers of other Khoisan languages such as those belonging to the   Ui sub-family,[30] as well as speakers of various languages belonging to the vast Bantu family. Here too there are difficulties surrounding various terms.

The speakers of the   Ui languages (which included |Xam and N|uu) were formerly referred to by names such as Thwa or Twa and Bosjemans or Bushmen, which were certainly contemptuous and bestowed by others. The term Sāku (with the masculine plural ending -*ku*) or Sān (with the common plural ending -*n*) was the usual name in Khoekhoe languages for these communities, but it is not clear what the word actually implied. It is possible that 'San' simply meant 'dwellers' (Nama *sâ* 'rest, repose') and was similar in meaning to the name Lala, which was used by a number of different communities in southern Africa to refer to a class or 'caste' of apparently subjugated people. Alternatively, some authors have suggested a connection with a word meaning 'collect' or 'gather' (Nama *sā*).[31] One thing that is certain, at least, is that the term is not based on any known Khoekhoe word for 'thief' or 'vagabond', as is occasionally proposed. Whatever its original meaning, the word San may have acquired disparaging connotations simply because of the circumstances under which it was typically used.

Because of these uncertainties, some contemporary historians have begun to question the use of 'San', and have even reverted to using 'Bushman' – with a strictly non-pejorative intent, and on the grounds that it is frequently used of themselves (and even sometimes insisted on) by a few modern-day members of relevant communities, particularly in marginal rural areas. It is true that the old colonial word seems to have been internalised and preserved by a small number of individuals,[32] but its reintroduction by scholars is not well understood outside narrow academic circles, and its use in public has even been known to provoke outrage. While there will be little occasion for the term to be used here, since it has no linguistic significance – there being no such thing, of course, as a San (or 'Bushman') family of languages – the word Sāku will occasionally be encountered in some of the heritage texts: we have chosen to translate it in these cases simply as San, which has the merit at least of being close to the original, even if the Khoekhoe plural ending is, strictly speaking, out of place in English – and our retention of it not a little inconsistent!

As for the term 'Bantu', it is perhaps not always sufficiently understood within South Africa that it is an abstract classificatory term used by linguists worldwide for a very large grouping of related *languages* within the Benue-Congo family, which is itself a subset of the Niger-Congo super-grouping of related language families. The term was invented by Wilhelm Bleek, who noted: 'That the derivative prefix and pronouns of this last gender (of personal nouns in the plural) are either actually **ba**, or contracted, or in some other manner changed from it, is one of the characteristics of the Ba-ntu family of languages, which have on this account been called Ba-languages by Dr H. Barth.'[33] It is unfortunate that the term was much later misappropriated and came to be used in a generally contemptuous manner as a way of referring to certain groups of *people*, particularly in South Africa. As a consequence, many local linguists find it difficult now to use the compromised term in its original sense, and a few have suggested alternative names for the family, such as Kintu or Sintu.[34] These have not taken hold internationally, perhaps because the negative connotations are specific to the historical experience of people in South Africa, which is home to

only a few languages of this immense family.[35] Where its use cannot be avoided, the term will from this point onward be written in capital letters, so as to emphasise its purely linguistic sense. This is not a standard convention, but it seems at least a fair compromise. By the same token, the names of various other language families, such as KHOE and JU, will from now on also be given in capital letters.[36]

Individual BANTU languages are referred to here by their conventional English names, using conventional English morphology – hence Zulu rather than 'isiZulu', and Sotho rather than 'Sesotho'. This is simply plain and good English, and follows the same norm whereby we generally try to avoid affectation and so speak and write about German rather than 'Deutsch', Spanish rather than 'Español', and Russian rather than 'Рýсский язы́к'. The same principle is reciprocally followed by speakers of other languages, so that someone speaking or writing in Zulu, for example, appropriately refers to Afrikaans as IsiBhunu, to English as isiNgisi and to Sotho as IsiSuthu; while a Sotho speaker would refer, when using Sotho itself, to Afrikaans as Seburu, to English as Senyesemane, to Zulu as Sezulu, and to Xhosa as Seqhotsa or Seqhosa, where in the case of the latter, the lateral click 'x' (or   ) is replaced by the (post)alveolar 'q' (or !), since this is the only click that occurs in Sotho. A Tswana speaker using his or her own language refers to Xhosa as Sethosa, since Tswana does not use click phonemes at all.

A note on the ownership of intellectual artefacts

Because it was part of our plan to reproduce old and for the most part previously published material, it was inevitable that certain concerns around copyright would arise.[37] In some cases the issues were relatively straightforward to resolve, since not only was the authorship clear, but it was also fairly easy to determine whether and when the work had become part of the public domain. In current South African copyright law, a work is considered to enter the public domain 50 years from the end of the year in which the author dies. By this criterion, the work of Lucy Lloyd, who died in 1914, is plainly no longer in copyright, and the same holds for the work of Carl Meinhof, who died in 1944. Given that Benjamin Kats died either just before 1935 or else early in that year, it appears that the narratives[38] published posthumously under his own name in that year are likewise no longer in copyright.

In a few other cases, the texts first appeared in work that still falls under a copyright restriction. We are grateful to the various publishers who readily gave permission for us to use this material, and who also waived any fees they might have levied for the right to do so. These publishers instantly grasped the nature of the project, recognised that it had community involvement from the outset, and appreciated the impetus behind it, which is the desire to enact a form of cultural restitution. There were a few remaining cases, though, where the issue of intellectual ownership initially seemed more complicated, although we believe we have ultimately resolved such concerns appropriately and fairly.

Overview of the book's chapters

Since this is a book about a language, the approach is inevitably linguistic in nature. Even so, it was initially planned to include a brief background chapter on the history of the Korana people, which would have been contributed by Mike Besten. In the interim, Piet Erasmus has gone on to publish a full-length book[39] on the subject, which has eliminated the need for such a chapter. Readers may also like to consult a number of other studies that focus specifically on the Korana people, such as work by Robert Ross,[40] a work co-authored by Erasmus with Mike Besten and G. Sauls,[41] and a recent study by Sharon Gabie,[42] which provides both a biography of Chief Josiah Kats and an account of the contemporary re-making of Khoisan identity.

Studies of the Griqua people include Martin Legassick's influential doctoral dissertation,[43] works by Robert Ross[44] and Edward Cavanagh,[45] as well as Karel Schoeman's *Griqua Records*,[46] and Mike Besten's doctoral dissertation.[47]

The complex earlier history of the Cape Khoi is difficult to unravel, but both Louis Maingard[48] and Jan Engelbrecht[49] contributed carefully measured assessments of the various old oral accounts, where these are sometimes mutually conflicting and not easy to reconcile. A recent work by Michael de Jongh offers an account of the Hessequa.[50]

Readers seeking an introduction to the history of the Khoi people in general may like to refer to the accessible account of *The Cape Herders* by Emile Boonzaier and others,[51] the opening chapters of Gabriel Nienaber's *Khoekhoense Stamname*,[52] two of the chapters in Neil Mostert's *Frontiers*,[53] and the first half of Tim Keegan's work, *Dr Philip's Empire*,[54] which describes the tireless campaigns of John Philip on behalf of the Khoi during the early period of British colonisation.

The purpose of Chapter One is to explain the linguistic classification of Kora. Following a brief overview of the Khoisan languages in general, and a short account of the three main and quite distinct families that are subsumed under the all-purpose heading of the Southern African Khoisan languages, the location of Kora and various other South African varieties of Khoekhoe within the KHOE family is explained.[55] The existence of a previously unrecognised dialect of Kora is noted. The chapter closes with short accounts of various currently hypothesised relations between KHOE languages and (i) certain languages of North or East Africa, (ii) other Khoisan languages of southern Africa, and (iii) other languages of the southern region. (While we do not necessarily agree with all of these often controversial speculations, this would be a poor reason not to acquaint our readers with them.)

Chapter Two outlines both the early and later sources of our information about the Cape Khoekhoe and Kora dialects, with particular reference to the speakers who left us this legacy, where their identities are known.

Chapters Three and Four respectively describe the sounds and the structures of Kora, and together constitute the most complete reference grammar that has yet been provided for the language. Both chapters present a number of findings that are new, while at the same time they identify one or two areas of lingering uncertainty

that might be fruitfully investigated by other researchers in future. In the interest of both longevity and accessibility, the two sections forming the reference grammar use a neutral descriptive terminology, and avoid the acronyms and specialist jargon associated with any particular framework. No prior knowledge of linguistics is assumed, and the basic concepts are explained as they are introduced.

It may be necessary to mention for the benefit of the general reader that linguistic description does not involve the imposition of some arbitrary external system on a language, but rather aims to uncover the systematic contrasts that inhere on multiple levels within a language itself, as manifested in distinctions regularly and consistently made by its speakers. To the extent that there is some inevitable technicality involved in the present account of Kora, and to the extent that we have aimed for a degree of academic rigour, this is a measure of our respect for the language, culture and heritage involved, while at the same time it acknowledges the sharp sophistication of a rising generation that is unafraid of analytical approaches. Throughout the course of preparing this book we have been in correspondence with individuals who regard the Kora language as part of their own direct cultural inheritance. Some of these community members have taken on a kind of co-ownership of the project, sending in valuable corrections and suggestions in response to circulated drafts, and from time to time asking technical questions about such things as the issue of grammatical case in Kora. Readers like these have been our inspiration, and it is their needs we have tried to honour. Any more cursory or diluted kind of approach would in our view have bordered on cultural appropriation, and we are particularly grateful to an early reviewer of this book, who though not a linguist himself, willingly braved these chapters and reported them to be 'manageable' for any lay reader prepared to commit a small amount of effort.

Chapter Three covers aspects of Kora phonetics, phonology and tonology, and includes summaries of several new findings based on data obtained in the field. There will be many readers who would like to have a sense of how the Kora narratives might have sounded when they were originally delivered by speakers of the language, and it is for them that this chapter has been primarily written. The chapter should also help readers to become familiar with the main conventions used in writing Kora, particularly where these differ from those used in the official Namibian orthography for the Nama, Dama, and Hai om dialects. Lastly, this part of the work should provide readers with a basis for understanding the many variations in spelling that will be encountered in the heritage texts. (Since the texts are in a sense historical documents, and since there may even have been dialectal differences involved, we have made as few changes to them as possible, and as part of this policy we have preserved many of the original spellings.)[56]

Chapter Four, which focuses on morphology and syntax, describes the grammatical structures of the language. This account is intended in the first place to facilitate the study of the heritage texts in the original language. In addition, the chapter presents a number of new findings, including the existence of two previously unrecognised verb

extensions. It also offers a few new insights, for example concerning the complex predicates, the function of the *ke* particle, and the notion of 'accusative case' in Kora.

Chapter Five presents all the Kora heritage texts we have been able to re-publish without risk of infringing copyright. This corpus consists of a range of texts, organised under the following headings:

i.   Collective and personal histories, and private commentaries.

ii.   Social and economic histories, and accounts of crafts and manufactures in earlier times.

iii. Oratory, folktales, and lyrics.

This is the first time that a comprehensive collection of this kind has been made available for the Kora language.

The texts are provided with parallel English translations, where these are often deliberately literal, since they are intended as an aid to reading the texts in the original language. (We have not provided interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, partly because these are seldom useful to a general reader, while the grammatical structures are in any case already fully described in the body of the work; and partly because there remain a few areas of uncertainty.) In most cases the texts have also been supplied with a free and more readable translation for the benefit of readers who might simply want to access the content.

From a linguistic point of view, the interest of these narratives lies in their illustration of various syntactic strategies at the level of both the sentence and the extended discourse context, and also in differences in the registers potentially associated with different genres. Even so, the texts will undoubtedly be of interest also for their intrinsic content. In this regard, it should be noted that some of the accounts, particularly those placed in section (ii), have a certain 'ethnographic' quality that is not only old-fashioned but might even be offensive to some, unless they are read and understood as the products of a particular era. It may also help to bear in mind that, rather than being uniquely (and 'picturesquely') characteristic of the Khoi people, many of the old ways described were at one time almost universal throughout the region – and probably much of early Africa.

Literary scholars[57] who have focused over the past two decades or so on the Xam narratives collected by Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd have been at pains to emphasise that the transcribed folktales in that corpus are at best only two-dimensional reflections of stories that would originally have been delivered orally to a responsive audience well-versed in the stories' traditional content. As far as the Kora material in section (iii) is concerned, while the stories dictated to Lucy Lloyd by Piet Links in 1879 fall into a similar category, several of the contributions dating from the early part of the 20th century appear to have been autonomously re-imagined as specifically literary texts by authors such as Benjamin Kats and Andries Bitterbos. We trust this will be kept in mind by future scholars who may wish to study the Kora narratives – in their original language of course – from a literary perspective.

Chapter Six consists of a bilingual Kora dictionary, with look-up options in both Kora and English (where the English look-up section is essentially merely an index or 'quick reference', with the more detailed entries being reserved for the Kora look-up section). The electronic version of this work includes links to audio files illustrating the pronunciation of approximately one third of the Kora entries.

For this part of the project we took Carl Meinhof's Glossary[58] as our point of departure, not only making his entries the core of the work, but adopting his spellings as the 'standard' versions. We then expanded the core by adding in any words not recorded by Meinhof, where these were obtained from a variety of sources, including the two studies by Jan Engelbrecht,[59] where the first included his Word List; the narratives collected from the Bloemhof Korana by Louis Maingard;[60] the early Vocabulary compiled by Carl Wuras;[61] the three notebooks of Lucy Lloyd,[62] and the set of texts published under Benjamin Kats's own name.[63] The main function of the dictionary is to assist the reader who is working closely through the texts in the original language, although we appreciate that it may be used as a source of cultural information in its own right. With these different functions as well as the needs of various users in mind, we have tried to keep the organisation of the entries as clear and simple as possible, and have not burdened the reader with constant redirections to other entries. We have included a few lists of specialised terms organised by semantic field – such as the names of the Korana clans; the names of animals, birds and arthropods; and the names of plants and plant products.

This introduction would be incomplete without a brief final note explaining our use of the authorial 'we'. The idea for the project emerged out of many long and animated conversations in Bloemfontein, and the initial work in the field was carried out by a team of us, so that when it came to writing everything up, it was natural to adopt the point of view of the original collective. It was initially hoped that several of the chapters would be co-authored by two or more of us, but in the end, the pressures of other work and the difficulties of sustaining regular long-distance communication conspired against successful collaboration. Even so, draft versions of the chapters were regularly circulated as they were completed, and we are confident that the final work reflects a consensus, even where circumstances may have led to a largely passive form of co-participation.

Endnotes

1   Mike Besten obtained his PhD in History from Leiden University in 2006 for a doctoral thesis on the Griqua leader, A.A.S. le Fleur I. He had previously obtained an Honours degree in Philosophy from the University of Stellenbosch, and a further Honours as well as a Master's degree in History from the University of the Western Cape. He then joined the Department of Anthropology at the University of the Free State, where he worked with Piet Erasmus. During 2007, he travelled extensively through the countryside of the Free State and the North-West Province in efforts to trace people of Korana descent. Fieldworkers who assisted him at this time included Edward Charles Human – a cultural activist with strong ties to local Griqua and Korana communities.

2   The use of the name Kora rather than Ora in an English medium context is explained in a note on nomenclature elsewhere in this introduction.

3   Wilhelm Bleek, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages* (Part 1) (London: Trübner and Co., 1862), 4.

4   Anthony Traill, *Extinct: South African Khoisan Languages* (compact disc with booklet) (University of the Witwatersrand: Department of Linguistics, ca. 1997), tracks 14, 15.

5   There were a number of initial delays after our first meeting with Oupa Dawid, mainly because several of us had other ongoing academic projects at the time that could not be abandoned.

6   Since this work offers a comprehensive study of a *language*, it is natural that it should be linguistic in approach. It is not a substitute for a history of the Khoi people, and nor does it offer any ventures into genetics, archaeology or anthropology. Such an approach would in our view be counter-productive, since – while linguistics can indeed make a valuable contribution to multi-disciplinary studies – its usefulness is diminished when the waters are so muddied by cross-disciplinary dabbling as to obscure swirling circularities of argument.

7   As a consequence, there are South Africans of a certain age and social class who even today have only a vague and confused notion of who the Khoi were – sometimes inexplicably equating them with the slave population, and sometimes imagining that they were somehow or other not African!

8   The author changed affiliation in the wake of this experience, and subsequently found a warmly supportive and stimulating academic home in the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University.

9   Mike was brutally murdered, having fallen random victim to a car-hijacking gang. The loss of this brilliant colleague and gifted academic leader was devastating to us, but we decided that the best way we could honour him would be to continue with the project.

10 Aspects of the original dream that remain unfulfilled at the time of publication include the translation of the book into Afrikaans. We have also yet to find an acceptable archival home in South Africa for our data, while lack of funding has in any case meant that the interviews have not been transcribed and translated in full.

11 Neither of our two consultants pretended to be entirely fluent, but we undertook the documentation with the intention of recording as much as they were able to offer us. In addition to the two speakers who consented to work with us, we know of a third speaker who reportedly has a good knowledge of the language – but who has declined to work with linguists. From time to time we hear new reports at second or third hand of other elderly individuals who may retain some knowledge of the language, but such speakers have in the past generally turned out to remember only a few words and none of the syntax.

12 Levi Namaseb, who lectures at the University of Namibia, obtained a PhD from Toronto University in 2006 for a thesis on aspects of comparative oral literature in southern Africa. He is a first-language speaker of Nama, and acted as the lead interviewer during our sessions with the speakers.

13 Niklaas Fredericks is also a first-language speaker of Nama, and was at the time completing his PhD in Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape. He was awarded one of

the prestigious Rector's Postdoctoral Research Fellowships at Stellenbosch University in 2014, and now lectures in and heads the Department of Communication at the Namibia University of Science and Technology.

14   Bradley van Sitters is a Cape Town-based cultural activist who was studying Nama at the time at the University of Namibia. While we took him on as a technical assistant, he is also a talented communicator and played a key role in various facilitations. We took pains to explain the aims of the project formally to our consultants, and they willingly signed consent forms, but it was Van Sitters who conversed patiently with the speakers during our many breaks, and who best conveyed what we were trying to achieve and what we intended to do with the recordings. He was the lead interviewer for the background interview with Oupa Dawid Cooper.

15   Menán du Plessis obtained a PhD in Linguistics from the University of Cape Town in 2009, following a late return to her original academic field. She is currently a Research Associate in the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University.

16   Note that the sound represented by the letters 'oe' in KHOE is approximately that of 'we' in 'went'.

17   Tim Keegan, *Dr Philip's Empire: One Man's Struggle for Justice in Nineteenth-Century South Africa* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2016).

18   Helize van Vuuren, *A Necklace of Springbok Ears: Xam Orality and South African Literature* (Stellenbosch: SUN Press, 2016).

19   Niklaas Fredericks, personal communication, September 2015.

20   There are some who argue on ideological (that is, counter-colonial) grounds for the use of non-adapted versions of African language names in South African English, but it is not clear why the local and unilateral use of a non-standard English should be considered either progressive or a useful way of addressing the very real (and worldwide) problems created by the dominance of some languages over others.

21   William Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1822), vol. 1, 345.

22   The use in South African English of the language name Xhosa with retention of the alveolar lateral click is an interesting anomaly, and seems to reflect the reality that South Africa, like most other African countries, is characterised by a vibrantly multi-lingual population, where speakers engage in constant code-switching. It is natural for a first-language speaker of Xhosa, for example, to use the expression 'isiXhosa' even when speaking in English, and it may be as a form of accommodation that many first-language speakers of South African English will not only use the same term, but will even frequently attempt the click (although others may substitute 'kl' or 'kʰ').

23   Since the earliest observers did not have any established system for the representation of the clicks, the original name of the Vaal River (Hai garib) was often given as Ky Gariep. This makes it difficult for us to be certain that there was not also perhaps a separately named Great River (Kai garib). The river was known to the Dutch settlers from an early period as the Groote Rivier, the Eyn or Ey, or the Gariep.

24   Thomas Pringle, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle* (London: Edward Moxon, 1837), 12–13.

25   The Tswana name Gauteng, which is used for Johannesburg as well as the province in which that city is located, incorporates the loanword *goud* 'gold' from Afrikaans, plus the locative morphology *–eng* of Tswana.

26   It is considered preferable in plain English to say, for example, 'hippopotamuses' rather than 'hippopotami', and use of the foreign plural form may create an unintended impression of affectation, or else is taken to be jocular.

27   Some writers prefer to use Ora as the language name, but this is not appropriate (in our view at least) for either spoken or written standard English. (The spelling ' Kora' occasionally seen in older texts was usually intended to indicate merely the plain form of the click, and the letter 'k' is redundant.)

28   John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 252.

29   Some linguists report hearing this sound as the uvular fricative [χ], while others describe it as velar [x]. (Before front vowels the sound is typically palatal.) There may well be minor dialectal differences in play.

30   In an ideal world, the use of non-native symbols in written English is preferably avoided. The reality, however, is that many Khoisan languages never acquired suitably anglicised versions of their names, so that the use of a click symbol (such as in the case of Ui) is sometimes unavoidable.

31   See discussion of the term in Gabriel Nienaber, *Khoekhoense Stamname: 'n Voorlopige Verkenning* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1989), 830–837.

32   The same individuals who refer to themselves as 'Boesmans' also use for members of other communities a range of terms that would unquestionably be treated as instances of hate speech if they were to be used in public today by almost anyone else.

33   Wilhelm Bleek, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages,* part 1 (London: Trübner & Co., 1862), 3.

34   See discussion by Robert K. Herbert and Richard Bailey, "The Bantu languages: sociohistorical perspectives," in *Language in South Africa*, ed. Rajend Mesthrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50–78, endnote 3.

35   It makes little sense to use the term 'African' as a substitute name for just one language family of the continent, even though a usage of this kind is fairly widespread in popular writing. An alternative expression sometimes used by linguists for the Bantu family is 'Niger-Congo B', where 'Niger-Congo A' then refers (awkwardly) to the remaining portion of Benue-Congo, plus the other families that make up Niger-Congo. A further option might be to change the name to 'Benue-Congo B'.

36   The reason for not writing Ui in capital letters is that it is really a sub-branch, forming a family together with the Taa varieties. This grouping was identified by Dorothea Bleek as 'Southern Bushman', while Tom Güldemann has more recently proposed the family name TUU. (For further discussion and references see Chapter Two.)

37 The author of this chapter is particularly grateful to Colin Darch and Janetta van der Merwe for their freely given professional guidance around some of these thorny issues.

38 Benjamin Kats, "*Korana-Erzählungen*," *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 26 (1935/6), 161–174.

39 Piet Erasmus, *The Battle at Mamusa: The Western Transvaal Border Culture and the Ethno-dissolution of the Last Functioning Korana Polity* (Stellenbosch: Sun Media, 2015).

40 Robert Ross, "The Kora wars on the Orange River, 1830–1880" *Journal of African History* 16, no. 4 (1975), 561–576.

41 Erasmus, Mike Besten and G. Sauls, "*The Pniel Estate: Its People and History*" (Kimberley: The Sol Plaatje Educational Trust, 2008).

42 Sharon Gabie, "Khoisan Ancestry and Coloured Identity: A Study of the Korana Royal House under Chief Josiah Kats" (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Master's thesis, 2014).

43 Martin Legassick, *The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana, and the Missionaries, 1780–1840* (Basle: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010).

44 Ross, "Griqua government" *African Studies* 33 (1974), 25–42.

45 Edward Cavanagh, *The Griqua Past and the Limits of South African History, 1902–1994* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011).

46 Schoeman, Karel, comp. and ed. *Griqua Records: The Philippolis Captaincy, 1825–1861* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1996).

47 Mike Besten, "Transformation and Reconstitution of Khoe-San Identities: A.A.S. le Fleur I, Griqua Identities and Post-Apartheid Khoe-San Revivalism (1894–2004)" (Leiden: University of Leiden PhD thesis, 2006).

48 Louis F. Maingard, "Studies in Korana history, customs and language" *Bantu Studie*s 6, no. 2 (1932), 103–161.

49 Jan A. Engelbrecht, *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936), 1–70.

50 Michael de Jongh, *A Forgotten First People: The Southern Cape Hessequa* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2016).

51 Emile Boonzaier, Candy Malherbe, Penny Berens and Andy Smith, *The Cape Herders* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996).

52 Nienaber, *Khoekhoense Stamname*, 10–52.

53 Noël Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Pimlico, 1993), 105–182.

54 Tim Keegan, *Dr Philip's Empire: One Man's Struggle for Justice in Nineteenth-Century South Africa* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2016), 1–177.

55   The term KHOE refers to a *language family*. Classifications of this kind are based on purely linguistic criteria, and have nothing to do with history, archaeology, anthropology, economic lifestyle, or biology.

56   Kora was never provided with a standard or official set of spelling rules (that is, an orthography), and linguists in the past have tended to use a combination of generally accepted phonetic symbols and versions of the missionary conventions that were at one time used as the de facto orthography for Nama. Many linguists experimented with and modified their own systems over time.

57   As for example Michael Wessels, *Bushman Letters: Interpreting Xam Narrative* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010).

58   Carl Meinhof, *Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1930) (Supplement 12 to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*), 78–119.

59   Engelbrecht, "*Studies oor Korannataal*," *The Korana*.

60   Maingard, "Studies in Korana history," and "Korana texts from Bloemhof," *African Studies* 26, no. 1 (1967), 43–46.

61   Carl F. Wuras, *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache* [1858], ed. Walther Bourquin (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*: Suppl. 1) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Hamburg: C. Boysen, 1920).

62   Lloyd's original notebooks on ' Kora' form part of the L.F. Maingard collection housed in the Manuscripts Collection in Archival and Special Collections at the Unisa Library in Pretoria. They have been digitised by the Centre for Curating the Archive (University of Cape Town) and now form part of *The Digital Bleek and Lloyd* at (http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za), where the relevant notebooks are labelled MP1–4.

63   Benjamin Kats, "*Korana-Erzählungen*."

THE LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF KORA

This chapter[1] begins with an overview of the Khoisan languages, and describes the three or four main families that make up the loose collectivity of Southern African Khoisan languages. It concludes with short accounts of various conjectured relations between languages of the KHOE family and certain languages of northern or eastern Africa, as well as with other languages of the southern region, including other Khoisan languages.

1.1 Divisions and distributions of the Khoisan languages – a general overview

As we have noted, the term Khoisan[2] is used by linguists today purely as a blanket term for the non-BANTU (and non-CUSHITIC) 'click languages' of Africa, and does not imply the existence of familial relationships between the member groups. Some scholars include two isolate click languages of Tanzania (Hadza and Sandawe) within the scope of a so-called Macro-Khoisan, although there is little evidence to suggest that these two languages are related even to each other, let alone to any of the southern African languages.

The Khoisan languages of southern Africa are divided by most linguists into three or four separate families.[3] The largest of these is the KHOE family, which includes not only the various Khoekhoe KHOE varieties of Namibia and South Africa, but also the Kalahari KHOE languages of Angola, Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe, as shown in Figure 1.1. Divisions shown here for the Kalahari branch are based partly on those set out in Rainer Vossen's comprehensive study[4] of the family, and partly on recent work by Tom Güldemann.[5] They may not be complete or entirely correct, and it is not certain that they are as absolute as the diagram may suggest, particularly in the case of the still under-studied eastern languages. Ts'ixa, for example, has certain characteristics that make it seem intermediate between western and eastern Kalahari.[6] The placement of Kwadi, an extinct Angolan variety, is discussed elsewhere. Some varieties, including the latter, are now extinct.
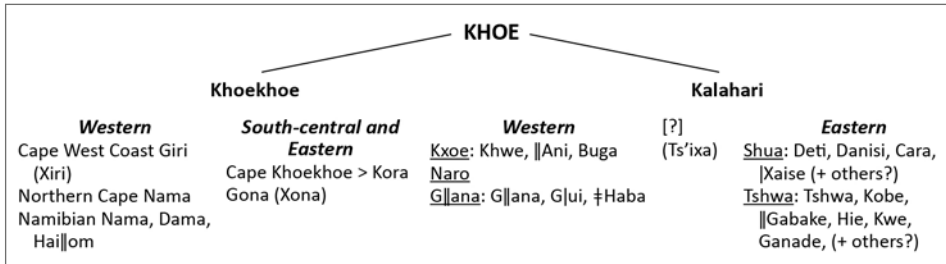
FIGURE 1.1   The KHOE family of languages. The diagram shows the five divisions of Kalahari KHOE based on Köhler (1971), Vossen (1997) and Fehn (2015).

The unity of the KHOE family is universally accepted by linguists, and barring a few minor sub-divisions that still need to be firmly established, the information set out in the diagram (Figure 1.1) can be treated as fact. This unity is manifested not simply in the use of typologically similar grammatical strategies by the various members of the family throughout its branches, but is much more significantly reflected in the use of *cognate* morphemes for the purpose. Examples include the verb extensions, the particles used to express tense, aspect and modality, and the postpositions. It has also been possible to project systematic reconstructions, on the basis of regular patterns of cross-varietal phonetic alternations, of more than a hundred lexical roots that would have been present in the vocabulary of the hypothetical ancestral language 'Proto-Khoe'. (The final section of this chapter will discuss various theories that propose more controversial relationships between the KHOE family and other languages on one hand, or possible substrate influences on early KHOE on the other.) The map (Figure 1.2) shows past and present distributions of the KHOE languages throughout southern Africa during the modern period of recorded history.

The term Khoekhoe is simply an abstract label used to identify a subset of the KHOE languages that have certain linguistic characteristics in common. It is *not* assigned to this branch on the basis of any perceived cultural identity of their speakers. It was at one time supposed that the languages that make up the Kalahari branch[7] of the KHOE family must be a separate class of 'Bushman' languages, on no other grounds than that their speakers were mainly hunter-gatherers. This was the reason for their unfortunate identification by Dorothea Bleek as 'Central Bushman',[8] even though the probable relationship between some of these languages and Khoekhoe languages such as Nama, had been pointed out on the basis of comparative data by Samuel Dornan as early as 1917.[9] From the 1960s onward, the relationship was repeatedly asserted by Oswin Köhler[10] and Ernst Westphal,[11] while further comparative evidence in support of the obvious connection was put forward by Maingard.[12] With Rainer Vossen's presentation[13] of a set of reconstructed roots for Proto-Khoe – following a previous set of postulations from Kenneth Baucom[14] – the matter was settled conclusively.

Since the KHOE family shows the greatest overall dialectal proliferation and diversity, it is probable that it is the oldest of the Khoisan language groups. While there is no reliable way of dating a language family in the absence of written records,

we can nevertheless form a (very) rough approximation using the evidence we have for other well-documented language families of a known age from other parts of the world, such as the Germanic family.[15] On this basis, the KHOE family looks as though it may be around 2 000 years old, although this is probably a generous estimate.

FIGURE 1.2   Distribution of languages belonging to the KHOE family, with their range indicated by the black line. Note that the distributions shown here conflate older and present-day data of the modern period. It should be kept in mind that the early clans, which were probably always fairly limited in size, were highly mobile, and seem to have covered a large range of territory over the course of different seasons. Within South Africa, the seasonal movements of the Khoi clans were facilitated by their possession of pack-oxen and the portability of their dwelling structures. The migrating bands of Khoi were frequently accompanied by small communities of !Ui-speaking San people.
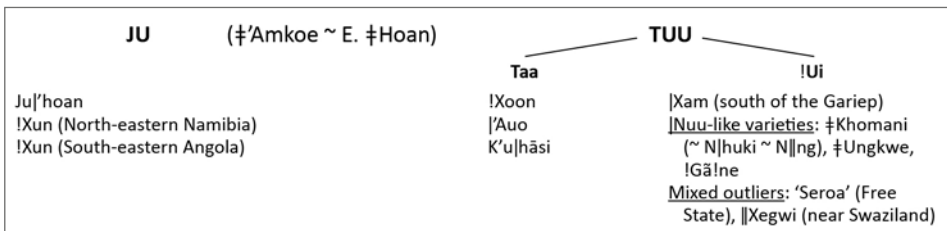
FIGURE 1.3   The JU and TUU (!Ui-Taa) groups of southern African Khoisan languages.

The other Khoisan language groups of southern Africa are shown in Figure 1.3. (Note that linguists disagree on the question of relationships between them.)[16] The list of dialects shown in the diagram is not exhaustive, and internal divisions of some groups are still debated. Several names are not strictly glossonyms (names for languages) but merely endogenous (own) or exogenous (others') names for speaker communities. Most of the Ui languages and several that belong to the Taa group are now extinct.

Khomani, which Westphal identified as N̄ huki, appears to have been closely related to if not identical with the varieties of Nǀuu (or Nǀng) that have been documented by scholars working over the past decade and a half, following the re-discovery of a few elderly speakers in the 1990s.[17]

The two groups identified as JU and TUU are in many ways quite different in terms of their morphology and syntax – yet they nevertheless have a few broad typological features in common, as will be outlined later below. The JU languages, which were given this name by Ernst Westphal,[18] were originally labelled 'Northern Bushman' by Dorothea Bleek, as a consequence of which some linguists still refer to the group as 'Northern Khoisan'. The ǃUi (or 'ǂKwi' in the original spelling) and Taa language groups were also assigned their names by Westphal, having been previously grouped together by Dorothea Bleek as 'Southern Bushman'. The alternative label TUU for the ǃUi-Taa or 'Southern Khoisan' group has been suggested by Tom Güldemann.[19] The map (Figure 1.4) gives an approximate indication of the rather limited distributions of the two families.

FIGURE 1.4   Distribution of languages belonging to the JU (Northern Khoisan) and Taa (Southern Khoisan) groups. Within these approximately delimited ranges, speakers tend to be found in small and dispersed villages, often close to water, and in among the settlements of other communities, so that the boundary lines should not be taken to indicate either exclusive or widespread distribution. The location of the few villages where speakers of ǂ'Amkoe may still be found is adjacent to and just slightly north-east of the Taa range. For various reasons, as discussed in the text, it is difficult to give an accurate picture of the former distribution of the ǃUi languages (also Southern Khoisan) of South Africa. (The dispersed places within South Africa where brief records were made during the 20th century probably reflected the last stages of movement on the part of very small surviving groups or even individuals.)

It is not easy to give an accurate picture of the former range of the South African ǃUi languages. The so-called 'Bushmen' of the Cape tended to live in small but

mobile bands, and may have covered an extensive territory as they moved after the changing vegetation of the different seasons, and the associated migrations of game animals. Their small groups were originally often closely associated with individual clans of the Khoi, whom they may have had no choice but to accompany on their migrations in quest of grazing and water for their herds in addition to veldkos and game.[20] They would have done so in much the same way as some of the serf classes in the Kalahari – including speakers of Kalahari KHOE varieties, Taa dialects, and the Sotho-Tswana-related language Kgalagadi – were formerly compelled to accompany their Tswana (and Kalanga) masters wherever they travelled with their livestock.[21] This social factor may have played a significant role in certain aspects of the region's dynamics, and was almost certainly more pertinent from a linguistic point of view than economic culture.[22] (Historical evidence concerning other societies and social strata throughout parts of older Africa tells us, for example, that such groups were sometimes required to modify aspects of their speech in order to show deference.)

It is also a matter of stark historical record that speakers of the ǃUi dialects were subjected to a ruthless targeting throughout much of the 18th and early 19th centuries, being hunted down and massacred in their hundreds by commando groups, particularly on the margins of the slowly but steadily expanding European settlement. This makes it likely that at least some varieties of ǃUi – which famously included the ǀXam language documented by Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd – would ultimately have perished along with their speakers, without ever having been documented. Nevertheless, the women and children were usually spared in these raids and taken instead to live on farms, where subsequent marriages to Khoekhoe-speaking (and by now also Dutch-speaking) farmworkers were not uncommon, and where ǃUi varieties were occasionally preserved in the context of the home. (Two of the speakers who worked with Bleek and Lloyd in the later part of the 19th century spoke Kora in addition to ǀXam.)[23]

A few surviving communities seem to have formed alliances with some of the remaining independent Khoi clans, while speakers of the Nǀuu dialects once found north of the Gariep appear to have moved still further north, into the Kalahari. Some of the latter people, then identified as ǂKhomani, were among the groups who were assembled at Bain's Camp in 1936 to coincide with the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg, where various linguists had the opportunity to work with them and obtain recordings of their language.[24] (When human rights advocates and linguists began working with the surviving ǂKhomani San in the late 1990s and early 2000s, they discovered that some of the people in the community were descendants of people who had attended this camp, with some of the eldest among them even remembering 'Mr Bain' and his lorries.)[25] The accumulated evidence from all of the varieties that survived long enough to be documented (even if only fragmentarily) suggests that the dialectal differences across the !Ui group were not extensive, while it is known that even the differences between the varieties spoken north and south of the Gariep were not so great as to prevent mutual intelligibility.[26]

Across the JU spectrum,[27] the various dialects may be grouped into three or four regional clusters,[28] with Ju 'hoan being the southernmost member, and the least differentiated.[29] While the dialects are all fairly closely related, this does not automatically mean that speakers of Ju 'hoan, for example, would readily or even at all understand someone speaking one of the dialects from northern Namibian (and north-western Botswana), or the southern Angolan dialects of Xun.[30]

A few linguists[31] believe that the previously unplaced language 'Amkoe, formerly known by the name of one of its dialects as Eastern Hoan,[32] is related to JU, and propose to call the unified grouping KX'A (or Ju- Hoan). The linkage is still open to debate, however, given the great typological disparity between 'Amkoe and the JU languages, where the extent of these differences makes it puzzling that a sub-component of the lexis should at the same time be so systematically and self-evidently similar to equivalent words in JU languages, while another sub-component should so closely resemble equivalent words in Taa varieties such as Xoon, to the extent of featuring bilabial clicks.

The JU and TUU families are each far less internally branched than the KHOE family, and so are in all probability considerably younger than the latter, at least if they are treated as two independent and unrelated groups – which is the approach currently taken by most Khoisanists.[33] It is a widespread popular and sometimes academic assumption that the JU and TUU (or Ui-Taa) groups must be 'ancient'. However, this is not plausible from a linguistic point of view, as just noted, and the idea seems to have its roots in little more than a belief in absolute cultural chronology, superimposed on a colonial fallacy – still prevalent, even today – of socio-economic or even biological essentialism.[34]

As far as the modern surviving Khoisan languages are concerned, it is difficult to form a reliable estimate of speaker numbers. Many speakers live in outlying rural villages far from major centres. Furthermore, many of these communities have a cross-border distribution, spanning two or more countries, where approaches to census-taking are not always uniform. The only relatively robust language is found in **Namibia**, where varieties of Namibian Khoekhoe (which includes dialects of Nama, Dama and Hai om) are estimated to be spoken today by as many as 200 000 people[35] (out of a total population of approximately 2.1 million).[36] Namibian Khoekhoe, which may be taken as a subject both at school and university level, is spoken across all generations, and is used in a wide variety of situations and contexts. Most speakers are bilingual, typically speaking also English or Afrikaans, if not both.[37] (Other Khoisan languages still spoken in Namibia (but sometimes also in neighbouring Botswana) include dialects of Xun and Ju 'hoan (JU family), and dialects of the Taa language Xoon (TUU family). It has been estimated[38] that the total number of people speaking JU dialects across Angola, Namibia and Botswana is around 16 000. Remaining speakers of Taa are believed to be about 2 600.)[39]

To the north of Namibia in south-eastern **Angola**, Khoisan languages once found included Khwe dialects belonging to the western division of the Kalahari KHOE languages (and found also in the Caprivi strip), as well as various Xun dialects

belonging to the JU family. (Just under 4 000 speakers of Xun were relocated to South Africa following the end of the liberation struggles in the region, along with speakers of Khwe dialects.)

Botswana is home to the majority of the Kalahari KHOE languages, in addition to some of the JU and TUU languages, as well as Eastern Hoan (now more often referred to as   'Amkoe), which has perhaps fewer than 30 speakers left.[40] The total number of people still speaking languages belonging to the Kalahari branch of KHOE is around 25 000, based on estimates given by Brenzinger[41] for the Khwe-Ani sub-group (8 000), Naro (10 000), Gana- Gui (2 500), and Shua and Tshwa taken together (4 100).

In the south-western part of **Zimbabwe**, there were in 2017 only eight elders from a small cluster of village-based Tjwa communities in the Tsholotsho district who still remembered a variety of eastern Kalahari, referred to by them as Tjwao.[42] (At the time of going to press, the dialect was still being documented, but it appears to belong to the Tshwa sub-group.) Most members of the Zimbabwean Tjwa communities now speak Ndebele and Kalanga.

Of the Khoisan languages once spoken in **South Africa**, the only one still moderately viable (though fragile) is Nama (Khoekhoe KHOE). Brenzinger reports[43] that the number of speakers remaining may now be less than 2 000, where almost all are older than fifty. Most members of the South African Nama communities in the Northern Cape now speak Afrikaans. As for the Khoekhoe language that we are concerned with in this book, namely Kora, there was in 2018 only one known partial speaker left, and virtually all the present-day descendants of the Korana people now speak Afrikaans, English, Sotho, or Tswana. (The last remaining member of the Ui group (TUU) is N uu, where the number of elders who speak it is dwindling with each year that passes, so that in 2017 there were only three left. Members of the Khomani San community for the most part now speak Nama and Afrikaans or Tswana. Although some speakers of Khwe dialects (Kalahari KHOE), as well as Xun (JU) dialects, have become resident in South Africa, the languages in question are not indigenous to the country.)

1.2   General characteristics of the JU and TUU families

As already mentioned, the Khoisan language families of southern Africa *other than* KHOE have several broad typological properties in common. Most notably, both the JU and TUU (Ui-Taa) groups have systems of noun-classification that are reflected in a set of multiple grammatical genders, where these are similar to those of most Niger-Congo languages. They do not make reference to any semantic category of natural gender such as masculine or feminine, but are based rather on properties such as animacy, edibility, utility, or shape. The Ui languages differ from those of the Taa and JU groups in having only two genders, as was first noted by Wilhelm Bleek.[44] (The Ui genders seem to be based on features primarily of animacy and

inanimacy.) The more complex gender system of Ju ʼhoan was established only in the late 1960s by Ernst Westphal and Jan Snyman,[45] and it was no doubt an awareness of the situation in the JU languages that motivated Tony Traill to search for and establish the equally complex gender system of the Xoon language (Taa group). The isolate Eastern Hoan (now more often referred to as ʼAmkoe) is reported to have no genders.

The genders in both families are not indexed by any overt morphology, but are mostly visible only in the selection of pronouns. Even so, languages of the Ui and Taa groups nevertheless make some limited use of gender-indexical noun suffixes, while both JU and TUU groups have varieties where a few nouns carry prefixes.[46] In the case of Taa, gender agreement is additionally reflected in concordial morphology that may attach to various parts of speech, including the verb, the relative pronoun,[47] and a morpheme that seems to be associated with the introduction of an additional, non-essential argument. Although some authors prefer to assign them numbers, the genders can be referred to most simply in terms of their paired singular-plural pronouns. It is notable – given that the JU and TUU groups are not generally thought to be related – that nouns assigned to the pronominal gender *ka/ka* in JU varieties frequently have counterparts (with an overall similarity in form and meaning) in the *ha/ha* gender of Xoon (which is a TUU language).

Languages of both the JU and TUU families also favour a verb-second sentence pattern, which places the verb after the subject and before any object, to give the pattern Subject-Verb-Object or SVO, although different orderings may occur in subordinate clauses. Languages belonging to both families use a few basic morphemes plus a range of verbal auxiliaries to express some types of negation as well as tense, aspect and modality, and to impart directional implications. Verbal compounds (or 'complex predicates') and verbs with grammaticalised extensions are found in both JU and TUU groups (and also in KHOE languages). While a few basic (or 'true') adjectives are found, most descriptive terms are either derived from nouns or else are verbal forms used in association with a relative construction, much as is the case also in the BANTU languages.

Another feature common to the languages of both groups is the use of suppletion. This means that an entirely different morpheme – not merely an inflected form – is introduced to complete certain parts of a paradigm. (In English, for example, we use 'went' to complete the past tense of 'go'.) This feature is perhaps most widely seen in languages of the JU family, where it may be manifested in the use of two different words to form the singular and plural forms of a given referring expression, as well as the use of different words to express the same predicate, depending on whether the subject is singular or plural, and whether the verb in question is used transitively.[48]

The syntax of the various JU languages has been thoroughly described in a number of works over the past few decades, as indicated by the notes above. The syntactic structures of the Ui and Taa languages, on the other hand, are only just beginning to be described in detail, and it is possible that further commonalities will be discovered as this work proceeds.

With regard to their phonetic inventories, languages of both the JU and TUU families reflect a greater range of contrastive vowel colourations than the KHOE languages – that is, in addition to the use of semantically significant nasalisation, which is a feature common to all Khoisan languages. The additional vowel qualities, which may also combine with one another, include pharyngealisation, breathy-voicing, and glottalisation, although the Ui languages seem to have featured only pharyngealisation.[49] One feature that distinguishes the TUU languages (and ʼAmkoe) from JU is the use of the bilabial click (ʘ), which typically occurs, however, in only a small set of words.

1.3   General characteristics of the KHOE family

The KHOE family is set sharply and quite unmistakeably apart from the JU and TUU families by its gender system. Much like the systems of Afroasiatic and Indo-European languages, the KHOE system divides nouns into categories that line up with the distinction between masculine and feminine in the case of animate referents. A third category is available for neutral or indeterminate reference. In languages of the Khoekhoe branch, these grammatical genders are overtly indexed by means of suffixes that mark the nouns as masculine or feminine.

It is often noted that the KHOE languages are also distinguished typologically by a general preference for a verb-final order (SOV) in the sentence, where the verb is placed after the subject (S) and any object (O). While this is true in principle, overall ordering of constituents in the KHOE languages is in reality highly flexible, and seems to be driven primarily by pragmatic considerations of focus and topic. As is typically the case in languages that place the verb after the subject and any object, the adpositions in KHOE languages pattern in a parallel way, and are placed after the noun. For this reason, they are frequently referred to as *post*positions (rather than prepositions).

1.3.1   The Kalahari and Khoekhoe branches of KHOE

The differences between the languages belonging to the Kalahari and Khoekhoe divisions of the KHOE family are not entirely well-defined.[50] One rather broad difference, though, is the greater overall diversity seen in the Kalahari branch. The *western sub-groups* constituted by varieties of Khwe,[51] Naro, and Gana[52] may differ from one another in various aspects of their morphology and syntax, particularly in the expression of tense and aspect. These western varieties differ in turn from *eastern sub-groups* such as varieties of Shua[53] and Tshwa in a number of respects, with the latter being distinguished among other things by the reduced number of clicks in their consonant inventories – and in particular the rarity of (post)alveolar (!) and palato-alveolar ( ) clicks in the eastern varieties – as well as some differences involving morphology.

The following are some of the further respects in which the Kalahari varieties differ from Khoekhoe:

- Most Kalahari languages do not make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive reference when using pronouns of the first and second persons (for example, to express 'we-all' versus 'just us, not you'). Such a distinction is, however, made in Khoekhoe languages.

- The Kalahari varieties tend to build absolute pronouns on a base such as *xa* or *ha* in western dialects, and *e* in eastern dialects, whereas Khoekhoe varieties use *'ãi (~ 'ĩ)*.

- Kalahari varieties frequently omit the suffixes that express grammatical gender, and reflect gender only indirectly through the dependent pronominal forms, typically when cross-reference is required.

- It is more common and sometimes the norm in Kalahari varieties for the masculine singular suffix to be expressed as *–m(i)* rather than the characteristic *–b(i*) of Khoekhoe languages.

- Some Kalahari varieties express the 3rd person masculine plural ('they [male]') by means of a sufffix such as *– u*, or in some varieties *–dzi* or *–re*, whereas Khoekhoe languages use *–ku*.

- Kalahari languages typically use a linker (sometimes termed a 'juncture') between the verb and certain inflectional elements,[54] as well as between two verbs in compound forms. Khoekhoe languages, on the other hand, do not reflect this feature, even in cognate items.

- A few of the postpositions used in Kalahari varieties differ slightly from those found in Khoekhoe languages.

- Some Kalahari varieties make use of a slightly greater range of (or else different) verb extensions.

- There are some differences in the morphemes used for negation in Kalahari varieties.

Interestingly, Kora has preserved a number of features that are absent from Nama, yet which occur in the Kalahari languages. Examples include the occurrence in Kora of an ejective affricate both as a phoneme and (in some dialects) as a click accompaniment,[55] a few aspects of its morphology, such as the use of an accompanitive verb extension - *xoa*, and various items of vocabulary. There is a sense in which Kora almost appears to be the 'missing link' between Kalahari and Khoekhoe varieties of KHOE.

1.3.2   The Khoekhoe branch of KHOE

The Namibian varieties of Khoekhoe include Nama, which is spoken in the south of Namibia, and various dialects spoken in the north of the country by the Damara people,[56] and the Hai om. The differences between the varieties are mainly phonetic

in character, although some minor differences in morphology and vocabulary are also found.[57]

The original South African varieties of Khoekhoe, as far as we have records of them, can be divided broadly into two groups, consisting of:

- a small or at least not greatly differentiated set of dialects with a distribution along the West Coast, starting perhaps near the Olifants River, and extending as far north as Namaqualand; and
- a more extensive set of dialects with a central and south-eastern distribution extending from Table Bay and Saldanha Bay into the interior of the country up to and along the Gariep as well as beyond the Vaal River; and also in a more easterly direction along the south coast, as far as the Kei River (if not beyond).

1.3.2.1   West Coast varieties of Khoekhoe (Giri, Nama)

The early West Coast varieties were spoken by communities such as the Chariguriqua (which may have meant the Little Guriqua), the Grigriqua (perhaps Garigurikua or Gurigurikua, later Griqua or Griekwa), and the Amaqua (Amaqua). These dialects seem to have had close affinities with the varieties of Nama spoken in the northern reaches of the West Coast (or Little Namaqualand), and in the southern parts of the country known today as Namibia (formerly Great Namaqualand). As the Dutch settlers at the Cape over the course of a century and a half claimed more and more of the Khoi herders' seasonal grazing veld, some of the clans from the West Coast began to change their migration patterns and moved further north, or even crossed the Gariep, while others moved inland. Various suggested migration routes are set out in map form in Gabriel Nienaber's comprehensive study of Khoi clan names.[58]

While occasional deadly outbreaks of smallpox at the Cape are known to have had a devastating impact on the vulnerable local populations, the Khoi were certainly not entirely wiped out by the disease. In some cases, small groups accepted employment on the farms of the slowly advancing settlers, for example as herders of livestock and wagon drivers, where they rapidly began to acquire Cape Dutch. Many others moved away from the shifting frontiers of the Cape, while from the early1800s onwards, some made the choice to settle permanently in the vicinity of mission stations, both in Namaqualand (in the far north-western sector of the Cape), and in the interior of South Africa. Here they typically became bilingual – learning to speak, read, and write Dutch (and in some cases, English), in addition to sustaining their own Khoekhoe variety, even if the latter was perhaps increasingly used only in the private setting of the home. Those Khoi of the West Coast who moved inland to mission stations such as Klaarwater (originally Ari amma,[59] but subsequently renamed Griquatown), co-existed with some of the Korana clans as well as people from diverse other communities.[60] Other mission stations of the interior included those of the Berlin Missionary Society at Bethany and Pniel.

In the remote and arid region of Namaqualand, the mission stations eventually became the centres around which a number of 'reserves' were formed (Richtersveld, Steinkopf, Leliefontein, Komaggas and Concordia). Although traditional matjieshuis structures could still occasionally be seen among conventional modern buildings as recently as the early 1990s, the Nama language by this time was in decline, having been widely replaced by Afrikaans.[61] Since the ending of apartheid, attempts have been made to regenerate the language by introducing it to children in pilot programmes at a few of the local schools, and at the time of writing, in 2016, plans were being announced to introduce the language more formally into the curriculum of schools in the region.

We have very few records for the older varieties of the West Coast, but it turns out that some members of the Links family interviewed by Lucy Lloyd in 1879 were Griqua rather than Korana. In particular, the small amount of material obtained from Siela (Cela) is recognisably different from Kora, and seems to represent a variety of Giri. While the speech of Piet Links featured a number of unmistakeable Kora characteristics, including the presence of the ejective affricate, there are various instances in the narratives he dictated where a western and Giri-like influence occasionally manifests itself, not only in the morphology and lexis, but also in the syntax. (It is conceivable that the members of his family would have considered him to speak Giri with a strong 'Korana accent'.)

By the 1920s and 1930s, there were few speakers of Giri left. The phonetician Douglas Beach who worked in the field at this time was able to provide only a short paragraph of general observations concerning phonetic characteristics of the Griqua variety,[62] although Carl Meinhof contributed a short illustrative vocabulary,[63] having obtained some limited information from two or three speakers who visited the mission station at Pniel where he was staying in 1928.

Perhaps the most lasting record of the dialects of the early clans of the West Coast and Northern Cape is to be found in local place names, such as Garies, Komaggas and Nababeep, to mention only a few. A number of sources have been suggested for the name Garies,[64] including *arib* 'ridge, long low mountain' (which has also been proposed as the origin of the name Gariep, since the river flows through steep rocky gorges at certain points along its course). It may simply arise, however, from *harib* 'town'. (Some of the elderly Nǀuu speakers among the ǂKhomani San, who have a high proportion of Khoekhoe words in their speech, initially gave the word *gǀari* as the specific name for Upington, but later revised its meaning to the more general 'town, city'.)[65] Various meanings have likewise been proposed for Komaggas, including 'olive-rich' (ǀ'ummaxas), while the name Nababeep is open to a number of interpretations, including one that involves an incorporation of *nabab* 'rhinoceros'.

Many more place names of the present day West Coast and Northern Cape are recognisably Khoekhoe, even though it is often difficult to work out what the exact forms of the originals were, or what their meanings would have been. It is known, at least, that many old names incorporate references to water, as Gabriel Nienaber

and P. E. Raper have pointed out,[66] where these may take the form of words meaning 'artery', 'stream', 'river', 'ford', 'bend', 'waterfall', 'inlet', 'confluence', 'mouth', 'pan', 'vlei', 'spring', or 'well'. The nomadic Khoi additionally distinguished and named various types of terrain, climatic region, and geological substrate – probably because of the different vegetation types and animals associated with them – while many more of their place names directly incorporate the names of plants or animals.[67] The Kareeberg Mountains may take their name, for example, from local *taaibos* or *Rhus* species (Nama *!areb*) – that is, if the name is not based on the word for 'ridge' mentioned above – while it is likely that original Khoekhoe names were the source of river names such as the Olifants and the Buffels.

1.3.2.2   Central and south-eastern varieties (Cape Khoekhoe > Kora, eastern Khoekhoe)

There is consensus among linguists[68] that the Khoi clans once based in the vicinity of Table Bay and surrounding areas, such as the Goringhaiqua, the Goringhaikona, the Gorachouqua, and possibly also the Cochoqua (or Saldanhars) of Van Riebeeck's journals, were the forebears of clans such as the Hoogstanders or High-standers (the Urimã 'ais or Uri 'aikua), the Korana (Ora 'ais), and the Smalwange or Narrow Cheeks people ('Oxokua). These are among the clans who were met with again in the 1770s, by observers such as the Swedish Hendrik Wikar, who mentions the Kouringais or 'High Kraal', noting that they were the 'first of the little Korakkoa',[69] and Robert Gordon, who was Dutch. Travellers like these last two encountered the dispersed clans not only in the interior and along the middle and upper stretches of the Gariep, but also beyond the Gariep and the Vaal.[70]

It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the original numbers of the Khoi at the Cape, since most of the clans seem to have visited Table Bay and the surrounding areas only at certain times of the year. In 1655, however, a party of the Company's hunters returned to the Dutch Fort with a report that they had come across a place where 'there are fully 1 000 huts put up'.[71] Van Riebeeck rode out to see this massed assembly of the Saldanhars (Cochoquas), and the incident was subsequently recorded as follows:

> Coming near and beyond the Redoubt Duynhoop, we found the country everywhere so full of cattle and sheep, as far as the wood, where our people lie, fully 3 mylen from this, and fully ½ myl broad, that we could hardly get along the road, and the cattle required to be constantly driven out of our way by the Hottentoos, otherwise it seemed impossible to get through; not only were the numbers of cattle impossible to be counted, but the same might be said of the number of herds of cattle; and it was just the same with the people, of whom we could see at one look around us, probably 5 000 or 6 000, young and old, for their curiosity to see was such that we were so enclosed by them, that we could scarcely see over them from horseback; there were also about 4 to 500 houses, rather large, and pitched in circles close to each other, within which the cattle are kept at night,

> the circles could scarcely be walked round in a half hour, and looked like regular camps. The Caepmans [Goringhaiquas] were also there with their houses and cattle.[72]

The direct link between the Cape Khoi, who regularly visited Table Bay, and the Korana, is attested in the first place by historical records, but is also confirmed by linguistic evidence, fragmentary and inevitably imprecise as this may be. A comprehensive list of the early records of Cape Khoekhoe has been compiled by Gabriel Nienaber,[73] whose indispensable reference work also contains a near exhaustive collation of comparative sources for each instance of an old Khoekhoe word encountered in the early documents, indexed by its Afrikaans translation equivalent. (Some of these sources are described in more detail in the following chapter.)

For the eastern varieties of Cape Khoekhoe, only a few brief records have come down to us from people who travelled during the late 18th century to the outer regions of the slowly expanding settlement, along both coasts and as far afield as the Gariep in the north and the Great Fish River in the east. These travellers include two Swedish naturalists – Anders Sparrman, who travelled in the Cape between 1772 and 1776, and Carl Peter Thunberg, who travelled independently of Sparrman, between 1772 and 1775. Both contributed valuable if fragmentary examples of the local languages,[74] while Sparrman's data included a list of words and phrases illustrating not only the variety spoken by the Houteniqua Khoi, but also an early example of Xhosa.[75] The German explorer Franz von Winkelmann managed to record a list of eastern Khoekhoe (and Xhosa) words in 1788–1789.[76] Sadly, though, no copy has ever been found of the catechism reported by Lichtenstein[77] to have been written in Gona and 'printed with his own hands, in the year 1806' by Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society's station at Bethelsdorp.

Ultimately, and much as in the case of the western clans, perhaps the most enduring aspect of the eastern Khoi legacy is to be found in local place names. The name for the Sneeuberg mountains, for example, translates the original Khoekhoe name recorded by Gordon on one of his maps as 'Noa Gore'[78] (perhaps ^{n} hoa xōdi, although it must be said that the Kora word for 'snow' was recorded only as either xoab or oab, while Xhosa has iliqhwa 'sleet', and Zulu has iqhwa 'ice, frost'). Many rivers, mountains and passes of the southern and south-eastern Cape preserve their original Khoekhoe names, at least in adapted versions such as Kariega, Gourits, Gamtoos, Kei, Keiskamma, Tsitsikamma, and Kareedouw, while many more bear the translated Dutch equivalents of their older names, such as the Vogel River, for which Gordon recorded the original name Kaniga (kx'anis 'bird'), and the Buffalo River (which on early maps often bore the alternative name Kouka or Kaugga, possibly from gaob 'wildebeest' rather than aob 'buffalo').

TABLE 1.1   Evidence that Cape Khoekhoe was closer to Kora than Nama, and formed part of a South-central and Eastern spectrum.

	Cape, Central and Eastern Khoekhoe			West Coast Khoekhoe	
English gloss	**Cape Khoekhoe**	**Kora**	**Eastern Khoekhoe**	**Giri (orig. West Coast)**	**Nama**
	[Wtsn, Svl]	[Mhf]	[Wmn, Spm]	[Mhf, Lld]	[H&E]
Vocabulary					
head	*biqua*	*bi 'ãb*	*biɣk'a* [Wmn]	*danab* [Lld]	*danas*
ear, leaf	*nouw*	*nãub(~ naub)*	*xn'aunka* [Wmn] *t'nunqua* [Spm]	*naub*	*gaes*
leopard	*choassouw*	xoasaob	koaeso [Wmn]	xoasoab	garub
meat	-	kx'ob	t'go [Spm]	*kanni* [Lld]	*ganni* (or *gan-i*)
dog	*tōō-tōō* [Svl] *likanäa**	(arib)	tu [Wmn] tu [Spm]	alib, arib	arib
bee	*oeop oi-* [Svl]	*uib*	*oi* [Spm]	-	*habub*
milk	*bīs*	*bīb*	*bi* [Wmn] *bi* [Spm]	*deib*	*daib*
cow	*hoos, ohos* [Svl]**	(*gomas*)	*kgos* [Wmn] *t'goös* [Spm]	*gomas*	*gomas*
Phonetics					
bird	*h'annéqua*	*kx'anis*	*xgani* [Wmn]	*k'anis*	*anis*
mouth	*kamqua*	*kx'amma*	*xgamm* [Wmn]	*ammi*	*ams*
house	*k'omma*	*kx'ommi*	*kooma* [Wmn]	*k'ummi*	*oms*
Morphology					
this	*he*	*hē*	*he* [Spm]	*hē*	*nē*
I (male)	*tiri*	*tire*	-	-	*tita*

*Note Sotho *lekanyane* **Note Sotho *poho*
The suffix –*b* (often heard as and spelled '–*p'*) is the masculine singular suffix. It has an allomorph –*mi*, which occurs after a word-final –*m*. Note that the masculine plural suffix is –*kua* (often spelled '–*qua*'). The suffix –*s* expresses the feminine singular. The ending of citation forms in –*a* by default is a typical feature of both Kora and Cape Khoekhoe. Note that spellings such as '*t*' or '*k*' in older sources were simply intended to suggest a click of some kind, or in some cases a sound that may have been simply ejective: they are not phonetically accurate.
Abbreviations: Wtsn = Witsen; Svl = Somerville; Mhf = Meinhof; Wmn = Winkelmann; Spm = Sparrman; Lld = Lloyd; H&E = Haacke and Eiseb.
All sources are explained with full references in Chapter 2.

When all of this early lexical evidence is collated and compared, it is clear that Kora was close to Cape Khoekhoe, and that it was far more so than Giri or Nama. As Maingard once put it, 'the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects […] in

possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words […] definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect'.[79] In addition, as Nienaber has noted, it is apparent that the *eastern* dialects 'have a close affinity with the extinct Cape and Kora forms, in contrast with Nama'.[80] Examples of the kinds of evidence that show the close relationship between Cape Khoekhoe, Kora and eastern Khoekhoe are provided in Figure 1.5.

As in the case of any other language, the entity we are referring to as Kora inevitably consisted of a number of different dialects.[81] Maingard[82] studied a few dialects still spoken in the 1930s that he believed were plausibly representative of the groupings identified by Wikar[83] in the late 18th century.[84] He found that various linguistic features seemed to corroborate Wikar's early division of the Korana, with certain characteristics of the western groups making them appear closer to Nama. (Another way of interpreting this data might be in terms of the dispersed groups of the former West Coast clans on one hand, and the clans of Table Bay and the interior on the other.) Jan Engelbrecht[85] in turn compared aspects of the Khoekhoe dialects spoken by the Lukas people and the Karoshebbers (or Karosdraers) on one hand, as against varieties spoken on the other by the Links, Kats,[86] and Kraalshoek people. He similarly concluded that the varieties spoken by the first group were closer to Nama.

The existence of what may have been a further minor dialect within Kora, not previously recognised as such but suggested by records made independently by Lichtenstein,[87] Burchell,[88] and Wuras,[89] has come to light during the course of the present study. The most salient feature of this variety was a more frequent use of –*m* as opposed to –*b* for the masculine singular suffix. These cases seem to have occurred in words that contained a nasalised vowel, and probably developed out of an assimilation involving the intrusive nasal segment that could appear after such a vowel in certain varieties of Kora, and the masculine suffix. (The same process was probably responsible for the variant form Tsuni goam sometimes seen for the name of the mythological being, Tsui gõab.) The original nasalisation of the vowel occasionally seems to have disappeared subsequently, as seen in some of the examples below.

TABLE 1.2   Dialectal variation where the masculine singular suffix –b is replaced by –m after a nasalised vowel.

	Meinhof	Wuras	Lichtenstein
eye	*mũb*	*mũmb*	*muhm*
thigh	*tĩb*	-	*tiim*
wild cat	*hõab*	*hoãm*	-
calf, steer	*nõab*	*noãm*	*t'ˡnom*
tooth	*ũb*	*um*	*t'ˡkuhm*
ear, leaf	*nãub*	*naũm*	*t'ˡnaum*

	Meinhof	Wuras	Lichtenstein
moon, month	*xãb*	*xam*	*t'²kaam*
hand, arm	*'õab*	-	*t'²koam*
hunger	*'ãb*	*am*	-
brother	*'ãb*	*kãm*	*t'²kaam*

The speech of our consultant Ouma Jacoba Maclear reflects a similar tendency, in her pronunciation, for example, of *ãb* 'grass' as *ãm*.

The remaining sections of this chapter will provide brief discussion of a range of theories and conjectures about relationships between the KHOE languages and various other African languages, beginning with an account of longstanding proposals for a connection between the KHOE languages (or in some cases just the Khoekhoe branch of the family) and one or another language or language family from further north or in the east of Africa.

1.4   Hypotheses concerning relationships between languages of the KHOE family and various other languages of Africa

1.4.1   Mooted relations between the KHOE languages and languages of northern or eastern Africa

Before he came to South Africa in 1855, Wilhelm Bleek had already presented his doctoral thesis[90] on 'sex-denoting languages', where he proposed a division of languages based on their use (or not) of gender systems where the noun classifications are aligned with the categories of natural gender. In terms of this framework, and drawing on the very scant sources then available for Nama, he proposed a connection between the Khoekhoe language Nama, and not only various languages such as Ancient Egyptian and Galla, that would be classified today as part of Afroasiatic, but also Indo-European languages, which at the time were referred to as Indo-Germanic. This idea, insofar as it suggested a connection between Nama (as the stand-in for Khoekhoe languages), and other languages of north-eastern Africa, was further developed by later scholars, and finally found its way (in a modified form, and minus the proposed link with Indo-European) into the Hamitic hypothesis of Meinhof, which appeared in 1912.[91]

A few years later, when Otto Dempwolff published his extensive study[92] in 1916 (which includes texts) of a newly-found click language of East Africa, Sandawe, he suggested that it too belonged to the supposed Hamitic group.[93] Dempwolff offered a short comparative list of words for Nama and Sandawe, where he claimed various similarities that strike us today as vague and semantically only tenuously connected. (There should hardly be any need to add that the mere presence of clicks in languages

that are otherwise utterly different, not to mention separated by a vast geographic distance, is not enough to 'prove' a relationship between those languages. It has recently been proposed by two linguists working independently of one another that, given the right combination of co-articulatory events, clicks have the potential to emerge,[94] while a recent case of click emergence in exactly the predicted environment has been documented.[95] In principle then, it is possible that clicks may have arisen separately on more than one occasion, in different parts of the continent.)

There is another click language spoken in the country now known as Tanzania, namely Hadza.[96] This isolate language does not appear, however, to have any connection either with the nearby Sandawe,[97] nor with any of the Khoisan languages of southern Africa. (The location of Sandawe and Hadza is shown in Figure 1.6.) As hardly needs stating, the mere fact that the language contains clicks is not enough to point to an actual relationship with any other languages that make use of similar sounds; while the fact that its speakers have (no doubt through force of social circumstance) largely preserved a form of the hunter-gatherer lifestyle once common to all humanity – not only throughout Africa but the entire world – is entirely irrelevant. Dorothea Bleek nevertheless included her own data for this language in her *Bushman Dictionary*, labelling it 'CIII' – where the implied linkage with so-called Central Bushman (in fact Kalahari KHOE) languages, such as Hie Tshware ('CI') and Naro ('CII') could not have been based on much more than the fact that all three languages have a gender system that includes categories of 'masculine' and 'feminine'.

The idea of a Tanzanian connection for languages belonging to the KHOE family of southern Africa remains alive, and has been revisited by Tom Güldemann, who has proposed in a succession of papers that Sandawe might be connected to the southern languages[98] via an intermediate higher-order grouping based on KHOE and the extinct Angolan variety Kwadi.[99] Güldemann suggests that the speakers of his mooted ancestral Khoe-Kwadi language were relatively recent immigrants, whose arrival nevertheless pre-dated that of any groups of people speaking BANTU languages,[100] and that it was this hypothetical group of people[101] – rather than merely the Khoi (or 'Khoekhoen'), as previously suggested by others – who were responsible for bringing the first sheep into the region.

Is the scenario of a north-eastern connection for the KHOE languages plausible? We will leave it to readers to make up their minds, but would point out that the linguistic evidence for a higher-level common ancestor (Khoe-Kwadi) is not compelling, since no-one has been able to present a systematic and comprehensive set of arrays showing regularly repeated phonetic correspondences across shared words with plausible semantic linkages, as opposed to merely a few isolated instances of similar-looking words. It is possible that Kwadi was simply a kind of auxiliary code or inner language, given that it was spoken only among themselves by a closed and very small circle of older men within a community whose members otherwise spoke an ordinary Kwanyama-like BANTU language known as Kwanyoka. There is similarly no conclusive linguistic evidence to support the idea of a familial connection between Sandawe and the KHOE languages.

FIGURE 1.5   The location of the Hadza and Sandawe languages in Tanzania, and of Kwadi in the south-west of Angola.

Finally, Güldemann hypothesises that contact with supposed substrates of pre-existing Khoisan languages belonging to the TUU and JU families, in the area of the Cape on one hand,[102] and the Kalahari on the other,[103] may have contributed to certain specific properties of the modern Khoekhoe and Kalahari varieties of KHOE.[104] Most recently he has begun collaborating with biologists in an attempt to confirm these theories of contact-induced cross-influence (diffusion) through genetic studies.

Is the scenario of local areal influence plausible? It is undeniably true that there must have been significant and sustained contact between speakers of KHOE languages, and speakers of other Khoisan languages in southern Africa. We have already noted, however, that the linguistic evidence does not support the idea of any great age for either of the JU or TUU language families, at least when they are considered separately as two distinct and unrelated entities, while the social circumstances mentioned earlier in this chapter would probably not have been conducive to a shift in the proposed direction. In the overwhelming majority of cases – where the few exceptions are languages of the Kalahari region – it is clear that the direction of any influence has been from KHOE sources into the other languages.[105] Our knowledge of the eastern Kalahari KHOE languages has expanded steadily over the past few years, while the present work in turn contributes to a better knowledge of the Khoekhoe KHOE spectrum. In light of what we know now, it has become increasingly doubtful that there are any properties of either Kalahari or Khoekhoe KHOE languages so strikingly anomalous as to warrant special explanation in terms of diffusion.

1.4.2   Relations between the KHOE languages and other Khoisan languages

As noted above, there has been an extensive influence of KHOE languages on other Khoisan languages of southern Africa. In addition to lexical borrowings, there has also in some cases been an uptake of morphology, and indeed it is rather astonishing to find that the Ju ʼhoan paradigms of tense and aspect share almost *all* their morphology with Khoekhoe. The JU languages also use some of the same verb extensions that have been reconstructed for Proto-Khoe, such as the accompanitive *- xoa. While this kind of structural borrowing is by no means unheard of, it is certainly less common than lexical borrowing.

In the case of the Ui-Taa (or TUU) languages, borrowings are sometimes localised and present in only one or two varieties, so that they probably reflect the relatively recent kinds of contact that occurred, for example, when surviving members of San groups were taken in by Khoi communities. In other cases, though, and more significantly, loanwords from a Khoekhoe source are so widely and systematically present throughout all the known varieties that the borrowing must have occurred at an early stage, prior to any dispersal of speakers and the dialectal diversification of the family.

While the presence of Khoekhoe loanwords in Xam has been noted in the past,[106] the pervasive presence of such loanwords throughout the Ui languages becomes even more apparent when the vocabulary of Kora and Cape Khoekhoe is taken into account. Indeed, most of the Khoekhoe loanwords in both Xam and N uu varieties appear to have come quite specifically from Kora rather than Giri or Nama, as is apparent from certain distinctive phonetic properties of the words in question. There is something about this overall picture of wholesale borrowing that seems a little unusual, and the topic might be a fruitful area of research for future scholars willing to investigate the subject from a fresh perspective of relative social status and power relations, rather than race.[107]

1.4.3   Relations between KHOE languages and local languages of the BANTU family

The apparent influence of Khoisan languages on the Nguni languages of South Africa has long been a topic of discussion, and was the subject of a detailed study by Meinhof,[108] who attributed not only the clicks but also certain other sounds in Xhosa (such as the ejective affricate) to a Khoekhoe source, since they are not the expected reflexes for Xhosa of the sounds reconstructed for Proto-Bantu.[109] Other authors have since explored the topic in detail, and it is generally now believed that the small set of post-alveolar clicks found in Sotho were probably derived secondarily from one of the Nguni languages, rather than directly from a Khoisan source. The dental clicks found in the *tekela* Nguni language Swati may also have been obtained indirectly.[110] An additional feature of the Nguni languages nowadays often attributed to the

influence of Khoisan languages is the phenomenon of tonal depression, where an expected High tone surfaces as Low when it occurs after a 'depressor consonant', which is typically breathy-voiced. (The details and mechanisms of this borrowing are not generally spelled out, while the specifically responsible Khoisan languages are never identified.)[111]

There are many respects in which the general scenario of Khoisan influence on the Nguni languages is ultimately unsatisfactory. It is problematic, for one thing, that words featuring the initial ejective affricate **kx'** in Xhosa and Zulu – where it is usually represented by the letters '*kr*' (Xhosa) or '*kl*' (Zulu) – are only rarely found to have plausible sources in semantically equivalent lexis of any Khoisan language, whereas they often have clear affines in languages of the Sotho-Tswana group. (The sound itself certainly occurs in many Khoisan languages, including Kora.)

Apart from the lack of strong evidence for any widespread and sustained borrowing from Khoisan languages into the Nguni languages, there are indications that there must have been some influence in the *reverse* direction. There are numerous click words in the Nguni languages, for example, that have long been known to be intrinsically BANTU, in the sense that they have obvious non-click cognates in other related languages, and can be mapped from Proto-Bantu. What is surprising is that a number of these essentially 'BANTU words with clicks' are also found in Khoisan languages. An example is provided by a word meaning 'shake, agitate', which comes to be used for 'churn (butter)', and which is reconstructed for Proto-BANTU as *-kʊ́p(ʊd)- 'shake off, spill'. While this root has regular reflexes in several BANTU languages, a click form of it turns up in Zulu as –g ̇uɓuza.[112] What is more, this click form of the word also occurs throughout the KHOE languages – so widely and systematically that it was possible for Rainer Vossen to reconstruct it for the ancestral language, as *˜ubu for Proto-Khoe and the Khoekhoe branch, and as *˜nubu (*˜ɢubu) for the Kalahari branch. (The word has also been borrowed into other Khoisan languages.)

Another topic that might repay further investigation is a set of ambivalences associated with the palato-alveolar clicks represented by the symbol . For one thing, it has long been noted that these clicks with their diverse accompaniments alternate to varying degrees with affricated non-click equivalents in various languages of the eastern sub-groups of Kalahari KHOE.[113] The prevailing view is that these patterns reflect a process of gradual *click loss* in the eastern varieties,[114] and this is one of the assumptions underpinning the reconstructions proposed for the KHOE family by Vossen. It is less often appreciated that the non-click forms of these words in many cases bear a striking resemblance to semantically linked counterparts in various BANTU languages, particularly those belonging to the Sotho-Tswana group, where the Sotho-Tswana equivalents can be mapped unproblematically from Proto-Bantu, and where the various affrications (the result of palatalising and alveolarising processes) are associated with the well-known influence of the Class 5 prefix.[115]

On a different note, it was observed by Walther Bourquin[116] that, where it is possible to find click words with a shared occurrence in both a Khoekhoe language

and one of the Nguni languages, the palato-alveolar clicks ( ) of the Khoekhoe languages are in some instances represented in the Nguni language by a dental click ( ), but in other instances by a (post)alveolar click ( ). An initial consideration of the Kora data suggests that this phenomenon might not be entirely random, since there are some cases within Kora where dental and palato-alveolar clicks occur as variants of one another (~), while there are other cases where (post)alveolar and palato-alveolar clicks (~) appear as alternates. It would be worth investigating whether there is any kind of patterned correlation between these two internal sets and the distributions noted by Bourquin.[117]

A number of BANTU languages spoken in the Okavango region also contain click words, although (except in the case of Yeyi) this is generally on a smaller scale than occurs in the Nguni languages, most often involving fewer than a hundred words, where only one click is used, typically with only a limited range of elaborations. These cases will not be discussed here, partly because they do not directly involve Kora, and partly because the local dynamics of their emergence may have been slightly different.[118]

1.4.4   Relations between the KHOE languages and varieties of Afrikaans

In recent years, there has been a small surge of academic interest in the possible impact of Khoisan languages on the emergence of varieties of Afrikaans from Cape Dutch, beyond the obvious contribution of a few loanwords and expressions, such as *abba* 'carry baby on back' and *kamma kamma* 'seemingly, in a make-believe manner' (which are of the same order as various loanwords from Malay, such as *piesang* 'banana' and *baadjie* 'jacket'). While the pioneering Dutch scholar Hans den Besten considered it likely that some process of early pidginisation and creolisation at the Cape would have played a part,[119] and that local Khoekhoe dialects may have contributed an actual structural influence, other scholars have doubted that there is strong (if any) evidence for either the creolisation or any associated structural influences.[120] Current research accordingly focuses on identifying features that may have arisen in some varieties from ordinary scenarios of contact or second language influence. This is an intriguing area of ongoing investigation, and it may benefit researchers to include a consideration of the Kora material in future studies, given the continuity between Cape Khoekhoe and Kora, and the once widespread distribution of the language throughout much of central South Africa.

Endnotes

1   Thanks to Camilla Christie for her patient and careful reading of a draft version of this chapter, and for her numerous and invaluable suggestions on how to make it more readable and accessible.

2   The juxtaposition of KHOE and San in the form of the term spelled 'Khoesan' is unfortunate, since the two terms can be interpreted – in a *linguistic* context – as

expressing quite different categorial levels. It helps to remember that the term Khoisan was introduced by the German zoologist and anthropologist Leonhard Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentoten und Buschmänner* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1928) as a way of referring collectively to all *people* in southern Africa who spoke non-Bantu click languages, regardless of whether the communities in question were perceived to be notionally Khoi or San. In reality, there is no such thing as a 'San language': the term San simply describes communities whose original economies were not based on agriculture or the herding of livestock. There is also no such thing as a unitary or monolithic 'Khoi language', and the term KHOE is used as the name for a distinct and large *family of related languages* – many of which are spoken by communities who were at one time hunter-gatherers.

3   For general overviews of the Khoisan languages, see Rainer Vossen, ed., *The Khoesan Languages* (Milton Park Oxon: Routledge, 2013); and Tom Güldemann "'Khoisan' linguistic classification today" in *Beyond 'Khoisan': Historical relations in the Kalahari Basin*, ed. Tom Güldemann and Anne-Maria Fehn (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014), 1–68.

4   Rainer Vossen, *Die Khoe-Sprachen: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Sprachgeschichte Afrikas* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1997).

5   Güldemann, "'Khoisan' linguistic classification today."

6   Anne-Maria Fehn, "A Grammar of Ts'ixa (Kalahari Khoe)" (Cologne: Cologne University PhD thesis, 2014), 11.

7   Vossen initially labelled the languages of this branch 'non-Khoekhoe Khoe', but later abandoned the negative term in favour of 'Kalahari Khoe'. Ernst O. J. Westphal's earlier term 'Tshu-Khwe' for the Kalahari varieties is no longer used. The term 'Central Bushman' was later revised to 'Central Khoisan', and a few linguists now use the latter as a name for the whole of the KHOE family, even though the implication of a geographically limited distribution for the group is misleading, given that there are hundreds if not thousands of place names throughout much of South Africa as well as parts of Namibia and Botswana that reflect one or another of these languages as their source.

8   Dorothea Bleek, "The distribution of Bushman languages in South Africa" in *Festschrift Meinhof* (Hamburg: Augustin, 1927), 55–64.

9   Samuel Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their language" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 47 (1917), 56–60.

10 See for example Oswin Köhler, "Observations on the Central Khoisan Language group" *Journal of African Languages* 2, no. 3 (1963), 227–34; "Die Khoe-sprachigen Buschmänner der Kalahari" in *Forschungen zur allegemeinen und regionalen Geographie*, Festschrift fur Kurt Kayser (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1971), 373–411.

11 Ernst Westphal, "The linguistic prehistory of southern Africa: Bush, Kwadi, Hottentot and Bantu linguistic relationships" *Africa* 33 (1963), 237–265; and "The click languages of southern and eastern Africa" in *Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa* (*Current Trends in Linguistics* 7), ed. T. A. Sebeok (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1971), 367–420.

12 Louis Maingard, "A comparative study of Naron, Hietshware and Korana" *African Studies* 22, no. 3 (1963), 97–108.

13 Vossen, *Die Khoe-Sprachen,* 515–536.

14 K. L. Baucom, "Proto-Central Khoisan," in *The Third Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. E. Voeltz (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1974), 3–37.

15   In broad terms, language families with more branches and a greater diversity of dialectal proliferation within individual languages can reasonably be assumed to be older than those with only a limited degree of diversification. There is, however, no fixed rate of change that we know of, which means that it is difficult to assign an absolute age to any language family that has no records. It may again be necessary to emphasise what should be an obvious point, namely that the age of languages generally cannot – in the absence of directly correlatable language records – be established by recourse to genetics, archaeology, or anthropology.

16   The relatedness of languages is decided in the first place by evidence of thoroughgoing typological affinities with associated co-patternings of morphology; and in the second place by arrays of systematically repeating correspondences between phonetic segments in semantically equivalent words, where such correspondences do not necessarily involve identical or even similar segments. Isolated occurrences of very similar words (that is, mere 'look-alikes') are likely to be either accidental or the result of borrowing.

17   Nigel Crawhall, "The rediscovery of N u and the Khomani land claim process, South Africa" in *Maintaining the Links: Language, Identity and the Land: Proceedings of the Seventh Foundation for Endangered Languages Conference*, ed. Joe Blythe and R. McKenna Brown (Bristol: Foundation for Endangered Languages, 2003), 13–19.

18   Westphal, "The click languages of southern and eastern Africa" in *Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa* (*Current Trends in Linguistics* 7), ed. T. A. Sebeok (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1971), 367–420. Westphal's choice of names was based on the most commonly used word for 'person' in each of the groups.

19   Güldemann has proposed the name TUU for the group previously labelled 'Southern Bushman' by Dorothea Bleek and ' Kwi-Taa' by Westphal. See Güldemann, *Studies in Tuu (Southern Khoisan)* (*University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, Languages and Literatures* 23), (Leipzig: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig, 2004). The most famous study of a Taa language is Anthony Traill's *Phonetic and Phonological Studies of XOO Bushman* (Research in Khoisan Studies 1) (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1985). The language was previously described very briefly (with provision of a few example texts) by Maingard, in "Three Bushman languages: Part II: The third Bushman language" *African Studies* 17, no. 2 (1958), 100–115. For a recent re-examination of extinct varieties of Taa, see Güldemann, "The Lower Nossob varieties of Tuu: Ui, Taa or neither?" in *Beyond 'Khoisan'*, ed. Güldemann and Fehn, 257–282; and Christfried Naumann, "Towards a genealogical classification of Taa dialects," in *Beyond 'Khoisan'*, ed. Güldemann and Fehn, 283–301. For a study of the lately re-discovered Ui language Nuu (also known as N uuki, Khomani and N ng), see Chris Collins and Levi Namaseb, *A Grammatical Sketch of N uuki with Stories* (Research in Khoisan Studies 25) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2011). The term 'Seroa' (cognate with Isithwa or Kitwa) is simply a generic and probably disparaging term for a language spoken by any community identified by others as 'Thwa'. The Free State Seroa described by Thomas Arbousset seems to have been highly mixed (see Menán du Plessis, "Notes on Qing's own language" in John Wright and others, *On the Trail of Qing and Orpen* (Johannesburg: Standard Bank, 2016), 103–121. The separate variety identified by one of the names for its speakers as Xegwi was a remote eastern outlier (with a basically N uu-like profile), and reflected loanwords from multiple sources, as noted by L. W. Lanham and D. P. Hallowes, "Linguistic relationships and contacts expressed in the vocabulary of Eastern Bushman" *African Studies* 15, no. 1 (1956), 45–48.

20   Simon van der Stel recorded in 1685 that 'we found upon inquiry and other information, that the Sonquas are like our poor in Europe, every tribe of Hottentots has some of them, and they are employed to give warning when they discover any strange tribe. They do not plunder anything whatever from the kraals in whose service they are.' (*The Record*, ed. and transl. Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A. S. Robertson, 1838), 402). Wikar gave us an incidental comment that indicates a similar relationship, when he observed: 'These Husingais are at enmity with the Kouringais, although these two tribes form one people, namely, the Little Korakkoa. But the Bushmen belonging to the Kouringais had stolen cattle from the Husingais, and it seemed as if the Kouringais were going to champion their Bushmen.' (*The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 170–171). Elsewhere (p. 161), Wikar noted that 'There was a large Bushman kraal here; they were the Gyzikoas' Bushmen, for every tribe that owns cattle also has a number of Bushmen under its protection: these Bushmen spoke the Finch or Chinese ['Snese'] language just like the Bushmen of the Sneeuwberg.' In an appendix to his report (p. 205), Wikar added that a certain 'nation', referred to by the Khoi as 'T'kaboek', 'are poor, and keep in the scrub and wilderness (and are therefore known to the inhabitants by the name Bosjesmans). Of these there are some who dwell amongst the [Khoi] and are employed in all kinds of service by the latter, especially as hirelings in time of war. These commonly remain attached to the nation amongst which they have gone to live.' Some groups of Ui-speakers in the south-eastern parts of the country seem to have fallen under the more or less benevolent patronage of other communities, including Khoi clans, but also the Phuthi and the Mpondomise.

21   Kemmonye Monaka and Patricia Lepekoane, "How the Xóõ became the Balala: Socio-economic and linguistic factors considered," in *Khoisan Languages and Linguistics: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium*, Riezlern, 2006, ed. Sonia Ermisch (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2008), 268.

22   The general Tswana term 'Sarwa' formerly applied to these linguistically diverse communities probably meant 'captive' (from the root –*bata* 'seize' with palatalisation of the initial consonant, and passive extension). While those who were captured were no doubt often the original inhabitants of a territory, it is not out of the question that some already long subjugated groups were brought into the region from elsewhere, or that people from different backgrounds would sometimes have been thrust together. The rights of subjugated communities to own property, including livestock, would have been curtailed, as would their freedom of movement and their capacity to 'marry out'. (This last factor may have had some impact on the genetic profile of the communities in question.) See William Burchell (*Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 544) on the restrictions placed on a sub-group of poor Tlhaping; and Willem van Reenen on similar restrictions reported by the Berg Damara to have been imposed on them by the Nama people (*The Journals of Jacobus Coetsé Jansz (1760), and Willem van Reenen (1791)*, ed. and transl. E. E. Moodie (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 315).

23   These speakers were Adam Kleinhardt, and Asin (also known as Klaas Katkop).

24   See papers by Clement Doke, Dorothea Bleek, and Louis Maingard, in *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari,* ed. J. D. Rheinallt Jones and C. M. Doke (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1937).

25   Crawhall, "The rediscovery of N u and the Khomani land claim process."

26   As reported by Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806,* vol. 2, transl. Anne Plumptre (London: Henry Colburn, 1815), 219.

27   For studies of Ju 'hoan, see Jan Snyman, *An Introduction to the Xũ (Kung) Language* (Communication 34 of the University of Cape Town School of African Studies, Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1970); and Patrick Dickens, *A Concise Grammar of Ju 'hoan* (Research in Khoisan Studies17) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2005). For recent studies of Xun dialects, see Bernd Heine and Christa König, *The Xun Language: A Dialect Grammar of Northern Khoisan* (Research in Khoisan Studies 33) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2015); and chapters by the same authors in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen.

28   Bonny Sands, "Borrowing and diffusion as a source of lexical similarities in Khoesan" in *Khoisan: Syntax, Phonetics, Phonology, and Contact*, ed. A. Bell and P. Washburn (Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics 18) (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 2001), 200–224.

29   Snyman, "A preliminary classification of the Xũũ and Žu 'hõasi dialects" in *Namibian Languages: Reports and Papers*, ed. Wilfrid H. G. Haacke and Edward E. Elderkin (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1997), 21–106.

30   The use of the letter 'n' in names such as Ju 'hoan, Xun, Hoan, and Xoon is an orthographic convention used in some of the Khoisan languages to indicate nasalisation of the preceding vowel or vowel sequence. The Khoekhoe dialects of Namibia use a different convention, indicating nasalisation by means of a circumflex (â).

31   Bernd Heine and Henry Honken, "The Kx'a Family: a new Khoisan genealogy" *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 79 (2010), 5–36.

32   Eastern Hoan (or 'Amkoe) was first recognised as a separate language by Tony Traill, who introduced it in "'N4' or 'S7': Another Bushman language" *African Studies* 32, no. 1 (1973), 25–32, where the title reflected the ambiguity of the language's affinities with the groups previously identified by Dorothea Bleek as S(outhern) and N(orthern) Bushman. For studies of the language see Chris Collins and Jeff Gruber, *A Grammar of Hòã with Vocabulary, Recorded Utterances and Oral Texts* (Research in Khoisan Studies 32) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2014); and Linda Gerlach, "Phonetic and phonological description of the N aqriaxe variety of 'Amkoe and the impact of language contact" (Berlin: Humboldt University PhD thesis, 2015).

33   That the last two groups must each be younger than KHOE is additionally suggested by the fact that both contain a significant proportion of loanwords from KHOE languages, where these are systematically distributed throughout all their members and so must have been acquired from already existing (and presumably dominant) KHOE languages *before* their own break-up into different varieties. Of course, if the two families (JU and TUU) were to be treated as sisters descended from a single common parent, then it would be reasonable to assume a greater age for them. The two groups certainly share some typological features, and even have in common various similar grammatical elements, where these occur systematically throughout certain paradigms.

34   It has become something of a trend in recent years for writers in the popular press and social media to cite genetic studies suggesting that Khoisan populations have roots going back 20 000 or 40 000 or even 100 000 years! Even where such studies are based on sound initial assumptions (which is not always the case), and even where this research may have some limited validity as far as biological populations are concerned (which is unlikely to be the case until we have adequate and exhaustive sampling from communities throughout Africa), we really cannot infer parallel ages for any of the languages involved, since languages are of course not transmitted genetically, while it is also highly unlikely

that language families can persist for such immense spans of time, or if they could in principle, that they would preserve any recognisable continuity of identity, given that all living languages are inexorably subject to change over time.

35   Matthias Brenzinger, "The twelve modern Khoisan languages" in *Khoisan Languages and Linguistics: Proceedings of the 3ʳᵈ International Symposium, Riezlern* (Research in Khoisan Studies 29), ed. Alena Witzlack-Makarevich and Martina Ernszt (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2013), 16.

36   Page 'Population' on the official website of the Government of Namibia (http://www.gov.na/population). Consulted December 2016.

37   Niklaas Fredericks, personal communication, September 2014.

38   Brenzinger, "The twelve modern Khoisan languages," 10.

39   Brenzinger, "The twelve modern Khoisan languages," 13.

40   Brenzinger, "The twelve modern Khoisan languages," 13.

41   Brenzinger, "The twelve modern Khoisan languages."

42   Davy Ndlovu, "The San cultural way of life and the crisis of saving a dying language" *Panorama Magazine* (2014).

43   Brenzinger, "The twelve modern Khoisan languages," 16.

44   See "The 'Resurrection of the Ostrich': part of the preceding tale parsed by Dr Bleek" in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, ed. Wilhelm. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd (London: George Allen & Co, 1911), 147.

45   Snyman, *Introduction to the Xũ (Kung) language*, 82.

46   It is likely that all of these languages were formerly prefixing, as Tony Traill suggested in connection with Xoon (*Phonetic and Phonological Studies of Xõo Bushman*, 13).

47   Anthony Traill, *A !Xóõ Dictionary* (Research in Khoisan Studies 9) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1994).

48   The verbal agreements in JU follow an alignment pattern that might be termed ergative, as noted by Bernd Heine and Christa König, *The Xun Language: A Dialect Grammar of Northern Khoisan* (Research in Khoisan Studies 33) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2015), 62–63.

49   In recently introduced orthographic conventions for these languages, the vowel colourations are typically indicated by means of letters written after the vowels, with 'q' for example chosen to indicate pharyngealisation (*aq*), and 'h' to indicate breathiness (*ah*). The feature of glottalisation is indicated by an apostrophe (*a'a*).

50   It may even be questioned whether there is any innovation that clearly marks a formal node of branching. See Wilfrid Haacke, "Crossing the linguistic divide between Namibian Khoekhoe and Kalahari Khoe: possible directions for future research" *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 20 (2009), 113–126.

51   For recent studies of Khwe, see Christa Kilian-Hatz, *A Grammar of Modern Khwe (Central Khoisan)* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2008), and relevant chapters by the same author in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen. Earlier studies were contributed by Oswin Köhler as part of his series of volumes, *Die Welt der Kxoe-Buschleute im Südlichen Afrika* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1989–1996).

52   For recent studies of G ana-G ui see Hirosi Nakagawa, "Aspects of the Phonetic and Phonological Structure of the G ui language," (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand PhD thesis, 2006), and relevant chapters by the same author in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen.

53   For recent studies of the relatively little-known Eastern varieties in the Shua and Tshwa sub-groups, see Fehn, "A Grammar of Ts'ixa (Kalahari Khoe)" (Cologne: Cologne University PhD thesis, 2014); Admire Phiri, "Tshwao Phoneme Inventory: A Descriptive Account" (Harare: University of Zimbabwe MA thesis, 2015); relevant chapters by Rainer Vossen in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen; and Timothy Mathes, "Consonant-tone interaction in the Khoisan language Tsua" (New York: New York University PhD Thesis, 2015).

54   In particular, these elements are the verb-like markers of tense or aspect, and valency-changing morphemes.

55   The term 'accompaniment' will be discussed in the chapter on the sounds of Kora.

56   The people once known as the Cattle Damara spoke a variety of Herero, as was documented and well-known to the educated public in the 19th century, whereas the Berg Damara spoke a dialect of Khoekhoe.

57   See Heinrich Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen and Co., 1923), and Wilfrid H. G. Haacke, Eliphas Eiseb and Levi Namaseb, "Internal and external relations of Khoekhoe dialects: a preliminary survey" in *Namibian Languages: Reports and Papers*, ed. Wilfrid Haacke and Edward E. Elderkin (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1997), 125–209.

58   Gabriel Nienaber, *Khoekhoense Stamname: 'n Voorlopige Verkenning* (Pretoria, Cape Town: Academica, 1989), xxiv, xxvi, xxxviii.

59   Jan Engelbrecht explained in *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936, 32) that this name should not be confused with Xati amma (or 'White water'), which was the original Khoekhoe name for Witwater, near Griquatown.

60   William Burchell noted in 1811 that the Sunday service at Klaarwater (Griquatown) was 'interpreted in the Hottentot language for the benefit of those who do not sufficiently understand Dutch, but these hearers constitute a very small portion of the congregation' (*Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1822), 357).

61   Emile Boonzaier and others, *The Cape Herders* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996), 133.

62   Douglas Beach, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938), 326.

63   Carl Meinhof, *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Supplement 12 to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*) (Berlin: Reimer, 1930), 145–152.

64   Gabriel Nienaber and P. E. Raper, *Toponymica Hottentotica*, vol. A*, 384–385.

65   Bonny Sands, Amanda Miller, Johanna Brugman, Levi Namaseb, Chris Collins and Mats Exter, "1400 item N uu dictionary manuscript" (in preparation).

66   Nienaber and Raper, *Toponymica Hottentotica*, 58–62.

67   Nienaber and Raper, *Toponymica Hottentotica*, 67–90.

68   For exhaustive discussion of this point as well as a comprehensive set of references, see Nienaber, *Khoekhoense Stamname*, 10–52.

69   Mossop, ed., *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, 164–165.

70   The name of the Vaal comes from the Dutch translation of the original Khoekhoe name Hai Garib, which means 'Pale River' (or 'Yellow River'), by way of contrast with the Nū Garib, or 'Black River'.

71   Donald Moodie, ed. *The Record* (Cape Town: A. S. Robertson, 1838), 76.

72   Moodie, *The Record*.

73   Nienaber, *Hottentots* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1963), 162–163.

74   Vernon S. Forbes ed., *Carl Peter Thunberg: Travels at the Cape of Good Hope 1772–1775* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1986), 232–235; Andrew Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. 2 (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1785), 349–352.

75   Sparrman gave a further dozen words in the same appendix, which he described as a 'specimen of the language of the Snese, or Chinese-Hottentots'.

76   Nienaber, "'n Ou ongepubliseerde lys Hottentot- en Xhosawoorde," *African Studies* 19, no. 3 (1960), 157–169.

77   Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806,* transl. Anne Plumptre (London: Henry Colburn, 1815), vol. 2, Appendix I, fn.

78   The name is shown on one of the maps redrawn from Gordon's original maps by Vernon Forbes in his *Pioneer Travellers in South Afric*a (Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1965), Map 15.

79   Maingard, "Studies in Korana history, customs and language," 111.

80   Nienaber, "'n Ou ongepubliseerde lys Hottentot- en Xhosawoorde," 157.

81   It is a popular misconception that languages have a 'proper' form which is the language per se – such as 'the Queen's English', for example – and that all other varieties are 'dialects' (in the sense of derivative and lesser versions) of it. Linguists do not approach languages in this way, but see any given language as being constituted by a spectrum of dialects, where some may have greater status than others for social and historical reasons.

82   Maingard, "The Korana dialects."

83   Mossop, ed., *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*.

84   For dialects of the Lower Gariep from Upington to Kakamas, Maingard chose consultants from the Smalwange and Karosdraers at Upington. For data illustrating the eastern group of the old Transvaal-Orange Free State, he found elderly consultants from Bloemfontein, Edenburg, and Reddersburg, whose dialect was that of the Regshandse or Right-hand people (Kx'am õakua). It was in the course of his fieldwork for this project that Maingard for the first time heard the ejective affricate click accompaniment typical of eastern Kora.

85   Engelbrecht, *The Korana*, 197–202.

86   Engelbrecht followed his consultants in making a distinction between the Kat people (Hõana) and the Katse (Hõa 'ãis). The difference does not seem to be material.

87   Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, transl. Anne Plumptre (London: Henry Colburn, 1815), vol. 2, Appendix 1.

88   Burchell, *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 2, 251–255.

89   Carl F. Wuras, *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache* [1858], ed. Walther Bourquin (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*: Suppl. 1) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Hamburg: C. Boysen, 1920).

90   Wilhelm Bleek, *De Nominum Generibus Linguarum Africa Australis, Copticae, Semiticarum Aliarumque Sexualium* (Bonn: Adolph Marx, 1851).

91   Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten* (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen and Co., 1912). This hypothesis was an aberration on the part of Meinhof.

92   Otto Dempwolff, *Die Sandawe. Linguistiches und Ethnographisches Material aus Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts: 34B, Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen: 19) (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen, 1916).

93   The term Hamitic is no longer used today, and has no validity in any context.

94   Ian Maddieson, "Clicks: Primordial or Derived?" Keynote address, given at the conference on *Phonetics and Phonology of Sub-Saharan Languages*, July 7–10 (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2013), and Menán du Plessis, "New data on click genesis: further evidence that click-initial words shared by Khoesan and Bantu languages of southern Africa can be mapped as historically emergent from non-click forms reconstructed for Proto-Bantu." Paper presented at the conference on *Phonetics and Phonology of Sub-Saharan Languages*, July 7–10 (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2013).

95   Didier Demolin and Clothilde Chabiron, "Clicks, stop bursts, vocoids and the timing of articulatory gestures in Rwanda." Paper presented at the conference on *Phonetics and Phonology of Sub-Saharan Languages*, July 7–10 (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2013).

96   Hadza was briefly documented by Dorothea Bleek ("The Hadzapi or Watindenga of Tanganyika Territory" *Africa* 4 (1931), 273–286). For a contemporary description, see relevant chapters by Bonny Sands in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen.

97   For a recent description of Sandawe, see relevant chapters by E. D. Elderkin in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen.

98   Güldemann and E. D. Elderkin, "On external genealogical relationships of the Khoe family" in *Khoisan Languages and Linguistics: The First Riezlern Symposium 2003*, ed. Matthias Brenzinger and Christa König (Research in Khoisan Studies 24) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2010), 15–52.

99   Güldemann, "Reconstruction through 'deconstruction': the marking of person, gender, and number in the Khoe family and Kwadi" *Diachronica* 21, no. 2 (2004), 251–306.

100 Güldemann, "A linguist's view: Khoe-Kwadi speakers as the earliest food-producers of southern Africa" *Southern African Humanities* 20 (2008), 93–132.

101 The older idea that sheep may have been introduced to the southernmost parts of Africa by a group of incoming 'Khoekhoen' (or in other words, rather inexplicably by only one section of the Khoe-speaking people) has been proposed by a number of authors in the past, most notably Chris Ehret, in "The first spread of food production to southern Africa" in *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*, ed. Chris Ehret and M. Posnansky (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 158–181.

102 Güldemann, "Structural isoglosses between Khoekhoe and Tuu: The Cape as a linguistic area" in *Linguistic Areas: Convergence in historical and typological perspective*, ed. Yaron Matras, April McMahon and Nigel Vincent (Palgrave Macmillan (UK), 2006), 99–134.

103 Güldemann, "Khoisan' linguistic classification today," 1–41.

104 It is an old and romantic belief that the Khoisan languages reflect the last vestiges of some autochthonous 'Stone Age' substrate that was already long present when speakers of early BANTU languages first started arriving in southern Africa. While it was thought at one time that the hypothesis of later incoming groups could be corroborated by material archaeological evidence showing the relatively recent spread of iron-working technology, it has been accepted for several decades now by the mainstream of linguists that the earliest speakers of BANTU languages *cannot* be associated with an 'Iron Age'. (For discussion and references see Thilo Schadeberg, "Historical linguistics" in *The Bantu Languages*, ed. Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippson (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 143–163, and Menán du Plessis, "The damaging effects of romantic mythopoeia on Khoesan Linguistics' *Critical Arts* 28, no. 3 (2014), 569–592.) Obviously, this is not

to suggest that speakers of various BANTU languages did not subsequently go on to acquire a metallurgical technology sometime *after* they were already dispersed and settled throughout much of Africa south of the Congo River. The point is that speakers of some of the earliest BANTU languages would have left behind only the traces of a hunter-gatherer culture, and could well have been anciently settled in various regions where their vanguard presence would not be detectable by latter-day archaeologists searching exclusively for evidence of an 'Iron Age' culture.

105 Bonny Sands, "Borrowing and diffusion as a source of lexical similarities in Khoesan" in *Khoisan: Syntax, Phonetics, Phonology, and Contact*, ed. A. Bell and P. Washburn (Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics 18) (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 2001), 200–224.

106 Traill, " Khwa-ka hhouiten hhouiten, 'The rush of the storm': The linguistic death of Xam" in *Claim to the Country: The Archive of Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek*, ed. Pippa Skotnes (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2007), 130–147; and Menán du Plessis, "One hundred years of the *Specimens* – a hundred years of linguistic neglect" in *The Courage of Kabbo*, ed. Janette Deacon and Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2014), 275–302.

107 It is possible that the advent of the European settlers created a sufficient degree of social disruption for the dependent Ui speakers to break the bond between themselves and the Khoi. This might account for the retributive ferocity of some of their subsequent attacks aimed at both the encroaching settlers and their Khoi farmhands. It would also account for the defensive retreat of some small bands of Ui speakers into various mountain hideouts in the Ukhahlamba-Drakensberg and elsewhere, from where they managed to carry on existing for several decades as independent 'banditti', joining forces at various times with other resistors and individual renegades from a range of language backgrounds. See John Wright, *Bushman Raiders of the Drakensberg*, 1840–1870 (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1971). (The evidence of various early travellers makes it doubtful that the Ui speakers were *originally* 'cave-dwellers'.)

108 Meinhof, *Hottentottische Laute und Lehnworte im Kafir* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1905).

109 The earliest reconstructions for 'Ur-Bantu' were supplied by Meinhof in his *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1899).

110 For an overview of the topic and references, see J. A. Louw, "The impact of Khoesan on Southern Bantu" in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen, 435–444.

111 See for example, Simon Donnelly, "Aspects of tone and voice in Phuthi" (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois PhD thesis, 2007), 484 fn 5.

112 There is even a minor regularity to this, as far as there are repeated cases where Proto-Bantu *-kó corresponds systematically to u in one of the Nguni languages or a Khoekhoe dialect.

113 Maingard, "The Central group of the click languages of the Kalahari" *African Studies* 20, no. 2 (1961), 114–122; Snyman, "Palatalisation in the Tsowaa and G ana languages of Central Botswana" in *The State of Khoesan Languages in Botswana*, ed. Herman Batibo and Joe Tsonope (Mogoditshane, Botswana: Basarwa Languages Project, University of Botswana/University of Tromso, Tasalls Publishing and Books, 2008), 33–43.

114 Traill, "Click replacement in Khoe" in *Contemporary Studies on Khoisan*, ed. Rainer Vossen and K. Keuthmann (Studies in Khoisan Research 5, vol. 2) (H. Buske, 1986), 301–320); Traill and Vossen, "Sound changes in the Khoisan languages: new data on click loss and click replacement" *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 18, no. 1 (1997), 21–56.

115 Du Plessis, "New data on click genesis: further evidence that click-initial words shared by Khoesan and Bantu languages of southern Africa can be mapped as historically emergent from non-click forms reconstructed for Proto-Bantu." Paper presented at the conference on *Phonetics and Phonology of sub-Saharan Africa*, July 7–10 (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2013).

116 Walther Bourquin, "Click-words which Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho have in common" *African Studies* 10, no. 2 (1951), 59–81.

117 Other internal alternations noted within Kora include occasional variants involving the (post)alveolar click and the dental click (~), and the (post)alveolar and lateral alveolar clicks (~). Both are alternations that also occur across the varietal spectrum within other Khoisan language groupings, and even across Khoisan as a whole.

118 Karsten Legère, "Khoisan traces in Kavango languages" in *Language, Identity, and Conceptualization among the Khoisan*, ed. M. Schladt (Research in Khoisan Studies 15) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1998), 193–215; Hilde Gunnink, Bonny Sands, Brigitte Pakendorf and Koen Bostoen, "Prehistoric language contact in the Kavango-Zambezi transfrontier area: Khoesan influence on southwestern Bantu languages" *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 36, no. 2 (2015), 193–232.

119 See papers by Hans den Besten in *Roots of Afrikaans: Selected Writings of Hans den Besten*, ed. Ton van der Wouden (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012).

120 For discussion and further references see Paul T. Roberge, "Afrikaans: considering origins" in *Language in South Africa*, ed. Rajend Mesthrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 79–103, and by the same author, "Afrikaans and creolization" in *Afrikaans: Een Drieluik*, ed. Hans den Besten, Frans Hinskens and Jerzy Koch (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU, 2009), 209–233.

SOURCES OF THE
CAPE KHOEKHOE AND KORA RECORDS
vocabularies, language data and texts

This chapter outlines the early and later sources of vocabularies, language data, and texts for the Cape Khoekhoe and Kora dialects, with particular reference to the speakers who contributed these records, where their identities are known. The earliest records that have come down to us are understandably limited in quality as much as in quantity, but as growing numbers of official and private expeditions were undertaken into the interior of the country, so the accumulating Cape records steadily began to include the names of more local communities and places, as well as increasingly detailed information about the local languages.[1]
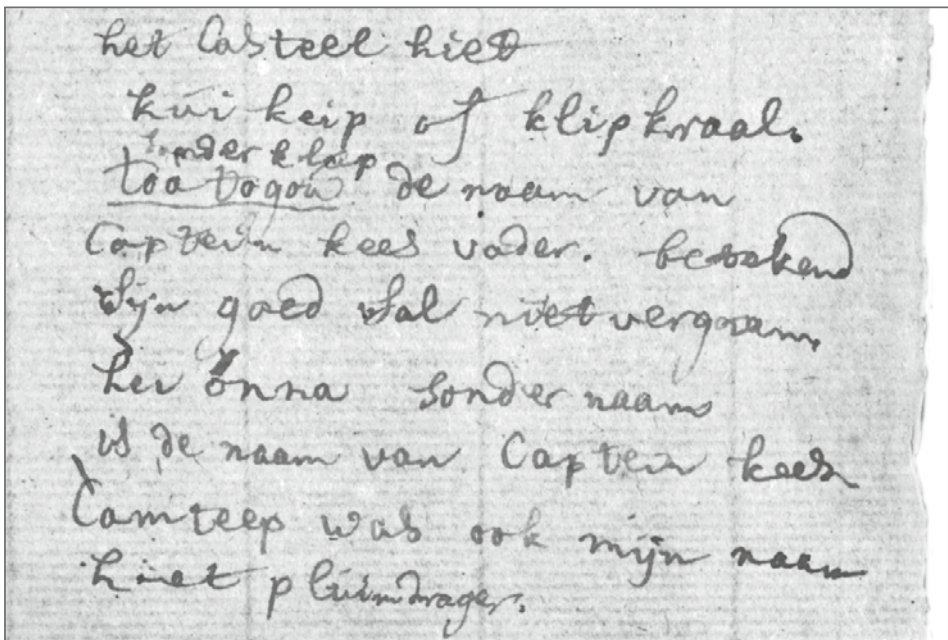
FIGURE 2.1   Extract from the manuscript notes of Robert Gordon. The page shows his note from about 1779 of a Khoekhoe name for the castle at the Cape as *kui keip,* which he was told meant *klipkraal* or 'stone kraal', and which was probably   *'ui !xaib*. (R. J. Gordon. Papers. MS.107/10/1. The Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg. Image reproduced by kind permission of the Brenthurst Library.)

2.1   Records of Cape Khoekhoe: From the period prior to and after Dutch settlement (17th to late 18th centuries)

Although the Portuguese navigators had found their way around the southern tip of Africa by the close of the 15th century, they were discouraged from making further landfalls at the Cape after a fierce and deadly encounter with a clan of the Khoi on one of the local beaches, and it was to be a century and a half before the Dutch decided that it would be feasible to establish a permanent refreshment station there. Prior to this, English, French, and Dutch ships[2] nevertheless sometimes ventured into 'Saldanha Bay' (which was renamed Tafel Bay or Table Bay by Joris Spilbergen in 1601),[3] to take on fresh water and obtain livestock from the local people, who seemed friendly and willing to trade with them. A few brief records of the local language were occasionally made by the captains of some of these ships.

Thomas Herbert, for example, compiled a short list in 1626,[4] where he gave the numbers from one to ten, and a few rather basic items of vocabulary. Despite the awkwardness of his transcriptions, it is possible to recognise the distinctive Cape Khoekhoe and Kora forms of the word for 'seven' (*hãukxʼũ ~ hũxũ*) in Herbert's *chowhawgh*. (The word for 'seven' in Nama is *hû* [hũ].) Another early record was supplied by Etienne de Flacourt, who obtained a word list on his return voyage from Madagascar in 1655.[5] Not all of the words given by him are recognisable, but the list includes *bicham* for 'head', which suggests a form closely resembling the characteristic *biʼãb* of Kora. (By contrast, the word for 'head' in Nama is *danab*.) De Flacourt's *hanco* for 'seven' also matches the Kora form.

A few somewhat more systematic records of Cape Khoekhoe dialects have come down to us from the later part of the 17th century, where these consist of two word lists, plus translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostle's Creed. These three sets of data (the two word lists and the texts) found their way to Nicolaas Witsen, a mayor of Amsterdam who served on the board of governors of the Dutch East India Company, and who, in the spirit of the era, was a great collector of items of scientific interest from around the world. (There were no printing facilities at the Cape at this early date, and documents of this kind would have been copied over by hand.) Witsen circulated his information to like-minded people such as Gottfried Leibniz and Hiob (or Job) Ludolf, and as a result, the material eventually appeared in print: in 1710, in the biography of Ludolf written by Christian Juncker);[6] and in 1717, in the *Collectanea Etymologica* compiled by Leibniz.[7] The extract in Figure 2.2 shows the version of the Lord's Prayer in Cape Khoekhoe, as Leibniz published it, together with correspondence from Witsen dated 22 May 1698.[8]

Het *Onse Vader* in Hottentots.

Onse Vader, die in de Hemelen zyt, (a)
Cita   bô,   t? homme   ingá t' fiha,
  (a) gelukkig zij. juxta Hottent.

gebeyligt werde uw naam, uw (b) *Koning-*
t? fa di kamink ouna,   hem   kou-
  (b) heerfchappye. Hottent.

ryke kome, uw wil gefchiede op der
queent fee, dani hinqua t' fa inhee K? chou
aarde, als in den hemel, geeft ons
  ki,   quiquo t? homm' ingá,   maa cita

heden ons dagelyks broot, vergeeft ons
heci   cita kóua fequa bree,   k? hom cita,

onse Schulden gelyk wy vergeven onse
cita hiahinghee quiquo cita k? hom, cita

Schuldenaren, leyd ons niet in quaa be-
dóua kóuna,   tire cita k? chóá t? au-

koringe, maar verloft ons van den (c) *bo-*
thummá — k' hamta cita hi aquei hee k? dou
  (c) van dem quaden Man, Duyvel

fen, want uwe is dat Koningryk,   en de
auna, --- t? aats kouqueetfa, hique t? aats

kragt, en de heerlykheyt in der eeuwigheyt.
diaha, hique occifa ha,   nauwı.

FIGURE 2.2   Cape Khoekhoe version of the Lord's prayer as obtained by Nicolaas Witsen in the late 17th century. The text was published by Gottfried Leibniz in 1717, in his *Collectanea Etymologica*, part 2 (Hanover: Nicolas Förster, 1717), 375–384. Note *heci* at the beginning of line 5 for *heden* 'this day', where the demonstrative *he* matches the Kora form, whereas Nama uses *ne*.

While the origin of the three religious texts is unknown, it seems likely, as Everhardus Godée-Molsbergen has suggested,[9] that the two word lists were respectively compiled by the young German scholar, George Frederick Wreede, and the Cape Secretary, J. W. de Grevenbroeck.[10] A further short word list was obtained by Johan Daniel Buttner[11] 'between 1712 (his year of arrival) and 1716 (year of his manuscript)'. His account of his travels was not published, however, until the 20th century.[12] (Francois le Vaillant[13] acknowledged Grevenbroeck's list as the source of most if not all the material included in his own account (1726); while the examples of Cape Khoekhoe in Peter Kolb's account[14] of the Cape of Good Hope (1727) were acknowledged by him to have come from the Witsen list published by Juncker.)

Various other ventures into the interior were made in the years that followed, but it is not until Robert Gordon's extensive travels between 1777 and 1779 that we begin to receive information specifically about the languages of the region. Vernon Forbes has noted of Robert Jacob Gordon (1743–1795) that he was 'a Dutchman of Scots descent who was commander of the Company's troops at the Cape. He was the leading traveller and explorer in the Cape of his time. His remarkable collection of maps and drawings is preserved in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, while his missing travel journals were located in 1964 at the County Archives, Staffordshire, England.'[15] Gordon's testimony is of unparalleled value, since he had some fluency in the local Cape variety of Khoekhoe. His journals[16] include many words and phrases from Khoekhoe varieties, including Cape Khoekhoe (as shown in Figures 2.1 and 2.3), as well as a few occasional words from an entirely different Khoisan language spoken by people who were referred to at the time as 'Sonquas' or 'Bosjesmans'.[17] He explored both the east and west coasts with his Khoekhoe-speaking guides, and reported finding a greater diversity among the dialects spoken along the south-eastern coastline – which suggests a long-standing presence of speakers along the southern coast, in a continuum that extended eastwards from Table Bay to at least the Kei River, which enters the sea about 80 kilometres north-east of modern East London.

The late 18th century contributions of Sparrman and Thunberg to our fragmentary knowledge of eastern Khoekhoe have already been noted in the chapter on the classification of Kora. Some of the eastern Khoi clans later became part of the Kat River settlement (1829–1856),[18] which the British officials at the Cape had hoped would form a buffer between the outer areas of the colony in the east, and the Xhosa. After the collapse of the settlement, some of the Khoi joined up with the Xhosa, while others seem to have moved on again to one or other of the mission settlements. Still others may have opted to take up work and residence on the settlers' farms, or else moved further north in an effort to remain independent.
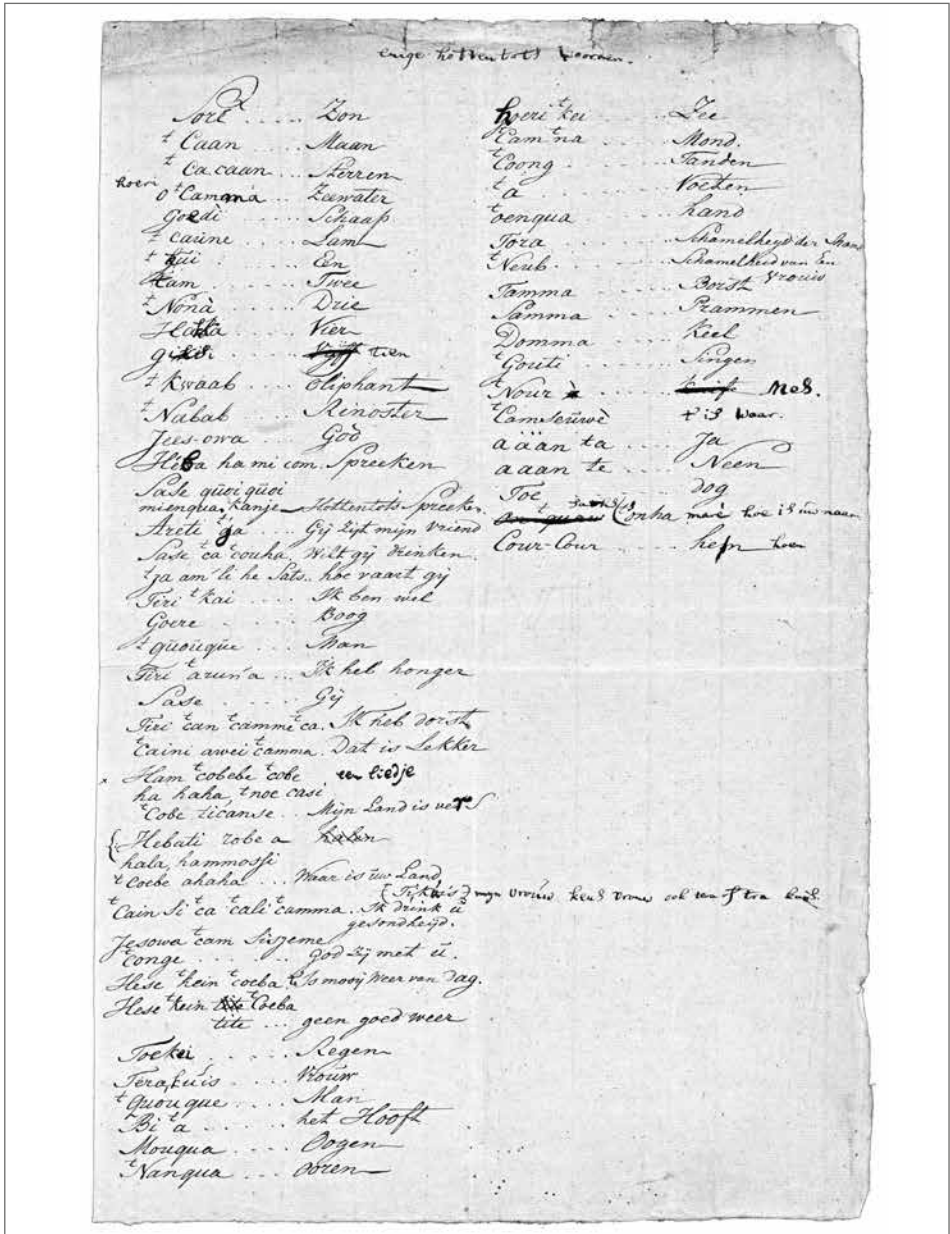
FIGURE 2.3   A page from Gordon's rediscovered manuscript journals, showing a list of Khoekhoe words and phrases (ca. 1779). Gordon attempted to indicate some of the clicks by means of a superscript *t*, as in the word *biᵗa (bi!'ãb)* for 'head' (*het hooft*, third word from bottom of the list). Note that the last two words, *mouqua (mūkua)* for 'eyes' (*oogen*) and *ᵗnauqua (nãukua)* 'ears' (*ooren*), are both cited in the characteristic Kora manner with a 'post-nominal –*a*', having the masculine plural as –*kua*. (R. J. Gordon. Papers. MS.107/10/5. The Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg. Image reproduced by kind permission of the Brenthurst Library.)

2.2   Records of Kora

2.2.1   From the end of the Dutch period

The earliest recorded examples of Kora consist of the place names and names of various clans along the Gariep that were written down by the Swede, Hendrik Jacob Wikar. Wikar came to the Cape in 1773 as a servant of the Dutch East India Company, but after falling into debt, he deserted and fled to the interior of the country, where he made various journeys along the course of the Gariep. In 1779, he returned to the Cape where in exchange for a pardon from Governor van Plettenberg, he prepared an informative report for the Company, based on the journal he had kept during his wanderings.[19] At this time there were no standard conventions for the representation of the clicks, so Wikar simply gave his best approximations of the words he heard. (The names he gave us were discussed and given modern approximations by Engelbrecht.)[20]

2.2.2   From the early period of British colonisation in the first half of the 19th century

During the first take-over of the Cape between 1795 and 1802, one of the projects undertaken by the temporary British administration was a new expedition into the interior. This journey, to the Gariep and the country of the Tswana people, was led by Pieter Truter and William Somerville in the years 1801 to 1802. In addition to the official report, personal records of the journey were made by several of its members, including Somerville himself, John Barrow,[21] P. B. Borcherds, and the artist Samuel Daniell.[22] Somerville's journal[23] includes a small comparative list of words illustrating the Khoekhoe variety spoken by the expedition's guides on one hand, and the language he referred to as Kora on the other; while Borcherds[24] similarly included a short list of Kora words in the autobiographical memoir he published several decades later at the end of his long career as a civil servant at the Cape.

At around the same time, as well as in the period after the re-occupation of the Cape by the British in 1806, several independent explorers mounted expeditions of their own, sometimes with a scientific purpose, and sometimes with an intent of missionary scouting. Explorers who left us invaluably detailed accounts of their journeys include Henry Lichtenstein, a German explorer who travelled in the years 1803–1806; William Burchell, described by Vernon Forbes[25] as a 'botanist and naturalist, at the Cape 1810–1815'; and John Campbell, a missionary who travelled in 1812–1813. All three provided examples of a Khoekhoe variety they specifically identified as Kora.

Lichtenstein mentions[26] that while staying with the missionary Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp, he took note of the latter's system of using superscript numbers to represent the different clicks, and chose to adopt a similar method. An extract from his word list,[27] which carries as a bonus one of the earliest records of a 'Bosjesman' or Ui language, is shown in Figure 2.4.

APPENDIX.

	Coran.	Bosjesman.
Five	kurruh	
Six	tꞌ¹nani	
Seven	honko	
Eight	tꞌ²kaissee	
Nine	tꞌ²goissee	
Ten	diissi	
A Man	köhn	tꞌ¹kubi.
The head	minnong	tꞌ¹naa.
The eye	muhm	tꞌ¹saguh.
The nose	tꞌ¹geub	tꞌ¹nuhntu.
The mouth	tꞌ²kchamma	tub.
The teeth	tꞌ¹kuhm	tꞌ¹kei.
The tongue	tamma	tꞌ¹inn.
The beard	tꞌ¹nomkoa	tꞌ¹nomm.
The hair	tꞌ¹onkoa	tꞌ¹uki.
The ear	tꞌ¹naum	tꞌ¹no cingtu.
The neck	tꞌ¹aub	tꞌ²kau.
The breast	tꞌ¹hamma*	tꞌneintu.
The arm	tꞌ²koam	tꞌ¹oo.
The hand	tꞌ¹koam ⎫	tꞌ¹aa.
The finger	tꞌ²unkoa ⎭	
The body	tꞌ³kaab	tꞌ³kauki.
The belly	tꞌ³komma	tꞌ³kautu.
The entrails	tꞌ¹geunkoa	tꞌ¹geun.
The back	tꞌ²kam, tꞌ¹kaib†	tꞌ²kooih.
The thigh	tiim	tꞌhee.
The leg	tꞌ²nuh	tꞌ²koah.
The foot	tꞌ¹keib	tꞌ²noah.
Father	Aboob	Oa.
Mother	Eijoos	Choa.
Brother	tꞌ²kaam	tꞌ²kang.
Sister	tꞌ²kaans	tꞌ²kaach.
Husband	⎧köub ⎫	tꞌ²na.
	⎨keub ⎬	
	⎩chaib ⎭	

FIGURE 2.4   Examples provided by Lichtenstein of 'Coran' vocabulary, with comparative words from an unknown !Ui language. The list appears in Appendix 1 to the second volume of his *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, transl. Anne Plumptre (London: Henry Colburn, 1812). This vocabulary reflects certain characteristic features of Kora, such as the use of a 'postnominal –a' in citation forms, as in *t"komma* for 'belly', and the tendency for the masculine singular suffix –b to occur as –m after a nasalised vowel, as in *t"kuhm* for 'teeth', *t"kam* for 'back' and *tiim* for 'thigh'. The word given as *minnong* for 'head' in this list is unusual.

Burchell tells us[28] that he obtained his list of Kora words mostly from his Tswana-speaking guide, 'Muchunka'. Like Lichtenstein, he was a careful observer, and made a number of astute remarks about both the vowels and the clicks, some of which can be seen in the extract from his word list,[29] shown in Figure 2.5.

254   A SPECIMEN OF   18 JUNE,

Thou - - - - - - - *Tsaats* (Tsarts).
Here - - - - - - - *Heeba*, or *Heeva* (Háyba).
Where? - - - - - - *Bába*, or *Bárha*.
Sun - - - - - - - *Sŏrréip*. Here the *ei* forms a true diphthong; in which the *e* and the *i* are equally blended, by pronouncing them both so closely together, that only one sound is produced.
Moon - - - - - - 'Kaam.
New-moon - - - - - 'Kám'kaam. Here the dental clap belonging to the second syllable, was pronounced so weakly that it seemed almost to have been omitted. This was often found to be the case in compound words; and is done, probably with a view to soften the harshness of two claps in the same word.
Full-moon - - - - - 'Kȳ'kaam.
Moon decreasing, or in the last quarter - - - - *Ghydă'kaam.* The *h* in this place gives a strong and guttural aspiration to the *G*.
Stars - - - - - - 'Kammărūka. ('Kammarooka).
The Pleïades, or Seven-stars 'Koodi, or 'Kōdi ('Kody).
The three stars in the Belt of Orion - - - - - "Kaankŭkwa ("Kárnkooqua).
Morning-star (Venus) - - 'Kwăkŏmrup (Quarcumroop).
Shadow - - - - - 'Karáap, or 'Karāp (Caraap).
Clouds - - - - - 'Kúma (Koomer).
Rain - - - - - - 'Kăviip or 'Kăvīp (Kaveep). It is also called *Tŭs* or *Tuus* (Tooce) by some kraals.
Hail - - - - - - "Nánkwa ("Naanqua or "Narnquar).
Lightning - - - - - *Tabāp* (Tabárp).
Thunder - - - - - "Gurūp ("Gooróop).
Wind - - - - - - 'Kŭăp ('Cooárp): in two syllables so closely connected, that this word might almost be written 'Kwăp.
Water - - - - - - 'Kámmă.
Fire - - - - - - 'Káaip, or 'Kāip, in two distinct syllables.
Smoke - - - - - 'Aï'kanna. Here the *ai* forms a diphthong, and bears the accent.
Mountain - - - - - *Sesin* (Saysin). Both these syllables were of equal force; so that the accent was not distinguished.
Many Mountains - - - 'Kȳsᵉ sesin ('Kȳser saysin). *
Spring or Fountain - - *Mŭ'kammă* (Móo'camma).

FIGURE 2.5   Examples of Kora obtained by Burchell from 'Muchunka' in 1813. This material is found in the second volume of his *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa,* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 253–255. Interesting aspects of this data are the names for the quarters of the moon, the star names, and the unusual word given as *sesin* for 'mountain'. Much as in the case of Lichtenstein's list, the words recorded by Burchell show the default use of a 'postnominal –*a*' in some of the citation forms, as in *'kamma* for 'water', and the tendency for the masculine singular suffix –*b* to occur as –*m* after a nasalised vowel, as in *'kaam* for 'moon'.

John Campbell wrote down for us (without attempting to represent the clicks) the names of the Korana guides who travelled briefly with his party. The following extract is from the relevant entry in his journal, published in 1815.[30]

'July 14th 1813.

'We shot a knoo, about the size of an ordinary cow; part of which we gave to our seven Corannas, who accompanied us as guides from Malapeetzee, after which they left us. Their names were:

Kaeen-de-haree, or	'Lively sunshine'
Koorhee	'A white stone'
Mooquee	'To see a thing right'
Cheebeea	-
Keissecha	'Foremost'
Teoon havel	'An unsuccessful hunt'
Mookha	'Sharp sight'

One of the appendices[31] to the 1815 edition of Campbell's account of his travels includes a version of the Lord's Prayer in Kora, shown in Figure 2.6.

The Lord's Prayer in the Coranna Language.

Sita ienp Tomie na kap	Our Father who art in heaven
tsa onee thaa tgy tgy	hallowed be thy name
tsa chaoop koo ha	thy kingdom come
tsa tvmp aapic	thy will be done
ie hom na kghoma aie hoop	in earth as it is in heaven
maadaa hoowaa tzee koo breep	give us this day our daily bread
tnoo baa daa	and forgive us our debts
tghaa tre sita taa whie kghobaa tno ba } camaa sita soorootie haa kghoina	as we forgive our debtors
thaa oo kaa daa orickoo na	and lead us not into temptation
tso koo goo oreedaa	but deliver us from evil
tzaads oo haa kaoo kghoo	for thine is the kingdom
otghyp oien Zaap	the power and the glory
o kaa teep. Amen.	for ever and ever. Amen.

FIGURE 2.6   Version of the Lord's Prayer in Kora as written down by the missionary John Campbell in 1813. The prayer is included in one of the appendices to his *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 388–389. Note the use of *soorootie* (*surudi*), apparently in the sense of 'debts'. The phrase *sita ienp* (*sida ĩb*) used here for 'Our Father' reflects the typical Kora word *ĩb* for 'father'. In the previously shown Cape Khoekhoe version of this prayer (Fig. 2.2), the equivalent phrase is *cit' abô*, where *abo* is the word more usually used for 'father' in Nama, although it is certainly seen (as *aboob*) in Lichtenstein's Kora vocabulary (Fig. 2.4), and was also given to us by our consultant Ouma Jacoba Maclear in addition to *ĩb*.

Many other travellers were to follow the pioneers mentioned above, such as the French missionary Thomas Arbousset who gave us another early sample of words from a Ui language;[32] and Andrew Smith, who travelled in the interior in the years 1834 to 1836 and noted down a few scattered examples from various local languages,

including Giri and Kora. A note on Smith's Khoekhoe data was contributed by Louis Maingard to a 20th century edition of his travels.[33]

2.2.3   From the later part of the 19th century

It is from about the middle of the 19th century that we begin to see a more consistent picture of the identities of the various speakers who contributed to the legacy of Kora vocabularies and texts.

2.2.3.1   Gert Cloete

Carl Friedrich Wuras was a missionary sent out to South Africa in 1836 by the Berlin Mission. It is known that he worked at Bethany 'with Gert Cloete, the Korana interpreter and one of the first converts of the mission',[34] which makes it seem fair to assume that Gert Cloete was probably the consultant who gave Wuras the main input for his translation of the Christian catechism. Commentaries and further amendments to this catechism were provided in the early part of the 20th century by Heinrich Vedder[35] and Maingard.[36] Wuras made his preliminary notes on the grammar of the language available to John Appleyard, who included them in the opening section of his study of Xhosa grammar, which appeared in 1850.[37]

It was perhaps with the help of the same interpreter that Wuras also provided the first formal vocabulary of Kora, using a system of notation devised by himself.[38] This work was edited and prepared for re-publication by Walther Bourquin in 1920.[39] The difficulties of writing the language ultimately seemed insurmountable to Wuras, however, and since the members of his flock were for the most part bilingual (if not multilingual in some cases), the decision was made to use Dutch for purposes of everyday communication, teaching, and preaching.[40]

Lastly, Wuras prepared an 'account of the Korana' in 1858, for the use of the contemporary British governor of the Cape, George Grey. This work was translated and edited for publication by Louis Maingard in 1927.[41] Although the paper is largely concerned with customs and traditions, it includes some specialised terms in the language itself, and the names (with their supposed meanings) of some of the clans. Wuras also mentioned in this paper that the old Korana name for Cape Town was Hùy keib,[42] and suggested that it meant 'very hastily to pack the ox for a journey' – where the etymology, however, is almost certainly spurious. (Theophilus Hahn later recorded a Nama name for Cape Town as Hu gais, which seems to confirm the name at least, even if the meaning he proposed, involving a play on words for 'cloud' and 'game', is equally doubtful.[43] Robert Gordon noted in about 1779 that the Khoekhoe name for the Dutch fort at Cape Town was Kui keip (probably 'Ui !xaib), meaning 'Klip kraal', or 'Stone kraal'. Whether this was the same name, however, as the one heard by Wuras and Hahn with a different click is not clear.)[44]

Wuras has occasionally been disparaged for the rather daunting notation he used to represent the clicks, but it should be remembered that when he began his work there was not yet any concept of a universal phonetic alphabet. It was only from about

the third decade of the 19th century that the various click phonemes of the Khoekhoe languages even began to be accurately distinguished by European missionaries, while it was not until the following decade that the systematic use of various symbols to represent them began to be experimented with. Wuras certainly came to understand the sound system of Kora, even if he took some time to master its phonemes in full, as is reflected in the gradual evolution of his representations throughout the various versions of his catechism and other texts. What he lacked primarily was the means to *represent* the clicks, in a way that could easily be reproduced by a local printer.

Some of the earliest printed works to feature Nama, Xhosa, and Zulu simply used redundant letters of the Roman alphabet (such as 'c', 'x' and 'q') for the clicks, and combined them with various other letters (such as 'g', 'h' and 'n') to represent some of their phonemic (that is, systematically contrastive) elaborations. While the Nguni languages have continued to use this convention to the present day, various other options were tried out initially for the Khoekhoe languages, where the possibilities were always limited, however, by the availability of suitable fonts at the few printing presses then existing at the Cape.[45] A trade bill[46] printed by S. J. Mollett at Cape Town in 1837 shows that he was able to offer several different styles of 'modern and handsome type' for English, but mentions only in small print at the foot of the leaflet that he also had type available for Greek, as well as 'superior letters and figures for references, mathematical and other signs'. Given these practical limitations, it is unsurprising that the symbols chosen for the clicks by some early authors were based on common mathematical and punctuation symbols, while others were drawn from the Greek alphabet. For his Vocabulary, Wuras seems to have settled on the mathematical symbol for an angle ($<$) to represent the dental click, the symbol for a right angle ($\llcorner$) for the palato-alveolar click, while using a breve ($\smile$) for the (post) alveolar click, an apparently modified form of the symbol for a square ($\square$) for the lateral click, and the symbol for a degree (°) for the ejective affricate.

One thing that is clear is that Wuras ultimately left us a faithful reflection of the same dialect that was briefly documented by both Lichtenstein and Burchell about 40 years before him, not only with regard to aspects of its phonology, but also in respect of some of its lexis. In one or two cases, it is *only* in his Vocabulary that we have been able to find confirmation of certain obscure words given to us by our consultant Ouma Jacoba Maclear. Lastly, it is further to his credit that Wuras also gave us one of the earliest sketches of a Ui language.[47]

2.2.3.2   Piet Links

Members of the Links family were interviewed in 1879 by Lucy Lloyd after they were sent to Cape Town by a Kimberley official who assumed that they were 'Bushmen' and would provide suitable companions for the recently bereaved Xam speaker, Hang kass'o, who was staying with the Bleek family at this time. As Maingard put it, 'This happy mistake on the part of the Kimberley authorities is responsible for four note-books, three containing the notes of Dr Lucy Lloyd and a fourth those of her younger sister, Miss Isabella Lloyd.'[48] A fifth notebook, containing notes taken down

by another of Lloyd's sisters, Jemima – wife of Wilhelm Bleek – is also extant.[49] All five notebooks have been digitised and can now be consulted online.[50]

Although Lloyd believed the surname of the family to be 'Lynx', as seen in the page from her notebooks illustrated in Figure 2.7, this was a mistake for Links, which is the Afrikaans word for 'left', as Maingard long ago pointed out.[51] This well-known South African family name arises from the name of a famous Korana clan, the Left-standers (ꞌAremã ꞌãis), who are said to have taken the name after parting ways with another group, who became known as the Right-Hand people (Kxꞌam õakua). The family, whose members included Piet Links (Oãxap), Griet (Makas) and Siela ('Cela'), came from Mamusa (now Schweizer-Reneke).
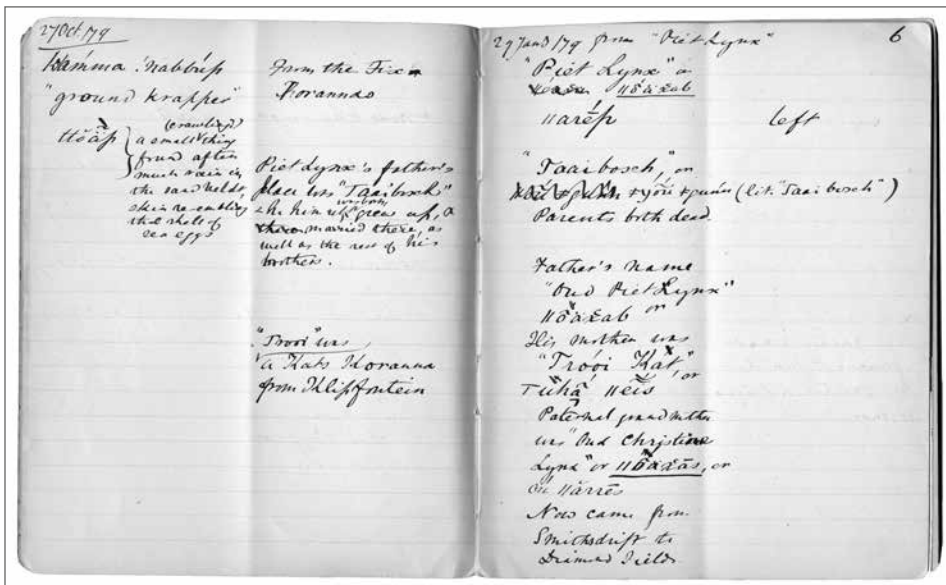
FIGURE 2.7   Pages from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1). These pages show mentions of the Links, Taaibosch, and Kats clans, as well as the mistaken interpretation of the Links family name as 'Lynx', despite the meaning of 'are having been given to Lloyd as 'left' (near the top of the righthand column on p. 6). (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

The narratives dictated to Lloyd by Piet Links were edited and published in 1962 by Maingard, together with some observations on the grammar of the language.[52] Maingard also drew on the vocabularies compiled by Lloyd to prepare an edited a list of Kora names for various animals and plants.[53]

Some of the extra information given in the margins of the notebooks provides interesting insights into the family background. For one thing, the father of Siela is recorded as having been 'Korana', while her mother was 'Griqua'. There are also periodic annotations marking a particular grammatical form or a lexical item as

'Griqua', which suggest that the members of the Links family were well aware of dialectal differences.

Lloyd followed the lead of her brother-in-law Wilhelm Bleek when it came to representing some of the more specialised sounds of the Khoisan languages, and a gradual evolution is seen in the work of both. At the time of Lloyd's work on Kora, she was still using Bleek's originally preferred Greek letter *tau* (τ) for the dental click. For the (post)alveolar and lateral clicks she used respectively the punctuation symbol for an exclamation (!), and what appears to have been the mathematical symbol for parallel lines ( ). Like Bleek, she used the Greek letter *gamma* (γ) for the ejective affricate.

In addition to a rich vocabulary and numerous short sentences illustrating various aspects of Kora morphology and syntax, Piet Links contributed the narratives listed below, where those included in this book have been newly edited and annotated.

PL1. Moon and Hare.[54]
PL2. How the San lost their cattle.[55]
PL3. The lions and Crazy-head Korhaan.[56]
PL4. The common origin of humankind.[57]
PL5. Jackal stories (a sequence of three linked stories).[58]
PL6. Burial.[59]
PL7. Making a living through cleverness.[60]

Lloyd's work with the members of the Links family took place at a time of great political turmoil in South Africa, in the years shortly after the discovery of both diamonds and gold, and so it is probably not surprising that there are occasional undertones of a sharply barbed animus in some of the texts.

From this point onward, the Korana people seem to have been gradually lost from view. With the turn of the century and in the years to follow, regional and global wars seem to have deflected attention even further away from the bitterly sad history of the South African Khoi, which is essentially one of a series of dispossessions – of their land, their heritage, their dignity, and even their language.

2.2.4   From the 20th century

The four scholars whose work on Kora dominated the first part of the 20th century, following the end of the First World War, were Carl Meinhof, Jan Engelbrecht, Louis Maingard, and Douglas Beach. During the 1920s and 1930s, when these four scholars carried out most of their fieldwork, there were perhaps only a few dozen fluent speakers of Kora left, almost all of them already of an advanced age, with several in their 80s, and one or two 100 years old or more.

The great German scholar Carl Meinhof has been called the father of African linguistics, and there is no questioning the immense contribution that he made to African scholarship, not only through his erudite linguistic studies, which spanned the full range of the continent's languages, but also through his facilitation of other

scholars' publications in his role as editor of the *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* after 1919). Meinhof's work on Khoekhoe languages included a semi-pedagogic grammar of Nama,[61] published in 1909, but it is his study of Kora,[62] which includes a careful grammatical sketch, texts, and a Glossary, that is arguably one of his greatest achievements, revealing a remarkable degree of collaboration between the linguist and his consultant Benjamin Kats, whose contributions and commentaries are projected throughout the work as those of an equal partner. Meinhof subsequently published a set of five additional Kora texts in Kats's name.[63]

Beach spent several years in southern Africa while carrying out research on Khoekhoe and BANTU languages. After the appearance in 1938 of his famous study[64] of the phonetics and tonology of Nama and Kora, he does not seem to have written on Khoekhoe again.

In South Africa, it was left to Louis Maingard and Jan Engelbrecht to carry out sustained work on the Kora language, and the legacy of these two scholars, who were in regular communication with one another, is of immeasurable value. Meinhof noted in the introduction to his study that he had only belatedly received a copy of Jan Engelbrecht's first work,[65] but thought it most gratifying that it had been published, given the extent to which it expanded previously available vocabularies, particularly related to names for plants and animals. The Word List from Engelbrecht's 1928 publication remains a precious source of lexical data in many cases not recorded elsewhere. In his 1936 study,[66] which was a full-length work, Engelbrecht provided invaluable information of a social and historical nature, along with a rich supply of additional vocabulary, plus a major collection of texts in the original language, where, in the case of the latter, some were contributed in writing, while others were dictated by Benjamin Kraalshoek, Benjamin Kats, and Andries Bitterbos, all from the Kimberley area.

Maingard, who worked mainly with members of the Bloemhof Korana community, collected many of the texts republished in the present work, but also undertook cross-dialectal studies,[67] and in addition, published one of the first papers to show convincingly that the Khoekhoe varieties were related to Kalahari languages such as Naro.[68] Maingard conducted most of his work with speaker communities during the 1930s,[69] but continued to publish until well into the 1960s (after a hiatus during and after the period of the Second World War).

The four scholars mentioned above worked with many of the same elderly Kora speakers, who lived mainly in Kimberley, Barkly West, and Pniel, and in Bloemhof. A few more details about some of these consultants are given next.

2.2.4.1   *Benjamin Kraalshoek [BKr]*

Benjamin Kraalshoek was born at Pniel in 1868. He worked on the farm Secretarius, outside Kimberley, which belonged to J.C.W. Radloff. The present-day Captain Johannes Kraalshoek, who now has a farm at Bethany in the southern Free State (near the old church buildings established by the original Berlin missionaries in the 1830s),

is a descendant of his.[70] Engelbrecht noted[71] with regret: 'As the farm management could ill spare him, little information of value could be obtained. He is said to speak and write Kora well.' Beach was more fortunate, and was given the opportunity to spend a little more time with Kraalshoek. He based his study of Kora tonology on data provided by him, and wrote the following tribute below his photograph:[72] 'One of the last few remaining Korana-speakers, he has bequeathed to African philology a precious legacy – the four Korana tonemes.'

The following two pieces were contributed by Ben Kraalshoek, where the first was dictated to Beach,[73] and the second was sent to Engelbrecht in the form of a text together with a translation into Afrikaans:[74]

BKr1. Aesop's Fable of the Wind and the Sun retold in Kora.
BKr2. Text of a song in Kora, with Afrikaans translation.

We have omitted the second text from the collection presented in this work, partly because of the copyright concerns surrounding Engelbrecht's 1936 publication, but partly also because of the obscurity of the lyric.
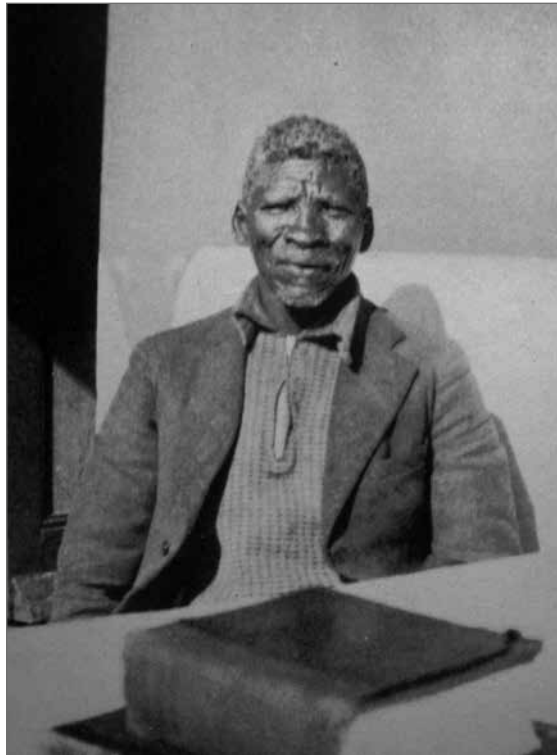
FIGURE 2.8   Portrait of Benjamin Kraalshoek. (The image is from Douglas Beach's work on the phonetics of the Khoekhoe languages (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938, facing p. 237), and is reproduced by kind permission of Heffers, Cambridge.)

2.2.4.2 Benjamin Kats [BK]

Benjamin Kats, also known as   Hamarib, belonged to the Kats or Cat clan (the
  Hõa ʼais). He assisted both Engelbrecht and Meinhof, providing them with historical
narratives as well as samples of various other genres. After Meinhof had shown him
the few extra symbols needed for the special sounds in Kora, Benjamin Kats almost
immediately began to contribute written texts of his own.[75] This work was undertaken
at Pniel in 1928.

The texts listed below were either written down or dictated by Benjamin Kats,
who was fluent in English and Afrikaans (and possibly also German), as well as
Kora. In some cases, the texts were provided by their author with written Afrikaans
translations. The first 12 pieces were published with German translations in Meinhof's
study of the Kora language, which appeared in 1930.[76]

> BK1. The gathering of wild bulbs from the veld.
> BK2. The preparation of wild bulbs.
> BK3. Making fire in the olden days, and hunting.
> BK4. The rules for young men attending initiation school.
> BK5. Short autobiographic sketch of Benjamin Kats.
> BK6. An encounter with San. (An incident involving Jan Bloem.)
> BK7. Letter to my people.
> BK8. Letter to Pokotji.
> BK9. Jackal and Leopard.
> BK10. Lion, Ostrich and Jackal.
> BK11. Lyrics of a dancing song.
> BK12. Lyrics of a women's dancing song.

The 'Letter to my people' (BK7) was a short plea from Kats to his fellow Korana,
in which he implored them to devote all their waking hours – 'six days a week' – to
reading and writing their own language. The letter ends with the following lines,
which strike us today as profoundly sad:

> *Ta a-b kobab ada kāxu-da,*   'Do not let our language be lost from us,
>   *ti khoē-du'e*   'you my people'

The versions of these texts reproduced in this book are the transcriptions (or in a few
cases, transliterations) made by Meinhof.[77]

The five additional texts listed below were written down by Kats and published
posthumously under his name in 1936, with German translations and some editing
by Meinhof.

> BK13. Lion and Jackal.
> BK14. The story of the woman who saved her child from a lion.
> BK15. The woman who took a splinter from the lion's paw.
> BK16. The story of Hyena, Jackal and the person (Version 1).
> BK17. Jackal, Hyena and the person (Version 2).

We have included three of these texts (BK14, 15 and 17) in the present work, since it is clear that they are no longer in copyright.

Four more contributions from Benjamin Kats were published as part of Engelbrecht's 1936 study.[78] The first three listed below were supplied in written form by Benjamin Kats, together with his own Afrikaans interlinear translations. The funeral lament was dictated to Engelbrecht.

> BK18. The San.
> BK19. Treatment of sickness.
> BK20. Marriage.
> BK21. A funeral lament.

Since the copyright status of Engelbrecht's 'orphan' work is uncertain, as previously discussed, we have reproduced only the lament.

Lastly, Kats contributed a valuable set of short sentences[79] illustrating various aspects of morphology and syntax. These sentences are occasionally used as examples in the chapter on the structures of Kora, where they are identified by the labels Mhf1–Mhf78.

2.2.4.3   Andries Bitterbos [AB]

Like Benjamin Kats, Andries Bitterbos, also known as ǂGob, belonged to the Kats clan (the ǁHõa 'ais), and the two men were distantly related, although Bitterbos lived at Barkly West. He assisted Engelbrecht in the 1920s, contributing numerous texts[80] as well as general cultural and historical information to Engelbrecht's work, *The Korana*. The following texts and their translations were dictated by him to Engelbrecht, and provided by him with translations into Afrikaans:

> AB1. Household utensils.
> AB2. *Uintjies* (edible wild bulbs).
> AB3. Slaughter customs.
> AB4. Rain and drought.
> AB5. The San.
> AB6. The *doro*, or young men's initiation school.
> AB7. The game of *thama ǃãigu*, or melon-spearing.
> AB8. Counting backwards (a game played with pebbles).
> AB9. The *ǀãmas*, a river-crossing raft.
> AB10. Anthrax.
> AB11. Syphilis.
> AB12. Jackal and the Sun-girl.

The material provided by Bitterbos is not only rich in detail and vocabulary but often also features interesting intricacies of syntax. Although we have felt obliged to omit the bulk of these texts because of copyright concerns, we have quoted what we consider to be permissible short excerpts from the descriptions of household utensils (AB1), the bringing of rain in times of drought (AB4), and the river-crossing raft

(AB9), and have included the brief counting game (AB8) in full. (The content of most of the other texts is largely duplicated in contributions from members of the Bloemhof and Kimberley Korana communities.)

2.2.4.4 Other members of the Kimberley, Pniel, and Barkly West Korana communities

Engelbrecht acknowledged receipt of invaluable cultural and historical information from several other consultants, who are listed below. The specialised terms given by these consultants are included in the dictionary that forms a part of the present work.

- **Monica Kraalshoek.** Although this speaker lived in Kimberley, Engelbrecht noted that 'her father's eldest brother Spruit Kraalshoek is supposed to reside at Bethany and to know a good deal about their ancient customs'.[81] Monica Kraalshoek was married to a Xhosa-speaking man with the surname Jacks. In conversations with us, the present-day Captain Johannes Kraalshoek spoke about her as an ancestral member of his family.
- **Sanna Lukas**, whose Kora name ǀXamǁnubus is said to have meant 'young puffball', also lived in Kimberley.[82]
- **Hendrik Flink**, also known as Alogob, lived in Barkly West. Engelbrecht noted that his father Hans Flink belonged to the Towenaar (Sorcerer) clan (ǃGaixaǂ'ais), while his mother, Alilora or Hulīs, was from the Bitterbos (Bitterbush) people (ǃGumtena). His great name was ǁGamab.[83]

2.2.4.5 Bloemhof Korana Community [Bhf]

For his initial studies of Kora, carried out in what was then the Orange Free State between December 1926 and January 1927, Engelbrecht worked with three speakers who indicated that they were originally from Bloemhof.[84] These speakers were **Klaas van Neck** and his wife (whose name we are not given), who were living in the Winburg district when they worked with Engelbrecht; and a man from Theunissen in the same district, known only as **Vaaltyn**. Klaas van Neck was the paternal uncle of Saul van Neck of Bloemhof.[85] In addition to assisting Engelbrecht in the compilation of the rich Word List, these speakers also contributed a set of sentences[86] to illustrate various aspects of morphology and syntax. These sentences are occasionally used as examples in the chapter on the structures of Kora, where they are identified by the labels Ebt1–Ebt158.

Maingard visited Bloemhof in 1931 and 1932, when he was able to find 'about twenty-five' speakers of Kora. Following up on their suggestions, he travelled to various other towns in the region, but could find only a few other isolated speakers at Christiana, Schweizer-Reneke (formerly Mamusa), Wolmaranstad, and Shepperd Island. The oldest speakers from Bloemhof contributed several historical or cultural accounts, some given in English, and some in Kora. These contributions, some of which were published in 1932,[87] and the remainder in 1967,[88] were often collaborative

on the part of the members of the Bloemhof Korana community listed below, most of whom were Links Korana.

- **Matiti**, also known as Koos Kraal, belonged to the ǀGama ʼais. Maingard, who met him in the 1930s, estimated his age then at about 100.[89]
- **Teteb** or Koot belonged to the ǀGana ʼais, while his mother came from the Mei people.[90]
- **Tsīta**, also known as Thomas Links, was the son of Teteb.
- **Tabab** or Frans Viljoen was 'the son of Khausib and Tusis'. His great name from his mother was ǀOnob, while that from his father was ǀNaubib.[91] He was already a man of about 70 or 80 when he worked with Maingard in the 1930s, and was reputed to have been a 'fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1885)'.[92]
- **Kheis**, an elderly woman in the 1930s, was the wife of Tabab.[93]
- ǀKutsi, was the son-in-law of Tabab. Maingard said that he was of 'mixed Griqua and Kora descent'.[94]
- **Dʒuli**, or **Julie van Neck**, was the son of Willem, or Bili ǀxalab, and Gās. He belonged to the ǀOara ʼais.[95] Maingard described him as even older than Matiti, who seemed close to 100 years old.[96]
- **Saul van Neck**, was the son of Roelf van Neck or ǀAraib (of the !Oara ʼais) and Galasi, from whom he took the great name Sonob'.[97] Maingard said that he was nearly as old as Tabab, who was in his 70s or 80s.[98]
- **Meis**, and **Iis** (who was the much younger sister of Meis).[99]
- **Kwalakwala**
- **Mulukab**

The following texts were contributed by the speakers mentioned above:

Bhf1. An historical incident: conflict with the Briqua and Sān (Matiti and Teteb).
Bhf2. The *doro*, or young men's initiation school (Tabab, with Matiti, two versions).
Bhf3. The *gam ʼaeb* ceremony held on the occasion of a young man's first big kill (Tabab, with Matiti, Teteb).
Bhf4. The *habab*, the young woman's coming of age ceremony (Iis and Meis).
Bhf5. From the story of Iis (Iis).
Bhf6. Funeral of a chief (Teteb and Iis).
Bhf7. Stone artefacts (Tatab, Teteb and Iis).
Bhf8. Bows and arrows (Dʒuli, Matiti and Kheis).
Bhf9. The making of the *goa xarib* (honey-beer) (Tabab).

Maingard collected a few more texts between 1932 and 1936, again from members of the Links Korana at Bloemhof. These texts, listed below, were published in 1967.[100]

Bhf10. The Sore os, or Sun-child (Kwalakwala and Tabab).
Bhf11. The baboon and the quaggas (Meis and Kwalakwala).

Bhf12. Courtship (Contributors not identified).
Bhf13. Soregus, or the mutual pact of friendship (Kheis and Saul van Neck).
Bhf14. Peace will come (praise song) (Mulukab).

While he was working with members of the Bloemhof Korana, Maingard invited the musicologist Percival R. Kirby to join him. As a result of this collaboration, Kirby subsequently published a paper[101] on the music and musical instruments of the Korana, in which he included musical transcriptions and the lyrics of several songs. The lyrics are mostly rather brief, sometimes consisting of little more than repetitions of a short phrase, while in other cases they are partially obscure. Because of their fragmentary nature, the lyrics have not been reproduced in the present collection, although the various musical terms obtained by Kirby have been included in the dictionary.

In four cases, Kirby noted that each of the different melodies featured the frequent repetition of a particular note, where these seemed to provide reference pitches for the tuning of the individual monotone flutes used in the reed-flute consorts. The Kora names of the different flutes are also included in the dictionary. (Kirby subsequently published a separate paper on the reed-flute ensembles of South Africa.)[102]

The consultants who worked with Kirby included:

- **Daob**, a blind musician, also known as Windvoël. He was the son of Prins van Neck, or Musie.[103] Maingard believed that he was the oldest of all the remaining Bloemhof Korana in the 1930s, estimating his age at 104.[104] Kirby reported that he recorded a number of the songs performed by Daob 'on the phonograph',[105] but it is not known what has become of these.

- **Mulukab**, **Tebeb** [Teteb?], **Tabab**, **Matiti**, **Saul van Eck** [Neck], **Gotis**, **Keis** [Kheis], **Iis** and **Kwakwaris** [Kwakwalis].

Maingard noted in 1967 that he had recorded one of the folktales (Bhf10), 'The Sore os, or Sun-child', on to wax cylinders in 1932. He added rather sadly at this later date that the cylinders were 'now unusable, as they perished'.[106]

The only two recordings of Kora from this period that are known to have survived were made in the late 1930s by D. P. Hallowes, and feature a speaker identified as 'Mukalap' or 'Mukulap'. (It is probable that this speaker was in fact Mulukab.) Both recordings appear on the compact disc compiled by Tony Traill in about 1997.[107] One of these tracks features the speaker uttering a set of twenty-eight words chosen to illustrate each of the four clicks with their possible elaborations. The other is a recording of a message that was intended to be sent overseas to the 'delegates at the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Ghent, 1938'. The English version, based on a modern translation provided by Wilfrid Haacke and Eliphas Eiseb,[108] includes the following lines:

You do not know what nation we are.
Listen, listen, just for once how they speak,
So that you should not again be ignorant.

2.2.4.6   Bethany Korana community *[Beth]*

When Maingard undertook his study of the dialects of Kora in 1935, he had occasion to work with a small group of men who were all born in Bethany, although they were interviewed by him in Bloemfontein.[109] The names of these men, who spoke the dialect of the Right-Hand people (Kx'am ǂõakua), are given below.

- **Bulib**, a Korana headman, was 54 when Maingard interviewed him.
- **Manikib**, aged 76 at the time, is said to have been the 'wagon driver to Wuras'.
- **Pakapab**, aged 70, was the 'grandson of the Chief Piet Witvoet (Xati ǁaib).'
- **Kleinjaer**, aged 72.

The last two speakers contributed a short text on the making of cloaks:

> Beth1. Kaross-making (Pakapab and Kleinjaer).

They also gave Maingard the lyrics of a short reed-dance song, but much as in the case of the songs described by Kirby, the words consist of only one or two very short phrases, plus the constant repetition of a single syllable.

After the great flurry of work carried out on Kora during the late 1920s and the 1930s, when almost all of the few dozen remaining speakers were already very old, there was a silence that lasted throughout the Second World War and for a number of years afterwards. Maingard eventually resumed publishing in the 1960s, although by this time he was no longer able to work directly with any speakers. From this point onwards, it seems to have been more or less tacitly asssumed that the language had finally disappeared forever.

2.2.5   Kora speakers in the 21st century

2.2.5.1   *Dawid Cooper, of Bloemfontein, Orange Free State*

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, it was Mike Besten who made the unexpected and near-miraculous discovery towards the end of 2007, in the course of fieldwork he was then carrying out as part of research into the history of the Korana people, that there were two or three elderly people who still remembered something of the Kora language.[110] Although we briefly visited one of these speakers, Oupa Dawid Cooper, in 2008,[111] it was only in 2011 that we were finally able to work with him for an extended period of time.[112]

Oupa Dawid Cooper, who suffered from diabetes and was wheelchair-bound following the amputation of one leg, was 75 years old by the time he was interviewed by our team of field researchers in September 2011. He identified his father as a 'Coloured man' from Oudtshoorn, and said that he and his sister had learned the Korana language from his mother, whom he described as 'a Griekwa'.[113] He was told as a child that his mother came from 'ǁAba, *naby die Groot Rivier*',[114] or 'near the

Great River' – but did not know where this was. During an interview conducted a few years earlier by Mike Besten, he mentioned that he was born in 1935, in Estoire, Bloemfontein.

When he was asked about his life, Oupa Dawid explained that he was educated at a Sotho-medium primary school, and although he was usually at the top of his class, his father needed him to start contributing to the family's finances as soon as possible, so that he left school prematurely to begin work as a delivery assistant. He started a family of his own many years later, and after a long life of hardship finally received one of the houses built by the new post-apartheid government as part of its programme of reconstruction and development.
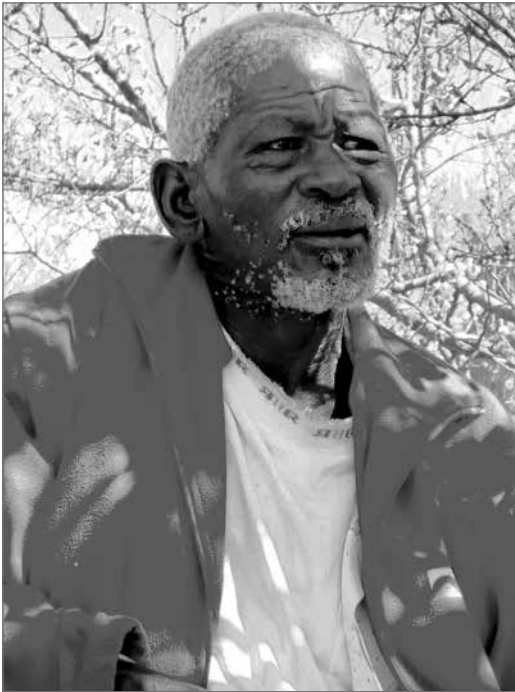
FIGURE 2.9   Oupa Dawid Cooper. The picture shows him surrounded by the fruit trees he planted when he first came to live in a section of Bloemside (Phase 3) on the outskirts of Bloemfontein in 1998. (Photograph by Bradley van Sitters, September 2011.)

Apart from Sotho, Afrikaans, and Kora, Oupa Dawid spoke some Tswana, Xhosa, and English. (Most of his grandchildren and great-grandchildren today speak Tswana, in addition to some Afrikaans or English.) He was keenly interested in our project, and while we tried not to prompt him during the elicitation sessions, he understood that the word list we were using as our starting point was a compilation from older sources, and when he could not recall a word himself, was frequently curious to know for his own satisfaction what had been written down in the past, and what the '*ou*

mense' or 'old people' used to say. There were many words Oupa could not recall or felt uncertain of, but he nevertheless contributed recordings of about 100 words. He told us that his recently deceased sister had always been the better speaker.

We paid Oupa Dawid a return visit in August 2012, taking his granddaughter with us. This time we found him being cared for at a small facility for the aged in the remote rural outskirts of Bloemfontein, following a recent stroke. He had forgotten all his Kora, and in the aftermath of the stroke retained only Afrikaans and Sotho. Oupa Dawid died on Easter Monday, 2013.

2.2.5.2   Jacoba Maclear, of Bloemhof, North Western Cape.

Ouma Jacoba Maclear turned 100 the week after our team visited her at her home in the modest and dusty township of Coverdale adjacent to Bloemhof,[115] in early December 2011. In an interview conducted by Mike Besten a few years before our visit, she said that she was born around 1911, somewhere '*in die Kolonie*' (meaning 'in the Cape Province'), but grew up in Hoopstad. It is extraordinary to think that Ouma Jacoba would have been a young woman at the time that Maingard and Kirby were working with members of the Bloemhof Korana community in the 1930s.

Ouma Jacoba could not remember ever having received any formal schooling, and told us that she started kitchen work at a young age. Nevertheless, she said that the name Jacoba was her 'school name', and that her 'home name' was Nathi.[116] She was married once (and widowed long ago), but the surname Maclear is her own. She never had children, but at the time we met her was being cared for by the grand-daughter of her late sister Sanna.

FIGURE 2.10 Members of the team setting up to record in Ouma Jacoba's living room. From left, Niklaas Fredericks, Levi Namaseb, Edward Charles Human, Ouma Jacoba Maclear. (Photograph by Bradley van Sitters, December 2011.)

Ouma Jacoba told us that she learned to speak Kora from her mother, who could speak the language superbly, or in Ouma's words, '*uit die water uit*'. (She did not know where her mother originally came from.) It seemed to give Ouma great pleasure when she heard the two Nama-speaking members of our team occasionally chatting in their own language, and once or twice she joined in, speaking Kora to them with much accompanying laughter. Later she told us that her father, who was Griqua,[117] had spoken '*soos julle*' – meaning like Levi Namaseb and Niklaas Fredericks. This casual remark provided first-hand confirmation that the Giri variety of Khoekhoe must have been closer to Nama than to Kora.

Although there were gaps in her knowledge, which she acknowledged, Ouma retained much of the syntax and still had an extensive vocabulary, with even the tones of the language still preserved in her speech. She contributed pronunciations of approximately 800 words and phrases, which illustrate a sizeable portion of the Kora vocabulary collated by us from older sources. It is Ouma's voice that is heard in most of the illustrative recordings that accompany this work in its electronic format, and where words or phrases given by her are used as examples in the chapters that follow, they are labelled 'JM'.

We asked Ouma whether she remembered any of the traditional musical performances, but while she fondly recalled the days when people used to get together for the old '*stampe*', or dances, the only musical instruments she could remember were '*bengues, kitarre en kostinas*', or 'banjoes, guitars and concertinas'. Despite all our efforts and coaxing, she could not be persuaded to tell us any stories in Kora, nor to provide any other kind of extended discourse. She excused herself by saying that there was no-one left anymore to help her, adding that '*alle Korannas is ondere grond*', or, in other words, that 'all the Korana people are dead and buried'. We could not help recalling the experience of Maingard more than eighty years earlier, who noted that many of the contributions from the Bloemhof Korana were made collectively.

FIGURE 2.11   Ouma Jacoba Maclear being interviewed at her home in Bloemhof by Edward Charles Human and Levi Namaseb (centre). (Photograph by Bradley van Sitters, December 2011.)

It was difficult for all of us not to be deeply affected by our time with Ouma Jacoba, and the two members of our team with direct ancestral connections to the Korana people[118] were left heartsore. After taking our leave of her on the final day of work, we stopped our hired car halfway along the bridge across the Bloemhof Dam that lies outside the town, and the five of us got out to gaze over the water. As we stood there, the pale sky above us filled with the sound of thousands upon thousands of swallows scything through the air, and we found we could not speak. When two of us paid Ouma Jacoba a return visit the following year, after a hard winter, we found her in an advanced state of frailty, and while we spent a precious hour with her, we did not feel it appropriate to impose on her with any further fatiguing questions.

Ouma Jacoba died in 2013, only a few months after Oupa Dawid.

Endnotes

1   The official reports of all the Dutch expeditions are collected in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd* (4 vols) ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916–1932), while English translations of many of them may be found in *The Record, or, A series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa,* ed. Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A. S. Robertson, 1838). Many of these early accounts have also been published in newly translated and edited versions by the Van Riebeeck Society, where these volumes typically provide extensive notes, maps, illustrations, and related documents. Most of the travellers' accounts from the subsequent British period are now freely available online and can be found on websites such as the Internet Archive (https://archive.org). Two invaluable companion works, which help to identify the often unreliably mapped routes of early travellers, are Vernon S. Forbes, *Pioneer Travellers in South Africa* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1965); and E. E. Mossop, *Old Cape Highways* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, n.d.).

2   See Rowland Raven-Hart, *Before Van Riebeeck: Callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652* (Cape Town: Struik, 1967).

3   Gabriel Nienaber, *Hottentot*s (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1963), 11.

4   Thomas Herbert, *A relation of some yeares travaile, begunne anno 1626* (London: William Stansby and Jacob Bloome, 1634), 16.

5   Etienne de Flacourt, *Petit Recueil de Plusieurs Dictions, &c., Auquel Sont Adjustez Quelque Mots de la Langue des Sauvages du Cap de Bonne Esperance* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), 55–61. (Part 2 of Gabriel Ferrand, *Dictionnaire de la langue de Madagascar.*)

6   Christian Juncker, *Commentarius de vita, scriptisque ac meritis illustris viri Iobi Ludolfi*, Appendix (Leipzig and Frankfort: J. Frideric Braun, 1710), 227–238.

7   Gottfried Leibniz, *Collectanea Etymologica*, part 2 (Hanover: Nicolas Förster, 1717), 375–384.

8   The two word lists and the three texts were republished in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1858, 34–41; 116–119.

9   Everhardus C. Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd*, vol. 1, ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916), 215.

10   We do not have the original versions of the word lists obtained by either of these two men.
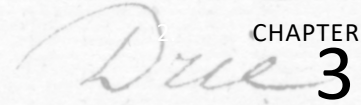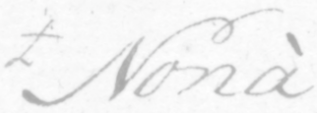
11   Gabriel Nienaber and Rowland Raven-Hart, eds, *Johan Daniel Buttner's Account of the Cape* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1970).

12   Hans den Besten, "A badly harvested field: the growth of linguistic knowledge and the Dutch Cape Colony until 1796," in *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, ed. Siegfried Huigen, Jan L. de Jong and Elmer Kolfin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 284.

13   Francois Valentyn, *Beschryvinge van de Kaap de Goede Hoope, 1726*, vol. 2, transl. Rowland Raven-Hart, ed. Edith Raidt (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1973), 76–95.

14   Peter Kolb, *Naaukeurige en uitvoerige beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*, part 1 (Amsterdam: Balthazar Lakeman, 1727), 429–439.

15   George Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, pt 1, ed. Vernon S. Forbes (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1967), 48, fn. 37.

16   Patrick Cullinan (ed.), *Robert Jacob Gordon 1743–1795: The Man and his Travels at the Cape* (formerly available online at: http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/age/people/Gordon, 2003).

17   Gordon's Khoekhoe word lists and various scattered words have been extracted and published in Francois-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar, "Four word lists of extinct Cape Khoekhoe from the 18th century" *Studies in African Linguistics* 34, no. 2 (2005), 159–178; and are discussed in Andrew B. Smith and Roy H. Pheiffer, "Col. Robert Jacob Gordon's notes on the Khoikhoi 1779–80" *Annals of the South African Cultural History Museum* 5, no. 1 (1992), 1–56.

18   Robert Ross, *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa: The Kat River Settlement, 1829–1856* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

19   Hendrik Wikar, *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935).

20   Jan A. Engelbrecht, "The tribes of Wikar's journal" in *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 221–237.

21   John Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798* (2 vols) (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1801, 1806).

22   Samuel Daniell, *African Scenery and Animals, 1804–1805* (London: W. Daniell, 1820).

23   William Somerville, *William Somerville's Narrative of his Journeys to the Eastern Cape Frontier and to Lattakoe 1799–1802*, ed. Edna Bradlow and Frank Bradlow (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1979), 90–93.

24   Petrus B. Borcherds, *An Autobiographical Memoir of Petrus Borchardus Borcherds, Esq.* (Cape Town: A. S. Robertson, 1861), 70.

25   Thompson, *Travels and Adventures*, pt 1, xxviii, fn. 3.

26   Henry (Hinrich) Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, vol. 2, transl. Anne Plumptre (London: Henry Colburn, 1812), 465.

27   Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. 2, Appendix 1.

28   William Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 251.

29   Burchell, *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 2, 253–255.

30   John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 237–238.

31   Campbell, *Travels in South Africa,* 388–389.

32 Thomas Arbousset and Francois Daumas, *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, trans. John Croumbie Brown (Cape Town: A.S. Robertson, Saul Solomon and Co., 1846), 250–254.

33 Louis F. Maingard, "A note on the Hottentot (Griqua and Korana) words in the diary of Andrew Smith," in *The Diary of Andrew Smith, Director of "The Expedition for Exploring Central Africa", 1834–1836*, vol. 2, ed. P. R. Kirby (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1940), 315–316.

34 Maingard, "A revised manuscript version of the Korana catechism of C. F. Wuras," *Bantu Studies* 5, no. 2 (1931), 113.

35 Heinrich Vedder, "*Korana-Katechismus von C. F. Wuras*" in *Festschrift Meinhof* (Hamburg: Augustin, 1927).

36 Maingard, "A revised manuscript version."

37 John Whittle Appleyard, *The Kafir Language* (King William's Town: Wesleyan Mission Printing Establishment, 1850), 17–26.

38 The system adopted for Nama in the early 1860s by missionaries such as Johann Wallmann and Johann Georg Krönlein, and for Khoisan languages in general by the members of the Bleek household, followed a decision in 1856 on the part of the Rhenish Missionary Society to adopt the proposals of Carl Lepsius for a universal phonetic alphabet. Wuras first began his attempts to write Kora in the 1840s, long before the introduction of the Lepsius system, and so was compelled to devise a system of his own, which he revised several times.

39 Carl F. Wuras, *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache* [1858], ed. Walther Bourquin (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*: Suppl. 1) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Hamburg: C. Boysen, 1920).

40 German missionaries based in Namaqualand were less put out by the difficulties of the local Khoekhoe language, and made concerted efforts to learn Nama, rather than insisting on the more convenient use of Dutch by their converts. A number of Bible translations, grammars and dictionaries for Nama appeared from 1831 onwards, and when Wilhelm Bleek began corresponding with Krönlein in the early 1860s, the latter was able to send him numerous written texts that already reflected the only recently adopted Lepsius conventions.

41 Carl F. Wuras, "An account of the Korana, by the Rev. C. F. Wuras" transl. and ed. Louis F. Maingard, *Bantu Studies* 3, no. 1 (1927), 287–296.

42 Wuras's original symbols have been transliterated with the help of the comparative reference table in Douglas Beach, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938), 190.

43 Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni Goam: The Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi* (London: Trübner and Co., 1881), 34–35.

44 Engelbrecht noted yet another old name for Cape Town, which was given to him by Benjamin Kats as ǁi ǂkx'ab and said to be of unknown meaning – although ǂkx'ab is perhaps the word for 'side'. See Engelbrecht's *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936), 12.

45 See Anna H. Smith, *The Spread of Printing: Eastern Hemisphere: South Africa* (Amsterdam: Vangendt and Co., 1971).

46 Reproduced in Smith, 43.

47 Carl F. Wuras, "An outline of the Bushman language" transl. and ed. Walther Bourquin, *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 10 (1919/1920), 81–87.

48 Lucy C. Lloyd comp., Louis F. Maingard ed., "Korana names of animals and plants", *Bantu Studies* 6, no. 4 (1932), 309.

49 The pencil transcriptions of Isabella Lloyd and Jemima Bleek, who seem to have been charged mainly with interviewing Griet and Siela, are partially corrected in ink by Lucy Lloyd. The reliability of these transcriptions is not always certain, while the variety used by the two speakers seems to have been closer to Giri than Kora.

50 The original notebooks are housed in the Manuscripts Collection of the Archival and Special Collections at the Unisa Library in Pretoria. They have been digitised and are available online at http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za under the headings of 'Lucy Lloyd, Kora Notebooks, MP1–4', and 'Jemima Bleek notebooks'. Lloyd's three notebooks are indicated by the abbreviation Lld in the context of Dictionary entries.

51 Louis F. Maingard, "Studies in Korana history, customs and language" *Bantu Studies* 6, no. 2 (1932), 135. This work will hereafter be referred to as Mgd1932 in the references, and as Mgd32 in the context of Dictionary entries.

52 Louis F. Maingard, *Koranna Folktales: Grammar and Texts* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1962).

53 Lloyd and Maingard, "Korana names of animals and plants."

54 In Lloyd's first notebook, hereafter referred to as MP1, 024–026.

55 MP1, 026–029.

56 MP1, 036–049.

57 MP1, 081–089; with continuations in Lloyd's second and third notebooks, MP2, 090; MP3, 126–131.

58 MP3, 134–152.

59 MP2, 110–113.

60 MP3, 126–131. This narrative is not included in the present collection.

61 Carl Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, with contributions by Hermann Hegner, Diedrich Westermann and Carl Wandres (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909).

62 Carl Meinhof, *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1930) (Supplement 12 to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*), hereafter referred to as Mhf.

63 Benjamin Kats, "*Korana-Erzählungen*," ed. Carl Meinhof, *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 26 (1935/6), 161–174. This publication of Kats's work was posthumous. The work is referred to as BK in the context of Dictionary entries.

64 Douglas Martyn Beach, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938).

65 Jan A. Engelbrecht, "*Studies oor Koranntaal*," *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch* 6, ser. B, no. 2 (1928), hereafter referred to as Ebt1928 in the references, and as Ebt28 in the context of Dictionary entries.

66 Jan A. Engelbrecht, *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936), hereafter referred to as Ebt1936 in the references, and as Ebt36 in the context of Dictionary entries.

67 Maingard, "The Korana dialects" *African Studies* 23, no. 2 (1964), 57–66.

68 Maingard, "A comparative study of Naron, Hietshware and Korana" *African Studies* 22, no. 3 (1963), 97–108.

69 Maingard also contributed a study of a ǃUi language. See Louis F. Maingard, "The ǀKhomani dialect of Bushman: its morphology and other characteristics" in *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari*, ed. J. D. Rheinallt Jones and C. M. Doke (Johannesburg: Wits

University Press, 1937), 237–275. In another paper he presented a grammatical sketch and a few texts in the Taa language, ǀXoon: see his "Three Bushman languages: Part II: The third Bushman language" *African Studies* 17, no. 2 (1958), 100–115.

70 This land was restored to the Griqua people in 1999, following a successful post-apartheid land claim.

71 Ebt1936, 234.

72 Beach, *Phonetics*, facing p. 237.

73 Beach, *Phonetics*, 235–245.

74 Ebt1936, 211–212.

75 Mhf, 5.

76 Mhf, 63–75.

77 Katz, "*Korana-Erzählungen*".

78 Ebt1936, 203–211.

79 Mhf, 75–78.

80 Ebt1936, 212–231.

81 Ebt1936, 234.

82 Ebt1936, 234.

83 Ebt1936, 233.

84 Ebt1928, 3.

85 Ebt1936, 235.

86 Ebt1928, 41–45.

87 Mgd1932, 103–162.

88 Louis F. Maingard, "Korana texts from Bloemhof" *African Studies* 26, no. 1 (1967), 43–46, hereafter referred to as Mgd1967 in the references, and as Mgd67 in the context of Dictionary entries.

89 Mgd1932, 104.

90 Ebt1936, 235.

91 Ebt1936, 234–235.

92 Mgd1932, 104.

93 Ebt1936, 235.

94 Mgd1932, 105.

95 The 'ǀOara ǂ'ais' was in fact the ǂOra ǂ'ais, or Kora clan.

96 Mgd1932, 104.

97 Ebt1936, 235.

98 Mgd1932, 104.

99 Mgd1932, 105.

100 Mgd1967, 43–46.

101 Percival R. Kirby, "The music and musical instruments of the Korana" *Bantu Studies* 6, no. 1 (1932), 183–204.

102 Percival R. Kirby, "The reed-flute ensembles of South Africa: a study in South African native music" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 63 (1933), 313–388.

103 Ebt1936, 235.

104 Mgd1932, 104.

105 Kirby, "The music and musical instruments," 195.

106 Mgd1967.

107 Anthony Traill, *Extinct: South African Khoisan languages* (University of the Witwatersrand: Department of Linguistics, ca. 1997). Compact disc with booklet.

108 Traill, ca. 1997, 24.

109 Maingard, "The Korana dialects," 60.

110 In addition to the two speakers who worked with us, two or three other elderly people known to Edward Charles Human are reported to have some partial memory of Kora, although only one is said to be reasonably fluent. The last-mentioned speaker has declined to work with linguists.

111 Thanks to Caroline Kloppert for acting as a tireless assistant on this occasion, driving us twice daily from our accommodation in downtown Bloemfontein to the far outskirts of the city where Oupa lived, and taking it upon herself to prepare healthy snacks for him out of concern for his diabetic condition.

112 Both of our Kora language consultants were paid a professional rate for their work, where this was a flat daily amount independent of the number of hours they managed to put in on any given day. They understood that the recordings would be disseminated to allow future generations to listen to the language, and gave us not only their full consent to this but also their approval. Our communication with the two speakers was in Afrikaans throughout, since this was their language of preference.

113 Oupa Dawid used the terms 'Griqua' and 'Korana' interchangeably. According to Mike Besten (personal communication, December 2010), self-identification as Griqua was sometimes motivated by a perception that it conferred higher status.

114 The name may simply be a word for 'stream' (*'āb*), possibly with a locative ending *–ba*, or else 'place, site of settlement' (*'ās*). Intriguingly, Lucy Lloyd noted (MP1, facing p. 036) that the old Korana name for Kimberley was ǀꞬĀs (which she spelled ' ǀꞬĀs').

115 Even in 2017, most of South Africa's cities and towns still reflect in their layout the old divisions and separations of the apartheid era. The town of Bloemhof is on the Vaal River, about 200 km from Bloemfontein, in the North-West Province. The Bloemhof Dam, which lies at the confluence of the Vaal and Vet Rivers, was constructed in the late 1960s, and would not have been a feature of Ouma's childhood landscape. The town is today mainly a farmers' depot and truck stop, but also boasts several small hotels and boarding houses, which cater to holiday-makers who come to enjoy the opportunities for fishing and watersports provided by the dam.

116 The name may be Sotho or Tswana, or even Xhosa.

117 Ouma Jacoba told Mike Besten in an interview conducted some years earlier that her father was 'a Tlhaping', which suggests that he may have spoken Tswana in addition to Giri.

118 These members are Bradley van Sitters, a Khoisan community activist from Cape Town who acted as our technical assistant and photographer, and Edward Charles Human, from Heidedal in Bloemfontein.

THE SOUNDS OF KORA

There will be many readers who would like to have a sense of how the Kora narratives would have sounded when they were originally delivered by speakers of the language. As the following notes will show, it would not be too far off the mark to assume pronunciations of individual words that are for the most part reasonably close to those of modern South African Nama and Namibian Khoekhoe – but with a few notable exceptions. Many of the examples given in this chapter are linked in the electronic version to illustrative sound files, which should help the reader to achieve a richer understanding of the Kora system of sounds. (The 'clickability' of a given word is indicated typographically.) This chapter, which does not assume any prior linguistic knowledge, should help readers to become familiar with the main conventions used in writing Kora, particularly where these differ from those used in the Namibian orthography for the Nama, Dama, and Hai om dialects. The chapter also aims to provide a basis for understanding the many variations and discrepancies in spellings that will be seen in the heritage texts.

As we have noted previously, Kora did not receive an official orthography, which is to say a formally recognised set of spelling and writing conventions. For the purposes of the present work, a set of 'standard' conventions has been adopted, where these are based on those used by Carl Meinhof for his Glossary of the language.[1] In the discussion that follows, any letter or letter sequence printed in bold, as for example **p** or **kh**, is intended to reflect the standardised *written symbol* for a given phoneme. (A phoneme, written for example as /p/ or /kʰ/, is a unit of sound in a given language where its phonetic distinctness is associated in that language with the marking of a difference in meaning, as in English 'pat' versus 'cat', or 'pat' versus 'bat'. Any predictable phonetic variants of a sound that do not affect meaning are not treated as separate phonemes, and are written between square brackets, as for example [kx].)

It should be kept in mind that, like all Khoisan languages and indeed many other languages of Africa as well as Asia, Kora is a tone language, which is to say that it makes use of contrastive tone melodies to signal differences in meaning between two or more words that might otherwise seem identical. The tones are not marked in the examples that follow, for the simple reason that we do not have enough reliable data (either from older sources or our own material) to offer them with certainty. The Kora tone melodies are briefly discussed in the final section.

Older resources consulted include Douglas Beach's seminal work on the phonetics of the Khoekhoe languages,[2] and the brief commentaries on Kora phonetics by scholars such as Carl Meinhof[3] and Louis Maingard.[4] A number of new observations have been made on the basis of our own recordings, guided by current insights arrived at in recent years through phonetic studies of other Khoisan languages in general, by scholars such as Anthony Traill,[5] and Hirosi Nakagawa.[6] The basic terminology of the descriptions is drawn largely from Peter Ladefoged's *A Course in Phonetics*,[7] which throughout its many editions has given generations of students their fundamental knowledge of phonetics.[8] Since the present work is primarily intended, however, for a broad and non-specialist readership, technical terms will be introduced only sparingly. Where their use is unavoidable, it is hoped that their meaning will become clear from the context.

The example words given throughout this chapter include many loanwords. These will not always be specially indicated,[9] but readers from southern Africa will frequently notice them. Some of these have become an integral part of the Khoekhoe varieties, and in a few cases, they have been reconstructed for the hypothetical ancestral language.[10]

3.1   Vowels and diphthongs

3.1.1   Vowels

Kora has a set of five plain vowels, written **i, u, e, o** and **a**. The first two (phonetic /i/ and /u/) more or less resemble the vowels in English BEET and BOOT respectively, as pronounced by a speaker of South African English – although they may be slightly higher in Kora; while the sound represented by the letter **a** (phonetic /a/), more or less resembles the sound of 'a' in BATH as pronounced by a speaker of South African English. The mid front and back vowels **e** (phonetic /ɛ/) as in BET and **o** (phonetic /ɔ/) as in BOUGHT each have a higher (closer) variant (phonetic [e] and [o]), which typically occurs before a following front vowel such as **i** or **e**, or else before a nasal.[11] The low central vowel **a** has a similar tendency to raise in such environments. Since the occurrence of these variants (allophones) is predictable, they need not be counted as separate phonemes, or distinguished in the spelling.[12] It is not uncommon, nevertheless, to find alternate spellings in the older literature where the raised variants are specifically indicated. Carl Meinhof, for example, has '*kxʼummiʼ*' as a variant of *kxʼommi* 'house', while Lucy Lloyd has '*hummi*' for *hommi* 'cloud, sky' and '*surep*' (with masculine ending) for *sores* 'sun'. The mid central vowel [ə] (as in English 'the', or Afrikaans *se* 'his, her, its') was occasionally produced by our two consultants as a variant of **a**, as in [dənis] for *danis* 'honey', or even as a variant of **ae** (phonetic /ae/), as in [ˈʔəsən] for *ʼaesen* 'be sick'. It is not a contrastive sound in its own right.

The language also has a parallel set of nasalised vowels, where the nasalisation is indicated by means of the tilde, as **ĩ, ũ,** and **ã.** (In the standard spelling conventions for Namibian Khoekhoe, nasalisation is shown by the circumflex, as for example, 'â'.) Beach did not include **ẽ** in the set of nasalised vowels for Kora, and the sole instance we have found is probably a variant of **ĩ.** The nasalised **õ** is similarly borderline, and may simply be a variant of **ũ.** (In Namibian Khoekhoe, the vowels represented by the letters 'e' and 'o' do not occur with nasalisation.)

The five oral and three nasal vowels of Kora, plus the allophones of the mid oral vowels, are set out in Table 3.1, where the diagram is a chart of the kind used by linguists to indicate the two main parameters that characterise vowels, namely the part of the tongue that is raised (front, centre or back), and the relative height to which that part is raised (high, mid or low). (Figure 3.1 provides a sketch of the vocal tract, to which these terms relate.)

TABLE 3.1   The oral and nasal vowels of Kora, showing the two forms each (close and open) of the front and back mid vowels.

		front	central	back
high		i, ĩ		u, ũ
mid <	close-mid open-mid	[e] [ɛ]	[ə]	[o] [ɔ]
low			a, ã	

Following a nasal vowel, an intrusive nasal segment is sometimes heard, which may be /m/, /n/ or the velar nasal /ŋ/, depending on whether the following sound is bilabial, alveolar, or velar. The missionary Carl Wuras indicated such sounds sporadically in his Kora Vocabulary, and they were also noted by Jan Engelbrecht[13]. Douglas Beach[14] doubted the assertions of these authors – and yet intrusive nasals of this kind are clearly audible in some of our own recordings, and the fact that they are homorganic with (that is, have the same place of articulation as) the following segment suggests that they are genuinely interpolated segments. Examples include *mu ã(m)b* 'head', *'ãi(n)dje* 'they (3rd person feminine plural)' and *'ã(ng)gub* 'fight'. Since the nasal insertions are more or less predictable and not semantically significant, they need not be indicated in the spelling. (It was noted in an earlier chapter that nasal intrusions of this kind have led to a characteristic dialectal feature, involving the subsequent assimilation of the masculine singular suffix –*b* to the inserted nasal as –*m*.)

In addition to a contrast between oral and nasal production, some of the vowels in Kora (as in most Khoisan languages) may be lengthened[15]. (In Namibian Khoekhoe, long vowels are indicated by means of the macron, as 'ā'.) Several of the older authors indicate the long vowels of Kora by means of a colon (as for example, 'a:'), but since this can lead to confusion with ordinary punctuation marks, we have

chosen to follow the Namibian convention and use the macron instead. Nasalised vowels are always long, and because of this predictability, it would be redundant to indicate the feature in the spelling[16]. In our reproductions of the heritage texts and in the Dictionary, we have usually preserved any indications of vowel length that may have been given in the original sources. The reality, though, is that such indications were often only sporadically made, and were not always consistent. In the case of transcriptions made by Lucy Lloyd and Carl Wuras, it seems that their occasional use of a doubled consonant (as in the word '*torro*' recorded by Wuras for *thoro* 'scatter, sow, strew') was intended to reflect a shortened preceding vowel. As a basic rule of thumb, the vowel in a word (other than a grammatical morpheme) that consists of just a consonant followed by a vowel (such as *bī* 'suckle') is typically long, while the first vowel in a word that either has a medial consonant (such as *koba* 'speak'), or ends in a nasal (such as *xon* 'grind'), is most often short. There are many exceptions to this basic principle, though, where these frequently seem to occur in cases where a word is reduplicated or compounded, or where it was perhaps originally so, but has subsequently undergone contraction.

The qualities of different vowels are produced by raising different parts of the tongue (front, centre or back) to varying heights (high, mid or low) so as to change the shape of the oral tract. (This has a modulating effect on the sound.) On its way out from the lungs, air moves through the vocal folds situated in the larynx, and when these are drawn closely together, the flow of the air past them creates the vibration we perceive as voicing. (Vowels are ordinarily always voiced.) The soft palate (velum) is normally slightly raised and rests against the back wall of the pharynx where it makes a velic closure, so that air can flow out only through the oral cavity. Nasalised vowels are produced by lowering the velum so that air can escape through the nasal cavity. Although front vowels (as in 'cheese') are associated by default with lip-spreading, and back vowels (as in 'choose') are associated with lip-rounding, it is possible to produce back vowels with spread lips and front vowels with rounded lips.

(Diagram by Arcadian (Public domain), via Wikimedia Commons. Some labels have been adapted.)

FIGURE 3.1   Sketch of the vocal tract, showing the areas alluded to in Table 3.1.

The following sets of words illustrate the different vowels. The best way to form an accurate impression of the Kora vowels will be to listen to the recorded examples in the online edition. Note that in Kora, as in Nama, a vowel that occurs at the beginning of a word (as in *arib* 'dog') is typically produced with a glottal stop onset, as for example, [ˀa]. Since it is predictable, this fairly common feature, which is found also in Sotho-Tswana languages as well as many varieties of English, need not be reflected in the spelling. The endings *–b* and *–s* seen in some examples are the 3rd person singular suffixes of the masculine and feminine genders respectively. (These will be discussed in the chapter on the structures of the language.)

i, ĩ   (Phonetic /i/)
    bīb   'milk'
    dī   'do' [*sõse di* 'do it quickly']
    disi   'ten'
    ĩb   'father' [*sa ĩb* 'his father']
    ĩsa   'good, pretty, nice'
    mĩ   'say' [*tita ke n' mĩ* 'I am saying']
    tĩ   'ask'

e, (ẽ)   (Phonetic /ɛ/)
    bē   'go away' [*ūbē* 'take away']
    hē   'this'
    (tẽ)   'ask' (variant of *tĩ*)

u, ũ   (Phonetic /u/)
    gūs   'ewe'
    sūb   'pot, pipe' [*ǁnā sūb* 'that pipe']
    tūs   'rain'
    ū   'take' [*ūbē* 'take away']
    mũ   'see' [*mũ ti ke* 'I see']

o, (õ)   (Phonetic /ɔ/)
    hō   'find, get'
    koro   'five'
    o   'if, when'
    (sõse)   'quickly' [*sõse di* 'do quickly'] (Nama *sûxase*)

a, ã   (Phonetic /a/)
    a   grammatical morpheme, hortative ('let')
    a   'be'
    bā   'tread, step'
    hā   'come'
    haka   'four'
    hã   'stay, remain'
    mã   'give' [*mã te* 'give me']
    mã   'stand'

Old records show an occasional tendency for **o** to be pronounced as **a**, as in the case of *gamas* for *gomas* 'cow'.

3.1.2   Diphthongs

Like other Khoekhoe varieties, the Kora dialects make use of various vowel combinations, which may be oral or nasal. (Sequences of two adjacent vowels that behave as a unit are referred to as diphthongs.) While diphthongs in some languages may have either a short onset or a short offglide, the two vowels in Khoekhoe diphthongs typically carry an equal weight, particularly in careful citations, while each may also carry a separate tone.

In the case of the nasalised diphthongs, the nasal quality spreads over both vowels in the sequence. Some older scholars occasionally indicated this by placing a tilde over both vowels, or else over just the second vowel. The convention we have chosen here is to indicate it on the first vowel, for the simple reason that this was the practice of both Meinhof and Maingard, and preserving it will enable us to stay close to the spellings used in the heritage texts. The same convention is used for Namibian Khoekhoe, where the circumflex is placed over the first vowel in a nasalised vowel sequence.

The first three sets of oral and nasal diphthongs illustrated below begin with a rounded back vowel, written **u** or **o**, and finish with **i** in the case of **u**, and either **e** or **a** in the case of o. While some of these sequences may reflect the loss of former medial segments, others have developed by a well-known process of 'vowel breaking', which typically affects long vowels and may be associated with labialisation and fronting, as commonly seen, for example, in Sotho-Tswana languages.

As noted earlier, the back mid vowel typically takes the form of the higher allophone [o] when it is followed by **e**, and [ɔ] when followed by **a**. (Beach did not find a nasalised form for the sequence ending in **e**, namely **oe**.) In the cases where **o** is raised, it may sometimes be perceived as **u**, while it can also happen that the final vowels **i** and **e** in **ui** and **oe** may be heard as lower or higher respectively. These phenomena probably account for spellings in older records such as '*kuep*' for *khoeb* 'man', '*khoi*' for *khoe* 'person', and '*doi*' or '*due*' for *doe* 'fly, flee, depart'. While we have preserved original spellings in the texts where possible, we have made appropriate adjustments in the case of frequently used words such as *khoeb* 'man'.

In the example sets below, the letter 'x' stands for the fricative sound indicated by the letter 'g' in Afrikaans *goud* 'gold' or Tswana *goa* 'cry out'.[17] (The click symbols used in some of the examples will be explained in a later section of this chapter.)

ui, ũi   (Phonetic /ui/)

	hui	'help'
	uib	'bee'
	ǀui	'one'
	kxʼũib	'life'
	ǃũi	'mountain pass'
	ǂhũib	'willow'

oe   (Phonetic /oe/)

	doe	'fly, flee, trek'
	ǀʼoeb	'curse, oath'

oa, õa   (Phonetic /ɔa/)

	toatoa	'finish'
	thoathoa	'begin'
	hoa	'all' [*hoa ǂʼũkua hora*! 'serve up all the food!']
	xoa	'write'
	kõas	'knife'
	õab	'son'

In principle, these diphthongs are pronounced much as they are written. Nevertheless, there are cases in Kora, especially in the context of fluent speech, where the rounded first vowel in sequences such as **ui**, **oe** and **oa** is shortened and may take on the quality of a glide, so that the diphthongs are frequently heard as [wi], [we] and [wa]. These were often written down as such in older documents, giving us spellings such as '*khwep*' or '*kwep*' for *khoeb* 'man'. Maingard consistently spelled such words with the letter 'w', and in these cases, we have adjusted the spellings in the texts for ease of reading and for the sake of overall consistency.

The remaining sets of oral and nasal diphthongs all begin with the sound represented by the letter **a**, and end with either one of the front vowels **i** or **e**, or one of the back vowels **u** or **o**. (Beach did not find nasalised forms for the sequences ending in the mid vowels **e** or **o**, namely **ae** and **ao**.) Much like the sequences discussed above, they have a number of variations in their pronunciation, and as a consequence also in some of the spellings that we encounter in the heritage texts. While they were at one time apparently spoken much as they are spelled, their pronunciation in Kora and modern Namibian Khoekhoe is nowadays a little different.

ai, ãi   (Phonetic /əɪ/)
kai	'big'
haib	'tree (tall)'
xaib	'male gemsbok'
!xaib	'place'
ǂai	'call'
khãi	'rise, wake'
xãi	'swell'
‖'ãib	'he'

When he was working in the 1920s, Beach[18] found that in careful enunciations of the vowel sequence **ai**, speakers of Nama would typically produce a sound close to the two separate vowels suggested by the spelling. In Kora, however, he found that the first vowel was often raised, so that the sound became closer to /əɪ/, which is very roughly similar to the sound of the diphthong in South African English BAIT or Afrikaans *feit* 'fact'. (This vowel sequence is represented in some older Dutch or Afrikaans-based records of Kora by the spelling '*ei*'.) Contemporary speakers of Namibian Khoekhoe dialects sometimes now use the /əɪ/ pronunciation,[19] while our Kora consultants consistently pronounced this sequence in this way.[20] There is often a somewhat rounded quality to the sound.

ae   (Phonetic /ae/)
‖ae	'tell lie'
‖kx'aeb	'time, season, occasion'
!xaeb	'darkness, night'
ǂaeb	'smoking'

(We have not come across any instances of the nasalised form of this diphthong.)

In ordinary speech, the second vowel of the sequence can seem to vary between **e** and a closer form, so that it may be heard as **i**. This probably accounts for some of the alternate forms seen in older records, where words with this vowel sequence may be spelled with '*ai*'. As Beach heard this sound in the 1920s, it was produced approximately as a sequence of the two vowels indicated in the spelling **ae**, which is to say a sequence approximately similar to the sound of the diphthong in South African English BITE, but with a more open second vowel. This vowel sequence is rarely indicated in Meinhof's Kora Glossary,[21] and we found only a few examples of it in our own data. In some cases where we expected to hear it, as for example in *'aeb* 'fire' and *'aesen* 'be sick', our consultants gave us ['ɛb] and ['əsən] instead.[22] Most of the words listed above were nevertheless pronounced with the true **ae** by Ouma Jacoba. (In principle, the first vowel in the sequence **ae** should not be susceptible to raising, and it can probably be assumed that words that never reflect the variant [əɪ] fall into this set. In Namibian Khoekhoe, the word for 'nation, clan' is represented with this diphthong, as *aes*. In Kora, however, the spellings used by multiple sources suggest that the sound was most often heard as **ai**, and it is accordingly given in the Dictionary at the end of this work as *'ais*.)

au, ãu (Phonetic /əʊ/)

daub	'male quagga, donkey'
ǀ'aus	'spring, well'
dãu	'burn'
hãukx'ũ	'seven' (Lukas dialect of Kora *hŭkx'u*, Nama *hû*)
ǁãub	'homestead, settlement, encampment'
ǁnãu	'listen, hear'

Beach[23] stated that this sound was **a** followed by **u**, and this is the way this sequence is still pronounced in careful utterances by speakers of Nama. Our two Kora consultants, however, consistently gave a pronunciation closer to /əʊ/, with the first vowel raised, and with an overall impression of roundedness.[24] This vowel sequence, which is more or less similar to the sound of the diphthong in South African English BOAT, is represented in some older records of Kora by the spelling '*ou*'. (In some Khoekhoe varieties, this diphthong has undergone a shift and now occurs as a long vowel [u:], so that Nama, for example, has *hû* for 'seven'.)

ao, (ão) (Phonetic /ao/)

thaob	'ash'
daob	'path'
saob	'winter'
saob	'tail'
gaob	'male gnu'
ǃao	'cut'
ǃ'aob	'nape (back of neck)'
ǃhaos	'family (extended), settlement community'
(dãosen)	'burn' (variant in Ouma Jacoba Maclear's speech)

This vowel sequence may be represented in some older records by the spelling '*au*', either because this was the convention used by the author for the sound **ao**, or else because the pronunciation of the final vowel may vary and is sometimes sufficiently close that it is actually heard as **u**. The sound is approximately similar to the sound of the diphthong in South African English BOUT, but with a more open second vowel. Our consultants regularly gave us pronunciations close to the representation of the sound as **ao**.

3.2   The ordinary (or egressive) consonants of Kora

Kora has a fairly straightforward set of consonants, and features a range of sounds similar to those used in other languages of southern Africa. The chart in Table 3.2 shows the set of conventional egressive consonants in Kora (where the term 'egressive' simply captures the idea that the airstream involved is an ordinary outward flowing one). The sounds in square brackets are either predictable variants (allophones) of certain sounds in certain environments; or, as in the case of the semi-vowels **y** (phonetic /j/) and **w**, they are simply sounds that are occasionally introduced for ease of transition (liaison) between other sounds. The sounds in parentheses are marginal, in the sense that they were only ever noted in a few words. Figure 3.2 provides a sketch of the vocal tract in which the various places of articulation referred to in the chart are identified, and the different manners are explained in the accompanying note.

TABLE 3.2   The ordinary (or egressive) consonants of Kora.

↑ manner →		← places of articulation →					
		bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
	plosive	(p) b	t d tʰ		k g kʰ		
	nasal	m	n				
	fricative		s		x		h (ɦ)
	affricate		[ts] (ts')	[tʃ] [dʒ]		qχ'	
	approximant		(l)	[j]	[w]		
	trill		r				

The Kora inventory of consonants is slightly larger than that of other Khoekhoe varieties, mainly because, unlike Nama and other western dialects, Kora seems to have made use of voicing to create an additional series of segments, spelled **b, d** and **g**, which contrast with both plain (voiceless unaspirated) and aspirated ones. (Readers familiar with Namibian Khoekhoe dialects will be aware that the orthography makes use of the letters 'p' and 'b', 't' and 'd', and 'k' and 'g'. As they are used in the Namibian system, these letters are *not* intended to signify any semantic contrast based

on the presence or absence of voicing, but are simply used to indicate differences in *tone* melodies.) The eastern varieties of Kora also feature a uvular ejective affricate, represented by the spelling **kx'** (phonetic /qχ'/), which is not found in Nama or Dama. Both of these additional elements – that is, the feature of voicing and the ejective affricate – are carried over into the set of click consonants, as will be seen later. (These aspects of the consonant system bring Kora into line with its sister languages in the Kalahari branch of the KHOE family.) One further respect in which Kora differs from Nama is that the aspirated alveolar stop written as **th** (phonetic /tʰ/) tends to become affricated to **ts** only when followed by the front or high vowels **i, e,** and **u,** whereas this process has gone much further in Nama, where all originally aspirated alveolar segments now occur as affricates.

Consonants are produced by modifying a stream of air, most often one that flows upwards from the lungs (the *pulmonic* airstream) and out through either the mouth (for an *oral* sound) or the nose (for a *nasal*). These modifications are made by forming varying degrees of stricture at different places within the oral tract, such as the lips (for *bilabials* such as *p*), the alveolar ridge (for *alveolars* such as *t*), the velum (for *velars* such as *k*), or the uvula (for *uvulars* such as *q*), where the strictures are made with the help of the lips or different parts of the tongue, and where they range in manner from a complete stopping (for *plosives*), to a narrow aperture (for *fricatives*), or a somewhat more open aperture (for *approximants*, also sometimes referred to as semi-vowels). The release of a stop closure delivers a *plosive*, which, when it is released immediately on to a following vowel, gives a *plain* (voiceless unaspirated) sound. If the vocal folds have been drawn together so as to vibrate when the air moves through them, the sound delivered will be *voiced*. The release may also be made with an accompanying small puff of air, which gives an *aspirated* sound. A further modification can be made by raising the glottis so as to induce a temporary compression of the air trapped between it and the closure in the oral tract: when the upper closure is released, the pent-up air produced by this *glottalic* mechanism is *ejected* in a burst. *Affricates* are complex sounds that segue from an initial plosive to a fricative at the same place of articulation. Plosives, fricatives and affricates may be plain or voiced, while plosives and affricates may also be aspirated or ejected.

(Diagram by Arcadian (Public domain), via Wikimedia Commons. Some labels have been added.)

FIGURE 3.2   Sketch of the vocal tract, showing the places of articulation referred to in the consonant chart.

Each of the consonants will be briefly discussed in turn below, with examples of words that contain them. We have chosen to group these sounds by manner rather than place, and will begin with stops (or plosives).

3.2.1 Stops

3.2.1.1 The plain (voiceless unaspirated) (bilabial), dental and velar stops (p), t, k

It is not clear that the plain voiceless bilabial stop represented by the letter **p** ever occurred as either an initial or medial sound in any true Kora word.[25] The only

examples we have of an initial **p** in Kora occur in two words recorded by Beach as *pa* 'bite' and *pereb* 'bread' – which Meinhof, however, transcribed as *ba* and *bereb*. We have not been able to confirm Beach's *pereb*, since neither of our consultants used this word, which is in any case almost certainly a borrowing of *mabele* 'maize' from either one of the Nguni languages or a Sotho-Tswana source. (It is still found in Naro as *mabele*.) Ouma Jacoba pronounces the word for 'bite' as *bā*.

The plain voiceless stops **t** and **k** are pronounced much like their equivalents in Afrikaans, which is to say, without aspiration. (This frequently makes it rather difficult to tell them apart from their voiced counterparts **d** and **g**.) The voiceless alveolar stop represented by the letter **t** is found at the beginning of a few words and grammatical morphemes, but in general seems not to have occurred very commonly in the middle or at the end of words. The seeming counter-example of *naitab* 'baboon' probably reflects a root *nai* plus an alternative form of the diminutive suffix, which is more commonly *–ra* in Kora. As for the colour term *xati* 'white', which is unique to Kora, the occurrence of the medial **t** is not easily explained. (The word may be another borrowing.)

The voiceless velar stop indicated by the letter **k** occurs at the beginning of, but is not found medially or at the end of words. (Apparent counter-examples, such as *haka* 'four', may reflect an old suffix, or else are loanwords.) When the following vowel is one of the front vowels **i** or **e**, the voiceless velar stop **k** may be expressed as the palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ], which is the sound of 'ch' in English 'cheep'. In Kora, there are three grammatical morphemes that *only* occur as [tʃɛ], and are seen spelled variously in the old texts as '*tje*', '*kye*', '*kie*' or '*gye*'.

t

ta	future tense marker
tama	'not'
tamma	'tongue'
tani	'carry'
tanikua	'clothes'
tarakhoes	'woman'
tūs	'rain'

k

kai	'big'
karo	'hard'
kõas	'knife'
koba	'speak'
kobab	'language'
koro	'five'
kunis	'wagon'
kurib	'year'
–ku	3rd person masculine plural marker

3.2.1.2   The voiced bilabial, alveolar and velar stops b, d, g

There is a certain ambiguity about the voiced series of stops, and some of the tokens recorded in the past may well have been merely voiceless unaspirated segments. It is also difficult to find convincing examples, at least for initial **b**, where the words in question are not probable loanwords. (The scarcity of examples makes it difficult to find diagnostic 'minimal sets', which is to say, sets of words with different meanings that would be phonetically and tonally identical if not for a contrast based on the presence or absence of voicing alone.) As for **b** in the middle of a word, Kora speakers in the 1920s and 1930s are said to have pronounced this as an actual voiced stop **b**, unlike speakers of Nama who at this time often already used the fricative form [β] or even the labiovelar glide [w]. Both our consultants have tended to use the Nama-like fricative form [β] in this environment.[26] Typical stems in KHOE languages never end in **b**, and where such a final segment is seen, it is invariably the suffix –b of the 3rd person masculine singular. In this position, the sound is devoiced so as to sound much like **p**, and the suffix is frequently seen in older records with a spelling that reflects this. Ouma Jacoba often produced a fricative [β] rather than a devoiced [b̥] for the suffix – and sometimes even left the sound unexploded, so that the suffix is occasionally almost inaudible in her speech. Maingard[27] noted this tendency as a feature of the Kora dialect spoken by members of the Bloemhof community, who were mainly of the Links clan, while a similar trend seems to have been characteristic of old Cape Khoekhoe.

The voiced stop indicated by the letter **d** occurs only at the beginning of words, and in only a few of them at that. Any medial **d** is for the most part replaced by **r**. In the case of *gaida* 'old', where **d** occurs contrary to expectation in the middle of a word, *–da* may be an old derivational morpheme. The sound was often palatalised and affricated by Kora speakers before a front vowel to occur as [dʒ], which is the sound indicated by the letter 'j' in English 'jeep'. An example of this is seen in the usual Kora pronunciation [dʒisi] for *disi* 'ten'. We heard another instance in Ouma Jacoba's pronunciation of the pronoun ˈ*ãidi* 'they (3rd person feminine plural)', which she produced as [ˈɔ̃indʒe], although she produced the same suffix *–di* without affrication in her utterance of the phrase *nā   nona khoedi* 'those three women'. The verb *dī* 'make, do' seems to have been exempt from the expected changes.

The voiced velar stop written as **g** occurs only at the beginning of a word or grammatical morpheme. In Ouma Jacoba's pronunciation of words like *gaida* 'old', *gama* 'crooked' and *gūs* 'sheep ewe', the sound has a breathy-voiced or even slightly affricated quality. It is remarkable that Burchell seems to have observed much the same thing in 1813. His word list (shown previously in Figure 2.5) includes the word *gaida* in the context of a phrase for the 'old' (or waning) moon. Burchell represented this as *ghyda'kaam* (*gaida   xãb*), commenting that 'the *h* in this place gives a strong and guttural aspiration to the *G*'.

b   initial
        baxab   'tobacco'
        bīb   'milk'
        biris   'goat ewe'

b   medial
        koba   'speak'
        khabu   'blaze, flame up' (note Tswana *kgabo* 'a flame')
        khoba   'open'
        subu   'easy, light'

d
        danis   'honey'
        daob   'path'
        daub   'quagga, donkey (male)'
        dãu   'burn'
        dī   'make, do' [*sõse di* 'do quickly']

g
        gaida   'old'
        gamasa   'crooked'
        gaob   'gnu (male)'
        gare   'praise, pray'
        goesi   'nine' (Meinhof gives '*guesi*', Engelbrecht '*khoese*')
        gomas   'cow'
        gorab   'flower'
        gūs   'sheep ewe'
        –gu   reciprocal verb extension

3.2.1.3   The aspirated alveolar and velar stops th, kh

There does not seem to be an aspirated bilabial stop **ph** (phonetic /pʰ/) in Kora, but the language has both **th** (phonetic /tʰ/) and **kh** (phonetic /kʰ/). These phonemes, which only occur at the beginning of words, may become affricated to [ts ~ tʃ] and [kx] respectively before high or front vowels, or may even be pronounced consistently in this way by some individual speakers. (In Nama, it is generally the norm that the variant [ts] occurs before *all* vowels in the corresponding words, as noted earlier.) Examples of words beginning with the aspirated alveolar and velar stops are shown below.

th   (Phonetic /tʰ/, may alternate with [ts ~ tʃ] before a front or high vowel)
        thã   'feel, taste' (Nama *tsâ*)
        thamsa   'soft' (Nama *tsam*)
        tharab   'dust' (Nama *tsarab*)
        thoathoa   'begin' (Nama *tsoatsoa*)
        thũb   'pain' (Nama *tsûb*)

kh   (Phonetic /kʰ/, may alternate with [kx] before a front or high vowel)

khās	'bow, hunting or musical'
khabu	'blaze, flame up'
khãi	'go up, rise'
khao	'dig'
khōb	'skin, hide'
khõa	'break' [*khõa xukua* 'break the things']
khoba	'open'
khoes	'woman'
khom	'speak'

3.2.2   Nasals

3.2.2.1   The bilabial and alveolar nasals m, n

The Khoekhoe languages have only the bilabial and alveolar nasals **m** and **n**. Both sounds may occur at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of a word (where as final segments they may carry tone). Where a noun ends with the bilabial nasal **m**, the first segment of the 3rd person masculine singular suffix *–b(i)* is assimilated to it. This is the source of the allomorph *–mi* seen in words like *xammi* 'lion' and   *hommi* 'cloud, sky, heaven'.

In a few cases, the initial alveolar nasal n participates in a set of cross-dialectal alternations involving **n**, **l** and **t**, as in the case of words for 'tongue', where Nama has *nammi*, Dama varieties have *lammi* or *tammi,* and Kora has *tamma*. The word for 'lightning' occurs similarly as *nabab* in Nama, *labab* or *tabab* in varieties of Dama, and *tabab* in Kora. Interestingly, the Nama word *tabete* 'greet', which is thought to reflect an early borrowing from Malay, occurs as *nawede* in Dama, and *nabe* in Kora.

On one occasion, Ouma Jacoba Maclear produced **l** instead of **n** after a preceding **n**, in the phrase   *hana la   'on ke* 'the child is crawling', where the progressive (imperfective) aspect marker would ordinarily be *na*, and where the substitution of *la* seems to have had a dissimilating function (that is, to prevent a succession of similar sounds). Ouma Jacoba sometimes also alternated between the use of a medial **n** and **r**, as in the case where she gave us the word *kx'arina* for 'chicken' (compare *kx'anis* 'bird') but in a follow-up sentence immediately afterwards pronounced it as *kx'anina*, as if by way of self-correction. (These examples also illustrate cases where the common plural marker *–n* is used with a singular implication.)

m   initial

mĩ	'say'
mã	'give'
mã	'stand'
mũ	'see'

m   medial
      gomas   'cow'
      !nomab   'root'

m   final
      kx'am   'roast'
      xammi   'lion (male)' [*xamma*]
      ǀam   'two' [*ǀamse*]
      ǀhommi   'cloud, sky, heaven' [*ǀhomma* 'heaven']
      !om   'blow (as wind)'
      !xom   'break off'
      !kx'am   'green' [*!kx'amsa*]

n   initial
      na   progressive (imperfective) aspect
      nabe   'greet'
      nĩ   obligatory mood

n   medial
      danis   'honey'
      kx'anis   'bird'
      !hanab   'garden'
      !nona   'three'

n   final
      ǀkx'onna   'name' (Nama *ǀons*)
      ǂ'an   'know'
      ǂ'anna   'knowledge' (Nama *ǂans*)

3.2.3   Fricatives

3.2.3.1   *The voiceless alveolar, velar and glottal fricatives s, x, h*

It is notable that there is no voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] in Kora, although as we have already noted, the voiced counterpart of this sound [β] is often heard in place of **b**, either in the middle of a word, or as a variant of the masculine singular suffix –*b* at the end of a word. The language nevertheless has the alveolar fricative **s**, the velar fricative **x**, and the glottal fricative **h**.[28] The velar fricative **x** is the sound indicated by the letter 'g' in some speakers' pronunciation of Afrikaans *goed* 'things' or *goud* 'gold' and the Tswana place-name Gauteng 'at the place of gold'.[29]

Beach commented[30] that the speakers he worked with frequently produced **s** as the palatal fricative [ʃ], which is the sound of 'sh' in English 'sheep'. We have not found this variant to be frequent in the speech of our consultants, although in one or two instances we heard [x] for **s** in the speech of Oupa Dawid Cooper. When the fricative **x** occurs before a front vowel, it may be palatalised and affricated to give [tʃ] (as 'ch' English 'cheep'). An example of this is seen in the name Tjelkausob, from

Afrikaans Geelkous 'Yellow Sock'. (A similar process occurs in the Sotho-Tswana languages, where, for example, the word for 'money' is *itjelete*, from Afrikaans *geld*.)

None of the voiceless fricatives occurs in the middle or at the end of a word. The seeming counter-example of *aixab* 'doctor, sorcerer' really reflects an incorporated derivational morpheme –*xa*: Nama has *gaixa* as an adjective, which means roughly 'possessed-of *gaib* ('medicine')'. Similarly, the cases seen below where **s** occurs medially all involve additional morphemes, such as the reflexive verb extension –*sen*, or the adverbial formative –*se*. Where **s** is seen at the end of a word, this is invariably the 3rd person feminine singular suffix –*s*.

The alveolar fricative **s** occurs at the beginning of a number of grammatical morphemes, and in cross-KHOE comparisons is frequently found as **h** in equivalent items. The word *nāxusi* that was given to us for 'pour out, away' by Ouma Jacoba Maclear, and which features the causative extension –*si*, might seem to be a mis-remembered form of the word that Meinhof recorded as *nāxudī* (~ *nāxuri*), except that Wuras also found the form with –*si*. Unless the two forms reflect different morphemes, the possibility arises that some instances of **s** have arisen from an original **d**.

s

sao	'follow'
saob	'tail'
saob	'winter'
sãsĩ	'cook'
sĩsen	'work'
sõse	'quickly'
sores	'sun'
sūb	'pot'

x   (as 'g' in Afrikaans *goed* 'things' or Scots 'ch' in 'loch')

xaib	'gemsbok (male)'
xãi	'swell'
xammi	'lion (male)' [*xamma*]
xati	'white'
xoa	'write'
xoasaob	'leopard (male)'
xon	'grind'
xūb	'thing'
xurub	'powder'

h

hāb	'stallion'
hāgub	'boar'
haka	'four'
hãukx'ũ	'seven'
huni	'mix, stir'

3.2.3.2   The voiced uvular and glottal fricatives [ ], [ ]

The existence of voiced fricatives in Kora has not previously been noted, and it should be clarified that they are marginal sounds which, with the exception of the voiced glottal fricative, are likely to have been merely occasional variants of the voiceless fricatives, most often occurring between vowels. (In other words, they are not part of the *phoneme* inventory of the language.)

On one or two occasions, Oupa Dawid Cooper gave us pronunciations of words that seemed to feature the uvular trill [ʀ], which is the sound of 'r' in the French word *rose* (for 'rose') or the burr in some northern varieties of the English spoken in England. Examples include a word *guru* that he twice used for 'big', in the expression *guruxub* for *groot goed* or 'big things', and in the sentence *gurukhoeb i-b ke nāba* 'that is a big man there'. (The word *guru* rather oddly resembles the Shona word – *kuru*, which occurs as –*guru* with nouns of Class 5, and means 'big', being cognate with Nguni –*khulu*.) Ouma Jacoba Maclear, on the other hand, gave us *guxu* for 'long, tall', where the occurrence of the medial fricative [x] is highly unusual for Khoekhoe. The mystery surrounding this word is compounded by the fact that Andries Bitterbos used the word *guxukua* (AB6) in the sense of *kleinvee* 'small livestock', where *xukua* is the plural of *xub* 'thing'.

As far as the breathy-voiced glottal fricative (phonetic [ɦ]) is concerned, Beach never heard a speaker who used it, although he speculated[31] on theoretical grounds that it might have existed in the past, since it is a type of sound that can be associated with certain changes in tone melodies (specifically tone lowering), which he believed had taken place. We have had the great fortune to find a voiced glottal fricative still present and clearly distinct in the speech of Ouma Jacoba Maclear – in *haib* 'tree' and *huri* 'jump'– which confirms Beach's surmise. In the case of *huri* 'jump', there is a faintly audible bilabial stop at the beginning of Ouma Jacoba's utterance, where the sound appears to be breathy-voiced [bʰ].

In the case of *hoa* 'all', our two consultants did not produce the initial fricative with any noticeable degree of voicing, although we suspect that this word may have had such a sound in the past, given the remark by Maingard[32] that in addition to the four basic tonemes in the dialect of the Bloemhof Kora speakers, 'a low or very low tone, e.g. *hoan* (all) is […] very occasionally heard'. It is notable that in Lucy Lloyd's records of Piet Links's variety, the word *hoa* 'all' is written with a subscript 'hook' (see Figure 3.3), which was her convention for indicating a 'rough, deep pronunciation' of the vowels.[33] She sometimes used the same symbol to write *hã* 'stay, remain', and, together with a doubled 'h', for *hō* 'take, find'. We have not specially distinguished the breathy-voiced [ɦ] as a phoneme in the Dictionary, for the simple reason that it is so seldom (and never consistently) reflected in the sources.
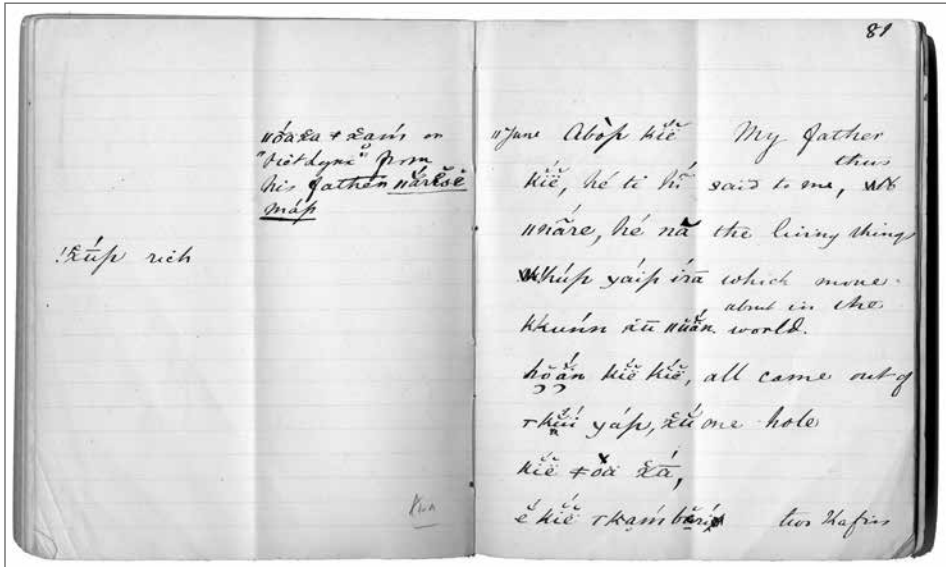
FIGURE 3.3   A page from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1), where she transcribes one of the Kora narratives dictated by Piet Links. The word *hoa* 'all' (with the common plural suffix *–n*) is seen at the beginning of the fifth line on p. 81, where it is marked with Lloyd's diacritic for a 'rough, deep pronunciation'. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

3.2.4   Affricates

3.2.4.1   *The voiceless alveolar affricate ts*

It has been noted at various places above that a number of affricated forms, including the one represented by the spelling **ts**, can occur as variants of certain sounds in certain predictable contexts (typically before high or front vowels). The alveolar affricate **ts** does not seem to have occurred as widely in Kora as it does in Nama, although Engelbrecht[34] noted that he heard it in the Kora variety spoken by the Lukas and Springbok people. Even though it is strictly speaking not a phoneme in Kora, we have chosen to list this particular affricate separately in the Dictionary, partly because of its prevalence in Nama, and partly because the process of affrication in Kora was evidently an ongoing and uneven one, so that it seems better for practical purposes, where the affricate occurs, to indicate it explicitly in the spelling. The words below illustrate the limited occurrence of the alveolar affricate in Kora varieties as spoken by members of the Links, Kats and Kraalshoek people.

ts

tsĩ	coordinating conjunction 'and, or, if'
tsēb	'day' (note Tswana *motshe*)
tsuguru	'circle'
motsab	'water pool, lake' (given only by Engelbrecht, in 1928)

The word for 'water pool, lake' is of course a counter-example to the rule of thumb mentioned above for the occurrence of the variant form, since the vowel in question is not front or high. However, this word also occurs in languages of the Sotho-Tswana family, typically as *letsha*, and that it must have been borrowed into the KHOE languages is rather clear, given that the Kora form even preserves the original Sotho-Tswana prefix.

Given the regular occurrence of aspirated stops in Kora, we might have expected to find also the aspirated form of the alveolar affricate, namely /tsʰ/. This sound does not seem to have occurred in Kora, however, unless it has merged with **ts**. (It is notable that *tsʰa* 'water', as opposed to *(mo)tsab* 'water pool, lake', is distributed widely across Kalahari members of the KHOE family, and is even reconstructed for Proto-Kalahari KHOE, as *tsha.[35])

3.2.4.2   The ejective alveolar and post-velar affricates ts' and kx'

It may be worth mentioning, simply so as to contextualise them, that sounds such as the aspirated affricate /tsʰ/ mentioned above, and the ejective affricate /ts'/ discussed under the present heading, are by no means unusual in a southern African context, and occur regularly, for example, in Sotho-Tswana languages, where they typically form part of a more extensive set of alveolar and palato-alveolar affricates.[36] The ejective affricate **ts'** similarly occurs in the Nguni languages, where it is associated, with only a few rare exceptions, with prenasalisation.[37]

The ejective alveolar affricate also has a fairly common occurrence in languages of the KHOE family, particularly those of the Kalahari region, but is seldom recorded in languages of the Khoekhoe branch. This makes it intriguing that Meinhof found a handful of marginal words in Kora that seem to have contained it, as follows:

Ts'oa‖'ai-	'a clan of people half Korana, half Bushman'
ts'units'eb	'small aquatic larva' (perhaps mosquito or midge)
ts'ururu	'mosquito'
ts'uts'u	'wink, blink'

Beach[38] took note of Meinhof's observation, and reported that his own consultants were certainly familiar with the last two words, adding that Wuras had recorded *tsuniseb* for 'mosquito' (though without indicating an ejective). Engelbrecht[39] confirmed the presence in the variety spoken by the Lukas people of the last three words in the list – which Meinhof[40] had gone on to suggest were perhaps loans from a 'Bushman' language.

If we follow up on Meinhof's suggestion, we find that the word list for the ǀUi language ǀUngkwe, which Meinhof himself documented,[41] includes only two words with the sound, namely *ts'axo* 'eye' and *ts'e* 'be home, returned'. The composite dictionary compiled by Dorothea Bleek[42] gives *ts'un* for the ǀXam language – also of the ǀUi family – where it meant 'wink at', but only *tsutau ~ tsuto* for 'mosquito'. On the other hand, the Kalahari KHOE languages Naro and Khwe have *ts'om* or *ts'omts'om* 'close the eyes'. If the few Kora words mentioned really reflected this sound, this may be another instance where Kora seems to have preserved certain characteristics of the ancestral 'Proto-KHOE' language no longer found in South African Nama or Namibian varieties of Khoekhoe.[43]

Kora has another ejective affricate, typically written as **kx'**, which was one of the salient characteristics of eastern varieties of the language. It does not occur in Nama or Namibian Khoekhoe, but is found, like **ts'**, in the Kalahari branch of the KHOE family. Cognate words in western Kora dialects, as well as Giri, Nama, and other dialects of Namibian Khoekhoe have typically lost the initial segment and simply begin with a vowel, as in Nama *aib* 'face' where Kora has *kx'aib*, and Nama *anis* 'bird' where Kora has *kx'anis*.[44] (The Nama vowels in these cases typically have a glottalised onset.) Like the other affricates, **kx'** is found only at the beginning of a word.[45]

FIGURE 3.4   Pages from Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1), showing her use (lines 4 and 5 on the left-hand page) of the Greek letter gamma (γ) in the word *kx'ūi* 'to live', for a sound that was almost certainly the ejective uvular affricate. The letter is also seen here in combination with a click symbol (second-last line on the same page). (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

Strictly speaking, **kx'** is not so much an affricate that is ejected, as an ejective that is accompanied by frication: the sound appears to be an ejected uvular stop followed by a brief uvular trilling, where this vibration is probably set off by the ejective burst, though it quickly loses its periodic character to end as mere frication. (In the eastern Kalahari KHOE variety, Tjwao, cognate words feature a straightforward ejective stop /k'/.) While this sound has been termed an ejective *velar* affricate in the past, it has emerged during the course of our studies[46] that the closure is typically further back, and in reality, has a uvular quality.[47] However, since there is no semantic contrast in Kora that turns on the phonetic distinction between velar and uvular places of articulation, there is no need to make any pedantic change to the established spelling of the sound. (In Tswana, the spelling 'kg' is used for a fricative phoneme that is basically velar, but predictably uvular when produced before back or low vowels.)[48] It should perhaps be added – in anticipation of speculations about substrate influence – that this sound is the regular Tswana reflex of Proto-Bantu *k when preceded by a nasal. (Intriguingly, some of the Kora words that feature **kx'** have counterparts in Tswana that feature the sound indicated by 'kg'.)

The ejective affricate seems to have been heard regularly by Lloyd in the speech of her consultants, who were from the Links clan (or Left-hand Korana). The pages from her 1879 notebooks reproduced in Figure 3.4 show her use of the Greek letter gamma (γ) for what must have been the equivalent of this sound in the word *kx'ũi* 'live'. Lloyd would have adopted this usage from Wilhelm Bleek,[49] who left us a detailed note on this 'guttural sound' in the notebook he used for his first sustained and in-depth study of a Ui language, which he carried out with the assistance of the multilingual (Kora- Xam-Dutch) speaker, Adam Kleinhardt. It is interesting that in this note, Bleek described the sound as lateral, with 'the breath passing out on the left side of the mouth' – given that the same sound occurs in some of the Nguni languages, where it may similarly have a lateral character.[50] (In Zulu it is typically spelled 'kl', and is described as an 'ejective velar affricate consonant, or ejective velar lateral affricate'.)

kx'

kx'ā	'drink' (Nama *ā*)
kx'ā	'cry out, shout' (Oupa Dawid Cooper has *kʰa*)
kx'ai	'on' (Nama *ai*)
kx'ãi	'laugh' [*kx'ãi ǁnā khoena* 'those people are laughing'] (Oupa Dawid Cooper has *xai*)
kx'aib	'face, surface' [*ti kx'aib* 'my face'] (Nama *aib*)
kx'ãib	'liver' (Nama *âib*)
kx'aisi	'first' (Nama *aibe*)
kx'am	'roast' (Nama *am*)
kx'am	'right (hand)' (Nama *am*)
kx'amma	'mouth'
kx'anis	'bird' (Nama *anis*)
kx'anu	'correct, proper' (Nama *anu* 'be suitable, fitting')

kx'   *(contd)*

kx'ao	'man, male' (note Tswana *lekau* 'young man')
kx'ausa	'bitter' (Nama *au*)
kx'arob	'young man, boy' [*kx'aro*/*'ob*]
kx'oa	'seek'
kx'ōb	'meat' (Oupa Dawid Cooper has *xob*)
kx'om	'build' (Nama *om*)
kx'ommi	'house' (Nama *oms*)

3.2.5   Approximants

3.2.5.1   *The approximants [j], [w], (l)*

The sounds [j] and [w] (as in English 'yet' and 'wet') are sometimes referred to as semi-vowels, or glides. These two sounds do not occur as independent phonemes in Kora, but are occasionally introduced by speakers between two vowels to facilitate transition (liaison) between them.

Typically, the insertion of the palatal approximant [j]) is associated with a following front vowel such as **i** or **e**. This is why it is sometimes seen before the passive verb extension, which is usually *–he* but may be shortened to *–e*. (A noteworthy implication of this is that the vowel in this case is not glottalised.) Meinhof indicated an intrusive [j] by means of the letter 'i', as in   *iieb* or   *aiieb* 'jackal'.

The labiovelar approximant [w] may occasionally be inserted in speech ahead of the back or low vowels **u**, **o** and **a**, as suggested by the spelling ' Oara' for Ora. It is sometimes also seen written between a verb and the copula (or 'stative marker') *a*, which suggests that the vowel of the copula is similar to that of the passive *–e*, in the sense that it is not glottalised. The labiovelar glide [w] can also occur as a variant of the bilabial fricative [β], which is itself a variant of **b**. In other cases, it can arise from a natural progression where a vowel sequence such as oa is produced as [wa]. (As noted earlier, spellings of the diphthongs in the old records frequently show '*wi*' for **ui**, '*we*' for **oe** and '*wa*' for **oa**.) There is probably no need to indicate either of the two glides explicitly in modern spellings.

There are very few instances of the lateral approximant /l/ in Kora. One of these marginal occurrences is in the personal name Mulukab, which is perhaps equivalent to the name Mookha noted by Campbell in 1813, who said it meant 'sharp sight'. Another rare instance occurs in the word *lū* 'swear' recorded by Meinhof, which has *nū* as its counterpart in Nama (but *lū* in Dama).[51] (In KHOE languages of the Kalahari, Naro has *luu* 'swear (a solemn oath)', while Khwe uses a different word.) Wuras recorded the word as '*nau*', while Maingard noted[52] an occurrence of '*laula*', which he said meant 'I am sorry, excuse[53] me.' (Samuel Dornan[54] recorded *taolo* 'a command' in the Kalahari KHOE language, Hie Tshware, but noted specifically that it was a Tswana loanword.) A few of the old records occasionally give local names for rivers of the south-eastern Cape where the spellings reflect /l/, but these may have been mishearings for /r/, or else the names were not Khoekhoe.

3.2.6 Trill

3.2.6.1 The trilled or flapped r

In careful pronunciations, the sound spelled **r** in Kora is typically produced as an alveolar trill, much as it is in Nama or Afrikaans. Beach[55] reported, however, that in the speech of his consultants, it was frequently 'a mere flap, with very weak tension and plosion, and with more or less free lateral exit for the air-current'. He added that this sound could strike the ear of a non-Kora speaker 'as a sort of mixture of r, d and l', and he also noted that Meinhof spelled some of the words in his short word list for Giri with '*l*' in place of an '*r*'. Maingard[56] identified the sound as a 'flapped retroflex consonant which is heard as r or l or d'.

While the sound mostly occurs in the middle of words, where it seems to be an allophone of **d**, it may occasionally occur as the initial sound of a grammatical morpheme, such as the *–re* in the 1st person masculine singular pronoun *tire*, where the feminine form is *tita*. (Oupa Dawid Cooper, however, used *tite* when referring to himself in the 1st person. Nama does not have a separate pronoun for the feminine 'I', but uses *tita* for both.)

In a few cases the sound was an almost inaudible tap in the speech of our consultants, and on one occasion we heard Oupa Dawid Cooper produce *arib* 'dog' as [aɪb]. This kind of elision probably explains variant spellings of the word for 'jackal' as ' *kerap*' and ' *keyap*' in Lloyd's records of her work with members of the Links family. On one or two other occasions, as mentioned earlier, Oupa Dawid gave us pronunciations of words that seem to feature the uvular trill [ʁ] for **r**.

r	(medial)	
	arib	'dog'
	karab	'shade, shadow'
	gare	'praise'
	huri	'jump'
	koro	'five'
	sores	'sun'
	xurub	'powder'

3.3 The clicks, or ingressive consonants of Kora

The remaining class of consonants consists of the clicks, or 'lingual ingressives'.[57] This last term and some of the more technical aspects of click production are explained in Figure 3.5. For present purposes, it is enough to note that the manner of a click's production involves what might be described in broad terms as a special type of co-articulation, and that the Khoekhoe languages make use of clicks distinguished by four different places of the forward closure. These places are dental, alveolar lateral, (post)alveolar,[58] and palato-alveolar. (The bilabial click (ʘ) occurs only in the ǃUi-Taa languages and ǂ'Amkoe, and there will be no need for us to make any further reference to it here.)

The production of click consonants can be regarded as a further manner, since these sounds are essentially plosives delivered by the release of a special type of closure – namely one that involves a broader stopping than usual, spanning a forward (*anterior*) and a rear (*posterior*) place of articulation. It is the place of the anterior closure that determines the characterisation of the click as either front (*bilabial*) or central (*dental*, *alveolar lateral*, *(post)alveolar*, or *palato-alveolar*). Since the tongue starts to pull away from the roof of the mouth while the two closures are both still in place, this results in a fleeting rarefaction of the air trapped within the momentarily enclosed but widening space. The final snapping of the anterior seal, which is what creates the click sound, is associated with an *influx* of air through the mouth to correct the minute pressure imbalance. This is why clicks are described as *ingressive* sounds. Although the second closure was for many decades assumed to be velar (so that clicks were sometimes referred to as 'velaric ingressives'), it is now known that for most of the clicks, in most environments, the rear closure is in real terms more typically uvular. (The difference between velar and post-velar closures is not phonologically significant.) Because of the technical inaccuracy of the term 'velaric', and since the mechanism responsible for the ingress of air is the downward movement of the *tongue*, some linguists now suggest that clicks are better described as *lingual ingressives*.

- In the case of simple clicks, the two closures are released with near simultaneity, so that there is an *inaudible release of the rear closure,* and any accompanying elaborations, such as *voicing*, *aspiration* or *ejection,* closely resemble features that may be associated with conventional egressive segments.
- In the case of clicks termed complex, there is a separate and *audible release of the rear closure*, which delivers a sound based on an ordinary egressive flow of air. This sound is often perceived as a distinct segment, and may give the impression that it is independently characterised by features such as voicing, aspiration or ejection. (Some linguists analyse the clicks of this sub-set as 'consonant clusters'. Others interpret the releases at two different places as two segued components in the production of a 'complex but unitary segment'.)
- A further factor is the possibility of *prenasalisation*, which can occur with either simple or complex clicks, and may be associated with specially adapted types of aspiration and ejection. The nasalisation can continue throughout the production of the click, in which case the click is described as nasalised.

(Diagram by Arcadian (Public domain), via Wikimedia Commons. Some labels have been added.)

FIGURE 3.5   Sketch of the vocal tract, with a brief explanation of the manner involved in the production of clicks, and the elaborations that may accompany them.

Much like the conventional consonants of many other languages found in southern Africa, clicks may be elaborated by features such as voicing, aspiration and ejection, while they may also be prenasalised. (All of these elaborations are *phonemic*, which is to say, associated with a difference in the meaning of words that are phonetically identical in every other respect.) Although the rear closure of a click is typically released inaudibly, a distinct and audible release is nevertheless possible, in which case a few further elaborations of the sound may be delivered.

While most of the Khoekhoe languages do not make use of contrastive voicing, some of the early authors recorded the presence of this feature in Kora. One further feature reported by earlier scholars was the accompaniment of a click in Kora by an ejective affricate – an elaboration that does not occur in western varieties such as Nama and other Namibian Khoekhoe dialects, though it is found in related

languages of the Kalahari KHOE branch. The presence in Kora of the two extra click accompaniments parallels the presence of the extra segments in the inventory of the conventional consonants – namely the voiced series of stops, and the ejective affricate.

3.3.1   The four basic (or 'radical') clicks of Kora, identified by place

The *dental click*   (the 'c' click of Nguni languages) is made by squeezing the tip of the tongue firmly against the alveolar ridge, just behind the upper front teeth, and then slowly drawing it away. The release may be prolonged, and at times has a 'fricated' quality (although the click itself is, of course, necessarily a plosive). Ouma Jacoba Maclear sometimes prepared for this sound by making a bilabial hold and then placing the tip of her tongue so far forward that it was almost interdental. This sound is impressionistically quieter than the other clicks, and when it is produced in combination with nasalisation it may at times be almost inaudible.

The *alveolar lateral click*   (the 'x' click of some of the Nguni languages) is made by pressing the tip of the tongue firmly against the alveolar ridge, and then releasing the hold along the *side* of the tongue. Some speakers may draw out the release, but our consultants tended to make it rather cleanly and sharply.

The *(post)alveolar click*   (the 'q' click of some of the Nguni languages and Sotho) is made by pressing the *tip* of the tongue firmly up against the alveolar ridge, as far back as possible. Beach[59] found that the position is quite variable, even for individual speakers, but that the general target is 'much the same position as for the lateral type'. The tongue is brought away sharply, and the auditory impression is of a strongly popping sound.

The *palato-alveolar click*   is the only one of the four Khoekhoe clicks that does not occur in Xhosa and Zulu.[60] It is made by squeezing the *blade* of the tongue firmly against the alveolar ridge and then pulling it sharply away. While some speakers may produce it with the tip of the tongue kept behind the upper front teeth, others anchor the tongue tip behind the lower front teeth. It is easy to mistake this click for the dental one (particularly an aspirated dental click), and the old records frequently reflect the two clicks as alternates. Some speakers substituted the dental click for it, while one of the speakers who assisted Jan Engelbrecht[61] habitually used the (post) alveolar click in its place.

3.3.2   The accompaniments of the Kora clicks

Because of the diversity of the elaborations that may characterise the different click phonemes, Traill[62] introduced the neutral cover-all term 'accompaniments' to refer to them, and there is no harm in continuing to use his convenient expression here.[63]

We have already noted that Kora (unlike Namibian Khoekhoe) never received an official orthography – which is to say, a standardised and formally instituted set of

practical spelling rules. The different authors who described the language necessarily used various conventions of their own to represent the click phonemes, sometimes changing their own systems over time. The chart in Table 3.3 sets out some of the main conventions used for the clicks by individual scholars in the past (excluding the set of symbols devised by Wuras, and the 1928 notation of Engelbrecht). The order in which the different accompaniments are listed is somewhat arbitrary, but is based (with only a minor modification) on the ordering principle adopted by Wilfrid Haacke and Eliphas Eiseb for their *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary*. It is also the order in which the different click phonemes will be listed in the Kora Dictionary.

The column on the far left-hand side of the table uses the (post)alveolar click as an example and offers a tentative phonetic representation of the click described – though it should be noted that even such representations are not currently stable or universally agreed on by linguists! The column second from the right in the chart shows the symbols used by Meinhof (whose name is abbreviated in the table as 'Mhf'). These are the ones that will be adopted here as the 'standard' representations for the Kora clicks and their accompaniments, both for purposes of discussion, and for the key entries in the Dictionary. They have been chosen on the pragmatic grounds that they are not only reasonably transparent but are also the ones that will most commonly be encountered in the heritage texts.

Perhaps inevitably, there are a few minor aspects of Meinhof's system that are not entirely satisfactory. For example, it would perhaps have been more appropriate to write the letter 'n' *before* the click symbol in the case of the nasalised clicks, since this would have given a more accurate reflection of the articulatory sequence. However, the placing of the 'n' *after* the symbol was not only the practice of almost all the original Kora scholars, but is also the present standard for Namibian Khoekhoe. (There are some Khoisan languages where it is necessary to reflect a distinction between prenasalisation and a nasalised click, but this does not apply to the Khoekhoe varieties.)

Secondly, the click written with a following letter 'x' is in principle a simple aspirated click – except that the aspiration in many cases develops into a degree of frication. It might have been better to adopt the Namibian convention[64] of indicating this accompaniment by the letters 'kh', except that this was not generally the practice of any of the older authors for Kora, while the retention of Meinhof's original convention is in keeping with our overall strategy of conservatism. The representation of this particular accompaniment is somewhat erratic in the original heritage texts (particularly those collected by Maingard), probably because it seems to have been produced by some speakers as aspiration, and by others as frication, with fluctuations even on the part of the same speaker within the same sentence.

The different series of clicks will be discussed next, in the order in which they are arranged in the Dictionary.

3.3.2.1 The plain (voiceless unaspirated) clicks: , , ,

The plain clicks of Kora are equivalent to the clicks written in the Namibian orthography with a following letter 'g', as ' g', ' g', ' g' and ' g'. (For those readers who are familiar with Namibian Khoekhoe, it is important to note that in the Namibian system, the letter 'g' does *not* indicate voicing, while clicks written *without* any following letter in Namibian Khoekhoe are 'glottalised'.) In the conventions used by some older authors, particularly Lloyd, the plain or voiceless clicks in Kora are those indicated by a following letter 'k'.

The plain clicks are voiceless and unaspirated, and may be described in Traill's terminology as clicks that have a 'zero accompaniment'. They are made with a silent release of the rear closure and are followed immediately by the vowel. The example words below include some that were listed as featuring plain clicks by Meinhof, plus a few that are unequivocally without any audible back release in the speech of our consultants.[65] It is notable that the set of plain clicks is fairly small, and it may also be significant that at least some of these words fall into the category of frequently used words.

ǀā	'small'
ǀam	'two'
ǀui	'one'
ǁoe	'lie down'
ǃũ	'go'
ǂaob	'heart'
ǂom	'believe'

3.3.2.2 The 'voiced' clicks: g, g, g, g

The occurrence of voiced clicks in Kora was either occasionally noted or at least hypothesised to have existed at some time in the past. As it turns out, the distinction between 'voiceless' and 'voiced' is just as elusive in the case of the Kora clicks as it is in the case of the ordinary egressive consonants.

The only scholar to indicate the existence of a full series of voiced clicks was Engelbrecht,[66] in the Word List he supplied at the end of his first work on Kora. For the most part, however, the words containing Engelbrecht's 'clicks plus g' pattern with words represented by other authors with plain clicks. Nevertheless, Engelbrecht's information may one day prove valuable to linguists wishing to undertake comparative studies, and we have accordingly listed his words separately in the Dictionary.

There is an ambiguity embedded in the representation of these clicks: while the writing of a letter 'g' after the click symbol might be assumed to indicate voicing, it was intended by many older writers simply and quite literally to convey the auditory impression of a click with a following voiced stop. Maingard[67] referred to an 'indistinctness' concerning 'the isolated velars **k** and **g**' as the 'velar element of the

click', and suggested that this could be part of the reason for discrepancies so often found in the spellings given by different scholars. He added:

> The Bloemhof Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *!garib*, 'the Orange River' and *!karib*, 'honey-beer' and *!harib* 'whip'; *‖kaeb* 'time' and *‖kxaeb* 'law'.

We have preserved all instances in the texts obtained by Maingard where he wrote a click with a following letter 'g'.

Beach, who wrote explicitly about voicing (as opposed to the presence of an audible segment after the click), did not find any instances of clicks in Kora that he judged to have this feature, while Meinhof before him noted only four isolated instances where he said he detected voicing *before* the click. (It is significant that Meinhof said he heard pre-voicing, because this would have constituted true voicing in the strict technical sense of the term – which is to say, involving 'voice lead', where the vibration of the vocal folds commences during the hold and ahead of the release.)

A few words in the speech of our two consultants gave the initial auditory impression that they contained voiced clicks – or at least, clicks resembling the familiar voiced clicks of the kind that occur in the Nguni languages. In a few cases, these words were among those mentioned by older authors as having been voiced, which gave us an ideal opportunity to re-visit the topic.

The results of this investigation are presented elsewhere,[68] but in summary, the clicks perceived to be 'voiced' in Kora are found to be clicks characterised primarily by an *audible release of the rear closure* (as a uvular stop). This is the reason for the neutral phonetic representation of the 'voiced' click in the table given earlier (Table 3.3) simply as [q]. Any voicing of this release is indeterminate, and if the sound is not merely a plain uvular stop [q] released immediately on to a following vowel, it seems to feature only the type of 'short-lag' onset of voicing that similarly characterises the voiced clicks as they are produced by many speakers of Zulu and Xhosa.[69] (In this case, the accompaniment could perhaps be legitimately represented by the symbol for the voiced uvular stop [ɢ].) In a few cases, an audible and impressionistically voiced release was additionally characterised, at least in the speech of Ouma Jacoba Maclear, by a degree of aspiration or frication [ɢʰ], much like the voiced conventional velar (or post-velar) stop g (or [ɢ]) in her speech. We have not found any cases of clicks featuring the kind of voice *lead* suggested by Meinhof's brief notes,[70] unless these were clicks of the kind with prenasalisation followed by audible release of the rear closure as a voiced uvular stop [n ɢ].[71] This last click, for which we have just a single token in our data, and which has not previously been noted in Kora, is discussed elsewhere below.

TABLE 3.3   Some of the different conventions used to represent click phonemes in Namibian Khoekhoe and Kora

Phonetic symbol	Label	Description	Namibian Khoekhoe	Kora (Lld)	Kora (Ebt36)	Kora (Mgd)	Kora (Mhf)	Kora (Bch)
!	voiceless un-aspirated (plain)	silent/simultaneous release of rear closure directly on to following vowel	!g	!k	!	!k	!	ǀ
!q	'voiced'	audible release of rear closure as uvu-lar stop directly on to following vowel	-	!g	!g	!g	-	-
ⁿ!ˀ	click w. 'delayed ejection'	prenasalisation w. cessation of nasalisation during click; impression of glottal stop after silent rear release (sometimes referred to as a glottalised click)	!	!	!ˀ	! ~ !k	!'	!ʔ
ⁿ!ʰ	click w. 'delayed aspiration'	prenasalisation w. cessation of nasalisation during click; impression of glottal fricative after silent rear release	!h	!h	!h	!h	!h	ǀh
!ʰ ~ !ˣ	simple aspirated or fricated	silent/simultaneous release of rear closure, aspirated	!kh	!x	!x	!k ~ !x ~ !kx ~ !kh	!x	ǀx
!qχ'	click w. ejective affrication	audible release of rear closure as affricated ejective	-	!γ	!kxˀ	(!kxˀ)	!kx'	ǀxʔ
n!n	nasalised	nasalisation before and during click with silent rear release	!n	!n	!n	!n	!n	ǀ
(n!ɢ)	nasalised voiced	nasalisation before click, audible release of rear closure as voiced uvular stop	-	-	-	-	-	-

- The 'voiced' series in Kora does not seem to reflect voicing in the conventional sense (that is, an accompanying vibration of the vocal folds that begins *before* the release of the hold), but rather involves the audible release of the rear closure as a stop, which is typically uvular, and which is sometimes heard as voiced aspirated or fricated. If there is any voicing, it appears to be of the 'short lag' type. (The letter 'g' written after a click symbol in the standard spelling conventions for Namibian Khoekhoe is *not* intended to imply that the click is voiced, although such a notation is frequently used to indicate voicing in other Khoisan languages.)
- In some languages of Kalahari KHOE, a series of conventionally voiced simple clicks has been reported, as well as a series of simple ejective clicks.
- In the work of Lucy Lloyd (whose name is abbreviated in the table as 'Lld'), clicks written with a following letter 'k' generally correspond to the plain clicks, while those without any additional letter tend to correspond to the 'glottalised' ones of other authors.
- In the wordlist given in his initial (1928) work on Kora, Engelbrecht ('Ebt') distinguished a set of clicks followed by an audible stop, which he indicated by means of the letter 'g' after the click symbol. The words represented in this way are listed separately in the Dictionary. The clicks written by Engelbrecht with a following letter 'k' in the same earlier work consistently match the clicks represented with velar frication by other authors (and also by himself in his later work). Since he used a separate symbol (the letter 'x') for the velar fricative when it occurred independently, we should probably not assume that the click accompaniment indicated by his 'k' was anything other than simple aspiration. The words represented in this way are also listed separately in the Dictionary.
- The representations of Maingard ('Mgd') are somewhat erratic, and he seems to have used the letter 'k' as an all-purpose symbol after clicks in various words that other authors identify as plain in some cases, glottalised in others, and fricated in yet others. Conversely, he represented the clicks that were indeed fricated by means of a range of letters after the click symbol, including 'k', 'x', 'kx' and 'kh'. As for the ejective affricated clicks, he finally heard these only at a late stage, in the speech of some elderly men originally from Bethany.
- Beach ('Bch') used modified forms of the click symbols to represent the nasal clicks. (His special symbols cannot be reproduced here.)

The example words below are drawn mainly from Engelbrecht's list of words where a click is written with a following letter 'g'. It is certainly intriguing that in cases where these words also occur in Nguni languages (or N uu for that matter), the clicks are typically represented as voiced.

ǀgīb	'aardwolf' (*Proteles cristatus*) (note Xhosa *ingci*, Swati *singci*)
ǀgãb	'grass' (note Xhosa *ingca*)
ǁgammi	'water'
ǃgaixab	'sorcerer, doctor' (note Xhosa *igqira* 'sorcerer', *ugqira* 'doctor')
ǃgam	'kill'
ǃgarib	'river'
ǂgaeb	'marrow (of bone)'

3.3.2.3   The clicks with 'delayed ejection' (or 'glottalisation'): ˈ, ˈ, ˈ, ʼ

It is important to note that this type of accompaniment is associated, like the feature of delayed aspiration discussed below, with a *latent prenasalisation*. As Beach described this accompaniment, it involves a closure of the glottis, silent release of the posterior click closure, and a subsequent glottal stop release. Although the symbol used by Meinhof for this type of accompaniment is the apostrophe, which is the standard international phonetic symbol for an ejective release, the actual production of these clicks involves a combination of mechanical events that do not strictly constitute a straightforward ejective release, though the outcome might be described as 'delayed ejection'. For this type of release to be truly ejective, it would require a preliminary raising of the glottis, with a resulting compression of the air trapped between it and the closure above it – that is, the post-velar posterior closure of the click – with a consequently forceful burst of the pent-up air on release of that upper closure. What happens in reality, though, is that the prenasalisation enables a 'venting' of air flow, and so prevents an ejective burst as the posterior closure is released.[72] Instead, a 'delayed' burst comes from the release of the glottal closure, which is then simply heard as a glottal stop – which is why these clicks are often described as 'glottalised'. (In the context of rapid speech, a speaker may sometimes produce a glottalised click simply as plain.)

The prenasalisation associated with the glottalised (and also the delayed aspirated) clicks is especially apparent when a click word is preceded by the vowel of another word or grammatical morpheme, as in the following phrases produced by Ouma Jacoba Maclear:

hē xati (n)ǀʼuib	'this white stone' (JM)
ǀnika ti ke (n)ǂʼũ, tẽ	'I will never eat, ever'(JM)

Maingard[73] noticed that the nasalisation was often heard in the names of clans, where the word for 'clan' is *ʼais*. This phenomenon was probably responsible for early spellings that reflect the presence of a nasal in some of the old clan names, such as

Goringhaikua (for ǀUri ’aikua). (It may also account for some spellings where the word for clan is shown with a nasalised diphthong.)

Both Beach and Engelbrecht indicated this type of click by means of the click symbol with a following glottal stop symbol [ʔ]. We will preserve Meinhof’s convention of using the apostrophe that symbolises an ejective, partly because there is a sense in which these clicks reflect what might be termed a special type of ejection, and partly because the texts transcribed by Meinhof constitute a major component of the heritage corpus. Lloyd and Engelbrecht wrote these clicks without any additional symbol after the sign for the click, although Lloyd seems to have experimented briefly with the use of a glottal stop symbol. (The clicks with this feature are represented in the Namibian orthography without any letter after the click symbol, and are accordingly ordered first in the arrangement of the *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary*.)

ǀ’ūb	‘salt’
ǀ’uib	‘stone’
ǁ’ais	‘clan’
ǁ’ō	‘die’
!’ãb	‘brother’ [*ti* !’ãb ‘my brother’]
!’ãb	‘hunger’
!’ao	‘fear’
!’aub	‘veld, hunting ground’
!’ōs	‘axe’
ǂ’an	‘know’
ǂ’oab	‘wind’
ǂ’om	‘sew’
ǂ’ūkua	‘food’

3.3.2.4   The clicks with delayed aspiration: ǀh, ǁh, !h, ǂh

As Beach[74] described the delayed aspirated clicks of Nama and Kora, they are produced by first making the click, then silently releasing the back closure, and lastly ‘making the glottal fricative **h**’. These clicks are indicated in the Namibian orthography as they are for Kora, which is to say by means of a letter ‘h’ written after the click.

Like the glottalised clicks described above, the delayed aspirated clicks are associated with a latent prenasalisation. This normally slight degree of nasalisation re-emerges when the clicks are preceded by a vowel. Beach[75] explained the phenomenon as a kind of ‘venting’ of pulmonic airflow through the nose, which is initiated to ensure the silent release of the back closure. Beach’s idea was later developed by Traill,[76] and this type of accompaniment associated with nasal venting has come to be referred to as ‘delayed aspiration’.[77] Since it is a predictable feature, the prenasalisation is not explicitly indicated in the Namibian orthography for Khoekhoe, although some of the other Khoisan languages use an apostrophe before the letter ‘h’ to indicate

the delayed nature of the aspiration (as in the name of the language Ju ’hoan). It is probably this feature that led Meinhof to give variant spellings for *hõab* ‘wild cat’ and *hai* ‘yellow’ as ‘*nũab*’ and ‘*nai*’ respectively.

|hai	‘yellow’
|hõab	‘wild cat’ (note Swati *ingcwa* [in|^{gh}wa] ‘cat’)
|hobab	‘grave’ (note Swati *lingcwaba* [lin|^{gh}waba], Xhosa *ingcwaba* ‘grave’)
|homkua	‘clouds’
|huru	‘play’
‖habo	‘dream’
‖habob	‘sandal, shoe’
!hanab	‘garden’
!harib	‘large settlement, town’
!haridas	‘small settlement, village’
!horob	‘grain’ (used by Ouma Jacoba Maclear for ‘bread’)
ǂhanu	‘right, correct, good’

3.3.2.5   The clicks with ordinary aspiration or velar frication: ǀx, ǁx, !x, ǂx

This accompaniment is indicated in Namibian Khoekhoe by the letters ‘*kh*’ after the click symbol, and it is likely that the accompaniment of ‘velar frication’ developed out of ordinary aspiration (that is, without the complication of prenasalisation), much as the ordinary velar affricate [kx] occurs in Kora as a variant of the aspirated velar stop **kh**. The release of the posterior closure is silent in the case of these clicks.[78]

In the Word List that accompanies his 1928 study of Kora, Engelbrecht included a series of clicks that he represented with a following letter ‘k’. Although this was often the convention for indicating a plain click in the work of other authors, in this case the words involved for the most part match words that other authors recorded as clicks accompanied by velar frication. Since Engelbrecht used a separate symbol (the letter ‘x’) for the velar fricative when it occurred independently, we should probably not assume that the click accompaniment indicated by his ‘k’ was anything other than simple aspiration – and since the occurrence of clicks with aspiration in place of frication may have been a particular dialectal feature, the words spelled this way by Engelbrecht are listed separately in the Dictionary, as a sub-set of the clicks with frication. (The dialect of Engelbrecht’s first consultants also seems to have lacked clicks with the ejective affricate accompaniment.)

|xa	‘with’ (postposition)
|xomma	‘beg, pray’
|xuru	‘sour’
‖xãb	‘month, moon’
‖xaisi	‘eight’
‖xoba	‘open’
!xãkua	‘kidneys’
!xaris/b	‘honey-beer’

!xō	'catch'
‡xonsa	'sweet'
‡xoab	'elephant (male)'
‡xum	'shave'

3.3.2.6   The clicks with affricated ejection: kx', kx', kx', kx'

One of the respects in which Kora differs from Nama and Namibian Khoekhoe, and also makes it seem closer to the Kalahari varieties, is its use of clicks, at least in the eastern dialects, where the posterior closure is released audibly as an ejective affricate. In his earlier period, Maingard did not hear this particular click accompaniment in the speech of any of his consultants, but at a later date he reported[79] finally encountering it – specifically in some of the easternmost (which is to say, Upper Gariep) dialects of Kora, such as the variety spoken by consultants from the Kx'am ʼõakua or Right-Hand people.[80] In western varieties of Kora as well as other dialects of Khoekhoe, where the ejective affricate release does not occur, equivalent words were sometimes recorded as having merely the glottalised accompaniment, while others were found to be plain. It is interesting to note that in varieties (whether dialectal or individual) where the ejective affricate was recorded, the simple aspirated click was also more likely to be fricated.

We were fortunate to find examples of this click in the speech of our two consultants, and it has emerged during the course of our subsequent studies[81] that, much as in the case of the ordinary ejective affricate spelled **kx'**, the release of the posterior closure for these clicks appears to be uvular, rather than velar as has previously been assumed. The spectrographic profile of this feature closely resembles that of the ordinary ejective affricate **kx'**, which, as we have already noted, is in strict terms an ejected uvular plosive [q'] followed by a brief uvular trill, where the trill seems to be precipitated by the ejection, and quickly loses its periodic character to end as noisy uvular frication [χ]. (This common and even diagnostic characteristic of uvular sounds is known as 'uvular scrape'.) It is notable that we have found a few variant pronunciations where this accompaniment is heard simply as [q] – and it seems likely that the ejective component in these cases has simply been produced too weakly to cause the characteristic trill. (Note that in the case of the Namibian counterparts, the clicks written with no additional symbols after them are in fact glottalised.)

|kx'ā	'be sharp' [*|kx'āsa kõas ke* 'the knife is sharp'] (Nama *|ā*)
|kx'ã	'steal' (Nama *|â*)
|kx'aba	'red' (Nama *|apa*)
||kx'aro	'thin' (Nama *||aro* 'narrow')
!kx'amsa	'green' (Nama *!am*)
!kx'amma	'porridge'
‡kx'oa	'go out' [*‡kx'oa na*] (Nama *‡oa*)
‡kx'onib	'worm' (Nama *‡unib*)

3.3.2.7   The clicks with nasalisation: ǀn, ǁn, !n, ǂn

The nasalised clicks in Kora are much like those of Namibian Khoekhoe, and feature the onset of nasalisation well before the click burst. The nasalisation persists throughout the production of the click, and the release of the posterior closure of the click is not audible. The nasalisation is auditorily salient, which makes it unsurprising that some of the older records for Cape Khoekhoe and the eastern dialects typically use just the letter 'n' to represent nasalised clicks in the original names of various rivers. (The dental click in particular may be almost unheard when it is prenasalised.)

ǀnaidab	'baboon'
ǀnam	'love'
ǀnūb	'leg, foot'
ǁnãub	'ear, leaf' [*ǁnãukha* (common dual)]
ǁnubu	'churn'
!nāb	belly, insides' [*!nākua*]
!naib	'giraffe'
!nani	'six'
!nomab	'root'
!nona	'three'
ǂnā	'kick'
ǂnam	'whistle'
ǂnamma	'cloak, kaross'
ǂnau	'hit'
ǂnū	'black'
ǂnũ	'sit

3.3.2.8   A solitary nasalised voiced click: n!g

Ouma Jacoba Maclear gave us a single token of a word that contained a nasalised click with audible release of the posterior closure as a voiced stop [ɢ]:[82]

> *n!gausa*   'brown'

The two Nama-speaking members of our fieldwork team were not familiar with this word, and we were able to find a match for it only in Leonhard Schultze's record[83] of an old Nama coat colour term, *gãu huni*, which he described as being 'after the grey-yellow colouring of the dassie, used of cattle, horses, goats and dogs'. (The *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary* has the verb   *gau* 'become besmeared, of the mouth' and *gau(a)am* 'with a black or dark muzzle', where the equivalent of the latter in Kora would probably have been   *gauxakx'am*.)

This accompaniment is not typically found in Khoekhoe dialects, though it occurs regularly in languages of Kalahari KHOE. It is notable that Schultze's transcription of the word reflects a voiced click (or at least one with an audible posterior release), as well as nasalisation of the diphthong, and it is conceivable that the Kora clicks occasionally reported in the past to feature true voicing (which is to say, voicing that commenced *ahead* of the click) may originally have been clicks of this type.

3.4   The Kora system of tone melodies

Like all other Khoisan languages, Kora makes use of lexical tone. The existence of a tone system in Khoekhoe varieties was noted early on by the missionaries who worked on Nama – such as Johann Wallmann, who in the introduction to his 1857 grammar of the language, gave the following three near-identical words to demonstrate the contrastive role of tones.[84]

> *!xais*   'place' (Nama *!khais* (High-Low))
> *!xaib*   'cold' (Nama *!khaib* (Low-SuperHigh))
> *!xaib*   'headcloth' (Nama *!khaib* (SuperHigh-High))

At this early date, most linguists simply distinguished between High and Low tones, although others would later go on to identify High, Mid and Low tones. (The tones indicated for the three examples above have been modernised, and are based on those given by Haacke and Eiseb in their *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary*.)

Leonhard Schultze[85] was perhaps the first observer to recognise and indicate falling and rising tone patterns in addition to level ones, while the first methodical study of the tonemes of both Nama and Kora was contributed by Beach, whose seminal work was subsequently built upon by Roy Hagman[86] and later Haacke,[87] who both focused on Namibian Khoekhoe. All of these studies treat the tones as register tones (rather than contour tones), where each tone is carried individually by a vowel or a nasal.

3.4.1   The citation melodies of Kora

The tone melodies of the Khoekhoe languages typically have a basic (or 'citation') form, which is to say, the melody that is used when a word is spoken in isolation or at the beginning of a sentence. These melodies change systematically in certain syntactic contexts, where each citation melody has (i) its own alternative melody associated with the occurrence of the word in a compound form, and (ii) another alternative melody associated with the occurrence of the word at the end of a phrase. While these phenomena were noted in passing by both Meinhof and Maingard, the details were never fully documented for Kora, and it was only much later that the equivalent phenomenon in Namibian Khoekhoe was described at length by Haacke.[88] (All isolated forms heard in the sound files linked to the electronic version of this book are true citation forms and have not been snipped out of longer phrases. In a handful of cases where the only example of a word occurs within a short phrase, the phrase is given in full.) The alternative melodies will be discussed briefly in a later section below.

As for Kora, Wuras at least attempted to provide tone markings for some of the words in his Vocabulary as well as versions of his Catechism, typically using an acute accent (á) to indicate a High tone, and a grave accent (à) to indicate a Low tone, while leaving the remaining tones unmarked (probably on the basis that he perceived them

to be neutral or median tones). Lloyd's transcriptions of Kora a few decades later are fairly fluid, and should perhaps be seen as reflecting work that at the time was still in progress. Her manuscripts show many corrections, with frequent substitutions of a grave accent for originally acute ones, so that it is not always easy to work out their significance. (Maingard established[89] through correspondence with Lloyd's niece Dorothea Bleek that in her aunt's system, the acute accent was usually intended to indicate stress.) The illustration (Figure 3.6) shows a page from one of Lloyd's Kora notebooks, where the word '*haip*' for *haib* 'tree', which typically has a very low tone in our data, is marked with an acute accent, while the word ' *ụip*' for *'uib* 'stone', which typically has a very high tone, is assigned a grave accent in her amendment.
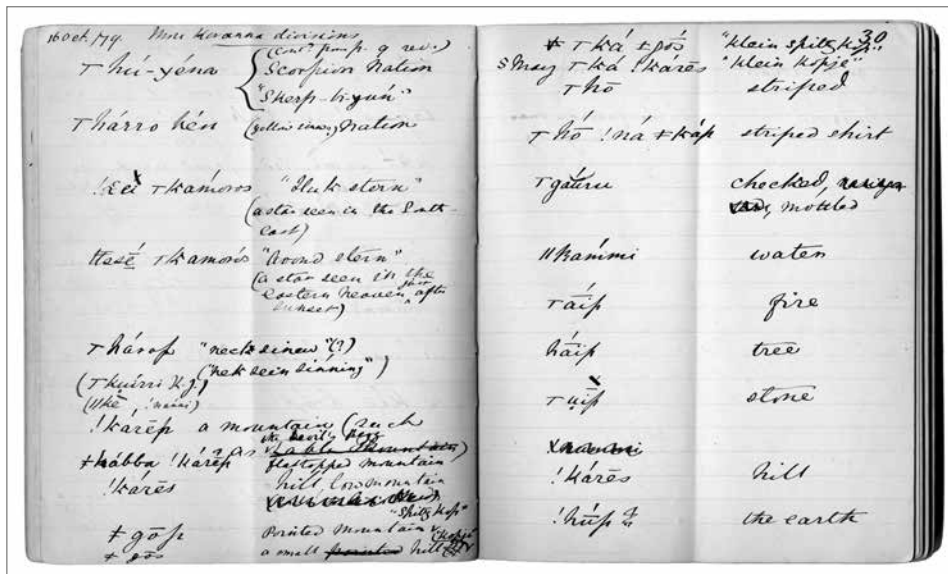
FIGURE 3.6   A page from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1), showing her use of accents to indicate aspects of stress and possibly tone. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

Meinhof, whose work on Kora appeared in 1930, mentioned[90] the customary three tones, namely High, Mid and Low, and also commented that the tone patterns of words could undergo various changes within the context of a sentence, as well as in certain derived forms, such as reduplicated verbs. Beach[91] subsequently estimated, however, that in the Glossary that accompanied his grammatical sketch, Meinhof provided tone markings for only about half of the roughly 2 000 entries, adding that, in most cases, the older scholar marked only level tones and never indicated any rising or falling tones – except by implication in a handful of cases where different tones are indicated on different syllables of a word.

    Writing in the 1960s, Maingard[92] identified four main tonemes in the speech of the Bloemhof Korana with whom he had worked in the 1920s and 1930s, adding that

in a few rare cases there was also a fifth toneme. The five tone melodies he identified consisted of two level ones, a rising one, a falling one, and the rare very low one, for which he gave examples as follows:

- High level melody [H-H], as in ' *kab*' 'brother'
- Low rising melody [L-H], as in ' *kam*' 'kill'
- Mid level melody [L-L], as in '*mũ*' 'see'
- High falling melody [H-L], as in ' *kã*' 'enter'
- Low or very low melody [$_s$L], as in '*hoan*' 'all'

While some of these examples (those that do not end in a nasal) may seem to suggest the use of a contour tone across a monosyllable, the roots in question are analysed as having two prosodic 'morae', where the tone-bearing units are taken to be two vowels in sequence.

Like Meinhof three decades before him, Maingard noted[93] that the basic tone melodies of words underwent changes in certain syntactic contexts. Other changes to the tone melodies were seen to occur in reduplicated forms. Maingard also contributed the astute observation[94] that the various tones and their tone variants might 'be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana'. (By 'sentence-tone' he probably meant the intonation contour of a sentence.)

It was Beach's study, published in 1938, that became the definitive one, however. Working mainly with just one consultant (Benjamin Kraalshoek, from the Kimberley Korana community), Beach determined that Kora had four fundamental 'tonemes' (citation melodies). (He briefly noted, but did not explore, the kinds of systematic variations noticed by Maingard and Meinhof.) In order to give some idea of the relative values of the four Kora tonemes, Beach plotted their melodies on to a musical stave, using four reference words as his examples, where *ui* 'one' illustrated what he described as a 'High level' melody, *xai* 'cold' a 'High rising' melody, *nae* 'sing' a 'Mid level' one, and *xae* 'dark' a 'Low-mid falling' one.[95] Beach's drawing is replicated in Figure 3.7, which also provides a translation of his High, Mid and Low tones into oppositions between High and Low values (with the additional options of SuperHigh and SuperLow), along the lines suggested by Johanna Brugman.[96]
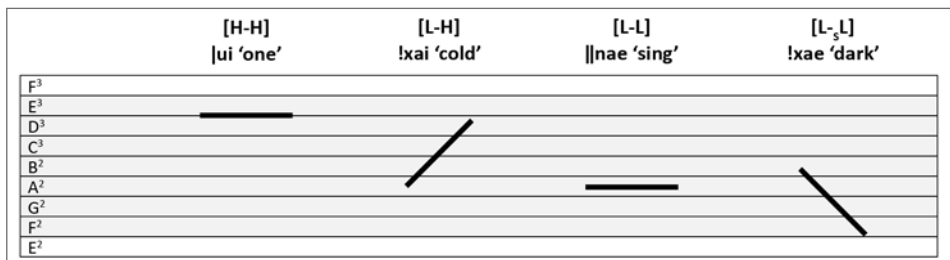
FIGURE 3.7   Beach's four tone melodies for Kora, from his study of Khoekhoe phonetics (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938), 239. (C³ is the C below Middle C, which is C⁴.) Beach worked with a male speaker, whose voice would naturally have had an inherently lower pitch than a woman's.

Since tonal distinctions were still clearly and consistently being made by Ouma Jacoba Maclear, we had high hopes of being able to confirm the presence of Beach's four citation melodies. We do not have recordings for each of the four reference words used in the sketch above, but Beach fortunately provided lists of additional examples for each of the four melodies (as set out in Table 3.5). When we began to make our comparisons, however, drawing initially from Beach's lists, we were slightly disconcerted to find that the words as pronounced by Ouma Jacoba do not always fall consistently into the same melodic groups as those determined for them by Beach. (There may be various reasons for this, not least of them the advanced age of our consultant, as well as the fact that, unlike Benjamin Kraalshoek, who came from Kimberley, Ouma Jacoba belonged to the Bloemhof Korana.) What we hear in Ouma Jacoba's speech is nevertheless a set of four clearly distinct tone melodies – just as expected, where two are level [H-H] and [L-L], one rises [L-H] and one falls [H-L].

Table 3.4 sets out the four citation melodies as produced by Ouma Jacoba, with example words for each. As this chart shows, the High level toneme [H-H] in her speech is sometimes heard as a SuperHigh variant, while the Low level toneme [L-L] is *only* expressed as SuperLow. There are relatively few examples for either of these two extreme melodies in our data, and most of the words reflect citation melodies that are moving. The rising melody has the contour [L-H] for the most part, but while the falling one is occasionally the High falling melody [H-L] noted by Maingard, it more often occurs in real terms as a melody that falls from Low to SuperLow – much as implied by Beach's musical notation.

TABLE 3.4   The four Kora citation melodies in the speech of Ouma Jacoba Maclear.

Kora tone melodies		Reference words from the speech of Ouma Jacoba Maclear
1	~ ^{S}H (SuperHigh level)	ǀui 'one', ǀ'uib 'stone'
	H-H (High level)	hāb 'horse', kunis 'wagon', khoes 'woman', kx'oa 'seek', mã 'stand', ǂ'ũ 'eat', ǂnũ 'sit'
2	L-H (Low rising)	gomas 'cow', khãi 'rise', kx'ōb 'meat', ǀhuru 'play', ǁanab 'devil', !am 'kill', ǂxanis 'book'
3	H-L (High falling)	biris 'goat ewe', huri 'jump', !ũ 'go', !'ao 'fear'
	~ L-$_S$L (Low falling)	arib 'dog', koba 'speak', ǁhabob 'shoe', !xae 'dark', ǂoab 'clay'
4	(L-L)	-
	$_S$L (SuperLow level)	gūs 'sheep', haib 'tree', ǁnā 'fall'

The diagrams in Figure 3.8 were made using Praat software, where the first drawing shows the pitch contours for words illustrating the High and Low level melodies, and the second shows contours for the two moving melodies, where the example words are clickable in the electronic edition.

Contours of the two level melodies:	Contours of the two moving melodies:
(1) ǀ'uib 'stone' High level [H-H] (in real terms SH)	(2) gomas 'cow' Rising [L-H]
(3) gūs 'sheep ewe' Low level [L-L] (in real terms SL)	(4) ǁhabob 'shoe' Falling [H-L] (in real terms L-SL)
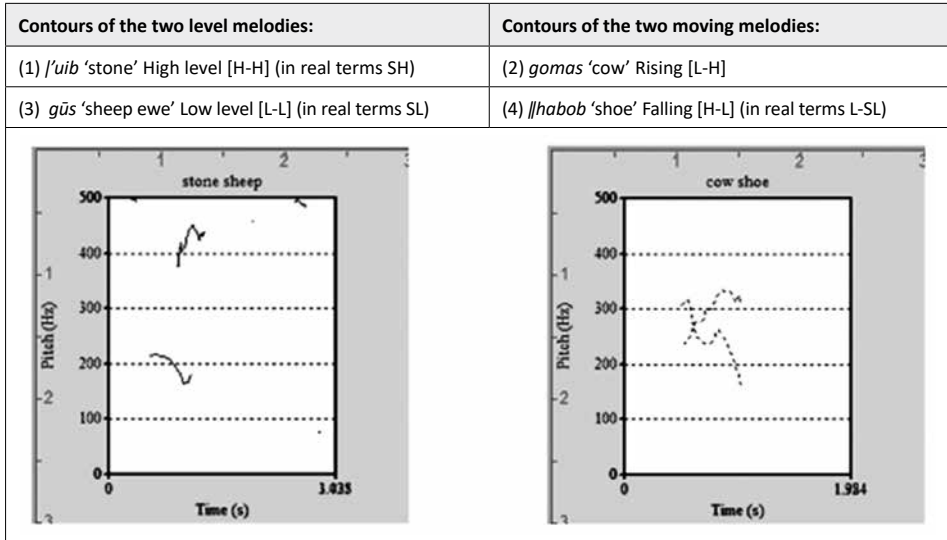
FIGURE 3.8   Contours of the two level and two moving melodies in Ouma Jacoba's speech.

Nama has two additional melodies, but these will be discussed in the section on tonogenesis below.

3.4.2   The two classes of alternative tone melodies used in particular contexts

The tone melodies described so far have been the basic or citation forms. As noted earlier, though, these melodies may change in certain contexts. The alternative melodies are briefly discussed next.

3.4.2.1   Alternative melodies associated with compound forms

The first class of alternative melodies is assigned to words when they occur in various compounds, including verbal compounds such as ūhā 'bring', from ū 'take', hā 'come', and reduplicated forms such as kx'a kx'a 'sharpen', from kx'ā 'be sharp'. (In Namibian Khoekhoe, certain verb extensions, such as the applicative –ba, have similar effects on tone melody.) We do not have many examples in our data of words used both in isolation and in the context of such formulations, but in the case of the reduplications kx'a kx'a, as in kõas kx'a kx'a 'sharpen the knife', and thoathoa 'begin', the first occurrence of the word in each case has a high or rising tone, while the second takes a low or falling melody.

3.4.2.2 *Alternative melodies associated with final occurrence in an expanded phrase*

A second class of alternative melodies is assigned to words when they occur in certain syntactic contexts. In reality, of course, it is normal for nouns and verbs to be used in expanded phrases, where it is the general rule in Khoekhoe languages that nouns and verbs occur at the end of the phrases that contain them. A noun, for example, may be preceded in Kora by an adjective or various specifiers, including quantifiers such as *hoa* 'all', demonstratives such as *hē* 'this' or *nā* 'that', and possessives such as *ti* 'my', while a verb may be preceded by various markers of tense or aspect.

In Namibian Khoekhoe, the tendency is very broadly for the higher tone melodies of words to be replaced by lower or falling melodies when those words appear phrase-finally in an expanded phrase (although there is one notable exception to this general principle). We would expect to find in Kora a broadly similar pattern of low or falling melodies in phrase-final positions, and while we do not have sufficient data to determine the full set of alternate melodies associated with each of the four citation melodies, we can confirm that words with generally high or rising citation melodies (such as *'uib* 'stone') typically occur with lower alternatives when they are used at the end of an expanded phrase (such as *kx'ā 'uib* 'sharp stone'). (This seems to confirm Maingard's insight that the determining factor may ultimately be the overall intonation contour of the sentence, since it is precisely the falling curve of the ordinary declarative sentence that is preserved by the use of the alternate low or falling lexical melodies.)[97]

3.4.3 The theory of tonogenesis in Khoekhoe

When Beach came to describe the Kora tonemes, it was after he had completed his study of Nama, where he had found *six* contrastive tone melodies. It puzzled him that he could find only four tone melodies in Kora, where for each of the two lower melodies, Nama seemed to have *two* corresponding melodies, where the extra Nama melody in each case had a low or very low onset, followed by a rise.

The question this posed for Beach was how the additional melodies in Nama could have emerged, and why they should have the lower tone onsets. Eventually he decided that the various previous authors who had alluded to the presence in Kora of a contrast based on voicing were perhaps not wrong after all, since he began to detect an apparent correlation between the presence of a voiced (or once voiced) segment – and a lower tone on the following vowel. He concluded that a formerly voiced series[98] of both ordinary and click consonants may have had a lowering (or depressor) effect on following tones. (This is a natural process not unusual among tone languages elsewhere in the world, and is thought to be caused by certain physiological aspects of the voicing mechanism.)[99] Beach theorised that the process must have gone further in Nama and the Namibian dialects, which for the most part no longer make use of

contrastive voicing – presumably because the additional tonal contrasts eventually became semantically significant in themselves.[100]

TABLE 3.5   The complete list of examples given by Beach for each of the four Kora tonemes in the speech of Benjamin Kraalshoek.

Toneme 1: High level (ˉK) [H-H]		Toneme 2: High rising (´K) [L-H]		Toneme 3: Mid level (-K) [L-L]		Toneme 4: Low-mid falling (ˌK) [L-ₛL]	
hã	'stay, remain'	kurib	'year'	daob	'path'	arib	'dog'
kunis	'wagon'	khōb	'skin'	gomab	'bull'	danis	'honey'
kuru	'construct'	saob	'winter'	hã	'come'	dīb	'fact'
kx'õa	'seek'	sūb	'pot'	hō	'find'	gūs	'sheep'
mã	'stand'	xurub	'powder'	koro	'five'	haba	'mix'
pã	'bite'	ǀom	'suck'	khoba	'expand'	huri	'jump'
pereb	'bread'	ǀ'aeb	'fire'	khoeb	'man'	khãi	'get up'
saob	'tail'	ǀ'arub	'dung'	kx'ã	'drink'	tĩ	'ask'
ū	'take'	ǀhao	'gather'	sores	'sun'	thã	'lick'
xoa	'write'	ǀhari	'soak'	tani	'carry'	ǀ'amis	'ostrich'
ǀubi	'borrow'	ǀkx'abe	'advise'	thũb	'pain'	ǀharub	'mat'
ǀ'oa	'deny'	ǀkx'ao	'to milk'	ǀam	'two'	ǀnūb	'leg'
ǀ'uib	'stone'	ǁae	'chew'	ǀore	'pray'	ǀnuis	'spider'
ǀhuru	'play'	ǁõa	'descend'	ǀhõab	'wild-cat'	ǁūb	'father'
ǀxunub	'finger'	ǁūs	'springbok'	ǀx'oa	'full'	ǁxaob	'lamb'
ǁoab	'knee'	ǁ'ama	'buy'	ǁorob	'finger-nail'	ǀnã	'fall'
ǁūb	'tooth'	ǁhū	'bark'	ǁxãb	'moon'	ǃ'ãb	'hunger'
ǁkx'aeb	'time'	ǁxūb	'thorn'	ǁnae	'sing'	ǃxae	'dark'
ǁnae	'point'	ǃam	'kill'	ǃãb	'poison'	ǃnãb	'belly'
ǁnora	'annoy'	ǃuri	'proud'	ǃãb	'slave'	ǃnona	'three'
ǃãb	'brother'	ǃ'ubub	'egg'	ǃae	'complain'	ǂã	'entsr'
ǂam	'whistle'	ǃxai	'cold'	ǃabi	'ride'	ǂuib	'nose'
ǂaob	'heart'	ǃnani	'six'	ǃū	'go'	ǂxore	'carry on stick'
ǂ'an	'know'	ǃnoa	'grow gray'	ǃ'aba	'ascend'	ǂxom	'shave'
ǂxai	'awake'	ǂai	'call'	ǃ'ao	'fear'		
ǂxurub	'vein'	ǂ'õ	'narrow'	ǃxam	'fight'		
ǂnũ	'sit'	ǂ'ũ	'eat'	ǃxaru	'snore'		
		ǂ'ūb	'food'	ǂai	'pull'		
		ǂhanu	'correct'	ǂxã	'lift up'		
		ǂxanis	'book'				
		ǂxon	'sweet'				
		ǂnais	'turtle dove'				

We had hoped that the data from our two speakers of Kora might provide confirmation of Beach's theory, particularly since the speech of our consultants seemed to include a residual voiced series for both egressive and ingressive consonants (even if that voicing is ambiguous in some cases, and only marginally phonemic, as we have seen). We reasoned that if the process of tonogenesis was a gradual one, we might expect to find some occasional traces of its beginnings still occurring in association with these apparently voiced segments and other potential depressor consonants. In the end, though, we have been left with more questions than answers, partly because of uncertainties surrounding the voiced segments, and partly because the melodies in our data do not consistently match those given by Beach for the same words. Our sample size is in addition so small that it does not permit us to make statistically meaningful generalisations. All of this has led us to concede that the material we were

able to salvage is perhaps too fragile to withstand the burden of any strong argument. (The investigation is written up elsewhere.)[101]

Given the vagueness of the tone markings provided by many of the earlier authors, and given the many discrepancies for particular words between the melodies recorded by Beach in Kimberley and the melodies heard in our own recordings made in Bloemhof, we have thought it best not to attempt tone markings for the entries in the Dictionary. The lists in Table 3.5 nevertheless set out for reference purposes the groups of example words given by Beach for each of the citation melodies identified by him, and readers will also have the opportunity to listen to Ouma Jacoba Maclear's pronunciations via the electronic edition. For purposes of reading the heritage texts aloud, it should be a reasonable enough compromise in cases of uncertainty to use the Nama melody for the equivalent word – without sacrificing the recognition that the tone systems of the two languages were ultimately different.

Endnotes

1   Carl Meinhof, "*Wörterverzeichnis*" in *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Supplement 12 to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*) (Berlin: Reimer, 1930), 78–145.

2   Douglas Beach, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938), hereafter referred to as Bch.

3   Carl Meinhof, *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Supplement 12 to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*) (Berlin: Reimer, 1930), hereafter referred to as Mhf.

4   Louis F. Maingard, "Studies in Korana history, customs and language" *Bantu Studie*s 6, no. 2 (1932), 148–150; *Koranna Folktales: Grammar and Texts* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1962), 3–10. Maingard's "Studies in Korana history" will hereafter be referred to as Mgd1932.

5   Anthony Traill, *Phonetic and Phonological Studies of ǀXOO Bushman* (Research in Khoisan Studies 1) (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1985).

6   Hirosi Nakagawa, "Aspects of the Phonetic and Phonological Structure of the Gǀui language" (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand PhD thesis, 2006).

7   Peter Ladefoged and Keith Johnson, *A Course in Phonetics*, 6th ed. (Wadsworth: Cengage Learning).

8   Numerous patient tutorials from Roger Lass have been invaluable – although he is most decidedly not responsible for any errors that may have slipped through despite his best efforts.

9   The reason for not specifying sources except in the most obvious cases is that it can be difficult to pinpoint an exact donor language, even when it is clear that a particular word originates from a language of the BANTU family. The other difficulty is that the marking of some words as loans sets up a natural expectation that all borrowings will be exhaustively indicated, whereas there are probably many more loanwords in Khoekhoe that have not yet been detected.

10   Menán du Plessis, "The damaging effects of romantic mythopoeia on Khoesan Linguistics" *Critical Arts* 28, no. 3 (2014), 569–592.

11 Of course, an argument could be made that it is the close-mid vowels [e] and [o] that are in some sense 'more basic', while it is the open forms [ɛ] and [ɔ] that are the conditioned variants.

12 They arise most often by harmonisation with a following high vowel, or where the final segment is a nasal. (It is likely that words ending in **m** or **n** once had high vowels **i** or **u** after them.) It is possible that the harmonisation was originally based on the respective features of advanced and retracted tongue root, rather than vowel height.

13 Jan A. Engelbrecht, "*Studies oor Korannataal*," *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch* 6, ser. B, no. 2 (1928), 7, hereafter referred to as Ebt1928.

14 Bch, 217.

15 It is a matter of ongoing debate whether differences in vowel length are genuinely phonemic – which is to say, are used to signal an actual contrast in meaning. That the contrastive factor is possibly more a matter of tone melody than length has been suggested by Niklaas Fredericks in "A study of dialectal and inter-linguistic variations of Khoekhoegowab" (Bellville: University of the Western Cape PhD thesis, 2013) for Namibian Khoekhoe; and by Amanda Miller, "Contrastive vowel-length and variable weight reduplicative templates in Ju 'hoansi" in *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 18 (2001), ed. Arthur Bell and Paul Washburn, 104–125. Fredericks finds that the high and low tones interfere with the perception of vowels so that they appear long. The high tone appears to trigger slight lengthening of the vowel but this is illusory: some sounds believed to be longer are in fact shorter, which strengthens the argument that it is not length that is phonemic, but rather tonal melody.

16 For the same reason, the need will never arise for both the tilde and the macron to be used simultaneously.

17 The Tswana fricative followed by the open *o* is more likely to be produced further back, and is often actually uvular.

18 Bch, 50.

19 Niklaas Fredericks, personal communication, September 2015.

20 This kind of progression reflects a natural sound shift, seen also, for example, in the difference between the pronunciation of German *kleine* and Afrikaans *klein* 'small'. In another stage of this shift, cognate words are sometimes seen in other varieties with the vowel ī, as in the case of ǀaixab 'doctor, sorcerer', which has been borrowed into both the ǀUi language ǀXam (as gǀīxa) and the Nguni language Xhosa as *ugqīra* [uᶢǃiːxa]. This kind of shift seems to have been a particular characteristic of the Griqua variety.

21 Mhf, 78–119.

22 As noted earlier, this may reflect a Giri influence: Ouma Jacoba told us that her father was Griqua, while Oupa Dawid mentioned that his parents had come originally from Griquatown.

23 Bch, 50, 206.

24 Again, this kind of sound shift is a natural and frequently encountered one. A similar progression is seen in the difference between the pronunciation of Dutch *blaauw* and Afrikaans *blou* 'blue'. There are sporadic cases cross-dialectally in Khoekhoe where [aʊ] has shifted to [oː] or [uː].

25 It is an intriguing aspect of Khoisan phonetic inventories in general that they almost never feature bilabials (whether oral or nasal, stop or fricative, voiced or voiceless) as initial segments in non-borrowed lexical items, even though there are grammatical morphemes in most of the languages that begin with such sounds.

26 The narrow aperture for the voiced bilabial fricative is created by placing both lips together, and is not quite the same sound as the labiodental [v], which is articulated by placing the lower lip against the upper teeth.

27 Mgd1932, 151.

28 The sounds **h** and the murmured (or 'breathy-voiced') ɦ are referred to for convenience as glottal fricatives, although producing them does not strictly involve articulators in the usual sense of the word.

29 This sound may be post-velar or even uvular for some speakers of Afrikaans, certainly ahead of a low or back vowel.

30 Bch, 221.

31 Bch, 252.

32 Maingard, *Koranna Folktales*, 7.

33 Lucy Lloyd, "Preface" *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (London: George Allen & Co., 1911), viii.

34 Ebt1936, 199.

35 Rainer Vossen, *Die Khoe-Sprachen: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Sprachgeschichte Afrikas* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1997), 523.

36 These are associated with a palatalising influence of the Class 5 prefix, while the features of aspiration and ejection in Sotho-Tswana languages pattern in much the same way as they do in the case of segments preceded by a nasal, with ejectives reflecting originally voiced segments (Denis Creissels, "Remarks on the sound correspondences between Proto-Bantu and Tswana (S.31)" in *Bantu Historical Linguistics: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*, ed. Jean-Marie Hombert and Larry M. Hyman (Leland Stanford Junior University: Centre for the Study of Language and Information, 1999), 297–334.

37 J.A. Louw, *Handboek van Xhosa*, with J.B. Jubase (Johannesburg: Educum Publishers, 1978), 11.

38 Bch, 224.

39 Jan A. Engelbrecht, *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936), 200, hereafter referred to as Ebt1936.

40 Mhf, 25.

41 Carl Meinhof, "*Versuch einer grammatischen Skizze einer Buschmannsprache*," *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 19 (1928/29), 161–88.

42 Dorothea Bleek, *A Bushman Dictionary* (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1956), 221.

43 The reason for the small note of doubt is that in her transcriptions of the Kora stories dictated by Piet Links, Lucy Lloyd also occasionally represented certain sounds as ts'. In these cases, however, the words involved are recorded elsewhere by other authors with the plain affricate. An example occurs in the story of Moon and Hare, where the word *tsĩ* (meaning 'and') is spelled '*tss'ĕ̃*'. Lloyd also once or twice wrote '*tss'a*' 'you (masculine singular)' for the more usual *tsa*. These few instances suggest that at least some occurrences of ts' were perhaps simply isolated cases of variation in the ordinary rapid speech of fluent individuals, which observers happened to capture in faithful but perhaps overly narrow phonetic transcriptions. A closer look at the clan name in Meinhof's set of words triggers further doubt. Although Engelbrecht also independently noted the name 'Ts'oa 'ain', giving it as that of the clan to which Andries Bitterbos belonged, it is clear from statements made elsewhere that Bitterbos belonged to the Kat clan. This makes us

inclined to suspect that the spelling Ts'oa 'ai simply reflected a mishearing of 'Hõa 'ain. The word *ts'uni* for 'larva' may have been a clickless form of *kx'onib* 'worm'.

44 Some scholars believe that the glottalisation initiating these vowels constitutes an actual glottal stop segment.

45 Distributions of this kind point to the likely former existence of pre-stem-initial morphology.

46 Menán du Plessis, "The click inventory of Kora (or Ora) (Khoekhoe, KHOE) reappraised in the light of data from two last speakers." Paper presented at the *Fifth South African Micro-Linguistics Workshop* (SAMWOP5).

47 The Sotho-Tswana languages feature ordinary affricates such as *kg* (phonetic [kx]), which in certain conditioning environments (before low or back vowels) are expressed as aspirated *uvular* affricates (phonetic [qχʰ]), produced so far back as to introduce 'uvular scrape' (A. N. Tucker, *The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages* (London: Longmans, Green, 1929), 55). These sounds are not generally described as ejective, although an ejective series might really have been expected to occur, so as to distinguish the uvular reflex of Proto-Bantu *g from *k in the pre-nasalised environment. (The reason for the merger may lie partly in the natural tendency for a voiced uvular stop to be expressed as a fricative.)

48 This pattern may reflect an older distinction between vowels produced with 'advanced tongue root' and those produced with 'retracted tongue root'.

49 Wilhelm Bleek, (Bleek Collection, Manuscripts and Archives in the Special Collections of the University of Cape Town Libraries), Xam Notebook 001, 5.

50 This sound is typically spelled 'kl', and is described as an 'ejective velar affricate consonant, or ejective velar lateral affricate' (Clement Doke, D. M. Malcolm, J. M. A. Sikakana and B. W. Vilakazi, *English–Zulu, Zulu–English Dictionary* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1990), 420). Xhosa also has a small number of words spelled with 'kr' to indicate a similar ejective velar affricate, as in –*kroba* 'look through a hole, peep', and –*krwela* 'scratch, scrape'. Both these last examples are of BANTU origin, however, and have clear cognates in Sotho-Tswana languages. Although Meinhof proposed that Nguni words featuring this sound must have been borrowed from a Khoisan source, the words usually listed are for the most part not found in any of the extant Khoisan languages, and in many cases do not resemble typical Khoisan stems. It is interesting, though, that Nakagawa ("Phonetics," 126) reports finding some speakers of the Kalahari Khoe language G ui who produce the uvular ejective affricate qχ', as in *qχ'ãĩ* 'vulture' (compare Kora *kx'anis* 'bird), with a lateral release – which suggests at least a parallel with Nguni**.**

51 Wilfrid H. G. Haacke and Eliphas Eiseb, *A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary, with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2002), 99.

52 Mgd1932, 149.

53 It is possible that all or some of these forms have been borrowed. It is notable that the word –*laula* in the Nyanja (or Cewa) language of Malawi and eastern Zambia at one time meant 'swear, utter things unlawful; to speak words by the spirits; of trees and voices supposed unnaturally to swear; to swear at a person, to meet with bad omen […]; also, to prophesy, tell of coming misfortune' (David Clement Scott, *Dictionary of the Nyanja Language*, ed. Alexander Hetherwick (London: Lutterworth Press, 1929), 232). The equivalent word in Sotho, -*laola*, seems to have only the last meaning, being glossed (A. Mabille and H. Dieterlen, *Southern-Sotho-English Dictionary (South African orthography)*, rev. R. A.

Paroz (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1988), 263) as 'throw the divining bones'. Tswana (J. Tom Brown, *Setswana Dictionary: Setswana-English and English-Setswana* (Johannesburg: Pula Press, 1982), 147) similarly has –*laola*, 'decide by casting the dice', but like Sotho, does not seem to include the meaning 'swear' in the semantic range of the word. Since the meaning 'swear' is no longer associated with these words in the South African languages, it seems that if the word *lau* (~ *luu*) in Khoe is a borrowing, the transfer must have been made either directly from a language closer to the Malawi (or eastern Zambian) region, or else perhaps occurred at a time when the Sotho-Tswana languages still preserved the older meaning.

54 Samuel S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 47 (1917), 109.

55 Bch, 225–226.

56 Mgd1932, 149.

57 Amanda Miller, Johanna Brugman, Bonny Sands, Levi Namaseb, Mats Exter and Chris Collins, "Differences in airstream and posterior place of articulation among N uu clicks" *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 39, no. 2 (2009), 129–161.

58 Although some contemporary linguists now refer to the (post)alveolar click [!] simply as 'alveolar', we have chosen to retain the full (and standard IPA) form, so as to avoid confusion with older literature (with which many South Africans will be familiar), in which some scholars originally referred to this click as palatal. We also use the full form of the name for the palato-alveolar click [ ], rather than the commonly used current abbreviation 'palatal'. (This click has in the past been referred to by some scholars as 'alveolar'.)

59 Bch, 80.

60 The only BANTU language known to use all four clicks is Yeyi, which is a language of the Okavango region.

61 Ebt1938, 202.

62 Anthony Traill, *Phonetic and Phonological Studies of XOO Bushman* (Research in Khoisan Studies 1) (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1985), 99.

63 Some linguists have dismissed the term as 'vacuous', but its non-specificity was rather the point of such an all-encompassing term in the first place.

64 In the current orthography for Namibian Khoekhoe, the velar affricated accompaniment is indicated by the letters 'kh' after the click symbol, where this convention gives a truer indication of the phonetic reality, which is that the click may be aspirated in some varieties, but has variants where the aspiration is heard as velar frication. In the set of conventions used by Christa Kilian-Hatz in the *Khwe Dictionary* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2003), the clicks with 'voiceless velar affricate accompaniment' are indicated by means of a letter 'x' after the click symbol, and the clicks with 'affricated velar ejective accompaniment' by means of a letter 'x' with following apostrophe. It seems to be a grey area whether the fricative (glottal or velar) is associated with the simple click (as for example, [!^{h} ~ !^{x}]), or with an audibly released posterior closure (as [!q^h ~ !q^x]).

65 Beach (Bch, 82–83) described the plain (or voiceless unaspirated) clicks as involving a 'practically silent' release of the posterior closure. At the same time, he suggested that the release may well be heard as a 'weak velar plosive efflux', which, like the voiceless unaspirated k, is difficult to differentiate from g. It was this difficulty, he felt, which resulted in the inconsistent descriptions of older writers such as Henry Tindall (for Nama) and Wuras (for Kora), who sometimes wrote 'k' and sometimes 'g' after a click symbol.

66 Ebt1928, 12–41.

67 Mgd1932, 150.

68 Du Plessis, "The click inventory of Kora reappraised."

69 Patrick Midtlyng, "The effects of speech rate on VOT for initial plosives and click accompaniments in Zulu" *Selected Proceedings of the 40th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Eyamba G. Bokamba and others (Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2011), 105–118. See also Michael Jessen and Justus C. Roux, "Voice quality differences associated with stops and clicks in Xhosa" *Journal of Phonetics* 30 (2002), 1–52.

70 Some Khoisan languages, including some belonging to the Kalahari branch of Khoe, are reported to feature voiced clicks of the kind actually characterised by voice lead, where voicing begins *before* the release burst of the click (Nakagawa, "Phonetics," 161).

71 The voiced uvular stop is a rather rare segment in languages of the world. In many cases where it might be expected to occur in a particular language (because of its overall phonological system), it is expressed in reality as a velar or post-velar fricative. See Bert Vaux, "A note on pharyngeal features" *Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics 7*, ed. Bert Vaux and Susumu Kuno (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 39–63.

72 Nasalisation and the glottal mechanism involved in the production of an ejective are not greatly compatible. Ian Maddieson and Peter Ladefoged ("Phonetics of partially nasal consonants," in *Phonetics and Phonology, Vol 5: Nasals, Nasalization, and the Velum*, ed. Marie K. Huffmann and Rena A. Krakow (San Diego: Academic Press, Inc., 1993), 254) described the prenasalised ejectives of the Nguni languages as 'marginal, at best'. This is because nasalisation depends on a pulmonic airflow and so requires the glottis to be open, whereas ejection requires the glottis to be closed. In the case of the Nguni ejectives with prenasalisation, the nasal element is contributed by a preceding prefix, and the nasalisation ceases before the separate production of the ejective. (In the case of the Sotho-Tswana languages, the solution has been to lose the Class 9 prefix, although there may have been other reasons for this as well.) It is interesting that the Nguni language Swati has *ingcwa* [in ᵍʰwa] for a 'wild domestic cat' (compare Kora   *hõab* 'wild cat'), where the nasal element in the Swati word comes from the Class 9 prefix. Examples like this raise the possibility that prenasalisation in the Khoisan cases is not purely an accidental side-effect of the articulatory mechanism, but may have been supplied in the first place by morphology, and has *resulted in* the kinds of accommodations referred to as 'delayed aspiration', and 'glottalisation'. (Other comparative examples include Xhosa *ingcuka* [in ᵍuka] 'brown hyena', Kora   *hukas*; and Xhosa *ingcwaba* [in ᵍwaba] 'grave', Swati *lingcwaba*, Kora   *hobab*. There is even a dialect of the   Gui language studied by Nakagawa ("Phonetics," 172) where the pre-nasalisation associated with delayed aspiration and glottalisation is pre-glottalised and heard as [ˀn]. A similar type of accompaniment was found in   Xoon by Traill (*Phonetics*, 134–135).)

73 Mgd1932, 150.

74 Mgd1932, 86.

75 Mgd1932, 86–87.

76 Anthony Traill, "Pulmonic control, nasal venting, and aspiration in Khoisan languages" *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 21, no. 1 (1991), 13–18.

77 Some other Khoisan languages, such as   Xoon (Traill, *Phonetics*, 135, 143), and the Kalahari Khoe language   Gui (Nakagawa, "Phonetics," 162–165), are reported to have

additional accompaniment series where nasal venting is not present, and where the clicks may be straightforwardly aspirated or ejective.

78 In some other Khoisan languages, such as N uu, an audible release of the uvular closure may be accompanied by phonemic aspiration or uvular frication.

79 Maingard, "The Korana dialects," *African Studies* 23, no. 2 (1964), 57–66.

80 Lloyd's notebooks also show clicks followed by the Greek letter gamma (γ), which seems to have been her symbol for the ejective affricate. While Maingard at one time doubted that Lloyd could have heard this sound as a click accompaniment, since he himself had not heard it among the Bloemhof Korana, he later conceded that it might indeed have been present in the speech of Piet Links.

81 Du Plessis, "The click inventory of Kora reappraised."

82 In his study of Xoon, Traill (*Phonetics*, 130) described the 'voiced counterpart' of the click accompanied by a voiceless uvular stop [q] as a prenasalised click followed by a voiced uvular stop [n ɢ]. The unusual click noted in *n gausa* may have been the Kora equivalent of such a sound.

83 Leonhard Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907), 265.

84 Johann Christian Wallmann, *Die Formenlehre der Namaquasprache* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1857), 7.

85 Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 342–363.

86 Roy S. Hagman, *Nama Hottentot Grammar* (Indiana University: Research Centre for Language and Semiotic Studies, 1977).

87 Wilfrid Haacke, *The Tonology of Khoekhoe* (*Nama/Damara*) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1999). A more recent study of Namibian Khoekhoe by Johanna Brugman, "Segments, Tones and Distribution in Khoekhoe Prosody" (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University PhD thesis, 2009) takes the work of these earlier scholars forward, and suggests some revisions to the melodies previously identified, as well as providing a transposition of Beach's High, Mid and Low tones into High and Low values.

88 Haacke (*Tonology of Khoekhoe*) refers to the phrase-final melodies as 'sandhi' forms, using a technical term devised by early scholars of Sanskrit.

89 Mgd, "Korana names," 312.

90 Mhf, 24.

91 Bch, 236.

92 Mgd, *Koranna Folktales,* 7.

93 Mgd, *Korana Folktales*, 8.

94 Mgd1932, 150.

95 Bch, 239.

96 Brugman, "Segments, Tones and Distribution."

97 It is possible that the lower falling melody [L-$_S$L] so frequently used in place of the straightforward [H-L] may originally have been the alternative phrase-final melody. If this is the case, and if the alternative melody steadily began to replace the citation form, this process must already have been underway in the 1920s, since there is no doubt from his musical transcription that this is the melody Beach heard. A shift of this kind, from [H-L] to [L-$_S$L], may have had a further 'knock-on' effect, with all Low tones gradually being re-analysed as SuperLow, so that the Low level melody [L-L] was eventually expressed in turn as [$_S$L-].

98 He suggested that the voiced segments could have been voiced consonants and clicks, but also voiced aspirated (or 'breathy voiced') consonants, as well as nasals, which are voiced by default.

99 See Martha Ratliff, "Tonoexodus, tonogenesis, and tone change" in *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Phonology*, ed. Patrick Honeybone and Joseph Salmons (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 245–261.

100 Since Beach's era, many more advanced studies have been made of the link between voicing and tonal depression in various languages (particularly BANTU languages) of southern Africa, both as a possible factor in tonogenesis over time, and as a factor in ongoing tonological processes (for example, where a high tone that would ordinarily be expected in certain environments does not materialise). The picture beginning to emerge is one of far greater and even baffling complexity, as reflected in the title ("Depressing facts about Zulu") of a famous paper by Anthony Traill, J. S. M. Khumalo and P. Fridjhon (*African Studies* 46, no. 2 (1987), 255–274). It now seems that very few if any contemporary languages in the region still make use of 'true' voicing, at least in the strict sense of 'voice lead', where voicing begins ahead of the consonant release. In reality, it is only the depressed tones themselves that now reflect the distinction, while the consonants that occur before them (even while they may be phonemically voiced) are in strictly phonetic terms often merely unaspirated segments associated with the 'short-lag' type of voicing. (See for example, Laura Downing and Bryan Gick, "Voiceless tone depressors in Nambya and Botswana Kalang'a," *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 27 (2001), 65–80.) For Khoekhoe languages, nevertheless, it remains the hypothesis that, as Haacke ("Tonology [Khoekhoe]", 96) puts it: 'Namibian Khoekhoe has, through tonogenesis (tonal depression caused by especially voiced consonants and subsequent devoicing of those consonants), developed an additional tone, the "double low" tone, which in turn has created two new major citation melodies.'

101 Du Plessis, "The click inventory of Kora reappraised."

‖k̥aṁ, a ‖k̥aṁ.　　　　　　　water

mā marē, are give, let me

yā. ‖ nāti̍ena drink. So

harr-‖kā̄-‖kās. "Korhaan ‖alk̥ʃ"

ǂǂ k̥ǎ, ǎ daut ván, child hers

ena úni harr- finds the young

‖kā-‖k̥ā dáiü. the korhaan.

ě'na ‖k̥ yā̀,　　　　　　　 any,

ǂabkē nā Tk̥ǒ,　　　　　　 child

é'na ‖gū, k̥na,　　 refuse give

aʃ ‖k̥̄d̄ī, aʃ mū

THE STRUCTURES OF KORA

The contrastive sounds (*phonemes*) of any given language are combined to form the small units of meaning (*morphemes*) that are its building blocks, where some of these, such as nouns and verbs, are lexical, and others, such as markers of number, or tense and aspect, are grammatical. The *morphology* of Kora and the ways in which its morphemes are used in turn to compose phrases, full length clauses and longer stretches of connected discourse (or in other words, the *syntax* of the language) will be the focus of this chapter.[1]

The intention is to provide a short reference grammar for Kora, mainly to facilitate the study of the heritage texts in the original language, and chiefly with a non-specialist (though dedicated) reader in mind. For this reason, what the chapter offers is a primary description of the language, rather than a secondary linguistic modelling. (This is of course by no means to say that the description is 'atheoretical'. It will quickly become apparent that there are several aspects of the language that are not easily explained, even in the most basic descriptive terms, without some degree of linguistic analysis.) While we have tried as far as possible to avoid terminology that is associated with any specific linguistic framework[2] or else has become outdated jargon, it would have been difficult to proceed without drawing on at least some of the well-accepted and relatively transparent concepts that have come to form the received core of general linguistic description. The meanings of any mildly technical terms introduced in the course of the chapter will, it is hoped, become clear from the context.

It can be difficult to find a balance between trying on one hand to force a language into a pre-existing typological box that is plainly inappropriate – and extravagantly inventing new and exotic typological categories on the other. We have tried our best to find this medium, but one consequence of this is that some of our assessments may differ in small respects from those previously offered by others. In as far as they may be a spur to further debate and analysis, we hope our minor departures will be seen as positive.

In an ideal world, linguists work closely with speakers, and in many cases, are speakers themselves of the language under study. This makes it possible to elicit intuitions about the acceptability and appropriateness of certain formulations as opposed to others, where these speaker judgments can help in turn to confirm or disconfirm the validity of a particular analysis. In the case of Kora, of course, we are no longer able to carry out systematic and sustained investigations of this kind,

although the two consultants who worked with us certainly provided a number of illuminating phrases and sentences. The greater part of our data comes from the corpus of narratives and illustrative sentences that were written down by various authors over a period of about 60 years from 1879 to the end of the 1930s. We are fortunate also to have a few previous grammatical sketches, beginning with the brief notes prepared by Carl Wuras that were incorporated by John Appleyard[3] into the introductory section of the latter's Xhosa grammar, and followed by the grammatical sketches provided by Carl Meinhof[4] and Louis Maingard.[5] We are equally fortunate that Andries Bitterbos was an astute commentator on his own language, and provided Jan Engelbrecht with usefully revealing literal translations of many of the texts, including some that Bitterbos had written down himself. Benjamin Kats, who likewise wrote down several texts, similarly worked closely with Meinhof. Lastly, Maingard tells us that the members of the Bloemhof Korana community worked collaboratively to dictate various narratives to him, and subsequently went through his transcriptions with him and helped to confirm their accuracy.

In addition to all this, there is much that we can learn from close relatives of Kora, such as South African Nama and the dialects of Namibian Khoekhoe. There is a long tradition of Nama grammatical description, with the 19th century studies of Johann Wallmann,[6] Henry Tindall[7] and Theophilus Hahn[8] constituting highlights. In the early part of the 20th century, Meinhof [9] contributed a grammar of Nama that was partly pedagogical and partly a reference grammar. A manuscript grammar circulated by Heinrich Vedder[10] in 1909 was, as Wilfrid Haacke has explained,[11] revised by Johannes Olpp[12] in 1917, while the revised version was subsequently incorporated into Friederich Rust's Nama grammar of 1965.[13] (Another study was contributed by Otto Dempwolff[14] in the 1930s.) The first modern description of a Khoekhoe language, based loosely on the premises of an early version of generative syntax, came from Roy Hagman in the 1970s,[15] while more recent studies by Wilfrid Haacke[16] are couched in terminology that often implies a broadly similar framework. (A study of Nama by Gerhard Böhm was published in 1985, but appears, on the basis of its spelling conventions, to be an older work.)[17]

Lastly, it is occasionally helpful to consider aspects of the morphology and syntax of the related Kalahari varieties of KHOE. The structures of Khwe in particular have been extensively described by Christa Kilian-Hatz.[18]

One thing that the older studies reveal is the perennially recurring nature of certain problems of analysis, with respect not only to Kora but to the Khoekhoe varieties in general. These thorny and contested aspects include: the function of the *ke* particle (often written '*tje*', '*kie*' or '*kye*'), which seems to occur after a sentence topic (or, as some have alternatively suggested, is perhaps used as a marker of declarative sentences); the function of a postnominal –*a*, which some have proposed to be the marker of an accusative case; and the function and distribution of two apparently copular predicators, *i* and *a*, which some describe as aspect markers. As we will see throughout the sections that follow, it is by no means an easy task to pin down the exact functions of these various small particles,[19] and it is hoped that future

researchers may be sufficiently intrigued to conduct further investigations into some of the questions highlighted in the chapter.

Our account will begin with a description of the constituent morphemes that make up each of the three main sub-clausal structures of the basic sentence, namely:

- The *noun phrase*, which typically expresses an argument of the predicate, as in 'the children'.
- The *adpositional phrase,* which typically expresses additional arguments, as in 'behind the rocks'.
- The *verb phrase*, which contains the predicating expression (often but not always a verb), and any dependent arguments, as in 'saw an injured wildcat'.

The term 'argument' used above is borrowed from the field of formal logic, where a proposition can be formulated in abstract terms as [(PREDICATE) x, y], with x and y standing for two arguments, as in [(RESCUE) the man, the wildcat]. The term 'adpositional' is a more general one than 'prepositional'. It is used here because, as will be seen later, Kora – like all KHOE languages – makes use of *post*positions, which are adpositions placed *after* the noun, unlike prepositions, which are adpositions placed *before* a noun.

Later sections will look at the ways in which sentences (clauses) are formulated by combining such phrases, with attention to the expression of syntactic relations (such as subjects and objects), as well as the ways in which clausal and sub-clausal constituents may be combined with, or embedded within other constituents, or used as the complements of certain verbs. The syntactic description will incorporate some reference to aspects of sentence-level semantics, including the significance of semantic roles. Lastly, aspects of pragmatics will be reflected in the sections describing the use of morphology and re-ordering strategies in the formulation of sentences according to function (as in positive and negative declaratives, interrogatives, desideratives, speculatives or imperatives), as well as information structure (for example in terms of topic and focus).

In principle, the basic and most neutral form of the Kora sentence presents the *subject* first; then one or two dependent *objects*; and lastly the *predicating expression*, which – when it is a verb, and provided it has not been moved to the front of the sentence – is generally preceded by most markers of tense, aspect, or mood. Any extra expressions that may be introduced, for example to indicate an agent, a means, a place (locus), or a path (goal or source), may be placed either before or after the verb. (Where an additional argument is not strictly required by the verb, it is said to occur as an adjunct to the verb phrase.) The following sentence, which describes the year in which Iis of the Bloemhof Korana was born, illustrates the simplest case, where the clause has the arrangement [Subject Object Verb – Adjunct]:[20]

(a) *i ke !xoab hoa kx'ommi na !gokx'ai ǁnā ǁ'ae*   (Bhf5)[21]

i	*ke*	*!xoab*	*hoa*	*kx'ommi*	*na*	*!gūkx'ai*	*ǁnā*	*ǁ'ae*
Conn	Rem.Past	snow	every	house	Prog.	cover up	that	time
		Subject		**Object**		**Verb**		**Adjunct**

'and snow was covering up every house at that time'
(Conn = connective; Rem.Past = remote past tense; Prog. = progressive
(imperfective) aspect)

The expression of tense and aspect will be discussed later under the heading of the verb phrase, but it may be noted for the moment that the unusual placement of the tense marker *ke* in examples (a) and (b) seems to follow from the verb-like nature of *i*. This clausal connective behaves syntactically like a verb that has been re-ordered to the front of the sentence, which is a context where markers of tense and aspect come *after* the verb.

The next sentence is from the same account, and shows an instance where an adjunct (*garib   na* 'in the river') is expressed before both the object and the verbal predicating expression [Subject – Adjunct – Object Verb].

(b) *i ke tarakhoedi !garib !na ǀhãkua*[22] *dīǀhaoǀhao*   (Bhf5)

i	*ke*	*tarakhoedi*	*!garib !na*	*ǀhãkua*	*dīǀhaoǀhao*
Conn	Rem.Past	women	river in	reeds	gather
		Subject	**Adjunct**	**Object**	**Verb**

'and the women gathered reeds in the river'

With this much said, it should be mentioned that the reality is often rather different, since, much like Nama,[23] Kora has an exceptional degree of flexibility in terms of its sentence patterns. There are hardly any sentences, either in our own data or in the heritage texts, that reflect the supposedly basic pattern, and the examples given above are rare exceptions! Within any given stretch of extended discourse in Kora, a sentence may be found to begin with a verb, a non-subject noun phrase, or an adpositional phrase. As both Meinhof and Rust noted (and much as we would expect), re-ordering of this kind is ultimately pragmatic, and is typically associated with the foregrounding of different parts of the sentence. Subjects are often not expressed at all when they are obvious from the context, or else may be referenced only by a dependent pronoun. The examples used as illustrations throughout this chapter will frequently reflect alternative orders, as in the following instances, where the verbs are underlined and the subjects are highlighted in bold.

(c) (i) <u>*dītoa*</u>-**r** *ko sĩseni*   (Mhf78)

<u>finish</u>	-**I (male)**	Recent.Past	the work
V	**S**		**O**

'I finished the work'

(ii) *||xãu-re ko* **uibi**   (Mhf50)
 <u>sting</u>-me (male) Rec.Past **the bee**
   V   **O**   **S**
 'the bee stung me'
(iii)*ǂ'aib ab ko <u>khõa</u>* **khoebi**   (Mhf63)
 foot his Rec.Past <u>break</u> **the man**
    O   **V**   **S**
 'the man broke his foot'

Although various phrases may be freely ordered in this way within the sentence, the phrases reflect internal ordering principles that are generally more regular and predictable (where even any exceptions have their own regularity). For this reason, Kora, like other Khoekhoe languages, is often described as consistently 'head-final'. What this means is simply that, within each type of phrase, the head (or minimally required constituent) occurs at the end of that phrase – at least in the default case – while any additional elements, such as the determiners and adjectives that may qualify a noun, precede it.[24]

The rest of this chapter will describe the structures outlined above in more detail, under the following headings:

  4.1 The noun phrase.
  4.2 The adpositional phrase.
  4.3 The verb phrase.
  4.4 The Kora sentence, part I.
  4.5 The Kora sentence, part II.
  4.6 Miscellaneous.

4.1   The noun phrase[25]

The minimally required constituent of a noun phrase is a nominal expression, which is to say, either a *noun* or a *pronoun*. The nominal may be optionally preceded by a range of determiners, including *demonstratives*, *quantifiers*, or *numbers*, and modifying *adjectives*, where any of these may take on the function, in some contexts, of a nominal. The structure of the noun phrase (or NP) is summarised in Figure 4.1, where the example shows how each 'slot' might be filled:

NP[Demonstrative	{Quantifier / Number}	Intensifier	Adjective	Nominal]NP
hē	*xara*	*kaise*	*kai*	*khoeku*

hē   xara kaise kai khoeku
'these other very big men'

FIGURE 4.1   The composition of the Kora noun phrase.

The section below will look at each of the constituents of the Kora noun phrase in turn.

4.1.1   Nominal expressions

4.1.1.1   Nouns

The nouns of Kora, like those of all languages belonging to the KHOE family, are divided into masculine and feminine genders,[26] with the option of a common (neutral) gender.[27] As is usual in languages of the Khoekhoe branch, these three grammatical genders are overtly indicated by means of noun suffixes.[28] In the preceding chapters, a hyphen has usually been introduced to demarcate these suffixes, to make things clearer. From now on they will be written conjunctively, in the style preferred by the official writing conventions for Namibian Khoekhoe, and by Engelbrecht and Maingard for Kora.

The assignment of masculine and feminine genders to nouns in the Khoekhoe languages is typically based on natural gender in the case of most animate referents, but is otherwise arbitrary. The common suffixes may be used in cases where the gender is not known (for example when people are seen at a distance), or is irrelevant, or in cases where two or more nouns of different genders are involved. The singular and plural suffixes used to express the genders of the Kora nouns are set out in Table 4.1. (When it comes to looking up words in the Dictionary, the reader may find it helpful to bear in mind that these suffixes are disregarded for purposes of alphabetical ordering.)

TABLE 4.1   The suffixes that express the grammatical genders of the nouns in Kora.

3rd person	Singular	Plural
Masculine	-b	-ku-a
Feminine	-s	-di (~de)
Common	-i	-n-a

The figure reflects the habitual tendency on the part of Kora speakers, including our own two consultants, to add a final –a to citation forms. This tendency was explained by members of the Links family as a Kora feature: Lucy Lloyd's manuscript notes frequently show an alternative form *without* the postnominal –a, where the expression is specifically indicated as being characteristic of the Griqua variety.[29]

Where a masculine noun ends in a nasal segment such as *m* or *n*, the singular suffix –b assimilates to it, as in the examples below.

xammi	'lion'
|hommi (~ *|homma*)	'cloud, sky'
|xamma	'spoon'
||ammi	'water'

|kx'onna	'name'
|kx'anni	'smoke'
‡'anna	'knowledge'

A certain degree of ambiguity arises in the case of the small set of masculine nouns ending in the alveolar nasal *n*, since it can be difficult to determine (in the absence of contextual clues) whether the intended suffix is the masculine singular variant *–ni* or the common plural *–n*.[30] This uncertainty is compounded in Kora because of the tendency to cite nouns by default with a postnominal *–a*, which further obscures the distinction, and which may also have been responsible for a phenomenon noted by both Wuras and Meinhof, involving the apparent use of the common plural in a singular sense. Wuras[31] commented that there was no common singular form for *'ōb* or *'ōs* 'child', adding that 'in some cases, if they cannot distinguish (the child being at a distance) they used the plural *'ona*'. (There is much variation in the representation of the vowel as long or short.) Wuras also gave *arina* for 'dog', in a singular sense. Meinhof[32] similarly noted occasional uses of the common plural suffix *–n* in association with singular nouns, including the word for 'child', and certain animals.[33] In two of the stories (BK14 and BK17) written down by Benjamin Kats, even the *diminutive* form of the word is used with the suffix of the common plural, yet with a singular implication (as *'o-da-na* and *'o-da-ni*). Our own consultants used *'ona* with a singular implication on one or two occasions, almost as if this was once perhaps a separate word with the same meaning as *'ō'i*.[34]

The examples below show the standard singular and plural forms of a few nouns in each of the genders.

Singular		Plural
Masculine		
gomab	'ox'	*gomaku*
khoeb	'man'	*khoeku*
|'ōb	'boy'	*|'ōku*
|nõab	'steer'	*|nõaku*
haib	'stick'	*haiku*
|harub	'reed-mat'	*|haruku*
‖hoeb	'vessel'	*‖hoeku*
!'ōb	'edible wild bulb'	*!'ōku*
Feminine		
gomas	'cow'	*gomadi*
khoes	'woman'	*khoedi*
|'ōs	'girl'	*|'ōdi*
|nõas	'heifer'	*|nõadi*
kx'oms	'house'	*kx'omdi*
|'uis	'pebble'	*|'uidi*
!'abus	'gun'	*!'abudi*
!nuis	'trap, snare'	*!nuidi*

Common

goma'i	'head of cattle'	*goman*
khoe'i	'person'	*khoen*
ǀ'ō'i	'child'	*ǀ'ōn*
ǀnõa'i	'calf'	*ǀnõan*

It will be noted that an apostrophe is used in the case of the common singular: this is simply a convention to show that the vowel of the suffix *–i* is distinct from any vowel that may occur at the end of the noun stem. (It is usually pronounced with a slight glottal stop onset, and does not permit liaison by means of a glide.) The convention for Namibian Khoekhoe is to use a hyphen in these cases.

In some cases where animals are involved, nouns have an intrinsic default gender, where the unmarked (which is to say, more basic or neutral) term may for some animals be masculine, but feminine for others. As both Meinhof[35] and Maingard noted,[36] there is no obvious correlation between the size of the animal and the gender. The following examples were given by Piet Links during a visit to the Natural History Museum in Cape Town. (The original spellings used by Lucy Lloyd are retained here, and show her habit of writing the masculine singular suffix *–b* as '*–p*', because of the way it was regularly devoiced by the speaker. The letter 'k' after a click symbol in Lloyd's notation is most often redundant, seeming to have indicated merely a plain click, while her doubling of certain letters in the middle of a word probably indicated a shortening of the preceding vowel.)

Masculine

doup	'zebra' (*daub*)
gaup	'wildebeest' (*gaob*)
uip	'bee'
ǀkeyap	'jackal'
ǀgīp	'aardwolf' (hyena species)
ǀhõap	'wildcat'
ǁxammap	'hartebeest'
ǁnãkx'op	'bushpig'
!gauīp	'hunting dog'
!noap	'porcupine'
ǂgōp	'springhare'
ǂgoxum	'anteater'
ǂxoap	'elephant'

Feminine

ǀkais	'gemsbok'
ǀkaus	'buffalo' (*ǀaob*)
ǀgannas	'hare of the flats'
ǀhukas	'hyena'
!koires	'quagga' (*!ores ~ !oeres*)

!xaus	'hippopotamus' (*!xaos*)
!kxʼãus	'dassie'
!nabbas	'rhinoceros'
≠hoas	'hare (with long ears)'
≠nabbas	'mountain hare'

As far as some inanimate referents are concerned, where gender assignment is arbitrary, it is notable that Kora and Nama do not always assign nouns to the same gender. The following examples illustrate some of these contrary instances. (Our consultant Ouma Jacoba vacillated between masculine and feminine endings in the case of certain words, including the words for 'sun' and 'nose' shown below.)

Kora		**Nama**
soreb/s (Lloyd *sores*)	'sun'	*sores*
‖xãs (Lloyd)	'moon'	*‖khâb*
≠uib/s (Lloyd *≠kuip*)	'nose'	*≠guis*

There are also a few sporadic cases where the use of the masculine plural *–ku* (sometimes spelled '*–gu*' in early records) seems to be associated with a collective or 'non-count' implication. Examples include the following words given by Piet Links.

kogu	'skin' (*khōku*)
‖hummgu	'cloud, sky' (*‖homku*)

Lastly, much as in the BANTU languages, it is possible to reassign nouns to a different gender, with a resulting change in meaning, or sometimes with an affective implication such as disparagement. For example, whereas *haib* (with the masculine singular suffix) refers to a tall tree or long stick, *hais* (with the feminine singular suffix) refers to a small and rounded bush. The following examples were noted by Lloyd (first three pairs), and Meinhof.

tūp	'black thunder cloud'
tūs	'rain'
!karep	'mountain' (such as Devil's Peak)
!kares	'hill, low mountain' (perhaps 'ridge')
≠gōp	'pointed mountain'
≠gōs	'a small hill'
gõab	'spear'
gõas	'knife'
|ʼuib	'boulder, rock'
|ʼuis	'stone, pebble'

In addition to singular and plural values for number, nouns in the Khoekhoe languages may also be grammatically marked as *dual*, where only two things or people are referred to.[37]   The full set of the 3rd person gender suffixes in Kora is set out in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2   The full set of noun suffixes that express the three genders of Kora in the singular, dual, and plural.

3rd person	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b	-khara	-ku-a
Feminine	-s	-sara	-di (~de)
Common	-i	-kha	-n-a

The form of the masculine dual suffix –*khara* is one of numerous respects in which Kora differs from Nama, where the equivalent morpheme is –*kha*. The members of the Links family who worked with Lucy Lloyd were clearly aware of various differences between Giri and Kora, and it emerges from Lloyd's annotations that the form of the masculine dual in the Griqua variety was similar to that of Nama. (There are a number of variations in the spelling of the masculine and common suffixes, with '*kara*' sometimes given for –*khara*, '*kao*' for the 2nd person masculine plural, and '*ka*' for the 3rd person common dual.) Although the use of the dual should in principle make it redundant to use the number term for 'two', it seems that speakers often combined them.[38]

Kora nouns may be extended by the diminutive suffix –*da*, which in actual use is sometimes expressed by the variant –*ra*. In Lucy Lloyd's notes, diminutive forms with –*da* are specifically marked as Griqua, while those with –*ra* are apparently taken to be truer for Kora. This is an instance where both Kora and Giri differ from Nama and the Namibian Khoekhoe dialects, where the diminutive suffix is –*ro*. Examples of nouns extended by the Kora-Giri diminutive suffix sourced from Meinhof's Glossary are shown below, and incidentally illustrate the contrary use of –*da* (rather than –*ra*) on the part of Benjamin Kats. (The hyphens are provided here to show the morpheme divisions, but would not ordinarily be used in writing the language.)

> !*hari-da-s*   'small village'
> ‡*xam-biri-da-i*   'small young goat'
> ǀ*'o-da-n*   'small child' (with common *plural* suffix)
> ǀ*amo-ro-b (~ s)*   'star'

There are nevertheless a few cases where a Kora word has the Nama-like diminutive suffix –*ro*, as in the last example above, which was recorded by Meinhof. A few other cases where the –*ro* form is found most often involve the names of plants or animals, where it is sometimes represented with a raised or even fronted vowel, as –*ru* or –*ri*. It is not easy to say whether such words are archaic, or whether some inter-dialectal transfer has occurred. (Another morpheme frequently seen in the names of plants and animals is –*be*, of unknown significance.) Hagman noted the additional existence in Nama of an augmentative suffix –*kara*. We have not found any instances of its use in Kora.[39]

- *Compounding, and other means of word formation*

As in other Khoekhoe languages, nouns in Kora may be compounds, where the words in the combined forms can be other nouns, verbs, or adjectives. We will write such words here without a hyphen between them, following the convention used for Namibian Khoekhoe, where conjunctive (that is, 'joined together') spellings are prescribed. (In the Namibian orthography, hyphenation is avoided as far as possible, with the use of a hyphen generally only being advocated where vowels would otherwise cluster, or where a glottal stop precedes the vowel.[40] For purposes of writing Kora we will use an apostrophe – rather than a hyphen – in cases where two adjacent vowels are not diphthongs. One exception to this principle involves the 3rd person common singular marker –*i*, which is written with an apostrophe when it occurs as an ordinary noun suffix, but will be written with a hyphen when it occurs as a dependent pronominal form, so as to show the nature of its attachment to the host.)

Examples of Kora compound nouns sourced mainly from Meinhof's Glossary are shown below.

Noun plus noun (N+N)
|hoas!ānãb	'rainbow' (Nama *!hanab*; *!ganab* = 'mythical snake')
ǂ'ās|aib	'reed-flute dance'
sorebtabab	'sunshine'

Verb plus noun (V+N).
hã!xaib	'resting place, campsite'
‖'ān!xaib	'dwelling place'
huni|xamma	'stirring spoon'
!aigomab	'pack-ox'

Adjective plus noun (Adj.+N)
|kx'ākhaos	'digging stick' (literally 'sharp digger')
|kx'aba!xarib	'wine' (lit. 'red honey-beer')
karo!'aub	'hard veld' (> Karoo)

Some nouns are used with particular frequency in the formation of such compounds, including the root *kx'ao-* 'one who is skilled at doing', or 'master of', where the preceding element is usually a verb. Examples from Meinhof's Glossary include the following:

kurukx'aob	'creator' (*kuru* 'create, make, construct')
‖xā‖xākx'aob	'teacher' (*‖xā‖xā* 'teach')
‖'amakx'aob	'trader' (*‖'ama* 'trade, barter')
ǂonakx'aob	'beggar' (*ǂona* 'beg')
|kx'ãkx'aob	'thief' (*|kx'ã* 'steal')

Other nouns occasionally found in compounds include *xūb* 'thing' and *haib* 'wood', as illustrated below, where *xūb* (plural *xūkua*) is used in terms that refer indirectly (possibly for avoidance purposes) to valued possessions such as livestock and tools, while *haib* is used in the context of names for plants with specific properties (typically

medicinal). (The use of certain avoidance terms may have been gender-specific, and may also have been confined to specific situations.)[41]

guxukua	'*kleinvee*, small livestock'	(AB6)
|kx'ui|nūguxub	'*dunbeengoed*, thin-legged small stock'	(AB3)
!naxuku	for 'intestines' (lit. 'inside things')	(BK9)
tanixukua	for 'collecting bags, tools' (lit. 'carry things')	(BK14)
dūhaib	plant sp., *swartstorm* ('blackstorm') medicine	(Ebt28)
bīhaib	plant sp., used to increase milk yield	(Ebt28)
|xorahaib	wild garlic, named for smell	(Ebt28)

Interestingly, examples of words based on *xūb* as well medicinal terms based on *haib* are found in the speech of the elderly N uu consultants. (There is a rich corpus of material in the Khomani San Hugh Brody archive,[42] which includes film footage of interviews with these speakers, who now use a Northern Cape variety of Afrikaans, with some switching into Nama.) One of these speakers uses the expression *wolgoed* (literally 'wool things') for 'sheep', and another refers to medicinal herbs as different kinds of *hout*, as for example *maaghout*, where the Afrikaans expression literally means 'stomach wood' but is used in the sense of 'remedy for a stomach ailment'.[43] It is probable that Afrikaans expressions of this last kind are loan-translations of original Khoekhoe words built on *haib*. (This usage parallels the use of words such as *muthi* or *sethlare*, both meaning 'tree, wood' but also 'medicine' in neighbouring languages.)

Hagman[44] notes a few words in Nama that participate productively in the formation of compounds, citing gaus 'manner', nõa 'type of', and *hãa* 'plus other things of the sort' – but we have not identified instances in the Kora corpus where the equivalents of these words are used.[45] Hagman also mentions[46] a suffix -*si*, which he says can be used in Nama and Dama dialects to derive nouns from adjectives, where the results are often abstract nouns similar to English nouns ending in '–ness', and which are apparently always assigned to the masculine gender, taking the suffix –*b* in the singular. Examples from Namibian Khoekhoe include: *kaisib* 'bigness' and am'osib 'endlessness'. Nouns reflecting this strategy are not frequently found in Kora, but there may be a rare instance in *doroxasib* 'membership (of the initiation lodge, the *doro*)', while another two cases may be reflected in Orakhoesib 'Korana nationhood' and nũsasib xu 'ũb 'kingdom'. (Hagman notes the converse case as well, where –*si* may in some cases be used with nouns to derive adjectives.)

• *Nominalisations (a preliminary note)*

There are other nouns in Kora, or at least noun-like expressions, of a much more complex kind, where these have been derived from extended phrases or even whole clauses. In some cases, these have given rise to stable, fully lexicalised complex expressions, but at other times they seem to be dynamic projections of the syntax, and may be 'participial'[47] phrases or relative clauses. A few preliminary examples are

given below, where hyphens show the morpheme division, and where the abbreviation '3ms' stands for 3rd person masculine singular. (The abbreviation Prog stands for the marker of progressive (imperfective) aspect.)

<div style="padding-left:2em">

dao-!ũ-kx'aosa-b   'traveller'   (Bkr1)
[[road-go]-master]-3ms
(lit. 'road-go man')

thã-!ãu-|xoa-xū-b   'flotation device'   (AB9)
[[swim-go.across-with]-thing]-3ms
(lit. swim-cross-with thing')

|onā-na-!ãu-kx'ai-he-!nao-b   'solo-crossing log'   (AB9)
[[alone-Prog-go.across-on-Passive]-log]-3ms
(lit. 'alone-being-crossed-on log')

</div>

More detailed discussion of these complex nominalisations will be reserved for a later section.

- *Special terms for social categories of age, gender, and relationship*

There are a number of nouns in Kora that express distinct social categories, such as life stage and relationship. These terms may take the form of ordinary simple or compound nouns, but they occasionally have special formal properties, including the use of a personal possessive (such as *ti* 'my') in the case of kinship terms.

kaikhoeb	'senior man, elder'
kx'aokhoeb	'adult man'
kx'aosab	'adult man'
kx'arob	'young man'
‖ũb	'father'
ti ĩb	'my father'
‖naosob	'uncle'
ti ‖naob	'my uncle, grandfather'
ti ‖nurib	'my cousin (male), uncle'
ti !'ãb	'brother, cousin'
ti xai	'my husband'
ti |'uib	'father in law'
ti õab	'my son'
õaxais	'young unmarried woman'
taras	'wife'
tarakhoes	'wife'
‖ũs	'mother'
ti ĩs	'my mother'
ti !'ãs	'my cousin (female)'
ti |'uis	'mother in law'
ti õas	'my daughter'

There were some differences, it seems, in the terms used by Griqua speakers. The alternative terms *abob* and *tatab* for 'father' in Giri were not as widely used by the Korana, although *abob* is certainly reflected in some of the old records for Cape Khoekhoe.

4.1.1.2   Pronouns

As in many other languages of the world, the pronouns of the Khoekhoe languages may be subdivided into free-standing (or independent) and dependent forms. The dependent forms, which are exact copies of the gender-indexing noun suffixes, cannot stand on their own but must attach themselves to (or 'lean on') some other part of speech. (The technical term for them is 'clitic' pronouns.) These dependent forms can be used for purposes of cross-reference, especially for subjects and objects, but are also used to create the free-standing pronouns of the 3rd person ('he', 'she', or 'it') through attachment to a base, which in Kora has the form   *ʔãi*. (In Nama, this base has become contracted through a series of sound shifts to   î.)[48] The free-standing pronouns of the Kora 3rd person are shown in Table 4.3, where the hyphens are included only so as to make the morpheme divisions clearer.

TABLE 4.3   The free-standing (or independent) pronouns of the 3rd person in Kora.

3rd person	Singular	Dual	Plural
masculine	ǁ'ãi-b 'he'	ǁ'ãi-khara 'they two (masculine)'	ǁ'ãi-ku-a 'they (masculine)'
feminine	ǁ'ãi-s 'she'	ǁ'ãi-sara 'they two (feminine)'	ǁ'ãi-di (~de) 'they (feminine)'
common	ǁ'ãi-i 'it'	ǁ'ãi-kha 'they two (common)'	ǁ'ãi-n-a 'they (common)'

The citation form of the feminine plural pronoun in Ouma Jacoba's pronunciation is   *ʔãide* (with some palatalisation). This form (that is, with the suffix pronounced as –*de* rather than –*di*) is also the one that was recorded by Meinhof. This does not seem to be grammatically significant, however, and in all likelihood reflects a typical fluctuation between **i** and the close allophone of **e**.

We now introduce the pronouns for two other persons, which are somewhat different in their role from those of the 3rd person, being the terms of reference used by the participants in the communicative process, of themselves and of each other. These are the interlocutive persons, or the 2nd and 1st persons', essentially meaning 'you', and 'I' or 'we'.

In the real world, it is not unusual for such expressions – notably those of address – to reflect formally graded degrees of politeness, where age, gender, social standing, and relationship may all be factors. It is probably for this reason that languages sometimes have distinct pronouns in the 2nd and even 1st person for male and female discourse participants.[49] Distinctions of this kind are found in the Khoekhoe languages, where gender-differentiated pronouns are used in the singular, dual, and plural. While Nama and Namibian dialects of Khoekhoe make no distinction in the 1st person, Kora had separate pronouns for 'I (male)', and 'I (female)'.

One final distinction needs to be introduced, namely the indication of inclusive versus exclusive reference in the 1st person.[50] While it is possible to express this kind of meaning by informal methods in English, using phrases such as 'you and I both' versus 'we two, not you', Khoekhoe languages use a grammatical strategy, and build up the relevant pronouns on two different bases, where in the 1st person, *sa-* expresses the inclusive sense, and *si-* the exclusive.[51] (It will be noticed that *sa-* is also the base for the 2nd person.)

The complete set of independent Kora pronouns for all persons, based on the paradigm originally drawn up by Meinhof,[52] is set out in Table 4.4. The 1st person masculine plural marker here spelled *ke* is written '*tje*' by Meinhof. (It is spelled '*ge*' in the Namibian orthography.) The aspirated velar stop written '*kh*' is frequently produced in reality with some affrication, so that it may sound more like *kx*, whereas the voiceless unaspirated stop *k* is often heard as *g*. There is some ambiguity about the exact phonetic form of the masculine non-singular suffixes: Meinhof and Douglas Beach both recorded *kao* (Nama *go*) for the masculine *plural* in the 2nd person ('you (2mp)'), but *kharo* (Nama *kho*) and *khara* (Nama *kha*) for the masculine *dual* in the 2nd ('you (2md)') and 3rd persons ('they (3md)') respectively, as well as *kha* for the common dual in the 3rd person ('they (3cd)').

TABLE 4.4   The free-standing (or independent) pronouns of Kora, for all persons.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person, inclusive of addressed party			
Masculine	*ti-re* (~ *ti-r*, *ti-te*) 'I (male)'	*sa-kham* 'you and I both (male)'	*sa-ke* [~ *tje, kje*] 'we all (male)'
Feminine	*ti-ta* 'I (female)'	*sa-sam* 'you and I both (female)'	*sa-sē* 'we all (female)'
Common		*sa-m* 'you and I both'	*sa-da* 'we all'
1st person, exclusive of addressed party			
Masculine		*si-kham* 'us two (male)' [not you]	*si-ke* [~ *tje, kje*) 'us all (male)' [not you]
Feminine		*si-sam* 'us two (female)' [not you]	*si-sē* 'us all (female)' [not you]
Common		*si-m* 'us two' [not you]	*si-da* 'us all' [not you]
2nd person			
Masculine	*sa-ts* 'you (male)'	*sa-kharo* 'you two (male)'	*sa-kao* [? *khao*] 'you (male)'
Feminine	*sa-s* 'you (female)'	*sa-saro* 'you two (female)'	*sa-sao* 'you (female)'
Common		*sa-khao* 'you two'	*sa-du* 'you'
3rd person			
Masculine	‖'ãi-b 'he'	‖'ãi-khara 'they two (male)'	‖'ãi-ku-a 'they (male)'
Feminine	‖'ãi-s 'she'	‖'ãi-sara 'they two (female)'	‖'ãi-di (~de) 'they (female)'
Common	‖'ãi-i 'it'	‖'ãi-kha 'they two'	‖'ãi-n-a 'they'

We could not obtain recordings of all possible pronouns listed in the paradigm above, partly because it was difficult without taxing the stamina of our consultant to sketch the kinds of complex scenarios that would have called for the use of the inclusive and exclusive dual forms with all their differentiations for gender, and partly because Ouma Jacoba Maclear did not always have complete confidence in her memory.

In addition to their role in forming the free-standing pronouns, the dependent pronouns may also lean on other parts of speech, including qualifying expressions

such as demonstratives, quantifiers, or adjectives, as well as verbs and connectives, where they then typically cross-reference a subject or an object. We will discuss this in more detail below, where it will be seen that certain of the hosting parts of speech may function as noun-like expressions when they carry a dependent (clitic) pronoun in this way.

In the 1st person, male speakers typically use *–r* or *–re*, as in some of the examples given previously, where *–r* seems to be the form of the dependent pronoun used where the speaker is the *subject* of the action or process, and *–re* the form used where he is the *object* (although the shortened form may well be merely a random variant without grammatical significance).

(a) (i) *dītoa-**r** ko sĩseni*   (Mhf78)
    finish-**I (m)** Rec.Past the work
    'I finished the work'

  (ii) *mũ-**r** na*   (Mhf)[53]
    see-**I (m)** Prog.
    'I am seeing'

  (iii) *‖xãu-**re** ko uibi*   (Mhf50)
    sting-**me (m)** Rec.Past the bee
    'the bee stung me'

Examples of pronouns used of themselves by women are rather rare in the texts, although the most commonly recorded dependent pronoun for the 1st person is *–te*, where it typically occurs in contexts where the speaker is the object (or recipient). The pronoun most commonly used by our consultant Ouma Jacoba Maclear, however, is *–ti*. A minor difficulty of analysis arises in these cases because the vowel of the unstressed clitic pronoun *–ti* is easily confused with that of *–te*, while in the speech of Ouma Jacoba it is sometimes elided altogether. There are a few isolated and ambiguous cases in the texts (but not in the usage of our consultant) where *–ta* occurs, where it may be the form used by a female speaker in contexts where she is the subject of the action or process, but is also open to interpretation as a form of the 1st person common plural *–da* 'we'.

  (iv) *mũ-**ta** na*   (Mhf)[54]
    see-**I (f)** Prog.
    'I am seeing'

  (v) *|xom-**t** na*   (JM)
    pity-**I (f)** Prog.
    'I pity [him]'

  (vi) *‖xā‖xā-**t** na*   (JM)
    teach-**I (f)** Prog.
    'I am teaching [the Korana language]'

(vii) <u>haba</u>-**te**   (JM)
    <u>help</u>-**me (f)**
    'help me'
(viii) <u>au</u>-**te** baxaba   (JM)
    <u>give</u>-**me (f)** tobacco
    'give me tobacco'

4.1.2 Qualifying expressions

There is a sense in which determiners and adjectives help to bridge the gap between the abstract denotation of a referring expression – and the set of real world referents it may potentially apply to in the context of an exchange between speakers. In the next few sections we will look at the various kinds of qualifying expressions used in Kora, and the ways in which they occur within the expanded noun phrase.

As noted earlier, the Kora noun occurs at the end of the phrase it heads, with the various expressions that may qualify it typically occurring before it. Readers familiar with the terminology long used in the South African tradition of African language study will recognise that the various form classes referred to here as 'qualifying expressions', are essentially equivalent to the parts of speech termed 'qualificatives' in older descriptions of languages such as those of the Nguni or Sotho-Tswana groups. Much like the qualificatives in these other languages of southern Africa, determiners and adjectives in Khoekhoe may function as pronominal expressions when they are combined with a dependent pronoun, where these pronominal forms can then not only *stand in for* a noun (as anaphors), but may optionally *stand alongside* a noun (that is, in apposition to it), in which case, however, they follow it.

4.1.2.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are used to indicate various degrees of proximity or distance, not only in the real world, as in 'here', 'there', or 'way over there', but often also in reference to the discourse itself, as in 'just mentioned' or 'previously mentioned'. Kora seems to have had two main demonstratives, where one has a 'near' and the other a 'far' implication. A third demonstrative was nevertheless noted by both Maingard and Lloyd, while Wuras recorded what seems to have been a variant of the same morpheme.

hē	'this' (may vary as *hi*)
‖nā	'that'
hau	'that (remote)' (recorded by Maingard and Lloyd)
nau	'that (remote)' (noted only by Wuras)

The possible existence of the third demonstrative (*hau ~ nau*) is intriguing, given that, in addition to forms for near and distant deixis, Nama has *nau* 'that'. There are a few instances in the texts, as Meinhof notes,[55] where *hē* is reduplicated, to give *hēhē*, which has an implication similar to Afrikaans *hierdie* 'this here'.

The form of the near demonstrative *hē* is yet another respect in which Kora differs from Nama, where the equivalent demonstrative is *nē*. (Cape Khoekhoe, as mentioned in a previous chapter, similarly used *hē* rather than *nē*.)

Meinhof noted that the demonstratives could be used both as determiners and, when combined with a dependent pronoun, as nominal expressions in their own right. He cited various examples from texts contributed by Benjamin Kats to illustrate these different functions. When they are used as straightforward determiners, the demonstratives occur *before* the noun, as in the following phrases given by Meinhof.[56]

(a) **hē** *haib-bi*   'this tree'
   ǁnā ǂxanis   'that book'
   hēhē *gaode*   'these here laws'

The first example in the set above incidentally illustrates what seems to be a further type of demonstrative strategy, involving the placement of a dependent pronominal element – in this case –*bi* (3rd person masculine singular) – after the noun and its suffix. The general implication seems to be one of definiteness. This pattern was regularly found in Kora by both Meinhof and Maingard, and is reflected also in some of Lloyd's transcriptions. Meinhof noted[57] its similarity to a common pattern in BANTU languages, which likewise generally place demonstratives before the noun, but may in some cases additionally use post-placed forms with a relatively weak deictic force.[58]

The demonstratives can sometimes be placed *after* the noun, in which case, though, they must cross-reference the latter by means of a dependent pronoun. (Another way of looking at such instances would be to say that when they carry dependent pronouns, the demonstratives take on a noun-like character, and may then be placed after the nouns they qualify, in an appositional usage.) We have chosen to adopt the convention of the current Namibian orthography, where the dependent pronouns in these cases are written conjunctively, which is to say, without a hyphen.[59] The following example phrases are again from Meinhof.[60]

(b) *khoebi* **hēb**   'this man'
   ǀhūbi **hēb**   'this master'
   ǂʼūbi **ǁnāb**   'that food'

When they are nominalised in this way, the demonstratives may also behave as forward-looking pronouns (cataphors), as in the following sentences:

(c) (i) **Hēb** *ke kxʼob a.*   'This is the meat.'   (BK9)
   (ii) **ǁNāku** *ǁxamaku a.*   'Those are hartebeests.'   (Mhf18)

The two examples above incidentally illustrate the ubiquitous postnominal *–a*, which is used in these cases as part of the non-verbal (copular) predication, and expresses the sense of English 'be'. The first example also includes an instance of the much-debated *ke* particle (spelled '*tje*' by Meinhof in the original), which here appears after the topic of the sentence. We will discuss these aspects of sentence and information structure at a later stage.

4.1.2.2   Quantifiers

The following quantifiers are found in Kora:

ǀui	'only, solely, alone'
ǀkxʼoro (~ ǀ'oro)	'a few'
ǀkxʼoasa (~ ǀ'oasa)	'many, much'
hoa	'all'
ǀnai (~ ǀni)	'some other' (same?)
ǀxara	'other, another' (different?)
ǁxā	'the selfsame'

The phrases below illustrate the use of some of these quantifiers as they occur in the texts. As we would expect, they are primarily used *before* the noun:

(a) **ǀ'oro** *khoekua*	'**a few** men'	(Bhf1)
ǁxā *khoeb*	'**the same** man'	(Bhf10)
hoa *ǁ'omakhoen ab*	'**all** his friends'	(AB6)
hoa *khoena*	'**all** people' (= everyone)	(JM)

Although the quantifiers are normally placed before the noun, they may (like the demonstratives) also be used *after* the noun in the appositional pattern, in which case they must express cross-referential agreement by means of a dependent pronoun. The following example illustrates this usage:

(b) *!hūb* **hoab**	'the whole world'	(Mhf)[61]

When combined with a dependent pronoun, the quantifiers may be used as anaphoric expressions standing in for a noun, as in the following sentence from a description by Andries Bitterbos of different kinds of traditional vessels (*xabaku*). The translation into Afrikaans was provided by the speaker.

(c) **ǀNaiku** *ke ǀ'okxʼam hã,* **ǀnaiku** *ke !nubukxʼam hã.*[62]	(AB1)

    '*Annerse is oop-bek, annerse is nou-bek.*'

    '**Some** are wide-mouthed, **others** are narrow-mouthed.'

4.1.2.3   Numbers

Number terms essentially provide a more precise form of quantification. The Kora terms listed below are for the cardinal numbers from one to ten, but speakers were well able to combine them in order to express higher numbers, using multiples of the

decimal base and the comitative *kx'a* 'with', as seen in the additional examples. The Kora number names are similar to those of Nama, except that the term for 'seven' in Nama has been reduced to *hû*. (In Cape Khoekhoe, the term for 'seven' was recorded as '*honcko*'.)

ǀui	'one'
ǀam	'two'
!nona	'three'
haka	'four'
koro	'five'
!nani	'six'
hãukx'ũ	'seven'
ǁxaisi	'eight'
guēsi	'nine'
disi (~ dʒisi, tʃisi)[63]	'ten'
disi ǀui ǀkx'a	'eleven'
ǀam disi	'twenty'
hãukx'ũ disi !nona ǀkx'a	'seventy-three'

The number terms are used in the same way as the enumeratives and other determiners: usually they are placed before a noun, but they may under certain circumstances be used appositionally.

In the ordinal use, Meinhof reported that the numbers were combined with the same base that is used to form the absolute pronouns, namely *'ãi*, as in *nona 'ãi* 'third'. (This is also the pattern used in Namibian Khoekhoe.) Examples of the ordinal use can be seen in Benjamin Kats's story (BK15) about the woman who took a thorn from a lion's paw. It is intriguing, nevertheless, to note Maingard's spelling '*'ãeb*' in association with similar ordinals in the text about the making of karosses (Beth1), since this suggests that the word may come from *kx'aeb* 'time', which was occasionally recorded with a nasalised diphthong. A separate word, *kx'aise*, is used for 'first' (where it has an adverbial implication, as in 'do first').

4.1.2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives can occur after a demonstrative and a quantifier or a number. While Kora has an extensive set of basic adjectives, the language could readily derive descriptive terms from other parts of speech. Some of the basic adjectives are listed below, where it will be seen that a number of them include a suffix *–sa*. This suffix is used productively in the derivation of new adjectives from a range of categories, but perhaps most commonly from verbs.

kai	'big'
gaida	'aged, old'
ǀā	'small'
ǂxam	'young'

!ãi	'good'
subu	'light, easy'
ǀʼō	'dry'
ǀʼō	'naked, open, exposed'
ǂkxʼū	'tame'
!nari	'wild'
ãu	'thick' (of curdled milk)
ǀkxʼā	'sharp'
ǀkxʼã̄	'wet'
ǂhaba	'wide, broad'
!nubu	'short, narrow'
ǂxabu	'weak'
ǀū	'nearby'
!om	'heavy, difficult'
ǀʼūi	'thin'
thamsa	'soft'
ĩsa	'beautiful'
ǀʼāsa	'new'
ǀaisa	'strong'
soesa	'crazy, infatuated'
kxʼausa	'bitter'
ǁkxʼoasa	'brave'
karo(sa)	'hard'
thũsa	'painful'
kausa	'fat'
!nonakurisa	'three-year-old' (of livestock)

Colour (or animal coat pattern) terms.

ǂnū	'black'
xati	'white'
ǀhai	'yellow, buff, pale' (Afrikaans *vaal*)
!oa	'brown (dark)'
!noa	'blue, grey'
!kxʼam	'green'
ǀkxʼaba	'red and white' (Sotho *–tjhaba*)
ǀhō	'striped, spotted, marked'
ǀgaru	'dappled, speckled, mottled'

The adjectives may be modified by an intensifier equivalent to English 'very', namely *kaise* 'greatly', which is used before the adjective. Addition of the diminutive suffix to an adjective seems to imply 'slightly'.

In addition to *–sa*, a number of other suffixes are occasionally used in the derivation of adjectives. These include:

–xa	similar in implication to English '-ful', as in 'beautiful' or 'plentiful'
–o	similar in implication to English '-less', as in 'endless' or 'timeless'

Examples of Kora adjectives featuring these suffixes are shown in the set below, where it will be seen that the so-called 'privative' suffix *–o* is separated from the noun by an apostrophe. This convention is adopted to keep it distinct from any vowels that might precede it.

*‖kx'ore***xa**	'bad, wicked'
*!ãi***xa**	'happy'
*‡'ũ***xa**	'(plentifully) supplied with food'
*ǀ'am***'o**	'endless'
*ǀkx'ae***'o**	'disease-free'
*‖kx'ae***'o**	'hasty' (lit. 'lacking time')

As we would expect, adjectives are usually placed *before* the noun, although they may also be used appositionally. The examples below show the straightforward usage:

(d) ***ǀkx'ā ǀ'uib***	'sharp stone'	(JM)
***!xōhesa** khoena*	'captured people' (with passive verb)	(JM)

• *Summary of qualifying expressions*

The determiners and adjectives discussed above may occur in various combinations in the context of an expanded noun phrase. The sketch previously given is repeated below as a summary of possible combinations, in the basic case where they are placed *before* the noun.

NP[Demonstrative	Quantifier / Number	Intensifier	Adjective	Nominal]NP
hē	*xara*	*kaise*	*kai*	*khoeku*
hē xara kaise kai khoeku 'these other very big men'				
hē xati 'ũib	'this white stone'			(JM)
nā nona khoedi	'those three women'			(JM)
nā haka xam 'ōdi	'those four young girls'			(constructed)

FIGURE 4.2   Summary of the composition of the Kora noun phrase, with additional examples.

4.1.2.5   The possessive

There is one last type of quasi-determiner, which may broadly be termed possessive, and which involves the qualification of a noun by placing it into an associative relationship with another. The associative relation may be expressed in several ways:

by means of a possessive pronoun ('my', 'your', 'his'), or a simple nominal apposition, or else – but perhaps less commonly in Kora – by the use of a possessive particle *di*, which is placed between two nouns expressing a possessor and a possessee. Lastly, the dependent pronouns may attach to a possessive base *a-*, in which case they have the capacity to stand as anaphoric expressions. The following examples illustrate these various strategies.

(a) Pronominal possession (possessor expressed by a pronoun)

***ti** ĩna*	'**my** parents'	(JM)
***ti** !naxuku i-r ke na ǂ'ũ*	'I am eating **my** <u>intestines</u>'[64]	(BK9)

(b) Nominal apposition (possessor and possessee juxtaposed)

ǀ'ōb ĩb	'the **boy**'s father'	(AB6)
uīb xãbi	'the **bee**'s sting'	(Mhf1)
ǂ'ũb ǀ'onni	'the **food**'s name'	(BK1)
xammi saob	'the **lion**'s tail'	(BK14)

(c) Possessive particle *di*

ǀ'ōs <u>di</u> ǀhabab	'**the girl's** coming-of-age ceremony'	(Bhf4)
goman <u>di</u> ǁnãku	'cattle horns'	(AB1)
*ǂUntub, **Teteb** <u>di</u> ǁnausab*	'ǂUntub, **Teteb's** uncle'	(Bhf1)

Possessive base *a-*.

The following examples show the slightly more complex strategy involving the use of the possessive base *a*, which is combined with a dependent pronoun expressing the possessor, and placed *after* the thing possessed. (In Namibian Khoekhoe, this particle has a nasalised vowel.) In the interest of achieving some degree of standardisation, we have again settled on the convention of the Namibian orthography, where possessive formulations based on *a-* are written conjunctively, or in other words, without a hyphen.[65]

(d)

*ǀharukx'omku **a**<u>na</u>*	'<u>their</u> reed-mat houses'	(AB9)
*ǁxāǁxākx'aob **a**<u>da</u>*	'<u>our</u> teacher'	(BK5)
*kobab **a**<u>da</u>*	'<u>our</u> language'	(BK7)
*tsĩ ǀũiku **a**<u>re</u> ū ǂkx'oasi*	'and take out <u>my</u> intestines' (male speaker)	(BK9)
*ǂ'aib **a**<u>b</u> ko khõa khoebi*	'the man broke <u>his </u>foot'	(Mhf63)
*hoa ǁ'omakhoen **a**<u>b</u>*	'all <u>his</u> friends'	(AB6)

4.1.2.6   *More complex kinds of qualification (a preliminary note)*

As we would expect, the noun can be qualified in more complex ways by means of embedded phrases, which may be translated into English by participial phrases such as 'the *dancing* child', or relative clauses such as 'the child *who loves to dance*', where these take the place of simple adjectives. An example of such a phrasal adjective in Kora is seen in the sentence below, where the deliberately literal Afrikaans translation was provided by Andries Bitterbos. (Note that Kora does not have an overt relative marker equivalent to English 'who'.)

(a) *∥nā **kx'õa‡kx'oasihe ko a** kx'arob*
　　'daardie soek-uitkom-geweeste-jongman'　　　　　　　　　　(AB7)
　　∥nā　kx'õa-‡kx'oa-si-he　　　　　　ko　　　a　　kx'arob
　　that　select-emerge-Causative-Passive　Recent.Past　Copula　young.man
　　'that young man (who) **had been selected**'

Since the formulation of these embedded phrases is rather intricate, we will postpone further discussion of them until later in the chapter.

4.2　The adpositional phrase

We saw an example of an adpositional phrase (*garib　na* 'in the river') at the beginning of this chapter, in the sentence now repeated below:

(a) *i ke tarakhoedi !garib !na ǀhãkua dīǀhaoǀhao*　　　　　　　　(Bhf5)
　　'and the women gathered reeds **in the river**'

As the example demonstrates, the Kora adpositions are placed *after* the noun, so that they are actually postpositions rather than prepositions. In terms of their general role within the sentence, the adpositional phrases typically occur within the adjunctive part of the sentence, where they are associated with optional additional arguments having peripheral (rather than core) semantic roles.

　　The following are the main postpositions used in Kora, with the kinds of arguments they typically introduce noted in parentheses:

xa	'by' (agent, instrument)
ǀxoa	'with' (comitative)
ǀxa	'with' (means)
diba (~ *daba*)	'at, in the vicinity of' (locus)
!nã (~ !na)	'in' (locus)
kx'ai	'on, at' (locus)
kx'am	'on, over, around' (locus)
∥kx'aigu	'between' (locus)
‡'ama	'on, above' (locus)
thoa	'under, beneath' (locus)
!oa	'to' (path)
xu	'from' (path)
ǀxī	'to, towards' (path) [rare]

It is likely that some of these postpositions have arisen from nouns, in much the same way as similar sets of adpositions found widely in other languages throughout Africa.[66] While the nominal origins of the Kora expressions are not always apparent, the following sources proposed by various older authors, including Meinhof,[67] seem plausible:

!nã	'in'	<	*!nãb* 'belly'
kx'ai	'on, at'	<	*kx'aib* 'face, surface'
kx'am	'on, around'	<	*kx'ammi* 'edge, rim'
ǂ'ama	'on'	<	*ǂ'amma* 'peak, tip, top'
|xa	'with, alongside'	<	*|xāb* 'body, side'

At the same time, and as Meinhof noted, one or two of the postpositions, including *oa* 'towards' and *xu* 'from', appear to be verbal in origin.

    The following passage, which is from an historical account given to Maingard by members of the Bloemhof Korana, shows the use of several postpositional phrases:

(b) *I ke ǁnāba **xu** Mamusab**a** !oa doe,*
   *i-ku ke ǁnāba **xu***
   *|'oro khoekua |Hai !Garib **!oa** doe,*
   i ke hā-ku ke hã,
   !xaodi hēba mũhe
   *|Hai !Garib **!na**.*   (Bhf1)

    '**From** there they trekked **to** Mamusa,
    and then **from** there
    a few people trekked **to** the Vaal River,
    and when they had come,
    hippopotamuses (*!xaodi*) were seen here
    in the Vaal River.'

The extract above includes an example, in *Mamusaba*, of how the nouns in some adpositional phrases (but not all) are assigned what seems to be a postnominal –*a*. Rust[68] provided a rule to account for such instances in Nama, noting that *xu*, *ū* and *oa* always take what he called the '*a*-Accusative'. It is by no means clear, however, that –*a* marks an accusative in these instances, and indeed, it looks rather more as though the postnominal –*a* is associated with nouns that have the typically peripheral semantic roles associated with 'path', such as a goal or a source. (Meinhof suggested[69] that the postpositions involved might be specifically ones that have arisen from verbs rather than nouns, which would be compatible with their associated arguments having such roles.) The possibility arises that –*a* in these instances is perhaps a reduced form of some other morpheme (such as the locative –*ba*). This problematic particle will be revisited in a later section below.

4.3   The verb phrase

In this section, we will look at the consituents of the Kora verb phrase, beginning with the verb itself.

4.3.1   Verbs

Like other Khoekhoe languages, Kora distinguishes two kinds of verbs: ordinary action verbs, and process verbs. (Verbs of the second kind are often termed 'stative', because the completion of the process leads to a state.) These two kinds of verbs differ from one another in the way they behave syntactically (for example, in terms of the ways they express tense and aspect), and are often also differently characterised from a semantic point of view, in terms of the roles associated with their arguments.

A further point to remember is the more general one that, while most predications use verbs as the predicating expression, there are nevertheless some kinds of predications that are *non*-verbal, as in cases where it is an identity, attribute or locus that is predicated of the subject, rather than an action or process. Because predications of this kind link a subject to some kind of property, they are often referred to as 'coupling' (or copular) predications. The sense of such predications is typically conveyed in English by the verb 'be', but there are many languages of the world that do not use an overt copula, or else use verbs with possessive or locative implications.

4.3.1.1   *The basic stems, and different kinds of verbs*

Many of the verbs in Kora, as in other Khoekhoe varieties, consist of a simple bisyllabic word, or at very least a monosyllable with two prosodic morae. (It will be remembered that nasalised vowels are always long.) The following examples are some of the more commonly occurring verbs in the texts:

Verbs of perception or sensation, which do not necessarily imply deliberate agency, although they inevitably require sentient (and therefore animate) subjects:

hō	'discover, see, find'
mũ	'see'
thã	'taste, feel'
‖nãu	'listen'
!'ā	'hear'
ǂom	'believe'
ǂ'an	'know'

Verbs of stage or transition, which are sometimes referred to as verbs of position or posture, where there is no necessary implication of volition and subjects may be inanimate:

hã	'stay, remain'
mã	'stand, stop'
sã	'rest a while'
‖oe	'lie down'
ǂnũ	'sit'

Verbs with directional meaning, where there is again not necessarily any implication of volition and subjects may be inanimate:

bē	'go away, depart'
hā	'come'
khã	'go up, rise'
sī	'get to, arrive'
xū	'go from, leave'
!ũ	'go to, travel towards'
!'aba	'go up, ascend'
!xaru	'go through'
‖õa	'go down, descend'
ǂ'ã	'go in, enter'
ǂkx'oa	'come out from, emerge'

Verbs that mostly imply deliberate agency or intentionality on the part of the subject (and so by implication also animacy), where some can or must express an object, or even two objects:

dī	'do, make'
doe	'trek, flee, fly'
huri	'jump'
koa	'praise'
koba	'speak' (address?)
kuru	'create, make'
khao	'dig'
khom	'speak'
kx'ā	'drink'
kx'ãi	'laugh'
kx'am	'roast, braai'
kx'om	'build'
mĩ	'say'
oe	'answer, return'
sĩ	'send'
thã	'swim'
ū	'take'
ǀai	'dance, sing'
ǀhuru	'play'
‖'ama	'trade'
‖nae	'sing'
!hoba	'return home'
!xō	'catch'
!xoē	'run'
ǂ'ũ	'eat'

‡kx'ao	'lift, pick up'
‡nā	'kick out, dance'
‡nau	'hit, strike'
‡noa	'punch, throw stones at, shoot with arrows, lob'
au	'give' (someone something)
mã	'give' (someone something)

4.3.1.2   The verb extensions

The basic verb root may be extended by one or more suffixes. Much like the familiar verb extensions of the BANTU languages and other languages of Africa, these have a range of functions, but typically affect the number of participants necessarily involved in the action or process, as well as their semantic roles.[70] The participants in any given action or process are syntactically expressed as arguments of the verb, and since most verbs have an inherent 'quota' of core arguments[71] – where the number required depends on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive – the main significance of the verb extensions lies in their alteration of that original quota, mostly by adding, but sometimes by substracting, arguments.

The following verb extensions are the ones most commonly found in Kora:

–he (*–e*)	passive	(subject argument with non-agentive role)
–ba	applicative	(additional dependent argument with the role of beneficiary)
–gu	reciprocal	(additional argument with same role as the original subject, and with transitivity of the verb implied)
–sen (*–sn*)[72]	reflexive	(one argument with two roles, where the agent is identical with the experiencer)
–si	causative	(additional argument with instigating role, *without* implication of sentient original subject)
–kasi	impellative	(additional argument with instigating role, *with* implication of sentient original subject)
–/xa	instrumental	(additional argument with the role of means)
–/xoa	comitative	(multiple subject arguments with the same role, without transitivity of the verb implied)

In addition to these extensions, reduplication may be used (perhaps particularly with verbs of process) to add the implication that a state of affairs is made to come about. For example, whereas the verb *kx'ā* means 'be sharp', the reduplicated form *kx'ā kx'ā* means 'make sharp' or 'sharpen'.

A few verbs have extensions that are intrinsic to their meaning, and these verbs never occur without them. Examples include *'ãgu* 'fight', *sĩsen* 'work' and *kx'aesen* 'be ill'. For Nama, Hagman noted[73] that in the case of certain verbs of 'position' (stage or transition), some of them feature a suffix *–i* that seems to reflect an old causative, as in *mâi* 'make something stand' (from *mâ* 'stand') or *gui* 'make something lie'

(from *goe* 'lie down'). (Another example is *nûi* 'put in place, position' from *nû* 'sit'.) In fact, Meinhof expressly noted[74] that the Kora equivalents of such words typically preserved *–si,* and cited the case of Nama *ūkhâi* 'pick up', where Kora has *ūkhãsi*.

• *The passive extension*

In cases where several extensions are used in combination, the passive is always placed last. It may occur optionally as *–he* or *–e*, but for purposes of standardisation will be written as *–he*. (A palatal glide is sometimes reflected in the texts where speakers used the reduced form of the passive extension after a preceding vowel. This tells us that the passive *e* did not have a glottalised onset, and for this reason it would be misleading to use an apostrophe to separate the vowels in spellings.)

Verbs featuring the passive extension seem to be in the neuter or 'middle' voice of old-fashioned grammars. This is to say that the verb requires only a single argument, where this has the syntactic function of a subject, but the semantic role of an undergoer or theme. Any additional arguments, such as an actual agent, are not obligatory, and seem to require introduction as syntactic adjuncts, where they are then typically expressed in the form of an adpositional phrase using *xa* 'by', in association with which the noun concerned is often assigned a postnominal *–a*.

The passive is used with great frequency throughout the heritage texts, in what seems to have been a stylistic convention of the narrative genre, as was observed by Schultze[75] in regard to Nama. It is not always appropriate in these cases to use the equivalent passive forms in the English translation, and in some instances it may be better to use an impersonal formulation.

• *The applicative extension*

The addition of the applicative extension allows for the introduction of an extra argument into the verb phrase with the thematic role of a beneficiary. In the case of the sentence below, the verb *dī* 'make' also has a passive extension, which implies a non-agentive role for the syntactic subject, which in this case is *kharedi* 'bored stones (digging stick weights)'. The object of the applicative *–ba* 'for' is *tarakhoedi* 'the women'. Neither the beneficiary nor the theme need be expressed by nouns featuring the postnominal *–a*, perhaps because they represent arguments that fall within the allowed quota by virtue of the verb plus its extension.

The adpositional phrase *kx'aosakua xa* 'by the men' in the same sentence is a syntactic adjunct, however, and introduces an additional argument associated with the role of agent. (It is not clear why the postnominal *–a* is used in this instance, and for the present it may simply be noted as an apparent requirement for nouns governed by the adposition *xa*.)

(a) *!kharedi* (*kx'aosakua xa*) *tarakhoedi <u>dī</u>**ba**he*   (Bhf7)
        'the bored stones were <u>made</u> for the women (by the men)'

- *The reciprocal and reflexive extensions*

The following examples illustrate the reciprocal and reflexive extensions:

> Reciprocal:
>> ‖*xãu**gu*** 'shoot arrows at one another'
> Reflexive:
>> ‖*xao**sen*** 'scratch self'

- *The causative and impellative extensions*

The causative expressed by *–si* typically implies the introduction of an external instigating agent. It is frequently used in the context of compound verbs, where the subject of the second verb in its unextended form is non-agentive (and non-sentient), as in the examples below.

*!xōkhã**si***	'snatch up'	(snatch-rise-Caus)
*‡ae‡kx'oa**si***	'undress, take off'	(drag-emerge-Caus)
*xora‡kx'oa**si***	'scrape out'	(scrape-emerge-Caus)
*ū‡kx'oa**si***	'take out'	(take-emerge-Caus)

Compound verbs of this kind will be discussed in slightly more detail in a later section, where these remarks should become clearer.

The impellative *–kasi* implies, on the other hand, that the original subject of the verb is sentient, and that the additionally introduced argument compels the initiation of the action. This extension does not seem to have been previously noted in Kora. Although Nama has the cognate morpheme *kai*, the latter is not usually counted as a verb extension. Notably, though, some languages belonging to the Kalahari branch have *–ka* as a causative extension. (It may also be significant that Kora has another morpheme *ka*, which functions as a marker of the potential mood, but can be used to introduce a purposive clause, as will be discussed later.) The examples below show occurrences of *–kasi* in Kora:

*ūhā**kasi**he*	'be made to keep'	(have-Impel-Pass*)*	(AB4)
*!xōe**kasi**he*	'be made to run away'	(run-Impel-Pass)	(Bhf2)
*‡ae‡kx'oasi**kasi***	'make take off'	(take off-Impel)	(BKr1)

- *The instrumental and comitative extensions*

The instrumental extension *– xa* allows the verb to take an additional argument with the role of a 'means', as in the example below:

(a) *tsĩ !garib !ãu‖**xa***
  '*en die rivier deurgegaan daarmee*'   (AB9)
  'and <u>crossed</u> the river with them' [by means of rafts]

The comitative extension – *xoa*, on the other hand, permits multiple subjects with the same semantic role, and essentially adds the implication 'do together with'. The comitative extension occurs in several places in the texts contributed by the Links Korana of Bloemhof, and is sometimes written by Maingard as ' *kxwa*' and sometimes as ' *kwa*', as in the following two examples (which incidentally also reflect the 'narrative passive'):

(b) *I na <u>xon</u>|kxwahe*   'and they would <u>grind</u> **together**'

    [The older women are teaching the young girl how to prepare food]   (Bhf4)

(c) *I ke |nai khoeb Mamusaba !oa sĩhe,* 'Another man was sent to Mamusa,

    i ke ‖nāba xu khoeku a   and men [who] were from there

    ‡noa|kwahe   were <u>fought</u> **alongside with**.'   (Bhf1)

Like the impellative, the comitative extension – *xoa* does not appear to have been explicitly noted before in Kora, or at least has not always been distinguished from the instrumental extension – *xa*. This may be because the two extensions bear a partial resemblance to one another, at least in form. There are several instances in the Kora corpus, indeed, where the extension – *xa* is used in place of – *xoa*, even in contexts where its implication is clearly comitative. An example is seen in the sentence below:

(d) *|'āse-r ta ‖amma <u>huri‡'ã</u>|xa-si*

    'netnou ek sal water spring-in met jou'   (AB12)

    'soon I will <u>jump into</u> the water with you' [together with you]

It is notable that Wuras conversely recorded a *postposition* with the same form   *xoa*, and having the meaning 'with'. There are examples of this postposition's use in the heritage texts, as in the sentence below, where the *instrumental* implication is clear:

(e) *|xũdi[76] thi gaokua thikua*   'The springboks and the wildebeest

    surugub !na !xōhe,   were caught in the pitfall trap,

    i ke <u>gõab</u> |kwa !amhe.   and were killed **with** [by means of]

                            <u>a spear</u>.'   (Bhf8)

It is not clear whether there were originally two different morphemes that have gradually converged by processes of syncretism, or whether one has developed from the other. Whatever the source of the verb extension – *xoa*, its presence in Kora is another instance where this South African Khoekhoe variety reflects a feature that is found also in the related languages of the Kalahari branch of KHOE, but is not widely found in Nama.[77]

• *The use of reduplication*

The following examples illustrate reduplication, and a case of combination:

Causative reduplication:

ãu'ãu	'cause to become thick' (of milk, as in buttermilk)
‖xā‖xā	'teach' (from *‖xā* 'be able')

Causative reduplication combined with reflexive:

*‖xā‖xā**sen***	'study, learn'

• *More on combinations of the extensions*

The sentences below, from a text dictated to Maingard by two members of the Bloemhof Korana community, provide a few more examples of the extensions in use, and show how they may be combined with one another. Here there is an example of the passive in every line, plus another example of a passivised applicative (*dībahe*), and an example of a passivised causative (*goesihe*). There is even an example of a verb (*āsibahe*) with causative, applicative *and* passive extensions.

(a) *Gaoxaob ta !nauhe o,*	'When a Chief **is** buri**ed**,
i na ǀhobab !nauhe,	then a grave **is** dug,
i na !xaib dībahe,	and a space **is** prepar**ed for** [him],
i na haikua !narahe,	and [with] twigs **is** rak**ed** smooth,
i na ǀharub !āsibahe,	and a reed-mat **is spread** [caused to be spread] **for** (him),
i na ǀxā ‖'ōb ǂnammi xa xamihe,	and the dead body with a kaross **is** wrapp**ed**,
i na ‖nāba ‖goesihe,	and there **is laid** [caused to lie],
i na ǀnai ǀharuba !ãukx'amhe,	and [with] another reed-mat **is** cover**ed** over,
i na !hūba thorohe.	and [with] earth **is s**prinkl**ed**.' (Bhf6)

The question has now been raised on several occasions above whether the apparent postnominal –*a* that occurs in certain contexts is really a marker of case. The passage above shows how the nouns in phrases that either express the theme of a passive verb or else are phrases introduced by means of the applicative extension can occur *without* the postnominal –*a*. In other words, it seems to be the case that nouns associated with core or 'licensed' arguments of the extended verb do not require any marking. On the other hand, the three nouns seen here with –*a* (*haikua* 'twigs', *haruba* 'reed-mat', and *hūba* 'earth') all occur in passive phrases where they are *peripheral* arguments, and where their use in combination with –*a* seems to express what Meinhof referred to[78] as a kind of 'ablative case'. It is notable that there are no postpositions in these phrases, and it is a marginal possibility that *a* here is simply a contracted form of *xa* 'by'. Clearly, though, such an analysis would not explain instances where a noun is seen with both the postnominal –*a and* the postposition *xa*, as in the example below, which is one we have seen before:

(b) *!kharedi <u>kx'aosaku**a** xa</u> tarakhoedi dībahe*   (Bhf7)
    'the bored stones were made for the women by <u>the men</u>'

An entirely different possibility, where *a* is analysed as a copula rather than any sort
of case marker – at least in some instances – will be introduced later.

4.3.1.3   Compound verbs

In addition to the simple and extended verbs illustrated above, the Khoekhoe
languages can create new verbs with ease by combining verbs with a variety of other
stems, including other verbs, postpositions, nouns or noun phrases, and adverbs. Just
like the ordinary simple verbs, these compound verbal expressions may be modified
by adverbs, may take suffixed extensions, and may be used in the creation of derived
nouns and adjectives. We have chosen here to write such compounds conjunctively,
which is to say, without a hypen between the two roots: this follows the Namibian
convention, where 'compounded verbs are written conjunctively if they are merged
into one concept'.[79] The only exceptions to the broad principle of conjunctive spelling
would be where two adjacent vowels might interfere with readability, or where in a
specific context the two verbs could be separated by 'and'. (There are occasional
instances in the texts, for example in BK14, where the verb *sī* 'go to' is used in
combination with another verb, in the sense of 'and then go and do *x*', and in these
cases, it is not always clear whether *sī* should be interpreted as part of an actual
compound.)

Verb plus verb (V_1+V_2), where both verbs come from open classes:[80]

‖nãu!'ā	'understand'	(listen-hear)
mũ!'ã	'recognise'	(see-hear)
dīthã	'test, try'	(make-feel)
dītoa	'complete'	(make-finish)

Verb plus verb (V1+V2) where V2 is from a limited (or 'closed') class of verbs with
implications of directional movement, and may – in a subset of cases – include a
causative extension:

huri!xaru	'jump through'	(jump-go through)
huri‡'ã	'jump into'	(jump-enter)
‖hã!ũ	'run away'	(run away-go)
ūkhãsi	'pick up'	(take-rise-Caus)
!xōkhãsi	'snatch up'	(snatch-rise-Caus)
‡ae‡kx'oasi	'take off, undress'	(drag-emerge-Caus)
xora‡kx'oasi	'scrape out'	(scrape-emerge-Caus)
ū‡kx'oasi	'take out'	(take-emerge-Caus)
kx'õa‡kx'oasi	'choose'	(seek-emerge-Caus)
thoro‡'ã	'shake into'	(shake-enter)
|nabibē	'wipe away'	(wipe-depart)
ūhã	'bring, fetch'	(take-come)

Compounds of the kind shown in the second subset above are sometimes held out as examples of a special type,[81] where each component verb has its own separate subject, and where the subject of the second verb 'switches' its function so as to become the overall object of the compound form. The example below may help to make this clearer:

(a) *Ūkhãsi ǁnā ǀʼuib!*   (JM)
    ū-khã-si   *ǁnā*   *ǀʼuib*
    take-rise-Caus   that   stone
    'Pick up that stone!'

It is possible here to analyse the understood 2nd person addressee ('you') as the subject of the first verb *ū* 'take', whereas the subject of the second verb *khã* 'rise' is strictly speaking *ʼuib* 'stone' (since it is the stone that does the rising). The understanding, nevertheless, is that the animate 2nd person is the overall subject of the complex predicating expression, while 'stone' is the object.

    Because of their perceived aberrancy, compounds of this kind in Khoekhoe are sometimes proposed to reflect the external influence of some other group of languages, such as languages from the TUU family, where similar patterns are found. Are these verbs really unusual? It will be noted that many of the verbs listed above have a causative extension – and it is possible that in an older usage, all such compounds would have been similarly extended. (The Nama equivalent of *ūkhãsi* is *ūkhâi*, where the original causative has been partially eroded.) This extension appears to be associated specifically with the second verb, and has its usual effect of introducing an additional argument with an instigating role. This role can only be assigned to an expression that refers to a sentient (hence animate) subject, and the immediate candidate is then the subject of the first verb. The sentence is then understood as '[you] *take* [and] *make rise* that stone'. The upshot is that verbal compounds of this kind seem to be fully explicable in terms of ordinary Khoekhoe syntax.

    Another interesting question is whether compound verbs of this kind should be analysed as participating in syntax-driven *serial verb constructions* – or whether they should be analysed merely as *compound verbs* arrived at by ordinary processes of lexical innovation. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to explore this topic in any detail, but it is worth noting that verbal compounds of Khoekhoe origin are sometimes found in other languages, such as ǀXam, where it is clear that they must have been perceived and borrowed as ready-made words. (An example is the word *mū en* 'recognise', from Khoekhoe *mū ʼan* 'see-know', which was recorded by Lloyd[82] in the Katkop dialect spoken by Diaǃkwãin.) It is also notable that compounds of the kind illustrated below, which feature combinations of verbs plus postpositions, pattern in a similar way to those involving two verbs, even though the postpositions in these examples do not seem to be of verbal origin.

Verb plus postposition (V+Postp):

kobakx'ai	'read'	(read-on)
!gūkx'ai	'cover'	(cover-on)
!ãukx'am	'close up, wrap up in'	(go.across-around)
sī!na	'reach'	(arrive-in)

Noun plus verb (N+V):

!'om≠noa	'fight with fists, box'	(fist-fight)
‖'au!xō	'catch fish'	(fish-catch)
dao!ũ	'travel'	(road-go)

In the case of the noun plus verb combinations, it is likely that some were perhaps established in the vocabularies of speakers as fully lexicalised items. In other cases, though, the (N+V) patterns seem, at least in certain situations of use, to reflect syntactic formulations involving the incorporation of a noun into a verb. (It is notable in the examples above that the nouns appear in this case without their usual suffixes.) Further examples of this kind of noun-incorporation will occasionally be encountered in the heritage texts.

The various types of compound verbs described above may be used in the same way as simple verbs to form compound nouns, where these may be intricately complex. Some of these examples were shown earlier, and can now be described as 'compounds of compounds'.

thã!ãu‖xoaxūb	'flotation device'
[[(thã-!ãu)-‖xoa]-xu]-b	(lit. '<u>swim-cross-with</u>-thing')
[[(V+V)-Comitative]_V + N]_N	V+N = N
≠'ũkx'ai≠habahaib	'table'
[[(≠'ũ-kx'ai)]-[≠haba-hai]]-b	(lit. '<u>eat-from</u>-broad-wood')
[[(V+Postp)]_V + [(Adj-N)]_N]_N	V+N = N
sūkurukx'aos	'potter (female)'
[[(sū-kuru)]-kx'ao]-s	(lit. '<u>pot-make</u>-master (f)')
[[(N+V)]_V + N]_N	V+N = N
‖'urikurukx'aob	'metalworker, smith (male)'
[[(‖'uri-kuru)]-kx'ao]-b	(lit. '<u>iron-make</u>-master (m))
[[(N+V)]_V + N]_N	V+N = N

4.3.2 Adverbs

As in Nama and Dama, Kora adverbs are most often formed from adjectives by addition of a characteristic adverbial suffix *–se*. Some of the examples below are from Maingard,[83] and the remaining ones are from the texts and our own data:

kaise	'greatly, much'
kx'amase	'truly'
kx'aise	'firstly'
kx'ũise	'in a lively manner'
sũse	'quickly'
|aisase	'strongly'
|uise	'once, only'
|'āse	'soon, shortly'
|habuse	'foolishly, feebly'
!ause	'lastly'
!nōse	'quietly'

The adverbs are sometimes reduplicated, as in *'āse 'āse*, which was recorded by both Meinhof and Engelbrecht, who gave the translations 'suddenly, soon, imminently' and 'now now' respectively.

A few adverbial expressions, as shown below, occur without the suffix *–se*:

ho'o	'now'
ti	'thus'
|nika	'already, always'
‖xaba	'again'
‖nāti	'thus, in that way'

Note that *ho'o* is spelled with an apostrophe so as to indicate the separate pronunciation of the two vowels. A few other adverbial expressions end in *–ka (~ ha)*, while some (such as *oakaka* 'early in the morning' and *hētsēka* 'once upon a time') are perhaps idiomatic.

When an adverb is used, it most often appears *before* the verb and any markers of tense or aspect. Nevertheless, the flexibility of ordering in Kora frequently manifests itself here, as in some of the examples below:

(a) (i)   **kaise** *na* <u>kx'ā</u> *|'o'i*
      'the child <u>cries</u> **much**'   (PL)

  (ii)   **kx'aise** *i-t na* ‡*'ũ*
      'I <u>eat</u> **first**'   (JM)

 (iii)   **kx'amase** *ti ka n'* <u>koba</u> *xūkua*
      'I am <u>telling</u> things **truly**'   (JM)

 (iv)   **!nōse** ‡*nũ a*
      '(he) is <u>sitting</u> **quietly**'   (JM)

  (v)   *i ke* ‡*'Oabi thoathoa |**aisase** <u>!om</u> hã*
      'then Wind began to <u>blow</u> **strongly**'   (BKr1)

 (vi)   *i na* **ho'o** <u>khao</u> *thoathoa khoedi*
      'and **now** the women begin to <u>dig</u>'   (BK1)

(vii) *i-bi na |**nika** na <u>kx'õahe</u> xoasaokua*
      'and he is **always** <u>sought</u> by the leopards'   (PL5)
(viii) *Hã'ã, **ti** na <u>mĩ</u>*
      'No, **thus** (she) <u>said</u>'   (Bhf10)

4.4   The Kora sentence, part I

From this point onward, it will be easier to discuss the syntax of Kora if we expand our frame of reference to include the structure of the sentence as a whole. We noted earlier that verbs in Kora may be divided into *action* and *process* verbs. We also noted that some kinds of predications do not make use of verbs at all, but are *non-verbal* – as in cases where it is an identity, attribute, or locus that is being asserted. We will begin by looking at the basic formulation of verbal predications involving action and process verbs, starting with a discussion of the ways in which tense, aspect, and modality are expressed, before moving on to a discussion of non-verbal predications**.**

4.4.1   Action verbs in Kora, and the expression of tense, aspect, and mood

With a handful of exceptions, and unless the statement in question is an unusually broad one covering some universal and timeless truth, the overall event or process described by a predication is generally envisaged as taking place at some more or less *quantifiable* point in time, such as the remote or recent past, the present, or the imminent or remote future. The grammatical indication of such points along an imaginary timeline is effected by markers of *tense*.

The event or process may also be characterised *qualitatively* – in terms of its duration, since a process may be completed (perfect), or still progressing (imperfect), at the specified point in time. The grammatical expression of such qualities is effected by perfective and imperfective markers of *aspect*. Some languages of the world formally encode several sub-qualities of duration, such as continuous, punctuated, occasional, habitual, or inceptive in the case of ongoing processes and actions. The expression of an aspect may also be combined with an expression of tense, since a process may, for example, be completed in the present with current effect, completed in the past with temporary effect, or completed in the past with lasting (permansive) effect.

Lastly, a sentence that describes some event or process may be making a simple assertion or enquiry (in the affirmative or negative) about a situation that actually obtains in reality, or at least once obtained, or will in future. On the other hand, it may express some state of affairs that does not actually obtain in the present, past or future, but instead is being conjectured, stipulated, desired, or demanded. Such differences in the status of a proposition are referred to as differences in *modality*, and different languages make use of different strategies when it comes to the grammatical

expression of such modalities, where these may involve changes in word order and intonation, or the use of auxiliary verbs, grammatical morphemes, or grammatical inflection. It will be seen below that the Khoekhoe languages make use of various particles as well as a number of auxiliary verbs.

There may be some degree of overlap between these different aspects of syntax, and it is common to find cases where grammatical elements originally used to express, for example, a modal category (such as a potential mood) may take on a function of tense (such as the expression of a future implication). Similarly, elements used to express an ongoing (progressive) aspect may in some cases take on the meaning of a present tense, while morphology formerly used for a past perfect aspect may start to be used as a marker of past tense in general.

We will now look at the particles (and in some cases, auxiliaries) used to express tense, aspect, and mood in Kora.[84] Readers familiar with Namibian Khoekhoe dialects will notice that there are several differences here between Kora and Nama.

Tense:

ko	recent past
ta (~ *ra*)	future
ke (tje, kie)	remote past

There is no specific particle for the present tense, and in many cases this tense is either implied by the absence of any marker, or else is conveyed by the imperfective marker *na*, which we will here simply term the 'progressive' marker. Note that in Namibian Khoekhoe, the future tense is expressed by *nî*, whereas in Kora *nî* is a modal particle used to express obligation. In Namibian Khoekhoe, it is the imperfect aspect that is expressed by *ra* (*~ta*).

Aspect (particles):

na	progressive (= ongoing action or process, or 'imperfect')
hã	perfect (= completed action or process)

Aspect (auxiliary verb):

thoathoa	inceptive (equivalent to English 'begin to')[85]

The perfective marker used to express a completed process will here simply be referred to as the 'perfect' marker. It takes the form in Kora of *hã*, and differs from other grammatical morphemes of tense and aspect in the language in that it occurs *after* the verb, while it may also be used in its own right as an independent verb meaning 'stay, remain'. In its use as a marker of aspect, it seems to behave much like the second verb of a verbal compound, and indeed this is almost certainly its origin. (In languages belonging to the Kalahari branch of the KHOE family, a linking particle occurs between the verb and markers of aspect such as *hã*, which expresses a perfect, and *hĩ*, which seems to express a past perfect.)

The Khoekhoe particles of tense and aspect may occur in combination with each other, and even sometimes in a doubled formulation, for example as *ko ko*. (While the doublings occur freely in Namibian Khoekhoe, they are not common in the Kora

texts, although they occur occasionally in contributions made by Piet Links, where they may be a reflection of Giri influence.)

In Kora, both the tense and aspect particles frequently 'lean on' the connective *i*, so that some older authors even wrote them conjunctively, for example as *ina* or *ikie*.[86] In a few cases, possibly under the partial influence of Afrikaans, this combination was produced as *ena* (compare Afrikaans *en* 'and') or even *dana* (Afrikaans *dan* 'then'). The likelihood is that *i* was originally a verb.

Mood (particles):

nĩ	obligative (equivalent to English 'must' or 'should')
ka	potential (equivalent to English 'may' or 'might')
a, hā	hortative (equivalent to English 'do please', or 'let us')

The potential marker *ka* is typically used in sentences that reflect a modality of desire, or intended purpose, or even polite exhortation, and is sometimes used in combination with the future tense. The hortative particle *hā* resembles the verb meaning 'come', and may well have arisen from it. Examples of sentences featuring its use will be provided in a later section of the chapter.

Hagman[87] identified a number of modal auxiliary verbs in Nama, where they are used to express positive or negative volition, intention or capacity. They include *gao* 'want', *khā* 'be able', *oa* 'be unable', *tsâ* 'try', and *kai* 'compel'. In Kora, apart from a few cases involving *ao* 'want', a few instances of *'oa* 'be unable' in a text contributed by Piet Links (where it may be a Giri usage), and one or two examples of *xā* (or *xã*) 'be able', the expected counterparts of these auxiliaries are not widely found. (The Kora counterpart of *kai* is *kasi*, which we discussed earlier under the heading of the verbal extensions.) We can nevertheless list the following verbs, which appear to behave much like the Namibian Khoekhoe auxiliaries mentioned by Hagman, and which provide similar periphrastic expressions of mood.

Mood (auxiliary verbs):

ǂao	volitive (equivalent to English 'would like to')
kx'ao	abilitive (equivalent to English 'can')
‖xā (~ *‖xã*)	abilitive (equivalent to English 'can')
‖'oa	inabilitive (equivalent to English 'cannot')

The following examples illustrate the use of some of the particles and auxiliaries set out above. It will be noticed that, in the relatively few cases were the verb is placed at the end of the phrase in its basic (which is to say, neutral or unmarked) position, the particles of tense and aspect, with the notable exception of *hã*, almost always appear *before* the verb (and any adverbs). In cases where the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the particles most often *follow* the verb (and any dependent pronouns it may be carrying).

It will also be noticed that the subject of a sentence can be expressed simply by a dependent pronoun, such as *–r* 'I (male)', while in a few cases it is omitted. The nominal subjects in these examples typically feature a postnominal *–i*, which here

seems to express definiteness. (The verbs are underlined in these examples and the subjects are placed in parentheses to make the structures clearer.)

(a) Tense: recent past, with *ko*

(i) ǂ'aib ab **ko** <u>khõa</u> (khoebi)	'(the man) <u>broke</u> his foot'	(Mhf63)
(ii) <u>hã</u> **ko** (khoebi)	'(the man) <u>came</u>'	(Ebt45)
(iii)<u>ǁ'ō</u> **ko** (ǁxãsi)	'(the moon) <u>died</u>'	(Mhf54)
(iv)<u>hã</u> **ko** (gomani)	'(the cattle) <u>came</u>'	(Mhf6)
(v) <u>ǁxãu</u>-re **ko** (uibi)	'(the bee) <u>stung</u> me (m)'	(Mhf50)
(vi)<u>dītoa</u>-(r) **ko** sĩseni	'(I (m)) <u>finished</u> the work'	(Mhf7)
(vii)<u>mũ</u>-(r) **ko** uīb xãbi	'(I (m)) <u>saw</u> the bee's sting'	(Mhf1)

(b) Tense: future, with *ta*

(i) ǁxaba-(ri) **ta** <u>hã</u>	'(I (m)) will <u>come</u> again'	(Ebt38)
(ii) <u>hã</u> **ta** (khoebi)	'(the man) will <u>come</u>'	(Ebt46)
(iii)<u>ǁxarahe</u> **ta** (khoebi)	'(the man) will <u>be punished</u>'	(Mhf22)
(iv)<u>ǁ'ō</u> **ta** (gūsi)	'(the ewe) will <u>die</u>'	(Ebt157)
(v) <u>ǂnau</u>-(re) **ta**	'[he] will <u>hit</u> (me (m))'	(Mhf58)
(vi)<u>ǁnã</u>-(ts) **ta**	'(you (ms)) will <u>fall</u>'	(Mhf30)

(c) Tense: remote past, with *ke*

(i) i **ke** (ǂ'Oabi) <u>thoathoa</u> |aisase !om hã
    'then (Wind) <u>began</u> to <u>blow</u> strongly'   (BKr1)

(ii) i **ke** (|nai khoeb) Mamusaba !oa <u>sĩhe,</u>
    'then (another man) <u>was sent</u> to Mamusa,
    i **ke** (ǁnãba xu khoeku a)
      and (men [who] were from there)
    <u>ǂnoa|xoahe</u>
      <u>fought-alongside</u>.'   (Bhf1)

(d) Aspect (particles): progressive, with *na*

(i) (khoebi) **na** <u>hã</u>	'(the man) is <u>coming</u>'	(Ebt43ii)
(ii) (he haib-bi) **na** <u>ham</u>	'(this tree) <u>smells</u>'	(Mhf33)
(iii)(ǁnã haibi) **na** !ãise <u>ham</u>	'(that tree) <u>smells</u> nice'	(JM)
(iv)<u>ǁnãti</u>-(r) **na** <u>mĩ</u>	'thus (I (m)) am <u>saying</u>'	(Ebt34)
(v) <u>ǁnãti</u>-(ta) **na** <u>mĩ</u>	'thus (I (f)) am <u>saying</u>'	(Ebt35)
(vi)!xobi–(r) **na** <u>ǂae</u>	'a pipe (I (m)) am <u>smoking</u>'	(Mhf57)
(vii)<u>hã</u> **na** (khoebi)	'(the man) is <u>coming</u>'	(Ebt43i)
(viii)<u>!um</u> **na** (ǂ'oabi)	'(the wind) is <u>blowing</u>'	(Mhf59)
(ix)<u>ǁ'ō</u> **na** (gūsi)	'(the ewe) is <u>dying</u>'	(Ebt154)
(x) <u>|kx'an</u> **na** (|'aebi)	'(the fire) is <u>smoking</u>'	(Mhf67)
(xi)<u>ǂ'ã</u> **na** (soreb) ke	'(the sun) is <u>setting</u>'	(JM)
(xii) <u>mũ</u>-(r) **na** (|kx'anni)	'(I (m)) <u>see</u> (the smoke)'	(Mhf29)

(e) Aspect (auxiliary verbs): inceptive, with *thoathoa*

   (i) *i ke (‡'Oabi) **thoathoa** |aisase !om* hã

      'then (Wind) **began** <u>to blow</u> strongly'   (BKr1)

   (ii) *i na ho'o <u>khao</u> **thoathoa** (khoedi)*

      'and now (the women) **begin** <u>to dig</u>'   (BK1)

(f) Mood: obligative, with *nĩ*

   (i) *!kx'axase i-(b) tje **nĩ** !oa*   'and (he) must <u>count</u> quickly'   (AB6)

   (ii) *l'on |xa i-(b) tje nĩ ta !oa*   'and (he) must <u>not speak</u> with children' (AB6)

   (iii) *hē kx'ōb **nĩ** ‡'ũ – (arib tje)*   '(the dog) will [surely] <u>eat</u> this meat'   (JM)

   (iv) *‖xarahe-(b) tje **nĩ***   '(he) must <u>be punished</u>'   (Mhf23)

(g) Mood: potential, with *ka* (or, marker of an interrogative and a purposive clause respectively?)

   (i) *!hami!ũ-(kao) ka na?*   'might (you (mp)) <u>go hunting</u>?'[88]   (Mhf12)

   (ii) *kuru **ka** kx'ommi ‡goab*   '[so that he] might <u>make</u> a clay house' (PL5)

(h) Mood (auxiliary verbs): abilitive, with *kx'ao*

   (i) *!'om‡noagu **kx'ao**-(ts) hã?*   'can (you (ms)) <u>fist-fight</u>?'   (BK10)

4.4.2 Process verbs

We now need to acknowledge that the picture given above is overly simple, and that in reality some verbs make use of a more complex strategy. The verbs in question are particularly those of process and sensation, where the completion of the process leads to a presently obtaining state or outcome. Such verbs of process, which are technically termed *stative* verbs, are assigned a perfect aspect to express a present implication.[89]

The examples below show various process verbs used in combination with *hã*, where the resulting sense is that the process has run its course. In some cases, it will be seen that a marker of tense may be used as well. The use of *ko*, for example, indicates that the process was completed in the past.

(a) Aspect: perfect, with *hã*

   (i) *|hõasi-(ri) ū**hã***   '(I (m)) <u>have got</u> a wildcat' [ū = 'take']   (Ebt147)

   (ii) *‖kx'ã (tite) **hã***   '(I (f)) <u>am sated</u>' [have eaten enough]   (JM)

   (iii) *‡'an tama-(r) **hã***   '(I (m)) don't <u>know</u>'   (Mhf64)

   (iv) *<u>hā</u> **ko hã***   '[he] <u>came</u>'   (JM)

   (v) *<u>mũ</u>-(tĩ) **ko hã***   '(I (f)) <u>saw</u>'   (JM)

In Namibian Khoekhoe, the marker of perfect aspect *hã* may be used in combination with another stative marker, which frequently also functions as a linking verb (copula) in the case of non-verbal predicates. This marker occurs as *a* when the process or state of affairs is present or ongoing, but as *i* in the context of past or completed processes.[90] Within the finite corpus of the Kora texts and example sentences, the use of the copula, either as *a* or *i*, is not greatly in evidence – although there are

occasionally instances where we might suspect a missing *a* that was simply not heard as distinct from a preceding *hã*, while at other times it is possible that *hã* has been misheard as *a*. In a footnote to his transcription of a Kora version of one of Aesop's fables, Beach commented[91] that he often heard *hã* pronounced by Benjamin Kraalshoek with an oral vowel rather than a nasal one. He also noted that 'Ben often pronounced *om hã* 'blow' without the *h*, and with oral *a*, so that it often sounded like *om-a*'.

While the *i* form of the copula appears fairly frequently in association with the perfect aspect in the texts contributed by Piet Links, it is seen only occasionally in the narratives given by other speakers – with the possible exception of some of the stories written down by Benjamin Kats. It seems to occur in the last two lines of the following miniature text,[92] which was a brief remark made by Links to explain the name of the quagga-vygie ('*koire gabib*' in Lloyd's spelling):

(b) *koire gabib na tsoatsoa kaib na*,
　　 'at the time when the quagga-vygie began,[93]
　 i ke na !koire ‖garu‖kā,
　　 that is when we went to hunt quagga,
　 i ‖na ‖kaib !na,
　　 and at that time,
　 <u>*kai hã* kx'aiku ĩ</u>,
　　 their livers <u>having grown fat</u>,
　 i subusa <u>‖garu</u> ĩ.
　　 then <u>hunting</u> was easy.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(PL)

Apart from the apparent illustration of the *i* form of the copula in use, the example is interesting also for its record of Piet Links's nasalised pronunciation of this marker, as *ĩ*. Hagman[94] has suggested that the aspect marker (or copula) *a* or *ã* arises ultimately from *hã* – and it seems likely that *i* or *ĩ* may have arisen in turn from the past tense form of *hã* that occurs in some languages of Kalahari KHOE as *hĩ*. The brief text also gives us an example, in the fourth line, of *kai* being used as a verb of process, in the sense of 'become big'. The combination of this verb with the perfective marker *hã* gives a sense more or less equivalent to English past participles such as 'full-grown', 'enlarged', or 'swollen'.

Hagman noted in addition[95] that two process verbs (in fact verbs of 'position', or 'posture'), namely *nũ* 'sit' and *mã* 'stand' undergo certain changes when they are followed by *hã*. A similar tendency is seen in Kora, where *nõa* or *noa* (apparently from *nũ hã*) occurs in several of the texts. In these contexts, *nõa*, which behaves almost like a past particple, seems to have the meaning 'seated'. It can be used in compounds with other verbs, and may take causative and passive extensions, as in *ai noasihe* 'tie-make be seated', which is used (AB9) in reference to the action of fastening a bundle of clothing securely in place. The effects in the case of *mã* 'stand' are less visible, although the resulting participle seems to have the meaning 'set' or 'established'. It is reflected in a few possibly idiomatic expressions, such as

'anmãsisa 'well-known' (Bhf2), and *mĩmãsihe* 'appointed' (BK1). It is possible that the postposition *oa* 'towards' arises in a similar way from *ũ hã*, where *ũ* means 'go'.[96]

4.4.3   Non-verbal predications in Kora

Non-verbal predications are sentences which, rather than presenting the subject as a participant in a process or action, instead attribute some *property* to a subject – where the predicated property may be an identity, a quality, or a spatial location. In other words, the predicate is not a verb, but instead is a nominal or other type of expression, as in 'That animal is <u>a wildcat</u>,' or 'It is <u>afraid</u>,' or 'It is <u>under the rock ledge</u>.' While some languages of the world express the relation between the subject and the property by means of an overt linker (or copula), such as the word 'be' in English, this is not essential, and there are many languages that use simple appositions to express the linking of the two terms (especially in cases of identity), while others use linking verbs such as 'have' (especially for properties), or verbs of position or posture, such as 'sit' or 'stand' (especially for spatial location).

4.4.3.1   Predication of identity

In Kora, sentences expressing a straightforward identity (*x* BE *y*, where both *x* and *y* are nominal expressions), can be expressed in a variety of ways, where the differences can involve word order, the optional use of the *ke* particle (~ *gye*, *tje*, *kie*), and the use (seemingly) of the copula (or present stative marker) *a*, which is typically represented as being added to the end of the second noun, and is one of the manifestations of the problematic postnominal *–a*. (This *a* is interpreted in the case of the examples below as a copula, but other analyses are possible.)

One of the difficulties presented by the Kora data is that the preferred way of formulating such sentences seems to differ from one speaker to the next, and there is not always an easy way to decide whether these variations reflect subtle distinctions in meaning, or local dialectal differences, or even purely personal preferences on the part of a speaker. Examples of the different formulations are given below:

(a) Pattern with optional *ke*: Subject (**ke**) Nominal predicate *a*

(i) *hēb* **ke** <u>*kxʼob*</u> *a*	'this is <u>the meat</u>'	(BK9)
(ii) *hē khoeb* **ke** <u>*Gaokxʼaob*</u> *a*	'this man is <u>the Chief</u>' ('*is kaptein*')	(Ebt70)
(iii)*xammi* **ke** <u>*ǀgaib*</u> *a*	'the lion is <u>a strong one</u>' (is strong)	(Ebt33)
(iv)*sida ǃʼāb* **ke** <u>*heb*</u> *a*	'<u>this</u> is our land'	(JM)
(v) *‖nā ǂʼũb ǀʼonni* <u>*ǃʼōku*</u> *a*	'that food's name is <u>ǃʼōku</u>	(BK1)

As the examples show, either of the two nominal expressions may be placed first, where the differences in ordering are probably pragmatically motivated. The first expression is definite, either by virtue of a determiner, or the use of the postnominal *–i*. The second expression (or complement) is either straightforwardly a noun, or may be a nominal expression based on a qualifying expression such as an adjective

or demonstrative in the appositional formulation with a dependent pronoun attached. In sentence (iii), the complement   *gaib* behaves syntactically like a noun, but still reflects its original adjectival meaning 'strong', so that the sentence can be read as meaning either 'the lion is a strong one' or 'the lion is strong'.

The last example above shows a case where *ke* is omitted – and this is perhaps as good a point as any to dicuss the nature of the *ke* particle. We mentioned earlier that there are a few small particles in Kora that present surprisingly large difficulties when it comes to their analysis. Since both the problematic *ke* particle (~ *gye*, *tje*, *kie*) and the postnominal *–a* will occur with increasing frequency in our examples from now on, it seems best to pause and briefly address the issues that surround them.

- *The analysis of the **ke** particle: marker of a sentence type or marker of a topic?*

The *ke* particle in Namibian Khoekhoe – where it is spelled 'ge' – is currently interpreted as a 'sentence type marker for indicative main sentences'.[97] This analysis essentially follows the proposal by Hagman[98] to treat it as a marker of a 'declarative' sentence, and has replaced older analyses that saw *ke* as a kind of 'subject determinative' or 'emphasiser'.[99]

When we look at occurrences of *ke* in Kora, however, it is clear that it can occur in sentences *other* than declaratives, as in the following examples:

(b) (i) *‖xarahe-b **ke** nĩ*   'punished he must be'   (Mhf23)
    (ii) *!kx'axase i-b **ke** nĩ !oa*   'quickly he must count'   (AB6)
    (iii) *‖'on |xa i-b **ke** nĩ ta !oa*   'with children he must not speak'   (AB6)

These examples incorporate the modal particle *nĩ*, which expresses the obligative mood, while at the same time they feature the *ke* particle after the subject.[100]

It seems that we will need to find an alternative way of accounting for the function of *ke* – and we would here like to propose that the *ke* particle, which always immediately follows the subject or its pronominal stand-in, might be better analysed as a discourse marker of *topic*.[101] (In some languages of the world, a topic is expressed ahead of a sentence, as a way of indicating what the following question or observation will refer to, as in: 'The wildcat – it's an indigenous small species.' There are other languages, however, where a topic is marked by morphology.) This is only a slight change to the idea of the ***ge*-subjektivum** originally put forward by Dempwolff, and accords with Rust's description of the nominal marked by *ke* as being the 'prop' (or perhaps 'hook', 'pivot' or 'peg') of the sentence.[102]

Some support for this analysis is provided by the following example, where the given (previously mentioned) part of the sentence ('the dog') is expressed as a kind of afterthought at the end of the sentence, following the expression of the focused phrase at the beginning, and after a pause. Notably, this afterthought is associated with the *ke* particle:

(c) *hē kx'ōb nĩ ‡n'ũ – arib **ke***   'this meat [he] will surely eat – the dog'   (JM)

In many cases, though, the *ke* particle simply follows an ordinary subject at the beginning of a sentence, probably because the syntactic subject is in a sense the pragmatic topic by default, even when there has been no re-ordering or pre-presentation of constituents.[103]

- *The analysis of post-nominal –a: the marker of accusative case, or a copula, or the vestige of some other morpheme?*

As we have seen, the *a* that occurs in predications of identity has an apparently copular function, in the sense that it couples together two nominal expressions. There are cases, however, where nouns in other syntactic contexts seem to take a superficially similar *a* almost as a suffix – where this particular *a* has been analysed in the past as a possible marker of accusative case (which ordinarily indicates a syntactic *object*).[104] The question has already been raised, however – in the sections on the adpositional phrase and the verb extensions – whether the postnominal *–a* really functions as a case marker. The alternative possibility is that in at least some of these instances, *a* might likewise be a copula.

Here again the picture is complicated by variability in the data from different consultants in the past, and the ever-present possibility of inaccuracies in the transcriptions. The heritage texts present surprisingly few examples of its use, and indeed provide numerous instances where syntactic objects are expressed *without* the supposed marker of case, as well as equally numerous instances where syntactic subjects occur *with* it. The only semi-consistent usage is one we have previously noted, where nouns in adjunctive phrases introduced by certain specific adpositions that arise from verbs sometimes take *–a*. (In some of these instances, the relevant nouns have the peripheral role of a *path* or a *locus*, and it is possible that *a* here is a vestige of the locative morpheme *–ba*.)

Another factor to consider is that speakers sometimes make more complex use of a copula to create sentences similar to English ones of the kind 'It was an eland the lion stalked.' When used in answer to the question 'What did the lion stalk?' this formulation has the effect of making the object of the lion's stalking the *focused* constituent. Of course, it is equally possible to focus a subject in this way. For example, the question 'Who made the necklaces?' can be answered either with 'They made the necklaces' or 'It was them who made them' (where only pedants would use 'they').

The sentence below, where Andries Bitterbos was explaining the names given to different kinds of wooden vessels, illustrates the use of a similar strategy in Kora:

(d) *i !nubukx'amsaku **a** ke na '‖hoeb' ti ‡ai,*
    i ke na ǀ'ōkx'amsaku a '!xabib' ti ‡ai.

    'die <u>nou-bekke</u> het hulle '‖hoeb' genoem,
    en hulle het die <u>oop-bekke</u> '!xabib' so genoem.'   (AB1)

i	*!nubu-kx'am-sa-ku*	*a*	*ke*	*na*	*'‖hoeb'*
Conn	narrow-mouth-Adj-3mp	*a*	Rem.Past	Prog	*‖hoeb*

ti	*ǂai*				
thus	call				

i	*ke*	*na*	*ǀ'ō-kxʼam-sa-ku*	*a*	*'!xabib'*
Conn	Rem.Past	Prog	open-mouth-Adj-3mp	*a*	*!xabib*

ti	*ǂai.*				
thus	call				

  'And the <u>narrow-mouthed ones</u> they called '*ǁhoeb'*,
  and the <u>broad-mouthed ones</u> they called '*!xabib'*.

If we take *a* here to be the copula rather than any postnominal marking of case, then the two sentences might be translated as: 'The narrow-mouthed ones it was they called *ǁhoeb*, and the broad-mouthed ones it was they called *!xabib*.'[105]

In the remaining cases where we have seen instances of an apparent postnominal –*a*, it is notable that they occur in association with passive forms of the verb, and are typically associated with arguments having roles such as that of an agent or means. If the *a* in these instances is not simply a contracted form of the agentive or instrumental postposition *xa*, it is possible that it is again the copula.

Let us now return to the theme of non-verbal predications. We have already looked at predications of *identity*, where the predicate is a nominal expression. The next type of non-verbal sentence involves predications of the kind where a subject is said to be possessed of, or to display some *quality*.

4.4.3.2   Predication of a quality

For Nama, Rust suggested[106] that predications of this kind could be made using the *ke* particle after the subject, and the linker (which is to say, the copula) *a* before the descriptive term. He also showed an alternative pattern based on the use of *hã* after the descriptive predicate, instead of the copula *a* before it. Yet another formulation has the predicated quality given first, with a dependent pronoun attached to it in expression of the subject (followed by an optional *ke*), and with either *a* or *hã* ending the sentence.

There do not seem to be many instances of such patterns in Kora (although it is possible that this simply reflects accidental gaps in the material). We find instead that, as in pattern (1) below, the predicated quality is typically expressed first, in conjunction with the adjectival suffix –*sa*, with the subject noun following immediately after it, typically with a postnominal –*i*. In other words, the attribute is expressed first, and is followed by the noun in what seems to be the definite form.

In Ouma Jacoba's usage, the subject noun could, as in pattern (2), be followed by *ke*, in which case, however, it does not have the postnominal *i*. Lastly, Ouma Jacoba gave us a number of other examples, as in pattern (3), where she expressed the noun first (in the definite form with *i*) and the quality afterwards, using the copula *a* after the quality, in a pattern similar to some predications of identity. Examples of these patterns are given below, where subjects are underlined to aid in their identification.

(e) Predication of a quality, pattern (1): Adj Subject -*i*

(i)	ǀgaisa <u>khoeb**i**</u>	'the <u>man</u> is strong'	(Ebt5)
(ii)	ǀgaisa <u>ǀxais**i**</u>	'the <u>fever</u> is strong'	(Mhf69)
(iii)	ǂnūsa <u>gumas**i**</u>	'the <u>cow</u> is black'	(Ebt24)
(iv)	karosa <u>!hūb**i**</u>	'the <u>ground</u> is hard'	(Ebt25)
(v)	gaidasa <u>birib**i**</u>	'the <u>goat ram</u> is old'	(Ebt142)
(vi)	gaidasa <u>biris**i**</u>	'the <u>goat ewe</u> is old'	(Ebt143)

(f) Predication of a quality, pattern (2): Adj Subject ***ke***

(i)	ǂhabusa <u>kõas</u> **ke**	'the <u>knife</u> is blunt'	(JM)
(ii)	ǀkx'oasa <u>xūb</u> **ke** nǁāba	'<u>that thing</u> is full'	(JM)
(iii)	thūsa <u>khoeb</u> **ke**	'the <u>man</u> is bad'	(JM)
(iv)	ǀãsa <u>khoeb</u> **ke**	'the <u>man</u> is poor'	(JM)
(v)	karosa <u>khōb</u> **ke**	'the <u>skin</u> is hard'	(JM)

(g) Predication of a quality, pattern (3): Subject -*i* Adj ***a***

(i)	<u>hē khoeb**i**</u> kx'au **a**	'<u>this man</u> is fat'	(JM)
(ii)	<u>nǁā khoeb**i**</u> ǁkx'aro **a**	'<u>that man</u> is thin'	(JM)
(iii)	<u>nǁā bīb**i**</u> ǂhon **a**	'<u>that milk</u> is sweet'	(JM)

It is interesting that pattern (1) above was also used by Engelbrecht's first consultants in other contexts where the quality predicated can only with some difficulty be interpreted as adjectival. Rather, there is something intrinsically verbal about them, as the sentences below illustrate.

(h) Predication of a completed process with ongoing effects: V-*sa* Subject –*i*

(i)	<u>bē**sa**</u> <u>gūri</u>	'the (sheep) are <u>gone</u>'	(Ebt11)
(ii)	<u>thū**sa**</u> (!nāba)-ri	'my (stomach) <u>hurts</u>'	(Ebt7)
(iii)	<u>hā**sa**</u> (khoebi)	'the (man) has <u>come</u>'	(Ebt58)
(iv)	<u>ǁ'ō**sa**</u> (gūsi)	'the (ewe) is dead (has <u>died</u>?)'	(Ebt156)

It seems possible that the function of *sa* in these cases is that of a perfective aspect marker, which differs from the perfect marker *hã* in its implication that not only has the process in question completed its course, but that its effects are enduring. Some degree of confirmation for this analysis is provided by the following sentences given to us by Ouma Jacoba.

(v)	!nã**sa** sores ke	'the sun is shining'	(JM)
(vi)	khõa**sa**	'it broke' ('*hy het gebreek*')	(JM)

If *sa* is indeed the marker of a 'permansive' aspect, as the Kora data would seem to suggest, it may also be the source of the adjectival suffix –*sa*, given that many of the descriptive roots are probably verbal in origin. The marker itself may arise from the verb *sã* 'rest a while, sojourn, sit'.

4.5   The Kora sentence, part 2

Up to now we have focused largely on the expression of positive declarative sentences, whether they involve ordinary verbs of action or stative verbs of process, or non-verbal predications. We now need to look at the formulation of negative declaratives, and interrogatives, after which we will turn to the kinds of sentences that express other modalities, such as commands, requests, wishes and speculations. Finally, we will look at aspects of coordination, discourse connectives, and various kinds of clausal embedding.

4.5.1   Negatives

The expression of the negative is fairly complex in Khoekhoe, and ranges from the use of a simple negative morpheme *tama* or *ta*, to the use of verbs with inherently negative meanings.

4.5.1.1   *Negation by means of* **tama**

The examples below show the use of *tama* to express the negative form of a straightforward declarative sentence. The negative marker is typically placed after the predicating expression, which is most often a verb, but may be a verb-like descriptive term, as in example (vii), where *ĩ* means 'be nice'. (The verbs in the examples are underlined for easier identification.)

(a) (i)   *‡'an **tama**-r*   (Mhf64)
      'I (m) do **not** know'

  (ii)   *i ke !Orakua !āb dī|xoa **tama***   (Bhf8)
      'and the Korana did not use poison'

  (iii)   *‖guru|'uikua i-da ke dī **tama***   (Bhf7)
      'we (c) did **not** make stone-knives'

  (iv)   *khās |xa ke ‖kx'aũhe **tama***   (BK3)
      '[they] were **not** shot with a bow'

  (v)   *i-da ke |'urikua ūhã **tama***   (BK3)
      'and we (c) did **not** have iron'

  (vi)   *koba ti ke na, ma ‖'ãibi ‖nau **tama***   (JM)
      'I (f) am talking, but he does **not** listen' [*ma* = Afrikaans *maar*]

  (vii)   *ĩ **tama** |'oeb ke*   (JM)
      'swearing is **not** nice'

4.5.1.2   Negation by means of an auxiliary verb

The negative auxiliary   'oa was briefly noted during the earlier discussion of modality, where it was introduced as a marker of the inabilitive mood, equivalent to English 'cannot' or 'be unable to'. The examples of its use below are both from a narrative dictated by Piet Links, and may have been more characteristic of Giri than Kora. The auxiliary is used after the verb it negates, in much the same way as *tama*. In both cases, the predications seem to express a hypothetical state of affairs.

(a) (i)   *i-r tir ti õa'i h*<u>*ō*</u> *‖'oa hãba?*   (PL3)
        'why I (m) have been **unable** to <u>get </u>my child?'

   (ii) *sas* <u>*mũ!'a*</u> *‖'oa-s ka hã?*   (PL3)
        'might you (fs) have been **unable** to <u>recognise</u>?'

4.5.1.3   Negative commands

The negative marker *ta* seems to be associated with modalities other than the declarative, and is used especially in commands, where it typically occurs at the beginning of the sentence, and before the verb. In some cases it is found as *tae* (~ *tai*) or *te*. The following examples illustrate the rules (*gaoku*) given to young men attending the initiation school (*doro*).

(a) (i)   *Sida !Orada di dorogaoku a:*
            Ta <u>*|kx'ā*</u>!
            Ta <u>*‖ae*</u>!   (BK4)
        'The *doro*-rules of we the Korana are:
            Do not <u>steal</u>!
            Do not <u>lie</u>!'

   (ii) *Tāe* <u>*!gaba*</u> *‡'aib xu!*   (Bhf2)
        '**Do not** <u>look at</u> its foot!' [referring to a lamed animal]

   (iii) *Tai* <u>*!xamxu*</u> *n‖ā xūb!*   (JM)
        '**Do not** <u>forget</u> that thing!'

A negative command may also be expressed by adding *xu* 'depart from', which in association with a verb *x* seems to mean 'leave off, desist from, abstain from doing *x*'. The first example below was given to Engelbrecht by one of his early consultants, while the second is from a further set of rules given to young initiates.

(b) (i)   <u>*‡Nau*</u> *xu!*   '**Don't** <u>hit</u>!'   (Ebt41)
   (ii) *!'Oas* <u>*‡'ũ*</u> *xu!*   '**Do not** <u>eat</u> hare!'   (Bhf2.1)

In Namibian Khoekhoe, a negative associated with some hypothetical or speculative future event is negated by means of the auxiliary *tide*. This form is not found as often (if at all) in Kora, and its only counterpart would seem to be a very occasionally seen *te*, which is liable to be confused with the dependent pronoun of the 1st person feminine singular.

4.5.1.4   *Negation by means of verbs with inherently negative meanings*

Certain verbs in the Khoekhoe languages have inherently negative meanings, so that there is no need to use any additional indication of negation with them. The negative auxiliary *’oa* mentioned above is one such verb. Another is *’u* 'not know', as seen in the next example.

(a) *|’**U**-r hã* (*hamba xū i-b na hā*) *!xaib.*   (Mhf72)
    'I **don't know** (where he comes from).'

Note that *’u* is one of the process (or stative) verbs, so that its use with the perfect marker *hã* gives it a present implication. In this case, the thing (or effective object) that is not known is a clause in itself ('he comes from where'), and *xaib* is the complementiser, 'that'. We will briefly discuss what might be termed phrasal nominals of this kind in a later section.

     In some cases, speakers can *create* a verb with a negative implication by using the negating or privative suffix *–o*. In the example of this below, the sentence has the form of a non-verbal predication, and the verb *hā’o* 'not come' behaves like a participial adjective (as in the English phrase 'the <u>crouching</u> wildcat').

(b) *Hā’**o**sa khoebi*   'The man is **not** coming'   (Ebt49)

4.5.2   Interrogatives

The simplest kind of interrogative is one that asks about the validity of a particular proposition as a whole, and essentially asks, Is it true that [*x* DO/BE/SEEM *y*]? The questioned proposition may be negative or affirmative, and the event or process or state of affairs may not only be specified for tense and aspect, but may also reflect one of the modalities associated with states of affairs that do not actually obtain.[107]

     Questions of this kind are typically formulated with the predicate in the initial position, as in the following examples given to Meinhof:

(a) (i) *Hō̄-ts ko ‖ūse?*   'Did you (ms) <u>find</u> the springbuck?'   (Mhf11)
    (ii) *!Hami!ũ̄-kao ka na?*   'Might you (mp) go <u>hunting</u>?'   (Mhf12)

The second type of interrogative asks for information about a specific part of a predication. The information requested can involve details about the participants ('*Who* did *y*?' or, '*Who*' or '*What* did *x* do *y* to?'), or the event itself ('*What* did *x* do?'); or it can involve the specification of an adjunctive detail ('*With what* did *x* do *y*?', '*Where* did *x* do *y*?', '*When* did *x* do *y*?' or '*Why* did *x* do *y*?'). In semantic terms, the scope of such questions is either the predicating expression, or any of the arguments within either the verb phrase or the adjunct. (The new information given in response to such questions is typically formulated in a way that focuses it.)

     Kora seems to have two main base morphemes that are used in the formulation of the constituent interrogatives. The base *ta* or *tae* (sometimes heard as *da*) is used mainly to ask for further information about core participants, but nevertheless

occurs in a few other contexts as well. It is typically used in combination with a dependent pronoun, and behaves syntactically as a free-standing pronoun. The first four interrogative expressions listed below are from Meinhof:[108]

taeb?	'who?'	(Mhf)
ta'i?	'what?'	(Mhf)
dan?	'who?'	(Mhf)
dabi?	'who?'	(Mhf)
taeba?	'why, wherefore?'	(JM)

(In Namibian Khoekhoe, the equivalent expressions are *ta(r)i?* for 'who?' and *ta(r) e?* for 'what?'.) The examples below illustrate some uses of the interrogative forms in Kora:

(b) (i)   ǁ*Nā khoeb **taeb** na arib mã̱ om te ǂ'ũ?*   (JM)
        '**What** does the man <u>give</u> the dog to eat?' [*om te* is Afrikaans]

(ii)   ***Taeb** ka i-b kx'ommi areb <u>oe te hã</u>?*   (PL5)
        '**Why** should my house <u>not have answered</u>?'

(iii) ***dan** ka?*   '**who** is it?'   (JM)

(iv)   ***taeb** ka?*   '**what** is it?'   (JM)

It is intriguing to note Ouma Jacoba's use of *ka* (~*ga*) in the last two examples above. Meinhof[109] recorded a similar use, citing expressions such as *dab gā* 'who is it (male)?' *das gā* 'who is it (female)?' and *da'i gā* 'who (or what) is it?' It is possible, on one hand, to treat this morpheme as a separate interrogative particle. Certainly, Engelbrecht[110] interpreted certain uses of *ka* in the speech of Andries Bitterbos as straightforwardly interrogative. On the other hand, this morpheme bears a strong resemblance to the marker of the potential mood, which we have previously seen used in sentences with a non-declarative modality, such as speculations or wishes. If it is the same morpheme, then its function in the interrogative environment appears to be that of a kind of existential predicator, creating sentences that are almost the counterpart of old-fashioned English expressions such as 'who might he be?'

Where the question concerns a peripheral participant, the base *ham* seems to be frequently used. It is used productively, which may be why not all authors list all of the potential question words that can occur. The set below may not be exhaustive.

ham(b)a?	'where?' (what place?)	(Mgd)
hã̱ba?	'why?' (wherefore?)	(PL3)
hamtsē?	'when?' (what time?)	(Mhf)
hamti?	'how?' (what manner?)	(Mgd)
hamti?	'why?' (what reason?)	(Lld)
ham|i?	'where to?'	(Mgd)
ham|xĩ?	'where to?'	(JM)
hamxusa?	'where from?'	(JM)

The interrogative expression meaning 'where to' (*ham xĩ ~ ham ĩ*) incidentally provides one of the few examples of the adposition *xĩ* 'to', which otherwise seems to have been more widely used in Giri and Nama than in Kora. The examples below are drawn from the texts:

(c) (i) ***Hamma**-ts ko ko ǂ'ũb hō hã?*   '**Where** did you (ms) <u>find</u> food?'   (BK9)
    (ii) ***Hamti**-ts ka ǀhabu hã?*   '**How** could you (ms) <u>be</u> [so] <u>foolish</u>?'   (PL3)

4.5.3   Commands and polite requests

There are various ways of expressing requests in Kora, where some are politer than others. It is possible to express a direct command (or iussive) simply by using the verb and without any form of second person address, although such direct expressions are not generally considered courteous. The first set below illustrates these more forceful direct commands as they are occasionally expressed in Kora.

(a) (i)   *ǀ'Ase !ae!*   '<u>Wait</u> a bit!'   (Mhf71)
    (ii)   *Hēba hā!*   '<u>Come</u> here!'   (Mhf32)
    (iii)   *ǁNāti koba!*   '<u>Say</u> so!'   (JM)
    (iv)   *Hoa ǂ'ũkua xora!*   '<u>Serve</u> all the food!'   (JM)
    (v)   *ǁNā ǂxanis mã-re!*   '<u>Give</u> me that book!'(ms)   (Mhf52)
    (vi)   *Au-te baxaba!*   '<u>Give</u> me tobacco!' (fs)   (JM)
    (vii)   *Khãiba-te!*   '<u>Stand up for</u> me!'(fs)   (BK11)

The more commonly used strategies for issuing a polite exhortation in Kora seem to be based on either *a* 'let', or *hā* 'come', which may also be combined. (The similar particles used in Namibian Khoekhoe are writen disjunctively.)[111]

   Nama speakers may also make use of a 'politeness particle' *re* in the context of hortatives, but it can be difficult in Kora to decide whether the occasionally seen instances of *re* are not simply the dependent form of the first person masculine singular pronoun *tire*. That they are really dependent pronouns seems the more likely case, given the parallel use of other dependent pronouns in some of the examples below.

(b) (i)   ***Hā**-sam !ũ!*   '**Come let** us (fd) <u>go</u>!'   (Mhf42)
    (ii)   ***Hā**-ke !ũ!*   '**Come let** us (mp) <u>go</u>!'   (Mhf43)
    (iii)   *Ti **hā**-ke ǁxāǁxāsen!*   'Thus **let** us (mp) <u>study</u>!'   (BK7)
    (iv)   ***A hā**-kham hē khoeb ǁhau!*   '**Come let** us (md) <u>tie up</u> this man!'   (BK10)

4.5.4   Coordination

The various constituents and sub-constituents of the kind discussed above can be expanded in many languages of the world by a chaining together of one or more additional similar elements, where a conjunction may then be used to indicate their coordinate status. The basic coordinating conjunction used for this purpose in Kora

and other Khoekhoe languages is *tsĩ*, which means 'and'. (It occasionally appears in the texts as *thĩ, thi* or *ti*). In a few cases, as we will see below, the meaning of *tsĩ* is not so much conjunctive as disjunctive, and it is then better translated as 'or'.

4.5.4.1 Coordinated nouns

When two or more nouns are coordinated, the conjunction in Kora is sometimes repeated after each noun,[112] and then occurs in a final repetition with a dependent pronoun expressing a dual or plural. (Where the conjunct nouns are in different genders, the common gender is used.) This pattern with the final resumption seems to occur mainly in the titles and opening lines of the traditional animal fables, however, and is possibly an archaic formulation.

(a) (i)   *tūs **tsĩ** |xurub*   'rain **and** drought'   (AB4)
    (ii)   *|Ieb **tsĩ** Xoasaob **tsĩkhara***   'Jackal **and** Leopard' (3md)   (BK9)
    (iii) *|Eieb **tsĩ** Sore|'os **tsĩkha***   'Jackal **and** the Sun-girl' (3cd) (AB12)
    (iv)   *|Naitab **tsĩ** !Oaxaidi **tsĩna***   'Baboon **and** the Quaggas' (3cp) (Bhf11)

The example below shows the use of coordinated nouns in the context of a complete sentence, where it is clear that the two parties referred to are equal participants in the action:

(b)   *|Ieb **tsĩ** Xoasaob tsĩkhara ke !hami!ũ.*   (BK9)
       'Jackal **and** Leopard <u>went hunting</u>.'

In a few unusual cases, the comitative postposition *xa* may be used instead of *tsĩ*, as in the next example:

(c)   *!nona tsēku |**xa** !nona thũxuku*   (BK5)
       'three days **plus** three nights'

4.5.4.2 Coordinated qualifiers

In the example below, where two determiners of number are coordinated, the semantic implication of the coordinator *tsĩ* seems to be disjunctive, since the phrase has to be translated by means of 'or':

(a) <u>*Koro **tsĩ** !nani*</u> *tsēkua na !'aub !na hã khoedi.*   (BK1)
    koro   **tsĩ**   !nani tsēku   a   na   !'aub   !na   hã   khoedi
    five   **or**   six days   a   Prog veld   in   stay women
    'The women stayed in the veld for <u>five</u> **or** <u>six</u> days.'

The following two examples show instances of coordinated nouns and coordinated qualifiers within an adpositional phrase. In the second example, the sense of the conjunction is once again 'or' rather than 'and'.

(b) (i)   <u>*|hommi **ti** !hũb **ti***</u>*kha ||kx'aigu*   (Mhf68)
           'between <u>heaven</u> **and** <u>earth</u>' (3md)
    (ii)   *i na |am **tsĩ** !nona gomāku |xa*   (BK1)
           'then with <u>two</u> **or** <u>three</u> oxen'

4.5.4.3   Coordinated verbs

The conjunction *tsĩ* may also be used to combine two coordinate verbs, as in the following example, where there is an implied suggestion of sequence, since in real world terms, the second action follows the first. The subject of the two conjunct verbs in such cases is always the same.

(a) *Tsēb ta hā o,*
    i na |am tsĩ !nona gomāku |xa
    *!ũbahe **tsĩ** ūhāhe.*   (BK1)

   'When the day came,
   then with two or three oxen,
   [the women] <u>were gone for</u> **and** <u>brought</u> [back home].'

4.5.5   Discourse connectives

We have seen above that several words from the same class can be linked together as coordinate constituents by means of the conjunction *tsĩ*. This connective is also occasionally used to join entire clauses, although it is more usual in Kora to find this function expressed by *i*, meaning 'and (then)'. (This is a little different from the situation in Namibian Khoekhoe, where the conjunctions more commonly used are *tsĩ* 'and' and *o* 'if, when, since'.) In the simplest cases where two clauses are combined, the implication is typically sequential or at most consequential – much as in the case of English clauses joined by conjunctions such as 'and', 'or', 'but', 'when', 'if', or 'since'. Where the implication of the linkage is more complex, as in the case of a causal or purposive relation, various other connectives are used, with meanings such as 'because' or 'on account of'.

4.5.5.1   Clausal combination with a sequential implication

The Kora discourse connective *i,* which usually stands at the beginning of a clause, is frequently used in combination with *ta*, *na*, *ko* and *ke*, which are the particles used to express implications of tense and aspect. If this connective has arisen from the verb *ī* 'go, pass by', as seems likely, then the occurrence of the tense and aspect particles after it would fit the pattern noted previously in connection with fronted verbs. Maingard suggested[113] that the grammatical implications in such frequently used Kora expressions as *i na* and *i ke* were somewhat diluted, and that 'more often than not, the two combinations have no other force than that of resuming the thread of the narrative'.

    The clausal connective *o* ('if, when') always occurs at the *end* of a clause in Kora, after the verb. It is frequently used in combination with *i*, and has the effect of setting up either a temporal sequence 'when *x* then *y*' or the condition-consequence sequence 'if *x* then *y*'. Examples of clauses connected by *i* and *o* are seen in the extract below, for which the Afrikaans version was provided by Andries Bitterbos.

(a) (i)   *!Orakhoede ke ke na !'ō‡hū*
   (ii)   ***i*** *ke na !'ōku |kx'oasase h̃aba*
   (iii) *i-de ta <u>sī</u>* ***o,***
   (iv)   *!nūb <u>kx'om</u>,*
   (v)   *tsĩ tsēkua ‖nāba hã̃,*
   (vi)   *tsĩ <u>!'ōkhao</u>.*

      'Die Koranna-vrouens het uintjie (vir 'n doel) gegaan
      en *het waar uintjies volop staan,*
      as *hulle sal aangekom het,*
      pondok gebou,
      en dae daardie gebly,
      en uintjie gegrawe.'   (AB2)

      'The Korana women would go <u>bulb-gathering</u>
      and when they (3fp) <u>arrived</u>   [line (iii)]
      where the bulbs <u>were staying</u> plentifully,   [line (ii)]
      [they would] <u>build</u> a shelter,
      and <u>stay</u> there for days,
      <u>bulb-digging</u>.'

In line (iii) above, the initial particle *i* in this case is not the connective *i* of clausal sequence, but rather is a separate element introduced to support the dependent pronoun *–de*, which cross-references the subject, *Orakhoede* 'the Korana women'. It bears a close resemblance to the verb *ī*, which was said by Meinhof to mean 'seem, be', but which was in all probability the past tense form of the perfect (or stative) marker, which often functions much like a copula. (Like the latter, it was occasionally written as *ĩ* by Lloyd, Maingard, and Meinhof.) The example above is additionally interesting for its illustration in lines (i) and (vi) of instances where an object noun (*'ōb* 'bulb') is incorporated into verbs (*hū* 'gather' and *khao* 'dig'). In cases like these, the noun suffix is typically dropped, while any markers of tense and aspect (such as *ke* and *na*) are placed before the complex unit that consists of the verb together with its incorporated object.

    Two more examples featuring the connectives *i* and *o* are given below:

(b) *Tsēb ta <u>hā</u>* ***o,***
   i *na |am tsĩ !nona gomāku |xa*
   !ũbahe tsĩ <u>ūhāhe</u>.   (BK1)

    '**When** the day <u>came</u>,
    then with two or three oxen
    [the women] were <u>gone for</u> and <u>brought</u> [back home].'

(c) *Baxab i-ku ta <u>ūhā tama hã</u>* ***o,***
   i *ke na !amhe.*   (AB5)

    '**If** they should <u>not have brought</u> tobacco,
    Then they were killed [by the San who had asked for tobacco].'

A further connective sometimes used in Namibian Khoekhoe is *xabe*, meaning 'but', 'nevertheless', 'although'. There are not many instances of it in the Kora texts, and the word is possibly a loan from Tswana, which has *gabe* with the equivalent meaning.

4.5.5.2 Clausal combination with causal and purposive implications

Other combinations of clauses with more complex implications typically require connectives with meanings such as 'therefore' or 'because'. The narratives dictated by Andries Bitterbos contain a few examples of connectives based on the demonstratives *nā* and *hē*, where these are used to cross-reference previous sentences in a stretch of discourse, where a *causal relation* between the circumstances described by the connected clauses is implied ('because of that' or 'on account of this'). The examples below illustrate this kind of inter-sentential deixis:

(a) *Baxab i-ku ta ūhā tama hã o,*
    i ke na !amhe,
    ‖nāxūba *ke na ‡nenib ‖xaubahe.*   (AB5)

    'If they should not have brought tobacco,
    then they were killed,
    on account of which the tar residue from their pipes <u>was scraped out for</u>
    [the San].'

In the example above, the expression *nāxūba* has almost the same meaning as the English 'wherefore', which embodies a similar locative element. (Note Namibian Khoekhoe *nā-amaga* and *nāxa* 'therefore, because of that'.) The Vocabulary compiled by Wuras includes *nāti i o* for 'because, on account of', where the literal meaning seems to be 'since [it] is thus' – but the texts do not provide an example of its use.

    An example of an expression based on the near demonstative *hē* and *ti* 'thus'occurs in one of the texts Benjamin Kats wrote down for Engelbrecht, along with his own Afrikaans version.

(b) *I-ku !hamikx'aokua ‡'aib ‖'ãin dib hō!'ã o,*
    i na gaugausen !hamikx'aoku,
    hetihi *‖'ãiku ‡'an hã*
    Sān <u>!nū tama</u>b ‖nāba.

    'As die jagters die spoore van hulle gewaar
    dan steek die jagters vir self weg,
    wand [*want*] *hulle weet*
    Boesmans es ni veer ni.'   (BK18)

    'If the hunters came across their tracks,
    then the hunters hid themselves,
    because they <u>knew</u> [on account of this]
    the San <u>were not far</u> from there.'

Meinhof mentions a further connective *tu'i* with the meaning 'because', but since it is not found in the texts, its exact role is difficult to ascertain.[114]

As far as *purposive* clauses are concerned, they are very occasionally expressed by means of a morpheme we have previously encountered as a marker of the potential mood, namely *ka*, as seen in the example below. (In Namibian Khoekhoe, the equivalent morpheme *ga* is described as a 'purposive clause suffix', and is written conjunctively with the verb.)[115]

(c) <u>*kuru* **ka** *kx'ommi ǂgoab*</u>   '[so that he] **might** <u>make</u> a clay house'   (PL5)

4.5.6   Phrasal adjectives, phrasal nominals, and phrasal adverbs

In some cases, an additional clause is not merely added to but is syntactically incorporated into a sentence, so as to function as a phrasal adjective, a phrasal nominal, or a phrasal adverb. As some of the extended examples given earlier have begun to reveal, the Khoekhoe languages are capable of intricate embeddings of this kind. The main kinds encountered in the texts are briefly outlined here.

4.5.6.1   Phrasal adjectives

In addition to being qualified by an ordinary determiner or adjective, a noun may be qualified by embedded phrases of a kind that are perhaps best translated into English by relative clauses (as in, 'the child *who loves to sing*'). While the Khoekhoe languages do not use overt relativisers similar to English 'who' or 'which', the embedded nature of these phrasal adjectives is clearly indicated by the use of a copula, an aspect marker, or other means. The examples below show how the verb in the embedded phrase may feature the passive *–he*, or *hã* as a locative existential predicator, or the adjective-forming *–sa* (where the adjectival suffix attaches to the last element of the phrase).

(a) *I ǀona na !ãukx'aihe !naob ke na 'bãs' ti ǂaihe.*
   '*En <u>alleen-is-deurgaan-op-geword</u> blok is die 'bãs' so genoem-geword.*'   (AB9)

   i   [ǀonā   na   !ãu-kx'ai-he]   !naob   ke
   Conn [alone   Prog   cross-on-Pass]   log   Rem. Past?
   na   'bãs'   ti   ǂai-he
   Prog 'bãs'   thus   call-Pass
   'And the log [that] <u>a solo-crossing was made on</u> was called the *'bãs.'*

(b) *Tāe sausub daoxu <u>ǃ'aub ǃna hã</u> ǀaiba!*   (Bhf2)
   tāe   sausub dao-xu   [ǃ'aub ǃna   hã]   ǀaiba
   do.not pipe   light-from [veld   in   be]   fire
   'Do not light your pipe from a fire [that] <u>is in the veld</u>!'

(c) <u>*!'Aub !na khauhesa |'aeb xa i-b tje nĩ ta !xob dãukx'i.*</u>
   '<u>*In die veld wat-is-vuurgemaakte* vuur van hy moet nie pyp opsteek.</u>'   (AB6)

   [*!'Aub   !na   khauhe-sa*]   *|'aeb   xa*
   [veld   in   kindled-Adj]   fire   from
   i-b   ke   nĩ   ta   !xob   dãukx'i
   Conn-he   Topic?   Oblig   Neg   pipe   light
   'He must not light his pipe from a fire [that] <u>was kindled in the veld</u>.'

4.5.6.2 Phrasal nominals

Just as an ordinary adjective can be turned into a nominal expression by the addition of a suffix (as in   *gaixab* 'sorcerer' or *kx'aosab* 'man') so a phrasal adjective of the kind seen in the last example above can be made into a complex nominal expression. The first example below shows the nominalisation of a phrasal adjective, where the nominalising suffix *–b* is attached to the last element of the phrase.

(a) <u>*‖xõasa jas anasab*</u>   (BKr1)

   [*‖xõasa   jas   ana-sa*]-*b*
   [warm   jacket   wear-Adj]-3ms
   'one <u>wearing a warm jacket</u>' (lit. 'warm-jacket-wearing one (m)')

In the next example, a complex phrasal nominal is used – just as an ordinary nominal expression might be – in apposition to another noun phrase, which in this case is *sida ĩb* 'our father'.

(b) *I na ‖nabi sida ĩb <u>|kx'oase kx'ōb tanisab</u>.*   (Bhf10)

   i   na   ‖nābi   sida   ĩb
   Conn   Prog   there   our   father

   [*|kx'oa-se   kx'ob   tani-sa   ]-b*
   [plenty-Adv   meat   carry-Adj]-3ms

   'There is our father, <u>carrying plentiful meat</u>'
   (*lit.* 'plentifully meat carrying one (m)')

A particularly complex example of syntactic nominalisation is found in the Fable of the Sun and the Wind as retold to Beach by Benjamin Kraalshoek. The example is shown below:

(c) *‖'Ãikhara na |x'abeb dī,*
   <u>*dao!ũkx'aosab di jasa ta kx'aise ‡ae‡kx'oasikasib*</u>
   ‖nabi |aisa kx'arob.   (BKr1)

   ‖'ãi-khara   na |x'abeb   dī
   they-3md   Prog   plan   make

   [*dao!ũkx'aosab di   jasa   ta   kx'aise   ‡ae‡kx'oasi-kasi*]-*b*
   [traveller   Poss   jacket   Fut   first   take.off-Impel]-3ms

   ‖na-bi |aisa   kx'aro-b
   that-3ms   strong   man-3ms

THE STRUCTURES OF KORA 171

> 'The two of them decided,
> the one [who] <u>should first force the traveller to take off his cloak</u>,
> he was the stronger man.'
> (lit. 'first the traveller's jacket will force take off one (m)'

A phrasal nominal may also be used as the complement of verbs of saying, knowing (or not knowing), discussing, planning, or remembering, just as we might say in English, for example, either 'The man knows <u>something</u>' or 'The man knows *that the injured wildcat is out there.*' We saw an example of such a formulation earlier, where the verb *'u* 'not know' was used in combination with a clausal complement to express 'the thing that is not known'. The example is repeated below:

(d) *|'U-r hã <u>hamba xu i-b na hã</u> !xaib.*   (Mhf72)

|'u-r	*hã*	[*ham-ba*	*xu*	*i-b*	*na*	*hã*]	*!xaib*
not.know-I (m)	Perf	[where-Loc	from	he	Prog	come]	that

'I don't know <u>where he comes from</u>.'

Sentences of this kind in Kora make use of a complementiser, which is best translated simply as 'that', although it originates from a noun *xaib* meaning 'place'. That the word retained some residual semantic content is suggested by certain formulations in the narratives where the locative morpheme *–ba* is suffixed to an interrogative morpheme (as it is to *ham* here), and where that locative compound then appears to cross-reference *xaib*. (Despite Meinhof's occasional spelling of it as *xaeb*, it is more usually seen as *kx'aib* or *xaib*. The equivalent complementiser in Namibian Khoekhoe is feminine in gender. There are a few instances in the texts contributed by Piet Links where the complementiser *xai* is used with the suffix *–i* of the common gender.) The following sentence provides a further example:

(e) *I ke ǂ'Oabi ǂ'an <u>Sores bā-bi hã</u> !xaib.*   (BKr1)

i	*ke*	*ǂ'oabi*	*ǂ'an*	[*sores*	*bā-bi*	*hã*]	*!xaib*
Conn	Rem.Past	wind	know	[sun	defeat-him	Perf]	that

'Then Wind knew that <u>Sun had defeated him</u>.'

4.5.6.3   *Phrasal adverbs*

There are various ways of formulating a complex adverbial expression in Kora. In the case of locative phrasal adverbs, these make use of the locative particle *ba* 'where'. The locative *–pa* of Namibian Khoekhoe varieties is written conjunctively (as is the purposive *–ga*), but we have chosen here to write the locative *ba* separately so as to distinguish it from instances of the dependent masculine singular pronoun, which in Kora sometimes occurs as *–ba*.

(a) *I ham**ba** <u>ib ta soreb ǂ'ã **ba**</u> i ke na ǁ'om.*   (BK18)

i	*ham-ba*	[*i-b*	*ta*	*soreb*	*ǂ'ã*	*ba*]
Conn	where-Loc	[it	Fut	sun	enter	Loc]

i	*ke*	*na*	*‖'om*
Conn	Rem.Past	Prog	sleep

'And [they] slept **there where** the sun will go down.'

A further and perhaps marginal type of phrasal adverb in Kora seems to make use of an adverbialising particle *xa* (occasionally spelled *ka*). It adds an implication somewhat similar to the English adverbial suffix '–ly', and in some cases is more appropriately translated by a phrase similar to such English forms as 'laughingly'. It may have been the source of the idiomatic adverbial expression *oakaka* 'early in the morning', which Ouma Jacoba gave to us as *oaxaka*. It is probably also seen in the name *Urikamãkhoena*, which meant Hoogstanders or High-standing people. One of the reasons these phrases are difficult to pin down with certainty is that in some cases, the *xa* that follows the verb is open to interpretation as merely a type of venitive verbal extension that may have arisen from the same root as *hā* 'come'. The examples below reflect this ambiguity:

(b) *I ke ‖na tsē abas !na <u>!noa!xoehā**xa**</u> ke,*
    hāb xa ‖nā|xahe.   (BK5)

i	*ke*	*‖nā*	*tsē*	*abas*	*!na*	[[*!noa-!xoe-hā*]-*xā*] *ke*
Conn	Rem.Past	that	day	snow	in	[[rush-race-come]-Adv] ?
hāb	*xa*	*‖nā|xa-he*				
horse	from	fall-with-Pass				

'And [as he] <u>came hurryingly racing</u> through the snow that day,
[he] was thrown from his horse.'

(c) *A-da !nãb !na na <u>‡'oa**xa**</u>*
    !haos !haos a.   (Bhf14)

a-da	*!nãb*	*!na*	*na*	*‡'oa-xa*
let-us	light	in	Prog	emerge-Venitive [?]/Adv
!haos	*!haos*	*a*		
nation	nation	Cop		

'Let us <u>emerging</u> into the light be a nation among nations.'

(d) *‖Na ‖kx'aeb !na dao!ũkx'aosab <u>!ũ!oaxa</u>,*
    ‖xõasa jas anasab.   (BKr1)

‖na	*‖kx'aeb*	*!na*	*dao!ũkx'aosa-b*	*!ũ!oa-xa*
that	time	in	traveller-3ms	go.towards-Venitive [?]
‖xõasa	*jas*	*anasa-b*		
warm	jacket	wearing-3ms		

'At that moment, a traveller wearing a warm jacket <u>came travelling towards</u>
[them].'

In other instances, *ka* in its role as an adverbialiser may have almost the implication of an existential predicator. An example can be seen in the Kora version of the Lord's Prayer as recorded by Campbell in 1813, which has been shown before but is given here again.[116]

FIGURE 4.3 Version of the Lord's Prayer in Kora, written down by the missionary John Campbell in 1813. (The prayer is from an appendix to his *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 388–389.)

The first line of this prayer may be re-written as follows:

(e) *Sida ĩb |hommi !na kab*

    sida   *ĩ-b*   *[[|hommi !na]   ka]-b*

    our   father-3ms   [[heaven in]   Adv]-3ms

    'Our heavenly-dwelling Father'

Here *ka* seems to function partly as an existential predicator and partly as an adverbialiser as it creates a participial phrase with the literal meaning 'heaven-in-being'. The singular masculine suffix *–b* turns the entire phrase into a nominal expression, which is used in apposition to *ĩb* 'Father'.

    It is likely that there are still many more syntactic strategies that were used to embed phrases and clauses in rather subtle and complex ways, and we hope that a new generation of linguists will be inspired to undertake further investigations of Kora syntax – particularly since a closer understanding of the syntax should enable us in future to arrive at more nuanced translations of the heritage texts. (In some cases, the translations that have been handed down to us seem to assume and project only a simple linear sequencing of clauses.)

4.6 Miscellaneous

This final section touches on a few last things it has not been been possible to include in any of the sections above, such as ideophones and idiomatic expressions.

    Although there are none specifically recorded, it is likely that Kora would have had a set of ideophones, given that they occur not only in other Khoekhoe languages,

but also widely throughout almost all African languages. The term ideophone was coined in the early 1930s by Clement Doke[117] to describe a class of words used as lexically specific intensifiers, rather like such English set expressions as 'rose red' or 'sky blue'. They are used by skillful story-tellers as vehicles for expressive intonation, so that they may feature multiple reduplications, unusual stress patterns, and unusual phonation, but they are not in themselves onomatopoeic, and are typically derived by regular processes (at least in BANTU languages) from other words. The following may have been unrecognised examples in Kora:

gõgõ (~ *gũgũ*)	describes roaring of water	(Ebt1928)
dubudubu	describes gurgling of water	(Mhf)
!a!a	describes banging	(AB6)

Ideophones are often introduced by a special quotative (which in Namibian Khoekhoe is *timî* 'thus say') but they may also be used more directly as appositions to the words they enhance.

Several expressions that recur in the texts are perhaps idiomatic formulations. They include expressions such as the following that describe emotional states, and which all incorporate *aob* 'heart' (with a variant spelled *gaob*, which is possibly an error):[118]

!gãi(x)a!gao	'be happy, with cheerful heart'	(Ebt1928)
‖xō‡aokx'ai	'be angry'	(Mhf)
thũ‡aokx'ai	'be angry, sore, resentful, with hurting heart'	(Mhf)

Another recurring expression, which makes use of *xā* 'the same', has the literal meaning 'be the same person', and probably meant something along the lines of 'be restored to one's old self', as in the examples below:

(a) (i) *i na kx'oa i-ts ta ‖xā khoeb ‡ao o*
       'if you want to be your same old self'   (Bhf10)
    (ii) *i-r na a ‖xā khoēs ‖xā*
       'I am my usual self again'   (BK9)

In some cases, a few isolated words contain morphemes that must at one time have been productive, but which now seem to have become fossilised. Mention has already been made of the diminutive *–ro* (~ *ru*, *ri*) and the obscure *–be*, which both appear in the names of various plants and animals. There are also instances of the postural verb *mã* 'stand', which shows up in some of the old Korana names for clans and months, where it may have functioned at one time as either a marker of aspect or a locative existential predicator. Examples suggestive of this are shown below:

‖'Are(ka)<u>mã</u>‖'ais	'Links or Left-standing clan'	
Kx'aise<u>ma</u>‖hare‖xām	'November' (? < *kx'aise* 'first')	(Wrs)
!Ause<u>ma</u>‖hare‖xām	'December'	(Wrs)
!Ause<u>mã</u>‖xāb	'December' (? < *!ause* 'last')	(Mhf)

!Urisēm̃āb	'highlander' (*bostaander*, sometimes taken as 'proud person')
!nakam̃ãgaokx'aob	'chief's advisor or deputy' (standing below the chief)
!'aukam̃āsi	'put something outside' (make stand outside)
ǀonam̃ãkx'amǁab	'separate entrance' (alone-standing door)

Our consultant Ouma Jacoba provided us quite by chance with an unusual instance of an emphatic negative particle *tẽ*, which she used at the end of a sentence, as follows:

(b) *ǀnika ti ka hā, tẽ* 'I will never come, ever' (*ek sal nooit kom nie*)   (JM)

While the particle used by Ouma Jacoba has a decidedly nasalised vowel, the word may nevertheless be an affine of the Khwe emphatic particle *tè*, which seems to have a similar function.[119]

Various set or semi-formulaic expressions are used in Kora to indicate the introduction of directly quoted speech. These quotative expressions are almost all based on combinations of *ti* 'thus' and *mĩ* 'say', and sometimes additionally include the demonstrative *hē* 'this', as in the following example:

(c) *ǁXãs ke ke hē ti̱ mĩ,*
   "Khoen ke nĩ ti̱-r na ǁ'ō khama, ǁ'ō."
   I ke !Õas ti̱ mĩ, "ǁ'ō tsẽ nĩ ǁ'ō!ũ."   (PL1)

   'Moon <u>said</u> this:
   "People must, just as I die only seemingly, die."
   But Hare <u>said:</u> "[They] must die and die forever [lit. die-go]"

The words for 'yes' and 'no' as used in direct speech are shown below:
   ā   'yes'
   hã'ã   'no'

Lastly, the following everyday expressions for greetings and exchanges were obtained by Maingard[120] from some elderly members of the Right-Hand clan (Kx'am õakua), who were living in Bloemfontein when he met them, but who came originally from the settlement based on the farms around Wuras's old mission station at Bethany.

(d) (i)   *Hamti-ts sãu i a?* 'How are you (ms)?' (Note Nama *mâtits tsâ?*)
   (ii) *Hamti-ts khãi hã?* 'How are you (ms)?' (lit. 'How do you wake [rise, stand up]?')
   (iii) *Hamti-ts fara?*   'How do you (ms) fare?' (with Afrikaans loanward *vaar*)
   (iv) *Ĩsa !ũ.*   'Go well, goodbye.'
   (v) *ǁXaba mũgu.*   '[Till we] see each other again.'

Endnotes

1   This chapter has benefited from stimulating discussions with colleagues at Stellenbosch University. Special thanks are due to members of the informal inter-departmental reading group in Linguistics, African Languages and Ancient Languages: Johan Oosthuizen, Kate Huddlestone, Erin Pretorius, Alex Andrason, and Christo van der Merwe. Thanks also to Camilla Christie for countless conversations on aspects of syntax in a range of languages, as well as the basic metalanguage of linguistic description in general.

2   For discussion of the concept see Martin Haspelmath, "Framework-free grammatical theory" in *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, ed. Heine and Narrog (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 287–310.

3   John Whittle Appleyard, *The Kafir Language* (King William's Town: Wesleyan Mission Printing Establishment, 1850), 17–26.

4   Carl Meinhof, *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1930), 32–63; hereafter Mhf.

5   Louis F. Maingard, *Koranna Folktales: Grammar and Texts* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1962), 11–39.

6   Johann Christian Wallmann, *Die Formenlehre der Namaquasprache* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1857).

7   Henry Tindall, *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Language* (Cape Town: A. S. Robertson, 1858).

8   Theophilus Hahn, *Die Sprache der Nama* (Leipzig: Barth, 1870).

9   Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, with contributions by Hermann Hegner, Diedrich Westermann and Carl Wandres (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909).

10   Heinrich Vedder, "Grammatik der Nama-Sprache" (Gaub: manuscript, 1909).

11   Wilfrid H. G. Haacke, "A Nama Grammar: The Noun Phrase" (Cape Town: University of Cape Town MA thesis, 1976), 2.

12   Johannes Olpp, "Grammatik der Nama-Sprache" (Wupperthal: typewritten manuscript, 1917).

13   Friederich Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik auf Grund der Namagrammatiken von H. Vedder und J. Olpp* (Cape Town: Communications from the School of African Studies 31, University of Cape Town, 1962).

14   Otto Dempwolff, "Einführung in die Sprache der Nama-Hottentotten" *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 25 (1934/35), 30–134; 188–229.

15   Roy S. Hagman, *Nama Hottentot Grammar* (Indiana University: Research Centre for Language and Semiotic Studies, 1977). (The dialect described by Hagman was apparently Dama rather than Nama.)

16   For example, Haacke, "Syntactic focus marking in Khoekhoe ("Nama/Damara")" *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 46 (2006), 105–127; and chapters on the morphology and syntax of Khoekhoe in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Rainer Vossen (London: Routledge, 2013), 141–157; 325–347.

17   Gerhard Böhm, *Kḥoe-kowap: Einführung in die Sprache der Hottentotten, Nama-Dialekt* (Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 25 Vienna: Institute for African Studies, University of Vienna, AFRO-Pub, 1985). [Not seen.]

18   Christa Kilian-Hatz, *A Grammar of Modern Khwe* (Central Khoisan) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2008); and chapters on the syntax of Khwe in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen (London: Routledge, 2013), 356–378.

19   It may not be strictly correct to describe *a* as a particle, since this term is usually reserved for syntactic elements that are not subject to any kind of inflection or other morphophonemic change, whereas *a* (at least in its guise as a linking predicator (copula, or aspect marker) seems to have *i* as a past tense counterpart.

20   Examples used throughout this chapter have been adapted so as to reflect the standardised spellings chosen for the main entries in the Dictionary.

21   The codes in parentheses indicate the source narratives or sentence sets as identified in Chapter 2. The letters 'JM' indicate that Ouma Jacoba Maclear is the source of an example.

22   The more usual word for 'reed' in Kora is ʼāb.

23   Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik,* 56.

24   Although some theoreticians now doubt the reality of syntactic heads, the term is retained here since it remains a useful concept for expository purposes.

25   In some models, the noun phrase is now more commonly referred to as a determiner phrase. It has been decided not to follow this usage here, partly because it is still largely framework-specific, and partly because the older term is more transparent and hence likely to be more useful to the general reader.

26   Grammatical genders are simply categories into which nouns are divided, where these categories, in worldwide terms, do not necessarily have anything to do with natural gender, and where the different genders are not always overtly marked. The semantic basis for such categorisations is often difficult to pin down, but in some languages of the world, criteria may include properties such as animacy, or edibility. It is sometimes only possible to recognise the existence of different genders in a language through their expression as systematically related changes that are differently but consistently reflected in parts of speech other than the relevant nouns, where these associated forms are typically aspects of grammatical cross-reference (agreement). See Greville G. Corbett, *Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). In simpler situations, particularly in languages where the genders are overtly indicated, the correlations may show up more directly in a set of regularly distinct plural forms – as in the case of the Khoekhoe languages.

27   In many Afroasiatic languages, the common gender is inherently plural.

28   Since the gender suffixes convey information about person, gender, and number, they are sometimes referred to as 'pgn markers', where the acronym stands for person, gender and number.

29   Meinhof suggested that the variant *–de* is the outcome of a phonetic assimilation involving *i* plus the postnominal *–a*, but this seems doubtful, given that this is not the way vowel coalescence generally works.

30   The word for 'meat' in Namibian varieties of Khoekhoe is sometimes interpreted as a noun with the common gender suffix (*gan-i*), and sometimes as reflecting an assimilated form of the masculine singular suffix (*ganni*).

31   Carl F. Wuras, *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache* [1858], ed. Walther Bourquin (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*: Suppl. 1) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Hamburg: C. Boysen, 1920), 15.

32   Mhf, 36.

33   This may be the source of the Nama word *gôab/s* for 'child'.

34   The Nama word for 'child' is *gôab/s*, where the nasalised diphthong suggests the former presence of a medial nasal segment.

35   Mhf, 35.

36 Maingard, *Koranna Folktales*, 12.

37 In worldwide terms, the use of a dual is a common feature of languages, and is also found, for example, in languages of both the Afroasiatic and Indo-European groups.

38 We tried to obtain examples of the dual from Ouma Jacoba, but found that she preferred to use a periphrastic expression, simply combining the number term for 'two' with the ordinary plural.

39 This suffix brings to mind the Sotho-Tswana –*ngata* 'much, many'.

40 Curriculum Committee for Khoekhoegowab, *Orthography 3* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2003), 42–70. This work is hereafter referred to as *Orthography*.

41 For discussion of avoidance in particular contexts, see Kuno Budack, "The   Aonin or Topnaar of the Lower   Khuiseb valley and the sea" *Khoisan Linguistic Studies*, no. 3 (1977), 1–42.

42 The   Khomani San Hugh Brody archive, UCT Libraries Digital Collections (http://www. digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za).

43 Hendrik Wikar referred to a curing process that involved being '*getovert met hoorns en houtjes*' ('enchanted by means of horns [containing medicines] and little bits of wood'), *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar* (1779) ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 92, 152.

44 Hagman*, Nama Grammar*, 28–29.

45 Kora either had a greater ability to derive nouns directly from verbs without incorporating a neutral noun, or else these nouns have been lost. For example, the word for 'chair' in Kora is derived from a verb plus postposition, and is nominalised simply by the addition of a gender suffix, giving   *nŭkxais* (lit. 'sit-upon-(thing)), whereas the Nama equivalent is   *nû-ai naos*, where   *naos* is a log or block of wood.

46 Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 27.

47 The term 'participial' is borrowed from the South African tradition of African language study, and refers to a phrase most easily translated into English with the aid of a present participle, as in 'the singing child'.

48 In the Links narratives, the pronominal base most often used for the third person is   ʾĭ, which is probably another case of Griqua influence.

49 Such distinctions were also present, for example, in the pronominal paradigm of Ancient Egyptian.

50 Once again, this is by no means an uncommon feature in worldwide terms.

51 Languages belonging to the Kalahari branch of the KHOE family typically do not have this feature.

52 Mhf, 43.

53 Mhf, 51.

54 Mhf, 51

55 Mhf, 46.

56 Mhf, 41

57 Mhf, 37.

58 Deixis means 'pointing', and the notion of a variable deictic force captures the idea that demonstrative expressions may vary in the extent to which they have a literal, spatially-based function.

59 *Orthography*, 56.

60 Mhf, 41.

61   Mhf, 41.

62   The text has   *hubukx'am*, where *!hubu* is obscure.

63   Since the original term for 'ten' may have been *gisi*, it is worth noting the Ndebele word *isigidi*, which means 'a great number' and is also used to express 'a thousand'.

64   This slightly bizarre phrase occurs in the context of a folktale.

65   *Orthography*, 64.

66   A similar strategy is used in English, where prepositions are used in combination with periphrastic locative expressions, as in '*at* the foot of the hill' or '*in* the heart of the city'.

67   Mhf, 55–56.

68   Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik*, 31.

69   Mhf, 38.

70   In a recent study of the Nilo-Saharan language Kipsigis, John Bii, Mary Lonyangapuo, and Andrew Chelimo suggest that the effective function of a verb extension such as the benefactive is not merely to increase the number of arguments linked to the verb, but also 'brings a peripheral participant onto center stage by making it a direct object' ("Verbal extensions in Kipsigis" *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4, no. 9, 1 (2014), 304).

71   This is sometimes referred to as the 'valency' of a verb.

72   The vowel in –*sen* is unstressed and may be hardly heard even as [ə]. It is occasionally seen in the older texts as '–*sn*'.

73   Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 73.

74   Mhf, 48.

75   Leonhard Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907), 394.

76   Although this word   *ŭdi* for 'springboks' seems unusual (compare   *ŭdi*), a similar form was also obtained by Engelbrecht from one of his first consultants.

77   Two other verb extensions reconstructed by Vossen for the Kalahari branch of KHOE are *- ʔo, with a 'directive-locative' implication, and *-xu, which he terms a 'terminative-itive'. Provided that *- ʔo can be matched with   *oa* – which is perhaps questionable – then it is intriguing that the equivalent items in Kora and Nama (*oa* and *xu*) seem to occur only as *postpositions*. Another extension, which Vossen was able to reconstruct only for Western Kalahari Khoe is *-kxʔao, which he describes as an 'inclinative'. Kora has an auxiliary verb *kx'ao*, which expresses capacity or volition.

78   Mhf, 38.

79   *Orthography*, 52.

80   From a comparative point of view, it is interesting to note that in related languages of the Kalahari branch of KHOE, there is frequently linking morphology between the two verbs in such formulations. This is perhaps not as common in Naro, but where it occurs, the linker takes the form -*a*-. An example from Naro (Hessel Visser, *Naro Dictionary* (Gantsi, Botswana: Naro Language Project, 2001), 3) is *bóò*-***a***- *'ãa* 'recognise, understand', from *bóò* 'see' and   *'ãa* 'hear' (compare Kora *mũ* and   *'ā*).

81   For discussion see Wilfrid Haacke, "Verb serialisation in northern dialects of Khoekhoegowab: convergence or divergence?" in *Beyond 'Khoisan': Historical Relations in the Kalahari Basin*, ed. Tom Güldemann and Anne-Maria Fehn (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014), 125–152; and Christian Rapold, "Areal and inherited aspects of compound verbs in Khoekhoe" in *Beyond Khoisan*, 153–177.

82   Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (London: George Allen & Co, 1911), 400.

83   Maingard, *Korana Folktales*, 33.

84   The terms used for the categories are based on those suggested by F. R. Palmer, *Mood and Modality* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001). This section has also been informed by the work of Bernard Comrie, *Aspect* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976).

85   While *thoathoa* seems to have an auxiliary function, there is room for debate concerning its syntactic status as a periphrastic marker of aspect and its possible analysis as part of a separate clause. It is intriguing that both the completive *toa* (used in Nama) and the inceptive *thoathoa* (used in Kora) are almost certainly loanwords from Sotho-Tswana sources, where recognisable counterparts occur among the 'deficient verbs' of the highly complex multi-verb tenses. While it is generally acknowledged that morphology of almost any category may be susceptible to borrowing, it is nevertheless relatively unusual to find grammatical elements that are loanwords. It is even more striking that equivalent words are used with similar grammatical implications in languages belonging to the JU and TUU families.

86   Maingard notes that some of these combinations in Kora are semantically reduced, to the point that *ikie* and *ina* have little meaning other than 'and then', *Korana Folktales*, 25.

87   Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 92.

88   This sentence was translated by Meinhof as '*wollt ihr Männer jagen gehen?*'

89   Statives are of course widely found in other languages of the world, including languages of the BANTU family.

90   Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik*, 54; Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 83.

91   Douglas Martyn Beach, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938), 192.

92   Lucy C. Lloyd, "Manuscript notebooks on Kora [1879]" MP2, 109–110.

93   The sense is, 'when the quagga-vygies started flowering'. Note that ' *kaib*' is Lloyd's spelling of *kx'aeb* 'time'.

94   Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 84.

95   Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 67–68.

96   If *oa* is not in itself a postposition but rather a type of adverbial expression with the implication 'gone' or 'having gone', then its use in combination with various additional locative morphemes might be explained. See for example, *i tje   na tsē !ũ !'aub xa !oa !hami!ũ*, 'and on that day he went going to the veld to hunt', from BK15.

97   Wilfrid H. G. Haacke and Eliphas Eiseb, *A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary, with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2002), 41.

98   Hagman, *Nama Grammar*.

99   That *ke* could be translated on a literal level as a verb meaning 'be' was suggested by Wallmann (*Formenlehre*, 33) in his early grammar of Nama, and Meinhof seems to have been initially of a similar mind, noting (*Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 53) that the present tense in Nama could be 'strengthened' by means of the 'auxiliary verb' *gye*. Subsequently, though, the idea that *ke* was not a linker after all, but rather played some part in indicating or *emphasising the subject* of the Nama sentence was proposed by Dempwolff (*Einführung*) and the theory that *ke* was a 'subject determinative' was more or less accepted by Meinhof (Mhf, 50) by the time he came to write his short grammatical account of Kora. Rust, writing much later about Nama, likewise followed Dempwolff, and

retained the notion of the '***ge***-*subjektivum*', commenting (*Praktische Namagrammatik*, 57) that the nouns marked by *ke* were the ones that gave a sentence its 'hook'.

100 Hagman was perhaps able to sustain his analysis that *ke* is a marker of the declarative sentence type because he did not acknowledge the existence of modals in Nama (Dama), but treated both the potential and the obligatory as instances of tense (*Nama Grammar*, 83).

101 The fact that it seems to function as a type of 'predicating linker' (copula) in certain contexts may be an indicator of its origins.

102 The word used by Rust (*Praktische Namagrammatik*, 57) is *Stütze*.

103 Some linguists define a topic purely in syntactic terms (even though the concept is rooted in pragmatics), and may speak about a 'left dislocated' constituent. This kind of terminology is not only based on written text, but on the writing conventions of only some societies! The notion that a topic is expressed by a constituent presented ahead of a clause is equally culture-specific.

104 It can be argued that case in fact marks semantic (or 'thematic') roles, rather than syntactic relations.

105 Haacke ("Syntactic focus marking in Khoekhoe") provides a broadly similar analysis of this focusing strategy, which he terms 'inversion', but he retains the identification of *ke* as a marker of 'indicative sentence type', and of *a* as a marker of 'accusative case'.

106 Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik*, 57.

107 Some linguists analyse interrogatives (in general) as constituting a modality in their own right.

108 Mhf, 46.

109 Mhf, 46.

110 Jan A. Engelbrecht, *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936), 211.

111 Orthography, 76.

112 In technical terms, this is known as bisyndetic coordination.

113 Maingard, *Korana Folktales*, 25.

114 Mhf, 61.

115 Orthography, 50.

116 John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 388–389.

117 Clement M. Doke, *Outline grammar of Bantu* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, Department of African Languages, 1982), v.

118 A much more extensive range of similar expressions occurs in Sotho-Tswana languages, where they are built on the base word *pelo* 'heart', and in Venda and Shona, which use the base *moyo* 'heart'.

119 Christa Kilian-Hatz, *Khwe Dictionary* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2003), 117.

120 Louis F. Maingard, "The Korana dialects" *African Studies* 23, no. 2 (1964), 60.

‡T ká ≠jõõ "klein spitzkop"

ˢmay T ká !káres "klein kopje"

T hō   striped

T hṓ !ná ≠káp   striped shirt

T gáuru   checked, ~~variegated~~ ~~~~, mottled

‖kammi   water

T áip   fire

háip   tree

T uip   stone

~~Xammi~~

!káres   hill

!húp   the earth

THE HERITAGE TEXTS OF
THE KORANA PEOPLE

This chapter presents all of the heritage texts we have been able to re-publish without risk of infringing copyright. The corpus consists of historical narratives, personal and social histories, and folktales and lyrics, which we have arranged under the following headings:

> 5.1 Collective and personal histories, and private commentaries
> 5.2 Social and economic histories, and crafts and manufactures in earlier times
> 5.3 Oratory, lyrics, and folktales (or language-based arts)

The texts have been assembled from the various sources described in detail in an earlier chapter. These sources are: the Kora manuscript notebooks of Lucy Lloyd[1] (abbreviated as Lld), who obtained the narratives from Piet Links (PL);[2] the set of texts obtained from Benjamin Kats (BK) and included by Carl Meinhof[3] (Mhf) in his work on the grammar of the Kora language; a separate publication of selected texts under his own name by Benjamin Kats;[4] the collection of texts included in his study of the Korana by Jan Engelbrecht[5] (Ebt1936), which he obtained from Benjamin Kraalshoek (BKr), Benjamin Kats, and Andries Bitterbos (AB); the narratives obtained by Louis Maingard[6] (Mgd1932 and Mgd1967) from members of the Bloemhof Korana (Bhf), as well as additional texts obtained by Maingard[7] (Mgd1964) from a few speakers he met with in Bloemfontein, who were originally from Bethany (Beth); and the work by Douglas Beach[8] (Bch) on the phonetics of Khoekhoe languages, in which he included a story dictated to him by Benjamin Kraalshoek.

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1   Lucy C. Lloyd, "Manuscript notebooks on Kora [1879]." Originals housed with the Maingard Papers in the Manuscripts Collection of Archival and Special Collections at the Unisa Library in Pretoria; digitised versions available online at http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za under the heading of Lucy Lloyd, Kora Notebooks, MP1–3. The stories are found mainly in the first and third notebooks (MP1 and MP3).

2   The Links texts collected by Lloyd were published in an annotated edition by Maingard, as *Koranna Folktales: Grammar and Texts* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1962).

3   Carl Meinhof, *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Supplement 12 to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*) (Berlin: Reimer, 1930).

4   Benjamin Kats (and Carl Meinhof, ed.), "Korana-Erzählungen," Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 26 (1935/6): 161–174.

5   Jan A. Engelbrecht, The Korana (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936).

6   Louis F. Maingard, "Studies in Korana history, customs and language" Bantu Studies 6, no. 2 (1932): 103–161; and "Korana texts from Bloemhof," African Studies 26, no. 1 (1967): 43–46.

7   Maingard, "The Korana dialects" African Studies 23, no. 2 (1964), 57–66.

8   Douglas Martyn Beach, The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938).

We have provided the texts with parallel English translations in facing colums. These are deliberately literal, since they are intended as an aid to reading the texts in the original language. In most cases, we have also supplied a free and more readable translation for the benefit of readers who might simply want to access the content. (In the few cases where free translations have not been given, this is either because the literal translation is sufficiently transparent, or else because the text is obscure or its tone unclear.)

We have chosen not to provide interlinear glosses, partly because this kind of narrow morpheme-by-morpheme analysis can seem intrusive and for many readers would be an impedance. The details of the morphology and syntax of Kora are covered in Chapter 4, which deals with the structures of the language, while several additional notes accompany the texts. (For the general guidance of the interested reader, relevant words or phrases from the texts are quoted at appropriate points in the literal translations.) Another factor that has motivated this decision is the uncertainty that surrounds certain minor aspects of the syntax; lastly there are certain morphemes in the original texts that present particular problems, especially in cases where it is not clear that they were correctly transcribed. Morphemes that may be associated with ambiguities of this kind include *i*, *a*, *ha*, *si* and *se*.

A note on the preparation of the texts

While preparing the texts for publication (or in most cases, republication), we were confronted by a series of competing constraints. On one hand, we naturally wanted to respect and preserve the judgements of the original scholars who transcribed or edited the various narratives. On the other hand, for the benefit of those readers who are keen to study the language, we very much wanted to present the material in a way that would be both readable and reasonably consistent across different texts.

We hope that the solutions arrived at will be considered a fair compromise, and that the needs of all parties have been adequately taken into account. In changing a few small aspects of Louis Maingard's system of annotation, we were encouraged by the fact that in the course of his work over many decades he had made similar changes – as reflected, for example, in his edition of the Links texts transcribed by Lucy Lloyd. These changes mainly involve the use of 'kx'' for the ejective affricate rather than 'kx'?', and the use of a macron (Afrikaans *strepie*) over a vowel ('ā') rather than a following colon ('a:') to indicate length. The first change helps to bring the texts transcribed by Maingard into closer alignment with those prepared by Carl Meinhof, while the second is in accordance with the convention used in the current orthography for Namibian Khoekhoe.

Both Maingard and Lloyd frequently indicated the usual devoicing of the third person masculine singular suffix *–b* by writing it as 'p', though without great consistency. It has seemed fair to us to regularise these particular spellings as 'b' throughout. Maingard and Lloyd also tended to spell vowel combinations such as

oe and **ui** as 'we' and 'wi' respectively, while Lloyd faithfully reflected various natural variations, occasionally writing 'ue' for **oe**, or 'ua' for **oa**. We have made a few judicious changes regarding these, mainly where it is obvious what the word should be (as in the case of *khoen* for Lloyd's '*kuen*' 'people'). In other cases, we have left words with the spellings they were originally assigned, and are relying on our readers to be willing and nimble enough to make the necessary adjustments and accommodations.[9] In the case of Lloyd's work, our versions can always be checked against her original manuscripts, which are available online.[10] For the most part, clicks that were written by her with a following letter 'k' are plain, while clicks written without any additional symbol are glottalised.

In the case of the texts originally edited and published by Meinhof, the only small change we have made is to omit most of his hyphenations, since these were evidently intended only to clarify morpheme divisions, and they generally make the texts visually cluttered and difficult to read. In the case of the text transcribed by Beach, we have presented it in both its original form, so as to respect the spirit of his phonetic analysis – since this was the primary focus of his work – and in a revised version with a few minor modifications along the same lines as those noted above.

In all cases, our 'standardised' forms[11] of various key words are provided in parentheses at relevant points in the literal translations that appear on the facing page – the purpose of these transliterations being to make it easier for the reader to look up the words in the Dictionary. (As a general rule, any words found in the heritage texts with original spellings that reflect a click plus a following letter 'k' will most often be found under the plain clicks, while clicks represented in the original *without* any following symbol will be found under the glottalised clicks.) In the case of the three morphemes that have the form *ke* – where one expresses a remote past tense, another marks the 1st person masculine plural, and the third seems to be the marker of a sentence topic – it is almost the norm that they are produced by speakers with some degree of palatalisation. The result is that they tend to be spelled '*kië*' by Lloyd (but sometimes '*ke*'), '*kie*' by Maingard, and '*tje*' by Meinhof and Engelbrecht. Since there is no way to choose between them, we have retained both '*kie*' and '*tje*' (and occasional instances of '*kje*') as they were originally written. (In the Namibian Khoekhoe orthography, they are spelled '*ge*'.)

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9   This is no more than lovers of English literature happily undertake to do when reading works from the 18th and 19th centuries.

10   See note 1 above.

11   These 'standardised' forms have been arrived at through consideration of all available records for each word, but particularly those of Meinhof, which appear to be the most reliable. There was never any official orthography for the Kora language, as has been explained elsewhere in this book.

A few notes on the three categories of texts

5.1   Collective and personal histories, and private commentaries

The narratives placed under this heading consist for the most part of brief commentaries by individuals who describe a few personal memories. These accounts seem to have been specially elicited, and probably did not constitute any formal genre.

    i.   An historical incident: conflict with the Briqua and Sān. (Bhf1)
    ii.   An encounter with San: an incident involving Jan Bloem. (BK6)
    iii.   Short autobiographic sketch of Benjamin Kats. (BK5)
    iv.   From the life-story of Iis. (Bhf5)
    v.   Letter to my people. (BK7)
    vi.   Letter to Pokotji. (BK8)
    vii.   The common origin of humankind [excerpt]. (PL4)

The narrative given by Piet Links (PL4) begins with a well-known and ostensibly timeless 'myth of origin', but quickly reveals its actual historicity, and develops into what seems to have been a subtly oblique and yet biting commentary on the political tensions of his day. Conversely, another of the narratives in this category (BK6) purports to tell a true story about the historical figure Jan Bloem (or possibly his son, Jan Bloem II), but incorporates several interludes that were probably drawn from a standard stock of comic episodes.
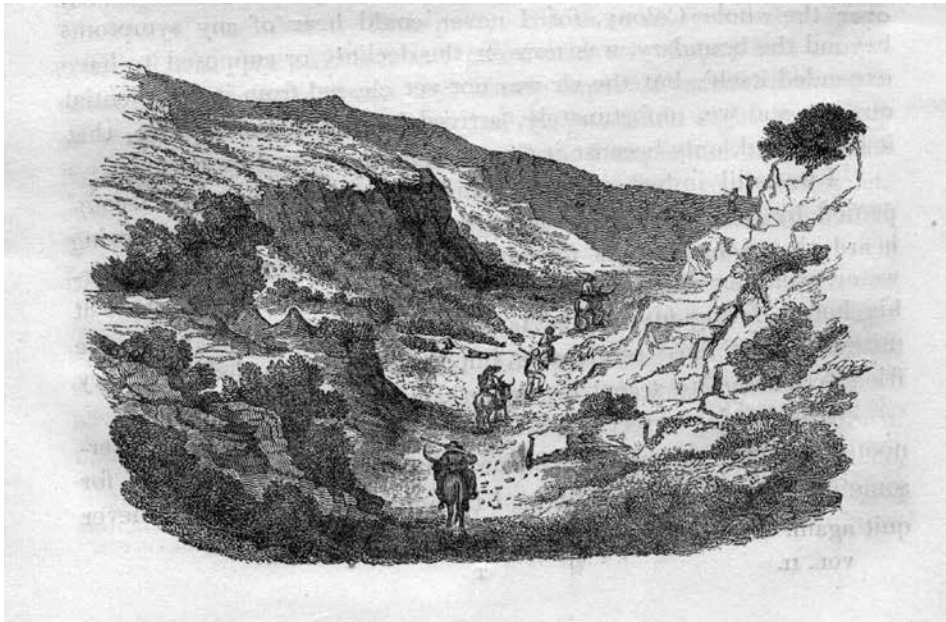
FIGURE 5.1   Sketch by William Burchell (*Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa,* vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 138), showing men mounted on riding oxen.

Bhf1. An historical incident: conflict with the Briqua and Sān (Matiti and Teteb)[12] (Mgd1932, 136)

1   Hurib xu in kje doe o,[13]
     in kje   Nū !Garib   kũ hã o,
     in kje Kai[14]   Korakua hō.
     In kje   ari   kũa kwa,[15]

5   i kje   Aob[16]   na mãsi   kwaxa,[17]
     i kje   nāba xu Taungs   na hã,
     i na   nāba Brikua[18]   gobē,[19]
     i kje   nāba xu   kãugu   xoa i,
     i kje   nāba Brikua   han haie.

Bhf1. An historical incident: conflict with the Briqua and Sān (Matiti and Teteb) (Mgd1932, 136)

1   Then when (*o*) from the sea (*hurib xu*) they had trekked away (*doe*), and to the Gariep had gone (ũ hã), they the Great Korana found (*hō*). Then having separated (*ʼari oa-ku a* [?]) from them,

5   at the Hart River (Aob *na*) they stopped (*mãsi*) approaching (*oaxa*). And then away from there (‖*nāba xu*) into Taungs (Taungs *na*) they came (*hā*), and there the Tswana (Birikua) attacked [?] (‖*gobē*), and it was fought together with one another (‖*ãugu/xoa*) there, and there the Tswana were routed (*han‖ha-(s)i-he*, lit. 'strike-run-Caus-Pass').

12   Maingard notes that Matiti told the first part of the story (up to line 9), while Teteb took over for the rest.

13   According to   Kutsi, another of the Bloemhof speakers who worked with Maingard and who confirmed the details given by Matiti and Teteb, the alternative phrase huri *xu-da na xã   ũ* 'we come from the sea', would have implied a normal migration, whereas *doe* has the connotation of flight. The same speaker explained that 'they used pack-oxen, *aimakua*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*bãs*) of the willows, *hũib*, growing on its banks' (Mgd1932, 135). It is not clear whether the sea referred to is the sea on the western coast where the Gariep reaches it, or the sea at the Cape of Good Hope.

14   Note that Maingard usually spells kai as 'kei'. The spelling has been adapted here for ease of reading.

15   Perhaps   ʼari ũa ko a, or alternatively ʼari ũa-ku a.

16   The meaning of   *Aob*, which is the Kora word for 'heart', is reflected in the Afrikaans name Hart for this river.

17   Maingard translates line 5 as 'and came up to (*oaxa*) the Hart River'.

18   The Birikua (thought to mean 'goat people') were speakers of Tswana dialects. The Taaibosch and Links Korana fought in wars with members of the Tlhaping and Rolong groups (Mgd1932, 121).

19   This line is obscure, with the meaning of the verb   *gobē* being unclear. The phrase is translated by Maingard to mean 'there the Brikwa attacked them'.

10 I kje Taub[20]   nāba   kame.
 I kje   nāba xu Mamusaba[21]   koa doe,
 i-ku kje   nāba xu
   oro khoekua[22] Hai Garib   koa doe.
 I kje hā-ku kje hā,

10 And Tau there was killed (amhe).
 And from there (‖nāba xu) to Mamusa
 (Mamusaba   oa) they trekked,
 and from there,
 a few people (∣kx'oro khoeku) to the
 Vaal River (∣Hai Garib   oa) trekked.
 And when they arrived there,

15   xaudi hēba mūe   Hai Garib   na.
 I kje   an ansie, Mamusaba   koa,
 i kje Kurutani[23]   nāba doe ha,
   Untub, Teteb di   nausab,
   'om kje   nāba.

15 hippopotamuses (xaodi) here (hēba)
 were seen (mūhe) in the Vaal River.
 Then they sent messages (ǂ'anǂ'an-
 si-he, lit. 'let it be made known') to
 Mamusa,
 then to Kurutani from there they
 trekked,
 where   Untub, a relative of Teteb
 (Teteb di ‖nausab)
 was staying (‖'om, lit. 'sleep').

20 I kje Sāku[24]   nāba hō hā aubi,
 i kje Sāku   hane,
 i kje daob   kāu koba.
 I kje Sāku
   am   'ōdi ab   kame.

20 The San (Sāku) there found (hō hā) the
 old man (aubi),
 he was struck down (hanhe) by them,
 but he fought his way through (lit.
 'fought-open' ‖ãu‖xoba) the road
 (daob)).
 [By] the San (Sāku)
 two daughters (∣am ∣'ōdi) of his (ab)
 were killed (amhe).

25 I kje   nai khoeb Mamusaba   koa sīe,
 i kje   nāba xu khoekua   noa xoae,
 i-ku hā-ku ko o,
 hē Sāku hā hā i a,[25]
 i kje Sāku   kāugu khoekua.

25 Another man (∣nai khoeb) to Mamusa
 [for help] was sent (sīhe),
 and men [who] were from there were
 fought alongside with (ǂnoa∣xoahe),
 and when they came (hā),
 there were San still remaining (hā)
 there,
 and the men fought with (‖ãugu) the
 San.[384]

20   Tau, whose name in Tswana means 'Lion', was a great
 chief of one of the Tswana clans. The date and details
 surrounding his death – or possibly of his descendants –
 in a war with certain Korana clans are not clear.
21   The town of Mamusa is now named Schweizer-Reneke,
 after two of the soldiers killed in a battle they fought
 there against the Korana chief David Massouw in 1885.
22   Maingard usually spells khoe as ǂkhwe and khoekua as
 'khwekwa'. The original spellings have been adapted here
 for ease of reading.
23   Mooifontein, a farm near Bloemhof.
24   With the common plural suffix, this word becomes 'Sān'.
25   This phrase features a rare occurrence (for Kora) of
 the copula in the past form i. Judging by Maingard's
 translation, the first instance of ha is hā 'remain, stay',
 while the second is the aspect marker hā, used here in
 association with i. The function of the a at the end of the
 phrase is not clear.

384 They left the coast, and fled to the region of the Gariep
 in the interior, where they met up with the Great Korana.
 They separated from them, and trekked on further to the
 Hart River. After a time, they moved on again and arrived
 at Taung, where they came under attack by some of the
 Tswana groups. They managed to rout the Tswana, and
 Tau was killed there. Next, they trekked on to Mamusa,
 and a few people then went on further to the Vaal River.
 When they reached the Vaal, hippopotamuses were seen
 in the river. They sent back word to the people at Mamusa,
 and went on to Kurutani, where Teteb's uncle,   Untub, was
 staying. Some San came across the old man and struck
 him down. He managed to fight his way out, but his two
 daughters were killed. Another man was sent to Mamusa,
 and he managed to return with reinforcements while the
 San were still there, and they engaged them in a fight.

BK6. An encounter with San: an incident involving Jan Bloem[26] **(Mhf, 68)**

1 Blomtseb[27] tje xati khoeb[28] nuaba,
      Nũa ’aib[29] xa tje hē ub xa ūhāe
   hã.

   Hē dome[30] kx’ai
      kx’āra!nuasihe tja [tje a]

5 Sāku xa !’Ommikx’ami[31] kx’aib.
   I tje khoekua sĩ Nũa ’aib xa oa.
     Na gaisa khoēb sĩ nā:
   *Ab nua!xoe-re, kx’ara!nuasie i-r hã
   tje*![32]
   I tje naub tje o,

BK6. An encounter with San: an incident involving Jan Bloem (Mhf, 68)

1 Bloem, who was of the ‘white man’
   (*xati khoeb*) kind (*nõab a*),
   by the Cat clan (Hõa ’aib xa) into this
   region (*hē ub*) was brought (*ūhāsi* [?]
   hã).

   In this way (*hē dommi*)
   he was surrounded
   (*∥kx’āra!nuasihe*)

5 by San (*Sāku*) at Douglas
   (!’*Ommikx’ami*).
   And he sent for (*sĩ*) men from the
   Katse (Hõa ’aib xa) to come (*!oa*).
   That great big man sent to tell (*sĩ∥nā*):
   ‘Please come running to help me, I
   have been surrounded!’
   And hearing him (*∥nau-b*),

26 Although this story is represented to us as the straight-faced account of an historical incident, it was probably intended as a comical narrative. The Bloem dynasty (founded by a German immigrant who took several Korana wives and became a self-styled Korana chief) was extensive, and it is not entirely clear whether the character in this story was the younger or the elder Jan Bloem. See Engelbrecht (Ebt1936, 56–66) for an account of the Bloem family’s close connections with the Springbok clan (Ūdi ’ais).

27 The suffix –tse occasionally used with personal names is thought to have been an old term of respect. In this context, though, bilingual listeners would probably have heard a pun based on the Dutch diminutive, which gives Bloem’s name the sense of ‘Little Flower’ or ‘Blossom’ (Afrikaans Blommetjie).

28 The expression xati khoeb, which quite literally means ‘white man’, is unusual. (The term usually used for an Englishman or ‘white man’ was hūb.) It is possible that the narrator was playing to a latent pun based on the Afrikaans word gat, which means ‘hole’, but is often used in a somewhat earthy sense.

29 This is the clan (the Katse, or Cats) to which Benjamin Kats belonged.

30 Meinhof writes ‘dome’, and translates the phrase hē dome kx’ai as ‘in this manner’.

31 This is the town of Douglas, which lies just south of the confluence of the Vaal with the Gariep. The Kora name means ‘right-hand’, and may have referred to the situation of the town from the perspective of people looking eastward towards the convergence.

32 The image of this large man in a state of panic on being surrounded by San was probably meant to be mocking: the San people were stereotypically small in physique, and were often despised by other local communities, even if feared by them at the same time. Unflattering stories about them are given by both Benjamin Kats (BK18) and Andries Bitterbos (AB5).

10 nua xoehe.

   Tjisi khoekua tje sĩbāhe,
   ui gomas tsĩ   noãs.
   Na gomas   ’ama ĩ-b[33] tje ta   abi,[34]
i tje bib ūhā[35] gomasi,

15 na bīb ab   kx’a[36] ka.[37]

   ’O   ’ai tja,[38]
i tje gomās tje si ō,
   abi.
   ’Agub tje ho tama khoēku,[39]

20 i tje !nau nā,[40]
i tje Delport kx’ai ha
   noasie.[41]

---

10 it was raced [to his aid].

   Ten men were sent to him,
   with a cow and a calf.
   On the cow (*gomas ǂ’ama*) he would
   ride (*abi*)
   and the cow was in milk,

15 so that he might (*ka*) drink its milk.

   He was barefoot (*ǀ’oǂ’ai tje a*),
   so when the cow arrived (*sī*),
   he climbed on.
   The men did not find (*hō tama*)
   fighting (*ǁ’agub*),

20 and they went away,
   and to Delport (Delport *kx’ai*)
   having been made to remain seated
   (*hã-ǂnũ-a-si-he*).[385]

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33 Meinhof here records a nasalised ĩ.

34 It seems to be part of the thread of mockery that Bloem was sent a cow to ride rather than a more befitting riding ox or horse.

35 Meinhof translates as 'since the cow had milk', which suggests ūhā rather than ūhā.

36 The word   kx’a given here for 'drink' seems most unusual in reflecting a click. It may have been intended for   kx’ā 'be sated, full'.

37 This line includes an instance of the purposive ka ('that he might drink its milk'). The suggestion that Bloem might drink his fill of the fresh or sweet milk from the cow (rather than the soured milk preferred by grown men) probably contributed an insinuation of childishness.

38 Because he was barefoot (a 'tenderfoot'), we can imagine him leaping hastily on to the cow's back (and perhaps managing in his undignified scramble to land up facing backwards).

39 The idea seems to be that when the men who had been sent to his aid arrived, they found no sign at all of any enemies or present danger.

40 The compound verb !nau na in line 20 is obscure. Meinhof offered the alternative   nau na for it, and translated the phrase as 'und sie machten sich auf.' The original form also occurs, however, in BK9, with the similar meaning 'depart, go away'. In the original form, the expression may have meant 'quickly do x' (compare Nama !nau 'do quickly,' used in compound verbs), where x is Kora   nā 'go away from, leave'. A further possibility is that   nā here is the verb meaning 'tell', in which case the sense is that the men instructed Bloem.

41 Line 21 is also obscure. Meinhof translates it as 'und in Delpoort liess man ihn absteigen' 'and it was allowed him to dismount in Delport', but if the verb really meant 'dismount', we would expect it to have been   ōa rather than   noa. If the original phrase ha   noasie is correct, and if ha is not hā 'come', then it was perhaps hā   nũ-a-si-he, with the overall meaning that Bloem (who was probably accustomed to being the one who generally gave orders) was made to remain seated ignominiously on the cow until he arrived in Delport. A similar expression is seen in Andries Bitterbos's account of river-crossing craft (AB9), where a man about to make a solo crossing would tie his clothes in a bundle on to his head (!ai   noasihe).

385 Bloemtjie was a 'white man', but was brought here to our country by the Katse. It is said that he found himself one day surrounded by some San, and quickly sent a message to the Katse for help. This great big man told them: 'Send me help as fast as you can: I'm completely surrounded!' So the Katse sent ten men, taking with them a cow and its calf, so that he could make his getaway on the cow and also drink its nice sweet milk. He was barefoot, so when they came with the cow, he scrambled on to its back. The men didn't find any sign of fighting, so they took themselves off, after ordering Bloemtjie to stay seated on the cow until he got to Delport.

BK5. Short autobiographic sketch of Benjamin Kats[42] (Mhf, 67)

1   Hēhē !'ās kx'ai i-r tje tje !nae hã
    i-r tje tje hēba xa xasen hã xanis
    kobab
    si-tje   xa xakx'aob Meyeri diba.
    I-r tje   nām   'aib xu ho   ni kobab dib.

5   xaisi   kx'a   kx'aru tjisi haũkx'ũ tjisi
    !nona   kx'a   'aĩ kurib !na
    i-r tje skōl   ã hã.[43]

    xaisi   kx'a   kx'aru[44] tjisi haũkx'ũ goro
    kx'a,
    i-da tje hē !'ās kx'ai kai abas ūhã.[45]

10   Nā abas !nā
    ī-b tjē   xa xakx'aob ada hāb xa
     na xaē hã
    Kimberlib[46] daob kx'ai.
     Na   kx'ae na   xa xab kuru !ũ
    Kimberlibā !oa
    Kx'aotseku xa,

BK5. Short autobiographic sketch of Benjamin Kats (Mhf, 67)

1   This is the place (*!'ās*) where I was
    born (*!nae hã*),
    And here that I learned reading
    (*xanis kobab*)
    from our teacher Meyer.
    I loved (*nām*) to learn his other
    language (*ni kobab dib*).

5   In the year 1873,
    I entered school.

    In the year 1875,
    we had a huge snowfall (*kai abas*) at
    this place (*hē !'ās kx'ai*).

10 In that snow,
    our teacher fell (*na xaē hã*) from his
    horse (*hāb xa*)
    on the Kimberley road.
    At that time (*na kx'ae*) he used to go
    to Kimberley
    on the Lord's day,

---

42   Benjamin Kats, whose Kora name was   Hamarib, and who was related to Andries Bitterbos (Engelbrecht 1936, 233), lived at the Pniel mission station (Mhf, 5). Pniel lies on the Vaal River between Barkly West and Kimberley, in the province known today as the Northern Cape, and the mission station there was established in 1845 by members of the Berlin Mission. (The town is arguably most famous for being the birthplace of the great South African Sol Plaatje (1876–1932).) As noted by Piet Erasmus, Mike Besten and G. Sauls (The Pniel Estate: Its People and History (Kimberley: The Sol Plaatje Educational Trust, 2008), 'Pniel, at the time of its founding, was occupied mainly by the Koranna, notably the Springboks under the leadership of Jan Bloem II. There were also Griqua, who had come to live with the Koranna, as well as San in the vicinity […]. Sotho and Tswana people also came to settle at Pniel.'

43   This was at the time when the diamond rush had begun to gain momentum. The first diamond in South Africa was found in 1866 near Hopetown, on a farm that had been leased from the local Griqua people. A major find in 1871 led to the start of the diggings in riverbeds at Barkly West and Kimberley.

44   Meinhof offers the correction   kx'aru for ' kx'aru'.

45   On the basis of official records, Maingard (1932, 143) puts the year of the great snowfall at 1876.

46   Lloyd noted that according to Piet Links, an old name for Kimberley was   'Äs.

15 i tje na Mandaxtseku xa
      oakaka skola !noā!xoē.
    I tjē   na tsē abas !na !noa!xoēhãxā tjē,
    hãb xa   nā xaē,
    i tjē !hōb !na thũthũē.

20 !nona tsēku   xā !nona thũxuku tje,
      na hã abasi.
    Abas tje na thũni tsē,
    i tjē na !ãmã !'aku.

15 and on the Monday
    early in the morning (*oakaka*) he
    would race back (*!noā!xoē*) to the
    school.
    And on that day, while racing
    (*!noa!xoēhãxā*) through the snow,
    he was thrown from (*nā xahē*) his
    horse,
    and was hurt (*thũthũhē*) in the
    shoulder (*!hōb*).

20 For three days and nights
    the snow kept falling.
    And the day the snow melted (*thūni*),
    the ditches (*!'aku*) were overflowing
    (*!ãmã* 'streaming').[386]

386 This is the place where I was born, and where I learned
     to read from our teacher Mr Meyer. I loved to learn his
     other language too. It was in the year 1873 that I started
     school. Then in 1875 there was a huge snowfall here.
     Our teacher fell off his horse while travelling on the
     Kimberley road in the snow. At that time, he used to go
     in to Kimberley for the Sunday service, and then would
     race back early on Monday morning to make it back in
     time for school. On that day, as he was galloping through
     the snow, he fell from his horse and hurt his shoulder.
     The snow kept falling for three days and three nights, and
     when it finally melted, the ditches were overflowing.
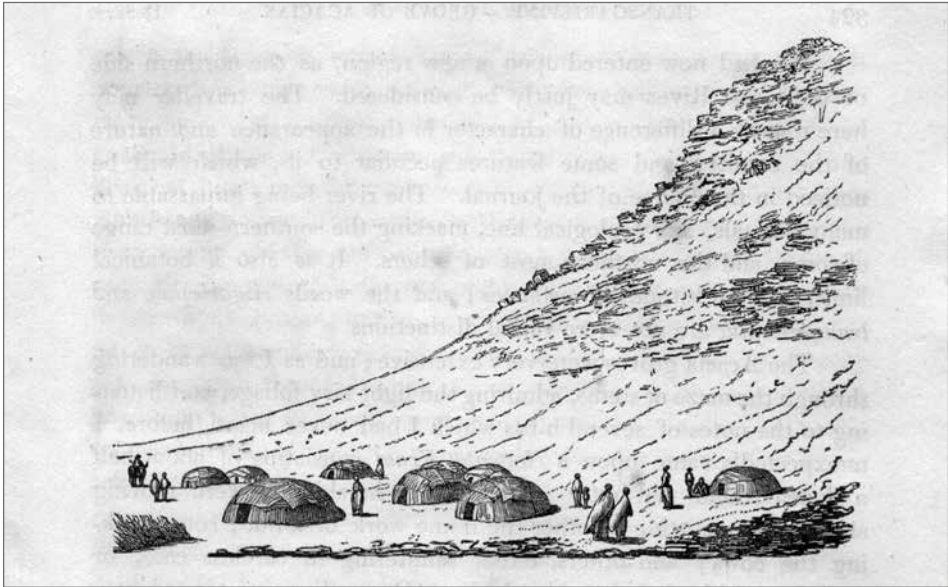
FIGURE 5.2   Sketch by William Burchell. This vignette is from the chapter titled 'Journey in the
country of the Koras, from the Gariep to the Asbestos Mountains' (*Travels in the Interior of Southern
Africa*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1822), 323).

Bhf5. From the life-story of Iis (Iis) (Mgd1932, 142–143)

1 Kai koab kurib na
Iis kje Xoub[47] kx'ai nae hã.
I kje koab hoa kx'ommi na gokx'ai.
  Nã 'ae kx'ommi na harukwa xu dĩe
hã.[48]

5 I kje harukwa hãb[49] xu dĩe.
I kje tarakhoedi garib na hãkwa
dĩ hou hou.

Bhf5. From the life-story of Iis (Iis) (Mgd1932, 142–143)

1 In the year (*kurib na*) of the big snow
(kai xoab)
Iis at Saron (Xaub *kx'ai*) was born
(*nae hã).*
The snow every house (*hoa kx'ommi*)
was covering up (*gokx'ai*).
At that time (∥*nã* ∥*'ae*) the houses
from mats (*∣harukua xu*) were made
(*dĩhe hã*).

5 The mats were made from reed (*∣hãb
xu*).
The women in the river (*garib na*)
the reeds gathered (*dĩ∣hau∣hau*).[387]

47 Saron. Maingard notes (1932, 143) that 'in 1876 there
was an abnormal fall of snow' at Saron, near Barkly
West. Benjamin Kats (see BK5) remembers the year as
1875.

48 Engelbrecht (1936, 93–95) provides details about the
building of the traditional round and domed house,
which was lightweight and could be packed up and
quickly loaded on to the back of a pack-ox (aigomab)
whenever it was necessary to move. The supporting
frame was provided by a set of curved poles (up
to a hundred of them), which were inserted into
previously hammered out peg-holes spaced about 25 cm
centimetres apart. The poles or laths (Afrikaans latte)
were made from the wood of various suitable trees,
including acacia species, taaibos or kareeboom. The mats
for roofing were generally made from two preferred
species of reed, haru and ūb, and were fastened to
the poles by means of cord made from the inner bark
of various species, including the soetdoring (xon hūb),
although leather thongs could also be used.

49 This word for 'reed' featuring the aspirated dental click
seems unusual, but was also recorded by Engelbrecht
(1928).

387 Iis was born at Saron in the Year of the Big Snow. The
snow covered up all the houses, which in those days
were covered only in mats. The mats were made from
reeds, which the women collected from the river.

BK7. Letter to my people[50] (Mhf, 68–69)[51]

1   !Nani tsekua vēkheb,
     haka vēkhekua   xāb,
       am   kx'a   xākua kurib,
     ti hā tje   xa xasen

5   xoab tsĩ kobab tsĩkhara
     satje kobab dikhara.

     Ta a-b kobab ada
     kaxu-da, ti khoē-du'e![52]

BK7. Letter to my people (Mhf, 68–69)

1   Six days a week,
     four weeks a month,
     twelve months a year,
     come let us study (‖xa‖xasen)

5   the writing (xoab) and the reading
     (kobab) both (tsĩ-khara)
     of our language.

     Do not (ta) let it (a-b) our language
     (kobab a-da)
     become lost (to) us (kāxu-da), you
     (du) my people.

---

50 This letter, written at Pniel, is dated 1 February 1928.
51 Our dear and greatly admired late colleague Mike Besten was particularly fond of this text.
52 Benjamin Kats wrote this last line as 'kaguda ti khue due', for which Meinhof acknowledged the help of Heinrich Vedder in providing the translation of 'ti khoē-du-e' as 'you my people' ('ihr meine Leute'). (Note that –da is the dependent pronoun for the 1st person common plural ('we'), while –du marks the 2nd person common plural ('you').) This line provides a rare example of what seems to be a vocative e, which may have been used for politeness in this instance of direct address. (Benjamin Kats may have been using a consciously elevated style in this piece.)

BK8. Letter to Pokotji[53] (Mhf, 69)

1 !Ãsa Pokotji,
 oro[54] xudaku
 i-r tje na xoabatsi tidi koku xa
 tsĩ nabe-tsi[55].

5 Kx'ontsēbe seda[56] tjē hã,
 i-du ka hamti kx'ontsēbe[57] hã?
 Hamtsē i-ts ka ta õaxa,
 xãbi i-ts ta hã tsi?[58]
 Ho'o na daob kx'ai i,[59]

10 ta nati dī-tsē!
 A hē daob kx'ai ha!
 A hēhē xanis hã'ūba re,[60]
 a-si Mosib mãba re.

 Kareli ko xaba xoaba-re hã

15 kx'uĩhãku an xa,
 i tā, koma, hē tsēku !na hā.

 I-r tje xu'ō ba-tsĩ hã tje,
 a-r nabe-tsi.

BK8. Letter to Pokotji (Mhf, 69)

1 Brother Pokotjie,
 a few little things (*xu-da-ku*)
 I am writing to tell you (*xoa-ba-tsi*)
 about of mine (*tidi koku xa*),
 and to greet you (*nabe-tsi*).

5 We are keeping well (*kx'ontsēbe*),
 and how (*hamti*) are you keeping?
 When (*hamtsē*) will you be coming down
 to stay a month (*∥xãbi*) with us?
 Now don't go on that path,
10 don't do that!
 Come on this course!
 Do take with you (*hã'ūba re*) this letter (*hēhē ǂxanis*)
 and do give it (*mãba re*) to Moses.

 Karl has written to me again

15 about your circumstances (*kx'uĩ-hã-ku a-n*),
 and will, it is said (*koma*), in [one of] these days come.

 I have nothing (*xu'ō*) [more] for you,
 let me greet you (*nabe-tsi*).[388]

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53 This piece is described as 'a fictitious letter' ('ein fingierter Brief'), and may have been written as an exercise in composition. The broad meaning is clear from the translation, but there are various points of the syntax that are difficult to parse, partly because the style seems to have been consciously elevated, and partly since, apart from the capital letters used for the personal names, there is no punctuation in the original, while nasal and oral vowels are not always distinguished.

54 The original oro of Benjamin Kats appears in Meinhof's re-written version as kx'oro. It is possible that Meinhof only meant to substitute kx'oro, but that in the process the wrong click was introduced.

55 The –tsi here and in several other places seems to be a formal version of the usual –ts for 'you (ms)'.

56 For sida.

57 Benjamin Kats has xontsebe in the original.

58 Meinhof re-writes Kat's 'tsi' as tsī.

59 The phrasal division and the literal translation given for lines 9–11 follow Meinhof, but may not be correct. Benjamin Kats has xai i at the end of line 9 – which looks much like the expression for 'that' used by Piet Links. Meinhof, however, changed the spelling to kx'ai ('on'). If the expression was indeed 'on that road', it is a further possibility that it had a metaphoric meaning similar to English 'on that course'.

60 The instances of re in lines 12 and 13 may be rare occurrences in Kora of the 'politeness particle' re of Nama.

388 Dear Brother Pokotjie, I am writing with a little bit of news about myself, and to greet you. We are all well, but how are you keeping? And when will you come to us for a month? Now don't go changing your mind, do please come to us. Take this letter and give it to Moses. Karl has written to let us know about your situation, and will come to us one of these days soon. Well, that's all my news, so let me greet you.

PL4. The common origin of humankind [excerpt][61] **(Lld, MP1: 081–089)**[62]

1   Abob kie kie hēti hĭ   nã-re,[63]
     hē na   hub kx'ab i-ra kunxu,[64]

PL4. The common origin of humankind (Lld, MP1: 081–089)

1   My father it was who told me (‖nã-re) this,
     from this cave in the earth we (i-ra) crept forth (kun-xu),

61   Only the first fifty lines of this narrative are given, mainly because the text becomes increasingly obscure towards the end, while it is often not clear whether irony was intended, or to what extent the references to different groups of people ('ōan) reflect social distinctions made and accepted by the narrator himself – as opposed to being a mimicry of those propounded by the Englishman or 'master' (hūb), who is one of the main protagonists in the narrative. The remaining lines may be found at: http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/books/MP1/MP1_088.html (to MP1 089), with continuation at: http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/books/MP2/MP2_090.html, and final continuation from: http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/books/MP3/MP3_126.html (to MP3 131).

62   The version given here is from Lucy Lloyd's manuscript, but the helpful word divisions and some of the interpretations suggested by Maingard in his Koranna Folktales: Grammar and Texts (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1962) have been taken into account. Maingard comments that this is a difficult text, and says that he consulted the Bloemhof speakers for help with some of the more obscure sections. Note that in the conventions used by Lloyd, a click symbol followed by the letter 'k' typically indicated a plain click, while a click written with no following letter or symbol was glottalised.

63   This is a fairly standard opening formula, and may have been intended to establish the generations-old basis and hence the safely 'timeless' truth of the story. The line literally means 'my father this way (hē ti) told me (nã-re) this was (hē ī)'.

64   Maingard noted (1962, 44) that the first part of this story, concerning the emergence of the first ancestor from an ancient cave, 'is based on a Tswana legend'. A similar myth of origin occurred in old Xhosa traditions as well, however, as noted by Albert Kropf in his A Kafir-English Dictionary, 2nd edition, ed. Robert Godfrey (Lovedale: Mission Press, 1915), where he commented (p. 154) that the word uhlanga referred to 'the place or hole out of which, according to [Xhosa] belief, living beings, both men and animals, came forth originally'. Henry Callaway (The Religious System of the AmaZulu (Cape Town: Juta; London: Trübner and Co., 1870), 76) noted a similar belief among the Zulu and listed several additional sources, while Hendrik Wikar (The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) ed., E. E. Mossop, transl., A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 94–95) reported the same belief 'among the Nomacquoas, the Blip and the Eynikkoa […], that their cattle come out of a hole in a flat rock which is supposed to be among the Blip. If one walks on it, it sounds as if it were hollow underneath. On the stone are supposed to be footprints made by the footprints of cattle just as if they had trodden in boggy ground and the spoor of the cattle herds may be found there also.' A similar myth, with a similar reference to footprints in the rock, was recorded among the Lamba by Clement Doke in his Lamba Folk-lore (New York: American Folk-lore Society, 1927).

õan hoan[65] kie kie   kui kxʼāb xu kie
oaxa.

E kie   kam Beri   xa xakxʼaokha,

5   e kie   hũb[66]   kuise   oaxa,
e kie   Korab   xa xakxʼao,
e kie   hũb   xa   noagu.[67]

   Hũb na hē ti mĩ:
   A-kie   kui daop ū,

10 *a-kie   kui khoesin,*
a-kie   namaka xub xa   kui.
E kie Berib   xa   kui ku kha[68]   xaiʼi.[69]

   E kie Burʼi   hũb   xa   kui,
   e kie   hũb ai he[70] daob hō,

all the different kinds of people (ǁʼõan
hoan) came out of that one cave (ǀui
kxʼāb).

Then two (ǀam) teachers emerged at
the same time (ǀuise),
5   a Tswana man and an Englishman,
and the Korana teacher
fought (≠noagu) with the Englishman
(ǀhũb ǀxa).

The Englishman said:
'Let us take a single path,
10 'let us be one humanity (ǀui khoesin),
'let us accordingly (ǁnamaka) unite
(xub ka ǀui, lit. become (?) one thing).'
But the Tswana man refused (≠xa)
(that) to be united.

And then the Boer (Burʼi) united with
the Englishman.
And the Englishman was the first to
go his way (daob hō 'take the path'),

65   The Links version is by no means 'timeless', however –
as we might expect of a myth – but is given historical
specificity by references to groups such as the slaves
and the 'Basters' (Griqua) whose appearance post-dates
the period of European settlement. The second part
of the story seems to be the speaker's own take on the
complexities of the conflicts and changing alliances that
were part of contemporary affairs in South Africa at this
time (1879). Maingard suggested (1962, 69) that 'the one
essential idea that emerges is the superiority of the white
man'. It is doubtful, though, that this was the view of the
narrator. A careful reading of the text reveals a subtly
projected bitterness, the causes of which would almost
certainly have included the profoundly arrogant attitude
of British colonial figures such as Harry Smith towards
major Griqua leaders. This expression is used three
times in this text, and in this first instance is spelled by
Lloyd as   uan hoạn. The word   ʼōaʼi is not commonly
found in the Kora corpus, but the equivalent word in
Namibian Khoekhoe, namely   ôab, means 'kind, sort,
type'. It seems that Piet Links was referring to 'all kinds
of people'.

66   Although   hũb is often used in the sense of 'white man',
it is clearly contrasted in this narrative with Burʼi (Boer
or Afrikaner), and should probably be understood as
referring specifically to an Englishman.

67   It is not quite clear whether it is only the Korana
teacher, or both the Tswana and the Korana teachers
who fought with the Englishman. Either way, this short
section seems to be presented as a kind of prelude, and
summarises the detailed account that follows.

68   It is not clear whether 'kha' should be interpreted here as
ka or xa.

69   Lloyd has ' xeiʼ.

70   Maingard has be in place of Lloyd's he, making the
expression as a whole aibe, which is the Nama (but
not Kora) expression for 'first'. It is perhaps a variant of
kxʼaise 'first, at first'.

15 e kie Buri   hũb khau kã daob hō,
    e kie Kue oan⁷¹ daob hō,
    e kie kwobon daob hō,
    e kie Baaster⁷² daob hō,
    e kie ‖Ku‖ain⁷³ daob hō,

20 e kie Khoekhoen⁷⁴ daob hō,
    e kie sida ‖Korada daob hō,
    e kie Berĩ daob hō,
    e kie San daob hō.

      Nati kie hũb   xa xakx'aosi,

25 e kie Berib xã xãkx'aosi,⁷⁵
    e kie xabe   noagu xai'i kx'ai.

15 and after the Englishman (‖hũb), the
    Boer went his way,
    and then all kinds of people (khoe
    ‖'õan) went their way:
    the slaves (kwobon) went their way,
    and the Griquas went their way,
    the '‖Ku‖ain' (‖Nū‖'ain [?]) went their
    way,
20 and the Khoikhoi went their way,
    we the Korana went our way,
    the Tswana people went their way,
    and the San went their way.

    So then there was the counsel of the
    Englishman,
25 and the counsel of the Tswana man,
    over which (‖xai'i kx'ai) they however
    (xabe) fought.

71 It is not clear who the 'Kue' were, but given that Lloyd
    typically wrote 'kuen' for khoen 'people' it is possible
    that the expression was simply khoe ‖'oan, meaning 'all
    (other) kinds of people'.

72 It is a little surprising to find this word still being used in
    1879: the collective decision to change the name 'Baster'
    to Griqua was made, following John Campbell's urging
    (Travels in South Africa (London: Black, Parry and Co.
    and T. Hamilton, 1815), 252) to the community, on
    August 6 1813. Campbell recorded in the same work (p.
    256) that the number of Griquas living at that time at
    Klaarwater (which subsequently became Griquatown)
    was about 1 260, while 'the number of Corannas who
    consider themselves connected with the Griquas, for the
    sake of protection' was about 1 340.

73 Lloyd has a marginal note explaining that the '‖Ku‖ain'
    were, according to Piet Links, a second kind of
    'Baster', with short rather than smooth hair. They may
    alternatively have been the '‖nūsa ‖'aikua' or 'far clans'
    noted by Burchell (Travels in the Interior of Southern
    Africa, vol. 2 (1824), 331), who said that the Korana
    'designate the Bushmen living south of the Gariep by the
    names of ‖Kusa'kykwa or ‖Kusakwa, which imply 'men
    beyond the river'. Those who inhabit the northern side
    of that river are called Nusakwa.'

74 Lloyd's original spelling is 'khoe kuen', written with
    diacritics below the first vowel in each case to suggest a
    semi-vowel quality, as in 'khwe kwen'.

75 In lines 25–25 it is not quite clear what the function
    is of the –si at the end of the word for 'teacher'
    (‖xā xãkx'ao), though it may be the derivational –si used
    to create abstract nouns, and so giving here the sense
    of 'teachership', 'doctrine' or 'counsel'. The general sense
    seems to be that the Englishman advised one thing
    (collaboration), while the Tswana man advised another
    (independence). (The Korana had strong historical
    connections with the Sotho-Tswana people, sometimes
    peaceful, but sometimes less so. Some individual
    speakers are reported to have been trilingual during the
    19th century in Kora, Tswana and Dutch.)

Hũb nã hē ti mĩ:
  Ou⁷⁶ ko khoen,
i-ts sĩ'ū, a-n hā sats daba,

30 *a-ts tẽ, sa daba,*
  i-n ka ha   xaib.
  A-ts   nãu nĩ,
  taib ba⁷⁷ i-ts ka di xoa nĩ   xaib –
  xaib ba kie   noagu   nika kuen o.

35 *Nĩ daba i-ts kĩ n(i) hā.*
  A-r mĩba-tsi, di tsĩ dib.⁷⁸

  E nã Berib   xa, e nã Berib   kũ.
  E na Bur'i hā ra⁷⁹   xoe kx'ãi kx'ãi⁸⁰
  kũ.

  Sats Burts, a-ts sī-ts ka o,

40 *a-ts   kum noro⁸¹*
  i-ts ki nĩ mã,
  ats gomãs   kai.

  E ra   Korab   na mĩb   nãu,

[Then] the Englishman said:
'The people have argued with one another.
'Send for (*sĩ'ū*) them and let them come (*a-n hā*) to you (*sats daba*),

30 'and ask them [when they are] with you (*sats daba*),
'what [might be the issue (?)].
'You must hear (∥*nãu*) wherefore (*taib-ba*),
'and then you must work out (*dī xoa*) that (*xaib*) –
'therefore (*xaib-ba*) people are always (|*nika*) fighting (≠*noagu*).

35 'They must come to you.
'Let me (*a-r*) tell you (*mĩba-tsi*): 'Play your part!' (*dī tsi dīb*, lit. 'do the deed!')

The Tswana man refused [to participate], and left.
But the Boer came running [in his haste] to reconcile.

[And the Englishman said:] 'You, Boer, since you are willing
40 to come back,
you may stand
and name your reward (*gomas ≠ai*, lit. 'call your cow').'

And the Korana man heard (∥*nãu*) that speech (∥*nā mĩb*),

---

76 Lloyd spells this ' ou' and comments that it is equivalent to ' nou', translating it as 'sit'. Maingard (1962, 64) translates it as 'kill', but in his free version interprets it as a metaphor meaning that 'the people have behaved harshly'. It may be   augu, a word that Meinhof translated as 'wrestle with one another'.

77 This line provides another example of an interrogative term being used with the locative –ba in cross-reference to !xaib 'that' (< 'place').

78 Maingard translates as: 'let me say to you your duty'.

79 This instance of ra, as also in lines 43–45, seems to be an allomorph of the future particle ta.

80 Lloyd's   kx'ãi kx'ãi may be   xãi xãi 'reconcile, make peace'; or alternatively it may be the counterpart of Nama   ai ai 'enrage, anger, infuriate'.

81 Maingard translates the obscure phrase   kum noro as 'come back'. The first word ' kum' is perhaps   ū 'go', while   noro may have been Giri and similar to a Nama word meaning 'back of the head'.

tsĩ ra   hŭba   xoe hui[82]   kao.

45   E ra   hŭb xa tẽje:
Ham   ĩ i-ts ka gau?[83]

Na khoeb   koa,
i-r kie gau a-r sĩ   kõnã.[84]

[82]   Lloyd writes this as   huhi. This seems to be an instance where the aspiration of the first segment is carried over well into the syllable. Our consultant Ouma Jacoba gave us an example of something similar in one of her pronunciations of khob 'skin', where the exaggerated aspiration may be either the last trace of a former intervocalic segment, or else is simply intended to differentiate the word from kx'ob 'meat'.

[83]   Lloyd has both 'hide' and 'go' as meanings for gau (which sounds like English 'go'). It seems there is a pun involved, and that the response is a bitterly sarcastic play on the Kora and English meanings of gau 'lurk in hiding' and 'go'. It may have a sense something like: 'Oh, to that man: I'm off to skulk (gau) so I can wait for him to throw me a few leftover scraps (sĩ   ōnā 'go and beg in silence').

[84]   The overall sense of the narrative seems to be that, having brokered a peace deal on behalf of and in the interest of the English, the Korana were then excluded from benefiting. Some of the historical reasons for this sense of betrayal emerge from the Griqua records compiled and edited by Karel Schoeman (Griqua Records: The Philippolis Captaincy, 1825–1861 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1996).

and he wanted (‡ao) to take a run at (xoe/hui) the Englishman.

45   And [he] was asked by the Englishman:
'Where to (ham/xĩ) is it you might be going?

[And he replied bitterly]: 'I (gau) to that man,
To lurk and beg in silence (‡ona).'[389]

[389]   Because of the many uncertainties in the text, and because the overall tone of the piece is not clear, a free translation has not been attempted.
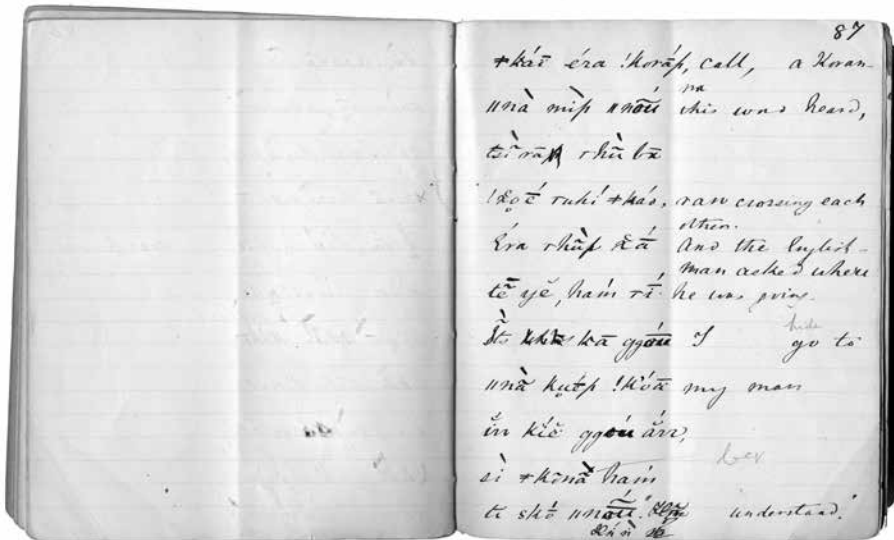
FIGURE 5.3. A page from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1), showing her note of the two meanings 'hide' and 'go' for *gau*. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

5.2   Social and economic histories, and accounts of crafts and manufactures in earlier times

The following texts have been placed under this heading:

i.	Rain and drought [excerpt]. (AB4)
ii.	The gathering of wild bulbs from the veld. (BK1)
iii.	The preparation of wild bulbs. (BK2)
iv.	Stone artefacts. (Bhf7)
v.	Household utensils [excerpt]. (AB1)
vi.	The *ãmas*, a river-crossing raft [excerpt]. (AB9)
vii.	Making fire in the olden days, and hunting. (BK3)
viii.	Bows and arrows. (Bhf8)
ix.	Kaross-making. (Beth1)
x.	The making of the *goa xarib* or honey-beer. (Bhf9)
xi.	The *doro*, or young men's initiation school. (Bhf2)
xii.	The rules for young men attending initiation school. (BK4)
xiii.	The *gam 'aeb* ceremony held after a young man's first big kill. (Bhf3)
xiv.	Th*e habab*, the young woman's coming of age ceremony. (Bhf4)
xv.	Courtship. (Bhf12)
xvi.	*Soregus*, or the mutual pact of friendship. (Bhf13)
xvii.	Funeral of a chief. (Bhf6)
xviii.	Burial. (PL6)

Like those grouped together in the previous section, these texts present information that seems to have been specially elicited by the recording linguist, so that they constitute responses rather than spontaneously generated offerings.

Some of these pieces have a potentially offensive ethnographic quality, and reflect the kind of anthropological typecasting, essentialising, and exoticising – even frankly prurient fascination – that seems to have been almost the norm in certain fields of British and German scholarship, not only during the 19th century, but well into the mid and even late 20th century.[85] It may be helpful in negotiating such texts to keep in mind that many, if not all, of the practices referred to – including control of the rain, hunting, gathering, and observing 'rites of passage'– are strikingly similar to equivalent practices once commonplace in earlier (and even fairly recent) times throughout much of sub-Saharan Africa. Certainly, these practices should not be seen as crudely definitive of any particular communities. The same holds true for almost every aspect of material culture that is described – such as types of garments and adornments, musical instruments, weapons, implements, and utensils.

85   This kind of borderline racism has by no means entirely vanished even today.

AB4. Rain and drought [excerpt][86] (Ebt1936, 217–219)

Tus tsī ǀxurub

1   Naisa   kx'aekua, i tje na   ūb ta kaise
    xuru o,
    *In die ou tye as die wêreld sal baie
    droog wees*,
    i tje na khutekakhubeb kx'õahe   'aub
      na
    *is 'n trapsuutjies gesoek geword die
    veld in*
    i tje na hōheb ta o,
    en as hy gekry-geword is,
    kx'ũisibeb[87] hã i khau 'ãhe[88]
    *dan is hy lewendig grawe-ingegaan-
    geword.*
5   I tje na kai tūsi tū
    En dan het groot reën gereën
    i tje na   nanobi kaise   xō.
    en dan is die weer baie straf gewees.
    I tje na kaise ta   nanob   xō o,
    En as die weer dan baie straf is,
    sīkhau   kx'oasie.
    dan is hy gaan-grawe-uitkom-geword.
    I-s ta   nantūsi o,
    As dit sal hael-reën wees,
10 i tje na   ao 'o'i
    dan is die laaste-kind
      ui   nans   kx'aeb kx'am   na

AB4. Rain and drought [excerpt] (Ebt1936, 217–219)

Rain and drought

1   In other times, if the earth (ūb)
    should be very dry (*ǀxuru*),
    then a chameleon (*khutekakhubeb*)
    was looked for (*kx'õa-he*) in the veld,
    and when one was found (*hō-he*),
    it was buried (*khao‡'ã-he* lit. 'be dug-
    enter') still living (*kx'ũisibe*).

5   And then great rain [would] rain (*tū*).
    and the storm (*ǀnanobi*) [would] rage
    (*ǁxō*) greatly (*kaise*).
    And if the storm was very severe,
    they went and dug it out (*sī-khao-
    ‡kx'oa-si-he*, lit. 'go-dig-make-be
    emerged').
    And if it was hail-rain,

10 then a last-born child (*auǀ'o'i*)

---

86   This account was dictated to Engelbrecht by Andries
     Bitterbos, who also provided the close translations into
     Afrikaans. Engelbrecht's transcriptions have been edited
     lightly, where this has mainly involved the removal of
     unnecessary hyphens and substitution of 'ai' for 'ei',
     'kua' for 'kwa' and 'ō', 'ū' and 'ā' for 'oː', 'uː' and 'aː'. His
     glottal stop symbol, as in   kx aekua, has been replaced
     by the apostrophe.

87   The role of the morpheme bē in this context is uncertain.
     As a main verb, bē means 'go away, depart', and it is
     possible that it was an addition used at one time with
     some kind of aspectual implication.

88   A similar method of magical rain control was recorded
     in 1848 by the missionary Joseph Tindall in *The Journal
     of Joseph Tindall, Missionary in South West Africa 1839–
     55*, ed. B. A. Tindall (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society,
     1959), who wrote (p. 119): 'A dreadful hailstorm fell at
     Gobabis. Huts were blown over. Calves were killed, one
     child found next morning nearly perished. This, it was
     said, was caused by burying a chameleon in the ground
     and pouring water on the grave.'

één haelkorrel 'n tyd mond in
ūhākasihe
gehou-gemoet-geword
i tje na   au.[89] […]
en dit het opgehou.

one hailstone for a while in the mouth
was made to hold
and then it ceased (au).[390]

BK1. The gathering of wild bulbs from the veld (Mhf 63–64)

1   Sida   Orada   kx'aeku xa
      tarakhoedē tje na sao 'ũb
       'aoba   oa   ũba.
       Na   'ũb   'onni   *'okua*.[90]

BK1. The gathering of wild bulbs from the veld (Mhf, 63–64)

1   In our old Korana times (‖*kx'aeku*),
      the women used, in order to collect
      winter food (*sao‡'ũb*),
      to go for (ũba) to the veld (*!'auba   oa*).
      The name of this food was   *'okua*
      ['edible wild bulbs'].

5   Haide   xa tje na khaoe,
      am   ã tama   hai kx'aisa.[91]
      Na haidē   'onni   *kx'akhaodē*.
      'On xa tje   ūē tama gose[92] tje
      oasi   ae hã.

5   It was dug (*khaohe*) with sticks (*haide   xa*),
      (those) that were deep   *am   ã*) and not
      openly visible (*‡hai*) on the surface
      (*kx'ais*).
      The name of the sticks was |*kx'akhaodē*
      ['sharp-diggers'].
      A careful watch-out was kept (*õasi   ae   hã*)
      that they were not (*tama*) gotten close
      (|*ūhe* [?]) up to (*kōse*) by the children
      (|*'on xa*)

10   Kx'oadē ta o,
      tje na   am kx'aokhoēkhara   xa.
       Na khoekhara ī tje na   nub   uib
      kuru ũ.

10   When [the women] set out (*‡kx'oa-dē*),
      they used to [take] two men with them.
      And these men went to construct
      (*kuru-   ũ*) a temporary shelter (*nub
      |uib*).

---

89   The Nama word meaning 'stop/cease raining' is   gao,
      while a last-born child is   gao   gôas. (The Nama word
       gau means 'be left over, remain behind'.) The power
      to control the rain seems to be have been rooted in the
      perceived magical power of similar-sounding words,
      and a further instance of this kind of punning seems to
      be present in   ui   nans 'one hailstone' – given that   ui   nas
      (lit. 'one time') means 'immediately'.

90   The name is possibly a generic term. Certainly, many
      different types of edible or otherwise useful bulbs,
      corms, tubers, roots, and truffles were known in the
      past to all the inhabitants of southern Africa. Various
      Tswana names for such foods are listed by Desmond T.
      Cole (Setswana – Animals and Plants (Gaborone: The
      Botswana Society, 1995), 195–287).

91   Meinhof translates line 6 as 'the [bulbs] were not deep,
      but open (hai) on the surface'.

92   The meaning of gose is not exactly clear, but it is likely
      the same word as kōse 'up to, until'.

390   Sometimes when the earth was parched, people in the
      olden days would go and look in the veld for a chameleon,
      and when they found one they would bury it still half alive.
      Then it would rain mightily, and a storm would rage. If
      the storm became too fierce, then they would simply dig
      up the chameleon again. And if it happened to be a hail-
      storm, they got a last-born child to hold a single hail-stone
      in its mouth for a little while, and then the storm would
      cease.

Toaku ta o,
i na ’ānu khoedē xu tsĩ.

And when they were finished (*toa-ku*),
they went home (*∥’ānu*) and left (*xu*)
the women.

15 I na ho’o khao thoathoa khoedi.
Tsebi na mĩmãseē[93] hã,
  aiguku   xa,
i-dē tje ni hã’ūē.

Koro tsĩ   nani tsēkua na ’aub   na hã
khoedi.

15 And now (*ho’o*) the women began
(*thoa-thoa*) to dig (*khao*).
On a day (*tsēbi*) that had been agreed
upon (*mĩ-mã-se-he hã*),
with pack-oxen (*ai-go[ma]ku ∣xa*),
they had to be fetched (*hā-ū-hē*).

The women used to stay for five or six
days in the veld.

20 Tsēb ta hã o,
i na am tsĩ nona gomāku xa
ũbae tsĩ ūhāe.

Ī ko ’ũxa ãobi.
Saob na hã xaru ’ũbi nāb,

20 And when the day came,
Then, with two or three oxen,
[the women would] be gone for (*ũ-
ba-he*) and fetched (*ū-hā-he*).

And then the settlement (*∥ãobi*) was
rich in food (*’ũxa*).
That food (*≠’ũbi ∥nāb*) used to last
right through (*hã≠xaru*) the winter
(Saob),

25 hisi   Xu ãb kōse[94] ’ai tama.

25 and did not spoil (*∥’ai*) up until (*kōse*)
the next (*hisi*) summer (*∥Xu∥’ãb*).[391]

391 In the olden days, the Korana women used to go to the
veld to gather winter food supplies. This kind of food
was called ’okua, and consisted of various kinds of
edible wild bulbs. They used sticks to dig out the ones
that were deep and not openly visible on the surface.
These sticks were called kx’akhaodē, or ‘sharp diggers’,
and people watched out carefully that the children
should not go close to them. When the women set out,
they used to take two men with them, who went along to
construct a temporary shelter for the women. When the
shelter was built, the men went back to the settlement,
and left the women to get started on the digging. They
would arrange in advance when the men should come
back to fetch them. The women would stay out there in
the veld for about five or six days, and would be fetched
on the set day with two or three pack-oxen. Their efforts
gave the settlement a plentiful supply of food, which
lasted through the winter, and did not spoil until the
summer.

93   This is probably from mĩmāsihe, with anticipatory
assimilation of the vowel in the causative –si to match
that of the passive –he.
94   Meinhof noted that kōse was elsewhere spelled gōse.

BK2. The preparation of wild bulbs[95] (Mhf, 64)

1 Hēhē ʼūb di ʼan ʼanneb:
    hūb tham hāba na kai ʼaeb khaue,
    ab na xaib hūb hoab xa gaise xoã.
    I na ʼaeb ūbēhē,

5 I na thamsa kxʼummi naba hã,
    num tsĩ ʼae kxʼam tsĩku na ūbēhē.

    I na hōb nabub xaib dī
    tsĩ thoro ae.
    I na kxʼummi xa thom ʼamme.

10 A kxʼaidab[96] i na horaē
    tsĩ xai xaie tsĩ koraē.
    !ʼOm tama korahēb i.
    I hoʼo xati, xati milib kose.[97]
    I na ʼo ʼoʼūē,

15 harub kxʼai, āb ʼokaro.
    I na xaba hokua ū ahe tsĩ hoʼo
    sāũhe.
    I ko ʼũsi xunneb ta tsĩ kxʼamma
    kuru xaē,
    tsĩ xun tama a ʼūē tsĩku xa ī kō
    ʼũsi.[98]

95 Andries Bitterbos (AB2) gave a similar account (Ebt1936, 214–216). He added the extra detail that a small 'fine-eye' bulb (fynoog-uintjietjie) called abib was dug out especially for the children

96 Meinhof translates this word as 'time'. It is possibly a misprint for kxʼaib (~ kxʼaeb).

97 In Tswana dialects, the word tshuga or tshuge refers to a 'white edible corm' in a 'brown fibrous shell'. It was traditionally 'boiled or baked'. See Cole (1995, 282).

98 Andries Bitterbos noted that people also used to collect suring or sorrel, a species of Oxalis with leaves that contain a refreshingly acidic juice. This was called haob, and Bitterbos said that it was boiled and then pressed into a wide-mouthed xabib vessel (possibly to ferment?), and was eaten together with milk in the winter.

BK2. The preparation of wild bulbs (Mhf, 64)

1 This was the method of preparing the food:
a large fire was kindled (khau-he) on top of some soft earth (hūb tham) so as to heat (xoã) all of the sand below.
Then the fire would be removed:

5 where the heat (ǂkxʼummi) remained there in the soft [sand],
the coals (ǂnum) and firewood would be taken away (ū-bē-hē).

Then they would make space for a half full sack (ǁhōb nabub)
and pour [the bulbs] in (thoroǂae).
They would then be covered over (thomǂʼam-(h)e) with the hot sand.

10 After a little time (ǀa ǀkxʼaidab) they were taken out (hora-hē),
and cooled and peeled.
They were not difficult (!ʼom tama) to peel.
And now they were white, like (kose) white maize.
Then they were dried

15 on a mat (ǀharub kxʼai) so that they could dry hard (ǀʼo-karo).

Then it was poured back into sacks, and now it was stored (sāū-he).
The ground food (ǂʼũsi xun-he-b) could be made into porridge (kxʼamma), but it could also be eaten without being ground, both were ways of eating it.[392]

392 This is the method that was used to prepare the bulbs. A large fire was made over some clean soft sand, so that the heat would penetrate the sand. Then all the wood and ash were removed, so as to leave behind just the sand with the retained heat. They would make a space just deep enough to take half a sack full, and would pour in the bulbs. After a short time, they were taken out again, and cooled and peeled. The skins came off easily once they had been charred; and the flesh underneath was pure white, like white maize. Then they were spread on a clean mat to dry out and harden. The dried product was poured back into sacks to be stored. It could be ground into a flour and used to make a type of stiff porridge (polenta), or it could also be eaten without being ground.

Bhf7. Stone artefacts (Tatab, Teteb and Iis) (Mgd1932, 145–146)

1 Tarakhoedi na ōkua
khares thi haib thikha khau kwa.
Koakaka kje na kũ,
i na uri kae kx'oa ha.[99]

5 Saob kx'ai nãukua na oro
nãe.
Kharedi kx'ausakua xa
tarakhoedi dibae.
Gaida khoekua i kje dība.

10 Guru uikua i-da kje dī tama,
Sākua-ku kje dī-ku a.

Bhf7. Stone artefacts (Tatab, Teteb and Iis) (Mgd1932, 145–146)

1 The women (*tarakhoedi*) for wild bulbs (*'okua*)
the bored stone (*xares*) and the stick (*haib*) would dig with (*khao/xoa*).
Early in the morning (*‖oakaka*) they would go (*ũ*)
and in the the afternoon (*'uri 'ae*) would return (*kx'oa*).

5 In the winter (Saob *kx'ai*) the leaves (*nãukua*) would dry out (*|'oro*)
and be fallen (*‖nā e*).
The bored stones (*xaredi*) by the men (*kx'aosakua xa*)
the women for were made (*dī-ba-he*).
Our ancestors (*gaida khoekua*) made them.

10 As for the stone-knives (*‖guru|uikua*), we did not make them,
it was the San (Sākua) who made those.[393]

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99 The 'ha' in line 4 is perhaps hā. Maingard translates lines 4–6 together (even though he has a full-stop at the end of line 4), and suggests: 'They return (kx'oa) in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off'. If oro is indeed 'dry off' (ōro), then line 5 may mean: 'in the winter, the leaves would dry out (wither) and fall'.

393 The women used to dig for wild bulbs using digging sticks weighted with bored stones. They would go out early in the morning and only return late in the afternoon. [They had to make the most of the season, as] the leaves withered and fell away in the winter [making it harder for the bulbs to be found]. The bored stones used to be made for the women by the men. Our ancestors made them. We didn't make stone knives: it was the San who used to do that.

AB1. Household utensils [excerpt][100]
(Ebt1936, 212)

Kx'um na xabakua

1   Orakhoesiba i tje na haiku xa
      'orekua kuru,
      In Korana tyd het hulle hout van
      skottels gemaak,
      xam tsĩkua hoe tsĩkua.
      lepel en hulle bamoes en hulle.
      Nā xuku na tje na 'ũ.
      Daardie goeters in het hulle geëet.
      Bĩb tje na hoeku na ãu'ãu.
      Melk het hulle bamoese in dik-
      gemaak.

5   Hũib naub xa tje na kuru nā xukwa,
      Wilger-stomp van het hulle gevorm
      daardie goeters,
      i tje na ankx'aikua kuruba hoekua.
      En hulle het deksels gevorm-vir die
      bamoese.
      Nubu tsĩkua tje na hĩ nahe*[101]*
      Gekarring en so is gemaak-in-geword
      i tje na nuib dī.
      en hulle het vet (botter) gemaak. […]
      I tje na nā nubu nuib
      En hulle het daardie karring-vet
      (=botter)

10 goman di nãku na 'ai.
      beeste se horings in gegooi.
      I tje na kx'aeb Sauba 'ũhe.
      En dit is tyd winter geëet word. […]
      Kx'urib tje na am am
      'n Yster het hulle warm-gemaak

AB1. Household utensils [excerpt]
(Ebt1936, 212)

Vessels in the house (*kx'ommi*)

1   In [the old days of] the Korana, [they]
      made dishes (*!'oreku*) from wood
      (*haiku |xa*),
      spoons and containers.
      [They] used to eat out of those things.
      [They] would thicken (*ãu'ãu*) milk in
      the vessels.

5   [They] created (*kuru*) those things
      from stumps of willow-wood,
      and [they] made lids (*≠an-kx'ai-ku*, lit.
      'close-on-3mp') for the containers.
      and [they] were used for churning
      (*∥nubu*) in
      And [they] made fat [butter] (*∥nuib*).
      […]
      And that butterfat

10 [they] would pour (*∥'ai*) into cows'
      horns (*∥nãku*).
      And it was eaten (*'ũhe*) [in] the
      winter (Saob) time (*∥kx'aeb*).
      [The vessels were carved from willow-
      wood.]
      An iron [tool] was heated (*|am|am*)

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100 This account was dictated to Engelbrecht by Andries
   Bitterbos, who also provided the close translations into
   Afrikaans. Engelbrecht's transcriptions have been edited
   only lightly, where this has mainly involved the removal
   of unnecessary hyphens and substitution of 'ai' for 'ei',
   'kua' for 'kwa' and 'ō', 'ū' and 'ā' for 'o:', 'u:' and 'a:'. His
   glottal stop symbol, as in kxʔaide, has been replaced by
   the apostrophe.

101 Andries Bitterbos's translation suggests that hĩ here is a
   verb. It seems to be used as part of a compound with
   the postposition na, and the expression as a whole has a
   Passive extension (hĩ-!na-he).

tsĩ kxʼam aku aku ʼu ʼuhe.[102]
en die rande van-hulle geblom-
geword.
I tje na hōku akua ʼum kxʼaide
En is (op die) skouers van hulle ronde
plekke

15 hā noasihe
uitgekap-geword
sĩ tje na nā onade hū xarue
en is daardie knoppe gat-
dwarsdeursteek-geword
tsĩ nāba thõathõa thõasise.[103]
en daar is aangesit-geword ʼn
handvatsel (band, tou).

and the rims (*kxʼam|xāku* ʼedge-
side-3mp') were decorated with
[pokerwork] designs.
And on their shoulders (*hōku akua*)
round places (!*ʼum kxʼai-de*)

15 were carved through,
and those knobs were pierced all the
way through (‖*hū xaru-he*)
for a [cord] handle to be threaded
through.[394]

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102 The sense is that the rims and shoulders of the wooden vessels were decorated (geblom, lit. 'flowered') by means of ornamental pokerwork. The word ʼu is obscure, although Meinhof has ʼūb 'colour' (Nama ûb).

103 The verb thõa seems to be cognate with Nama tsôa as in tsôana 'thread beads on to string' and tsôab 'strap or sling, handle made from cord'. The formulation thõasise reflects a pattern seen in connection with other tools, such as kxʼaxusise 'sharp things' (BK3, line 4). It is possible that –si is the derivational morpheme used to form abstract nouns, but the reason for the use of the adverbial suffix –se is not clear.

394 In the olden days, the Korana people used to make all their utensils – dishes, containers, spoons – out of wood. They ate from wooden vessels, and used them to sour milk in. They made them out of blocks of willow-wood, and gave them lids. They also used them for churning butter in, and would pour the finished butter into cows' horns, and then eat it throughout the winter. An iron tool would be heated and used to decorate the rims of the vessels with ornamental pokerwork. Knobs were carved on the shoulders of the vessels, and then pierced so that a cord could be threaded through to serve as a handle.

AB9. The *ǁãmas*, a river-crossing raft [excerpt][104] (Ebt1936, 226–227)

1   Orakhoesiba
In die Koranna tyd
tje na garib i-n thã ǁãu oaxūb kuru.[105]
het hulle rivier hulle swem-deurgaan-mee-ding gevorm.
Khoe'i ǀona i ta ǁãu o,
As 'n mens alleen sal deurgaan
i tje na naub xai,
het hy 'n blok afgekap,

5   i tje na hũsen
dan homself-uitgetrek
tsĩ xankua bi!'ãb kx'ai ai noasihe.
en die klere die kop op vasgebind-geword.
I tje na naub hā 'ã ame na,
Dan het hy die blok stoot-ingaan die water in,
tsĩ nā naub xa thã ǁãu garib.
en daardie blok met deur die rivier geswem.
I tje na xaba ǀharukx'umku ana ǁãmas kuruba.
En hulle het ook die biesie-huise van-hulle 'n skuit gemaak-vir. […]

10   'On tsĩ tarakhoede tsĩna i tje na nau[106]
Kinders en vrou-mense en so het hulle gelaai
nā ǁãmas kx'ai.
daardie skuit op. […]
Guxu tsĩkua ana tje na nau
Vee-goed en hulle van hulle het hulle gelaai
nā ǁãmas kx'ai.
daardie skuit op.

AB9. The *ǀãmas*, a river-crossing raft [excerpt] (Ebt1936, 226–227)

1   In [the old days of] the Korana,
they made things for swimming
across the river with.
If a person was going across (*ǁãu*) on
his own (*ǀona*),
he chopped (*xai*) a log (*naub*),

5   then undressed himself
and fastened on (*ai-ǂnõa-si-he*)
his clothes (*xankua*) on to his head
(*bi!'ãb*).
Then he would go into the water
(*ǁammi*) and push the log along
and swim across the river with that
log.
And they also (*ǁxaba*) made a boat
(*ǀãmas*) for their reed mat houses
(*ǀharukx'omku*).

10   The children and the women they
would load (*nao*)
on to that raft.
Their livestock (*guxu*) and possessions
they would load
on to that raft.

104 This account was dictated to Engelbrecht by Andries Bitterbos, who also provided the close translations into Afrikaans. Engelbrecht's transcriptions have been edited lightly, where this has mainly involved the removal of unnecessary hyphens and substitution of 'ai' for 'ei', 'kua' for 'kwa' and 'ō', 'ū' and 'ā' for 'oː', 'uː' and 'aː'. His glottal stop symbol, as in kxʔai, has been replaced by the apostrophe.

105 An account of river-crossings by means of both rafts and the solo swimmer's float was given by Wikar (1935, 126–127).

106 The word ǂnau here used to mean 'load' may have been ǂnao.

I tje na garib ta kx'oa, xabe ãu.
En as die rivier sal vol-wees, nogtans gaan deur.

15 I ona na ãu kx'aihe naub
En alleen-is-deurgaan-op-geword-blok
tje na *bãs* ti aihe.
is die 'bãs' so genoem-geword.

And if the river was full (*|kx'oa*), nevertheless (*xabe*) they crossed.

15 And the solo-crossing log was called the *bãs*.[395]

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395 In the olden days, the Korana people made things to help them swim across the river. If a person wanted to make a solo crossing, he chopped a log for himself, stripped, and tied his clothes in a bundle on his head. Then he would enter the water and push the log along, using it as a float. They also used to make a kind of raft for transporting the reed mat houses. They would put the women and children on to the rafts, and even their livestock and other possessions. Even if the river was full, they would still cross. The log for a solo crossing was known as a bãs.

FIGURE 5.4   Traditional wooden vessels. The Nama people used to carve a similar range of vessels from wood, as illustrated alongside in images from Leonhard Schulze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907), 245), which show several kinds of *hoedi*. The shallow dish at top right is a *'ores*, while the vessel in the lower right-hand corner has been mended by a special darning technique. As Schultze noted, the Nama people of the modern period did not make clay pots, although they had the terms *goasūs* 'clay pot' and *kxoekxoesūs* 'khoekhoe pot'. The Kora term for a clay pot was *Birisūs* 'Tswana pot'.

BK3. Making fire in the olden days, and hunting (Mhf, 65)[107]

1   Orakhoēsib tsēku na
i-da tje ǃ'urikua ūhã tama.
ǃ'Ui tsĩ hai tiku xa
da tje na sĩsen kx'axusise.[108]

5   I-da tje na ǃaeb haib tsĩ *xarob*[109]
tsĩkhara xa kuru.
Xarob bi da tje na noro thamtham
tsĩ am ǃ'uisara xa ǂnau tsĩ ǃ'aeb khau.

Ũsi tjē na surugub[110] dibāe,
khās xa tje ǁkx'aũe tama.

10   Naib bi tje na hāku[111] xa ǁarue
tsĩ koãku xa hae.[112]

BK3. Making fire in the olden days, and hunting (Mhf, 65)

1   In the old Korana days,
we did not have iron (*ǃ'uriku-a*).
With stone and wood
we used to work to sharpen something.

5   [For] fire (*ǃ'aeb*), we worked (*kuru*) with
wood and the *xarob* [bulb].
We used to rub (*noro*) the *xarob* till it
was soft (*thamtham*)
and strike (*ǂnau*) with two stones (*ǀam
ǃ'uisara ǀxa*) to kindle (*khau*) [fire].

For the springbuck (*ǁũsi*), a pitfall trap
(*surugub*) was made (*di-bā-he*),
[they] weren't shot (*ǁkx'ãu-he*) with the
bow (*khās ǀxa*).

10   The giraffe (*naib*) was chased (*ǁaru-he*)
with horses (*hāku ǀxa*),
and stabbed (*ha-he*) with spears
(*kõaku*).[396]

107 The text given here is Meinhof's edited version of a text originally written down by Benjamin Kats.

108 The expression kx'a-xu-si-se seems to mean literally 'sharp-thing-ness-ly', and may have been a formulation used to avoid referring directly to certain tools. (See also AB1, line 17.)

109 Speakers of Tswana once used a type of bracket fungus known as kono to serve as the tinder when making fire either by striking a flint or by means of the fire drill (Cole 1995, 224). Other plant material used in a similar way included lesômô, which was the dried papery sheath obtained from certain bulbs (Cole 1995, 262). According to Burchell (Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, vol. 2 (1824), 579), the name of the fire drill in Tswana was lorulo (Nama doro).

110 The term 'kaysi' was used by Wikar in the account of his journeys (The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar, 48–49) made in the late 1770s. Burchell (Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, vol. 1 (1822), 387) subsequently noted that some of the Khoi he met in 1811, 'when speaking in Dutch, call these pitfalls by the mixed name of 'kysi-gat or tkysi-gat (kysi-pit); the first part of which is the aboriginal appellation'.

111 Horses were introduced to the Cape shortly after the establishment of the refreshment station by the Dutch: Van Riebeeck noted in a journal entry dated May 1653 that he had 'received two horses from Batavia, and expect another by the Enkhuisen' – but added that he wished he had a dozen (Donald Moodie (ed.), The Record (Cape Town: A. S. Robertson, 1838), 33).

112 Francois le Vaillant (Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop, 1726, vol. 1, trans. Rowland Raven-Hart, ed. Edith Raidt (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1971), 261) described how the Khoi guides accompanying him went hunting, 'setting themselves in a line, each with a kerri in his hand (this being a heavy walking-stick) and beating along the flat; and as soon as they put up a quail they threw at it on the wing with exceptional skill; and in the same way they hunt partridges, hares, and all sorts of small game'.

396 In the olden days of the Korana people we never had iron, but had to use stone and wooden implements to sharpen anything. To make fire, we used to put a bit of tinder in a grooved stick, and then struck two flints together to make a spark. To catch springbuck, we dug pitfall traps: we didn't try to shoot them with bows and arrows. To catch giraffe, we would chase them on horseback, and then use our spears.

Bhf8. Bows and arrows (Dʒuli, Matiti and Kheis) (Mgd1932, 146–147)

1   Kāb Sākua dī koa.
     I kje Korakua kāb dī koa tama.[113]
     I kje kōkua gā khādi   koa
       hurubekua khama   huru hã.

5   I kje   kākx'ausakua
     torob   na
     gai khādi thi ākua thikua   noa.

     I kje   hami na,
       kũdi[114] thi gaokua thikua

10 surugub[115]   na   kxōe,
     I kje gõab   koa   kame.

Bhf8. Bows and arrows (Dʒuli, Matiti and Kheis) (Mgd1932, 146–147)

1   The San used (*dī/xoa*) poison (*āb*).
     The Korana did not use poison.
     The boys (*/'ōkua*) played (*/huru hã*)
     with small bows (*gā khā-di   xoa*)
     like (*khama*) playthings (*/huru-be-
     kua*).

5   And the warriors *(//'ã-kx'aosa-kua)*
     shot (*≠noa*) in the war (*torob   na*)
     with large bows (*khā-di*) and arrows
     (≠'ā-kua).

     And in the hunt (*hami   na*),
     the springboks (*/ũdi*) and wildebeest
     (*gao-kua*)
10 were caught (*xō-he*) in the pitfall trap
     (*surugub   na*),
     and were killed (*am-he*) with a spear
     (*gõab /xoa*).[397]

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113 The assertion that the Korana did not use poison may
     not be quite correct: certainly, George Thompson in
     1824 encountered Korana who hunted game with
     poisoned arrows (Travels and Adventures in Southern
     Africa, vol. 1, ed. Vernon S. Forbes (Cape Town: Van
     Riebeeck Society, 1967), 33). Thompson also noted
     (Travels, vol. 1, 89) that some of the Tswana people (the
     Tlhaping), were similarly using poisoned arrows at this
     time.
114 Although this word kūdi for 'springboks' seems unusual
     (compare   kũdi), a similar form was obtained by
     Engelbrecht (1928) from one of his consultants.
115 Another name for pitfall traps was   gaisekua
     (Engelbrecht 1936, 86). This is probably the word noted
     by Burchell, whose Khoekhoe-speaking guides referred
     (Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, vol. 1 (1822),
     387) to the ''Gysi gat''. Many different kinds of traps –
     including stone traps, log traps, pitfall traps, snares,
     and stone fishing weirs – were once widely used by all
     communities throughout much of older Africa, and
     were certainly not exclusive to either the San or the
     Khoi.

397 The San people used to use poison, but the Korana did
     not. The little boys used to make small bows and arrows
     to play with. In battles, the warriors used to shoot with
     large bows and arrows. In the hunt, the springbuck and
     wildebeest were caught in pitfall traps and killed with
     spears.

Beth1. Kaross-making (Pakapab and Kleinjaer) (Mgd1964, 61–62)

1 Thoathoa tsēb,
   baster gū di khōb ūhāe,
   i na   kx'ã kx'ãe.[116]

   I na   kam   'ãeb[117] tsēb, thama ta o,

5 i na   horoe, i na   noroe.
   I ko toae   kx'oms   kx'a.
   Kai   namma   nani khōkua na ūe,
    ka   namma haka na ūe.

    Nona   'ãeb tsē,   'oros i na ab dīe.

10 Khoba tje   'oros dī.
    Nai   nasa hakase   'ome,
    nai   nasa   kam khōkua.

Beth1. Kaross-making (Pakapab and Kleinjaer) (Mgd1964, 61–62)

1 On the first day (lit. 'beginning day'),
   the skin (*khōb*) of a baster sheep is
   taken (*ū-hā-he*),
   and it is wet (*|kx'ã|kx'ã-he*).

   Then on the second day (*|am ‖'ãeb
   tsēb*), when it is soft (*thama*),
5 it is brayed (*horo-he*) and softened
   (*|noro-he*).
   Then it is finished (*toa-he*) with
   witklip (*|kx'oms*).
   For a large kaross (*≠namma*), six skins
   are taken (*ū-he*),
   and for a small kaross, four.

   On the third day, it is made up (*dī-he*)
   with a needle (*≠'oros* 'awl').
10 From bone (*≠xoba*) the needle is
   made.
   Sometimes (*|nai   nasa*) four skins are
   sewn together (*≠'om-he*),
   sometimes two skins.[398]

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116 It was in the speech of these consultants, who belonged to the Right-hand Korana and came originally from Bethany, that Maingard finally heard the ejective affricate click accompaniment.

117 Maingard's spelling suggests that the word used in combination with number terms to create the ordinal series may have been the word   kx'aeb 'time', which was occasionally recorded with a nasalised diphthong. For comparison, see the use of ordinal expressions with   'aī in BK15.

398 This text is not provided with a free translation because the literal version seems sufficiently transparent.

Bhf9. The making of the *goa xarib* (honey-beer)[118] (Tabab) (Mgd1932, 147)

1   Danisa ū kēi.
      Nãib[119] i na hũe.
      I na kũ kũe,
      i na karae.[120]
5   I na thamsa kaib ab ūe.
      I na danis koa gobe.
      I na kamsa gammi ha na amme.
      I na o gokx'aie.
      I na kũ kũe.

Bhf9. The making of the *goa xarib* (honey-beer) (Tabab) (Mgd1932, 147)

1   Honey (*danisa*) is put in (*ū‡'ai*).
      The *nãib* is pounded (*hũ-he*).
      It is boiled (*ǀũ/ũ-he*),
      and then strained (*ǁara-he*).
5   Its pulp (*thamsa aib ab*, 'soft portion' [?]) is taken [out].
      Then it [the filtrate?] is mixed (*‡gobe*) with the honey (*danis ǀxoa*).
      Then [it] is poured over (*‡na‡am-he*) [with] hot water (*ǀamsa ǁgammi*).
      Then when it has been covered over (*gō-kx'ai-he*)
      it is boiled (*ǀũ/ũ-he*).[399]

Bhf2. The *doro*, or young men's initiation school[121] (Mgd1932, 137–140)

Bhf2.i. Version A (Tabab)

1   Kx'om i na kx'ombae harab na kōkua.
      I na gomab abae.
      Nuib nabae[122] gaus na,
      ie gausi hũiba xu dīe a.[123]

Bhf2. The *doro*, or young men's initiation school (Mgd1932, 137–140)

Bhf2.i. Version A (Tabab)

1   And a house (*kx'om*) is built in the cattle-kraal (*harab na*) for the boys (*ǀ'ōkua*).
      An ox (*gomab*) is slaughtered for (*‡'aba-he*) them.
      The fat (*ǁnuib*) is poured for (*‡na-ba-he*) them into a dish (*‡gaus na*).
      The dish (*‡gausi*) is made (*dī-he*) from willow-wood (*‡hũiba xu*).

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118 The making of honey-beer was once widespread in Africa (see P. D. Paterson, "The making of honey beer throughout tropical Africa," in Honey: A Comprehensive Survey, ed. Eva Crane (Crane, Russak, 1975), 405–407). The Tswana name for the beverage is khadi.

119 The nãib root or moerwortel was referred to as the haap or haarwortel in other accounts (Mgd1932, 147). Maingard says that Tabab told him the nãib was a root with little red flowers. The Tswana people used various plants as the fermenting agent according to Cole, who noted (1995, 221), 'plants whose fruits or tubers are reported to be used for making khadi include species of Eriospermum, Euphorbia, Grewia, Kedrostis, Khadia, Raphionacme, Stapelia, Trochomeria, tylosema; also, sorghum grain, maize bran and termite fungus'.

120 The word kara, which Maingard translated as 'sift' is unusual, though Khwe has árá 'sift'. (A common word for 'sift, strain' is found in Nama as anu and in Naro as na u.)

121 A more detailed account of the doro is given by Andries Bitterbos (Ebt1936, 157–161).

122 Perhaps better nabae.

123 Perhaps i he gausi.

399 Honey is placed in a suitable vessel. Meanwhile the moerwortel is pounded, then boiled, and the liquid strained. The liquid is then added to the honey together with hot water, covered, and left to simmer some more.

5 Anmãsisa khoekua[124] xa na sãsibae.[125]
 I o kxʼaku na kae,
 i na gãie,
 i na oe.
 Ina uikua hõe nãu na.[126]

10 I na *hnʼn* ti mĩ.
  Nuse hã a, i-ku ta gãie o,
 i-ku nãu.
 I na gõab mãe, garamuʃ koa.[127]

 I na kxaeb[128] mãē:
 • Tāe sausub dao xu aub na ha
   aiba![129]
 • I-tsa gūxūkwa kaigu ai na gūxub
   mũ o, tāe gaba aib xu a ūhā
   kãuba, i na kãub gai khoekua
   gaba aib.

5 They are cooked for (*sã-si-ba-he*) by
 well-known men.
 And if then while (‖ʼae, lit. 'time') they
 are busy drinking,
 they are called (ǂgai-he),
 then they answer (oe).
 And stones (ǀuikua) are knocked
 together (hũ-he) in their ear (‖nãu
  na).

10 They say: '*hnʼn*'.
 Then when they are far away (nūse)
 and called, they hear (‖nãu).
 And a spear (gõab) is given (mã-he),
 as well as a stick (garamuʃ).

 Then the teaching of the prohibitions
 (‖xaeb) is given (mã-hē):
 • Do not light your pipe (sausub)
   from a fire (ǀʼae-ba) in the veld
   (aub)!
 • If among (‖ʼaigu) the livestock
   (gūxūkua) you see a sheep that
   is limping (ǀʼai na), do not look
   directly (gaba) at its foot (ǂʼaib)!
   Rather bring (ūhā) it back to the
   village (‖ãuba), so the senior men
   of the village can look at the foot.

124 Note that Maingard usually spells khoe as 'khwe' and
 khoekua as 'khwekwa'. The original spellings have been
 adapted here for ease of reading.
125 Maingard translates the complex adjective anmãsisa as
 'well-known'.
126 A similar custom of striking something sharp close to
 the ears was described by Gunther Tessmann (Die Baja:
 Ein Negerstamm im mitteleren Sudan (2 vols) (Report
 of the 1913 Anthropological Expedition to Cameroon)
 (Stuttgart, 1934)) as part of the rites surrounding
 initiation into one of the secret societies of the West
 African Gbaya. This symbolic action was intended to
 foster sharp hearing, and Andries Bitterbos (Ebt1936,
 221) stated the same thing about the Korana custom:
 a a nãuhe tje na ab kxʼā nãu ka 'iets word by sy oor
 geslaan sodat hy skerp-oor is'. Tessmann also mentions
 that during the process of immersion linked to a concept
 of symbolic resurrection, the initiates received cuts
 (scarifications) on their bellies as a mark of passage.
 Wuras noted similar components (a 'knocking of the
 awls' and the making of nine cuts on the belly) in the
 old Korana initiation rites ("An account of the Korana,
 by the Rev. C. F. Wuras" transl. and ed. Louis Maingard,
 Bantu Studies 3, no. 1 (1927): 287–296). Tabab, however,
 said that no such cuts were made by the Korana
 (Mgd1932, 140).
127 This should probably be xoa, but when Maingard uses
 the letter 'w' to indicate a semi-vowel, it is not always
 certain whether the original vowel was o or u.
128 The Nama word khae means 'abstain from, avoid'. The
 word seen here might be translated as 'prohibitions'.
129 It was explained by Andries Bitterbos (Ebt1936, 220)
 that the reason for this prohibition is that the fire might
 have been made from something stolen.

- I-tsa xūb aub na hō ho,[130]
ūhā kãuba koa,
i-b hũ khoeb (xū ãib)[131]
ha hō-bi kãuba na![132]
- Õas ũxu!

I na xūbi ta disa o,

25   xaba kxaeb na ū kāi.
I-b ta õas ũ o,
i na naba ō.

I-b ta kx'omma xu koa o,
i na hōxae,

30   nõas gauwe[133] nona kurisas,
i na kxōekasie.[134]
I-b ta kxō o,
i kx'ausa.
I-b ta kxō tã a,

35   kaba kxaeb na ū kāi.

- If you find (hō) something (xūb)
[livestock?] in the veld, bring it
back home to the village (∥ãuba),
so that its unthinking (xū‡ãib)
owner (hũ khoeb, lit. 'master')
may find it in the village.
- Abstain from eating hare ('õas)!

If you do anything wrong (dī-sā, lit.
'mis-do'),

25   you are again (∥xaba) taken into
(ū‡'ai) instruction.
If you should eat (‡'ũ) a hare ('õas),
you die (∥'ō) right there (∥naba).

When he emerges (‡'oa) from the
house (kx'omma xu),
then a heifer (|nõas) is selected (hō-
xa-he),

30   a three-year-old (nona kurisas),
and it [OR, the boy] was made to run
(xōe-kasi-he).
If (o) he catches (xō) [it]
then he is a man (kx'ausa).
If he does not catch it,

35   he is taken (ū‡'āe) again (xaba) into
instruction (∥xaeb na).[400]

130 The second ho may be a misprint for hā.

131 The parentheses here were inserted by Maingard,
who translates lines 19–22 as 'If you come across any
(strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad),
that the owner may obtain it in the stad.'

132 Andries Bitterbos explained (AB6) that failure to take
the animal in for safe-keeping could lead its owner to
go looking for it, with the potential consequence that
he might be attacked by wild animals. Any such harm
would be due to the negligence of the finder who had
not taken appropriate and timely care of the strayed
animal.

133 The word ' gau' is obscure. Although it bears a
superficial resemblance to Nama au 'tame', the Kora
word for 'tame' was kx'ū.

134 The verb here features the impellative extension –kasi,
but it is not clear whether it was the heifer or the boy
who was made to run. Maingard translates lines 31–32
as 'he runs hard, in order to catch it'.

400 A special lodge was built for the boys inside the cattle
kraal. An ox was slaughtered, and roasted for them by
the senior men. The fat was poured for them into a dish
carved out of willow-wood. If their names were called
while they were busy drinking, they had to respond
immediately. Two sharp stones were banged together
close to their ears. This ensured keen hearing, so that
even when they were far away, they would be able to
hear a summons. They were given a spear and a stick,
and then they were given their instructions: not to light
their pipes from a fire found in the veld (in case it was
the campsite of bad people); not to look directly at the
foot of any limping animal they might encounter, but
rather to take it back to the settlement for the senior
men to attend to; not to leave any strayed animal they
might find in the veld, but rather to take it back to the
settlement for safe-keeping; and not to eat the flesh of
the hare. If they failed to obey any of the prohibitions,
they had to apply for re-admission. If they ate hare, they
would die right then and there. When the candidate
emerged from the lodge, a three-year-old heifer was
chosen and set running for him to chase. If he caught
it, he was considered to have become a man; but if he
failed, then he had to go through the whole process
again.

Bhf2.ii. Version B (Matiti)

1 Doro na ko ū kai,[135]
    i na   oãsi kai khoekua ku[136] hã
    i na gomare   koa kũ kae.[137]
    I na garamuʃ thi gõab thikha mãe.

5 I na   kxaeb mãe:
-   Tāe   aub na hōwe sa   aib ba sausub khau!
-   Tāe   õas   ũ!
-   Tāe   aub na hō ai na i-ts ta mũ o, tāe   gaba   aib![138]

10 A ūhā   kãuba koa,
    i-ku gai khoekua   gaba   aib.
    I-ts ta aub na gaba   aib o,
    i-ku   kosa,[139]
    i na   kaba ū kai.

Bhf2.ii. Version B (Matiti)

1 He was taken into the *doro*,
    and senior men (*kai khoekua*) looked after (*õasi*) him,
    when (*ǁ'ae)* they went to meet (*'oa ū*) the cows (*gomadi*).
    And a stick (*garamuʃ*) and a spear (*gõab*) were given (*mã-he*).

5 And instruction (*ǁxaeb*) was given:
-   Do not light your pipe (*sausub*) from a fire (*'aeb-ba*) found (*hō-he*) in the veld!
-   Do not eat (*ǂ'ũ*) hare (*õas*)!
-   Do not, if you see (an animal) you find (*hō*) in the veld is limping (*ǀ'ai na*), do not look at (*gaba*) its foot (*ǂ'aib*)!

10 Bring it to the settlement (*ǁ̃uba   oa*),
    and the senior men (*kai khoekua*) will look at the foot.
    If you look at the foot in the veld, then you have gone wrong (*ũ-sa*), and must go back into [the *doro*] again *(ǁxaba)*.

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135 Andries Bitterbos said (Ebt 1936, 220) that a small cord was tied round the boy's ankle at this time, so that his friends could see that the elders had decided he was ready for initiation: na   ob turi daba !ai!noahe, i tje na nā turib a 'anhe doro!xōhe i-b ko !kx'aib, ũn ab xa, 'that boy had a small cord (turi) tied around his ankle (!ai!noa-he), and by means of this cord it was announced ('an-he) that he had been taken for initiation (doro-!xō-he) by his parents (ūn ab)'.

136 The use of ku here is obscure.

137 Maingard translates this obscure line as: 'when (kae) they go and meet (koa kũ) the cows (gomare), (the boy drinks milk)'.

138 The purpose of the prohibition was perhaps to ward off any possibility that an affliction of lameness might be transferred to the initiate while in the vulnerable state of transition. The secondary teaching was that the initiate should act responsibly by obtaining help for the injured animal, no matter who might own it.

139 The word ' kosa' is a litte obscure. Maingard translates it as 'transgress', but note Nama gōsa 'unique'.

15 I na gūna di   nuib kx'asie,[140]
    i na   gāie, i na oe.
    I na uikua   hōe nãu na,
     nusa hã a,
    i-ku   gāihe ku ta o,   nãu.

15 Then the fat of sheep (*gūna di ‖nuib*)
    was drunk (*kx'āsi-he*),
    and [he] was called (*≠gai-he*), and
    [he] answered (*oe*).
    And stones (*|uikua*) were struck
    (*hō-he*) in his ear (*‖nãu   na*).
    Then [while] being far away,
    if he was called (*≠gai-he*), he will hear
    (*‖nãu*).

20 I na   nona kurisas   nõas ū kwãsibae.
    I   garu, i ta saoba hō o,
    kx'aosa.
    I ta hō tama hã o,
    i ta   kaba ū kāi.[141]

20 A three-year-old (*nona kurisas*) heifer
    (*|nõas*) was brought out for him
    (*ū   oasiba-he*).
    And [he] chased (*‖garu*), and if [he]
    caught its tail (*saoba*),
    he was a man (*kx'aosa*).
    But if [he] should not catch it,
    then [he] was taken in (*ū≠'ai*) again
    (*‖xaba*).[401]

BK4. The rules for young men attending initiation school (Mhf, 65–67)[142]

1 Sida   Orada di doro gaokua:[143]

    • Ta   kx'ã!
    • Ta   ai!
    • Ta   ae!
    • 'Aub   na i-ts ho hã   'aeb ba,
       ta   xob daokx'ai!
    • Xub khoeb dib i-ts ho hãb tsĩ mũ
       hãb,

BK4. The rules for young men attending initiation school (Mhf, 65–67)

1 The rules of our Korana *doro* are:

    • Do not steal!
    • Do not harm!
    • Do not lie!
    • Do not light (*dao-kx'ai*) your pipe
       (*xob*) from fire you have found in
       the veld!
    • And if you find or see someone's
       property,

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140 According to Andries Bitterbos (Ebt1936, 221), it was milk that was drunk rather than fat, which seems reminiscent of the ceremony of fattening described by Wikar. Bitterbos added the detail that the milk was medicated by the addition of a burnt and ground up powder known as swart-storm: *itjena nābīb nūso ōaba hübi tsĩ xon tsĩ bīb   na thoroe*, 'en vir daardie melk is swart-storm gebrand en gemaal en die melk in gestrooi'.

141 Maingard translates line 24, 'he is brought back to the law'.

142 The text given here is Meinhof's, from Benjamin Kats's original version.

143 Meinhof altered Benjamin Kats's original   aukoa to gaukua (perhaps gaokua).

401 He was taken into the lodge [set up inside the cattle kraal], where the senior men checked up on him when they went in to see to the cows. He was given a stick and a spear. Then the instructions were given: not to light a pipe from a fire found in the veld; not to eat hare; not to look directly at the foot of a lame animal he found in the veld, but rather take it back to the settlement for the senior men to examine. If the candidate looked at the foot, then he was deemed to have broken one of the rules, and would have to apply for re-admission to the school. The candidate was given mutton fat to drink, and if he heard his name called while he was drinking, he had to respond. Then sharp stones were struck together close to his ear, so that he would have the power to hear his name being called even when he was far away. A three-year-old heifer was chosen for him to chase after, and if he managed to grab its tail, then he was considered to have become a man. But if he failed to catch it, then he had to go back into the school.

ta xu ’aub na, hā xa!
I-ts ta nati dī te hã o,

do not leave it in the veld, but
bring it with you (*hā/xa*) [for safe-
keeping]!
And if you do not act in this way
(*∥nati*),

10 i-ts ko gaokua ũ na,[144]
   i-ts hā na ’ao nae.[145]
   Xaba i-ts ta doroe o,[146]
   i-ts na xaba koba.[147]
   Xa ko gomana na ’ae.

10 you have gone against (ũ na) the
rules,
and you are expelled (*!’ao∥na-he*).
When it has again (*∥xaba*) been
slaughtered for you to go to the *doro*,
then you can speak (*koba*) [try?]
again.
The same (*∥xā*) [number of] cows
were slaughtered (*≠’a-he*).

15 Hēhē gaode[148] i-ts ke ni kōb ade
   dī kx’oa kx’oa.

15 The whole of these our rules (*gaode*)
you must fulfill.[402]

144 Benjamin Kats originally wrote u a, and translated it as
    'geovertre'.
145 Benjamin Kats wrote ao ae, and translated it as
    'afgesned'.
146 The passive form dorohe indicates that doro is used here
    as a verb. It is interpreted by Meinhof, following Wuras,
    to mean 'slaughter (beasts) for the young man's entry
    into the doro'.
147 This line was translated by Benjamin Kats as 'dan is weer
    ingekoom'. Meinhof translates koba as 'speak'.
148 In this instance, Benjamin Kats wrote gaode.

402 This text does not need any further translation.

FIGURE 5.5　Portrait of a young Korana man
carrying a stick and a spear, by William Burchell
(*Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, vol. 1
(1822), Plate 10, following p. 490).

Bhf3. The *gam ’aeb* ceremony held on the occasion of a young man's first big kill[149] **(Tabab, with Matiti, Teteb) (Mgd1932, 140)**

1 I na i-b ta xammi khamma noa o,
   i na nausab si nae.
   I na goman ae,

4   gorekua[150] mãsi khā kx'ai nausab.

Bhf4. Th*e habab*, the young woman's coming of age ceremony (Iis and Meis) (Mgd1932, 140–141)[151]

1   kaeb ta ha o,
     kōs di habab,
   i na   khaib dibae.
   I na   haruba mãsi kae,

5   I na   konamãkx'am ab dibae.
    I na nose nu,
    xukua gaise gaba tama,
    i   kaosen tama.
    I na   koa ta o,

Bhf3. The *gam ǁ'aeb* ceremony held on the occasion of a young man's first big kill (Tabab, with Matiti, Teteb) (Mgd1932, 140)

1   When (he) shoots (ǂ*noa*) [an animal] like (*khama*) a lion (*xammi*),
    then his uncle (ǁ*naosab*) is told (*sīǁna-he*, lit. 'send-tell-*Pass*).
    Oxen (*goman*) are slaughtered (ǂ*'a-he*),

4   and his uncle confers (*mãsi*) cuts (ǀ*gorekua*) on his body (ǀ*xā kx'ai*).[403]

Bhf4. The ǀ*habab*, the young woman's coming of age ceremony (Iis and Meis) (Mgd1932, 140–141)

1   When the time (ǁ*'aeb*) comes
    for the ǀ*habab* of a girl (ǀ*'os*),
    a place (*xaib*) is prepared for (*dī-ba-he*) [her].
    A mat (ǀ*harub*) is provided in there for (*mãsiǂ'a-he*) ([her],

5   and a private (ǀ*ona-mã* 'alone standing') entrance (*kx'am* ǁ*'ab*) is made for [her].

    She sits (ǂ*nũ*) quietly (*nōse*),
    [and does] not look (*gaba*) too much at things,
    and does not scratch at herself (ǁ*xaosen*).
    If she goes out (ǂ*'oa*),

---

149 James Chapman recorded in his Travels in the Interior of South Africa (London: Bell and Daldy (1868), 264) that 'according to an old custom of the Bechuanas, after the ceremony of circumcision is performed, every man is required to have stabbed a rhinoceros, or at least a buffalo, lion, or human being. Consequently, all the men of one age, or of one year's circumcision, go out at times in a body and scour the country for this purpose, and it is considered a disgrace to return from such expeditions without having dipped the point of their spears in the blood of a victim of some sort. Failing this, they are held up to public scorn and execration in the songs and dances at the khotla.'

150 This word for 'cuts' or 'stripes' was also used by Andries Bitterbos (AB6), who stated, however, that they were made during the doro initiation.

151 A more detailed account of the habab is given by Engelbrecht (1936, 163–168).

403 Once he has made his first big kill, of an animal such as a lion, then word is sent to his uncle, who slaughters oxen for a feast. The uncle also gives him the scarifications that signal his success as a hunter and adult man.

10   konamãkx'am aba koasa.
I na gai khoesa oasi.

I-ku ta o,
i-ku   ūkua toa o,¹⁵²
i na   kãsab¹⁵³ gūb mã.

15 I na gūb ae,
i na āb na aoxodomae.
I na gaus na xaba die aubi,
i na gai khoesa sãsie,
i na gai oudi¹⁵⁴ i na habu.¹⁵⁵ […]

20   Nuib   kwa i na uree,¹⁵⁶
i na ure toas ta o,
i na nuiba kauwe,
i na nouba kaba hoboe,
i na sãba thũmme.¹⁵⁷

25 I na gūb ta sãsie o,
i na   ae'osa kaisa khoedi   ũe.

10 she goes out by the separate door
(|ona-mã-kx'am-‖aba).
A senior woman (*kai khoesa*) watches
over ('õasi) [her].

When
the seclusion (ǂūkua [ǂnũkua,
'sittings'?]) is finished (*toa*),
the uncle (ãsab) gives a sheep (*gūb*).
15 Then the sheep is slaughtered (ǂ'a-
he),
and its throat is cut over a pit (āb
na).
The blood (|'aub) is gathered in a
wooden vessel,
and cooked (*sãsi-he*) by a senior
woman, and the senior women
devour (*habu*) [it]. […]
20 She is rubbed clean (*uru-he*) with fat
(‖nuib |xoa),
and when the rubbing is finished,
then she is smeared with fat (‖nuiba),
and with red ochre (nauba) again
(‖xaba) anointed (|hobo-he),
and covered (*thom-he*) with fragrant
powder (*sãba*).
25 When the sheep is cooked,
it is eaten (ǂ'ũ-he) by senior women
who are without any illness (|'ae'o-
sa).

152 Maingard translates line 13 as 'when the ceremony
is finished'. The word written by him as ' ūkua' was
perhaps   nūkua, or 'sittings', and may have been a
euphemism for the time of seclusion.
153 Maingard translates   kāsab as 'brother'. Our consultant
Ouma Jacoba used the same word, however, to refer to
an 'uncle' (possibly in the sense of 'parent's brother').
154 In the brief section between lines 16 and 19, Maingard
uses the spellings 'ao', 'au' and 'ou'. Since it is not always
clear whether he is indicating /ao/ or / /, his variants
will most often be left as originally given.
155 The word habu 'devour' is more commonly used of
animals, and seems equivalent to Afrikaans vreet.
156 Maingard's 'uree' seems to be for uru-he with vowel
assimilation. He writes it as ure in line 23. (Note kuru
for 'rub' in line 39.)
157 This word thũmme (thũm-he or thom-he), which
Maingard translated as 'sprinkled', was not recorded by
other authors with this meaning, and is difficult to trace
elsewhere in Khoekhoe or Kalahari languages, where
it might be expected to appear as tsum or tsom. Lloyd
has tsum, while Meinhof recorded thom in a compound
verb, where the meaning in both cases seems to be
'cover'.

I na   kŭb   kwa,
  habib tsi   namma tsikua anae,
i na   amdi   kāe.

Then with a back-skirt (ūb |xoa),
a fore-skirt (|xabib) and a kaross
(namma) she is dressed (ana-he),
and beads ('amdi) are hung around
her neck (||ā-he).

30 I na gai khoesi kua hoa xūkua   ko[158]
tsi xun   uib tsikua,
i na xun   kxoae.

I na   gariba ū kae,
i ousi hais ūhā,

30 Then the old woman touches (xō)
[checks?] everything (hoa xukua),
as well as a grindstone (xun|'uib),
and they grind together (xun|xoa-he)
(lit. 'it is ground together').

Then she is taken into (ū≠'ã-he) the
river (gariba).
The old woman goes to fetch (ūhā) a
twig (hais)

35 i na hōsis ta o,
i na   goab ūe,
i na   goaba hēba   kurue[159]
tsi   gaithakua[160] ūkx'ai   kurue.

Ina   nāba   gamma kx'am   na mã)e,

35 and when she has found it (hōsi-s),
then clay (≠goab) is taken (ū-he),
and she is rubbed ('uru-he) with this
clay (≠goaba hēba)
and her thighs are rubbed all over.

Then at the water's edge (||gamma
kx'am   na) she is placed (mã-si-he [?])

40   koaku kx'ai mãe,
i na hē haisa   naue,
i na kx'ai xarie.[161]

40 on her knees (||oaku kx'ai),
and it [the water] is struck (≠nau-he)
[with] the twig (haisa),
and she is sprinkled (xari-he).

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158 Maingard translates   ko in line 32 as 'touches'.
159 The word   kuru in lines 39 and 40 is translated by
     Maingard as 'rub', but is difficult to locate in any other
     sources. It may be related to Nama   uri uri, which is
     specifically to smear or rub with white clay.
160 Maingard translates   gaithakua as 'thighs'.
161 Engelbrecht says (1936, 164) that at this point, the girl
     threw some buchu powder on to the water, so as to
     protect herself from the 'great snake'. There are many
     parallels here with traditional customs once practised by
     the Sotho-Tswana people, among whom young female
     initiates were smeared with clay of different colours
     during different stages of the process. They were also
     confined to a small hut, and as William Lye and Colin
     Murray note (Transformations on the Highveld: The
     Tswana and Southern Sotho (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and
     Noble, 1980), 125) 'immediately before they enter this
     state of seclusion, the mysterious motanyane, the big
     snake otherwise known as 'child of the deep waters',
     appears to the girls from a deep ravine'.

I na kaũba koa kũ,[162]
i na gai khoedi   nae,

45 i na   am, i na   nā.

Then she goes to meet (ʼoa ũ) the
village (∥ãuba),
and [she is welcomed by] the older
women [who] sing (∥nae)
45 and clap (∥ʼam) and dance (nā).[404]

Bhf12. Courtship (Contributors not identified) (Mgd1967, 45–46)[163]

1 I na kxʼaob   na   kosi kxʼoa,
   in[164] ta   kosi ama[165] o,
   i na kai khoena sie,
   i na kai khoena kxʼommi kxʼam ab
   mãsie

5 si xoa[166].
   I na kai khoena xoa.

   I na   kosi di[167] kai kao,
   ku[168] khoena i-n ta   ka kã,[169]
   i na gub   ae   nausab xa,

Bhf12. Courtship (Contributors not identified) (Mgd1967, 45–46)

1 When a man (kxʼaob) a girl (lʼosi)
   desires (kxʼoa),
   and if (o) the girl gives consent (āmã),
   then the elders (kai khoena) are sent
   (sĩ-he)
   and at the door (kxʼam∥ʼab) of the
   house (kxʼommi) standing (mãsi-he)
5 go and ask (sĩ-xoa [?]).
   Then the elders ask.

   And if the girl is happy (ãi≠ao),
   and the parents do not (ta) refuse
   (≠xā ʼã [?])
   then a sheep is slaughtered (≠ʼa-he)
   by the uncle (∥naosab xa),

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162 Maingard translates line 45 as 'Then she returns to
    the stad.' The obscure word   koa kũ occurs also in the
    account of the doro, and seems to mean 'go to meet'
    (note Nama   oa 'meet').
163 Further details about traditional marriage customs are
    provided by Maingard (1932, 142) and Benjamin Kats
    (in Ebt1936, 209–210).
164 This is another instance where an apparently nasalised ī
    is reflected as 'in'.
165 Maingard translates line 1 and 2 as 'When a young
    man woos a maiden, and she is free'. The word written
    'ama' is perhaps āmā 'give consent, accept a marriage
    proposal'.
166 The use of xoa here is obscure, but is perhaps meant for
    kxʼoa 'ask, seek'. Maingard translates lines 3–5 as 'The old
    people are sent to the maiden's parents and they stand
    outside the door of the house. They ask: 'Please open the
    door.'
167 It is not clear whether this di is the Possessive di, or the
    verb dī 'make, do'. Maingard does not mark the vowel as
    long.
168 The function of ku in this line is not clear.
169 Maingard translates line 8 as 'and the parents on both
    sides agree'. (Note Nama mā nāgu 'agree').

404 When the time comes for a girl's coming of age
    ceremony, a special chamber is made ready for her. A
    mat is placed in it, and the little hut is given a private
    door. She is expected to sit quietly and not fiddle, and
    when she goes out, to use the separate entrance. A senior
    woman watches over her. At the end of the seclusion, a
    sheep is contributed by her uncle, and slaughtered by the
    traditional method. The blood is collected in a wooden
    vessel and cooked straightaway – and is especially
    relished by the senior women. [The girl] is rubbed
    clean and then she is smeared with fat, anointed with
    red ochre, and sprinkled all over with fragrant powder.
    Once the sheep has finally finished roasting, it may be
    eaten only by senior women with no illness or blemish.
    Then she is dressed in a back-skirt, a fore-skirt and a
    kaross, and beads are hung around her neck. The senior
    woman checks that everything is in place, and then gives
    her a grindstone, and shows her how to use it, grinding
    alongside her. Then she is taken down to the river. The
    senior woman hunts for a little twig, and then she takes
    clay and smears the girl all over with it. Then while the
    girl kneels down in the shallow water at the river's edge,
    the senior woman strikes the water lightly with the twig
    to make the water splash over her. Then she goes home
    to meet the village, and all the women celebrate her
    return with singing and dancing and clapping.

10   kaoxodom,
i na   nabe   nae.[170]
I na sasie, i na   ue,
i na   kaie   kaob.

10   by the throat-cutting manner (*aoxo-dom*),
and its entrails (*nābi*) are taken out
(*≠na-he* [?]).
It is cooked (*sãsi-he*), and eaten (*≠'ũ-he*),
and [there is] happiness (*ãi≠aob*).[405]

Bhf13. *Soregus*, or the mutual pact of friendship (Kheis and Saul van Neck) (Mgd1967: 45)

Bhf13. *Soregus* (Kheis and Saul van Neck) (Mgd1967: 45)

1   I na khoeb ta soregus   kao o,
i na theba kx'a   kaib xabas xu,
i na khoes kx'oa   ãib   kao khoes
thẽba kx'a   koa.

1   If a man wanted (*≠ao*) [to arrange] a
soregus,
then at the time (*∥'aeb*) [of] drinking
(*kx'ā*) tea (*tēb-a*) from a dish (*xabas
xu*),
he [would] ask (*kx'oa*) the woman
whether she wished (*≠ao*)
to drink tea together with him (*tēba
kx'ā∣xoa*).

5   I-s ta khoes   kã o,
dītoasa.
I na soregus dī, i-s ta mãsen.
I na soregus di   ũmas   kuis.

5   If the woman should refuse (*≠xā*),
then it was finished (*dītoa-sa*).
But the pact was made if she should
consent (*mãsen*).
It was a mutual arrangement of
friendship (*'omas*) alone (*uis*).[406]

405 When a young man wanted to marry a young woman,
and if she was agreeable, the elders would be sent to go
and stand at the door of her house to obtain permission
from her parents. If the young woman was happy, and
provided the parents did not object, the uncle would
sacrifice a sheep. It would be cooked and eaten, and then
there was general celebration.

406 The soregus seems to have been a reciprocal agreement
between two people (not necessarily a man and a woman)
to provide one another with mutual support when
requested. Maingard (1967, 45) refers to an account
by Wikar of something similar, where he (Wikar) was
approached by a woman to be her 'opligt man'. A similar
custom among Tswana speakers was noted by George
Thompson in his Travels and Adventures in Southern
Africa, part 1, ed. Vernon S. Forbes (Cape Town: Van
Riebeeck Society, 1967), where he described (p. 116) an
occasion when various Tswana and Griqua clans had
come together to discuss the formation of a political
and military alliance: 'Many of the Bechuanas selected
maats or comrades, after their manner, from among
their allies, presenting, in a formal manner, an ox to
the individual picked upon. The Griqua thus selected
becomes the favoured guest and friend of the donor;
the obligation is considerd reciprocal, and when he who
is now the host visits his maat in his own country, he
expects a similar present, and equal hospitality to what
he has bestowed.'

170 Maingard translates line 11 as 'and its entrails are taken
out'. The verb na is more usually found with the
intransitive meaning 'pour out, leak'.

Bhf6. Funeral of a chief (Teteb and Iis)[171] (Mgd1932, 143)

1 Gaoxaob ta nauhe o,[172]
i na hobab   nauhe,
i na khaib dībahe,
i na haikua   narahe,[173]

5 i na harub asibahe,
i na kha ōb nammi xa xamihe,
i na nāba   goisihe,
i na nai haruba kãukx'amhe,
i na hūba thuruhe.[174]

Bhf6. Funeral of a chief (Teteb and Iis) (Mgd1932, 143)

1 When a chief (*Gaoxaob*) is buried (*nau-he*),
then a grave (*ǀhobab*) is dug,
and a space (*xaib*) is prepared for him,
and raked smooth (*xara-he*) [with] twigs (*haikua*),
5 and a reed-mat (*ǀharub*) is spread for (*'āsiba-he*) [him],
and the dead body (*ǀxa ǁ'ōb*) is wrapped (*xami-he*) with a kaross (*≠nammi xa*),
and laid down (*goe-si-he*) there,
and covered over [with] another reed-mat (*ǀnai ǀharuba*),
and [with] earth (*huba*) is sprinkled (*thoro-he*).[407]

171 See BK21 for an example of the kind of lament that would be delivered on the occasion of a burial.

172 Engelbrecht noted (1936, 187) that an alternative word sometimes used in place of *nau* (perhaps as a euphemism) was sāu, which means 'put away, store'. The word 'ōsa for 'dead' was sometimes similarly replaced by xaisa 'absent'. Engelbrecht also noted (1936, 188) that Benjamin Kats stated that 'in ancient times' the grave 'was of circular shape' – although some of the Bloemhof Korana disagreed and suggested that 'the practice of making it circular might have been copied from the Bushmen'. Intriguingly, the missionary Joseph Tindall (father of Henry) described a Herero (or Cattle Damara) burial in 1847 (in The Journal of Joseph Tindall, Missionary in South West Africa, 100–101) as follows: '[The corpse] is placed in a sitting position. Two stakes are driven into the ground, once against the back projecting above the neck, the other against the knees. To these the corpse is tied, and left to become stiff. In the meantime, the grave is dug round and deep; a cell is made at one side of the grave to receive the body. This is closed with great stones and the grave is filled up.' More details about burials can be found in the travel account of William Somerville (William Somerville's Narrative of his Journeys to the Eastern Cape Frontier and to Lattakoe 1799–1802, ed. Edna and Frank Bradlow (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1979), 95, fn) and Engelbrecht (Ebt1936, 187–190).

173 Maingard translates line 4 as 'Twigs are strewn.' The word nara is not recorded by other authors and has no obvious counterpart in Nama, unless it is khara, which can mean to smoothe an area by dragging a tree over it.

174 Maingard's thuru is probably thoro.

407 When a Chief is buried, a grave is dug, and a space is prepared for him, and raked smooth with twigs, and a reed mat is spread out for him. And the dead body is wrapped up in a cloak and laid there, and covered with another reed mat, and then earth is scattered over.

PL6. Burial[175] (Lld, MP2: 110–112)

1 Khoe'i ta   'ō o,[176]
   e-da na   xum[177]   nammi   xoa,
   e-da na tchurib,
   ku[178]   xoa,   xum.

5 E-da na haidi, ū,
   e-da na kx'ab, si kao,
   e-da na korokoro,
    nati-da na   an kx'oasi
   kon hā kōb.[179]

10   Nati-da na xo koragu,[180]
   da na si ū ka hē da na tsumm   kã.
    Nati hĩ e-da na mĩ   *hobab*.
   Kxaise i-da na *kx'ab*, ti hi   kai,
   i   kã ta o,

15 e-da na   *hobab*, ti mĩ.

PL6. Burial (Lld, MP2: 110–112)

1 When a person died,
   then we would wrap (‖*xum*) them up
   in a kaross (≠*nammi*),
   working with cord (*thurib*),
   we would bind [them] up.

5 And then taking sticks (*haidi*),
   we would dig (*khao*) a hole (*kx'āb*),
   and we measured (*korokoro*),
   in that way (‖*nāti*) we worked out
   (≠'*an*≠*kx'oa-si*)
   kon hā kob [?] the measurement [of
   the person].
10 In this way then we would take and
   bend [the body] together on itself
   (*xo oa-gu* [?]),
   and go and bring it in (*sī ū*≠'*ã*) and
   place it, covering it (*thom 'ā*).
   So, this is when we say |*hobab*.
   At first [while still preparing the grave]
   we call (*ai*) it a hole (*kx'āb*), And then
   when [the body] has gone in (≠'*ã*),

15 then [only] do we call it a grave
   (|*hobab*).[408]

175 This account has not previously been published.
Maingard may have chosen not to include it in his
edition (1962) because of several uncertainties in the
text. The frequent use of e dana at the beginning of
sentences (in the sense of 'and then we') may simply
have been the Kora 1ˢᵗ person plural 'we' in combination
with the marker of the progressive aspect. It is a faint
possibility, though, that there was simultaneously some
influence of Cape Dutch, where dan would have meant
'and then'. (Our consultant Ouma Jacoba frequently used
ena in place of ina, which may reflect a similar cross-
influence of Afrikaans en 'and'.)
176 See Bhf6 for an account of the burial of a chief.
177 Note Nama   khom 'swathe (especially a corpse)'.
178 It is not entirely clear what the function is of ku, but it is
perhaps the verb ku(r)u 'work', used in combination with
  xoa 'with'.
179 In Lloyd's original, this obscure line is written kon hā
kōp. (Note Nama kōsib for 'measurements of a person'.)
180 In the manuscript,   koragu has the pencilled alternative
 koagu. It is perhaps part of a compound with xo,
where the whole may mean 'taken towards itself', or in other
words 'bent or doubled up'. It is interesting that Samuel
Dornan ("The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their
Language," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
47 (1917), 37–112) recorded a word korana with the
meaning 'dead' and korana cho as meaning 'a corpse'
in the eastern Kalahari Khoe language, 'Hie Tshware' –
perhaps because a dead body was doubled up for burial.
The Kora word   hora ~   hoa means 'crooked, crippled'.

408 When someone died, we would wrap them in a kaross,
using a cord to secure it. Then we would dig the hole,
making it so as to fit the size of the body. We would bend
the body before placing it in the prepared space and
covering it up. It was only at that point that we called it a
grave. To begin with, while we were still digging, we only
referred to it as a hole.

5.3   Oratory, lyrics, and folktales (or language-based arts)

The pieces reproduced in this section reflect a range of indigenous African genres, including some where the storyline would almost certainly have been generally familiar in the past to audiences throughout much of southern Africa, and where the character roles assigned to various animals (such as the role of the 'trickster' assigned to the jackal) were traditional.

i.	Peace will come (a praise song). (Bhf14)
ii.	A funeral lament. (BK21)
iii.	Lyrics of a dancing song. (BK11)
iv.	Lyrics of a women's dancing song. (BK12)
v.	Counting backwards (a game). (AB8)
vi.	The story of Moon and Hare and the origin of human mortality. (PL1)
vii.	How the San lost their cattle. (PL2)
viii.	The baboon and the quaggas. (Bhf11)
ix.	The lions and Crazy-head Korhaan. (PL3)
x.	The Sore ʼos, or Sun-child. (Bhf10)
xi.	Jackal stories (a sequence of three linked stories). (PL5)
xii.	Jackal and Leopard. (BK9)
xiii.	Lion, Ostrich and Jackal. (BK10)
xiv.	Jackal, Hyena and the person (Version 2). (BK17)
xv.	The story of the woman who saved her child from a lion. (BK14)
xvi.	The woman who took a splinter from the lion's paw. (BK15)
xvii.	Aesop's Fable of the Wind and the Sun, retold in Kora. (Bkr1)

5.3.1   The praise

The composition and delivery of praises of this kind constituted a highly developed form of orature throughout southern Africa, where subjects could range from a chief to one's own infant, and from a beloved cow to a small creature of the veld.[181] The corpus for Namibian Khoekhoe includes praises addressed to the thunder and lightning,[182] praises of the ocean and the veld,[183] and praises of various animals such as the giraffe and the zebra.[184] (The Nama term for a praise is *kares*, and when a

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181 See for example, Isaac Schapera, Praise-poems of Tswana Chiefs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), and Daniel Kunene, Heroic Poetry of the Basotho (Oxford: University Press, 1971).

182 Theophilus Hahn, Tsuni Goam: The Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi (London: Trübner and Co., 1881), 59–60.

183 Kuno Budack, "The Aonin or Topnaar of the Lower Khuiseb valley and the sea" Khoisan Linguistic Studies, no. 3 (1977), 1–42.

184 J. G. Krönlein, "Manuscript letters to Wilhelm Bleek [ca. 1861–1862]." Housed in the George Grey Collection of the South African National Library, Cape Town.

praising sequence is followed by a series of supplications, the whole then constitutes a prayer (Nama   *gores*).)

5.3.2   The funeral lament

The funeral oration had its own structure, but incorporated some of the elements of the praise. Several examples are included in Vedder's collection of Bergdama texts,[185]where the laments delivered by widows commonly include references to the person lying there (*goe*), pleas for the beloved to get up for them (*khãiba*), references to their dark-skinned handsomeness, their unmatchable courage and prowess in the hunt, and a long list of the caring deeds that no-one else would ever again perform for the mourner.

5.3.3   Lyrics

The two lyrics included in this collection are the words from two versions of the same song, where both are equally enigmatic. There are a few other fragments of songs in the records, but for the most part they are similarly obscure. A small detail provided by Wikar[186] tells us at least that a lament (of the kind mentioned above) was traditionally *sung*, and would sometimes accompany performances of the reed-dance, for which the music was provided by an ensemble of musicians playing the consort of monotone reed-flutes, with a few drums for percussion and rhythm. Hahn also mentions that the praises addressed to the thunder and lightning were similarly delivered *as songs*, and were accompanied by dancing.

5.3.4   Word games

The counting game is placed under the heading of language-based arts because of its inclusion of a clever tongue-twister. Other kinds of gaming based on word-play would have included the art of riddling, and in this respect, there is an unfortunate gap in the corpus of Kora texts. The examples below are from the set of Nama riddles recorded by Schultze.[187]

a)   *Tare'e goma,   aba   garib am   gã mã   urina?*
       – ‖*gũti*.
       Of what is it said, 'white things (*urina*) standing at the edge (*am !gã*) of a red (ǀ*aba*) ridge (*garib*)?'
       – the teeth.

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185 Heinrich Vedder, Die Bergdama, vol. 2 (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen and Co., 1923), 64–83.

186 Hendrik Wikar, The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 169.

187 Leonhard Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907), 539–545.

b)   *Tare'e goma,   huni ‖ganihe?*
     – xaib.
     Of what is it said, 'it is drawn (*‖ganihe*) yellow-brown?'
     – the kudu.

c)   *Tare'e goma,   uri   nāba'ĩ |aba'e?*
     –   aris.
     Of what is it said, 'red with a white belly?'
     – the steenbok.

The remaining texts fall into loosely defined categories and include stories of origin, cautionary tales where the characters are ordinary people in everyday situations, stories about people interacting with animals in ways that are sometimes not entirely realistic – and stories where the protagonists are exclusively animals, and where the events are altogether fantastical and often comic.

5.3.5   Animal stories

We are fortunate that Gideon von Wielligh, who had many of the stories told to him as a child, left us a description of the way some of these stories were originally delivered. Von Wielligh wrote many of these stories down in later life,[188] and subsequently went on to prepare several extended collections of them, in the series known as *Diere Stories*. In his introduction[189] to one of the many editions of these popular books, he described the narrative techniques of his childhood storytellers, who included Piet 'Wolfryer' ('Hyena-rider'), Willem Sterrenberg, and Adam Kwartel ('Quail') from the Tulbagh district.[190] Each animal, it seems, would receive a suitably characteristic mode of speaking whenever the story allowed an opportunity for direct speech, so that Lion would roar, Jackal would whine, and Hyena would howl. Von Wielligh recollected that various creatures in the stories were referred to by specific nicknames, such as Langbeen ('Longlegs') for the ostrich, Krombek ('Crooked-beak') for the Vulture, and Geelpoot ('Yellow-foot') for the hawk. (Schultze[191] mentions similar nicknames in Nama, such as   Hãeb for the springbok (*gũb*), Kai gaba 'Big-back' (in reference to the mane or ruff) for the lion (*xammi*), *ti   gã   haisetse* ('my yellow brother') for the jackal (*girib*), and for the silver jackal (*xamab*), the hunter's name   Gaihetomab.)

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188 These stories were told to Von Wielligh in a variety of Cape Dutch (or emerging Afrikaans), at a time when, as Helize van Vuuren has pointed out in *A Necklace of Springbok Ears: Xam Orality and South African Literature* (Stellenbosch: SUN Press, 2016), 1–86, the narrative traditions for both Afrikaans and most varieties of South African Khoekhoe were still largely oral. The first collection by Von Wielligh was published in 1906 in the first Afrikaans magazine, *Ons Klyntji*, from where they entered the corpus of Afrikaans literature.

189 G. R. von Wielligh, "no. 1", in *Diere Stories*, part 1 (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1926), 9–14.

190 Rhoda Barry, "Voorwoord", in *Diere Stories, 'n keuse uit die versameling van G. R. Wielligh*, Rhoda Barry, ed. (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1980), vii–viii.

191 Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 453–456.

In *Dwaalstories*, the Afrikaans poet Eugène Marais published a similar (if much shorter) collection of stories told to him by various narrators, and it is in his introduction[192] to one of the editions of this work that he refers to a famous storyteller as someone who knew 'the Jackal and Hyena saga from A to Z'. This is a telling remark, as both his own and Von Wielligh's collections include a great many stories featuring these two antagonists, where some of the stories are indeed occasionally linked together to form a kind of saga or story cycle. The Korana corpus includes several of these stories, of which we have reproduced one from the Bloemhof Korana, three from Piet Links, and four from Benjamin Kats. The three stories told by Piet Links are connected to form a cycle by the idea that Jackal, ostracised for his deeds in the first story, is driven to live out in the veld for a while. While living 'rough' like this, he tricks some leopards in the second story, who then stay on his trail so that he is again forced to keep away from his house. In the final story, it is the same leopards who find the lion whom Jackal has tricked into believing that a rock ledge will collapse on him if he tries to move out from under it.

One of the Jackal and Hyena stories collected by Von Wielligh is the well-known comic tale of how Jackal tricks Hyena into serving as his steed. The fact that the same story has been collected from many different parts of southern Africa (albeit with different animal antagonists in some cases) reminds us that the stories told by the Khoi were not uniquely theirs but belonged to a vast repertoire of tales once told and retold throughout much of the region. (The stories about the origin of human mortality and the origin of people and cattle fall into the same category.) At the same time, there can be no doubt that skilled storytellers constantly changed details about the characters, composed new dialogue for them and added new episodes. The stories were clearly also modernised to reflect details of contemporary life and current events. The story of the steed, for example, suggests an acquaintance with the use of domesticated animals for riding purposes, whether this was a riding ox or a horse, while the comic Korana story about 'Jackal, the Hyena and the person' turns entirely on the recent introduction of the gun, and Hyena's unfamiliarity with it.

Given everything that has been mentioned above, it might be thought that the stories reproduced here are unlikely to be anything other than pale versions of the originals. Certainly, it is true that most of these narratives were dictated to linguists, rather than delivered in their usual manner and in their habitual context with a spontaneously reacting and participating live audience. Certainly too, the process of transcription may have been laborious, and has almost certainly led to a loss of vividness, including details of the gestures, mimicry and song that would have formed part of a living performance. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that the Kora consultants of 1920s and 1930s were for the most part mission-educated and well-used to the written medium. This suggests that they were themselves agents in making the transition between oral and written forms of narration, and no doubt were responsible for subtly transforming the originals so that they had their own coherence

192 Eugène Marais, "Inleiding", in Dwaalstories (Cape Town: Human and Rouseau, 1959), 4–6.

as written rather than orally performed texts. These early 20th century authors also contributed details and new episodes from their own personal experience, where this extended to literature they would have grown familiar with during their school years.
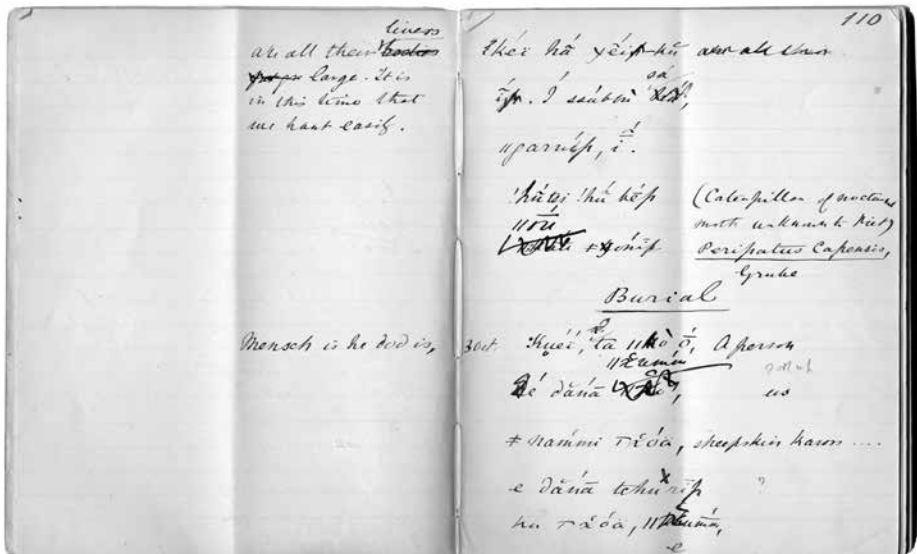
FIGURE 5.6. A page from Lloyd's second Kora notebook (MP2), showing the first part of the text, 'Burial'. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

Bhf14. Peace will come (praise song) (Mulukab)[193] **(Mgd1967, 45–46)**[194]

1   Kxaib ta ǁkũ hã, khoesa oã-tse!
     Hamti-ts ka hã ǁkub ǁna?
     Hamo a-ts ta oreda?
     A-da ǃnab ǁna na koaxa

5   haos ǁhaosa.[195]
     Kona'o kie hetse.
     Birikua ǁnari[196] hoan kie.[197]

Bhf14. Peace will come (praise song) (Mulukab) (Mgd1967, 45–46)

1   Peace (ǃxãib) will come, o you son of woman!
     How is it you come (hã) into our land (ǁhūb ǁna)?
     When will you free us (orē-da)?
     Let us (a-da) into the light (ǃnãb ǁna) emerging (ʼoa-xa)
5   be a nation (ǁhaosa) among nations (ǁhaos).
     We are without our children (ʼona'o) today (hētsē).
     The Tswana (Birikua) kidnapped (ǁnari) all (hoan) were come (xī-he).

193 Mulukab was apparently one of the last people in the 1930s who still knew how to play the gora (Percival R. Kirby, "The music and musical instruments of the Korana," Bantu Studies 6, no. 1 (1932), 195). It is probable that he was the same person as the speaker identified as 'Mukalap' or 'Makalap', who contributed the only other two previously made recordings of Kora, where one is a message to the delegates attending the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences at Ghent in 1938, and the other is a short set of words illustrating each of the clicks with its possible accompaniments. These recordings, which appear on the compact disc compiled by Anthony Traill (Extinct: South African Khoisan languages (University of the Witwatersrand: Department of Linguistics, ca. 1997), tracks 14, 15), were made by D. P. Hallowes in about 1936.

194 Maingard gives no information about the circumstances of this address, and nor is it clear who the honoured visitor was (unless it was Maingard himself).

195 This formulation mirrors expressions sometimes used in other languages of southern Africa, resembling, for example, Mosothosotho 'a true Sotho person'. The self-appellation Khoikhoi reflected in some of the early Cape records is said to have meant 'men of men'.

196 The verb ǁnari in this instance seems to mean 'steal, kidnap', in the same way as the equivalent verb in Nama. There is some historical irony here: Engelbrecht tells us (1936, 233) that the mother of Andries Bitterbos 'was the child of a Rolong husband called Moses Kats and his wife Henrietta, a native of Basutoland, both of whom had as small children been taken captive by people of the Cat Korana and reared in their midst'.

197 The verb xī 'come, arrive' at the end of line 7 is one of the few instances of this word as an independent verb in the Kora corpus. It is possible that the formal genre of the praise required an elevated style that included the use of archaic forms – and it is uncertainties of this kind surrounding register that make this piece difficult to translate. The basic sense of the line is perhaps, 'The Tswana came and stole them all away.'

BK21. A funeral lament[198] **(Ebt36, 211, 187)**[199]

1   Ae abo,   goe-ts ka   goe[200] hetse !'arib
      xa?
    !Gaub[201] kx'ai i-ts ka   goe
    !gaukx'amme?
    Khaîba te,   'o di   'uis õa!
    Ae,   goe-ts ka   goe?
5   Dā-bi-ts[202] ka mũba-te hã hetihĩ i-ts
      goe-b?
    Hamba ta ra   xaba mũ !'ariku a-ts ka?
    Saxa[203] ta kx'ā tama,
    tixa kxāhe ka
    i-ts ka heti   goe?

10 Ti !'ãsa oe, hā-se xu khoeb ab   goe!
    A-da mũ dā i-b !'arib ab xuba hã !xaib!
     Oaba   'ui ta ra kx'ā.[204]
    Xu ta ku ho'o, ti !ãsa oe.

---

198 This formal lament was dictated to Engelbrecht by
     Benjamin Kats. The particular lament recorded here
     seems to have been delivered by a man on behalf of a
     grieving widow.

199 Engelbrecht's transcriptions have been edited only
     lightly, where this has mainly involved the removal of
     unnecessary hyphens and substitution of 'ai' for 'ei', 'kua'
     for 'kwa' and 'õ', 'ũ' and 'ã' for 'o:', 'u:' and 'a:'. His glottal
     stop symbol, as in ʔarib and kxʔamme, has been replaced
     by the apostrophe. The translation originally given by
     Engelbrecht is a free and fairly loose one.

200 The expression   goe ka   goe seems to involve a pattern
     similar to one noted in Nama by Hagman, who described
     it as 'verb reduplication with –ka', terming its implication
     'repetitive', as in 'do x again and again'. In this instance, the
     implication is 'lie for all time'.

201 Ebt gives the meaning of !gaub as 'sadness', and translates
     line 2 as 'Are you lying there with saddened face with
     no smile?' In fact the word !gaub is obscure – although
     Nama has !gau(a)am as an adjective meaning 'with
     black or dark or dirty mouth', which in Kora would be
     !gauxakx'am.

202 The instance of dā here and its repetition in line 11 are
     among the very few cases in the corpus of Kora texts
     where the Nama-like dā 'surpass, go over' is used instead
     of bā. The choice may have been motivated by aspects of
     register. Another instance occurs in PL2, where it may
     reflect a Griqua influence.

203 The meaning of saxa is not clear, although Engelbrecht
     mentions that Andries Bitterbos translated the –xa with
     'of, from' (probably Afrikaans van).

204 For this line and the final one, the translation is the free
     one provided by Engelbrecht (1936, 187), and may not be
     accurate.

BK21. A funeral lament (Ebt36, 211, 187)

1   Oh father, do you lie and lie forever
    today with your courage (*!'arib*)?
    Do you lie there with darkening on your
    dark face?
    Rise up for me, son of the mother-in-
    law!
    Oh, do you lie and lie forever?

5   So now (*hetihĩ*) where is he who might
    look after me better (*dā*) than you lying
    there?
    Where might I again (*‖xaba*) see
    courage like yours?
    By us it will not be wept,
    for what purpose (*ka*) would it be wept
    (*kx'āhe*) so,
    [while] you lie there like this?

10 Oh my sister, come let us leave the man
    to rest,
    Let us see whether (*!xaib*) there is
    anyone who can surpass (*dā*) his
    departed courage .
    Tomorrow only shall I weep.
    Now my sisters I must leave off.[409]

---

409 A free translation is not offered, partly because of the
     text's obscurity, and partly because of the uncertainties
     surrounding register.

BK12. Lyrics of a women's dancing song: version A[205] (Mhf, 74–75)

1   Tsuguru   na mãs[206]   axai[207]
      harib   na mã !oab,
    Ulas   'ã,
      haimaku[208]   kx'ēgu mã

5   Kolitani,   Amub, Felstrop[209]
    tje kam di xudaba.[210]
    Tjelkausōb[211] ti xaiba,
    khaĩba-te!

BK11. Lyrics of a dancing song: version B, with exchanges (Mhf, 73–74)

Woman: Harib na mã oa-tse,
      Ulas abe!
      Tʃĩlgos,[212] ti xai, khãiba-te!
        Hoar!nāb !hobos[213] dādā
    ubase!
        'Ũ!num-ts ka na te?

BK12. Lyrics of a women's dancing song: version A (Mhf, 74–75)

1   In a circle standing for the dance,
    brown one (!oab) standing in the
    blue-bush (≠harib),
    brother ('ã) of Ulas,
    standing (mã) in between (‖kx'aigu)
    the yellow cattle (∣hai(go)ma-ku),[410]
5   Kolitani,   Amub, Felstrop,
    are [?] my little thing (xu-da-ba),
    Geelkous my husband (ti xaib),
    get up for me (khãiba-te)!

BK11. Lyrics of a dancing song: version B, with exchanges (Mhf, 73–74)

Woman: You brown one (oa-tse),
    standing in the blue-bush
    (≠harib na),[411]
    brother of Ulas!
    Skeelkoos, my husband (ti xai),
    stand up for me (khãiba-te)!
    Go soon (dādā) and get us
    crane ointment!
    Don't you want to get a beard?

205 The words of both versions of this song are enigmatic, and no attempt at a free translation is made.
206 Meinhof explains that this phrase meant 'standing in a circle' (with mãs meaning 'the standing').
207 This was the name of this women's dance.
208 The original is given as haimaku, which seems to be a misprint.
209 Although these are explained as the names of men, it is conceivable that they were the names of cherished cattle, and it is a remote possibility (if the reading of the piece as a lament is correct) that the phrase about 'standing in among the yellow cattle' is a reference to a chiefly burial inside the cattle kraal (see Ebt1936, 188).
210 Meinhof notes that Benjamin Kats gave this line as ti hā di xudaba, with the interpretation 'Is my brother, my dear little thing'.
211 The name Tjelkausōb is Geelkous ('Yellow Stocking') and was that of a famous Korana chief said to have been a 'Bushman', according to information Meinhof received from Gerhard Kuhn (Mhf, 75, fn 4). (Meinhof (Mhf, 5) mentions that Gerhard Kuhn was a missionary based with the Berlin Mission in Beaconsfield near Kimberley. It was he who invited Meinhof to travel to Pniel to work with the Korana who were resident there in 1928.)
212 According to Kuhn (Mhf, 74, fn 2), the name given as T ilgos was Skeelkoos. It could, however, be a variant of the name Tjelkaus in Version A.
213 Heinrich Vedder told Meinhof (Mhf, 74, fn 3) that this ointment, made from a mixture of plant substances and fat obtained from a crane, was regarded as the finest kind.

410 It is puzzling that some of the elements in the first five lines of Version A and the whole of Version B – such as the plea for the beloved one to get up (khãiba), the reference to his handsome dark complexion, and the plaintive list of his caring actions (such as obtaining the finest ointment for the singer) – resemble typical elements of a funeral lament. (See BK21). Wikar noted (1935, 169) that 'In the flute dance [or reed-dance] there is first a melody and the most important part is the song of lament by a woman, or a wife who has lost her husband in battle. The purport of it is something like this: that as she is now a widow, alone with her children, the game that would otherwise have been hers now roams about free from the arrows. […] The men stand linked in a circle and each one has a flute, a few of which have bass notes, others high notes.'
411 Some of the references in the first four lines of Version B also resemble formulations used in traditional riddles, and a very different reading is possible in which the favourite brown substance found in the blue-bush (harib), where it is surrounded by 'yellow cattle' – is the sweet edible gum (harab) of one of the acacias such as the sweet-thorn, which has yellow flowers. If this is the correct interpretation, then the singer is perhaps asking her husband to climb up for her (khãiba) and fetch some. There is an echo of this motif in the lyrics of a well-known Afrikaans folksong, which includes the line 'My geliefde hang in die bitterbessiebos', meaning 'my beloved hangs in the bitter-berry bush'. (Thanks to Renfrew Christie for pointing this out.)

Man: !Nusa daob tje!
         !Nusa sao!ãre!
         Daũsa sorebi!

Woman: Fale[214] xu-te,
         khoemĩba xu-te![215]
          Nabi xamma
         !au-tsi na xammi!
         !Ora tai,
          'as aĩb!

Man: !Are, ĩ-s na ai-re?[216]
          Naidab !ũ-da! !Ũ!
         A hā ai ona!

Woman: A, hā-ta ra! A, hā-ta ra!

AB8. Counting backwards (a game (*gabes*) played with pebbles)[217] (Ebt36, 225–226)

1 Djisi 'uide tje na ū tsĩ noasi,[218]
Tien klippertjies het hulle geneem en neergesit
i tje na ui khoeb nā kx'aisi mãkasi,
en het een man soheentoe laat staan
i tje na nai khoebi 'uide daba nũ.
en 'n ander man het die klippertjies by gesit.
I tje na nā kx'aimãkhoeb !oakx'oakasi.
En dan word die soheentoe-staan-man tel-agtertoe-gelaat-wees.

5 I-b tje nĩ hiti mĩ:
Dan hy moet so sê:

Man: The road is long!
         Follow the road with me!
         The sun is blazing!

Woman: Fale, leave me (*xū-te*)!
         Leave off talking to me!
         There a is a lion,
         it is going to pounce on you!
         I am a Korana woman (*!Ora-ta i*),
         reed dance!

Man: A servant am I (*!ā-re*)? Are you burdening me?
         Go away, you baboon – go!
         Come, let us call the children!

Woman: Yes, I will come, yes, I will come!

AB8. Counting backwards (a game (*gabes*) played with pebbles)[412] (Ebt36, 225–226)

1 They took ten pebbles and put them down,
one man was made to stand to one side,
and the other put the pebbles down.
And then the man who had been stood to one side was made to count backwards.

5 Then he had to say this:

---

214 According to Meinhof, a man's name.

215 Meinhof translates, 'Lass mich aus dem Menschengerede!'

216 Meinhof translates ai-re as 'refuse (to serve) me'.

217 This account was dictated to Engelbrecht by Andries Bitterbos, who also provided the close translations into Afrikaans.

218 This game would have been a test not only of hand-eye co-ordination but also of mental agility, since the player had to count backwards rapidly, while in addition picking up a quantity that differed from the number being recited. Finally, he had to avoid a slip of the tongue at the end, where the word for 'pebble' ('uis) is close to – but subtly different from – the word for 'one' (ui).

412 This piece does not need further translation.

Djisise[219]   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,
Wat daar tien sit van, neem 'n klip weg,
goesise   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,
wat daar nege sit van, neem 'n klip weg,
 kx'aisise   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,
wat daar agt sit van, neem 'n klip weg,
haŭkx'ũse   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,
wat daar sewe sit van, neem 'n klip weg,
10 !nanise   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,
wat daar ses sit van, neem 'n klip weg,
korose   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,
wat daar vyf sit van, neem 'n klip weg,
hakase   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,[220]
wat daar vier sit van, neem 'n klip weg,
!nonase   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,
wat daar drie sit van, neem 'n klip weg,
 amse   noade xa,   'uis ūbē,
wat daar twee sit van, neem 'n klip weg,

From ten down, take away a stone,
from nine down, take away a stone,
from eight down, take away a stone,
from seven down, take away a stone,

10 from six down, take away a stone,
from five down, take away a stone,
from four down, take away a stone,
from three down, take away a stone,
from two down, take away a stone,

219 The number names are used here with the adverbial suffix –se, and in the case of the numbers from eight to 10, the pattern resembles the adverbial use of kx'axu-si-se in the context of working (BK3), and thōa-si-se in the context of attaching a handle (AB1), where the roots to which –si attaches are nominals.

220 The Khoekhoe word haka for 'four' has long been a source of fascination, since the velar stop in the middle of the word is contrary to the usual phonetic shape of a Khoe root, which makes it likely that the term is a borrowing (unless –ka is adverbial). A word resembling it is found in the Tanzanian isolate, Sandawe.

15 uise   noas ūbē.
neem die enkelde wat sit weg.

I-b ta !oasā o,
As hy sal mis-getel het,
i tje na biris surute.
dan het hy bok betaal.
!Kx'axase i-b tje nĩ !oa.
Vinnig moet hy tel.

15 and one left remaining, take away the
stone.

If he counted wrongly (*!oa-sā*),
then he forfeited a goat.
He had to count quickly (*!kx'axase*).[413]

413 A complete comparative list of old Khoekhoe number names as found in the early Cape records is given by Nienaber in his study of Cape Khoekhoe, Hottentots (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1963), folded insert between pages 168–169). The origin of these number names is obscure, although Vedder suggested (Die Bergdama, vol. 1 (1923), 168–169), in connection with the terms used by the Bergdama that they were perhaps based on finger-names, where these may have arisen in turn from names for big and small members of a family. (In TUU languages there are generally only terms for 'one' and 'two', with the option of a 'paucal' for a few items, and a general term for 'many', although speakers of the !Ui languages universally borrowed the Khoekhoe word for 'three'.) Many number names in languages throughout the world have their distant origin in the system of counting on the fingers of the hand, so that words for 'five' commonly arise from a word meaning 'hand' or 'fist', while names for numbers higher than five may reverse the order of the terms, or else may build incrementally on the base word for 'five'. Typical Khoisan number names for 'three' may arise from a paucal, while names for 'four' may be a simple reduplication of the word for 'two'. In Khoekhoe languages, the word for 'six' may be based on a word for 'thumb' (note Kora nanib 'thumb'); both 'six' and 'seven' may arise from words meaning 'carry over'; while 'seven' may be expressed by a word meaning 'indexing' or 'pointing'. (In the Sotho-Tswana languages, the names used for 'eight' and 'nine' embody the idea of 'bending' or 'breaking', since the counting method formerly required the requisite number of fingers to be curled down, and in the case of 'eight' or 'nine', the outer fingers left upright naturally begin to bend.) It may be useful to bear in mind as well that in many other languages of the southern African region, number terms do not all necessarily fall into the same word class: some are nouns, others are adjectives, while still others are relative stems.

PL1. The story of Moon and Hare and the origin of human mortality[221] **(Lld, MP1: 024–026)**[222]

1   Xãs kie kie hē ti mĩ,
Khoen ke nĩ ti-r na ǂʼo kamma,[223] *ǁʼo.*
I kie Kõas ti mĩ,
ǁʼo tsẽ nĩ ǁʼo kũ.[224]

5   I kie nati Xãs xa Kõas noa kxʼam
nãe,[225]
noa ǂkxʼari kxʼamhe.[226]

PL1. The story of Moon and Hare and the origin of human mortality (Lld, MP1: 024–026)

1   Moon (ǀXãs) said:
'People must die (ǁʼō) as I thus (tĩ-r)
die seemingly (ǁʼō khama).'
But Hare (ǂʼŌas) said: '[They] die and
must die forever (ǁʼō ǀũ, lit. 'die-go').'

5   And so Hare was struck in the mouth
(ǂnoa-kxʼam-ǀnã-he) by Moon (ǀXãs
xa),
[his] mouth was struck and split
(ǂnoaǂkxʼari-he).

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221 This story was obtained by Piet Links (ǂŌaxa ǀxam, or ǂŌaxa the younger) 'from his paternal grandfather, Kai ǂŌaxa, who was told it by 'his Bushman herd' (Lld MP1: 025). Versions of the tale are found throughout Africa, while Nama versions were collected by Krönlein (in Carl Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, with contributions by Hermann Hegner, Diedrich Westermann and Carl Wandres (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909), 170–171); Theophilus Hahn (in *Die Sprache der Nama* (Leipzig: Barth, 1870), Appendix); and Leonhard Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 449). The versions where the creature responsible for the betrayal is a louse rather than the hare (as in Krönlein and Hahn) seem to be fairly localised, as noted by Édouard Jacottet in his *Treasury of Ba-Suto Lore* (Morija, Lesotho: Sesuto Book Depot; London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1908).

222 The version given here is from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook, but the word divisions and line breaks suggested by Maingard (*Koranna Folktales*, 47–48) have been taken into account. Lloyd's manuscript pages frequently include a word or brief phrase in Dutch, where these seem to be translations, paraphrases, or explanations provided by Piet Links, and these have also been drawn on.

223 The moon 'dies' only temporarily of course, and its regular 'rebirth' was formerly celebrated at the beginning of each new lunar month by many of the communities in southern Africa. Like other people in the region, the Khoi had names for each of the thirteen months in the lunar calendar.

224 The use in line 4 of ǀũ 'go' to add a quasi-aspectual implication of permanent completion after ǁʼo 'die' is rare for Kora, and may reflect a slightly archaic register.

225 It is interesting to note that the phrase ǂnoa-kxʼam-ǀna 'strike-mouth-in' of line 5 is passivised as a whole.

226 In line 6, the phrase ǂnoa ǂkxʼari-kxʼam 'strike-split-mouth' is similarly passivised as a whole. The verb ǂkxʼari, which is not encountered elsewhere in Kora, may be related to Nama khare 'split, burst', although the latter has an intransitive sense. (It is possible that a causative –si (~ hi ~ i) was originally present in the expression used by Piet Links.)

Nati e kie   kõas   na-b:[227]
Sats ke nĩ ho'o   nakx'ob   garasi.[228]
A-ts   kaba, a-ts tsi   hummi ai[229] *si*
nũ.[230]

10 *A-ts   nũã   kub   na   na.*[231]

So Hare told [Moon] (*‖nā-b*):
'You (*sats*) must now (*ho'o*) be a
wildpig's (*‖nakx'ob*) shoulder-blade
(*‖garasi*).
Ascend (*'aba*) and go sit (*sī ǂnũ*) in
the sky (*/humma ai*),
10 and seated there (*ǂnõã*), shine (*nã*)
on the earth (*hūb   na*).[414]

PL2. How the San lost their cattle[232]
(Lld, MP1: 026–029)[233]

1 Sāb kie kie gumas[234]   xa kie   nai.
    Nati e kie   Korab[235] Sab ga[236] da.[237]
  Tʃuxuba   aib kou,
  e kie guman   aib   koa   kũ.

PL2. How the San lost their cattle
(Lld, MP1: 026–029)

1 The San were born (*nae*) with cattle.
  This is how the Korana man in
  cleverness (*gā*) surpassed (*dā*) the San
  man.
  At night-time (*thuxub-a*) [he] kindled
  (*khau*) a fire (*/'aeb*),
  And the cattle went (*ũ*) towards the
  fire (*/'aeb   oa*).

227 It is not clear what is being cross-referenced here by the
    third person masculine singular enclitic –b.
228 The markings on the face of the moon may have been
    interpreted as the kinds of fissures and graining seen in
    the shoulder-blade of an animal.
229 This Nama-like ai seems to be the form that was used in
    the Griqua variety for Kora kx'ai 'on'.
230 The use of sī ('arrive, get to, go and do x') in line 8 seems
    to provide an instance of the closest equivalent in Kora
    to the use in Khwe of ci 'arrive' as a 'New Event Marker'
    (Kilian-Hatz 2008, 308).
231 An alternative reading is that   na   na is a reduplicated
    form of   nā, and means 'make light' or 'light up'.
232 This story was obtained by Piet Links (Õaxa   xam)
    from his paternal grandfather, Kai   Õaxa, who said he
    was told it by his paternal grandfather,   Urib (MP1: 026).
    A Nama version was collected by Krönlein (c. 1862),
    and was published in the Appendix to Meinhof's Nama
    grammar (Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache, 167).
233 The version given here is from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora
    notebook, but as before, the word divisions suggested by
    Maingard have occasionally been drawn on.
234 The feminine singular ('gumas' [for gomas]) seems to be
    used here either as an abstraction or as a generic term.
235 The words Sāb and   Orab are used here in the singular,
    but may have been meant generically.
236 The word gā means 'be clever'.
237 The use of a word like dā (with the meaning 'go over,
    surpass, defeat') to express a comparative is a common
    device in other languages of southern Africa. The word
    more usually used in Kora was bā.

414 The Moon said: 'Just as I only seem to die, so must
    humankind.' But Hare said: 'No, they must die and be
    dead forever.' So, Moon struck Hare in the mouth for his
    impertinence, splitting his lip. And Hare said in revenge:
    'Now I will throw you up into the sky like the shoulder-
    blade of a bush-pig. You must go up and sit there in the
    sky and light up the earth.'

5   E kie tẽje:
   Nã   xirab tsĩ   nūb tsika xa,[238]
   hamba sa di-ba?

   Xinab kie ti diba.
   E kie   Korab, hē ti mi,

10   *ti di-b kie   nūba.*

   Nati   kub   koa,
   Sāb tĩje,
   Hamma hã xub ba[239]   *xi ko na ba?*

   Ti di-n kie hē ho'o mã-na.

15   Nati kie Sāb   xo tenni, e kie   kũ.[240]

   Ham i-tsa na   kũ,
   e-ts kx'ao   nã-re tama?
   E-ts tsa na kx'ao   na-re tama   kũ,
   xub ko mi hã,

20   *nãu   kã*[241] *xub ko o,*
   tsa na kx'ao   na-re tama a na   kũ.[242]

   Nati e kie Sāb gumãs kā,   na,[243]
   nati kie   Korab gumãs   ãi.

---

5   And [he, one of the San] was asked
   (*tẽ(j)-e*):
   'Out of the shining (*≠xira-b*) and the
   black (*≠nū-b*),
   Which of those there (*hamba*) is yours
   (*sa di-ba*)?'

   [And he answered:] 'The shining one
   is mine (*ti di-ba*).'
   And the Korana man said:

10   'Mine is the black thing.'

   So the earth (*hub*) [morning] dawned
   (*oa*),
   And it was asked by the San man:
   'Where (*ham-ba*) is the thing there
   (*xub ba*) that was shining (*≠xi ko na*)?'

   [And the Korana man said:] 'Mine are
   these now remaining.'

15   So the San man could not get (*xo*)
   [anything], and went away.

   [The Korana man called after him:]
   'Where to (*ham|'i*) are you going?'
   'Can (*kx'ao*) you (*e-ts*) not (*tama*) tell
   me (*‖nã-re*)?
   'If you go off without telling me
   'what thing was said (*xub ko mĩ hã*)
   [that has angered you];

20   'if I am to understand (*‖nau 'ā*) what
   the thing is,
   'you can't just be going without telling
   me (*‖na-re tama a*).'

   So in this way the San lost (*kā*) their
   cattle,
   And the Korana [came to] possess
   (*‖'ãi*) cattle.[415]

---

238   The things that shine (xi [~   xai]) are of course the eyes
   of the cattle, which reflect the firelight because of the
   tapetum lucidum behind the retina.
239   Lloyd wrote xup ba, clearly indicating two distinct
   morphemes.
240   Lloyd translated line 15 as 'so the Bushman made ready
   and went'. Maingard interpreted the line as 'so the
   Bushman seize (xo) not (te) had-to (nī) and went'.
241   Perhaps   nau 'ā 'understand'.
242   These two lines of the text are obscure. Lloyd wrote ko
   mi as two separate words, but Maingard writes komi,
   and translates it 'as if'. In the manuscript, this part of
   the text (line 19 here) is translated 'as if thou were vexed
   with me'. The part of the manuscript corresponding to
   line 20 has a translation on the facing page that reads
   'dat word geluister'.
243   Lloyd translates this line as 'So the Bushman is without
   cattle.'

415   The San had cattle in the beginning. This is how the
   Korana outwitted them. One evening, a Korana man
   lit a campfire, and the cattle moved towards it. Then
   the Korana man asked the San man: 'Of the things that
   shine and the things that are dark, which do you want?'
   And the San man said, 'I'll have the shining things.' And
   the Korana man said, 'I'll have the dark things.' Then
   in the morning when the sun came up, the San man
   asked: 'Where have all my shining things gone?' And the
   Korana man said: 'Everything that is left is mine.' So the
   San man got nothing, and started to walk away. As he
   was leaving, the Korana man taunted him: 'Where are
   you going? Why don't you tell me what the matter is? If
   you want me to understand, you can't just go off like that
   without saying anything.' And this is how the San came
   to lose their cattle, and the Korana to possess them.

Bhf11. The baboon and the quaggas[244] (Meis and Kwalakwala) (Mgd1967, 44–45)

Naitab tsĩ   koaxaidi tsĩna.

1   Kui tse   koaxaidi hã,
     i kie   kui   aus hã.
     I kie na   naba   kamma hã,
     i na   naitaba kie gao hã.

5   Koaxaidi ta   kamma kx'a   kũ o,
     i na   naitaba   karukwae.

     *I na basi ta hō   kui   kob ab ka ĩb
     hē   naitabi huise ĩsa   gamma kx'a.*[245]

     I kie khoesi[246]   kona ho kx'ao   kob o,[247]

10   i na hē   kobi khãi.
     I na   kui tse hã   na   kob kwa,[248]
     i na   naitaba   karue,[249]i na   kũ.
     I na   koaxaidi
     hã samma bisie ĩb sõse kaise.[250]

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244 A Nama version of this story was collected by Schultze (Aus Namaland und Kalahari, 535–536), while an earlier version collected by Krönlein (c. 1862) was published in the Appendix to Meinhof's Nama grammar (Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache, 161–162).

245 Lines 7–8 are obscure. Maingard translates them as: 'Perhaps if we get a nice child, this baboon will help us to a nice drink of water.' An alternative reading is that the quaggas wanted to capture one of the baboon's children (ui 'ob ab), in the hope that as its father (ĩb), the baboon would then be more helpful.

246 The 'woman' (khoes) referred to in this context seems to be one of the female quaggas.

247 It is not clear whether the reference is to a human child or a quagga foal.

248 This kwa (koa) may be an instance where the comitative xoa was produced (or heard) without the click.

249 This seems to be a misprint for aru 'chase'.

250 It is not clear why the original text has 'quagga mare' in the plural (koaxaidi), since Maingard translates lines 13–14 as 'so the quagga mother gave him a good deal of milk at her breast'.

Bhf11. The baboon and the quaggas (Meis and Kwalakwala) (Mgd1967, 44–45)

1   Once (ǀui tsē) there was a herd of quagga mares (o(a)xai-di),
     and there was only one spring (ǀui ǀ'aus)
     where there was water,
     but there was a baboon (naitaba) who lorded (gao) over it.

5   When (o) the quaggas went (ũ) to drink (kx'ā) the water (ǁamma),
     they were chased away (ǁaru-koa-he) by the baboon.

     'If we could just manage (bā-si) to get (hō) a child (ǀui ǀ'ob),
     'this baboon might allow us (huise 'helpfully') to drink the nice (ĩsa) water.'

     And the female (khoesi) got (hō) a child (ǀ'ona), a male child (kx'ao ǀ'ob),

10   and this child grew up (kai).
     And one day [they] came (hā) with that child (ǁna ǀ'ob ǀxoa),
     but they were chased (ǁaru-he) by the baboon, and went away (ũ).
     So the quagga mare(s) quickly (sōse) let [him] be suckled (bī-si-he) plentifully (kaise) at the breast (samma).

15 I na   naitab   aus daba   nũ, goras xãe.[251]

I na   kuitse   kaba   kõn[252] ha   kob kwa,
i na   naitab *Kx'oa!* hã tĩ mĩ.
I na !koaxaidi   kxoe,
i na   kobi mã.

20 I na   naitab   kob hã tama   kxaib ko mũ
   o,
i na goras   kũb kx'ai   koesi   naitabi,
i na   naitabi hā
i na   khoegu khoekara.[253]
I na   kaue   naitabi,

25 i na   naitabi, *Hora ba-re-ts ko.*
I kie   naba hanaha   ãuku   kamma
   koaxaidi,
i kie mere[254]   naitabi   hane a tama.

---

15 And the baboon sat (*≠nũ*) at the
spring (*/'aus daba*) blowing (*xãe*) his
gora.

Then one day they went and came
(*ũ-hā*) again (*‖xaba*) with the child
(*/'ob /xoa*),
and the baboon told them, 'Go back!'
('*Kx'oa!*')
And the quagga mares ran away
(*xoe*),
but the child stayed (*mã*).

20 When the baboon saw (*mũ*) that
(*xaib*) it was no longer a child (*/'ob hã
tama*),
he laid down (*‖oe-si*) his *gora* on the
ground (*hūb kx'ai*),
And then the baboon came (*hā*)
and the two men (*khoekhara*)
grabbed one another (*xō(e)gu*)
And the baboon was wrestled with
(*'au-he*),

25 [and he conceded:] 'You have
completely (*hora*) defeated (*bā*) me.'

And from then everlastingly (*hã na
hã*) the quaggas had their fill (*≠'ãuku*)
of water
and the baboon did not hinder
(*≠hane*) them anymore.[416]

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251 The gora (Sotho lesiba) was a type of mouth bow that
incorporated a quill or reed across which the player
would blow. It is unlikely that it was unique to the Khoi
or any other Khoisan group, since various kinds of
musical bow were at one time found widely throughout
much of Africa. The type featuring the quill or reed is
sometimes referred to as a 'stringed wind instrument'.

252 This is probably   ũ 'go' with a vowel that has been
lowered in harmony with the following a.

253 Maingard translates line 22 as 'and [the baboon] came
up (hā) and the two men (khoekara) came to grips
(khoegu).

254 Maingard notes that mere is the Afrikaans meer 'more'.

416 Once there was a herd of quaggas. There was only one
waterhole that had water in it, but it was ruled over by a
mean baboon who felt he owned it. When the quaggas
came to drink the water, the baboon chased them away.
The quaggas thought: 'Perhaps if we had a child and
brought it with us, the baboon might be more kindly
and let us drink.' After a time, one of the quagga mares
had a child, and when it had grown a little, they took
it with them to the waterhole. But the baboon chased
them away as usual, and the mother consoled the little
one by letting it suckle instead. The baboon carried on
lying at the waterhole, playing his gora. Then one day,
when the quaggas' child had grown a bit more, they took
it down to the waterhole again. The baboon chased them
as he always did, and most of the quaggas scattered, but
the young one stood his ground. When the baboon saw
that it was no longer a child, he put down his gora out
of curiosity. Then the young quagga stallion [?] and
the baboon grabbed one another and began to wrestle.
Finally, the baboon admitted that he was defeated, and
from then onwards the quaggas came to drink the water
every day, and the baboon no longer tried to stop them.

PL3. The Lions and Crazy-head Korhaan[255] (Lld, MP1: 036–049)[256]

1 Haka[257] khoexaigun[258] ke kie hami hã,
   e kie khoeka au,[259]
   e kie koiren[260] hō.
   E kie xuri

5 e kie kam koiren xãu.
   E kie a[261] tsĩ hā,[262]
   e kie kx'ōkua, e kie oa nā.[263]
   E kie nati tani,[264] tsi sãsãsen.

   Kam xamkhara xa xurije,

PL3. The Lions and Crazy-head Korhaan (Lld, MP1: 036–049)

1 Once when four [?] husbands (*khoexaigun*) were out hunting (*hami*),
   two of them (*khoekha*) watched out carefully (*'au*),
   and found a herd of quagga (*oren*). They crept up (*/xuri*),

5 and shot (*‖xãu*) two quaggas.
   They slaughtered (*ǂ'a*) [them] and prepared for curing,
   and the pieces of meat (*kx'ōkua*) wind-dried (*ǂ'oaǂnã* [?])
   and then they carried it, and rested themselves.

   Then they were crept up on by two lions (*/am xamkhara xa*),

255 This story was told to Piet Links (Õaxa xam) by his paternal grandfather, Kai Õaxab, who heard it from his 'Bushman cattleherd'. Lloyd notes that Piet Links's grandfather 'lived at Mamusa, but was buried where Kimberly now is, formerly called K'ãs'.

256 The version given here is from Lucy Lloyd's manuscripts, but some of the word divisions suggested by Maingard have as usual been taken into consideration. The story is obscure in many places, and Lloyd's sparse notes and glosses shed only a partial light. It seems, though, that there are two Korhaan wives, where, in a common convention of southern African folktales, one is foolish and the other wise.

257 Lloyd wrote 'ha-ka' with a hyphen, but glossed it as haka 'four'. There is a small possibility that it was an adverbial form of hā 'come', particularly given that Lloyd elsewhere recorded 'four' as haga.

258 Lloyd wrote 'koe-xei gun', with a vertical line between gu and n. In Nama, the term kaikhoe'i means a 'spouse', and it is possible that khoexaigu here is an alternative expression for the same concept, incorporating xaigu 'marry one another'. In essence, the first part of the story is about husbands who went out to hunt.

259 Lloyd wrote the verb at the end of line 2 as ' 'ou', in an unusual instance (for her) of a click accompaniment indicated by an apostrophe. Maingard rewrote the word as ' ou', and translated it as 'lie-in-wait' (perhaps equating it with gau 'hide away, lurk in waiting'). Nama has au 'hunt; keep under surveillance'.

260 The word for 'quaggas' (oren, here written ' koiren' by Lloyd) is also used to mean 'zebras'. The Bloemhof Korana used koaxaidi for 'quaggas'.

261 Maingard follows Lloyd in translating ' a' as 'skin [an animal]'.

262 The verb hā seen in line 6 is not found elsewhere in the records for Kora, but note Nama hā 'prepare, make biltong, dry-cure meat or fruit'.

263 Maingard follows Lloyd in translating ' nā' (line 7) as 'dry'. This word is not recorded elsewhere for Kora, but Nama has nâ 'dry up'.

264 Perhaps meaning that they carried (tani) the meat over to the drying poles and hung it up.

10   nati uri nũkx'aije,²⁶⁵
     e kie kx'o   huru naje,²⁶⁶
     e kie   na   kam xamkhakara²⁶⁷   nati
      kã,
     e kie   nati tani,   na kx'oku   na
     xamkara,
     e kie   ãunõsi²⁶⁸   nan tani.

15   E kie kã,   na nũuku²⁶⁹ na   kã xabe.
     Nũ xe i-ts ha-ts ka   geri²⁷⁰ hã,²⁷¹
     i-ts   nũ tama hã?
     I kie khoesa tẽje,
     Gari-ts ka hã sa   nũ xaib ba   nũ-b?

20   *Tsauba-re   gari hã,*
     kie xu-re, ke xu-re a-re   nũ ā.

     Kamba, a   kamma mã-re a-re kx'a,
     nati nã harr kã kãs õasan.²⁷²

     E na uni harr kã kãda'i i,

10   and like this (‖*nāti*) were leapt down
     upon (*uri‡nũ-kx'ai-he*),
     and the meat was pulled out,
     and then those two lions went in (‡'*ã*)
     like this,
     and like this carried that meat
     (‖*nā kx'oku*) those two lions (*nā
     xamkhara*)
     and arriving back home, off-loaded it.

15   And then they went into the shacks
     and just (*xabe*) sat down.
     'Have you forgotten your chair,
     '[that] you are not sitting [there]?'
     the wife asked.
     'Have you forgotten the chair where
     you are supposed sit?'

20   [And the lion replied:] 'I just forgot
     out of tiredness (*tsauba*),
     'Leave me alone, leave me alone and
     let me sit.'

     'Give me water, oh please give me
     water and let me drink!'
     the korhaan children [or child?]
     (*õasan*) [called out].

     And she [or he?] pinched the little
     korhaan,

265 This form of huri 'jump' (seen in line 10 as uri) is more
     typical of Namibian dialects.
266 Maingard translates   huru na as 'stick in'. (Lloyd has
     'pulled out.') The meaning seems to be that the lions
     took out the meat from the hunters' game pouches and
     packed it into their own bags.
267 The masculine dual suffix is ordinarily –khara.
268 Lloyd writes ' ounõssi' as a single word, with the
     translation 'reached'. This is perhaps   'anu 'return home'
     as recorded by Meinhof, in combination with –sī 'arrive'.
269 The term   nũb (~ nub) meant a temporary screen or
     shelter, as used by hunters or women out in the veld,
     but seems to have been used also for a very modest hut
     or 'shack' dwelling. The usual Kora word for a properly
     constructed house is kx'ommi.
270 For gari.
271 This line is ambiguous, since   xe may be the
     complementiser 'that' (with xe arising from xai'i), used
     after the verb gari 'forget'; but may alternatively be a
     part of the compound nũ xaib 'sitting place, seat, chair'.
     The expression hats is perhaps a variant of ats 'your'.
     The overall meaning seems to be that the lions have
     forgotten to sit properly on chairs like the men they are
     pretending to be, and have instead sprawled on the floor.
272 It is at this point in the manuscript that the wife is
     identified as harr ã ās, the 'Korhaan Malkop' (Crazy-
     head Korhaan). The common plural ending of õasan
     suggests the presence of more than one chick, although
     the common plural may well be used with a singular
     implication in Kora, particularly in reference to a child.

25 e na kx'a xabe nã   ko'i.[273]
   E na   guba ab mãe,
   ab mũ kx'a nã   ko'i kum wo.[274]

   Hamti ta nĩ mã-tsi   ko'ē xabe?[275]

   I-s kum   xa mã-re wo.

30 *Kaise nã kx'a   ko'i*
   tsi tani[276]   *kamma   xa.*
   I hau khoeb kum ko   ko'i mãe wo.[277]

   Tir ' hamti i o,
   bã hau khoeb ko ĩ-b õa i, mãe,

35 *i-r tir ti õa'i hō   koa hã bã?*[278]
   I   nãu i-ts kum nāū   ĩs kx'ai.[279]
   Kie, *xu-te, a-ta   kamma.*
   E kie   nĩ khoes õasa, i xu khoeb daba,
   e kie   kũ daob   na.

25 so that the child cried even more.
   And it was given to its father
   who saw that the child was really
   crying a lot:

   'But why must I give you the child?'

   'You can indeed leave it with me.
30 'The child is crying too much
   'for you to carry with you to the
   water.'
   So the child was indeed given to that
   other man (*hau khoeb*).

   [And now the other husband said:]
   'Then why is it that I,
   'where(as) that other (*hau*) man was
   given his child,
35 'where I am not able to get (*hō ǁ'oa*)
   my child?
   'You [should] listen indeed to that
   other woman (*nāū ǁĩs*).
   'Then leave me (*xu-te*) and let me (*a-ta*) [go for] water.'
   So the other wife (*ǀnĩ khoes*) left her
   child (*õasa*) with the man (*khoeb daba*).
   And [they] went on the road.

273 It is not clear whether the mother bird pinches the baby to make it cry more and annoy the father, or whether the father does the pinching so as to provoke the crying that gives him the excuse he needs to take the child.

274 The repeated uses of kom … o ('truly, indeed') throughout the next few lines may have been intended to create a sound-picture subliminally suggestive of a lion's roaring, or else the deep booming alarm call of the male korhaan. (The formulation itself is more typical of Nama: within the Kora corpus it occurs only in the Links narratives.)

275 Maingard glossed line 31 as 'why I must give-you the child however', where he took ta for 'I (female)' and –tsi (in mã-tsi) for 'you (masculine)'.

276 Lloyd wrote tani, which suggests the verb meaning 'carry'. Maingard separated this into the two grammatical markers ta nĩ.

277 The wo at the end of line 32 is o with an inserted glide before it.

278 The first person pronominal forms tire and –r in lines 33–34 imply a male speaker.

279 Maingard glosses line 36 as 'and listen you indeed yourself (?)'. Note that the 2nd person pronominal form –ts ordinarily implies a single male addressee. There are instances throughout this text, however, where –s and –ts seem to be used interchangeably.

40 *Hamti-ts ka   habu hã,*
    e-sa nã   kosa nã xu?
    Sas mũ a   oa-ts[280] *ka hã?*
    Tae kamma-s ka   habu mũ na hã,
    e-sa nã mũ-sa na xamku xa-sa na   kos
    xu?

40 [But once out of earshot, the wise
    wife said:] 'How can you be so foolish,
    'that you leave your child?
    'Are you unable (‖'oa) to recognise
    (mũ '*ã*) [what they are]?
    'Why do you seem (*khama*) to
    observe (*mũ na*) so feebly (|*habu*),
    'when you see you are leaving your
    child with lions.'

45   Na khoeka[281]   kā,
    Kos mã-te.

    Hã'a, hē hã bi ãp   xōb i.[282]

    Enã   nati   kũ kae[283]
    tsẽ na   xoeba   kamme e nã habuwe
    aĩs.

45 So then the wife told (‖*nā*) those two
    men (‖*na khoekha*):
    'Give me my child!'

    [But they said:] 'No! [all that] remains
    is the skull bone (*bi ãb ǂxōb*).'

    And so [she] turned to run away
    (ũ   ae)
    but was caught (xo-e) and killed
    (am-e) and devoured (habu-(w)e).

280 This is another case where –ts is perhaps for –s.
281 Lloyd initially translated this as 'two men', but crossed it
     out, probably because this is the form of the masculine
     dual only in the Griqua variety.
282 It is not clear whether the lions have actually eaten one
     of the 'children' (chicks), or are only pretending to have
     done so.
283 Lloyd spells this '!k'ũ   kae' and provides the gloss 'turned
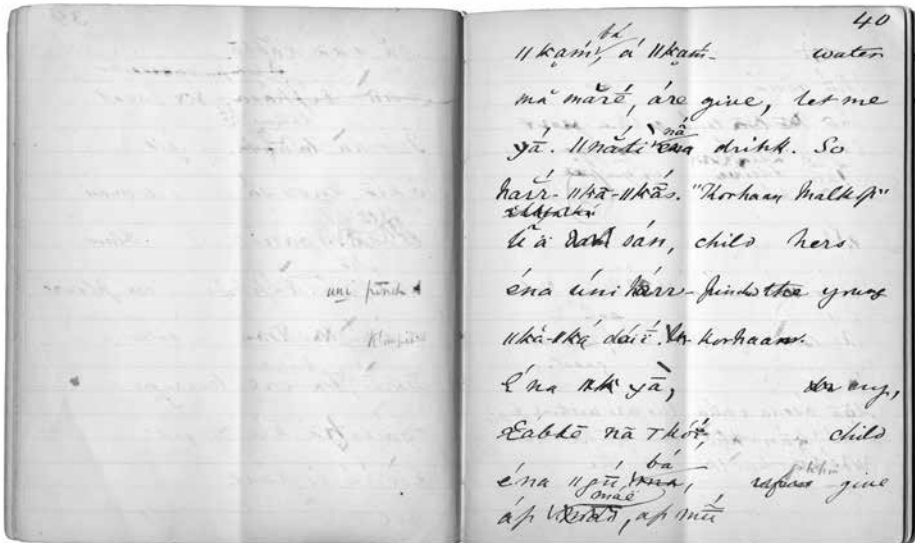   back'.

FIGURE 5.7   A page from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1), showing the reference to 'Korhaan Malkop'. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

50 E nã harr ka kas   ai kx'i, nã   xoe,
  nã si sao   are he,[284]
  e nã kamma[285]   gaboku nã   kan na
  hō,[286]
  e na doe, e nã hais kx'aisi nũ,[287]
  e nã   'o 'osin.

55 E nã   kõa, e nã   ko'i ore,   nũi.
  E nã   ko'i,   *Oa!* hē ti mĩ.[288]

50 So then the [surviving] korhaan picked
  up the spoor (ǂ*'ai kx'i*), and she ran
  (*xoe*),
  to go and follow it along (*sao‖are*),
  and then as if (*khama* [?]) with shoes
  [wings?] she put on clothes (ǂ*xanna
  hō*),
  and flew (*doe*) and settled on a bush,
  and made herself seem dead
  (‖*'o‖'osin*).

55 And then in the morning (‖*oa*) she
  rescued (*ore*) the child, and made it
  sit (ǂ*nũi*).
  And then the child said, 'Go!'

284 The words in this line are all written separately in the
original. The verb   are is perhaps   ari 'race'. The reason
for the occurrence of he at this point in the line – where
it is written apart from the preceding verb by Lloyd – is
not clear. (Maingard omitted it in his edited version.)
One possibility is that the verb is passive in form. Line
51 also has an instance where sī 'go to' appears to be used
in combination with a following verb to give the sense
'go and do x'. At least two of the verb stems in this line
may, however, form part of a compound.

285 Maingard follows Lloyd in translating kamma as 'get up'.

286 This line is difficult to interpret: Lloyd's glossing is 'she
gets up (kamma), she puts on her shoes (gaboku), she
dresses (kan na hō)'. Maingard takes   gaboku to be a
similar word (gaboku) meaning 'wings', and glosses
the line as 'and now get up wings lift up'. The word for
'shoe, sandal' in Kora is   habob, but may have been
mis-transcribed by Lloyd. (Ouma Jacoba initially
gave   nabukua for 'wings', but later corrected this to
  namikua.) It is also possible, however, that the word
was the plural form of   kx'abob 'hoof, paw, foot, spoor',
which would allow a reading of the line where the sense
is that the korhaan picked up (hō) the spoor of the lions
and found where it 'went in' ('ā), or in other words, she
followed the lions to their lair. (There is a similar usage
in Tswana, where ditlhako means 'hooves' (or 'shoes'),
but can also mean 'footprints' or 'spoor'.) In BK14, the
expression !ao   'ai is used to mean 'pick up a spoor',
while in BK15 the expression   'aib kx'ai mā (literally,
'stand on the spoor') is used to mean 'follow a spoor'.

287 The detail of the korhaan flying up to roost on top of a
bush implies much effort and flapping of wings, since
the korhaan (Kori bustard), which is the largest bird
capable of flight, does not readily take to the air.

288 The chick's utterance   oa, as well as the words used in
the lines about chopping up meat here and below may
have been chosen partly for the way they would have
helped to create a sound-impression of the birds' calls.
At the same time, the lines create a vivid image of the
mother korhaan slowly building up a heavy and noisy
flapping momentum prior to launching herself into
flight: her assertion that she is chopping up meat for the
baby (rather than heroically preparing to fly) may also
have been intended to trick the lions.

Nũ! A-ta   gurub sī kxõã,[289]
a-ta kx'ob xa   aobasi
ās[290] *daob   na sī kx'am.*

60 E nã   koda'i   hãnasi,[291]
tsĩ nã mūb   na   xonũb ĩ i,
na xammi mūb   na   xa,
na   xam mai-(y)e   xonũb ĩ i,[292]
e ra kx'a na kx'oa   kũs ĩ i.[293]

[Alternative:]
61   tsĩ nã mūb   na   xonũbĩ,
i na xammi mūb   na   xa.
[I] na   xam mãie   xonũbĩ,
Ie ra kx'a na kx'oa   kũsĩ.

65 E ra hē ti mĩ, *Tare   kōsa hēsā,*
hĩ na kx'a i-s   xa hã
a-ta kx'oba   kaobasi?

E nã   ko'i   xokhãsi,
e nã   hanib dī   kãi kãi,[294] na   kũ.

[But the mother said:] 'Sit! Let me (*a-ta*) go and find a sharp stone (∥*gurub*), 'so that I can cut up your meat for you 'and go and roast (*kx'am*) it on the road.'

60 And now the small child crawled up (*hãna*), and put its finger (∣*xunub*) into the eye, stabbing (*hā*) the lion in the eye, [but when it did it?] again (∥*xā*), the finger got stuck (*mãie*), And [the child] started to cry (*kx'ā*), looking for its mother (∥*ũs*).

65 And she said, 'What kind of child is this, 'that cries and refuses (‡*xā*) 'to let me cut up (*aobasi*) meat for it?'

And then she snatched up the child, and fastened it into the abba-kaross (∥*hanib*), and they went [flew off].

289 Lines 57–58 feature a-ta in Lloyd's original transcription. It is altered here to a-da, on the tentative assumption that –da is the dependent pronoun for 'we (cp)'. It remains possible, however, that the original version is correct, in which case the expression should be interpreted as 'let me (fs)'. Lloyd herself has a note on the page opposite these lines (MP1: 047), where she explicitly notes atta 'let one' (fs).

290 It is not clear why –s (2n[d] person feminine singular) is used in this instance, unless a here is the Possessive case rather than the Hortative.

291 Benjamin Kats gives a story (BK14) in which a baby similarly crawls up to a lion. This detail of a child crawling away from an inattentive mother and encountering danger (usually in the form of a wild animal) is a commonly occurring motif in folktales from southern Africa.

292 Although the essential meaning of this line is that the child gets its finger caught, it is not clear precisely how it should be glossed, with xam in particular being obscure.

293 These grammatical formulations featuring ĩ i are not widely found elsewhere in the Kora corpus. It is possible that a different division of the morphemes is required, as shown in the alternative reading for lines 61–64.

294 This charming detail of the mother bird organising the baby-carrying shawl (hanib) and tucking the baby in securely may allude to the elegant patterning over the shoulders of the bird, but is perhaps also a metaphor for her taking to flight. This would explain the lions' inability to follow their spoor ('aib kx'ai mā).

70 Na xamku ãu oa nati aib kxʼai mã.
E nã-si[295] tõa-si.

70 And the lions could not (∥ʼoa) stalk
(ʼau) [them] and stay on their spoor.
And now [the story] is finished.[417]

417 One day when the men were out hunting, two of them
hid themselves away and waited patiently. When they
finally spotted some quaggas, they stalked them and shot
them with their bows and arrows. Then they slaughtered
them, cut the meat up into strips, and hung it up on
drying poles to cure in the wind. Then they loaded it,
and lay down to rest. But now they were stalked upon
by two lions, who pounced on them and dragged out
the meat from their hunting bags and stuffed it into
their own pouches. When they got home, these 'lion-
men' unpacked the meat just as though they had killed
and dressed it themselves. And then they slouched into
the shacks and sprawled themselves down. [One of the
wives complained:] 'Have you forgotten it's rude to sit
down just anyhow? And have you forgotten where you
are supposed to sit?' [But the 'husband' answered:] 'I'm
tired out after all that hunting, I just forgot. Leave a man
to sit in peace!' But now the babies – the little korhaan
children – began to cry, asking for water. And the lion
pinched one of the chicks so that it cried even more, and
when the father saw that the child was really making a
terrible noise, he said: 'Why don't you hand that child
over to me? Surely you know you can safely leave it in
my care? It's crying too much for you to take it with you
to the water.' So, the child was handed over to him. Then
the other husband protested: Why is it that I can't have
my child, when the other man has his? You should listen
to that other wife.' So the other wife reluctantly left her
child as well. But as soon as they were a little way down
the road, the wise korhaan said: 'How could you be so
feeble-minded? Don't you realise you've left your child
with lions?' So, the crazy-head korhaan went running
back to the lion-men, and told them: 'Give me back
my child!' But they only jeered at her, and showed her
its skull, which was all that remained. She tried to run
away, but they caught her and killed her, and gobbled
her up too. Then the wise korhaan picked up their
spoor, and ran along following, until she found where
the spoor ended at the entrance to the lion's lair. She flew
up and settled on top of a bush to roost for the night,
pretending to be dead. And then in the morning she
went in and rescued her child, and made it sit quietly in
a corner while she readied herself for flight. But the child
squawked, and in case the lions might start to wake up,
the quick-thinking mother said, 'Hush! Let me go and
find a sharp stone so that I can chop up meat for you and
we can roast it on the road.' And she carried on flapping
and chopping the air with her wings. But then the little
child crawled up to one of the sleeping lions and stuck
a finger in its eye. It did it again and when its finger got
stuck, the child started to cry for its mother. And as the
lion stirred, the mother korhaan said loudly, beating
her wings more strongly now, 'What kind of child is
this who won't let me get on with chopping up meat for
it?' Then she snatched up the child, fastened it into the
baby-kaross on her back, and finally lifted up into the
air. So, the lions were unable to pick up their spoor. And
now the story is finished.

295 It is not clear what the feminine singular pronoun
references here, unless it is an implied noun such as the
Nama gaes 'narrative, story'.

Bhf10. The Sore ʼos, or Sun-child²⁹⁶ (Kwalakwala and Tabab) (Mgd1967, 43–44)

1   Kaib²⁹⁷ i na kũ
i na Sore kos aus diba hō.

In, *taiba-s ka heti nũ?*
I na, *hēba i kie an?*

5   ti na mĩ.
I na, *ha-re abasi*, ti mĩ.
I na, *hã'ã*, ti na mĩ,
abahe tama-ti hã,
khoena²⁹⁸ hane-ti tama Sore ko-ti.²⁹⁹

10   Kx'aise *hã'ã* ti oe.

Ha ĩb sa naob³⁰⁰ tani-si.
A'a, tani-te, mãsen.
I na Kaib kã na nũ,
i na ũ xoahe,

15   i na dao i na hokua kaisi dī.

Kõa, a-kam sãsãsen.

Hã'ã, ti na mĩ

Bhf10. The Sore|'os, or Sun-child (Kwalakwala and Tabab) (Mgd1967: 43–44)

1   Jackal was out walking (ũ),
And the Sun-child (Sore|'os) at the spring (|'aus diba) found (hō).

'Why (tai-ba-s) do you sit (ǂnũ) here like this (hēti)?
'Do you live (‖'an) here?'

5   asked [Jackal].
'Come, allow me (hā-re) to carry you on my back (aba-si),' he said.
But she said, 'No!'
'I am not (tama) to be carried on anyone's back (aba-he).
'People do not bother (ǂhani) me (–ti), the Sun-child.'

10   [So], at first (kx'aise) she this way (ti) answered (oe) 'No.'

[But Jackal persisted:] 'Come, let your grandfather carry you.'
[So finally:] 'Yes alright, carry me,' she consented (mãsen).
And she sat on Jackal's back (ã na),
and they went off together (ũ|xoa-e),

15   and then she singed (dao) and greatly made (kaise dī) markings (hokua).

'Climb down (‖õa), let (ā) us (–kham [1md]) rest ourselves (sãsãsen).'

She said 'No!'

---

296 A version of this story was told by Andries Bitterbos (Ebt1936, 230–231). A Nama version, in which it is the Sun (Sores) that Jackal carried on his back rather than the Sun's daughter, was collected by Krönlein (c. 1862), and appeared in the Appendix to Meinhof's Nama language primer (Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache, 161). Another Nama version was collected by Schultze (Aus Namaland und Kalahari, 496–498).

297 The Jackal is the pre-eminent trickster in the Korana stories. It may be because he was so frequently mentioned that there are so many variant pronunciations of his name, which is seen with spellings such as kaib, keyap, eieb, kaeb, iieb and kireb.

298 Maingard writes 'khwena': some of his spellings have been adapted here for ease of reading.

299 Maingard translates line 11 as 'People do not interfere with the Sun-child.' Note Nama hani 'hinder, impede, inconvenience'.

300 The expression ībsa naob, which Maingard translates as 'grandfather' is perhaps literally 'father's uncle'.

natsi-ta koa abahe tama, ti na mĩ,
i-ta kãa oa.

And she said: 'I told you (*koa*) I was not to be carried,
'Now I am unable (*∥xãa*) to come down (*∥õa*).'

20 I na haisa koa kairi,
i na huru[301] karo.
I na kos khob ib kwa ao kwa.[302]

I na anu kaebi.
I na ãib õana mũe,

20 Then [Jackal] to a bush (*haisa oa*) raced (*∥ari*)
and jumped through (*huru xaru*).
But the Child to his skin (*khōb ib ǀxoa*) stuck on to (*ǂʼao*) was (*ko a*).

Then Jackal headed for home (*∥ʼanu*).
And he (*∥ʼãib*) by his children (*õana*) was seen (*mũ-he*):

25 i na, *Nabi sida ĩb kxoase kxʼob tanisab.*
I na tarakhoes xaĩsas i na kaba,
i na mũ i na Sore kos ko aba.
Sida ib-bi kxʼob tama-bi.

25 'There is our father (*sida ĩb*) bringing (*tanisa-b*) plentifully (*ǀkxʼoase*) meat!'
But his wife (*tarakhoes xaĩsas*) looked carefully (*aba*)
and saw it was the Sun-child he was carrying.
'Our father is not carrying meat.'

Ina tarakhoes xaĩsas,
30 *Hamba*[303] *i-ts ko hã?*
Ti na mĩ,
  Nati tama dī
tae na kos tani xu ti[304]
i na kxʼoa i-ts ta khã khoeb kao o.

And his wife [said]:
30 'Where (*ham-ba*) have you been?'
And [she] said:
'Do not behave like that (*∥nãti tama dī*).
'Do not (*tae*) carry off (*tani-xu*) the Child like this (*ti*),
'if (*o*) you want (*ǂao*) to go back to (*kxʼoa*) [being] the same man (*∥xā khoeb*).'

---

301 The verb huru is perhaps simply an unusual form of huri 'jump'.

302 Maingard translates line 22 as 'and she stuck fast to the jackal's skin'.

303 This form of the interrogative featuring a click is not recorded anywhere else, and may have been a typographical mistake for hamba.

304 Maingard translates lines 32–33 as 'I told you not to do this (nãti tama dī). Do not (tae) carry the Sun-child. Leave her alone. Go back (with the girl) if you want to be the same man as before.'

35 Ti na mĩ,
    Kx'oa-r ta   khā khoeb   kao o.

    I kie hē   kob-ba[305] hō.

35 And [Jackal] said,
    'I do want to go back to the same man.'

    [But it was too late.] And this is how his striped back (*/hōb*) he got (*hō*).[418]

---

305 Maingard translates: 'This is how the jackal got his skin (i.e. with black stripes on his back).' The word   hō in Namibian Khoekhoe means 'striped black and white', and is one of the colour terms for an animal's coat.

418 One day when Jackal was out walking, he came across the Sun-child at the spring. 'Why are you sitting here like this? Do you live here?' asked Jackal. 'Come, let me give you a ride on my back.' But the Sun-child said, 'No! I am not to be carried on anyone's back. People should not get in the way of the Sun-child.' So at first she was reluctant. But Jackal was persistent: 'Come now, let your grandfather carry you.' So finally she gave in, and climbed on his back, and they went off together. But then she began to burn, and she singed large streaks into his fur. Jackal yelped: 'Oh, oh, why don't you get down and we'll take a rest.' And she said: 'No! I told you not to carry me. Now I can't get down.' Then jackal raced towards a thornbush and jumped straight through it, hoping to dislodge the Sun-child. But she came through with him, still firmly stuck to his skin. Then Jackal headed for home. His children saw him coming in the distance, and called out happily: 'Papa is bringing us lots of meat!' But his wife looked more closely, and saw it was the Sun-child he was carrying. 'Oh no, that is not meat your Papa is bringing.' Then the wife scolded: 'Where have you been? Didn't I tell you never to do this? You had better stop carrying that child immediately if you want to go back to the way you were.' And Jackal whined: 'Yes, I do want to go back to the way I was.' But it was too late. And this is how Jackal got his stripes.
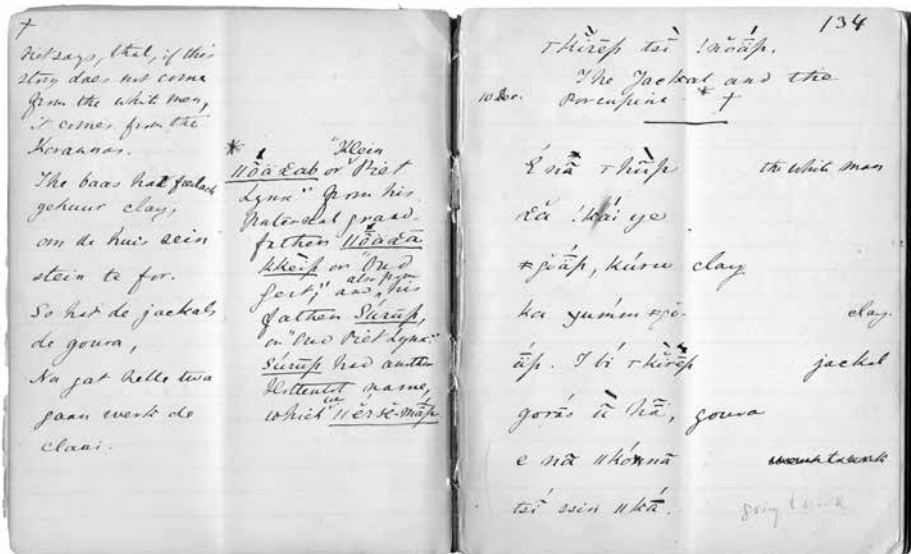

FIGURE 5.8   A page from Lucy Lloyd's third Kora notebook (MP3), showing the beginning of the Jackal and Porcupine story. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.) .

**PL5. Jackal stories
(Lld, MP3: 134–152)**

i. Kireb tsī Noab[306]

1   E nã hũb[307] xa kaije[308] goab kuru ka
kx'umm goab.
I-bi Kireb[309] goras ūhã,
e nã konã tsĩsin kā,[310]
e nã kx'am[311] ĩb di dʒa[312] kx'ai[313]
 koe gwora.
[e na ka kase goe, e na goaras
 huru][314]

**PL5. Jackal stories
(Lld, MP3: 134–152)**

i. Jackal and Porcupine

1   So the Englishman hired [people] to
work (*kuru*) the clay (*ǂgoab*) for his
clay house.
And Jackal took a *gora*,
and went to work (*sĩsen*),
and lay on his back playing the *gora*.

306 Maingard (Korana Folktales, 44) noted other versions of this story in Nama, including one in Schultze (Aus Namaland und Kalahari, 473).

307 This word is often translated as 'white man' or 'master', but it is clear from Piet Links's story about the origins of humankind that the word can also mean 'Englishman'.

308 This word was translated by Piet Links as 'gehuur', and seems to be equivalent to Nama gae 'hire'. The narrator also explained that the clay was to be made into bricks ('stein') for the house.

309 The word for 'jackal' occurs with various spellings throughout this text.

310 Maingard glosses this line as 'and now crawls work to', taking tsĩsin as sĩsen 'work'. Piet Links summarised this part (in Lloyd's transcription of his Cape Dutch) as 'na gat hulle twa gaan werk de claai'. The actual meanings are not clear for either konã or kā (but note Nama āxa 'industrious, hardworking').

311 Here kx'am is perhaps for kx'āb 'back'.

312 Lloyd herself wrote a question mark next to dzā, and the phrase ĩb di d a is obscure. (Engelbrecht gives a record of za kxai 'in the middle'.)

313 Here kx'ei is perhaps for xai 'blow, play instrument' rather than kx'ai 'at, on'. Maingard glosses line 4 as 'and now back's middle-on lies gora'.

314 Line 5 is an alternative version (or possibly an explanatory paraphrase) of line 4, having been written alongside it by Lloyd in pencil (using a later symbol for the dental click). The general meaning given by Lloyd for both versions (lines 4 and 5) is 'he lay on his back playing the goura'. A similar detail was given in the story about the baboon and the quaggas (Bhf11). The anthropomorphism involved seems to have been almost disarmingly realistic: Henry Lichtenstein, in his Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, transl. Anne Plumptre (London: Henry Colburn, 1815), vol 2, 232, observed that the gora was 'commonly played lying down, and the [Khoikhoi] seem scarcely able to play but amid the tranquillity of the night. They wrap themselves up comfortably in their skin, lay one ear to the ground, and hold the 't Gorrah commodiously before the mouth.'

5   Nati hĩ Nõab³¹⁵ goab konãba,
  e nã toa kx'aib khosin.³¹⁶
  E nã Kireb na goab na
   konã hobosin na goab goa³¹⁷,
  e nã goaxa khab xa kx'oa kx'o ka.
  I-bi Noãb soeku kx'ãib   xoa na
   'ũmãe,³¹⁸

10 i-bi Kireb nã kau   xe   'ũ.

  Hamtse   kõab (w)ab³¹⁹ e nã sĩnsini
   xoa hã.
  I-bi Nõab tseb kx'ai nã koba-bi   hũb
   nãu,
  e na tseb kx'ai   xuore(y)e [xuri-e] nã
  mũe,
  i-bi kãs   ama goe.

15 I bi nã   Kireb   kao kx'ammi ho te hã.
  I bi   Kireb nã mĩ:
  Xare³²⁰ i-ts ka na mũ, i-ts mũ tama hã,
  kie a-re kx'ebes mã-tsi,
  a-ts   nãu   kui   naũba,

5   And so it was Porcupine [who] alone
  (|ona) worked the clay there,
  and at finishing time (toa||kx'aib) he
  cleaned himself.
  Then Jackal crawled in and rolled
  himself (hobosen) full of clay,
  and with his clay-covered body
  (ǂgoaxa |xāb |xa), came out to eat his
  fill (kx'o||'ã).
  Porcupine was given lungs (soeku)
  and liver (kx'ãib) to eat,

10 but Jackal ate a fat (kau) kidney (xã'i).

  Every morning (||oab hoab) they
  worked together.
  But one day, the master hearing
  something that Porcupine said,
  it was crept up (|xuri-he) that day and
  seen (mũ-he) how
  [Jackal] lay (||goe) on his back (ãs
  ǂama).
  And Jackal did not have (hō te hã)
  a heart-truth [conscience?] (ǂao
  kx'ammi),
  And Jackal [went and] said [to
  Porcupine]:
  'Maybe you saw something, maybe
  you didn't.
  'So let me give you some advice
  (|kx'abes):
  'you had better listen and straight
  away obey (||nãu |ui ||naũba),

---

315 The word for 'porcupine' (noab) is variously spelled by
  Lloyd with and without a nasalised vowel.
316 Lloyd translates this line loosely as 'when he had done
  working, he made himself clean'. (Note the obsolete
  Nama word khōsen 'wash oneself'.)
317 Here goa is perhaps for xoa 'with'.
318 The implication is that the 'lungs-and-liver' dish is
  inferior.
319 Lloyd has pencilled in a Cape Dutch translation for 'ham
  tse kõapwap' as 'elke dagh et kom met daar die modder',
  or 'was come every day with that mud'.
320 The word xare does not occur elsewhere in the Kora
  corpus, but Nama has xare 'adverb expressing doubt/
  scepticism in question', as English 'really'.

20 *a-ts di kxʼam-re,*
   a-kam ãib kam tsin.[321]

   Ibi Nõab: *habure hã.*

   I-ts ta mũ kxʼaasi.[322]

   At-s nã-re taibikham tā dib,

25 *A-re en hã, ã hã.*

   I-bi Kireb, *hãʼã,* ti mĩ nã mĩ,
   *I xere i-ts ka na mũbasin kammekam
   nã xaiʼi.
   Xare i-ts ka na mũ soeb kxʼãib tsikara
   kaus,
   i-ts kom ko nã sats ʼũ-bi o,*

30 *i-re tire nã na kaus ʼũ o.
   Amku kae kxʼoasi,
   a-kam ha huimũsin-kam,
   kamba uri kã-kam ʼo.
   Guixa hã hũpbi kie.*

35 E nã Nõab kae kxʼoasi kamkoa,
   e nã Kireb mũthoabkara[323] kxʼai
   homãsi,
   i-bi Nõab nã gou ha hu(h)i(n)mũ.[324]
   Kireb na kã, kã kabi,
   e nã kaihã uis xokhãsi,

---

20 'and you make this right for me (*dī
   kxʼam-re*).
   'Let us kill (am) him (ʼãib).'

   And Porcupine [said]: 'I am too weak.'

   [Then Jackal said]: 'You will see that I
   am right.'

   [Porcupine:] 'Tell me (‖*nã-re*) what
   (*taibi*) we will do,

25 'so I may know (ǂʼ*an hã*) if it is 'Yes'
   (*ã*).'

   And Jackal said: 'No, don't say that!
   'Perhaps (*xare*) you will see for
   yourself (*mũba-sin*)
   'that (*xaiʼi*) we will both be killed
   (am-he-kham).
   'Perhaps you should consider the
   lungs-and-liver dish
   'you were indeed eating,

30 'when I was eating that [other] dish.
   'Pull out [some of your] quills
   (ʼamku),
   'and let us both stab ourselves blind
   (hā- hui-mũ-sin, lit. 'stab-cease-see-
   Refl'),
   'and jump into (*uri*ǂʼã) the water and
   die there.
   'He is a villain (guixa), that
   Englishman.'

35 So Porcupine pulled out some quills,
   and Jackal made marks (‖*hō-mã-si*)
   at the corners of his eyes (*mũ-thoab-
   kara kxʼai*),
   but Porcupine pierced (ao) and
   stabbed himself blind.
   Then Jackal [passed by] behind his
   back (ã nab),
   and picked up (xokhãsi) a large stone
   (*kaiha* ǀʼuis),

---

321 Lloyd seems to treat tsin as the reflexive verb extension,
    and translates lines 20–21 as 'you must do what I say, let
    us kill ourselves'. Maingard glosses line 21 as 'let us both
    him kill'.

322 Lloyd translates this line as 'The Jackal said, 'Thou wilt
    see that I am right.' Maingard substitutes kxʼoasi for
    kxʼaasi and translates it as 'succeed'.

323 Lloyd has a note explaining that mũthoab means the
    'corner of the eye'. It is more usual for thoa to mean
    'under, below'.

324 Lloyd translated this line as 'the porcupine pierced
    his eyes to pieces'. Maingard offers 'he the porcupine
    pierces-stabs-stops-see'.

40 e na ai ambe,
  kamba ao kã na uis.
  Kã-re ko, ti mĩ.
  I-bi Nõab sũse uri.
  Bi Keab:[325]*Tai habub i-ts ka habu hã?*

45 I-bi Noab: *Kae kx'oasi-re*!

  I-bi Kireb kãus ka nã koekx'ãi,
  Ti hũkhoe, hui-re, khoeb-bi ko kam ko.

  E nã kanni na nõãsigu
   koã kammi ka.

50 I-bi khoeb nika 'o hã.

  Sats guixa-ts, ko kam khoebi!
  I-bi ko hē nũse ko xauwe,
  i-bi xaũnũ ko gueri,[326]
   hũb na kammi na na kã,

40 and then he went away (*bē*) on tip-toe (*ǂ'ai|'am*),
and hurled (*ao*) the stone into the water there (*‖am ba*).
'I am in', he said.
Then Porcupine quickly (*sũse*) jumped (*uri*).
And then Jackal said: 'What foolishness have you gone and foolishly done?'

45 And Porcupine [said]: 'Pull me out!'

And Jackal went running (*xoekx'āi*) to the homestead (*‖ãus ‖a*):
'My master, help me (*hui-re*), a man has drowned (*‖am‖'ō*, lit. 'water-die').

Then both seated together (*ǂnũasigu*) in the saddle (*ǂkanni = |hanib* [?]),
they went down (*‖õa*) to the water (*‖ammi ‖a*).

50 But the man [Porcupine] was already dead.

'You villain, [you] have killed a man.'
And he [Jackal] this (*hē*) closely (*ūse*) was fended off (*‖xau-he*),
and being slippery (*ǂxanu*) he broke free *(ǂguri)*,
and the Englishman fell into (*‖naǂ'ã*) the water

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325 For kireb; this is a case where r between two vowels has been elided.
326 Compare Namibian Khoekhoe gurisen 'free oneself from a hold, break free'.

55 bi kie   'o.

  I-bi   ka   kona hã,
   nati hi   kaũs gau.
  E nã kai   koni   ko ko a
  e nã   gau xu[327]   kx'oasĩje.

55 and drowned.

  And the children were still small,
  so [Jackal] ruled (*gao*) the homestead
  (*ǁ̃ãus*).
  But once the children were big
  children (*kai ǀ'oni*),
  [Jackal] was evicted (*≠kx'oa-si-he*)
  from the homestead (*ǁ̃ãu xu*).[419]

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327 Lloyd has   gauru, which she translates as 'young master'.
Maingard amends this to   gau xu and translates it as
'werf-out-of'.

FIGURE 5.9   Sketch of the head of a korhaan
by William Burchell (*Travels in the Interior of
Southern Africa,* vol. 1 (1822), 402).

419 The Englishman hired two workers to make clay bricks
for his new house. Jackal took his gora with him to
work, and spent the whole day lying on his back playing
it. Porcupine worked at the clay all by himself, and at
finishing time he cleaned himself up. Jackal went and
rolled in that mud to get himself covered in clay, and
then with his clay-covered body, he presented himself
for his food. Porcupine was given liver-and-lungs, but
Jackal got to eat a plump kidney. And so they reported
for work every day, and the same thing happened
every day. Finally, after Porcupine dropped a word in
the Englishman's ear, the master crept up one day and
discovered Jackal lying on his back. And Jackal did not
have a conscience, and he went to Porcupine and said:
'Maybe you only think you saw something you didn't.
But let me give you my advice, and you had better
listen well. If you want to fix this thing, then you need
to help me kill the master.' Porcupine was reluctant at
first. 'Well, tell me the plan so I can think about it.' 'No,
no, don't say that. Do you really want to wait until you
see for yourself that he is planning to kill us? Don't you
remember that offal they gave you to eat? He's a villain,
alright, this Englishman. But oh well then, in that case
there is nothing for it: you need to pull out some of your
quills so that we can stab ourselves blind and then go
off and drown ourselves [before he kills us first].' So
Porcupine drew out some of his quills, and while Jackal
only made a tiny mark below his eyes, Porcupine obeyed
and blinded himself completely. Then Jackal tiptoed off
behind his back and found a large stone. He hurled it
into the water [so that Porcupine would hear its splash],
and shouted: 'I'm in!' Then Porcupine quickly jumped
in. Jackal taunted him: What idiotic thing have you
gone and done now?' Porcupine begged, 'Pull me out!'
Then Jackal went running up to the farmstead, calling:
'Master, master, come and help, someone is drowning!'
He and the Englishman climbed into the saddle together
and raced to the scene on horseback. But it was too late,
and Porcupine was already dead. 'You villain, you have
murdered someone,' the Englishman said, and grabbed
Jackal. But Jackal was slippery and twisted himself
free, and the Englishman slipped into the water and
drowned. The Englishman's children were still small, so
Jackal was lord of the farmstead for a time. But when
they were older, the children threw Jackal out.

ii. Jackal and the leopards[328]

1   E nã   au hã,
    e nã xoasaukua xa hu,
    i-ku i nã au xo.[329]
    I-bi nã mĩ,

5   *Kã kamma a kaese nũ a kai aub ho.*
    E nã kã,
    e nã na aukoa ūtsĩ kx'oa, nau na.[330]

    [i]-ku i xoasaukua nã mũ guib ā xaib,
    xo daowe.

10 E nã mũ ĩb Kireb,
    e nã xoekx'ai.
    E nã kx'omma koekx'amme,
    e nã au om.

15 E nã kara koa kamba kõa.
    E nã kx'oaxa, e na kai,
    e nã: *Taeb ka ib kx'ommi areb oe te hã?*
    Khoen hã, nama oe tama?
    E nã kai – e nã oe!

ii. Jackal and the leopards

1   So then [Jackal] was staying in the veld (*'au hã*),
and he met (*/hu* [= */hau*]) some leopards (*xoasaukua*)
who were catching fish (*/'au xo*, lit. 'fish-catching').
And he said:

5   'If you go into the water and sit there waiting (*aese*) you will catch a big fish.'
So they went in,
and [with] those fishes they brought out (*ūsī≠kx'oa*), he went away (*≠nau∥na*).

Then when the leopards saw that (*xaib*) [Jackal] was a villain (*guib a*),
they took to the road (*xo dao-he*).

10 But he (*∥'ĩb*), Jackal, saw
and ran away (*xoekx'ai*).
And [because the leopards were] lying in wait (*∥oekx'amme*) at his house (*kx'omma*),
[he] slept in the veld (*'au∥'om*, lit. 'veld-sleep').

15 And then another morning (*/xara ∥oa*)
he went down (*∥õa*) to the water (*∥am ba*),
and when he come out (*≠kx'oa-xa*)
from there, he called out (*ai*), saying:
'Why is it that my house does not answer?
'There are people at home, why (*∥nāma*) don't they answer (*oe tama*)?'
So he called out [again] – and there came an answer!

---

328 Maingard (Korana Folktales, 44) noted parallels in Nama stories, including one collected by Schultze (Aus Namaland und Kalahari, 485–487).

329 This line provides an example of noun-incorporation into a verb (xo 'catch'), where the word for 'fish' appears without its usual gender suffix, as au.

330 Lloyd translates these lines: 'and the jackal took the fish (which the leopard had just caught) and went away'. Maingard gives: 'and now those fish takes-away comes-out goes-away'.

20 E nã: *Dan kie mĩ hã xebe kx'ommi kie*
   oeb!
     Habu-kao hã,
   hamti-kao kie   keje[331]*?*

   E nã   xoekx'ai.

20 'Who has ever said that (xebe [=
    xaibi]) a house can give an answer!
   'You are foolish,
   'how were you taught (‖xã-he)?'

   And he ran away again.[420]

iii. Jackal and Lion[332]

1 E nã Xamma   hau ka i
     kãsa   um gue i
     kã thoa kx'ai.

   E nã, *Ti   Nao*, ti he mĩ:

1 And Lion met up with (|hau|xa)
   [Jackal]
   while he lay sleeping (‖'om‖oe, lit.
   'sleep-lie') on his back (ãsa)
   underneath a ledge (‡ã thoa kx'ai
   'ledge under at').

5 *Hie*[333]*   kãb   kãi xarabē-re!*
   A-re   hã gaibi[334]* ū*
   a-re mãsi   kara.[335]

   I-bi ko kũ, kũ ari.

   I-bi nã   nika nã kx'õaje xoasaukua,

5 So [Jackal] said: 'My grandfather,
   this ledge (‡ãb) I am pressing (‖ãi) to
   take away from me (‖xarabē-re).
   Let me fetch (ū) a forked prop,
   that I can put in place (mãsi) instead.

   And he went off, and went off for
   good (ũ 'ari).

   And those leopards who were still
   always (|nika) hunting for Jackal

---

331 Lloyd translates line 22, 'How did his parents teach
   him?' where ' keje' is perhaps for xā-he.
332 There are parallel elements in one of the Nama stories
   collected by Leonhard Schultze in Aus Namaland und
   Kalahari (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907), 486–487.
333 Lloyd writes 'hië', where her diacritic indicates that
   e is pronounced distinctly from the preceding i. She
   translates it as 'this', which is ordinarily hē in Kora. It
   is possible that this unusual form reflects some cross-
   influence of Cape Dutch (early Afrikaans), unless it is a
   contracted form of hēhē (see note 33 below).
334 Lloyd notes that hã gaibi was explained to her as
   a 'mikstok' or a 'forked aiming stick'. In Namibian
   Khoekhoe, hã means 'forked [of a stick]', and âibasen
   is one of the words for 'take aim' (Afrikaans mik).
335 The narrative seems a little condensed or truncated at
   this point, and it is not quite clear whether Jackal wants
   someone else (Lion) to take his place while he goes to
   fetch the prop, or whether it is the stick he is referring to
   as the 'other' (xara).

420 After he was chased away from the Englishman's
   homestead, Jackal ended up having to live in the veld.
   One day he met up with some leopards, who were
   fishing in the river. 'You know,' he said: 'If you go right
   into the water and sit there waiting patiently, you could
   catch more fish.' So the leopards did this and began to
   snatch fishes out of the water, throwing them on to the
   bank. But Jackal quietly went up behind their backs
   and stole the catch for himself, and ran off. As soon
   as the leopards realised what a villain Jackal was, they
   started to pursue him, following his scent to his house.
   But Jackal saw them in time, and ran off again. Then,
   because the leopards stayed lying in wait for him at his
   house, Jackal had to sleep rough again for a while. One
   morning, after he had been down to the river to wash, he
   decided to approach his house again. As he walked up he
   began calling out greetings. Then he said loudly: 'That's
   odd: I wonder why there is no answer?' And then the
   house answered! 'You fools,' Jackal shouted, 'don't you
   know a house can't talk? How were you educated?' And
   he ran off again.

10 i-ku i Xammi hō,
  nã tẽje: *Taeb i-ts ka na hēba dī?*

  I-bi-ku mĩ: *Hēje*[336] *kãb ha-re
    kai xara hã.*

  I-ku i: *hã ã, ti ku mi,
  Tsui koab kie kuru-mãsi hã kãbi
  hēhēb.*

15 I-bi Xammi nã mi: *Kae-kao na.
    Kireb ko nã-re hã,
    nãb kuib ha-re kho koa*[337] *hã.*

  [Leopards:] *Natsi na xu.*[338]

  [Lion:] *Hã ã, nã kx'eri-re ta kãbi.*

20 [Leopards:] *A hu(h)i hē nuse.*[339]

  I-bi ko kãb ha,
  i-bi ko kãsa nā.

---

10 found Lion,
  and they asked: 'What are you doing
  here?'

  And he said to them: 'Let me keep
  pushing this ledge to keep it off me.'

  And they said, 'No,
  'It was Tsui õab who created (*kuru*)
  and put (*mãsi*) this here ledge here.'

15 But Lion said: 'You are lying (*‖ae-kao*).
  'Jackal told me (*‖nã-re*),
  'let me (*ha-re*) grab hold of (*!xo|xoa*)
  that rock (*‖nãb |'uib*).'

  [Then the leopards said:] 'So (*‖nāti*)
  leave (*‖nā*) and move away (*xu*)!'

  [But Lion said:] 'No, the ledge will fall
  (*‖nā*) and split me (*≠kx'ari-re*).'

20 [And the leopards said:] 'Yes (*a*), stop
  (*hui*) this quickly (*|nuse*).'

  And Lion pushed (*≠hã*) away from the
  ledge,
  and fell (*‖nā*) on his back (*ãsa*).[421]

---

336 Lloyd initially wrote 'he ke', but subsequently changed it
  to 'he ye'. This may be a variant of *hēhē* 'this here'.
337 Lloyd's manuscript has ' kho 'k'oa', which Maingard
  changed to ' kho koa', giving it his own translation
  'receive and take into account'. It is perhaps *!xo xoa* (~
  !xo xa) 'grab hold of'.
338 Lloyd translates line 18 as, 'Look! Leave it alone!'
339 Line 20 is a little obscure. Lloyd has a pencilled
  alternative for hu(h)i as kui, which she glosses as 'pass'
  (possibly from *!ū-ī*). She provides a general translation
  for the last section as follows: 'The lion pushed at the
  cliff quickly, and fell on his back.' Maingard offers 'stop
  it quickly' for line 20, which is plausible, given hui 'stop,
  cease'.

421 One day while he was lying asleep underneath a rock
  ledge, because he still feared to go home, Jackal was
  found by Lion. So he wheedled: 'Oh Grandfather, I'm
  holding up this rock to keep it from falling on top of me.
  I really need to go and find a stick to prop it up. Won't
  you take my place while I fetch it?' And when Lion
  obliged and crept in, Jackal took himself off. Meanwhile
  the angry leopards were still on Jackal's trail. They found
  Lion, and asked him what he was doing. He growled at
  them to leave him alone so that he could concentrate on
  keeping the ledge from falling on him. The leopards told
  him the ledge was put there long ago by Tsui õab and
  was not about to fall. But Lion told them they were lying,
  and that he only trusted Jackal. 'Get out from there!' the
  leopards said. And the timorous lion insisted, 'No, it
  will crush me!' Finally the leopards said, 'Just leap away
  quickly and you will be able to get out from under it in
  time.' So Lion hurriedly pushed himself away from the
  rock with such frantic might that he fell over backwards.

BK9. Jackal and Leopard (Mhf, 70–71)

1   Iieb³⁴⁰ tsĩ Xoasaob tsĩ-khara tje
!hami!ũ.
Tsēb horakab   anixase tje xub hō
tama,
i tje !'āba-khara tje bae o,
!'uri kx'ai hais thoa   nũ

5   tsĩ   kx'abe, hamti-khara ta   ũ !kx'aib.

Itje   Aiieb-bi³⁴¹ mĩ:
*Ha-kham   'ari, tire a-r hē   xaba !ũ,
ā-sats   nĩ   xaba !ũ.*

I   na   kx'aeb !'ũb !na i-b   Aiieb   xao'ī
mũ hã ã

10 haib   na-'i mã i.
Itje: *A a!* ti   a!ãgu, i tje !nau   na.
Hais !ã kx'ai i-b tje i o,
  xaoda'i mãba,
i tje gau, ta a-b Xoasaob mũ-bi ka.

15   Xaodanib tje mũ'o Xoasaob tje !nu o,
i tje   xao'i   xo tsĩ !am,
!naxukua u   oasi³⁴² tsĩ kx'ob gaugau.
I tje   xã haisa   oa hã   ari-khara tje hã-s,
i tje   naxuku   uiku   xa hã tsĩ   no³⁴³ na
  'ũ.

BK9. Jackal and Leopard (Mhf, 70–71)

1   Jackal (|Aeb) and Leopard (Xoasaob)
went out hunting (!hami!ũ).
For almost (≠anixase) the whole day
(tsēb horakab) they found nothing,
and since the two were overcome
(bā-he) with hunger (!'āb-a),
in the afternoon (!'uri‖kx'ae) they sat
down (≠nũ) under a bush (hais thoa),

5   to plan (|kx'abe) that (!kx'aib) where
they should both go (ũ).

And Jackal said:
'Let us separate ('ari), let me go this
side (hē |xaba),
'and you go the other side (|nĩ |xaba).'

And in that selfsame time (‖kx'aeb
!'ũb !na), Jackal saw a lamb (‖xao'ī)

10 standing in a bush (haib   na).
So they agreed (≠a!ãgu) and said 'Yes'
(A a) and departed (!nau‖nā).
And when he was at the back of the
bush (hais !ã kx'ai)
where the little lamb (‖xao-da'i) was
standing,
he hid himself away (gau) so that (ka)
Leopard might not see him.

15 Once Leopard was far away (!nu),
without having seen (mũ'o) the little
lamb,
then [Jackal] seized and killed (xo tsĩ
!am) the lamb,
took out the intestines (!naxukua),
and hid away (gaugau) the meat
(kx'ob).
Then he came back to the same bush
(‖xā haisa   oa) from which they had
departed,
and he came with the intestines only
(naxuku |uiku |xa) and sat eating (≠nũ
na ≠'ũ).

---

340 This is a variant spelling (probably reflecting a variant
pronunciation) of   aiieb, seen in line 6.
341 In Meinhof's representations, the second 'i' in words
like   aiieb indicates an intrusive palatal glide similar to
English 'y' (phonetic [j]). The original word in this case
is likely to have been   aeb.
342 This is perhaps for ū   kx'oasi 'take out', although Meinhof
notes the alternative -   oasi 'down from'.
343 This is probably for   nũ.

20 Xoasaob tje !hoba ha[344] hais diba i,
i tje mĩ: *O au-re   ō,*[345]
Hama-ts ko ko   'ũb hō hã?
!'Ãba i-r tje   'ōa.

I tje   oa kx'am[346] Aiiebi:

25 *ti !naxuku i-r tje na   'ũ,*
  nika i-r na xabas!nasen,[347]
!'ã ta ba-re o,
tsĩ   uiku are u kx'oasi[348] *tsĩ   'ũ,*
i-r na a[349]   *xā khoēs*[350]   *xā, ti mĩ,*

30 *i-r na   xaba   hanu.*

   Na   nuse[351] i-b tje Xoasaob kõas ū
xabas!nasen,
aku !naxuku ab   kx'oaxa.
I-b tje Xoasoab   oē na ō,
i tje hurikhaī   Aiiebi:

20 Then when Leopard had returned
(*!hoba hã*) to the bush, he said:
'Oh please give me some,
'Where (*hama*) did you find food?
'I am dying (*‖'ō-a*) of hunger (*!'ãb-a*)

   Then Jackal said:

25 'I am eating my intestines.
'I always (*ǀnika*) open up myself
(*xabas[i]-!nasen*)
'when hunger is overcoming me,
'and I take out my intestines and eat
[them]
'so I can get back to my old self (*‖xā
khoēs*),

30 'and be fine (*≠hanu*) again (*‖xaba*).

   Then straightaway (*≠nũse*) Leopard
took a knife (*kõas*) and opened
himself,
so that he could take out his
intestines.
When Leopard fell over (*‖oē‖na*),
then Jackal jumped on top (*hurikhaī*)
of him:

344 Probably hã.

345 The meaning or function of   ō in line 21 is not clear:
Mhf gives it as denn 'then', but adds a question mark in
parentheses. (There does not appear to be an obvious
equvialent in Namibian Khoekhoe.)

346 Meinhof has this word for 'answer' in parentheses in
his Glossary, and suggests that the correct form is   hoa-
kx'am.

347 Meinhof said he did not understand the occurrence of
–s here. He added that Benjamin Kats later corrected
the xabas of line 26 to   xabas in line 32, and suggested
that it might be a variant of   xoba 'open'. It is possible,
though, that xabas was indeed a noun, meaning 'vessel,
pot' and possibly used in this context as a term for 'belly'.
A further possibility is that the verb   hã 'stab, pierce' has
been omitted from an original xabas !na   hãsen.

348 According to Meinhof, this was later corrected by
Benjamin Kats to -   oasi.

349 The function of a in line 29 is not clear.

350 Meinhof explained that khoes here is the abstract noun
meaning 'humanness'. (It would ordinarily be khoesib.)

351 Meinhof translates   na   nuse in line 31 as und sofort
'and immediately'. In his Glossary he gives   nūse as
meaning zeit 'during, throughout, since', and suggests a
connection with   nũ 'sit'.

35 *!Ae, ae! xaon uiku tje 'ŭ-r na kua*[352]
hē-ku tjē.

I ho'ō na kx'ae i-b tje Xoasaob 'o
hã.

I tje Xoasaob di kx'ōb tani xao'i
kx'ob tsĩ-khara
'ãib kx'ommi xā oa.
I tje sī-b tje ō,
40 *khoēs ab dība sī na tani hi kx'okhara, i*
tje mĩ:
Ti tara! Xoasaob tsĩ xao'i tsĩ-khara
i-r ko ko hētsē !am.
Heb tje kx'ob a!

---

352 Perhaps ko a.

35 'Stop! Stop! It was only a lamb's
[intestines], this that I was eating!'
And then Leopard died (*∥'ō hã*).

And then, carrying (*tani*) the meat of
both the leopard and the lamb,
Jackal went home.
And when he arrived,

40 he presented (*sī∥na*) both carcasses
(*kx'okhara*) to his wife, and said:
'Wife! Today I have killed both a
leopard and a lamb:
'Here is the meat!'[422]

---

422 One day, when Jackal and Leopard were out hunting,
they went almost the whole day without finding
anything, so in the afternoon they sat down under a
bush to decide what they should do next. Jackal said, 'I
think we should separate: I'll go this way, and you go
that way.' The wily Jackal had just spotted a lamb caught
in a bush, so after Leopard had agreed and gone off, he
crept behind the bush where the lamb was stuck, and
hid himself away till Leopard was well out of sight. Then
he caught and killed the lamb, took out its intestines,
and cached the rest of the meat. Finally he sauntered
back to the bush where he and Leopard had agreed to
part, and lay there eating the intestines. When Leopard
returned to the bush, he called out: 'Oh please give me
some of that! Where did you manage to find food? I am
dying of hunger!' 'Oh, these are just my own intestines.
I always open up myself when I'm starving and take out
my intestines to have a little snack. That way I get back
my strength and soon feel like a new man.' Leopard
immediately grabbed the hunting knife and cut open
his own belly, thinking he would do the same. As soon
as he fell over, Jackal leapt on him, shouting, 'No, stop,
stop! I'm only eating lamb's intestines!' But it was too late
for Leopard. Then Jackal headed for home, carrying the
meat of both Leopard and the lamb. When he got home,
he presented both carcasses to his wife, and said: 'Wife!
Today I have killed both a leopard and a lamb: here is the
meat!'

FIGURE 5.10. Another page from
Lucy Lloyd's manuscript of the
Jackal and Porcupine story. (Image
reproduced by kind permission of
the Centre for Curating the Archive,
University of Cape Town.)

BK10. Lion, Ostrich and Jackal[353]
(Mhf, 71–73)

1   Xammi tsĩ ’Amis tsĩ   Aiieb[354] ti-ku tje
    tje   are,
    i tje daōb kx’am !nā !ũ   xabu-ku tje o,
     oe tsĩ ’um.

       Kx’aeb !na   Aiieb:

5   *Hē khoeb hā-kham   hau*, ti mĩ,
    ti ’abaku !nubu hã tje,
    sa gaxu ’abakua   xu,
    a hā-kham hē khoeb   hau.
    I tjē   nati dī, tsĩ !ũ.

10 I tjē   xai tje o,
    oresen, tsĩ khoekha[355] sao, tsĩ sīho, tsĩ
    tẽ:
    Dabi ko   hau-re a? ti mĩ.
    I-b ko ’Amib: *Tire*, ti mĩ.

       kx’aeb-ba Xamma tẽ:

15 *!’Um noagu kx’ao-ts hã?* ti.
     ’Amib: *Ha’ã*, ti mĩ.
     Am kx’aō-ts hã?
     Ha’ã.
      Na kx’aō-ts hã?

20 *Ã.*
    Hā   nao![356]

       I-b tje ’Amib mĩ:
    Hā ĩ-kham ams kx’oa a-s   kx’aigu mã.
    Ā-kham   nagu.

BK10. The Lion, the Ostrich and the
Jackal (Mhf, 71–73)

1   Lion, Ostrich and Jackal were going on
    a visit (*ǂare*) together,
    and when they grew tired (*ǂxabu*)
    from their travels,
    they lay down and slept.

    Then (*‖kx'aeb !na*) Jackal [said to
    Ostrich]:

5   'Let's tie up (*‖hau*) this man [Lion].
    'Only, my sinews are short (*!nubu*).
    'You take out (*ǂxu*) your long (*gaxu*)
    sinews (*‖'abakua*)
    'so we can tie him up.'
    So they did this, and went away.

10 And when he [Lion] woke up (*ǂxai*),
    He freed himself (*oresen*), and
    followed (*sao*) the two men, and
    finding them, asked:
    'Who (*da-bi*) is it who tied me up?'
    And Ostrich said, 'Me!'

    Then Lion asked:
15 'Can you fight with your fists
    (*!'umǂnoagu*)?'
    And Ostrich said, 'No!'
    'Can you [butt] with your head (*ǂ'am*,
    lit. 'top')?'
    'No!'
    'Can you kick (*ǂnā*)?'
20 'Yes!'
    'Come let's go then!'

    Then Ostrich said,
    'Let us go and find an ant-hill (*ams*) to
    put between us (*‖kx'aigu*),
    'Then we can kick-fight.'

---

353 A similar story in Nama was collected by Schultze (*Aus
     Namaland und Kalahari*, 509–510).
354 In Meinhof's representations, as noted in the case of
     the previous story, the second 'i' in words like   aiieb
     indicates an intrusive palatal glide similar to English 'y'
     (phonetic [j]).
355 The two 'men' referred to are the personified animal
     characters, Ostrich and Jackal.
356 Meinhof translates   nao as 'then'.

25 I tjē   nati dī,
ī-b ko Xamma kx'aisi   na i ko   na
kx'abo mã,[357]
i ko   'Amibi hā, i ko ams   na!xaru
tsĩ Xamma māsi tsĩ   na!am.

Kx'aeb !na   Aiieb: *Ha ha!* ti kx'aĩ,
30 *nab tjē goē,*[358]
xu tamab saxa,[359]ti mĩ.
Tsĩ Amib   nabi   xa tsĩ   xā khoes   xā ti
'Amib.

Na i tje   hanu   'abaku ĩ   'Amibi.

25 So they did this,
and then Lion kicked first, and his paw
(∥*kx'abo*) stuck fast.
Then Ostrich came and kicked right
through (≠*nā!xaru*) the ant-hill
to where Lion was stuck, and he
kicked him dead (≠*nā!am*).

Then Jackal laughed (*kx'aĩ*),'Ha ha!
30 'There he lies (∥*oe* [?]).
'There is not a thing you cannot do!'
And he dusted Ostrich off (|*nabi*|*xa*) so
that he was his same old self again.

So Ostrich had the 'right stuff' (≠*hanu*
∥*'abaku,* lit. 'right sinews').[423]

357 The word   kx'abo in line 26 (which Meinhof lists in
his Glossary with the meaning stark, 'strong') may be
for   habob 'paw, hoof, foot, shoe', and is perhaps also
syntactically incorporated into the verb mā, to give the
sense that Lion 'kicked foot-stuck'. Meinhof translates
the line as 'Und dann stiess der Löwe zuerst mit dem Fuss,
under er stiess stark und stand.'

358 The verb goe 'lie' ordinarily occurs with the lateral click.

359 Meinhof translates Jackal's words in line 32 as 'Nichts ist
er (xu tamab) gegen dich (saxa)'.

423 One day, Lion, Ostrich and Jackal set out on a visit
together. Growing tired along the way, they lay down
and slept. Then Jackal whispered to Ostrich: 'We should
tie up this fellow. But my sinews are too short: why don't
you pull out your nice long ones so we can tie him up.'
So they did this, and took themselves off. Lion woke up
eventually, and having shaken himself free, followed the
pair. When he found them, he demanded to know who
had tied him up, and Ostrich meekly confessed, 'Me.'
Then Lion asked him sneeringly: 'So, can you manage
a fist-fight?' And Ostrich said, 'No.' And Lion said, 'Are
you able to head-butt then?' And Ostrich said, 'No.' And
Lion said, 'Oh well then, can you at least kick-fight?'
And Ostrich said, 'Yes!' So Lion said, 'Well come on
then, let's get to it!' Then Ostrich suggested that they find
a good-sized anthill to stand behind and keep between
themselves. Lion obligingly agreed to the handicap,
and then he took the first kick, and got his paw stuck
in the anthill. Ostrich lashed out next, and struck right
through the anthill, kicking Lion dead where he was
stuck. Jackal laughed at the sight of the Lion lying dead.
'Ha, ha, there's nothing you can't do!' And he helped to
dust off Ostrich so that he looked as good as new. So it
was Ostrich who turned out to have the 'right stuff'.

BK17. Jackal, Hyena and the person (version 2)[360] (Kats, 1935/36)

Aiieb ti   Hukhãs ti khoe'i

1   Hukhãs ke na tĩ   Aiieb !oa: *Khoe'i ka ai'i hã?* ti,
i-b na   Aiieb, *Ā* ti mĩ.
I-b na   Hukhãb mĩ: *Ha-kham* !ũ!
I tje !ũ hoa-khara,

5   i tje hoa-khara sī   nũ !ares   amma.

I-n tje 'odana 'oaxa   huru ka,
i-b na   Hukhãb tĩ: *Nane   'aĩna?* ti.
i na, *Hã'ã*, ti mĩ   Aiiebi.

I na dada gaida aob   'oaxa   xarus[361] xa na !ũ-b.

10   I-b na   Hukhãb tẽ: *I   nãb?* ti.
i-b na   Aiieb, *Hã'ã*! ti mĩ,
sī tje hã i ko i   kx'aebe, ti.

Nati-khara   oã i.
I-b na !'abus ūha khoeb   'oaxa amkx'ams

BK17. Jackal, Hyena and the person (version 2) (Kats, 1935/36)

Jackal, Hyena and the person

1   The Hyena asked Jackal: 'Are people strong things?'
and Jackal said: 'Yes.'
And Hyena said: 'Come, let us both go [and see].'
And the two of them went off (*!ũ*) together,

5   and the two went (*sī*) and sat on top (*amma*) of a hill (*!ares*) [to observe people].

And a little child came out in order to play (*|huru ka*),
and Hyena asked: 'Is that him?'
and Jackal said: 'No.'

And soon an old man came out, walking (*!ũ*) with a walking stick (*|xarus*).

10   And Hyena asked: 'Is *that* him?'
and Jackal said: 'No –
'his time has gone past.'

So they carried on sitting,
and then a man came out with a double-barrelled (*|am-kx'ams*, 'two-mouth') shotgun,

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360 This text was written down and provided with translations by Benjamin Kats, with some editing and annotation by Carl Meinhof, who published it with other texts under Kats's name (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 26 (1935/6), 161–174). The only changes have been the removal of unnecessary hyphenations, and the removal of the redundant apostrophe used by Meinhof to show that vowels in isolation were produced with a glottal stop onset. For the first version of this story, the title is given as   arubeb hukhãb   aieb tsi khoe'i, where the word for 'hyena' is assigned the masculine gender. Meinhof changed the first word in this title to   xarubeb and translated it as 'story', explaining that it was added by Timotheus Yzerbek. Meinhof acknowledged the latter's assistance with the texts, as well as further aid and clarifications from Markus Davids and Titus Witvoet. (Yzerbek was the grandson of Captain Goliath Yzerbek, of the Right-hand Korana from Bethany.)

361 Meinhof has   xaurus for 'walking stick' in his Glossary (but note Nama   kharub).

15 uhã (khoeb) nã   noa!ũ.
   I na: *I   nab?* ti tẽ   Hukhãsi,
   i-b na   Hukhãb tẽ: *I   nab?* ti.
   i-b na   Aiieb, *Ā* ti mĩ.

   I na khaĩ   Hukhã-bi   ' ãgu!ũ,
20 i-b na   Aiieb hais !ã kx'ai i gau ka !ũse
   hã ã mũ!na ka.

   I na   Hukhã-b tje hã-bi o,
   !'abus !hob xu ū   na khoebi,
   i-b tje na   Hukhãb hã-bi o,
   i na   noa khoebi.
25 I-n na huri hã   Hukhã-bi,
   i na   xãbã   noa khoebi !'aob kx'ai.
   I na   xãbã huri hã   Hukhã-bi,
   i na   nautsi norab[362]   xu[363] khoebi, i na
     hau[364]-b,
   i na   haudoa[365]   Hukhã-b.

30 i na !'oe kx'aĩ   Hukhã-bi.
   I na   Aiieb dĩba i-b tje sĩ o,
   i na tẽ   Aiiebi hamti-b ka.

   I na, *Hã'ã* ti mĩ   Hukhã-bi,
   *sĩ-bi-r ko o, na gaxu xub !hob xu ū   na
   khoebi,*
35 *i na !nasi   na xub !nã*
   i na !hui xubi,
   i-r na   xãbã sĩ,
   i na   xãbã !na sĩ,
   i na   xãbã !hui,

15 off to go shooting.
   And Hyena asked: 'Is that him?'
   and Jackal said, 'Yes.'

   Then Hyena got up to go and fight the
   man,
20 while Jackal went and hid himself in a
   bush so that he could observe closely.

   When Jackal reached the man,
   the man took the gun off his shoulder,
   and when Hyena came towards him,
   he fired.
25 And Hyena sprang up and came again,
   and the man shot again, [hitting him]
   in the neck (*!'aob kx'ai*).
   And when Hyena sprang up and came
   back again,
   the man unsheathed (*/xū*) his sword
   (*‡nautsi‡norab*), and lunged with it,
   and struck and gashed (*‡haudoa*)
   Hyena open,
30 so then Hyena fled.
   And when he got back to Jackal,
   Jackal asked him how it had gone.

   And Hyena said, 'No …
   'when I got to him (*sī-bi-r*), he took a
   long thing from his shoulder,
35 'and made the thing blow (*!nasi*),
   'and the thing exploded (*!hui*)
   'and I got to him again,
   'but he made it blow again,
   'and it exploded again,

362 The word   nautsi norab was still known to our
   consultant, Ouma Jacoba, who said that it meant ''n
   groot mes' or 'big knife'. The term, which seems to
   have combined   nau 'beat, strike, pound' and   noa
   'shoot, hurl at' may have been an older term for either
   a throwing spear or the short stabbing assegaai, or else
   was specially coined for the swords that may have been
   worn on occasion by high-ranking members of the
   British military.
363 Note Nama   khū 'extract, draw out'.
364 The words   nau and   hau both mean 'hit' and seem to
   occur interchangeably in the Kora records.
365 Note Nama doa 'tear, rip, rend'.

40 *i na   ʾaeb tsĩ   ʾui xarab tin   xa*
    !kxʾabu-re,
    i na   am   ʾaĩ !nas   xābā di-re,
    i-r na   xābā huri sī,
    i na !ã   ãb ab xu   ui   ʾarab ab
      āē   ʾoase
    i na   hau-re tsĩ doa-re,
45 *i-r na !kxʾoe kxʾaĩ tsĩ   hã.*

BK14. The Story of the Woman Who Saved her Child from a Lion[366] (Kats, 1935/36)

1 Tsēb tsē i-de ke na khoede !ʾokhao[367]
   !ũ nĩkab khama,
   i-de tje !ʾaub xa sī o,
   i na   nā tanixuku,[368]ā-de   xom ka,
   i tje   xom thoathoa.

5 I-s tje   ui taras hã ʾodaʾi uhã-s   hana
   na daʾi,
   i na   ʾodaʾi hais karab !nã   oãsi,

40 'and he peppered me (*kxʾabu* 'sow, scatter seeds') with fire and stones, 'and he did it to me a second time, 'and I sprang at him again, 'but then he took out (*≠āē≠ʾoase*) a rib (*lʾarab*) from his back 'and struck me with it,
45 'so then I ran away and fled.'[424]

BK14. The Story of the Woman Who Saved her Child from a Lion (Kats, 1935/36)

1 One day, the women went as always to dig for bulbs,
   and when they reached the veld,
   they put down their carrying things (*tani-xukua*), so that they might dig (*‖xom*),
   and the digging began.

5 And one woman had a little child who was crawling (*≠hana*),
   and she put the child in the shade of a bush,

366 This is another of the texts that Meinhof published under Kats's name (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 26 (1935/6), 161–174).

367 This is a further example of the incorporation of a noun (!ʾo- 'bulb') into a verb (khao 'dig').

368 The words tanixuku (lit. 'carry things') for 'digging equipment' and   xom (lit. 'shave, scrape') for 'dig' appear to reflect the avoidance speech once used by women while out digging for food in the veld, as recorded by Kuno Budack ("The   Aonin or Topnaar of the Lower Khuiseb valley and the sea," *Khoisan Linguistic Studies*, no. 3 (1977), 1–42). There is a slight possibility that the intention of the male narrator was to introduce some gentle humour by mocking this special 'women's speech', and we can imagine him mimicking the higher pitched voice of a woman at these points in the story.

424 One day, Hyena asked Jackal: 'Is a person a strong thing?' And when Jackal said 'Yes!' Hyena said, 'Alright then, let's go and see.' So, the two of them went and sat on top of a hill, from where they could observe a person. First a little child came out to play. Hyena asked, 'Is that him?' But Jackal said, 'No!' Then an old man came out, walking with a stick. 'Is that him?' Hyena asked. And Jackal said, 'No, that one is old and finished.' So they carried on sitting, and then a man came out with a double-barrelled shotgun, on his way to hunt. This time when Hyena asked, 'Is that him?' Jackal said 'Yes!' So, Hyena got up to go and fight this person – and Jackal went and hid himself in a nearby bush, to see what would happen. When he saw Hyena approaching, the man unslung his gun and as Hyena came closer, he fired. Hyena sprang into the air and approached again, and the man fired a second time, spraying him with shot. When Hyena sprang up and tried to approach yet again, the man unsheathed his sword and lunged at Hyena, gashing him so severely that he finally turned tail and fled. When Hyena got back to Jackal, Jackal innocently asked what had happened. 'Oh oh,' said Hyena: 'when I reached him, that person took out a long thing from his shoulder and made the thing blow out and it exploded; and when I went back again, he made it blow again and it exploded a second time and rained down fire and stones all over me. And when I pounced again, he took out a rib from his side and whacked me with it, so then I decided it was time for me to leave.'

i na !'okua koraba tsĩ sī xom.
I na õs !xam!nã hã i hanabē 'odani
i na xammi oe ba sī i-b xamma 'om
hã,

10 i na xammi saob xa huru.
I na dada: *Heti õa'i ta tje !xam hã*,
ti mĩ tarasi tsĩ hurikhãi,
i na !ao 'ai,[369] 'oda'i ke na hana
khama,
i na mũ 'oda'i na xammi saob xa
 huru i.

15 I na !huri.
I nã koba tama,
samma ū 'oãsi tsĩ 'oda'i au,
i na nãti õsa !oa hana 'odani.
I na ū tsĩ dõnĩ xa,

20 i-s tje nĩ tarade diba sī o:
He-sao-e, ti mĩ, *thamse hai-ko*,[370]ti,
ha-sē hã!
He-bi ãr ub,[371] *hai-ko!* ti.
I ko hoa xukua xu tsĩ hã hoa-de ãuba
!oa.

and peeled (*koraba*) bulbs (*!'okua*) for
it and went to go and dig.
And with its mother (*∥ũs*) having
forgotten about it, the child crawled
away
and came to where a lion lay asleep
(*∥'om hã*),
10 and [the child] played with the lion's
tail (*xammi saob*).
And soon: 'I have forgotten about my
child,'
thus said the woman and jumped up,
and followed the spoor as the child
was crawling,
and she saw the child playing with the
lion's tail.
15 And she got a fright.
And not speaking,
she took out her breast and showed
(*au*) it to the child,
and so the child crawled towards its
mother.
And she took it and crept away (*doni*),
20 and when she arrived at (*diba*) the
other women:
'O you,' she said, 'softly run away, do,'
she said, 'let's run!
 'Here's "Sharp-tooth," run!' she said.
And they left everything and all ran
back to the village.[425]

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369 The verb ao in the expression ao 'ai 'pick up a spoor'
is perhaps 'au, which Lloyd recorded with the meaning
'stalk, hunt'.

370 The ko here seems to mean 'all of you'.

371 Engelbrecht (Ebt1936) noted gar ūkua for 'dangerous
wild beasts (predators)'. It seems to have been another
avoidance term, and may have meant 'sharp teeth'. There
is a record in the early Cape documents (Moodie, The
Record, 230) of an occasion when members of Pieter
van Meerhoff's 1661 expedition accidentally disturbed
a lion – at which point the Khoi guides shouted out
in warning, 'Mr Pieter, Mr Pieter, Byteman!' It seems
that even in a moment of danger, and even in a second
language, the lion was still referred to only indirectly, as
'Biter-man'.

425 One day, the women went to the veld as usual to gather
bulbs, and when they got to the digging ground, they
put down their bundles of things and began to dig. One
of the women had a little child who had just started
crawling, and she settled it in some shade under a bush.
After peeling it some bulbs, she left it there and went
off to dig. With the mother having forgotten about it,
the baby crawled off, and coming to where a lion lay
sleeping, reached out to play with the lion's tale. Just
then the woman jumped up: 'Oh, I've forgotten all
about my child!' She followed the tracks left by the
baby's crawling, and arrived just in time to see the baby
reaching to play with the lion's tale. She got a fright, but
without a sound, she let the child see her breast. As soon
as it crawled over to her, she picked it up and crept away
with it. And when she got back to the other women, she
told them, 'Oh, quickly, as quietly as you can, run away!
There's a Sharp-tooth here, run for it!' And they left all
their things behind and ran back to the settlement.

BK15. The woman who took a splinter from the lion's paw[372] **(Kats, 1935/36)**

1   Khoes tje hã thũsĩsen xahe tje hã-s
       'omakhoen xa
      i tje mĩ tsēb tsē:
      !'Auba !oa-ta ra !ũ, ti,
      ā-te xamku xa habuhe.

5   I tje !ũ i tje si xammi   xa   hao.
      I-b tje xamma haib xa !hae hã   'aib
      kx'ai,
      i xaĩ hã i   'ai hã.[373]
      I tje xammi i-s tje mũ o, !huri.
      I tje ha   'aĩsa !oa xammi tsĩ kx'ai !nãb
      as kx'ai i.

10   I tje   o[374]   'aĩs,
      i tje   xābā kx'ao !nãb as kx'ai,
      i tsĩ thũsa   'aib ūkhãsi.
      I tje mũ khoesi thũsab hã !xaib,
      i tje !xō   na   'aib i tje   na haib ū   'oãsi,

15   i tje ūb   kx'a   'oãsi.

      I ko tsēkua !no thuisen xammi,
      i tje tsēb tsē !'ãisen[375] mã tsĩ tje huri,
      mũ ka ham-ti ko daob i-b ta huri !xaib.
      I tje   xābā   am   'aĩ tsē dĩthã,

BK15. The woman who took a splinter from the lion's paw (Kats, 1935/36)

1   A woman was being sorely abused by
      her friends
      so one day she said,
      'I will just go into the veld,
      let me be devoured (*habu-he*) by
      lions.'

5   And she went and came across a lion.
      The lion had been stabbed (*!hae*) in
      the foot by a huge splinter (*haib*),
      and it was swollen (*xaĩ hã*) and
      infected (*‖'ai hã*).
      When she saw the lion, she got a
      fright (*!huri*).
      And then the lion came to her and
      stood before her.

10   And she darted to one side (*o*),
      but again the lion came and stood in
      front of her,
      and it lifted up its painful foot (*thũsa
      ǂ'aib*).
      Then the woman saw that it was sore,
      and she took the paw and pulled out
      the splinter

15   and squeezed out the pus (*ūb*).

      For some days the injured (*thuisen*)
      lion was quiet (*!no*),
      but then one day he gave a little hop,
      in order to see (*mũ ka*) how how far
      he could leap.
      And on the second day he tried
      (*dĩthã*) again

372   This is another of the texts that appeared under Kats's
      name. There are some clear parallels with the story of
      Androcles and the Lion, and it is possible that Kats had
      read the story at school. Even so, some of the details
      – such as the woman's preparation of dried meat, and
      the lion's picking up and following the woman's spoor
      – are unmistakeably local. The story is also made
      contemporary, notably in the detail that it is their guns
      the people of the village reach for, rather than more old-
      fashioned weapons.
373   Meinhof has   'ai as 'spoil, decay' in his Glossary.
374   Meinhof explains this word as 'weichen'.
375   Meinhof has   'aisen in his Glossary as 'gird, girdle a
      horse'. It may have been intended here for a word similar
      to Nama !ae 'hop, jump (as a flea)'.

20 i tje mũ: *Ā*, ti.[376]
   I tje !nona   ’aĩ tsē huri,[377]
   i tje   na tsē !ũ !’aub xa !oa !hami!ũ.

   I tje sī   aes[378] ūhā khoes na !oa sī
   i he kx’ob xa khoes   ’aĩs dommi kx’ai
    ’ũ,

25 xamma   ’aĩb dommi kx’ai ti na hĩ,
   khoes i na !oe[379] tsĩ   ’o   ’o.

   !Nona   ’aĩ tsē xammi tje !’aub
   !hami!ũb   ’oa[380] !kx’aroba[381]
   i tje dītoa khoesi,
   i tje xammi !ũ   ’ūse kx’okua !ae
   kx’am

30 i ko   ’anu.

   I-b tje xamma !’aub xu ha o,
   i-b tje khoes hō te hã o,
    ’aib kx’ai mã.
   I-s tje xabe khoes   ’anu sī hã khoes na
    hoã!hoa,

20 to see: ‘Yes!’ he said.
   And then on the third day he [could]
   leap [properly again],
   and on that day he went into the veld
   to hunt (*!hami!ũ*).

   And he caught a gemsbok (*/aes*) and
   brought it to the woman
   and the woman ate the meat in her
   own way,
25 and the lion ate in his, that’s what
   they did,
   and the woman cut up [the rest of the
   meat] and dried it (*/’ō/’ō*).

   On the third day when the lion went
   out early to the veld in order to hunt,
   the woman made ready,
   and with the lion gone not knowing
   (*/’ūse*), she bundled up (*!ae*) the meat
30 and went home (*∥’anu*).

   And when the lion returned from the
   veld,
   and did not find (*hō*) the woman,
   then he stayed on her spoor (*≠’aib
   kx’ai mã*).
   But just as the woman who had
   reached home was telling [what had
   happened],

376 It is not difficult to imagine a narrator producing the word ā ‘yes!’ as a convincing roar.
377 Lines 19–21 provide examples of the ordinal use of numbers, in the expressions   am ’aĩ tsē ‘second day’ and !nona   ’aĩ tsē ‘third day’.
378 For ‘gemsbok’, Engelbrecht gave   gais and Lloyd   ais.
379 Meinhof noted that !oe should mean ‘cut into strips’.
380 Meinhof notes that Timotheus Yzerbek translated   ’oa as ‘morning’ and !kx’aroba as ‘early’.
381 Possibly the counterpart of Nama !aroma ‘because of’.

35 he-b tje xamma hā ko-b.
Xamma! ti !kxʼau kxʼaokhoeku,
tsĩ !ʼabude ū-kua tsĩ xamma   noaǃam khoeku.

35 just then the lion appeared.
'*Lion*!' screamed the men,
and they snatched up their guns and
the men shot the lion dead.[426]

BKr1. Aesop's 'Fable of the Wind and the Sun', retold in Kora by Benjamin Kraalshoek (Bch, 191–192)

Version 1: Beach's original narrow phonetic transcription:

1   uitse   ʼoap tsĩ sores
tsĩkhara   noagu ta[n]   ai hã.
na   xʼaep !na
dao!ũkxʼaosap !ũ-!oa xa,
xõasa jas ʼana sap.

5   ʼãikhara na   xʼapep dī
dao!ũkxʼaosap di jasa ta kxʼaisi   ae-
xʼoasi ka sip,
napi   aisa kxʼarop.

BKr1. Aesop's 'Fable of the Wind and the Sun', retold in Kora by Benjamin Kraalshoek (Bch, 191–192)

1   One day Wind (‡'Oab) and Sun (Sores)
were arguing over who (*tan*) was strong.
At that moment (‖*na* ‖*kx'aeb   na*),
a traveller came along,
[who] was wearing (*ana*) a warm cloak (‖*xõasa jas*).

5   The two decided
whoever could make the traveller take his jacket off first,
he would be the stronger young man
(|*aisa kx'arob*).

426 There was once a woman who was sadly tormented by her companions, and one day she said, 'Let me just go off into the veld and be eaten by lions.' So, she went, and she met up with a lion. The lion had a splinter in his paw, though, and the wound was all swollen and infected. When she saw the lion, the woman was frightened at first, but then it came and stood in front of her. She darted aside, but it appeared in front of her again, this time holding out its injured foot. The woman saw that it was painful, so she took the paw and drew out the splinter, and gently squeezed out the pus. For a few days the recovering lion was quiet. But one day he gave a small hop, to see whether he could leap yet. On the second day he tried again, and this time felt he was getting stronger. On the third day he found that he could leap again, and this day he went out hunting. He caught a gemsbok and brought it back to the woman. She ate in her manner, and he in his, and then she cut up the rest of the meat and hung it up to dry. On the third day, when the lion had gone out hunting early in the morning, the woman secretly made preparations, and packed up the meat, and went home. When the lion returned from the veld and found the woman not there, he followed her scent. The woman meanwhile had arrived back home, and was telling everyone what had happened, when the lion appeared. 'Lion!' shrieked the men, and they grabbed their guns and shot the beast dead.

ʔike   ʔoapi thoathoa   aisase !om hã.
 ʔoap na   aisase !om kose,

10 ʔip na dao!ũkxʔaosap jas ʔap   ae- an.
 ʔike   ʔoap   oe.

 ʔike soresi   hõa-!nasn- hõa.
  ui nas kxʔama jas   ae- xʔoasi.
 ʔike   ʔoapi   ʔan sores papi hã   xaip.

The Wind began to blow (*!om*)
strongly.
Wind blew fiercely until
10 the traveller pulled his jacket more
closely (*≠ae≠an*).
Then Wind lay down (*∥oe*).

And then Sun blazed down.
Immediately (*∕ui nas*) he pulled off
(*≠ae≠kxʔoasi*) the jacket.
And Wind knew that (*xaib*) Sun had
surpassed him (*bā-bi hã*).[427]

Version 2: re-written for greater compatibility with other texts and ease of reading:

1   Ui tsē   ʼOab tsĩ Sores
tsĩkhara   noagu tan   ai hã.[382]
  Na   kxʼaeb !na dao!ũkxʼaosab
!ũ!oaxa,
  xõasa *jas*[383] anasab.

5   ʼÃikhara na   kxʼabeb dī,
dao!ũkxʼaosab di *jasa* ta kxʼaise
  ae kxʼoasikasib,
  nabi   aisa kxʼarob.

  I ke   ʼOabi thoathoa   aisase !om hã.
   ʼOab na   aisase !om kose
10 i-b na dao!ũkxʼaosab *jas* ab   ae an.
  I ke   ʼOab   oe.

  I ke Soresi   hõa!nasn hõa.
   Ui   nas kxʼama *jas*   ae kxʼoasi.
  I ke   ʼOabi   ʼan sores bā-bi hã   xaib.

382 Beach noted (1938: 192) that Benjamin Kraalshoek
'often made the vowel of this root oral instead of nasal'.
It seems that some instances of hã in this text may have
been the copula a.

383 The word jas is an Afrikaans word for 'jacket'.

427 One day, Wind and Sun were arguing over who was the
stronger. Just then a traveller wearing a warm jacket
came down the road. The two of them agreed that
whoever could make the traveller take his jacket off first
would be the stronger. Wind took his turn and blew
as hard as he could, only to make the traveller pull his
jacket more tightly around himself. So Wind fell back,
and Sun began to blaze down. Instantly the traveller
took off his jacket, and Wind had to acknowledge that
Sun had beaten him.

A KORA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY,
WITH ENGLISH-KORA INDEX

This chapter presents a Kora to English dictionary, with an English to Kora index, where the electronic version includes links to audio files illustrating the pronunciation of approximately one third of the Kora words – making it effectively a 'talking dictionary'. Although the main function of the dictionary is to serve as an aid to the reader who is working closely through the texts in the original language, or who might be trying to learn the language, it may well also be used as a source of cultural information in its own right. With the needs of various users in mind, the organisation of the entries has been kept as clear as possible, and the reader has not been burdened with constant redirections to other entries. The dictionary is supplemented by three lists of specialised terms organised by semantic field, which collect together for easier reference (1) the names of the Korana clans, (2) the names of larger animals, birds and arthropods, and (3) the names of plants and plant products.

For purposes of compiling this consolidated dictionary, Meinhof's Glossary[1] served as a convenient point of departure. This core was expanded by the addition of words from a variety of other sources, including the notebooks of Lucy Lloyd;[2] Jan Engelbrecht's studies published in 1928 and 1936;[3] the various narratives and comparative word lists collected by Louis Maingard;[4] and the texts contributed by Benjamin Kats.[5] A few archaic words from Carl Wuras's Vocabulary[6] not found elsewhere have also been entered, plus some additional Kora star names that were given to Lloyd by the ǀXam speaker, ǁKabbo.[7] Most of the musical terms are from Percival R. Kirby;[8] while a further few words were sourced from the brief list supplied by William Burchell.[9] The main source for each lexical item is indicated at the end of the entry by an abbreviation in square brackets, where Mhf stands for Meinhof, Lld for Lloyd, Ebt for Engelbrecht, Mgd for Maingard, Wrs for Wuras and Kby for Kirby. (The numbers that appear after Ebt and Mgd refer to the dates of the relevant publications.) In the case of the words sourced from Lloyd's manuscripts, most are from her second Kora notebook, but a few have been obtained from the narratives dictated to her by Piet Links.

With the likely user in mind, we have chosen not to clutter the entries through the addition of excessive grammatical information such as word class labels. The latter are in any case largely redundant, since an entry reflecting one of the singular gender suffixes –b, –s or –i is self-evidently a noun; entries featuring an affixed –sa

(and sometimes *–xa*) are adjectival; while entries with *–se* (and sometimes *–ka*) are adverbial. Entries without such affixes are almost always verbal in character.

The glosses provided are the core translation equivalents: any additional nuances that might arise, for example from situation-specific or metaphoric uses, should hopefully emerge from the texts themselves. Inevitably there are some words without exact equivalents, perhaps because they have a different semantic range from the closest counterpart in the target language, or perhaps because particular aspects of society and culture do not match one another exactly. In the case of the English to Kora index, only the key words are given: more detailed information will be found under the entry for the Kora word itself.

Readers who have worked through the preceding chapters will be aware that no official set of spelling and writing rules (that is, an orthography) was ever implemented for Kora. For the main entries in this dictionary, as explained in the chapter on Kora phonetics, we have adopted semi 'standardised' forms based on the conventions that were used by Meinhof. At the same time, we have tried to include most of the variants found in the heritage texts.

We have provided a separate listing for clicks followed by the letter '*g*' (which is to say, clicks with audible posterior release), since they were expressly indicated not only by Lloyd and Engelbrecht (in his earlier work), but also by Maingard, and it seems better not to discard this information, since it may one day prove valuable for comparative studies. For the most part, these clicks match clicks that were recorded by other authors as plain.

The clicks it proved hardest to accommodate in this consolidated dictionary were those that feature simple aspiration. The conventions used to represent this accompaniment in the past varied considerably, even in the usage of a single author, and it seems clear that some speakers produced these clicks with only a faint degree of aspiration, whereas others gave them audible frication. The clicks written with a following letter '*k*' in the earlier work of Engelbrecht typically match clicks recorded by others as fricated, but it appears that in the speech of his consultants they were probably aspirated, and since it did not seem appropriate to obliterate a possible dialectal difference by subsuming them under the fricated clicks written as **x**, we have listed them separately as a subset of this series. (The solution is not elegant, but has the advantage of preserving potentially valuable information.)

For purposes of alphabetical ordering, the gender suffixes of the nouns have been excluded from consideration. In practical terms, this means that a word may occasionally appear a few entries later than might otherwise have been expected. *Compound nouns* have been organised in a way that has seemed likely to make it easiest for the reader to find them: they are placed after a particular verb where they are based on and commence with that verb – or after a particular noun, in cases where they commence with that noun. *Compound verbs* are organised in a sub-sequence immediately below the entry for the main verb.

In the arrangement of the entries, the vowels are ordered in the sequence: plain vowel (**a**), long vowel (**ā**), and nasalised vowel (**ã**). A non-click consonant always comes before a click, and the clicks themselves are ordered as follows:

Clicks: Dental (|), lateral (‖), (post)alveolar (!), palato-alveolar (ǂ).

Accompaniments: !, !g, !', !h, !x, !kx', !n

If a word is not found immediately, the pointers below may be helpful:

- As a general rule, words encountered in the texts with vowel sequences spelled '*ue*', '*ou*' and '*ei*' will be found under entries with the standardised spellings **oe**, **au** and **ai**.
- Nasalised vowels are not always consistently indicated in the texts, and the reader will encounter many variations involving these.
- Clicks written with a following '*k*' in the work of Maingard and Lloyd are typically plain, but may occasionally reflect the fricated accompaniment (as **x**) in the standard entry.
- A click represented without any additional letter ('!') in the work of Maingard and Lloyd will most often be found as a delayed ejective ('glottalised') click (as **'**), but may occasionally be found as an ejective affricated click (as **kx'**).
- Words featuring a palato-alveolar click ( ) were frequently recorded with a dental click ( ), and vice versa.

Where occasional references are made to words in other languages, the sources are Haacke and Eiseb[10] for the Namibian Khoekhoe dialects, which include Nama; Kilian-Hatz[11] for Khwe; Visser[12] for Naro; McLaren[13] and Tshabe and others[14] for Xhosa; Doke and others[15] for Zulu; Pelling[16] for Ndebele; Rycroft[17] for Swati; Mabille and Dieterlen [18] for Sotho; Brown,[19] and Cole[20] for Tswana; Van Warmelo[21] for Venda; Louw[22] for Karanga; Scott and Hetherwick[23] for Nyanja; Tobias and Turvey[24] for Kwanyama; and Viljoen and others[25] for Ndonga.

Endnotes

1   Carl Meinhof, "*Wörterverzeichnis*," in *Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1930) (Supplement 12 to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*), 78–145.

2   Lucy C. Lloyd, "Manuscript notebooks on Kora [1879]." Originals housed with the Maingard Papers in the Manuscripts Collection of Archival and Special Collections at the Unisa Library in Pretoria; digitised versions available online at http://lloydbleekcollection. cs.uct.ac.za under the heading of Lucy Lloyd, Kora Notebooks, MP1–3. (The notebook labelled MP4 contains the work of Lloyd's younger sister Isabella, and is not an entirely reliable source.) Words for plants and animals in the second notebook (MP2) were obtained during an outing to the Natural History Museum in Cape Town. Various other words and phrases obtained from Piet Links appear mainly in the first notebook (MP1).

3   Jan A. Engelbrecht, "*Studies oor Korannataal*," *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch* 6, ser. B, no. 2 (1928); and *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936).

4   Louis F. Maingard, "Studies in Korana history, customs and language" *Bantu Studies* 6, no. 2 (1932), 103–161; "Korana texts from Bloemhof," *African Studies* 26, no. 1 (1967), 43–46; and "The Korana dialects," *African Studies* 23, no. 2 (1964), 57–66.

5   Benjamin Kats (and Carl Meinhof, ed.), "*Korana-Erzählungen*," *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 26 (1935/6), 161–174.

6   Carl Wuras, *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache* [1858], ed. Walther Bourquin, *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*: Suppl. 1 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Hamburg: C. Boysen, 1920).

7   Lloyd, "Manuscript notes on star names in ǀXam and Kora, obtained from ǀAsin [1874]." Digitised version available online at http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za under the heading of Lucy Lloyd, ǀXam notebooks, BC_151_A2_1049, 3901–3907. Thanks to José Manuel de Prada Samper for alerting me to this list.

8   Percival R. Kirby, "The music and musical instruments of the Korana" *Bantu Studies* 6, no. 1 (1932), 183–204.

9   William Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa,* vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 253–255.

10   Wilfrid H. G. Haacke and Eliphas Eiseb, *A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary, with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2002).

11   Christa Kilian-Hatz, *Khwe Dictionary* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2003).

12   Hessel Visser, *Naro Dictionary* (Gantsi, Botswana: Naro Language Project, 2001).

13   J. McLaren, *A New Concise Xhosa-English Dictionary* (rev. W. G. Bennie, transliterated J. J. R. Jolobe) (Cape Town: Longmans Southern Africa, 1963).

14   Sonwabo Lungile Tshabe, F. M. Shoba, Buyiswa Mavis Mini, H. W. Pahl, A. M. Pienaar and T. A. Ndungane, *The Greater Dictionary of IsiXhosa* (3 vols) (Alice: University of Fort Hare, 2006).

15   Clement Doke, D. M. Malcolm, J. M. A. Sikakana and B. W. Vilakazi, *English–Zulu, Zulu–English Dictionary* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1990).

16   J. N. Pelling, *A Practical Ndebele Dictionary* (Bulawayo: Daystar Publications, 1966).

17   D. K. Rycroft, *Concise SiSwati Dictionary* (Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers, 1981).

18   A. Mabille and H. Dieterlen (reclassified, rev. and enlarged R. A. Paroz), *Southern Sotho–English Dictionary* (South African orthography) (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1988).

19   J. Tom Brown, *Setswana Dictionary: Setswana-English and English-Setswana* (Johannesburg: Pula Press, 1982).

20   Desmond T. Cole, *Setswana – Animals and Plants* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1995).

21   N. J. van Warmelo, *Venda Dictionary: Tshivenda-English* (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1989).

22   C. S. Louw, *A Manual of the Chikaranga Language* (Bulawayo: Philpott and Collins, 1915).

23   David Clement Scott, *Dictionary of the Nyanja Language*, ed. Alexander Hetherwick (London: Lutterworth Press, 1929).

24   G. W. R. Tobias and B. H. C. Turvey, *English-Kwanyama Dictionary* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1954).

25   J. J. Viljoen, P. Amakali and N. Namuandi, *Oshindonga/English; English/Oshindonga Dictionary* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2004).

Kora – English

A

a be (copula or aspectual marker, linking verb in present and future tenses) (see also **i**) [Mhf]

a possessive base [Mhf]

Ā! Yes! [Mhf]

      āmā give consent, agree to marriage proposal [Mgd67]

ā let (cohortative particle) [Mhf]

      ā-re let me (1ms) (< **tire** 'I (man)') [Lld]

      ā-ta let me (1fs) (< **tita** 'I (woman)') [Lld]

ā (occurs in compounds)

      ābē take away [Ebt28]

      āxu throw away [Mhf]

āb (~ **kx'āb** [Lld]) hole, cave [Mhf]

aba carry child on back [Mhf, Ebt36]

abāb frost [Mhf]

      abas/i snow [Mhf]

      aba'abasa frozen [Mhf]

abo- dent in metal container [Mhf]

abob father (mainly used in a personal sense, in contexts of address) [Mhf]

abub ostrich eggshell [Mhf]

aio yes indeed [Mhf]

aitjos (~ '*ajos*' [Wrs]) mother [Mhf]

aikhom stammer, stutter [Mhf]

aka then, afterwards [Wrs, Mhf]

aku (< **a ka o** (?)) so that [Ebt36]

am- dent in metal container [Mhf]

ams anthill, termite heap [Mhf]

ana dress, wear, put on clothing [Mhf]

ao (~ *au*) throw, hurl, throw stick at [Mhf, Ebt28]

aobi (~ *aobe*) man, master (see **kx'aob**) [Mhf]

aosen (~ *ausen*) sweat [Mhf]

are be uncertain, hesitate, dither [Mhf]

arib feast [Mhf]

arib/s dog [Mhf]

ari 'aib (~ **ali 'aib**) edible wild root, 'eaten raw or cooked, sweet,' probably *Pelargonium* species. [Ebt28, Ebt36, Lld]

aru dancing of women to the flute [Mhf]

au (~ **ao**) throw, hurl, throw stick at [Mhf, Ebt28]

augaisekx'ai lift [Wrs]

au (~ **ao**) give (pronounced by Ouma Jacoba Maclear as [əʊ]) [Mhf]

ausen (~ **aosen**) sweat [Mhf]

āu thicken (as soured milk), solidify (as fat) [Mhf, Ebt28]

      āubīb buttermilk

B

–b he (3ms) [Mhf]

ba place (used in locative expressions, may cross-reference **!xaib** 'that') [Mhf]

ba pound grain [Mhf]

ba (~ **bā**) defeat, conquer (may be used in sense of 'surpass' to express a comparative) [Mhf]

      bakx'aob conquereror [Wrs]

bā bite [Mhf]

bā tread, step [Ebt28]

      bā na step over [Wrs]

bās swimming horse (single log with peg at front, used as floating aid to cross river), (note Venda *bara* 'pole', used as avoidance term for *matanda* 'fencing and other poles') (see also **dās**) [Ebt36]

bamus vessel for storing milk (largest kind) (seealso **xabib, kx'ao na xabib**)[Ebt36]

baramus (~ **garamus**) knobkierie, used for defence and as throwing stick (for hunting small game) (note Karanga *mubada* 'walking stick') [Ebt36]

baxab tobacco (loan) [Mhf]

bē go away [Ebt28]

      bēsa gone, lost [Ebt28]

      bē daob xu travel, take to the road [Mhf]

bereb bread (Nguni or Sotho-Tswana *mabele*) [Mhf]

Berib (~ **Birib**) Tswana person [Lld]

bī suckle (as a child) [Mhf]

      bīsi let suckle (a child) [Mhf]

bīb milk (Nama *daib*) [Mhf]

      āubīb thick milk (soured) [Lld]

      bīhaib plant sp., said to increase milk yield when eaten by cattle or goats, but may also refer to plants that exude a milky sap [Lld]

bīb amma milking [Mhf]
    ababīb sack-milk [Lld]
bī (used by Ouma Jacoba Maclear in sense of 'talk', perhaps for **mĩ**) [JM]
bi 'āb (~ '*biãm*' [Wrs]) head (see also **mū 'āb**) [Mhf, Ebt36]
bībib plant sp., 'small green bush w. abundance of rush-like leaves', root could be used as the *moerwortel* for honey-beer [Ebt36]
birib/s/i goat [Mhf]
    Birib Tswana person [Lld]
    Birina Tswana people [Mhf]
    Birisūde pots made of clay, used for cooking, bartered from the Tswana [Ebt36]
    birithama watermelon [Mhf]
    biri 'onade goat pellets [Ebt36]
    biri ana (< '*biri kana*') glow-worm (larva of beetle) [Lld]
bubudu- reed sp., brittle, sometimes used for children's mats [Ebt36]
Bur'i Boer, Afrikaner [Lld]
bur(u)burs bull-roarer (Sotho *kgabudubudu*, Xhosa *uvuluvulu*, Afrik. *woerwoer*) [Ebt36]
buru admire, wonder at, be amazed [Mhf]

D

–da we, us (1cp) [Mhf]
dā tread, step over, surpass, defeat (possibly Giri, note Kora **bā**, Nama **dā**) [Ebt36]
dā? (~ **ta?**) who? interrogative base [Mhf]
dās swimming horse (single log used as floating aid to cross river), said to be '*ondervelders*' word' (see **bās**) (but see also Venda *danda* 'pole, log', as well as Tswana *taa* 'swimming log') [Ebt36]
dāsen guard, take close care of something valuable [Mhf]
daba (~ **diba**) at [Mhf]
daba shine, light up, sparkle [Mhf]
dādā soon, shortly [Mhf]
dāho mad [Mhf]
dani (< '*danni*') produce, bring forth [Wrs]
danib (< '*dannib*') produce (noun), product [Wrs]
danis honey [Mhf]
daob (~ **daub**) path, trail, road [Mhf]

dao!ūkx'aosab traveller [Bch]
dāo (~ **dāu**) burn (Venda *ndau*, used as secret name for 'fire') (Nama *dao* 'burn, boil, singe' (transitive verb), but *dãu* 'burn self, become burnt (intransitive verb)) [Mhf]
    dāukx'i light (as a pipe) [Ebt36]
daru mend, patch old garment [Mhf]
darub stem, tendril (as of vine) [Ebt36]
daub/s quagga, zebra [Ebt28, Lld]
daub (~ **daob**) path, trail, road (Kwanyama *ositauua*, Ndonga *oshitauwa* [Mhf]
daurab (~ **taurab**) mist, fog [Mhf]
–di they (women) (3fp) [Mhf]
di possessive particle [Mhf]
diba (~ **daba**) at [Mhf]
dī do, make [Mhf]
    dība do for (someone) [Mhf]
    dīmãsib decision [Ebt36]
    dīsa fail to do correctly, mis-do [Mhf]
    dīthã test, try [Mhf]
    dītoa finish, make an end [Mhf]
    dīxu desist from doing [Mhf]
    dīxu produce, bring forth [Mhf]
    dī hau hau (~ ' *hou hou*') gather (as reeds), collect [Mgd32]
    dī xoā use [Mhf]
    dī kx'ari undo [Mhf]
    dī ai ai rob, plunder [Mhf]
    dī 'ari be obliged to do [Mhf]
    dī 'akx'aob (~ **kx'aub**) judge [Mhf]
    dī xoni (~ **xuni**) alter, change [Mhf]
    dī 'akx'am avenge [Mhf]
    dī ao desire, want [Mhf]
    dī hanu arrange, set in order, make right [Mhf]
dīxatseb (~ **dātsaxeib**, **dāxatsēb**) edible wild root, 'long, white', sweet once cooked [Ebt28, Ebt36]
disi (~ **djisi**, **tjisi**) ten
dja (= **tje a** < **ke a**) [Mhf]
dje (~ **tje** < **ke**) remote past (tense marker) [Mhf]
djisi (~ **disi**) ten [Mhf]
doa tear, rip, slash [BK]
    haudoa strike and slash, gash open (as with sword) [BK]
doe flee, fly [Mhf]
    doebē take away [Mhf]
    doe a drive, push [Mhf]
domma throat, voice [Mhf]

dommi (~ **dom(m)e**) way, manner [Mhf]
doni (~ *duni*) creep, crawl [Mhf]
dorob initiation school for young men [Mhf]

> **doroxasib** membership of initiation school [Ebt36]

–du you (2cp) [Mhf]
dūb rite performed as part of initiation process, involving drinking of milk containing the *swartstorm* [Ebt36]

> **dūhaib** plant sp., root burned to charcoal for medicine known as *swartstorm* [Ebt36]
> **dūhais** plant sp. used for magical love potion [Ebt28]

dubu (~ **tubu**) whisper [Wrs]
dubudubu gurgling, murmuring (of water) (ideophone?) [Mhf]
duni (~ doni) creep, crawl [Mhf]
dura (~ tura) desire, want, wish [Mhf]
dzā middle (?), occurs only in PL5 (but see **za kx'ai**) [Lld]
dzīb big toe [Lld]
dzoa- genet [Lld]
dzoro noagu game of *kleilat*, team game with players using thin flexible sticks to flick lumps of clay at opponents (also **zabos, dzabos**) [Ebt36]

E

ẽs (~ **ĩb/s**) parent [Mhf]

G

gā be clever, smart [Mhf, Lld]

> **gāb** cleverness, intelligence, wisdom, cunning [Mhf]
> **gāgā** (< '*kgakga*') deceive, trick [Wrs]
> **gāhã** clever [Ebt36]
> **gākx'aī** clever, wise [Mhf]
> **gāsa** clever, wise [Mhf]

gā (~ kā) be lost [Mhf]
gās (~ **khās**) bow (hunting and musical) [Wrs]
gãs waterfowl, wild duck, duck [Mhf]
gabus parasol [Mhf]
gaga mention, gossip [Mhf]
gai (~ *gei*, **kai**) big [Mhf]

> **gaise** (~ **kaise**) very, many, much [Mhf]

gaida old [Mhf]
gaisa strong (perhaps for **gaisa**?) [Mhf]
gam snatch, seize, grab [Wrs]

gama crooked, bent [Mhf]
gamas (~ **gomas**?) name of one of the reed-flutes in the 6- or 7-piece consort (bass, 'few feet long') [Ebt36]
gao rule, govern [Ebt28]

> **Gaokx'aob/s** (~ **Gaoxaob/s, kx'aub/s**) chief, ruler, judge (see also **Nusab**) [Mhf, Ebt28]
> **Gaokx'aob(di kx'am) õab** chief's 'right-hand' men, advisors, co-counsellors (see also **NakamãGaokx'aob**) [Ebt36]
> **Gaokx'ob** government [Ebt28]
> **gaos/b** rule, law [Mhf, Ebt28]
> **gao'ose** lawless (with privative suffix **-o**) [Mhf]

gaob (~ **gaub**) gnu, wildebeest [Mhf, Lld]

> **noagaob** blue wildebeest [Ebt28]
> **nūgaob** black wildebeest [Ebt28]

gao gãb sourgrass (*suurgras*), (or, 'wildebeest grass'?) [Ebt28]
garab shade [Mhf]
garamus (~ **baramus**) knobkierie, used for defence and as throwing stick (for hunting small game) [Ebt36]
gare (~ **kare**) praise, honour, pray [Mhf]
gareb head-dress, hat, soft cap made from ox-hide; also soft cloak, used for burials [Mhf, Ebt36]
gari roll [Ebt36]
gari ams water-fowl [Ebt28]
garo (~ **karo**) hard, dry [Ebt28]
garosen stretch oneself out, lean back [Mhf]
garutšib (~ **karutsib**) plant sp. with hard wood (vaalbos) [Ebt28]
gau ('*kgau*' [Wrs]) hide away, lurk (pronounced by Ouma Jacoba Maclear as [gǝʊ]) [Mhf]

> **gaugau** (~ '*gougou*') hide something [Mhf]

gau go (Nama *garu, gau, gauru* 'be on the way to') [Lld]
gau (~ **kau**) be fat, thickset (pronounced by Ouma Jacoba Maclear as [qχ'ǝʊ]) [Ebt28]
gaub honeycomb [Ebt28]
gāxu long (see also **guxu**) [Mhf]
goab foam [Mhf]
gõas (~ **kõãs**) knife [Mhf]

> **gõakx'omma** sheath for knife [Mhf]

gobab (~ **kobab**) language [Mhf]

goe (~ **oe)** lie down [Mhf]

Gõegõe- mythical snake with spot on forehead, water snake [Ebt28]

gogo add to [Ebt28]

gõgõ (~ **gũgũ**) roar (of water) (said to occur in Gongon, name of place next to a waterfall) (ideophone?) [Mhf]

gomab/s/i bull/cow [Mhf]
    goma oasikxʼaob cattleherd [Mhf]

goras (~ *gouras*) musical bow with quill reed (Xhosa *ugwali*, Venda *ngwala*) [Mhf]

gorab flower [Mhf]
    gorās flower (small) [Mhf]

gorab crow sp. [Lld]

goro (~ **koro**) five [Mhf]

gōse (~ **kōse**?) up to, until, postposition, also used in sense of 'like to, as' [Mhf]

gougou (~ **gaugau**) hide something [Mhf]

gouras (~ **goras**) musical bow with quill reed [Mhf]

–gu reciprocal verb extension [Mhf]

gūb/s/i sheep [Mhf]
    gu oasikxʼaob shepherd [Mhf]

guesi nine [Mhf]

gũgũ (~ **gõgõ**) roaring (of water) (ideophone?) [Mhf]

gun (~ gon) flutter, move, rustle (see also **kunkun**) [Mhf]

gunis wagon [Mhf]

gunubes button (Dutch *knop,* Afrikaans *knoop*) [Mhf]

gurib comrade, partner [Mhf]

gurib (~ **kurib**) year [Mhf]

guru (~ **kuru**) make, create [Mhf]

guxu long (see also **kuxa**) [Mhf]
    guxuguxu lengthen [Mhf]

guxukua sheep, small livestock [Mhf]

guxutsēb edible wild root [Ebt28]

gyāb rheebok [Lld]

H

Ha ha! Ha ha! [Mhf]

hā come, (used also in cohortatives, as 'come let') [Mhf]
    hāʼosa not coming [Mhf]
    hā xa take with [Mhf]

hāb/s/i horse [Mhf]

hā stay, remain, (used post-verbally to mark perfect aspect) [Mhf]
    hā hā be present [Mhf]
    hānahā evermore, lastingly [Mgd67]

hā tama be absent [Mhf]

hā xaib campsite, rest-spot, temporary station [Mhf]

hā xaiʼo restless, unsettled, agitated (with privative suffix) [Mhf]

Hāʼā! No! (note Venda interjection *a-a* 'of doubting, suspicious negation') [Mhf]

haba (used by Ouma Jacoba Maclear to mean 'help') [JM]

habu devour, eat greedily (Tswana –*gabura* 'devour') [Mgd32]

haib/s/i (~ *heib*) tree, stick, bush [Mhf]
    haidoros fire-drill, made of wood from the **alib** (*deurmekaarbos*), **ōs** (*transiebos*), **karutsib** (vaalbos), **hau** (*driedoring*) or *katbos* (**hūs** or **nuseb**); using decayed willow-wood (**hũib**) as tinder or the inner part of the gifbol (**xarob**) [Ebt36]
    haikuadoras climbing plant 'with edible part' [Ebt36]
    haikxʼai ʼaroua berries of tall-growing sp. wag-ʼn-bietjie, crushed, salted and pressed into cakes [Ebt36]
    nauhaisa hit with stick [Ebt28]

haka four [Mhf]
    haka nadi (~ **nade**) four times [Mhf]

halisob (~ **harisob**) spoon [Ebt36]

ham? which? (interrogative base) [Mhf]
    ham(b)a? where? [Mhf]
    hamʼo? when? [Mhf]
    hamti? how? [Mhf]
    ham ʼi where to? [Lld]

ham smell (of a thing) (intransitive) [Mhf]
    ham ʼī (~ '*ham ʼêi*' [Wrs]) give off smell (of a thing) [Mhf]

har gab (~ **har ka kas**) korhaan (*korhaan kranskop*) (*Otis afra*) [Ebt28, Lld]

harab gum (edible, brown) [Mhf, Ebt28]

hare gather fruit, berries, harvest [Mhf]
    hareb veldkos found in riverbed, sweet bulb eaten raw or boiled with milk [Mhf, Ebt36]

harisob (~ *herisob*) spoon (carved from wood) [Mhf]

hau that (remote) (demonstrative) [Mhf, Lld]

hāukxʼū (~ **hũxũ**) seven [Mhf]
    hāukxʼū djisi seventy [Mhf]

hē (~ **hi**) this [Mhf]
    hēhē this here [Mhf]

hēba here [Mhf]

hēbxa because, on account of this (*hierom*) [Ebt36]

hēti in this way, thus (adverb) [Ebt36]

hētihī because, on account of [Ebt36]

hētsē today (lit. 'this day') [Mhf]

hētsēka once upon a time [Mhf]

hētsurika former, long past [Mhf]

hī (~ **hē**) this [Mhf]

hisi following, next (year) [Mhf]

hō take, find, discover, come across, see [Mhf]

ho 'ã catch out (someone in wrongdoing) [Ebt36]

hoa all [Mhf]

hoase all [Mhf]

hoatsēkua daily, every day [Mhf]

hoa aikua almighty, all-powerful [Mhf]

hoa kx'aekua (~ **xaikua**) always, eternally [Mhf]

hoa (~ *hua*) wide [Mhf]

hoa na wide [Mhf]

hoa nakasi widen [Mhf]

hoara beg (**kx'õara**?) [Wrs]

honahona widen [Mhf]

ho'o now, then [Mhf]

hora scoop out, serve (Tswana *–gora* 'scrape out, take leavings from pot') [Mhf]

hora nãb ladle made from horn of wildebeest [Ebt36]

hora completely, thoroughly [Mgd67]

horaka all, the whole of [Mhf]

horena twins (usually of animals only) (see also **gena**) [Ebt36]

hua na (~ **hoa na**) wide [Mhf]

hūi help [Mhf]

hūib help [Mhf]

huni stir [Mhf]

hunihaib stirring spoon [JM]

huni xamma stirring spoon [Mhf]

huri jump [Mhf]

huri na jump over (a stick) [Mhf]

huri ã jump into [Mhf]

huri oa jump off, down from [Mhf]

huri ãu jump over, across [Mhf]

huri xaru cheat, deceive, betray [Mhf]

huri amma sea [Mhf]

huri ammi gonab (< '*huri ami gonam*') lake (lagoon, bay?) [Wrs]

hutsib pumpkin (Tswana *lephutshe*) [Ebt28]

hũxũ (~ **hãukx'ũ**) seven [Ebt28]

I

i (~ **ĩ**) be (copula or aspectual marker, linking verb in past tenses) [Mhf]

i, ī (~ **ĩ**) and, then, (but [Wrs]) [Mhf]

i ho and then (see **ī ko**) [Mhf]

ī be the same, resemble, seem, be [Mhf]

ī go, pass by (Ouma Jacoba Maclear says synonymous with **ãu**) [Mhf]

ī xa pass by [Mhf]

ī ko and then [Mhf]

ī ko occur, happen [Mhf]

ĩ be good, fine [Mhf]

ĩsa (~ *ĩhã*) good, pretty, beautiful, neat, fine, nice [Mhf]

ĩsase (~ '*ẽsase*' [Wrs]) nicely, well, neatly [Mhf]

ĩb (~ **ẽb**) father [Mhf]

ĩs (~ **ẽs**) (~ '*sĩs*' [Wrs]) mother [Mhf]

ĩna parents [JM]

ĩbe be too much, exceed [Mhf]

ĩka aē (~ **ĩnga aē**) doubt, be doubtful [Mhf]

K

ka would, might, so that (marker of potential mood, also used to introduce a purposive clause) [Mhf]

ka morpheme used in certain interrogative formulations [Ebt36]

kā (~ **gā**) lose way, stray [Mhf]

kāsa lost [Mhf]

kāxu lose, drop [Mhf]

kabo forbidden (in sense of 'tabooed') [Ebt36]

kai (~ '*khãi*' [Mgd]) grow big, grow up (perhaps for **xãi** 'swell') [Lld]

kai (~ **gai**, *kei*) big, great, adult [Mhf]

kaikai full-grown [Mhf]

kaise (~ **gaise**, *keise*) very, many, much [Mhf]

kaitsēb festival, holiday (possibly loan-translation of German *Hochzeit*) [Mhf]

kai 'aus (< '*kei kaus*') water-snake, 'dark-coloured, shining, said to

have a ball on the forehead, to eat beasts and to be larger than the boa constrictor' (mythological?) [Lld]

kai orase very many [Mhf]

kai nab/s vulture, eagle (praise name? note Nama praise name Kai!gaba for the lion, meaning 'big-back', in reference to mane or ruff) [Mhf]

kai aib tobacco variety ('big smoke'), 'taller, milder' (perhaps 'big leaf') [Ebt36]

kai aub vessel (carved from wood), into which melted butter (**gobeb**) or newly-churned butter was poured (see also **oreb**) [Ebt36]

kai 'ās (~ *gai 'ās*) 'big flute' in the 4-piece reed-flute consort (tonic according to Bloemhof speakers) [Kby]

kalitob plant sp. with edible leaves, boiled in milk [Ebt36]

kam (~ **kom**) indeed, (Mhf compares with Nama *kom,* used with clause-final *o*) [Mhf]

kamikx'aos (~ *kx'aus*) bad wife [Mhf]

kama as, like (see **khama**) [Mhf]

kare (~ **gare)** praise, honour, pray [Wrs]

karo hard [Mhf]

  karokaro harden [Mhf]

  karokaro hardened [Mhf]

  karokx'aob blacksmith (< '*karrukx'aub*') [Wrs]

  karosa tough, hard [Mhf]

  karo 'aub Karoo plain, hunting ground (lit. 'hardveld') [Mhf]

  karutsib plant sp. with hard wood (vaalbos) [Ebt36]

–kao you (men) (2mp) [Mhf]

kau (~ **gau**) be fat, thickset [Mhf]

ke (~ *tje, kie, kye*) sentence topic (discourse marker) [Mhf]

ke (~ *tje, kie, kye*) remote past (tense marker) [Mhf]

ke (~ *tje, kie, kye*) we (men) (1mp) [Mhf]

kei (~ **kai**) big [Mhf]

kie (~ **ke***, tje, kye*) sentence topic (discourse marker) [Mhf]

kie (~ **ke**, *tje, kye*) remote past (tense marker) [Mhf]

kie (~ **ke**, *tje, kye*) we (men) (1mp) [Mhf]

ko past, recent (tense marker) [Mhf]

ko then, afterwards [Mhf]

kōb all, the whole of [Mhf]

kōb measurement, length (of person) [Lld]

koa tell, instruct (?) [Mgd67]

koā, koākoā praise, glorify [Mhf]

kōab (~ **gōab**) spear, large knife [Mhf]

  kōas knife [Mhf]

  kōahaib handle (of spear), shaft [Wrs]

koba speak, talk [Mhf]

  kobakx'ai read [Mhf]

  kobakxam chatter, talk incessantly [Mhf]

  kobakx'ao debate, discuss, orate [Mhf]

kobab language, speech, reading [Mhf]

koko add to [Mhf]

koku opinion, circumstances, situation [Mhf]

kom (~ **kum**) indeed, since (combined with clausal-final conjunction **o**) (Giri?) [Lld]

koma so it is said, supposedly (adverb) [Mhf]

komsen hear, listen [Mhf]

kora peel, shell (verb) [Mhf]

koro (~ **goro**) five [Mhf]

korokoro (~ '*kororo*' [Wrs]) measure [Lld]

kōse until, up to (postposition), also used in sense of 'like to, as, resembling' [Mhf]

–ku they (men) (3mp)

kuihub length (?) (see **kuxa**) [Wrs]

  kuihukasi lengthen (?) [Wrs])

kukuru- hen, chicken [Wrs]

kunkun (~ **gun**) move (Sotho –*kunya* move, creep, stir) [Mhf]

  kunkun shake something [Wrs]

  kunxu creep out from [Lld]

kurib (~ **gurib**) year [Mhf]

kuru (~ **guru**) create, make [Mhf]

  kurukx'aob (~ kx'aub) creator, inventor [Mhf]

kuxa long (perhaps **kōxa** (?) (see **guxu**) [Wrs]

KH

khās (~ '*gās*' [Wrs]) bow (hunting and musical), as instrument, much larger than **goras**, played by women, using a stick to strike the string [Mhf, Ebt28]

khās (~ *kās*) edible wild cucurbit, 'thorny as a pineapple, larger than a fist, picked from vines as watemelon' (Tswana *mokawa*) [Ebt28]

khabu- flame (Tswana *kgabo*) [Mhf]
khãi (< **khãsi**) stand up, rise, wake [Mhf]
    khãiba stand up for [Mhf]
khakhares edible wild bulb, similar to
  turnip (Tswana *kgankale*) [Ebt36]
–kham we both (men) (incl. 1md) [Mhf]
khama (~ *kama, kamma*) same as, like
  [Mhf]
    khama thã seem [Mhf]
khao (~ *khau, kao*) dig [Mhf]
–khao you two (2cd) [Mhf]
–kharo you two (men) (2md) [Mhf]
kharo goab labour (in childbirth) [Ebt36]
khau worry, be sad, troubled [Mhf]
khau (~ *kou*) kindle, make fire [Mhf]
khau (~ *khao*) dig
khau ã (< '*khau kã*') after (postposition)
  (Nama *khao gã*) [Lld]
khaurub hawk, eagle, raptor sp. [Mhf]
khõa (~ *khũa*) break [Mhf]
    khõasa broken [Mhf]
khõb skin, hide-skin, leatherhide, (also
  traditionally used as bedmat or base)
  (Tswana *kobo*) [Mhf]
    khõs shield, made of leatherhide
      [Mhf]
khoba open [Mhf]
khoeb/s/i person [Mhf]
    khoemĩba rumour, popular belief or
      saying [Mhf]
    khoes(i)- essential self, wellbeing
      (perhaps for **khoesib**?) [Mhf]
    khoesin humanity [Lld]
    khoe amkx'āob (~ *kx'aub*) murderer
      [Mhf]
khom speak, talk (Sotho *–kgomotsha*
  'speak much, esp. in foreign language')
  [Mhf]
    aikhom stammer, stutter [Mhf]
khõsen (< '*khosin*') clean, wash oneself
  [Lld]
khū rejoice [Mhf]
khū swell, rise (as dough) [Mhf]
khūb rising ground, a slope, incline [Lld]
khũa (~ *khõa*) break [Mhf]
khuru- lark, pipit, small bird sp.
  (*koestervoël*) [Ebt28]
khūtukakhūbeb chameleon (see also
  xurutsi kuheb) [Ebt36]

KX'

kx'ā drink [Mhf]
    kx'ā 'ores cup (small shallow vessel
      with handle, carved from wood)
      [Ebt36]
kx'ā cry, scream (of people and animals,
  but not lion) [Mhf]
    kx'ā 'ās name of one of the reed-flutes
      in the 6- or 7-piece consort [Ebt36]
kx'āb (~ **āb**) hole, cave [Lld]
kx'ai on, at, in front of (postposition) [Mhf]
kx'aib face [Mhf]
    kx'aisa surface, front [Mhf]
    kx'aise (~ **kx'aisi**) first [Mhf]
    Kx'aisemā harre xãm January,
      November [Wrs]
    kx'aibīb foremilk (from cow) [Ebt28]
    kx'ai ūkx'aob pioneer, founder, chief
      [Mhf]
    kx'ai 'a in front of, facing, appearing
      before [Wrs]
kx'āi laugh [Mhf]
kx'āib liver [Mhf]
kx'aida roast in pan or pot [Mhf]
kx'ainim ant (small sp.) (see **kx'anib ~**
  kx'ainib for 'termite') [Wrs]
kx'aira render fat [Mhf]
kx'aise first [Mhf]
kx'am roast meat over coals, braai [Mhf]
kx'am right (hand) direction, side [Mhf]
kx'am- edge, rim [Mhf]
    kx'amxab door [Ebt28]
    kx'amma door [Mhf]
    kx'am 'āb door, lane, alley, open
      door [Mhf]
    kx'am 'aib back [Wrs]
    kx'am nāb edge [Wrs]
kx'amma mouth [JM, DC]
    kx'ams mouth (small) [Ebt28]
    kx'ambī milk into mouth [Ebt28]
    kx'amkx'ai lip (of mouth) [Mhf]
    kx'am naxa talkative [Ebt28]
    'okx'am wide-mouthed (of a vessel)
      [Ebt36]
    hubukx'am narrow-mouthed (of a
      vessel) [Ebt36]
kx'ama true [Mhf]
    kx'amab truth [Mhf]
    kx'amase truly, really [Ebt28]
kx'an proud, be arrogant [Mhf]
kx'anib (~ *kx'ainib*) termite [Mhf, Ebt28]

kx'anis bird [Mhf]

> **kx'anidab** little bird [Mhf]

kx'anu suitable, fitting (see also **hanu**) [Mhf]

kx'aosa (~ kx'au) bitter (pronounced by Ouma Jacoba Maclear as [qχ'aosa]) [Mhf]

kx'ao know how, be capable, have mastery

kx'ao(khoe)b (~ *aob, kx'aub,* **kx'aosab)** man, adult man (initiated) (pronounced by Ouma Jacoba Maclear as [qχ'ao]) (Tswana *lekau* 'young man') [Mhf]

> **kx'aokhoekx'ob** adult men's meat (men's portions were the **gāb** '*kamben*e', **gāub** *'stuitjie'*, rump, **xans** 'inner part', **nubutakabi 'ās** 'abomasum', **thõab** 'psalterium') [Ebt36]

> **Kx'aotseb** Sunday (Lord's day) [Mhf]

Kx'aobes edible wild bulb, about size of sweet potato, sweet, could be eaten raw, largest type of *kalkoentjie* [Ebt36]

kx'aosab man [Mgd32]

kx'ara carve rings around a piece of wood [Mhf]

kx'arab (~ kx'arab) kernel, pit, pip [Mhf]

kx'arīxa prohibited, to be avoided and not touched, said of anthrax pustule [Ebt36]

kx'arob youth, young man [Mhf]

> **kx'aro arib** young dog [Lld]

kx'aromasas widow [Mhf]

kx'au (~ kx'aosa) bitter [Mhf]

> **kx'aukx'aub** wild bulb, edible, but very bitter, not preferred [Ebt36]

> **kx'ausorob** bitter rind, or rind of the bittermelon [Ebt36]

> **kx'authamas** bittermelon

kx'aub (~ kx'aob) man [Mhf]

kx'au'i enemy [Mhf]

kx'aukx'anis plover sp. (*kommandovoël*) (dikkop), said by some to have same 'go-away' song as the **õa hoas** [Ebt36]

kx'au na (~ kx'ao) preach [Mhf]

kx'axab youth, young man (Nama *axab*) [Mhf]

kx'ō eat meat, devour, eat greedily (as an animal) (Nama ō) [Lld]

> **kx'okx'o** meaty, fleshy [Mhf]

> **kx'ō 'ã** (< *'kx'o ka'*) eat to satiety, eat one's fill [Lld]

kx'ōb meat (Nama *gan-i or ganni*) [Mhf]

kx'oā return, turn back [Mhf]

kx'õa (~ õa [Mhf]) lay egg, bear [Wrs]

kx'õa (~ *kx'ōā*, *kxũa*) seek, want [Mhf]

> **kx'oa kx'oasi** choose, select [Mhf]

> **kx'õa kx'oasi** choose, select [Ebt36]

kx'oeb (~ kx'ūi) life [Mhf]

kx'õi (~ kx'ūi) live [Mhf]

kx'om (~ *kx'um*) build, construct [Mhf]

> **kx'ommi** (~ *kx'ummi*) house [Mhf]

> **kx'omkx'aob** (~ *kx'umkx'aub*) head of house, (or builder of house?) [Mhf]

> **kx'ommi 'am 'āb** house roof [Mhf]

kx'ontsēbē (~ *kx'ũesibe*, and see also **kx'ūi**) living, alive, be thriving [Mhf]

> **kx'ontsēbēkasi** restore to life [Mhf]

kx'ora raw, uncooked (of meat), fresh, new [Mhf, Ebt28]

kx'ora heal someone [Mhf]

> **kx'orakx'ora** renew [Mhf]

> **kx'orā** sacrifice, make offering [Mhf]

kx'orexa (~ **kx'orexa**) bad [Mhf]

kx'ũesibe (~ **kx'ūi**) alive, living [Ebt]

kx'ui hate [Mhf]

> **kx'uixaxa** hateful, horrible [Mhf]

kx'ūi (~ *kx'õi, 'kx'õehã'* [Wrs]) revive (intransitive), become healed, live [Mhf]

> **kx'ūi** living, alive [Mhf]

> **kx'ūib** (~ **kx'oeb**), ('*kx'õem*' [Wrs]) life [Mhf]

> **kx'uīhãku** circumstances, situation [Mhf]

> **kx'ūi 'aras** beetle worn as living amulet around neck to promote long life [Ebt36]

kx'ūa (~ kx'õa) seek, want [Mhf]

kx'umm bud (perhaps **kx'ommi**, also with meaning 'berry?') [Lld]

kx'um (~ kx'om) build [Mhf]

kx'ummi (~ kx'ommi) house [Mhf]

> **kx'umkx'aub (~ kx'omkx'aob)** head of house, (or builder of house?) [Mhf]

kx'unu direct, arrange [Mhf]

kx'urib louse [Mhf]

L

lū swear solemnly, attest (see also '*nau*' [Wrs]) [Mhf]

M

mã give [Mhf]

    mãba give (to) someone [Mhf]

    mãsi strike, hit, catch [Mhf]

    mãsen surrender, give in [Mhf]

    mãkx'am allow [Mhf]

    mãxu give away [Mhf]

    mã ae give back, return (as rejected wife to parents) [Ebt36]

    mã!ã hope [Mhf]

    mã 'ã give portion of, divide, share out [Mhf]

mã stand, stay, remain [Mhf]

    mãba stand with, for, support someone [Mhf]

    mãsi arrange, order, place [Mhf]

    mãbasakhoeb agent [Mhf]

Mandax Monday (Dutch *Maandag*) [Mhf]

marib money (Tswana *madi*) [Mhf]

marisab root set alight and used to repel enemies by magic [Ebt36]

mĩ say, (used as quotative to introduce direct speech) [Mhf]

    mĩb word, speech [Mhf]

    mĩba promise, give one's word [Wrs]

    mĩba (~ '*mĩmbmã*' [Wrs]) command [Mhf]

    mĩmãsi set, arrange date, appoint [Mhf]

milib maize (loan?) [Mhf]

mũ see [Mhf]

    mũ(n)kx'ais mirror [Mhf]

    mũ 'ã recognise ('ã hear, understand) [Lld]

    mũ'o not see (with privative suffix) [Mhf]

    mũ namãsi watch over someone, keep an eye on [Mhf]

mũb eye [Mhf]

muxununu (~ **moxonono**) tree sp. with edible fruit (Tswana *mogonono, Terminalia sericea*, silver cluster-leaf tree) [Ebt28]

mũ 'ãb head (see also **bi 'ãb**) [JM, DC]

N

na progressive aspect (ongoing action or process) [Mhf]

nabē (~ *nabī*) greet (Malay *tabete?*) [Mhf]

nau that (remote) (demonstrative) [Wrs]

nau swear solemnly, attest (see also **lū**) [Wrs]

ni (~ nĭ) must, shall (obligative mood marker) [Mhf]

nons blesbok (Tswana *none*) [Mhf]

O

-o lacking, -less (privative suffix) [Mhf]

O Oh! [Mhf]

ō if, when [Mhf]

oxais (~ **õaxais**) young woman [Mhf]

õa (~ **kx'õa**) give birth, bear, lay egg [Mhf]

    õaēb birth [Mhf]

    õab (~ '*oam*' [Wrs]) boy child [Mhf]

    õagub family, offspring [Mhf]

    õa'i child

    õas girl child

    õaxais young woman, wife [Mhf]

oa kx'aikua frequently (lit. 'many times') (see also **hoa**) [Mhf]

obtahahã never (see also **tatsexabe, āsixabe**) [Wrs])

okakukambi call to assembly (archaic, note Sotho *kaku*, *nkaku* with same function) [Mhf]

ore rescue, free, release [Mhf]

    oreba free for [Mhf]

    oresen free oneself [Mhf]

R

−r I (man) (1ms) [Mhf]

ra occasional allomorph of **ta** (future tense marker) [Mhf]

−re me (man) (1ms) [Mhf]

−ri (~ **re**) occasional allomorph of **−di** (~ **de**) they (female) (3fp) [Mhf]

S

−s you (woman) (2fs) [Mhf]

−sã fail to do, err, mis-do (typically used as second verb in verbal compound) (Karanga–*dza*) [Mgd32]

sa- base used to form pronouns of 2nd person address ('you'), and also inclusive 1st person non-singular address ('we both' and 'we all') [Mhf]

    sada we all (incl. 1cp) [Mhf]

    sadu you (plural) (2cpl) [Mhf]

    sakao you (men) (2mp) [Mhf]

    sake (~ *satje*, *sakie*) we all (men) (incl. 1mp) [Mhf]

sakham we both (men) (incl. 1md) [Mhf]

sakhao you two (2cd) [Mhf]

sakharo you two (men) (2md) [Mhf]

sas you (woman) (2fs) [Mhf]

sasam we both (women) (incl. 1fd) [Mhf]

sasao you (women) (2fp) [Mhf]

sasaro you two (women) (2fd) [Mhf]

sasē we all (women) (incl. 1fp) [Mhf]

sats you (man) (2ms) [Mhf]

Sāb San person [Mhf]

sā rest (verb) [Mgd67]

sāb fragrant powder prepared from various plants, especially *Agathosma* spp. (buchu) [Mgd]

sabib insect, 'resembling bee but larger, stinging, living in cells' [Ebt28]

–sam we two (women) (1fd) [Mhf]

–sao you (women) (2fp) [Mhf]

–saro you two (women) (2fd) [Mhf]

–sē we (women) (1fp) [Mhf]

sam collect honey from nest [Ebt28]

samma breast [Mgd67]

samob (~ **tsamub** [Ebt36]) garden [Ebt28]

sao (~ *sau*) follow [Mhf]

sao 'are (< '*sao are*') follow along (?) [Lld]

Saob (~ **Saosa**, *Saub*) winter [Ebt36]

sarin syphilis [Ebt36]

sāsi cook, boil

sau (~ **sao**) follow [Mhf]

Saub (~ **Saosa, Saob**) winter [Ebt36]

sausa (~ *sousa*) shy [Mhf]

sāu notice, observe [Mhf]

sāu store, preserve, save, pack away, keep [Mhf]

semib sorghum (or millet?) [Mhf]

si- base used to form pronouns of exclusive 1st person non-singular address ('us only, without you') [Mhf]

sida (~ *sēda*) us, our (excl. 1cp) [Mhf]

sike (~ *sitje*, *sikie*) us (men) (excl. 1mp) [Mhf]

sikham us two (men) (excl. 1md) [Mhf]

sim us two (excl. 1cd) [Mhf]

sisam us two (women) (excl. 1fd) [Mhf]

sisē us (women) (excl. 1p) [Mhf]

sī arrive, get to, go (and) [Mhf]

sī kxōa 'go and seek' [Lld]

sī sao 'are 'go and follow along' [Lld]

sī na arrive [Mhf]

sī na deliver [Mhf]

sīs (~ **īs,** *ẽs*) mother [Wrs]

sī grieve, mourn, weep [Mhf]

sī send [Mhf]

sība send to/for someone [Mhf]

sībāb message [Mhf]

sī na send news (send to tell) [Mgd32]

sīsen work, apply self [Mhf]

sīsenkx'aob worker [Mhf]

skōla school (< Dutch *skool*) [Mhf]

sō cut off small piece, cut out thongs [Mhf, Ebt28]

sō oāb (~ *sō oām*) medicine (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives [səʊ oa]) [Mhf]

sōxahe having been made immune by medicine (*gesout*) [Ebt36]

soaīb (~ **soeb**) lung [Mhf]

sobo smear, rub with fat, anoint [Mhf]

soeb (~ *soaīb*) lung [Ebt28]

soe mad, obsessed (become) [Mhf]

sōēsa mad [Mhf]

sōi (~ '*sõe*' [Wrs]) be amused, delighted [Mhf]

sõeb (< '*sõem*') joy, delight [Wrs]

sonob pustule, boil, used in context of anthrax (**garis sonob**, *gifseer pit*) [Ebt36]

sora be mischievous, make trouble [Mhf]

soraha be doubtful [Wrs]

soreb/s sun [Mhf]

soreb(di)āb sunset [Mhf]

soresdi xāi dazzle, glitter (noun, of sun's piercing rays) [Mhf]

soremū xāu sunshine [Mhf]

sorebna āxa xāb (~ '*soresna ã 'aib*' [Wrs]) west (lit. 'sun-going-in-side') [Mhf]

sorebna oaxa xāb (~ '*soresna 'oaiha 'ai*' [Wrs]) east (lit. 'sun-coming-out-side') [Mhf]

sorebtābāb sunshine, sunlight [Mhf]

sorethaub mirage [Mhf]

sorob bark, husk, rind [Mhf]

sōsē (~ **sūsē**) quickly [JM]

sousa (~ **sausa**) shy [Mhf]

sūb pot (also used for smoker's pipe) (see also **'uisūs** and **'ābeb**) [Mhf]

sūkurukx'aos (~ *kx'aus***)** potter (always a woman, according to Mhf) [Mhf]

sū ais (< '*sū keis*') the pot dance, '*sū keis na   naije*', 'the pot dance is being performed'. Lloyd noted that this was 'danced by the   *xãusan* (Bushmen who live on the lower side, southern side, of the Orange River)' [Lld][1]

sū numkx'aos (~ *kx'aus***)** potter [Mhf]

sū lively [Mhf]

   sūsū liven, make alive [Mhf]

   sūse (~ *sõsẽ***)** quickly [Mhf]

subu easy, light (see also **suī**) [Mhf]

sūbu hurry [Mhf]

suī easy, light [Mhf]

suī noa talk in sleep [Mhf]

surub soup, broth [Ebt36]

sur(u)te pay, forfeit, settle debt (loanword according to Mhf, perhaps < Dutch *soldij* 'wages') [Mhf, Ebt36]

   suruteb (< '*surruteb*') wages [Wrs]

surugub pitfall trap (see also   **gaisekua**) [Mhf]

T

–t I (woman) [JM]

–ta I (woman) (1fs) [Mhf]

ta (~ ra) future (tense marker) [Mhf]

ta not, used to express negative imperative [Mhf]

   tatsexabe never [Mhf]

taba shine (as sun), flash (Sotho –*tjhaba*) [Mhf]

   tābāb lightning [Mhf]

taeb? what? [Mhf]

   taeba? why? [Mhf]

   taib xū? where to? [Mhf]

tairab mist (see also **daurab**) [Mhf]

tama not [Mhf]

tamma tongue [Mhf]

tampanib cheek [Mhf]

tani carry [Mhf]

tanikua clothes [Mhf]

tao (~ tau) shame (feel) [Mhf]

   taosa shameful [Mhf]

tara(khoe)s woman, wife [Mhf]

taub gunpowder (for **thaob** 'ash'?) [Wrs])

taurab (~ daurab) mist, fog [Mhf]

–te me (woman) (1fs) [Mhf]

te not (do) (in conditional clause) [Mhf]

tēb (< '*theb*') tea (loan) [Mgd67]

tē (~ tī) ask [Mhf]

tē never (emphatic negative, clause-final particle) [JM]

ti thus [Mhf]

ti (~ tsī, thi, tī) and [Mhf]

tī (~ *tẽ*) ask [Mhf]

tīb leg, thigh [Mhf]

tire I (man) (1ms) [Mhf]

tita I (woman) (1fs) [Mhf]

tō 'uib stone, brown with white embedded in it (see also **tho**) [Lld]

toa finish [Mhf]

   toatoa finish up, make an end [JM]

tom swallow [Mhf]

torotoro (< '*torrotorro*') slacken, as when pulling (see also **tharotharo**) [Wrs]

tū (< '*dū*') rain (verb) [Wrs]

tūs (~ '*dūs*' [Wrs]) rain (noun) [Mhf]

tubu (~ '*duwu*' [Wrs]) whisper [Mhf]

tubutubu- butterfly [Ebt28]

tu'i because [Mhf]

tura (~ dura) wish, want [Mhf]

tuxana name of one of the reed-flutes in the 4-piece consort (loanword?) [Kby]

TH

thā lick [Mhf]

thāb glue, mastic made from the resinous inner portion of the wild bulb known as gifbol (**xarob**), used to make seals for small vessels, or to fasten the head of a spear into its shaft, (see also **harab**) [Ebt36]

thā taste, feel, try, test, sense [Mhf]

   thāba empathise [Mhf]

   thā'ose tasteless [Mhf

   thāse (~ tsase) approximately, probably ('perhaps' [Ebt36]) [Mhf]

   thāthā feel (start to) [Mhf]

   thā xa touch, touch on, mention, ('assault' according to Wrs) [Mhf]

thā swim [Mhf]

thabab gall [Mhf]

tham, thamsa be soft (Nguni –*thamba* 'become soft') [Mhf]

   thamkx'arab bosom, breast [Mhf]

   thamsab softness [Mhf]

thamsebaxab snuff (see also **ui aib**) [Wrs]

thamtham soften [Mhf]

thamtham soft (be completely) [Mhf]

thamtham ao (~ **ao** (?)) comfort (soften heart) [Ebt28]

thamas/b watermelon, wild melon [Mhf]

thama ’ãigu game, involving spearing a rolling target

kx’authamas bitter-melon [Ebt36]

thaob ash [Mhf]

tharab dust [Mhf]

tharotharo slacken (as when pulling) [Mhf]

thē nāb mid-day, noon (see also **tsē**) [Mhf]

Thi oab (~ **Thui gõab, Tsui oab, Tši goab**) mythological being, divine creator [Mhf, Wrs, Lld, Ebt28]

tho red dappled colouration (animal coat), ‘*rooskilder (van ‘n bok)’* [Ebt28]

thoa behind, below, beneath, under [Mhf]

thoab base, stem (extrapolated < ‘*tʃoab*’) [Lld]

thõathõa (~ **thoathoa**) begin [Mhf]

thõab strap, cord (used as handle for wooden vessel) [Ebt36]

thom place over, cover (?) (Nama *tsom* ‘place underneath something in lying position’) (extrapolated from ‘*tsum*’, ‘*thum*’) [Mgd32]

thõm am cover [Mhf]

thoro pour, mix, scatter [Mgd32, Ebt28]

thoro kx’abu (< ‘*torro ’awu*’) scatter seed, sow [Wrs])

thoro ’a pour, shake in [Mhf]

thūsa bad (Nama *tsū*) [JM]

thū ache, be hurt, sore [Mhf]

thūthū hurt, cause to feel pain [Mhf]

thūthūsen annoyed, be in bad mood, sore [Mhf]

thūsa painful [Mhf]

thūkxamē endure, bear, tolerate, suffer [Mhf]

thū xa endure, bear, tolerate, suffer [Mhf]

thū aokx’ai be angry, have perpetually angry heart (see also **xo aokx’ai**) [Mhf]

thūb pain [Mhf]

thūbeb mouse, ‘with long nose, jumps like dassie’ (elephant shrew?) [Ebt28]

thuib sore, wound, ulcer [Mhf]

thuithui wound someone (< **thūsi**?) [Mhf]

Thui gõab (~ **Tsui õab, Tsui oab, Thi oab, Tši goab**) mythological being, divine creator [Wrs, Mhf, Lld, Ebt28]

thūm sprinkle (occurs only in Bhf4), (see also **thom** and **tsum**) [Mgd32]

thuni melt, dissolve, flow [Mhf]

thurib (~ *txurib, turib*) cord, string [Ebt36, Lld]

thuru scatter, sprinkle (for **thoro**?) [Mgd32]

thuru pluck (as chicken) [Mhf]

thuse wrongly [Mhf]

Thuse xam July [Wrs])

thūxub (~*tʃuxub*) night (Nguni *ubusuku*) [Mhf]

tje (~ *kje, kie,* **ke**) remote past (tense marker) [Mhf]

tje *(~ kye, kie,* **ke**) we (men) (1mp) [Mhf]

tje (~ *kye, kie,* **ke**) sentence topic (discourse marker) [Mhf]

tjisi (~ **disi**) ten [Mhf]

tʃoab (~ **tsoab, thoab**) stem of plant (base?) [Lld]

tʃuxub (~ **thūxub**) night [Lld]

TS

tsamub (~ **samob**) garden [Ebt36]

tsase perhaps (see also **thãse**) [Ebt36]

–ts you (man) (2ms) [Mhf]

tsēb day (Tswana *motshe*) [Mhf]

tsī (~ **ti, thi**) and [Mhf]

tsibes lark sp. (*vlakvoël*) [Ebt28]

tsililikua beans of the elephant’s foot (*elandsboontjie*) (see also **’a ’ab**) [Ebt36]

tsoab (~ *tʃoab,* **thoab**) stem of plant (base?) [Lld]

tsonoseb mosquito [Ebt28]

tsuguru- circle (?) [Mhf]

Tsui õab (~ **Thui gõab, Tsui oab, Thi oab, Tši goab**) mythological being, creator [Mhf, Ebt28, Wrs, Lld]

tsum (~ **tsom, thom**) obscure, perhaps ‘place over’ [Lld]

TS’

ts’units’ēb small aquatic creature, larval stage of gnat or mosquito (?) [Mhf]

ts'ururu- mosquito [Mhf]
ts'uts'u blink, wink (ideophone?) [Mhf]

U
ū take [Mhf]
  ūba take for, from [Mhf]
  ūbē take away [Mhf]
  ūhā bring, fetch [Mhf]
  ūhā have [Mhf]
  ūkhāsi pick up [Mhf]
  ūsī bring here [Mhf]
  ū oasi take down [Mhf]
  ū na throw down [Mhf]
  ū oasi bring out, select (?) [Mgd32]
  ū ū take away [Mhf]
  ū 'ā divide [Mhf]
  ū 'a put in [Mhf]
  ū 'āi (~ **ū 'āe**) (< '**ū kāi**') make go in (with causative extension as –*i*) [Mgd32]
  ū 'oāsi take out [Mhf]
  ū kx'oāsi take out [Mhf]
ūb pus, matter from a wound [Mhf]
uīb bee [Mhf]
uni pinch (note Khwe *khũĩ*, but see also Kora **uni** 'wring, twist') [Lld]
uru rub clean, rub down body for cleansing (ritual) (see also **!'uru**) [Ebt36]

V
vekheb week (Cape Dutch *week*) [Mhf]

X
xā by, with, at, of (postposition, may be associated with postnominal –*a*) [Mhf]
xa namikx'ai concerning, about (< '*ga namikx'ei*') [Wrs]
xā touch, handle, assault [Mhf]
xā shave (hair or beard) [Mhf]
xāb stinger (of bee) [Mhf]
xabab saucer, shallow vessel (wooden) for milk, water [Mhf]
xabas belly (paunch or potbelly?) [Mhf]
xabe moreover, however, rather, yet still (Tswana *gape* 'moreover, again') [Mhf]
xae (~ **xai**) marry [Lld]
xae 'āi (~ **xai 'āi**) marry (see also **'āxae**) [Mhf]
xāe (~ **xāi**) blow (as in playing flute or *gora*) [Mgd67]
xai (~ *xae*) marry

  xaib husband [Mhf]
  xaigu marry one another (?) [Lld]
  khoexaigu'i spouse (?) [Lld]
xaib gemsbok, kudu [Mhf, Lld]
xāi (~ **xae**) swell [Mhf]
xāi (~ **xāe**) blow (as in playing flute or *gora*) [Mgd64]
xaikx'akua herbs, wild fruits [Mhf]
xammi lion [Mhf]
xamareb game, wild animals [Ebt36]
  xamaren game, wild animals [Lld]
   āxamareb small game (such as **'õas** hare, **ẽieb** 'jackal', **hõab** cat, not eaten by initiated men) [Ebt36]
xami wrap, roll up, wind, coil [Mhf]
  uixami wrap up, bundle up [Wrs]
xana (< '*xanna*') scratch, scrape [Wrs]
xanu wade, ford, cross stream [Mhf]
  xanub (~ '*xaunũm*' [Wrs]) a ford, river-crossing, drift [Mhf]
xao cut up, chop (Tswana –*kgaola* 'cut through, divide') [Mhf]
  xaodom 'cut throat (of animal)', slaughter in traditional 'kosher' manner of Lemba people, (Xhosa –*rodoma* 'cut throat of') (see also **aoxodom**) [Ebt36]
xao na red-white belly (*rooitwitpens*), (animal coat colour) [Ebt28]
xarab/s meerkat (used to be tamed), grey meerkat, suricate [Mhf, Ebt28]
xare really (doubting or sceptical) [Lld]
xaresa weak, feeble [Ebt28]
xari (< '*xarri*') sprinkle (note Nama *sari*, Naro *tsɣri* with same meaning) [Wrs, Mgd32]
xaru snap, catch in trap [Mhf]
xati white [Mhf]
  xati aob snake sp. (*witslang*), 'fierce, very poisonous' [Ebt28]
  xati ai black/red-white foot ('*swart of rooiwitvoet*') [Ebt28]
Xati amma place-name, lit. 'White Water', of a town known as Witwater, near Griquatown [Ebt36]
xaub dung (perhaps for **hāub**) [JM]
xaub sorrow (perhaps bitterness? see **kx'au**) [Wrs]
Xauka ununu August (see also **Awa xãm**) [Mhf]

Xauku ũ ŭ xãb (< 'Xauku ũ ŭ xam')
September[2] (perhaps 'painted veld' from
'u 'u 'decorated, *geblom*') [Wrs]

xaukx'aib harvest time (?) (note Namibian
Khoekhoe *gao aeb*) [Wrs]

xauthamas watermelon (wild), bitter-
melon [Mhf]

Xirikuana Griqua people [Mhf]

xoa scratch, engrave, carve, write (Tswana
–kgwara 'scrape with knife', *–kwala*
'write') [Mhf]

    xoaba write (to) someone [Mhf]

    xoakõas knife, fine blade, for
    finishing and delicate work in
    carving wooden vessels [Ebt36]

xoasaob leopard [Mhf]

xon (~ *xun*) grind [Mhf]

xore joke (verb) [Mhf]

xu mock, jeer at (**xo**?) [Wrs]

xū leave, abandon, move away from [Mhf]

    xu from, of (postposition, associated
    with postnominal *–a*) [Mhf]

    xuba allow, forgive [Mhf]

    xu ãba (< '*xu ãmba*') allow [Wrs]

xūb thing, object, livestock, matter [Mhf]

    xudab little thing, property [Mhf]

    xu'o without anything, penniless
    (adjective with privative suffix)
    [Mhf]

xun (~ **xon**) grind (with stones) [Mhf]

    xunhēsa horob flour, ground corn
    [Mhf]

    xun 'uib grindstone [Mgd32]

xurub powder [Mhf]

xuruxurub crane (bird) (*kraanvoël*)
[Ebt28]

Z

za kx'ai in the middle [Ebt36]

zanib lath, wooden pole (used as spear in
game of melon-spearing) [Ebt36]

zans ribbok (Xhosa *iliza*) [Ebt28]

Dental clicks, plain

ā shelter from rain, take cover (as under
tree, ledge) [Mhf]

ā (~ *ka* [Mgd] small [Mhf]

    āhaib) firewood, kindling, ('small
    wood'?) (see also **'aehaib**) [Mhf]

    āse (~ **'āse**) a little, in a little while,
    soon, shortly [Mhf]

āsixabe never [Mhf]

āxamareb small game (such as **'õas**
hare, **ēieb** 'jackal', **hõab** cat, not
eaten by initiated men) [Ebt36]

ā ā small (make small) [Mhf]

ãb (~ **'ab**, **gãb**) grass [Mhf]

    gao gãb sourgrass (*suurgras*), lit.
    'buffalo grass' [Ebt28]

    'are gãb burrweed (*klitsgras*)
    [Ebt28]

    xon gãb sweetgrass [Ebt28]

    'a naub (~ *noub*) edible wild bulb,
    Engelbrecht says means 'grass-
    leaf', type of *kalkoentjie* (perhaps
    Gladiolus sp.) [Ebt36]

abas cap, headdress [Mhf]

abuse (~ **xabu**) weakly (click pre-voiced
according to Mhf) [Mhf]

aes (~ ais, gais) gemsbok [BK]

aeb (~ **'aeb**) base for buchu powder
(**sãb**), prepared from 'musty bark' from
roots of 'an old blue-bush (**harib**) or the
wag-'n-bietjie (**xarob**) or *taaibos* (**'ãub**
or **gaib**). [Mgd32]

aeb (~ *aiieb*, *gaeb, iieb, ireb, keab*)
black-backed jackal (Nama *gīrib*,
gairab) [Lld, Ebt, Mhf, Mgd]

ae nu- guinea fowl [Mhf]

ae nãb ground squirrel (*Xerus setosus*)
(extrapolated from '*e nãb*') [Lld]

ai (~ **gai**) strong [Mhf]

    aisa strong [Mhf]

    ai ai strengthen [Mhf]

    ai ai strong, solid [Mhf]

    aikx'aro- violence [Mhf]

    ai au capable [Mhf]

aib (~ **iieb**, '*eib*' [Wrs]) strength, power
[Mhf]

ai dance, sing (see also **nãē**) [Mhf]

    aīb a dance [Mhf]

    aīs (< '*keis*') a dance [Lld]

    su aīs (< '*su keīs*') the pot dance
    [Lld]

    'ãs aīb reed-dance [Mhf]

ais (~ **aes, gais**) gemsbok [Lld]

aiieb (~ **aeb**, *gaeb, iieb, ireb, keab*)
black-backed jackal (Nama *gīrib*,
gairab) [Lld, Ebt, Mhf, Mgd]

ai nãb (extrapolated '*ke nãb*') ground
squirrel (*Xerus setosus*) [Lld]

am (~ '*kamsa*' [Mgd32] hot [Ebt36]

am am heat up, make hot in fire (as a length of iron) [Ebt36]

am (~ ' *kam*', **gam**) two [Mhf]

> **amkx'ams** 'twin-mouthed (of double-barrelled shotgun)' [BK]
>
> **amsi** have two or more wives [Mhf]
>
> **am tjisi** twenty [Mhf]
>
> **am kx'a** twelve [Mhf]
>
> **am ã** again [Mhf]
>
> **am nāde** two times, twice [Mhf]
>
> **am 'ãib** second [Mhf]
>
> **am nugunis** two-wheeled wagon (lit. 'two-leg wagon') [Mhf]

ãmas raft (several logs of willow-wood lashed together, for river crossings) [Ebt36]

amorob/s (~ *gamiros,* ' *kemmeriss*', ' *ummeris*', **'amiros**) star (with diminutive –**ro**, note Naro *am* 'sun') [Mhf]

anīb (< ' *kannim*') fly (insect) (see also **ganāb**, *gãineb*) [Wrs]

aob (~ *aus,* **gaob/s***)* buffalo [Mhf, Lld]

arasen scatter [Mhf]

arib (~ ' *geirib*' [Wrs]) wasp (see also **urub**) [Mhf]

arob (~ **arob**) path [Mhf]

aub (~ **āub, gãub**) eyebrow [Mhf]

a ab waterbuck (great) [Lld]

ã are upside down on back (lying or turned on to) [Mhf, Ebt36]

e nāb ground squirrel (*Xerus setosus*) (note Dama *gae nāb*) [Lld]

ī occurs in ' *kx'am īb di dʒa*' (PL5), which Lloyd translates as 'on the middle of his back'.

iieb (~ **aib**) strength [Mhf]

iieb (~ **aeb**, *gaeb, aiieb*, *ireb*, *keab*) black-backed jackal (Nama *gīrib*, *gairab*) (*Canis mesomelas*) [Lld, Ebt28, Mhf, Mgd]

ō then (Mhf has question mark next to this meaning) [Mhf]

ōb/s/i (~ **'ōb/s/i, gōb/s** , ' *kob/s/i'* [Mgd]) child [Mhf]

oa (~ **oa**) brown [Mhf]

oakua (~ **goa**) bed-mat (leather) [Mhf]

oe (~ **'oe, goe**) swear, curse [Mhf]

om suck [Mhf]

ona alone [Mhf]

onamã (< ' *konamã*') stand alone, be separate, apart [Mgd32]

> **onamãkx'am** (< ' *konamãkx'am*' separate doorway [Mgd32]

ora judge, condemn, accuse [Wrs]

> **orab** judgement, court of [Mhf]
>
> **orakx'aob** judge [Mhf]

ore (~ **ore, gore**) pray [Mhf]

oreb (~ **goreb**) ritual cut, scarification [Ebt36]

oro drunk, inebriated [Ebt36]

ū (~ **gūse**, **ūse**) be near, be close [Mhf]

> **ūē** approach, draw near to [Mhf]
>
> **ū ū** bring near (make closer) [Mhf]

ūs (< ' *kũdi*') (~ **gūs**) springbok (see also **ūb**) (note Khwe *n gú* 'gemsbok') [Mgd32]

ū ū (< ' *kũ kũ*') (~ **gū**) boil, simmer, cook (Nama *gû*) [Mgd32]

Ũa ēi (~ ' Nua 'aib', **hõab**) Kats clan [Mhf]

ubi lend, borrow, (also 'hire' [Wrs]) [Mhf]

ūbis (~ **'ulīs**) name of one of the reed-flutes in the 6- or 7-piece consort [Ebt36]

ui (' *kui*' [Lld, Mgd], **gui**) one, alone, only [Mhf]

> **uidi'i** (~ **uidi'i**), (~ ' *kuidi'* [Wrs]) resemble someone, be like [Mhf]
>
> **uise** only, alone [Mhf]
>
> **uise nae** sing solo [Kby]
>
> **uixami** wrap up, bundle up [Wrs]
>
> **ui ui** put together, unite [Mhf]
>
> **ui kx'a** eleven [Mhf]
>
> **ui nas** instantly, immediately (lit. 'one time') [Bch]
>
> **ui au** pass by, encounter, meet [Mhf]

uib/s (~ **'uib**) stone, pebble [Mhf]

> **ui garob** klipspringer (small antelope sp.) [Lld]
>
> **ui na** stony (of ground) [Mhf]

uib (~ **'uib**) brother-in-law [Mhf]

ũib (~ **ũib**) intestine [Mhf]

urub wasp (see also **arib**) [Mhf]

Dental clicks spelled with a following letter 'g'

gā small [Ebt28, Mgd32]

> **gā gā** make smaller [Ebt28]
>
> **gātse xunis** little finger, pinkie [Ebt28]

gābiris, gābiri gais lizard sp. resembling small snake [Ebt28]

gãb grass (Xhosa *ingca*) [Ebt28]
　　gao gãb sourgrass (*suurgras*), lit. 'buffalo grass' [Ebt28]
　　　'are gãb burrweed (*klitsgras*) [Ebt28]
　　　xon gãb sweetgrass [Ebt28]

gãbes edible wild bulb, similar to small potato, sweet, edible raw [Ebt36]

gabis vessel, carved from wood, similar to jug or pitcher (plural ' *gabire*') [Ebt36]

gaeb (~ **aeb**, *aiieb, iieb, ireb, keab*) black-backed jackal (*Canis mesomelas*)) [Ebt28]

gaib/s (~ *gib*, *ib*) jackal (*maanhaar*) = aardwolf (*Proteles cristata*) (Xhosa *ingci*) [Ebt28]

gai strong (be) [Ebt28]

gais lizard [Ebt28]

gais gemsbok [Ebt28]

gãineb (~ **ganãb**) fly [Ebt28]

gam two [Ebt28]

gamiros (~ **'amiros**) star [Ebt28]

gamiros (~ **'amiros**) hedgehog [Ebt28]

ganas rock hare [Lld]

ganãb (~ *gãineb*), ' *kannim*' [Wrs]) fly (insect) (Nama *gînas*) [Lld]

gananakua (~ **gararakua**) berries (edible) of kareeboom, *taaibos* and õ*eb* [Ebt36]

gan gan turn dark, twilight [Ebt28]

gaob/s buffalo [Ebt28]

gaos bridge, ford [Ebt28]

gar' ūkua dangerous wild beasts (predators) [Ebt36, BK]

garis anthrax (*gifseer*) [Ebt36]

garos duiker (name used for several small antelopes) (*platduiker*) [Ebt28, Lld]

garos rash (on skin), disease of sheep (*brandsiekte*) (possibly misprint for *goros*) [Ebt28]

garu (~ ' *gauru*' [Lld]) dappled, variegated (animal coat colour, esp. of goats) [Ebt28]

gãuku eyebrows [Ebt28]

gaumã donate, give for free [Ebt28]

gena twins (see also **horena**) [Ebt36]

gib (~ **gaib**, *ib*) aardwolf, *maanhaar jakkals* (*Proteles cristata*) (Xhosa *ingci*, Swati *singci*) [Lld]

gibbirib lizard sp. [Lld]

gibigu game of 'pick-up', played using seeds or leaves, and a thorn [Ebt36]

gōb/s child [Ebt28]

gobe melt, roast (?) [Ebt36]

gobeb butter (melted) (see also **oreb, kai aub**) [Ebt36]

goe curse, swear [Ebt28]

gommi plant sp. (sheep allowed to graze where it grew) (*Cotula turbinata*) (see also **gumm(i)**) [Lld]

gomorob ant sp. [Ebt28]

gore pray, preach [Ebt28]

goreb (~ **oreb**) ritual cut, scarification [Mgd32]

gū be near (extropolated) [Ebt28]
　　gūse (~ **ūse**) nearby, close [Ebt28]
　　gūbīb milk left after calves have finished suckling [Ebt28]

gū (~ **ū**) boil, simmer (intrans. verb) [Ebt28]

gūs (~ **ūs**) springbok (see also **gūs**) [Ebt28; Mgd32]

gui (~ **ui**) one, some [Ebt28]
　　guise alone, only [Ebt28]
　　gui nãs once [Ebt28]

gūigu intestines [Ebt28]

guixa(sa) smart, clever (in 'crooked' way) [Ebt28]

gum suck [Ebt28]

gumma bushy sp. (bitterbos), leaves used in buchu powder (**Gumtena** = Bitterbos clan [Ebt36]

gumm(i) yellow daisy-like flower (perhaps same as **gommi**) [Lld]

Dental clicks, delayed ejective ('glottalised')

'ā (~ **kx'ā**) sharp [Ebt28]
　　'ā 'ā (~ **kx'ā**) sharpen [Mhf]

'āb honeycomb [Ebt28]

'āb plug used to tune reed-flute [Ebt36]

'aba (~ **kx'aba**) red [Ebt28]

'ābīb sweetmilk [Ebt28]

'aeb (~ *'aib*, *'eb*, *aib*) fire [Mhf]
　　'aekx'am firewood [Mhf]
　　'aekua (~ **'aikua**) firewood [Mhf]

'aesen (~ **kx'aesen, kx'əsen**) be ill, sick [Ebt28]

'ae press, force [Mhf]

’ai (< ‘ *ai’*) limp, hobble, be lame (Nama *ī*) [Mgd32]

’ais puff-adder (see also **’ais**) [Mhf]

’aib bead ornament [Ebt28]

’am sneeze [Ebt28]

’amma end, point, tip, top (plural **’amku**) [Mhf, Ebt36]

    ’amka over, above [Wrs]

    ’am’o endless [Mhf]

’amib/s/i (~ *’emib*) ostrich [Mhf]

’amiros (~ **gamiros**) hedgehog [Ebt36]

’amirob/s (~ *gamiros, amoros, kemmeriss, ummeris,*) star (with diminutive **–ro**, note Naro *am* ‘sun’) [Mhf]

    Gaosdi ’amiros (< ‘*gaos ti kummeris’*) Eland star (alternative name, lit. ‘star of the master’) [Lld][3]

    Kx’anis Termite star (Khwe *kx’ani* ‘flying termite’) [Lld]

    Õaxais ’amiros (< ‘*oaxais kummeris’*) Young wife’s star (‘large pointer to Southern Cross’) [Lld]

    Tse ’amoros Evening star (‘*Avond stern*’) [Lld]

    Õas (< *koass*) Rice stars (‘*groot rys*’) (note Khwe *óm om õã* ‘ant eggs, rice’) [Lld]

    Ōgi Porcupine star (alternative name used by women) (see !**Noas** below) [Lld]

    ’Amis āub (< ‘ *emmis kauss’*) Ostrich Nest (‘Magellanic clouds’) [Lld]

    Hōdi (> *’kōdi*) Pleiades (Nama *hũseti*) [Burchell]

    Xūs Aardvark star [Lld]

    Aus ummeris Cold or Winter star (perhaps ‘ **’ausa ’amiros**’?) [Lld]

    Oa ’amorob (< ‘*’kwakomrup’*) Morning star (Venus) [Burchell]

    Ūs ’amiros (< ‘ *kuss kemmeriss’*) Springbok star (in Orion’s Belt) [Lld]

    Xamas (< ‘ *kamass’*) Hartebeest star (name used by men, ‘single star, red’) [Lld]

    Abis (name of star, said to refer to an edible white bulb) [Lld]

    ’Õas (< ‘ *oa’*) Hare star [Lld]

    Omm Tortoise star (‘red star in Orions’s Belt’) [Lld]

    Xai ’amoros (< ‘ *xei amoros’*) Lucky star (‘*Gluk stern*’) (perhaps **xai** ‘bless’?) [Lld]

    Kx’āus (< ‘ *xaus’*) Dassie star [Lld]

    Xan ’amiros (< ‘ *xan kummeris’*) Eland star (‘four stars near Orion’) [Lld]

    Xankukua (< ‘*’kaankukwa’*) Eland (plural) (Orion’s Belt) [Burchell]

    Noas Porcupine star [Lld]

’antamahāb ignorance (see **’an** know) [Wrs]

’an (< ‘ *’ann’*) roar (of lion) [Mhf]

’aob (~ **’aub**) blood [Mhf]

’ao (~ **kx’ao**) milk (transitive verb) [Ebt28]

’aob (~ **kx’aob**, *kaus*) snake [Ebt28]

    kai ’aus (< ‘*kei kaus’*) water-snake, ‘dark-coloured, shining, said to have a ball on the forehead, to eat beasts and to be larger than the boa constrictor’ (mythological?) [Lld]

’areb reed sp., root used in making buchu powder [Ebt36]

    ’are gāb grass sp. (kweekgras) [Ebt28]

’ari shallow (?) (of a river that has all but dried up?) [Wrs]

’ari (~ **kx’ari**) dowse, extinguish [Ebt28]

’āsa new [Mhf]

’āse ’āse shortly, suddenly, soon, imminently, now now [Mhf, Ebt28]

’atākoeb wild bulb, too bitter to be eaten [Ebt36]

’aus (~ **kx’aus**, **’aos**) spring, well, source of water [Ebt28]

’a ao-[?] swallow (bird) [Mhf]

’a naub (~ **noub**) edible wild bulb, Engelbrecht says means ‘grass-leaf’, type of *kalkoentjie* [Ebt]

’ō (~ **’ō**) dry up, wither, shrivel [Mhf]

    ’ōro (< ‘ *oro’*) dry off (?) [Mgd32]

    ’ō ’ō dry up, shrivel, dessicate (make or become, as vegetables, meat) [Mhf]

’ōb/s/i (~ **ōb/s/i**) child [Mhf]

    ao ō’i last-born child [Ebt36]

’ō sound, resound (Meinhof has question mark) [Mhf]

’ō bare, empty, open [Mhf]

    ’ōkx’ai uncovered [Mhf]

’okx’am open, wide-mouthed (of vessel) [Ebt36]
    ’ō xa naked (be) [Mhf]
    ’ō ’um get, receive, have nothing [Mhf]
    ’ō nā empty [Mhf]
    ’ō ’ai barefoot [Mhf]
’ō (~ **kx’ō**) rotten [Ebt28]
’oa (~ **kx’oa**) full (become), plenty (Swati *cwa* (ideophone) ‘of fullness’) [Mhf]
    ’oa ’oa fill up (to brim) [Ebt28]
’oa lie, conceal, deny [Mhf]
’õama separate lambs from ewes [Mhf]
’obab abdomen (lower), part between thigh and waist (‘thigh’ [Wrs]) [Mhf]
’obesa (< ‘ *’ubesa’*) lazy [Wrs]
’oe swear solemn oath, promise [Mhf]
’onna, ’ons (~ **kx’onna**) name [Mhf, Ebt28]
’ōraib wild garlic, bulb and leaves eaten (see also **xorahaib**) [Ebt28]
’oro (~ **kx’oro**) few [Ebt28]
’orob creeper with edible leaves that have to be cooked before palatable [Ebt36]
’ū not know [Mhf]
’ūb salt (see also **kx’ōb**) (Swati *cu* (ideophone) ‘of extreme saltiness’) [Mhf]
    ’ū ’ūsa salty [Mhf]
’ūb urine [Ebt28]
’ūs, ’ū ’āb (~ **’ūs**) meat portion or allocation, *poenskop* (or *koeskop*), being forepart (*voorlyf*) of carcase, and including **bi ’āb** head, **kx’aub** neck and three ribs *(* **nona kx’araku**), often reserved for uncle (**naosab**) (see also *harslag*) [Ebt36]
’ūb wool, hair [Mhf]
    ’u nabos tiger-moth [Lld]
’ubesa lazy (Nama *obesa*) [Wrs]
’ubereb frog (see also **goberib**) [Ebt28]
’uib/s (~ **uib/s**) rock, stone (also ‘mountain’ [Wrs]) [Mhf]
    ’uisāb stone buchu, ‘lichen sp. (?) used in buchu powder’ [Ebt36]
    ’uisūs pipe (for smoking), made from stone (see also **sūb** and **’ābeb**) [Ebt36]
    ’uixae stony (as ground) [Ebt28]
    ’uixexoeb rock lizard, agama sp. (*bloukop-koggelmander*) [Ebt28]
    ’ui õas rock hare (*kliphaas*) [Ebt28]

    ’ui na stony [Mhf]
’uib (~ **uib**) brother-in-law [Mhf]
’uise hā come slowly, dawdle [Mhf]
’ūi (~ **hūi**, **xui**, **kx’ūi**) thin, slender, fine [Mhf]
’um wipe off, dry off [Mhf]
’umma breath (Nama *ommi*) [Mhf]
    ’ums soul, breath (Nama *oms*) [Mhf]
    ’umdom (< ‘ *’umdum’*) murmur, whisper [Wrs]
’umi inherit [Ebt28]
    ’umis heir [Mhf]
’uri (~ **kx’uri**) dirty, impure (be) [Ebt28]
’ūrikua (~ **kx’uri**) (see also **’ūri**) iron [Mhf]
’urus tortoise, small sp. (see also **hurus)** [Ebt36
’ūruba forgive [Ebt28]

Dental clicks, delayed aspirated

ha fuss, noise (make) [Mhf]
    hāxa angry, furious [Mhf]
    hāb noise, fuss, alarm [Mhf]
    hā hui quiet a noise, fuss [Mhf]
hā jealous [Mhf]
hāb jealousy [Mhf]
hāb plant sp., creeper with very large tuber (size of vegetable marrow), could be dried, crushed and used as the *moerwortel* for honey-beer [Ebt36]
hās basket (Engelbrecht says large basket for grain) [Mhf]
hāb reed sp. (see also **’āb**) [Ebt28, Mgd32]
hāb brother [Mhf]
haba (~ **haba**) broad, wide [Mhf]
habab young woman’s coming of age ceremony [Ebt36]
habi do wrong, be guilty [Ebt28]
    habib guilt, fault [Ebt28]
    habi’osa blameless, innocent [Ebt28]
    habixa(sa) guilty [Mhf]
    habi ’au repent [Mhf]
habib (~ **xabib**) fore-skirt, front apron [Mgd32]
habu (~ **xabu**) foolish, feeble [Mhf]
haeb hat, crest, crown, head-dress [Mhf]
hai (~ *nai*) yellow, pale [Mhf]
    hai gane pied, parti-coloured with yellow (animal coat pattern) [Ebt28]

haiseb (~ **hiseb**) meerkat (yellow),
(*bruin meerkat*) [Mhf, Ebt28, Lld]

haimaku yellow oxen (Meinhof says
ma a contraction of **goma**) Mhf]

hai 'aob cobra (*geelslang*) [Ebt28]

Hai xãs July [Mhf]

Hai!garib Vaal River (lit. 'Yellow
River) [Mgd32]

hai 'õb edible wild bulb, 'light brown,
as big as tip of forefinger, sweet'
[Ebt28]

haib specularite (?) (*blinkklip*), powdered
and used by women to make hair glitter
(see also **xai** 'sparkle') (Tswana *sebilo*)
[Ebt28]

hais game, where participants guess which
hand a small object is hidden in [Ebt36]

haimasi 'um (~ **haimãiesn 'om**,
haimãisen gao) give sigh [Mhf, Ebt28]

hamkx'ai blind [Mhf]

hana be late, dawdle, arrive too late [Mhf]
hanase late [Mhf]
hanisen delay, neglect [Ebt28]

hanna table, board [Mhf]

hanib *duwweltjie* (thorn) [Ebt28]

hao (~ **hau, hou, hũ**) assemble, meet, get
together [Mhf]

haos tree at the centre of a chief's
homestead or settlement, meeting tree
(*werfboom*), used for hanging up men's
portions of meat (see also **nubhaib**)
[Ebt36]

harab chyme, contents of ruminant
animal's stomachs or intestines [Mhf]
hara kx'oms omasum [Mhf]

hara- tassle [Mhf]
hãrē abab tassled cap [Mhf]
hare abas hat (worn by women)
[Ebt36]

harob neck sinew [Lld]

harub basket (small) [Ebt28]

harub mat (of reeds) [Mhf]

hau (~ **hao,** *hou,* **hũ**) assemble, meet, get
together [Mhf]
hau hau gather, collect, mix [Mhf]
hau xa (< ' *hau ka*') meet up with,
come across [Lld]

haub mane [Mhf]

hãub dung (wet) [Mhf]
hau nuib omentum fat [Mhf]

hau 'eb (~ *hou eb*) mongoose (grey),
'ichneumon' [Lld]

hã hais hat (worn by men) [Ebt36]

hirseb honeybadger [Lld]

hiseb (~ **haiseb**) mongoose (yellow) ~ red
meerkat [Lld]

hõ pied, variegated with black, esp. of
goats and cattle (Xhosa *incho* 'red and
white ox') [Ebt28]
hõku (< ' *hõgu*') spots, markings
[Lld]
hõmãsi make marks on, paint with
spots (?) [Lld]
hõ onib multi-coloured caterpillar sp.
[Ebt28

hõs (~ **hõs**) womb (of animal) [Mhf, Wrs]

hoa crooked [Mhf]
hoãs ãnãb (~ ' *noas hanam*' [Wrs])
rainbow [Mhf]

hõab/s/i (~ *nũab, hõam*) cat, wildcat
(*Felis caligata*) (Swati *ingcwa*, Ndebele
intwane) [Mhf, Lld]
Hõa 'aib Kat clan.

hõagaob (~ ' *hõakx'aob*' [Wrs]) villain,
crook, no-good person [Mhf]

hõbãb grave (Xhosa *ingcwaba*, Swati
lingcwaba) [Mhf]

hobo anoint (Swati *–gcoba* 'annoint,
smear') [Mgd32]

hobos face-paint, cosmetic, ointment
[Mhf]

hoe slander, malign [Ebt28]

hommi (~ *humma,* ' *hummi*' [Lld])
heaven, sky, cloud [Mhf]

homs mist [Wrs]

hõn 'white man' (see **hũb**) [Mhf]

hõneb shepherd's tree (*witgat, Boscia
albitrunca*), roots dried, pounded and
roasted for coffee; sweet berries crushed
into fresh milk and eaten [Ebt36]

hũs scorpion (type of) [Mhf]

hũ (~ *hau,* **hao**) assemble, gather [Mhf]
hũb gathering, collection [Mhf]

hũb (~ ' *hum*' [Wrs]) storm, (perhaps also
'weather'), (see **humma** 'sky, cloud')
[Mhf]

hũs bushy sp. (*katbos*) roots used for fibre,
also known as *nuseb* (wild asparagus?)
[Ebt36]

hũb/s/i master, Englishman [Mhf]
hũ(n)khoeb/s master/mistress [Mhf]

hũgab (~ *nũgab,* **hukhãb)** hyena (*grys gekleurde wolf, Crocuta crocuta*) (Xhosa *ingcuka-ceya* 'spotted hyena') [Ebt28]

hui raise, lift up (as a cloak) [Ebt36]

hũi (~ 'ũi, xui, kx'ũi) thin, fine, dainty [Ebt28]

huitsibes snake sp. 'resembling puff-adder, but smaller and thinner' [Ebt28]

hukhãb/s/i (~ *hũgab*) hyena (Xhosa *ingcuka* 'brown hyena') [Mhf]

humma (~ hommi) cloud, sky, heaven [Mhf]

hunxami fold, roll up (see also **!hun**) [Mhf]

huru play [Mhf]

hurus tortoise (geometric), ('*dzamm*' given as another name for) (see also **'urus)** [Lld]

hu nakx'ob bushpig [Lld]

Dental clicks, aspirated (~ fricated)

xa (~ ' *xoa*' [Wrs]) with [Mhf]

xa (~ xa) deny (Xhosa *Cha!* 'No!') [Mhf]

xãb body, side [Mhf]

xabi spurt water from mouth [Mhf]

xabib (~ **habib**) garment worn by women, knee-length fore-skirt, made from goatskin cut into very fine fringing, suspended from waistband [Ebt36]

xabuse (~ **xabu**) weakly [Mhf]

xai bless [Mhf]

    xai xai bless [Mhf]

    xaib (~ **xais**) blessing, mercy, gospel [Mhf]

xais drum, played by women using flat palm of hand, made from a **hoes** covered with stretched goatskin [Kby]

xais (~ **kx'ais**) bead (very small, different colours) [Ebt36]

xaisa be absent, euphemistic for 'dead' [Mhf]

xam urinate (Swati, Xhosa *–chama*) [Wrs]

xam (~ xam) young [Mhf]

xamma (~ xams) spoon [Mhf, Ebt36]

xan split wood [Mhf]

xana (~ kx'ana) accuse [Mhf]

xãna (~ kx'ã) stealing [Mhf]

xanib (~ ' *xanim*' [Wrs]) (~ **xanis**) letter, book [Mhf]

xara wrong, other, different [Mhf]

xaraba wrong place (be at) [Mhf]

xarase other [Mhf]

xarasedī alter, change, make different [Wrs])

xara xī make wrong, make other [Mhf]

xāri (~ **kx'ari, na 'ari**) extinguish (as fire) [Mhf]

xaru go through (see also **xaru**) [Mhf]

    xarukx'aib palate, roof of mouth (see also **xarukx'aib**) [Mhf]

xarus (~ **xaurus**) walking stick [BK]

xarubeb story [BK]

xau stiff, rigid [Mhf]

xau shred, tear to pieces (as dogs or lion attacking a sheep) [Mhf]

    xausenkua shreds, tatters [Mhf]

xaub (~ **kx'aub**) snake [Mhf]

xaurus walking stick [Mhf]

Xãusan people who lived south of the Gariep (adjectival –**sa** plus 3cp suffix –**n**) (compare **Nusan**) [Lld]

xã xã steal, hold on to stolen goods (see also **kx'ã**) [Mhf]

xī come, arrive [Mgd67]

xoa together with (postposition [Wrs]), verb extension [Mgd32]

xoasa (~ **kx'oasa**) many, much [Mhf]

xoãsens hook, fish-hook [Mhf]

xom be grateful [Mhf]

xoma pray [Mhf]

xonũb finger (**xonkua** given for 'fingernails' by Ouma Jacoba Maclear) [Lld]

xon xon scratch, itch, prickle [Mhf]

xorahaib (~ **'ōraib**) wild garlic, eaten raw or boiled [Ebt36]

xoro (~ **kx'oro**) gather, pick up small items [Mhf]

xororokua cocoons used to make anklet rattles for dancing [Ebt36]

xū draw out, extract, pull out [BK]

xũ na file off, neaten, trim [Mhf]

xue- sunbird sp. [Lld]

xui (~ *hũi, 'ui,* **kx'ũi**) fine, slender (Xhosa *cwi* (ideophone) 'of tall slenderness' [Ebt36]

    xuimũ 'ōdakua *fynoog uintjietjies* 'small fine-eyed bulbs' (termed **abib**) [Ebt36]

xũi surrender [Mhf]
xum suffer, endure [Mhf]
      xumxā suffer pain [Mhf]
xunub (~ ' *xonub*' [Lld]) finger [Mhf]
xuri stalk (as hunter after game), creep up [Mhf]
xuribeb butterfly sp. [Lld]
xuru sour [Mhf]
      xurub yeast, sourdough [Mhf]
xuru dry, dried out [Ebt36]
xurub drought, dryness, aridity [Mhf]
xurubeb ghee, clarified melted butter [Ebt36]

Dental clicks spelled with a following letter 'k'

The words listed below are a subset of the aspirated ~ fricated clicks, and were written with a following letter 'k' by Engelbrecht in his early work (1928) on Kora. They were probably only very lightly aspirated in the speech of his first consultants.

kāb (~ **xāb**) body (physical) [Ebt28]
kai exhausted, finished, worn out [Ebt28]
kai burst [Ebt28]
kai kai make horse trot [Ebt28]
kam (~ xam) urinate [Ebt28]
kams (~ **xamma**) spoon [Ebt28]
kau (~ **xau**) tear [Ebt28]
kau (~ **xau**) stiff, stuck (be) [Ebt28]
kaurus (~ **xaurus**) walking stick [Ebt28]
koasa rough, not smooth, shaggy [Ebt28]
kom (~ **xom**) pity someone, feel compassion for [Ebt28]
koma (~ **xoma**) plead [Ebt28]
kon kon (~ **xon xon**) itch, scratch [Ebt28]
kuri (~ **xuri**) stalk, creep up on [Ebt28]
kuru (~ **xuru**) sour [Ebt28]

Dental clicks with ejected uvular affrication

kx'ā (~ **'ā**) sharp [Mhf]
      kx'ā kx'ā sharpen (make become sharp) [Mhf]
      kx'ā kx'ā be sharp [Mhf]
      kx'ākhao- digging stick (lit. 'sharp digger', avoidance term?) [Mhf]
      kx'āxūb tool, sharp implement [Mhf]

kx'ā count [Mhf]
kx'ākua numbers (?) [Mhf]
kx'ā wet [Mhf]
kx'ā (~ *'ã, 'ã*) steal [Mhf]
kx'āb (~ *'ãni* [Wrs]) theft, thievery [Mhf]
kx'aba red, red and white (as of horse) [Mhf]
      kx'aba xarib wine (lit. 'red honey-beer') [Mhf]
kx'abe plan, counsel, decide (Ndebele – *ceba* 'plot, devise') [Mhf]
      kx'abesa mistake (make), adopt wrong strategy [Mhf]
      kx'abeb plan [Mhf]
      kx'abebagu consult (< ' *awabagu*') [Wrs]
kx'abob splinter, chip [Mhf]
kx'aeb (< ' *'eib*') sickness [Wrs]
kx'aesen (~ *kx'aisen, 'aesen, 'aisen, kx'əsen*) ill, be diseased, sick, fevered [Mhf]
      kx'ae(sen)b (~ *kx'aib*, ' *'eib*' [Wrs]) sickness [Mhf]
kx'ai (~ **kx'ae)** admonish, scold, exhort, remind [Mhf]
kx'aib bead (small, wood or stone) [Mhf]
kx'aidab time (small space of) (see also **kx'aeb**) [Mhf]
kx'am pound, crush [Ebt36]
kx'am sneeze [Mhf]
kx'am osen suffer, endure [Mhf]
kx'an smoke (verb) [Mhf]
kx'anni smoke (noun) [Mhf]
kx'ao milk (verb) [Mhf]
kx'aob (~ *xaub, kx'aub*) snake [Mhf]
      kai kx'aos (<'*kei kaus*') water-snake, 'dark-coloured, and shining, said to have a ball on the forehead, to eat beasts and to be larger than the boa constrictor' (mythological?). (Lloyd's Greek letter *tau* in the word for 'snake' has a bar over it.) (Lloyd notes that the name *gumma xãsis* was used by the Griqua for the **kai kx'aos**.) [Lld]
      um kx'aos (< ' *kum kaus*') 'boa constrictor' (African rock python) [Lld]
kx'arab rib [Mhf]
kx'ara spit, shoot out saliva [Mhf]

kx'ara kx'oasi (~ **kx'ara**, **kx'oa**) spit out [Mhf]

kx'ari (~ **xāri**) extinguish, dowse [Mhf]

kx'ari dry up (as water) [Mhf]

kx'aro tap, draw [Mhf]

kx'arub dung, dried [Mhf]

kx'arutjisi hundred [Mhf]

kx'aub (~ *xaub*, *kaub*, **kx'aob**) snake [Mhf]

kx'aub hawk [Mhf]

kx'aus spring, water-hole, well [Mhf]

kx'au nāb 'young ox' (?) [Lld]

kx'ō rot, decay, spoil [Mhf]
　　kx'obesa rotten [Mhf]

kx'oa (~ *xoasa*) full (as pot) [Mhf]
　　kx'oa kx'oa fill [Mhf]
　　kx'oa na too full [Mhf]
　　kx'oasa gomana herd of cattle [Mhf]

kx'oasa eager, keen [Mhf]
　　kx'oa'ab eagerness, zeal [Mhf]

kx'oasi (~ **kx'oa**) out [Mhf]

kx'oms *witklip* or 'whitestone' (used in softening skins) [Mgd64]

kx'onna (~ **'onna**) name [Mhf]
　　kx'onnamā name, give name [Mhf]

kx'oro (~ **'oro, oro**) few [Mhf]

kx'ūi (~ **hūi**, **xui**, **'ūi**) thin, fine, slender [Ebt36]
　　kx'ūi nuguxub 'thin-legged livestock' (*dunbeengoed*), poultry, small livestock [Ebt36]

kx'uri dirty, unclean (also impure) (Xhosa –*ngcolile*) [Mhf]
　　kx'uri kx'uri dirty, make dirty [Mhf]
　　kx'uri kx'uri be dirty [Mhf]

kx'urib iron [Mhf]
　　kx'uris bullet, shot (old-fashioned lead sort) [Mhf]

Dental clicks with prenasalisation

nabi (~ *nibi*) wipe away [Mhf]
　　nabi xa wipe down, dust off (someone) [Mhf]

nabubē go up and down, rock [Mhf]

nai (see **hai**) yellow [Mhf]

nāi (~ nī) other (same?) [Mhf]
　　nai nasa sometimes [Mgd64]

naidab/s/i (~ ' *neitab*', *naidab*) baboon [Mhf, Lld]

naisa (~ **nī**) old [Ebt28]

nām love [Mhf]

namū baptise [Ebt28]

nanōbi weather (Dama *nanub* 'rain, rainstorm') [Ebt36]

nao (~ **nau**) wipe off [Mhf]

nasi blow (as with mouth) (see also **nasi**) [Mhf]

nau sweep [Mhf]

nēb navel, belly-button (< **naib**?) [Ebt28]

nī (~ **nāi**) other [Mhf]

nī (~ **naisa**) old (of things) [Mhf]

nibi sweep (with broom) (see (~ **nabi**) [Ebt28]

nika always [Mhf]

nõab/s/i (~ nõab/s/i) calf [Mhf]

noro (~ *nolo*) cure, prepare, soften hide [Ebt36]

nūb leg (may be given for 'foot') [Mhf]
　　nūs wheel (on wagon) [Mhf]

nūb hide, hunter's shelter, screen (see also **nub**) [Mhf]

nũab (~ **hõab**) cat, wildcat [Mhf]

Nua 'aib Katse clan (see also **hõab**) [Mhf]

nubus puffball, powder used in making cosmetic face-paint [Ebt36]

nũis spider (small kind) [Mhf]

numi (~ numī) twist, turn, wind [Mhf]

numma beard, moustache [Mhf]

Nusan people who lived north of (on the 'near side of') the Gariep (this word has adjectival –**sa,** with common plural suffix –**n** and does not refer to the 'San') (compare **Xãusan**) [Lld]

nũse quickly (?), shortly, soon [Lld]

nuseb bushy sp. (katbos) roots used for fibre (see also **hūs**) [Ebt36]

Lateral alveolar clicks, plain

a (< ' *ka*') to, towards (postposition) [Lld]

ā hang, drape around neck (as necklace) [Ebt36]
　　ākarab bead necklace [Lld]

ā (< ' *kā*') work hard (?) (Nama *āxa* 'industrious, hardworking') [Lld]

ā thirst, be thirsty (Xhosa –*nxana*) [Mhf]

āb (~ **'āb**) love [Mhf]

aba ’amkx’ao’āb manager, overseer, master of farm [Mhf]

abē drive away [Wrs]

abib term for **xuimū ’ōdakua** ‘*fynoog uintjietjies*, small fine-eyed bulbs’, gathered for children to eat [Ebt36]

ae (~ *ai*) lie, tell untruth [Mhf]

    aekx’aob (~ **kx’aub**) liar, crook [Mhf]

    aiexūb falsehood, anything false, untrue (*leuengoed*) [Ebt36]

aeb a lie, falsehood (extrapolated from **gaeb**) [Ebt28]

ãi press [Mhf]

ai ’aeb illness with a fever (*koorssiek*) [Ebt36]

ai ai scold, abuse, curse [Mhf]

ãi haib (~ **’ãi haikua**) weed [Mhf]

ai hoeb wooden vessel in which fresh milk was left to sour [Ebt36]

alib plant sp. (*deurmekaarbo*s), wood could be used for the fire-drill [Ebt36]

ammi (~ **gammi)** water [Mhf]

    amdana water (a little) [Mhf]

    ammūb tear (lit. ‘water-eye’) [Mhf]

    am kx’āb (~ **’āb**) dew [Mhf]

    am haeb (~ **am gãib**) turtle, (eaten) [Mhf, Ebt36]

    am xurib dragonfly [Lld]

ãmãxūkx’aob (~ **’āmā**) trader [Mhf]

ama amareb plant sp. with edible leaves, eaten raw with salt [Ebt36]

anab (< ‘ *ganab*’) camelthorn acacia (*Vachellia erioloba*) [Ebt28]

Ana hare hāb (< ‘ *Anna harre ham*’) October (perhaps ‘acacia flowering month’?) (see also **’Aba xãs**) [Wrs]

ansa prepared, finished, as a hide that has been fully cured (‘ripe’ [Wrs]) (see **’an ’anneb**) [Ebt36]

an xaib dwelling place (see **’an**) [Mhf]

ãob (~ **āub**) settlement, homestead [Mhf]

ao na unfavourable (be) [Mhf]

ara (‘ *kara’*) sift, strain [Mgd32]

arab shoulder-blade [Mhf]

are ’as whistle, used for signals in battle, and by chief to summon his council [Kby]

ari (~ ‘ *kairi’*) run, race [Mhf]

    aribēsen run away [JM]

aru (~ **garu),** chase, hunt, pursue [Mhf]

arubē chase off, drive away (Meinhof noted pre-voicing of click) [Mhf]

asi ugly, hateful, bad [Mhf]

    asi ao bad, evil (lit. ‘ugly-hearted’) [Mhf]

au (~ gau) show, point out, issue command [Mhf, Ebt28]

    aukua rules, edicts [Mhf]

aub (~ **’aub**) fish [Mhf]

    au xō fish-catching [Mhf, Lld]

aus (~ **xaus**) mouse [Mhf]

ãub (~ **ãob**, ‘ **kãub**’ [Mgd32], ‘‖*kaũs*’ [Lld]) settlement, community, homestead, kraal (*werf*) (Nama *gâus*) [Mhf]

    āub ’ōab (< ‘ *aum ’oam*’) hedge (lit. ‘homestead arm’?) [Wrs]

ãugu (~ **xãugu**) fight, make war, shoot at one another with bows and arrows [Mhf]

    āu xoba (< ‘ *kãu koba*’**)** fight way through (lit. fight-open’) [Mgd32]

au gab plant sp. with edible leaves, boiled in milk (see also **’a naub** ‘grass leaf’) [Ebt36]

axaib (~ **’āxaib**) marriage [Mhf]

ōb (~ **’ōb**) death [Mhf]

oa (~ **ũa**, **’ōa**) kiss [Ebt28]

oab knee [Mhf]

oab morning (Nama *goas*) [Mhf]

    oakaka (~ **oaxaka** [JM]) early [Mhf]

    oabab ākx’ai day after tomorrow [Mhf]

õa climb down, descend, dismount [Mgd67]

    õasi (~ **ũaxa**) down from [Mhf]

õab (~ **ũab**, **’õab**) arm (but see also **’are kx’õab** ‘left hand’) [Mhf]

obo gargle, gurgle (Meinhof noted pre-voicing of click) [Mhf]

oe lie down [Mhf]

    oekx’am lie in front of, at the entrance to [Lld]

    oesi (< ‘ *kwesi*’) lay something down [Mgd67]

    oē kx’am (~ **oēkx’am** [Ebt36]) lie in hiding (for ambush) [Mhf]

    oē nā fall down [Mhf]

õeb bushy sp. (‘sourbush’) with edible berries [Ebt36]

oesi ’ā testify, explain [Mhf]

oesi **'ākx'aob** witness [Mhf]
olo purify (in ritual sense), cleanse
  (process also termed **'ā)** [Ebt36]
om shave, barber, trim hair or beard (see
  also **xom**) (extrapolated from [Wrs])
omma stomach, belly [Mhf]
omma (~ **homma**) hip, haunch (?) (Note
  Nama *gommi* 'thick flank (cut of meat)',
  goms 'hip-joint') [Mhf]
omakhoena (~ **'oma**) friends [Ebt36]
ona (< ' *konã*') crawl (?) [Lld]
orob claw, paw, fingernail [Mhf]
o os (~ **ō ōs**) name of one of the reed-
  flutes in the 6- or 7-piece consort
  (*toongawer*, or tonic note) [Ebt36]
ūb father, ancestor [Mhf]
    ūs mother [Lld]
ūb (~ ' *um*' [Wrs]) tooth [Mhf]
ūb springbok (see also **ūs**) [Mhf]
ūa (~ **'oa**) kiss [Mhf]
ūab (~ **'õab**) arm [Mhf]
ūaxa (~ **õa**) get down, climb off,
  dismount [Mhf]
ubub, ubus butter skin (leather vessel for
  storing butter), various sizes [Ebt36]
    ubus vessel, small, used to store fat
      for massaging, could also be made
      from small horn [Ebt36]
ūi sacrifice, offer [Mhf]
    ūi 'a slaughter for sacrifice (esp.
      to make amends for wrongdoing)
      [Mhf]
urub, uru 'uib sharp stone, quartz [Mhf,
  Lld]

Lateral alveolar clicks spelled with a following letter 'g'

gāb neural spines (*kambene*), portion of
  meat reserved for men [Ebt36]
gā (~ **ā**) thirst, be thirsty [Ebt28]
gā thin (be) [Ebt28]
gabib mesembryanthemum sp. (vygie),
  large purple flowering [Lld]
gaboku wings (of bird, butterfly) (see
  hainim [Wrs]) [Lld]
gaeb (~ **aeb**) lie, falsehood [Ebt28]
gaisa ugly [Ebt28]
gammi (~ **ammi**) water [Mgd]

gam 'aob snake sp., 'small
  watersnake with yellow underbelly'
  [Ebt28]
gam onas chickenpox [Ebt28]
ganab (~ anab) camelthorn acacia
  (*kameelboom*) (*Vachellia erioloba*)
  [Ebt28]
ganab (~ **gaunab**) evil spirit [Ebt36]
gane pied, variegated with red (*rooibont*)
  [Ebt28]
gaosa bad [Ebt28]
garab (~ **arab**) shoulder-blade (*bladbeen*)
  (note Xhosa *igxalaba*, but also Nyanja
  chigadaba) [Ebt28]
garu (~ **aru**) chase [Mgd32]
gau crooked [Ebt28]
gau (~ **au**) show, point out [Ebt28]
gaunab (~ **ganab**) evil spirit [Ebt36]
ga 'ãs rietbok [Ebt28]
gōb bull [Lld]
goab (~ **oab**) morning [Ebt28]
    goagabi early [Ebt28]
    goaga khãi get up early [Ebt28]
    goa abab dawn, early morning
      (*rooidag*) [Ebt28]
goab (~ **oab**) knee [Ebt28]
goatoab name of one of the reed-flutes in
  the 6- or 7-flute consort (largest, 'roars')
  [Ebt36]
gõa (~ **õa**) descend, go down, get down
  [Ebt28]
gobē attack, destroy completely [?]
  [Mgd32]
gobo (~ **obo**) gargle [Ebt28]
goe (~ **oe**) lie down [Ebt28, Mgd32]
    goesi lay, make lie [Ebt28]
gorob (~ **orob**) nail (of fingers, toes)
  [Ebt28, Wrs]
gūb (~ **ūb**) tooth [Ebt28]
    gūxugu gums [Ebt28]
gūs (~ **ūs**) springbok (see also **ūs**) [Ebt28]
gubub skin used to store butter [Ebt28]

Lateral alveolar clicks, delayed ejective ('glottalised')

'ā (~ **kx'a**) wash [Ebt28]
'ā purify, cleanse someone (in ritual sense)
  (process also known as **olo)** [Ebt36]
'ā go in haste, move quickly (extrapolated
  from **'axa** [Mhf])

'axa hasty, quick(ly) [Mhf]

'āb jackal species, also known as *a-jakkal* ('little *jakkals*'), Meinhof says soft pelt favoured for garments, Engelbrecht describes as 'small, brownish') [Mhf, Ebt28]

'ā (~ **kx'ā**) have had enough, be sated, full, satisfied [Ebt28]

'ā love [Mhf]

    'āb (~ āb) love [Mhf]

    'āxae marry [Ebt36]

    'āxaib (~ **ā**) marriage [Mhf]

'abab sinew, thread, cordage [Mhf]

'abas (< ' *abbas'*) bow-string [Lld]

'abeb bush with yellow flowers, roots used for making buchu powder [Ebt36]

'aeb (< ' *kaeb'*, ' *kaib*', **kx'aeb**) time [Mgd32]

    'aeb xa (~ *'aib*, **kx'aeb**) take time [Mhf]

    uri 'ae (< ' *uri kae*') afternoon [Mgd32]

'aeba threaten [Mhf]

'āgu fight one another [Mhf]

    'āgub fight [Mhf]

    'ākx'aosaku (< ' *kãkx'ausaku*') warriors [Mgd32]

'ai pour (as buttermilk into a vessel) [Ebt36]

'ai spoil, decay [Mhf]

'aib/s (~ ' *ẽis*') clan (Nama *aes*) [Mhf]

    'ai nās (< ' *'ei nās*') nation (perhaps 'nationality, in sense of 'clan membership') [Wrs]

'aib (~ **kx'aeb,** ' *ẽib*') time [Mhf]

    'aibxa (~ **'aeb xa**) patient, taking time [Mhf]

    'ai'ose hurriedly, quickly (lit. 'without time') [Ebt28]

    'āi ordinal number formative [Mhf]

'āi (< ' *ẽi*') possess, have [Wrs]

'āi- (~ ' *'ẽi-*') pronominal base [Mhf]

    'āib he

    'āi'i it

    'āina they (indeterminate or irrelevant as to gender)

    'āis she

'aigu (~ **kx'aigu,** ' *kaigu*' [Mgd]) amid, be in between [Mhf]

'āixūb estimate (noun), valuation [Mhf]

'āi haikua (~ **āi**) weeds [Mhf]

'am (< ' *am*') clap hands [Mgd32]

'ama (~ *ãmã*) barter, trade [Mhf]

    'amaxu sell [Mhf]

    'amaxunakhoeb seller [Ebt28]

    'amakx'aob (~ **kx'aub**) trader, dealer [Mhf]

'an (~ *an*) dwell, live, settle [Mhf]

    'an 'ās dwelling place [Mhf]

    'an xaib dwelling place, home [Mhf]

    'an xãi'o homeless [Mhf]

'anna table [Mhf]

'anu return home [Mhf]

'an 'an cook, prepare food [JM]

'an 'anneb preparation (as of food, hides) [Mhf]

'are left (handed) [Mhf]

    'are kx'õab left hand [Mhf]

'are (< ' *are*') meaning obscure: occurs in phrase '*si sao are he*', where the mother korhaan sets out to follow (*sao*) the tracks of the lions (perhaps for **ari**) (PL3) [Lld]

'arob genet [Lld]

'ases hammerhead bird (*hamerkop*) (see also **hams**) [Ebt36]

'au bad [Mhf]

    'aue poorly, not done well (?) Mhf]

'au fat (be) [Ebt28]

'aub/s (~ *aub*) fish [Mhf]

'ause frequently [Wrs])

'a 'ab elephant's foot, *elandsboontjie*, beans of which (**tsililikua**) could be dried, roasted and ground to make coffee but were also used for beads, pounded roots used for tanning hides (*Elephantorrhiza elephantina*) [Ebt36]

'ō (~ *ō*) die [Mhf]

    'ōb (~ *ob*) death [Mhf]

'oa be unable to (auxiliary verb) [Lld]

'õa (~ *oa*) kiss [Ebt28]

'oa (~ *oa*) morning [BK]

'õab (~ *õab*) arm (see also **'õnna)** [Ebt28]

'om (~ *'um*) sleep [Mhf]

'ōmāb (~ *'umab*) relationship, friendship [Mhf]

    'omakhoena friends [Ebt36]

    'oma 'ā- (~ **'uma 'ā**) friendliness [Mhf]

'omethāb otter [Ebt28]

’õnna arm (perhaps for ‘bend of limb’, also ‘angle, corner, bend of river, *hoek*’) [JM]

’oreb (~ **xorib**) monkey [Ebt28]

’ū breathe [Mhf]

’ū be tired [Mhf]

’ūb edible wild bulb, roasted, could be gathered all year round (*Gladiolus* sp.) (Lloyd says *Ixia*) [Ebt36, Lld]

’ŭam arm (~ **’õab)** [Wrs]

’ubi swallow, gulp [Mhf]

’ui cough [Mhf]

’ui sacrifice an animal for purification, as by uncle after nephew’s first kill of large dangerous animal [Ebt36]

’um (~ **’om**) sleep [Mhf]

    ’umhī (~ **’om**) sleepy [Mhf]

    ’um xoā (~ **’om**) dream [Mhf]

’uma(khoe)b (~ **’õmāb**) friend [Mhf]

    ’umagu friendship [Mhf]

    ’umas friendship [Mgd67]

    ’uma ’ā friendly [Mhf]

    ’uma ’uma friendly [Mhf]

’uri- ‘hair standing up straight on back of springbok’ (see **hurib**) [Ebt36]

Lateral alveolar clicks, delayed aspirated

hās womb (of woman) [Mhf]

hā (~ **hā**) run away, flee (Dama *hâ* ‘flee’) [Mhf]

hā (~ **hā**) run away [Mhf]

    hābe run away [Ebt36]

    hā ū run away [Ebt36]

haba ’amde adzes, chisels used in carving vessels out of wood [Ebt36]

habikx’aosab prisoner [Mhf]

habo dream [Mhf]

habob shoe [Mhf]

habu lost (become), lose way, err, make mistake [Mhf]

haes (~ *hais*) head-dress, hat [Mhf]

hais (~ **haes)** head-dress, hat [Mhf]

hāi stab, spear [Ebt36]

    hāiho hit home, get shot in [Ebt36]

    hāikōab throwing spear, used in combat [Ebt36]

    hāisā mis-spear, fail to get spear in [Ebt36]

hāib garment for lower body worn by men, either front piece only, from jackal skin (similar to sporran), or front and back pieces suspended from waistband, (see also **gaib**) [Ebt36]

hamba where? [Mgd67]

hammi ‘beestings’, colostrum (first milk given by mother animal to calf) [Ebt28]

hamxorab crow (black) [Lld]

han skin (a dead animal) [Wrs]

haneb (~ *hanib*) abba-kaross, baby-carrying blanket, also used of saddle, (see also **nanīb**) (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives for ‘sack, bag’) [Ebt28]

hānīb (~ ‘ *hainim*’ [Wrs]) wing (?), fan (of birds) [Mhf]

hao (~ *hau*) grow, flourish (of plants) [Mhf]

harēb flower tassle (yellow) of acacia thorn (Nama *hareb* ‘sprout, florescence of trees, bushes, catkin’) [Mhf]

    Kx’aisema hare xām November (‘first flowering month’?) [Wrs]

    hare ganab butterfly (lit. ‘flower fly’) [Lld]

    Ana hare xām October (‘acacia flowering month’?) [Wrs]

    Ausema hare xām December (‘last flowering month’?) [Wrs]

hari cut out thongs (cordage from hide-skin), cut hide circularly [Mhf, Ebt28]

hari greedy [Mhf]

hāsa suitable, fitting [Mhf]

hau fasten, tie up, bind, load, pack [Mhf]

    haukx’omma (~ *kx’umma*) gaol, prison [Mhf]

hau (~ **hao)** grow, flourish (of plants) [Mhf]

hau- plant sp. (driedoring) wood used for fire-drill (*Rhigozum trichotomum*?) [Ebt36]

haub (~ ‘ *khaub*’) mouse (striped) [Lld]

hōb sack [Mhf]

hoa hollow [Ebt28]

hoa!na deep [Mhf]

hoeb (~ *hueb*) wooden vessel for milk, Koranna churn, carved out of willow-wood (see also **ai hoeb**, **nubu hoeb**) [Mhf, Ebt28]

hoesikx’am beginning, inception [Mhf]

homma (~ *omma*) hip, haunch [Mhf]

hū bark, bay, howl [Mhf]

hū pierce, bore hole (as in stone) [Mhf]
>**hū** hollow (holed, pitted?) [Wrs]
>**hūs** mancala game, played with seeds or small pebbles placed in holes [Ebt28]
>**Hu nauna** Zulu people (lit. 'pierced ear ones') [Mhf]

hueb (~ **hoeb**) vessel (wooden) [Ebt36]

hūis name of one of the reed-flutes in the 6- or 7-piece consort (higher pitch, together with **gamas** known as **kai 'ākua**) [Ebt36]

hūm- current (in river) ('stream' [Wrs]) [Mhf]

hurib (~ **'uri-**) backbone, small of back (Mhf notes Nama meaning 'white stripe of springbuck'), (Wrs has as meaning 'ridge') [Mhf]

hūsen strip oneself, remove clothing (in order to swim) [Ebt36]

Lateral alveolar clicks, aspirated (~ fricated)

xā be the same [Mhf]

xā (< ' *xã'*) be able to (auxiliary verb) [Mgd67]

xāb/s (~ ' *xam'* [Wrs]) moon [Mhf]
>**xāb nāb** (~ ' *xamti nãm'* [Wrs]) moonlight [Ebt28]
>**xani xāb** new moon [Mhf]
>**naikx'ima xāb** first quarter of moon [Mhf]
>**hae xāb** full moon (hunter's moon?) [Mhf]
>**gaida xām** old moon [Burchell]

xāb/s (~ ' *xam'* [Wrs]) month (Henry Lichtenstein[4] noted that 'the Betjuans divide the year into thirteen lunar months, some of which are named after colours. In this designation of the seasons they seem to be followed by the Corans, by whom they are still more used and better known'.) [Mhf]
>**Kx'aisema hare xām** January ('first flowering of acacias'?) [Wrs]
>**Uni na xām** February [Wrs]
>**Gunī na xām** March [Wrs]
>**Xū ōb xām** April [Wrs]
>**Nu xās** May ('black month'?, note the early record by Robert Gordon[5]

of *noe khaas* 'black month' for June) [Wrs]
>**Hai xās** June ('yellow month'?) (~ **Xābā xās** [Mhf] 'red month'?) [Wrs]
>**Thuse xām** July (~ **Hai xās** [Mhf] ('yellow month'?) [Wrs]
>**Awa xām** August ('red month'?) (~ **Xauka ununu** [Mhf]) [Wrs]
>**Xauku ū ū xām** September ('painted veld month'?) [Wrs]
>**Ana hare xām** October ('flowering of camelthorn'?) (~ **'Aba xās** [Mhf], **'Abab/s** 'spring') [Wrs]
>**Kx'aisema hare xām** November (also given for January) ('first flowering of acacias'?) [Wrs]
>**Ausema hare xā** December ('last flowering of acacias'?) (~ **Ausimā xāb** [Mhf]) [Wrs]

xāba (~ *kaba*) again, also [Mhf]

xabas nasen (see **xoba**) open up self (?) (obscure) [Mhf]

xaeb sand [Mhf]

xaeb (~ *kxaeb*) prohibitions, commandments, rules, instructions (of *doro*) [Mgd32]

xaib place [possibly in error for **!xaib**] [Mhf]

xais fever [Mhf]

xais (see **xaib**) gospel (?) [Mhf]

xaigu (~ **kx'aigu,** *kaigu*) mid, between, halfway [Mhf]

xaisin klipbok [Lld]

xaisi eight [Mhf]
>**xaisi kx'a** eighteen [Mhf]
>**xaisi kx'a kx'aru tjisi hãukx'ū** tjisi nona **kx'a** 1873 [Mhf]
>**xaisi kx'a kx'aru** (~ **kx'aru**) tjisi hãukx'ū tjisi goro **kx'a** 1875 [Mhf]

xai 'ām (~ *am*) poison (transitive verb) [Mhf]
>**xai am** (see also **aixāb**) poison, bewitch, kill by forbidden means (?) [Mhf]

xamab/s/i hartebeest (Xhosa *ixhama*) [Mhf]

xansa be angry [Mhf]

xan āb small bush growing on sandy soil, roots used in making buchu powder, alternative name for **hū nū** [Ebt36]

xao (~ xau) scrape off, scratch [Mhf]
xaob/s/i (~ xau, kx'au) lamb [Mhf]
　　　xaodab/s/i little lamb (with
　　　　diminutive –da) [Mhf]
xara punish [Mhf]
xarabē take way [Mhf]
xara nuasi (~ kx'āra) surround [Mhf]
xare (~ xara [JM]) prevent [Wrs])
xarē ~ xari shiver (as with cold) [Mhf]
xau (~ xao) scratch, scrape off [Mhf]
xau fend off, ward off blow [Lld]
　　　xaukhos (~ xāu, kx'āu) shield
　　　　(made of thick leather) [Mhf]
xaub/s/i) (~ xao) lamb [Mhf]
xaus (~ aus) mouse [Mhf]
xāu (~ kx'āu) sting (as bee), shoot arrow
 [Mhf]
　　　xāugu (~ kx'āu-) shoot at one
　　　　another with bows and arrows [Mhf]
　　　xāukhos (~ xau, kx'āu) shield
　　　　(made of thick leatherhide) [Mhf]
xāus berry-bearing bush (rosyntjiebos),
 used in tanning leather [Ebt36]
xā xā teach [Mhf]
　　　xa xasen learn, study [Mhf]
　　　xa xab preaching, religious teaching
　　　　[Mhf]
　　　xa xakx'aub (~ kx'aob) teacher
　　　　[Mhf]
xō be angry, hostile, severe (of a storm)
 [Mhf]
　　　xō xō anger, annoy [Mhf]
　　　xōb anger [Mhf]
　　　xō aokx'ai be angry (lit. 'with angry
　　　　heart') [Mhf]
xoā (~ kx'õa) be warm, hot [Mhf]
　　　xõab (< ' xõam') warmth, heat (see
　　　　also kx'õa) [Wrs]
xoba open, uncover [Mhf]
　　　xoba be open [Mhf]
　　　xobasen 'be wide open' (?) open self
　　　　up [Mhf]
xom shave [JM]
xom dig for bulbs (Nama khom 'scrape
 out (burnt food from pot)' (avoidance
 term?)) (see also xum 'weed') [BK]
xomma (~ omma) stomach, belly,
 paunch, entrails [Mhf, Ebt36]
Xōnāb summer (see also Xu 'āb) [Mhf]

xonabeb (~ konabab) plant found under
 thorn bushes, resinous bulb used in
 making buchu powder [Ebt36]
xorē (~ kx'ōrē) hurt, cause pain [Mhf]
xorē crave, long for [Mhf]
xorib (~ xoereb) monkey (small species)
 [Mhf, Lld]
xūb thorn [Mhf]
　　　xū nana seeds of the sweet-thorn
　　　　acacia (xon xūb) (Vachellia
　　　　karroo), dried and roasted for use as
　　　　coffee [Ebt36]
Xu 'āb (~ ãb), (~ ' Xu 'am' [Wrs])
 summer (see also Xōnāb) [Mhf]
xuī oe stay back, remain behind, at the
 rear [Mhf]
xūi- arm (upper part) [Mhf]
xum weed (verb) (see (xom) [Mhf]
xum bind, tie up, mend, bind together
 broken pieces (as of a vessel) (Nama
  khom 'swathe, especially a corpse, wrap
 in many garments) [Mhf, Lld]
xurub plant sp. edible, but bitter
 ('otterboom' – perhaps otterblom?)
 [Ebt36]
xurutsi uheb chameleon (see also
 khūtukakhūbeb) (and note Nama
 gūtsi gūbes 'frog, small sp.') [Lld]

Lateral alveolar clicks spelled with a following letter 'k'

The words listed below are a subset of
the aspirated ~ fricated clicks, and were
written with a following letter 'k' by
Engelbrecht in his early work (1928)
on Kora. They were probably only very
lightly aspirated in the speech of his first
consultants.

kāb (~ xāb/s) moon, month [Ebt28]
　　　kāb nāb moonlight [Ebt28]
kā ā (~ xā xā) teach [Ebt28]
　　　kā ākx'aob teacher [Ebt28]
kaeb (~ xaeb) sand, fine driftsand,
 riversand [Ebt28]
kais (~ xais) fever [Ebt28]
kamāb/s (~ xamab/s/i) hartebeest
 [Ebt28]
kaubē (~ xau) scrape off [Ebt28]
kaus (~ xaob/s/i) lamb [Ebt28]

kãugu (~ **xãugu**) fight one another, make war [Ebt28]

kō (~ **xō**) be angry, malignant (*boos*) [Ebt28]

    kōb anger, aggression [Ebt28]

    kōsa harsh, rough, heavy (*grof*) [Ebt28]

koba (~ **xoba**) open [Ebt28]

kom (~ **xom**) shave [Ebt28]

    komgõas razor [Ebt28]

Konab (~ **Xōnāb**) summer [Ebt28]

kore welcome someone, rejoice at their arrival [Ebt28]

kūb (~ **xūb**) sweet-thorn acacia (*Vachellia karroo*) [Ebt28]

kurub boomslang (see also **!'urub**) [Ebt28]

Lateral alveolar clicks with ejected uvular affrication

kx'ā (~ **'ā**) wash [Mhf]

kx'ā drink (?) (the click is unusual for this word) [Mhf]

kx'ā (~ **'ã**) be sated, full, have had enough [Mhf]

kx'āb back [Mhf]

kx'abo strong (?) [Mhf]

kx'abo- hoof, paw, foot, spoor, shoe (?) (see **habob** 'shoe, velskoen') [Mhf]

kx'abu strew, scatter (see also **thoro**) [Ebt36]

kx'aeb (~ **'aeb**, *kx'aib, kaeb*) time, season, occasion (Hendrik Wikar,[6] speaking about the 'Aukokoa' ('Oxokua or Smalwange, Narrow Cheeks clan), but possibly intending it as a general observation, stated that 'these tribes know how to divide the year into three, namely, the dry season, the rainy season and the flowering season'.) Note Nama *api aeb* 'rainy season' (*reëntyd*) and !*khā aeb* 'flowering season' (*blomtyd*). [Mhf]

    kx'ae (~ *kx'ai*) then, when [Mhf]

    kx'ai'osē hurriedly, hastily (lit. 'without time') [Mhf]

    uri 'ae (< ' *uri kae*') afternoon [Mgd32]

kx'aigu (~ *kx'ēgu, xaigu, aigu*) between [Mhf]

kx'am (?) (occurs in PL5 in the phrase *kx'am ĩb di dʒa*) [Lld]

kx'ao'i (~ *xaob, kx'au'i*) lamb [Mhf]

kx'āra nuasi(i)e (~ *xara*) be surrounded [Mhf]

kx'are be together in group, be part of community [Mhf]

kx'aro(sa) lean, thin [Mhf]

    kx'aro 'ō die of starvation, poverty [Mhf]

kx'aru au remain behind at home [Mhf]

kx'aru black spotted with white [Lld]

    kx'aru kx'aru paint (Meinhof notes Nama animal coat colour term *aru* 'speckled black and white') [Mhf]

kx'ātsē yesterday [Mhf]

kx'aub/s/i (~ *xaob*) lamb [Mhf]

kx'āu (~ *xãu*) sting (as bee), shoot arrow [Mhf]

kx'āxā hasty, be in hurry [Mhf]

kx'ēgu (~ **kx'aigu**) between [Mhf]

kx'õa (~ ' *xõa*' [Wrs]) hot; dangerous (in an individual, damaging to community well-being) [Ebt36]

kx'õab (< ' *xõam*') heat, warmth [Wrs]

kx'oasa skilled, capable, brave [Mhf]

kx'ōrē sin, do wrong [Mhf]

    kx'orexa (~ **kx'orexa**) sinful [Mhf]

    kx'ōrēb sin, quarrel [Mhf]

    kx'orekx'aob (~ *kx'aub*) sinner [Mhf]

kx'ōtseb meerkat (Meinhof says has long thick tail: perhaps mongoose?) [Mhf]

Lateral alveolar clicks with prenasalisation

na pour (see also **nā**) [Mgd32]

    naba pour for [Mgd32]

nā that [Mhf]

    nāba there (may also be used to introduce adverbial clause of place) (as '[there] where') [Mhf]

    nātī so, thus [Mhf]

    nā kx'i (~ *xī*) there over yonder [Mhf]

nā tell, say, command, instruct [Mhf]

    nā 'a declare, state, explain [Mhf]

nā fall down [Mhf]

nā go away from, leave, abandon [Mhf]

nāb horn [Ebt28]

nabos blister beetle [Lld]

nae show, point [Mhf]

nae (~ *nai*) sing, dance, perform (see also **nae**) [Mhf]

nãib (~ ' *nẽib*') edible wild bulb similar to sweet potato [Ebt36]

nebi cure, extract harmful elements by covering patient in blankets to induce sweating [Ebt36]

nãkx'ob wildpig (Xhosa *inxagu*) [Lld]

namkx'aisi wait a bit, hold up! [Mhf]

nãmaka (~ **nãma**) on account of, accordingly (compare Nama *nã-amaga*) [Lld]

nananab locust sp. [Ebt36]

nananãb (~ **gaunãb**) mantis [Lld]

nanĩb (see also **gūs**, *hōs*) pouch, slingbag, used for general carrying and storing gathered items, also used as term for abba-kaross (see also **haneb**) [Mhf, Ebt36]

nao then, and now (?) [Mhf]

naob uncle, grandfather (Meinhof says brother of mother) [Mhf]

nati thus, so, in that way [Mhf]

nati i o because, on account of [lit. 'since [it] being thus'] [Wrs]

nãu listen, hear [Mhf]

    nãu 'ã understand, heed [Mhf]

    nãu 'oa disobey [Mhf]

    nãu kx'au respect someone, heed their counsel

    nãub (~ naub) ear [Mhf]

    nãub branch, twig, leaf [Wrs, Ebt28]

nãxu get away from (?) [Lld]

nãxūba wherefore, on account of which [Ebt36]

noas snare for birds; stone-fall type of trap (using stone, or section of termite hill) [Ebt28, Ebt36]

nora annoy, worry, tease [Mhf]

nore cut open (as belly of slaughtered animal) [Ebt36]

nō nōb cliff, precipice, height (see also **ho hob** 'overhanging bank of river [Mhf]) [Ebt28]

nubu churn (verb) [Mhf]

    nubu hoeb milk-churn carved out of willow-wood, with two lugs to take a cord by which it could be held while being shaken [Ebt36]

    nubu nuib butter [Ebt36]

nuib fat (melted, rendered) [Mhf]

nuib string of ostrich eggshell beads, several worn at a time by women as covering for body [Ebt36]

nuib kernel of pip (with inner and outer skin removed) [Lld]

nulib/s kinship term referring to certain of one's cousins, nephews and nieces [Ebt36]

nuru scour, abrade [Ebt36]

(Post)alveolar clicks, plain

a (< ' *a a nãu*' strike with a bang) Bang! (ideophone?) [Ebt36]

!ā (~ **'ā**) spread (as a mat or blanket) [Mgd32]

āb/s/i captive, prisoner-of-war, servant [Mhf]

āb (~ ' *amm*' [Wrs], ' *kāb*' [Mgd]) poison [Mhf]

ã behind, at back of [Mhf]

ãs back [Lld]

    ãsa on to back [Lld]

    ã nab back (of body), on back of (?) [Ebt36]

!āb (< '!*kãp*') thong, riem (said to be Griqua usage, see **!hāub**) [Lld]

aba (~ *gaba*), (~ ' *awa*' [Wrs]) stare at, look intently, gaze (Xhosa *–qabukela* 'be alert, on the look-out') [Mhf]

    abakarokaro stare fixedly at [Mhf]

    abakx'oa (< ' *awakx'oa*') look back [Wrs]

    gabakx'oa stare back at [Ebt28]

    gabamãsi stare at [Ebt28]

    gaba gōa look into [Ebt28]

    aba ã (< ' *awa ã*') look in [Wrs]

aba (~ **'aba**) climb, go up, mount (Xhosa *–qabela* 'climb, go over, mount') [Mhf]

abē punish [Mhf]

abi ride (Xhosa *–qabela* 'ride on horseback') [Mhf]

abu fasten (see also **gabakx'am**) [Mhf]

Ae! Stop! Wait a bit! Hold up! Turn around! (?) [Mhf]

ae (~ **ai**, *'ai*) tie up, bind, fasten, load up [Mhf]

!ae (< '!*kai*' [Lld]) hire, employ [Lld, Ebt28]

aē groan [Mhf]

ae (~ ãe) observe, watch, wait [Mhf]
  aese (< ' *kaese*') patiently waiting
   [Lld]

ai (~ ae) tie, fasten, load (Nama !*gae*)
 [Mhf]
    aigomab pack-ox [Mhf]
    ai xās bundle, load, package [Mhf]
    ai 'āb seat, behind, backside [Mhf]
    ai 'aba load, pack on to something
     [Mhf]

aib (< ' *kaib*') part, portion (?) [Mgd32]

ais (< ' *kais*') grysbok [Lld]

ai refuse [Mhf]

ai kick-fight [Mhf]

ãi good, beautiful, nice [Mhf]
   ãiham 'āub (< ' *ãiham 'ãum*')
    perfume, scent [Wrs]
   ãi(n)se nicely, properly, well [JM]
   ãixa happy, cheerful [Mhf]
   ãi(x)a au (~ '*au*, **ao**) rejoice, thank,
    be happy [Mhf]
   ãi(x)a ao (~ ãixa ao) pleasant, good
    [Mhf]
   ãi(x)a ao-[?] happiness [Mhf]
   ãia aoba happiness [Ebt36]
   ãi 'ãxa useful [Mhf]

aixāb sorcerer, doctor (Xhosa *igqira*
 'sorcerer, diviner', *ugqira* 'doctor') [Mhf]

ākx'aiba futile, in vain [Mhf]

am kill (Xhosa –*qhama* 'kill two animals
 (or people) with one shot') [Mhf]
   nā!am kick dead, kick to death
    [Mhf]
   nau!am strike dead, beat to death
    [Ebt36]

amma trunk of tree [Mhf]

ama drift, float on water [Mhf]

ãmã flow, stream (of water) [Mhf]

am ã bow, bend [Mhf]
   am amsen bow, prostrate self,
    humble self [Mhf]

am ã deep [Mhf]

anna chin (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives
 !**gamma**) [Mhf]

anasen lean against [Mhf]

anu (~ '**anu**) clean, pure [Mhf]

ao (~ *ao*) cut [Mhf]
   aokx'aob cutter, man skilled at
    cutting out hides, leather-worker
    [Ebt36]

aoxodo̱m (~ **xaodom**) slaughter by
 the manner (**dommi**) of cutting
 throat (note Nama *gaoxadom*,
 Xhosa –*rodoma*) [Mhf, Mgd67]

ao o'i last-born child [Ebt36]

areb mountain, especially long, low-lying,
 as ridge [Mhf]
   !**ares** hill, koppie [BK]

arib river [Mhf]

āri (~ '**āri**) separate, part, go separate
 ways (note Nama !*garu* 'go far ahead')
 [Mhf]
   ari ūa (< ' *ari kũa*') separate from
    [Mgd32]

ari doma   nae sing low notes (in an
 ensemble performance) [Kby]

Ari amma place name, for Klaarwater,
 later Griquatown [Ebt36]

aros name of one of the reed-flutes in the
 6- or 7-piece consort (ringing clear note)
 [Ebt36]

!**aru** (~ *karo*, *karu*, !**xaru**) go through
 [Lld]

arub rat [Mhf]

ã(sa)b (~ ' *ãm*' [Wrs]) brother, uncle [Mhf]

ã(sa)'i sibling [Mhf]

ã(sa)s sister [Mhf]

āsi poor (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives !**āsa**)
 [Mhf]

au (~ '**ao**) frightened (be) [Mhf]

au jump [Mhf]

!**au** (~ !*ou*) point out (?) (uncertain, see also
 au) [Lld, JM]

au (~ !*ao*) cease, stop, end (of rain) [Ebt36]

aub (~ '**aub**) veld [Mgd32]

ãu peg out, stretch skin in order to prepare
 it [Ebt36]

ãu watch over, tend to someone or animals
 (?) (see '**oãsi**) [Mhf]

ãu (< ' *kãu*') pass, go, go across (used for
 'cross river' by Andries Bitterbos) [Wrs]

augu (~ '**au**) wrestle [Mhf]

auka struggle (see also '**augu**) [Wrs]

aukx'ā (~ !**kx'au**) scream [Mhf]

aus (~ **xaus**, !**xaos**, **kaus**) (< '!*kaos*'
 [Ebt28]) hippopotamus [Mgd]

ause (~ *ausi*) lastly, afterwards [Mhf]
   Aus(e)n 'ais Laaste-lê volk, 'Last-
    lying clan' (or 'rear clan'?) [Ebt36]

Ausema harre xām December [Wrs]

Ausimā xāb December [Mhf]

autje foolish, stupid [Mhf]

autsamab thorny bush with red berries (*hardebos*) [Lld]

ob (~ **'ob**) edible wild bulb (generic) [Mgd32]

ōs acacia species (*Vachellia hebeclada* or *transiebos*), wood could be used for fire-drill [Ebt36]

oa(si) (~ *ūā*, *ũa*, **'õasi**) watch over, tend to [Mhf]

oa (~ **oa**) brown [Mhf]

oa (~ *koa*) arrive at [Mgd32]
>**oāxa** arrive (Nama *goaxa* 'approach, come towards') [Mhf]

oa to, towards (postposition, associated with postnominal –*a*) [Mhf]

oa be sad [Mhf]

oa flog, whip [Mhf]

oas whip [Mhf]

õa count [Ebt36]
>**õab** number, quantity [Wrs]
>**õasa** mis-count, count wrongly [Ebt36]

oab (~ ' *koab*', **xoab**) snow (Xhosa *iliqhwa* 'sleet', Zulu *iqhwa* 'ice, frost') [Mgd32]

oaxais (~ *waxais*) zebra, quagga mare (Xhosa *iqwarha*) [Mhf, Mgd67]

ōdaubxu lose way [Mhf]

!oe cut into strips (as meat for drying) [BK]

oehe be saved (?) [Mhf]

oeres (< ' *koire'i*') zebra, quagga (see **ores**, also **oaxais)** [Lld]
>**oire gabib** mesembryanthemum, quagga-vygie, large yellow-flowering [Lld]

oires (~ **oeres**, **ores**) zebra, quagga [Lld]

om (~ *um*) blow (as wind) [Bch, Wrs]

om (~ *um*) heavy [Mhf]

omborob ant (small sp.) [Mhf]

ona beg (see **ona**) [Mhf]

onabab (< ' *konabab*') plant found under thorn bushes, resinous bulb used in making buchu powder (see also **xonabeb**) [Mgd32]

Orab/s/i (~ Korab) Korana person [Mhf]
>**Orakhoēsib** Korana nation [Mhf]

Ora'alina (~ **arina**) dog breed, large kind domesticated for hunting [Ebt36]
>**Oragūs** fat-tailed sheep [Ebt36]

ora pick, peel, strip (as leaves from a vine) (see also **kora**) [Ebt36]
>**orasa** smooth, clean, virtuous [Ebt36]

ores (< ' *oires*') zebra, quagga [Lld]

oro heap up stones, build cairn [Mhf]

orob ankle bone [Mhf]

ū (~ **gō**) cover [Mhf]

ūb garment, type of wraparound skirt or kilt worn by women, usually sheepskin [Ebt36]

ūb (~ **hūb**) land, field, country, earth [Mhf]

ũ go [Mhf]
>**ūba** go for [Mhf]
>**ūbikx'oa** go backwards [Mhf]
>**ūkx'aikx'ai** pursue [Mhf]
>**ūsa** transitory [Mhf]
>**ūsa** (< ' *kosa*') transgress [Mgd32]
>**ūsab** traveller, stranger [Mhf]
>**ūsao** (~ **sau**) chase, pester [Mhf]
>**ū kx'ai kx'ai** chase, follow [Mhf]
>**ū ae** turn back [Lld]
>**ū oa** meet [Mhf]
>**ū oxa** arriving, getting to [Mhf]
>**ū 'ari** go off for good [Lld]
>**ū na** go, step over [Mhf]
>**ūn ū** take animals to graze [Wrs]
>**ū nami** go around [Mhf]

ūs journey [Mhf]

ūāsisen (~ **oa**) check all around, keep a look out [Mhf]

ubu (< ' *kubbu*') round [Lld]

uib (~ **'uib**) evening [Mhf]

ũib pass, route (over mountain) [Mhf]

um (~ **om**) blow (as wind) [Mhf]

um (~ **om**) heavy [Mhf]
>**um kx'ame** (~ **om**) heavy burden [Mhf]
>**um tanīb** (~ **om**) heavy load [Mhf]

umma hand (see **'ommi**) [Mhf]

uri high, proud, arrogant, high and mighty [Mhf]
>**urib** high ground [Mhf]
>**gurisa** (~ ' *urriha*' [Wrs]) proud, arrogant [Mhf]
>**urise nae** sing high notes (in an ensemble performance) [Kby]

urisēmāb highlander, someone above others (?) [Mhf]

uri ’ae afternoon (see also **!’uri** and **kx’aeb**) [Mgd32]

uru (~ **!guru**) thunder (verb) [Mhf]

urub (~ **!gurub**) thunder [Mhf]

ū āb uncle (father's brother) [Mhf]

ū ’a slaughter for celebration [Mhf]

(Post)alveolar clicks spelled with a following letter 'g'

gāb (~ **āb**, *kāb*) poison [Ebt28]

gāb/s sibling [Ebt28]

gaba (~ **!aba**) look at [Ebt28, Mgd32]

    gabakx’oa stare back at [Ebt28]

    gabamāsi stare at [Ebt28]

    gaba gõa look into [Ebt28]

gabakx’am close up (< ' gawakx’am') [Wrs]

gabes counting game based on rapid backward subtraction [Ebt36]

gabi (~ **!abi**) ride [Ebt28]

gabus musical bow 'with skin or gourd resonator' [Ebt28]

gae groan [Ebt28]

gae (~ *kai*) hire, employ [Ebt28]

gai (~ **!ai**) fasten, tie (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives **!gae**) [Ebt28]

    gaigorogoro tie up firmly, tightly [Ebt28]

gais puff-adder [Ebt28]

gaib (see also **hāib**) garment for lower body worn by men, either front piece only, from jackal skin (similar to sporran), or front and back pieces suspended from waistband [Ebt36]

gaib bushy sp. (taaibos) [Ebt36]

gāi (~ **āi**) good, pleasant, fine, nice [Ebt28]

    gāi gāi make nice [Ebt28]

gaisekua pit-fall hunting traps (see also **surugub**) [Ebt36]

gãixa ’ao (~ *gãixa gao*) happy, with cheerful heart [JM]

gaixab (~ **!aixab**) sorcerer, doctor (Xhosa *igqira* 'sorcerer, diviner', *ugqira* 'doctor') [Ebt28, Wrs]

gam (~ **!am**) kill [Ebt28]

gam gamsen bend, bow [Ebt28]

ganab (~ **!anab**) camelthorn (*kameelboom*) (see also **ganab**) [Ebt28]

ganasen lean [Ebt28]

gangu (~ **!xankua**) clothes [Ebt28]

gao (~ **!ao**) cut [Ebt28]

    gaobē cut away, trim [Ebt28]

    gao ā cut apart [Ebt28]

gar(r)amām bull (see **xaramab**) [Wrs]

gareb bushy sp. (kareebos) [Ebt28]

garib river [Ebt28]

gāsi(sa) poor [Ebt28]

gatsi gabi- white ant, termite (*rysmier*) [Ebt28]

!gau become darkened (?) (Nama *gau* 'become besmeared, *gau(a)am* 'with black or dark muzzle, as of a donkey') [Ebt36]

gausa [n gəʊsa] brown (compare Nama *gãu huni*, noted by Schultze[7] as 'after the grey-yellow colouring of the dassie, used of cattle, horses, goats and dogs') [JM]

gaub hunting dog [Lld]

gẽxa gao (**gãixa gao**) happy, with cheerful heart [Ebt28]

gokx’ai cover over (see also **ū**) [Mgd32]

go nāb horn used for storing butter or fat [Ebt36]

goa (~ **!oa**) crack (a whip) [Ebt28, Wrs]

goas whip (noun) [Wrs]

goa brown [Ebt28]

    goasa brown [Ebt28]

goa xaris (~ *goa !karib*) honey-beer [Ebt28]

gōxais (~ **oaxais**) quagga [Ebt28]

go gob plant sp. (*Homeria* sp.) [Lld]

gõa (~ **!õa**) count [Ebt28]

gora sprawl, flounder [Ebt28]

gorob (~ **!orob**) ankle [Ebt28]

goxomab anteater (with long tail) [Ebt28]

gūb (~ **!ūb**, **!hūb**) veld, ground, earth, country [Ebt28]

gūb(guru)- reed sp., strong, favoured for basket-making [Ebt28]

gūs pouch, sling-bag, large, made of entire skin of lamb or steenbok, used by men to carry smoking apparatus, fire-making kit; used by women to store buchu-making kit, (see also **nanīb**) [Ebt36]

gū (~ **!ū**, **!gō**) cover something (Xhosa – *gquma* 'conceal, cover with something') [JM]

gū (~ **!ū**) go [Ebt28]
      gūba go for, fetch [Ebt28]
      gū(sao) 'ā follow [Ebt28]
      gū 'oagu meet [Ebt28]
gubigu buttocks [Ebt28]
guisalas penile sheath (tasselled), wearing of item said to be custom adopted from speakers of BANTU languages (note Xhosa *isidla sokugqishela*)⁸ [Ebt36]
gūkhurub (~ **kharob**) dummy calf made from skin stuffed with blue-bush (**harib**), used to keep a cow in milk after loss of her calf (Tswana *mogogorwana* < *mogogoro*) [Ebt36]
gukx'unubis cosmetic face-paint, prepared from bark of wag-'n-bietjie and krieboom which was roasted, then pounded and mixed with red ochre, mixture could be applied as powder, or mixed with water and applied as a paste, two sides of the face could be painted differently, and rows of white dots could be added [Ebt36]
gum (~ **!om**) blow (of wind) (Xhosa *gqumgqum* 'full of wind') [Ebt28]
gum(sa) (~ **!om**) heavy [Ebt28]
gum call (as ostrich), (*brom*) (Nama !*gom*, Xhosa –*gquma* 'roar') [Lld]
gunis(e)n reform, change one's ways [Ebt28]
guris height [Ebt28]
gurisa (~ **!urisa**) proud, arrogant [Ebt28]
guru (~ **!uru**) thunder [Ebt28]
gurus quiver for arrows (Xhosa *umqulu* 'cylindrical bale, bundle) [Ebt28]
gutses musical instrument, multi-stringed version of musical bow with resonator [Ebt36]

(Post)alveolar clicks, delayed ejective (glottalised)

'ab ditch, stream, spruit, rivulet, river [Mhf, Ebt28]
'ā (< ' *a*', ' *kã*') spread out, put, place [Mgd32, Lld]
'ās site, place of settlement (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives for 'village') [Mhf]
'Ās Kimberley [Lld]
'ā (~ 'a) be angry [Mhf]

'ā hear, understand (Nama *gâ*) [Mhf]
'ā be hungry, hunger (verb) [Mhf]
      'āb (~ ' *'am*' [Wrs]) hunger [Mhf]
      'ā 'ō be dying of hunger, ravenous, famished [Mhf]
'aba (~ **aba**, *awa*) climb, ascend, go up, mount [Mhf]
      'abas (< ' *'awas*') ladder [Wrs]
'Abab/s spring time [Mhf]
'Aba xās October [Mhf]
'abab vessel, skin bag used for curdled milk, similar to Tswana *lekuka* [Ebt36]
'ābeb pipe (for smoking), made either completely of stone, or with mouthpiece made from steenbok horn (see also **sūb** and **'uisūs**) [Ebt36]
!'abub egg (?) [JM]
'abus gun [Mhf]
      'abuxurub gunpowder [Mhf]
      'abu noagu shoot at one another with guns [Mhf]
'abubēsen roll, wallow (as horse) [Mhf]
'āgu fight (see also **'augu**) [JM, DC]
'ais (~ **'ais**) puffadder [Mhf]
'aisen (~ **ai**) gird, girdle (a horse) (perhaps **!ai**?) [Mhf]
'aitab flea [Mhf]
'ams bead strings, worn by a woman around her body [Ebt28]
'amma feather [Mhf]
'ammi quill (of porcupine) [Lld]
'amareb edible gum from acacias, sometimes mixed with dried berries [Ebt28, Ebt36]
'amaxab hemp, cannabis, dagga (lit. 'green tobacco' < **'āmbaxab**) [Mhf, Ebt]
'amgub skilled person (?) [Mhf]
'amkuba exceed, surpass [Wrs]
'am 'amma light, lamp [Mhf]

!'anu (~ *anu*) pure, clean [Mhf]
      'am na shine, illuminate (Xhosa –*ngqamba* 'shine brightly') [Ebt28]
'anu 'anu cleanse [Mhf]
'anu- a shine, a gleam [Mhf]
'ao (~ *'au*) fear, be frightened [Mhf]
      'aos fear [Ebt28]
      'aosa (~ **'ausa**) fearful, afraid [Mhf]
      'ao 'aoxa frightening, terrifying [Ebt28]

'aob (~ *'aub*) nape, neck (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives as ['aoβ]) [Mhf]

'aob (~ **'aub**) veld [Mhf]

'ao nae be shut out (?) [Mhf]

'arab throat, gullet [Ebt28]

'arab vessel (three-legged, carved from wood) [Ebt36]

'arakhos rock-lizard, agama sp. ('with thick flat belly') [Ebt28]

'ares hammer [Mhf]

'Ares (< ' *'Arres***)** autumn (see **Xaris**) [Wrs]

'ari be wild (see **nari**) [Ebt36]
> **'arisa** (~ **'arihā**) wild [Ebt36]

'ari (~ separate, depart, go own way (note Nama !*garu* 'go far ahead') [Mhf]
> **'ari ū** (< ' *ari kũ*') separate from [Mgd32]

'arib fortitude, courage, bravery, hardness [Ebt36]

'aris steenbok, grysbuck [Lld]

'ariakarab beads, string of (mixed) [Lld]

'aribes edible wild bulb, size of large potato, edible raw, but generally roasted, (*kalkoentjie*) [Ebt36]

'ari 'ari finished, have completed everything, ('entirely' [Wrs]) [Mhf]

'arokhob rock-lizard, agama sp. (*koggelmander*) [Ebt28]

'arurub cheetah (?) '*luiperd met kleiner koller as 'n tier*' (see also **xurukub**) [Ebt28]

'au (~ *au*, **'ao**) fear, be frightened [Mhf]
> **'ausa** (~ **'aosa**) fearful, afraid [Mhf]

'au (< ' *'ou*') hunt, stalk, keep an eye on something (same as !**au**?) [Lld]

'aub (~ **'aob**) neck [Ebt28]

'aub (~ !*'aob*, *aub*) veld (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives as ['əʊβ]) [Mhf]
> **'augamāsi** put something outside [Ebt28]
> **'aukarob** arid veld, karoo [Mhf, Wrs]
> **'aukhōb** arid veld, desert [Wrs]

'augu (~ **'āugu**, *augu*, *kau*) wrestle (see also **auka**) [Wrs, Mhf, Mgd67]

'āukua veldkos, wild bulbs (see also **'ōb**) [JM]

'āukx'um- stick of hard wood, (short, sharp), used by women to drive holes into the ground at an angle, for the insertion of laths forming framework of house [Ebt36]

'a nabos butterfly sp. [Lld]

'ā ui lead [Mhf]

'ōb (~ *ob*) veld onion, uintjie, generic term for edible wild bulbs [Mhf, Ebt28]

'ōs acacia sp. (*transiebos*) (*Vachellia hebeclada*) [Ebt36]

'ōs axe [Mhf]
> **'ō nām-** (~ *oē nām* [Wrs]) axe-handle [Mhf]

'oa be sad [Ebt28]

'oa (< ' *koa*' meet (?) [Mgd32]
> **'oa ū** (< ' *koa kũ*') go to meet [Mgd32]
> **'oasāb** champion [Wrs]

'õas kierie made from hardwood, with sharp hook, used as weapon [Ebt36]

'õas (~ *'ũas*, *õas*) hare [Ebt28, Lld]

'õasi tend to, watch over (cattle, sheep) [Mhf]
> **'õasi ae** watch out carefully [Mhf]

'oa 'oa contradict, oppose [Wrs]
> **'oa 'oab** antidote, countermeasure [Wrs]

'om (~ ' *'um 'um*' [Wrs]) be hard, tough [Mhf]

'ommi (~ *'umma*) fist, hand [Mhf]
> **'Ommikx'ami** Douglas (place name) (lit. 'right hand') (It is possible that the second part of this name should rather be spelled '**kx'ammi**') [Mhf]
> **'om noa** fist-fight, box (verb with incorporated noun) [Mhf]

'onas buck-pellet, dropping of small antelope [Ebt36]
> **biri 'onade** goat pellets [Ebt36]

'one naus plant sp. with twisted leaves, bulb eaten by children, (possibly the kukumakranka) [Ebt36]

'ore canter (as zebra or horse) [Mhf]

'oreb, 'orekua plates, dishes, cups, carved from wood, decorated with poker-work [Ebt36]

!**'oro** (~ !**'uru, uru**) smear [JM]

'orob awl, needle (Dama *oros*) [Wrs]

'ū graze, eat [Mhf]
> **'ūkasi** take animals to pasture (note **ūn ū** 'take animals to graze' [Wrs]) [Mhf]
> **'ū xaib** (< ' *'ũn xeib*') pasturage, grazing veld [Wrs]

’ūb selfsame, the very same (Xhosa *inkqu*) [Mhf]

’ūas (~ **’õas**) hare [Mhf]

’ubub ostrich egg (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives for 'eggshell') [Mhf]

’uib (~ **uib**) afternoon, evening [Mhf]
>> **’ui kx’aeb** afternoon (see also **’uri**) [Mhf]
>> **’ui haub** supper, evening meal [Mhf]

’ūkx’ams forehead [Ebt28]

’ulīs (~ **ūbis**) name of one of the reed-flutes in the 6- or 7-piece consort [Ebt36]

’um- wild olive (Xhosa *umnquma*) [Ebt36]

’um round [Mhf]

’umma (~ *ummi*, **’ommi**) fist, hand [Mhf]
>> **’ummi** hand [Ebt28]
>> **’ums** fist [Ebt28]
>> **’um ’aub** (~‘ *’um ’aub*’ [Wrs]) wrist (!**’om!’aob**?) [Ebt28]
>> **’um kx’arob** wrist [Mhf]
>> **’um noagu** box, fight with fists [Mhf]

’ums udder [Ebt28]

’uni serve [Mhf]

’uri afternoon [Mhf]
>> **’urixēb** afternoon [Ebt28]
>> **’uri ’ae** (<‘ *uri kae*’) afternoon [Mgd32]

’uru (<‘ *kuru*’, !**’oro**) rub, smear (with white clay?) [Mgd32]

’urub (< ‘!*urub*’) boomslang (?), 'green snake in trees' (see also **kurub**) [Ebt28]

’urub groundcover with grey leaves like vaalbos, white flowers dried and used in making buchu powder [Ebt36]

’urus container, small, made from tortoise-shell, used to carry buchu power (**sāb**) [Ebt36]

’ūsab (~ **hūsab**) spirit of dead person [Ebt36]

(Post)alveolar clicks, delayed aspirated

hā dig into (as with spade) [Mhf]

hā (~ *xā*’) stab, pierce, prick, sting [Mhf]
>> **hāhaib** digging stick [Lld]
>> **hā ā** (~‘ *hā ’ā*’ [Wrs]) push into [Mhf]
>> **hā xarū** pierce through [Mhf]

hāb rooikat, caracal (Xhosa *ingqawa*) [Ebt28]

haba ganab moth sp. [Lld]

hae (~ *hai*) hunt, run, chase (Nama *hae* 'chase, pursue at speed') [Mhf]
>> **hae kx’ās** full moon (hunters' moon?) [Mhf]
>> **haibē** chase away [Ebt28]
>> **haisen** scatter [Mhf]
>> **hai hau** race (as on horseback) [Mhf]

hae hae pour out (Nama *haebe* 'shake out') [Mhf]

hais pipe (for smoking), made of bone [Ebt36]

haib leg (lower) (perhaps for **’aib** 'foot'?) [Lld]

hams hammerhead bird (*hamerkop*) (see also **’ases**) [Ebt36]

hamsa (~ ‘ *hamse*’ [Wrs]) humble, lowly [Mhf]

hami hunt, chase game [Mhf]
>> **hamikx’aob** hunter [Ebt36]

han strike down, ('surround' [Wrs]) (Nama *han* 'knock, strike down') [Mgd32]
>> **han hai** rout, drive off (perhaps **hai** < **hasi** 'make run'?) [Mgd32]
>> **han nami** surround [Mhf]

hanab garden [Mhf]

hanumu noab crane (*kransvoël*) (see also **hoar nān**) [Lld]

haos family (extended), kinship-based community, (sometimes used as 'nation') [Mhf]

harab kraal, animal enclosure [Mhf]

hares (< ‘ *khares*’) bored stone weight for digging stick [Mgd32]

harebīb (~ **haribīb**) sourmilk [Ebt28]

harib town, large settlement [Mhf]
>> **haridas** small town, village [Mhf]
>> **haridēkx’ukx’aob** troublemaker, one who spreads malicious gossip to cause strife and factions in a settlement [Mhf]

harib sjambok [Ebt28]

haris partridge [Mhf]

haub pleasure [Mhf]

!hāub (< ‘!*hõup*’) thong, riem [Lld]

ha huimū be dissatisfied, disappointed [Mhf]

hō (~ **hū**) knock, pound, bang [Mgd32]

hōb shoulder [Mhf]

hoa speak [Mhf]
>>**hoaba** tell [Ebt36]

hoar nān crane (bird) (see also
  hanumu noab) [Mhf]

hoa na deep [Ebt28]

hoa na crooked [Ebt28]

hoba return, go back (see also **kx'oā**)
  [Mhf]

hobo roll in a substance (to make adhere, or
  to assist cleaning) (extrapolated [Lld])
>>**hobosen** roll self in something [Lld]

hora crippled [Mhf]

horo ready, prepared, finished, 'brayed' (in
  sense of prepared leather) [Mhf]

horob grain, corn, bread (Xhosa
  ingqolowa) (given by Ouma Jacoba
  Maclear for 'bread') [Mhf]
>>**horo 'ākua** straw, chaff [Mhf]

ho hob overhang, bank of river, sheer,
  vertical wall, cliff, krans (see also
  nō nōb) [Mhf]

hūb (~ **ūb**, *kũb*) land, field, country, earth
  [Mhf]
>>**hūbkx'āb** reedbuck [Lld]
>>**hūbkx'aib** world, surface of the earth
  [Mhf]
>>**hūkx'ai 'arokua** berries of low-
  growing sp. wag-'n-bietjie, crushed,
  salted and pressed into cakes [Ebt36]
>>**hū ōb** plant sp., roots used in making
  buchu powder, (same as **hū nũ** ?)
  [Ebt36]
>>**hū nũ** small bush growing on sandy
  soil, roots used in making buchu
  powder (see also **xan āb**) [Ebt36]

hū pound, knock, bang ('strike with stone'
  [Wrs]) [Mhf]

hū fasten with knot [Mhf]

hūb brain (see also **xūb**) [Mhf]

hubūb lump, bump, swelling (Xhosa
  iqhubu) [Mhf]

hubukx'am narrow-mouthed (of a vessel)
  (perhaps for !**nubu**?) [Ebt36]

huekx'āi (~ *xoē*) run away [Mhf]

!**hui** explode, burst open [BK]

hui cease, finish, come to an end [Mhf]
>>**Hui!** Stop! [Mhf]

hui flow, gush (as spring) [Mhf]

hui- part, portion [Mhf]

hum pick, collect (as reeds) [Ebt36]

humuru- plant sp., small edible root (with
  diminutive –**ro**) [Lld]

hun kneel, bend [Mhf]
>>**hun** fold up, put together (Nama
  !*hon*) [Mhf]
>>**hunkhoba** curl up (?) [Mhf]

huri be frightened [Mhf]
>>**huri huri** frighten someone [Mhf]
>>**huri hurixa** frightening [Mhf]
>>**hurib** fright [Mhf]

hurugūb wildcat (large), 'light brown,
  more like a lion than a leopard but fiercer
  than either' (same as **xurukub**?) [Ebt28,
  Ebt36]

hūsab (~ **'ūsab**) spirit of dead person
  [Ebt36]

hūtsi hūbeb caterpillar sp. [Lld]

huwub ground (?) [Wrs]

hu ūb rich man [Mhf]

hū hūb owl [Mhf]

(Post)alveolar clicks, aspirated (~ fricated)

xāb plant sp, with edible leaves and roots,
  latter provide significant source of water,
  (koeiriempies) (see also **āb**) [Ebt36]

xāb/s (~ ' *xãm*' [Wrs]) kidney [Mhf]

xabib vessel for storing milk, carved from
  willow wood, with carved lug for a cord
  so that it could be hung up, (see also
  bamus, **kx'ao na xabib**) [Ebt36]

xabis vessel, carved from wood, jug or
  pitcher, with bulging sides [Ebt36]

xaeb (~ !*xaib*) night, darkness [Mhf]

xai cut down, chop (as branch from tree, to
  make a pole or spear) [Ebt36]

xai cold [Mhf]
>>**xai xaie** cooled down (be) [Mhf]

!**xaib** cloth, head-cloth, hat (?) (Nama
  !*khaib*) (extrapolated from **kaib**, but see
  also **haes**) [Ebt28]

xaib (~ !*xaeb*) night, darkness [Mhf]

xaib (~ !*khaib*, *kxaib*) place, site, (also
  used as complementiser with verbs of
  saying or perception, = 'that') (see also
  'ās) [Mhf, Mgd67]
>>**xaī'o** nowhere [Mhf]
>>**xaīb** a trek to a new site, migration
  (?) [Mhf]
>>**xai xāb** bundle, travel-load [Mhf]

xais spying [Mhf]
xai nabus pigeon, dove (see also **nais**) [Mhf]
xam (~ *am*) forget [Wrs]
　　!xamxu forget [JM]
xams (~ **kx'ams**) bead (large, glass, black, blue, green) [Ebt36]
xamab jackal sp. (Mhf says skin not ideal for garments, was preferred for shoes), (*draaijakkals*) (Afrik. name used for either the bat-eared fox (*Otocyon megalotis*) or silver jackal (*Vulpes chama*)) [Mhf, Lld]
xankua clothes [Mhf]
　　xansen wear clothes [Mhf]
xanub wild pumpkin [Ebt36]
xan hoereb (< ' *xan huereb*') shrike (bird species) [Lld]
xaos (~ *kaus*, **xaus)** hippopotamus [Mhf]
xara (< ' *nara*') rake smooth (?) [Mgd32]
xareb part, portion [Mhf]
xareb wild olive, kareeboom, berries eaten [Ebt36]
xarib honey-beer [Mhf]
Xaris (~ ' 'Arres' [Wrs]) autumn [Mhf]
xaro (~ **xaru**, *xaru*) go through [Mgd67]
xarob veld onion sp. (gifbol), resinous inner portion used to make a glue (**thāb**) (perhaps *Boophane* sp.) [Mhf, Ebt36]
xaru snore [Mhf]
xaru (~ **xaro**, *xaru*) push, go through (Nama !*kharu* 'pass, go by') [Mhf]
xarukx'aib palate [Mhf]
Xaub (~ ' Khoub') Saron, a town in the Free State [Mgd32]
xaus (~ *kaus*, **xaos**) hippopotamus [Mhf]
xo knead [Mhf]
xō catch, grab, hold, touch [Mhf]
　　xoegu (< ' *khoegu*') come to grips with one another (?) [Mgd67]
　　xōkarokaro hold tight [Mhf]
　　xōsā guilty [Mhf]
　　xō xa seize, grab hold of [Mhf]
　　xō xoa grab hold of, hold on tightly to (?) [Lld]
　　xō 'urib tongs (blacksmith's) [Mhf]
　　xō āb (~ ' *xosasab*' [Wrs]) prisoner, captive [Mhf]
　　xō oā pick up, take up [Mhf]
　　xō 'oa receive, accept [Wrs]

xōb pipe (smoker's) [Mhf]
xoab (~ *oab*, *koab*) snow (Xhosa *iliqhwa* 'sleet', Zulu *iqhwa* 'ice, frost') [Mgd32]
xõab (~ ' *xõam*' [Wrs]) bald head, blaze of animal [Mhf]
xoe (~ *hue*, **kx'oē**) run, race, flee [Mhf]
　　xoegu (< ' *khoegu*') come to grips with one another (?) (perhaps **xō**) [Mgd67]
　　xoekx'āi run towards something (?) [Lld]
　　xoetsēgu (< ' *kx'oētsēgu*') race one another [Mhf]
　　xoe hui run at (?) (**hui** 'raise') [Lld]
xom break off [Mhf]
xonthamab (~ xōn) watermelon (sweet kind) [Mhf]
xonisen turn, twist (see also **'one**) [Mhf]
xū rich [Mhf]
　　xūb lord, master [Mhf]
　　xū ū- wealth [Mhf]
　　xū 'ūb kingdom [Mhf
　　xū xū enrich [Mhf]
xubis pan, vlei [Mhf]
xumma seed, sperm (Nama !*khoms*) [Mhf]
xurukub (< ' *khurukub*') cheetah (see also **kx'aururub**) [Lld]

(Post)alveolar clicks spelled with a following letter 'k'

The words listed below are a subset of the aspirated ~ fricated clicks, and were written with a following letter 'k' by Engelbrecht in his early work (1928) on Kora. They were probably only very lightly aspirated in the speech of his first consultants.

kā (~ **hā**) stab, pierce (as with spear, arrow), sting (as bee) [Ebt28]
kae (~ **xai**) dark (become) (as in the evening) [Ebt28]
　　kaeb (~ **xaib**) darkness, night [Ebt28]
kai cut off [Ebt28]
kai (~ **xai**) cold (be) [Ebt28]
　　kaib cold (noun) [Ebt28]
kaib cloth (for wiping, drying) (same as head-cloth?) [Ebt28]
kam (~ !**xam**) forget [Ebt28]

kam (~ **!kx'am**) green [Ebt28]

kamab (~ **xamab**) jackal sp. or Cape fox (*draaijakkals*) [Ebt28]

kans eland [Ebt28]

kaos (~ *xaus*, **xaos**) hippopotamus [Ebt28]
> **kaokx'anis** wagtail, 'sits on back of hippopotamus' (oxpecker) [Ebt28]

kares (~ **'arēs**) hammer [Ebt28]

karib (~ **xaris**) honey-beer [Ebt28]

karu (~ **!xaru**) snore [Ebt28]

kaus fieldmouse (*streepmuis*) [Ebt28]

kau hõab wildcat (veld cat?) [Ebt28]

kē (~ **xais**) spy (verb) [Ebt28]

kō (~ **!xō**) catch [Ebt28]
> **kō 'oa** receive, take on, accept [Ebt28]
> **kōgarogaro** hold tight [Ebt28]

koe (~ **xoe**) run [Ebt28]

kon (~ *!hun*) fold [Ebt28]

konas smallpox (*pokkies*) [Ebt28]

koro thin [Ebt28]

kū (~ **!xū**) rich [Ebt28]

kummi (~ **!xumma**) seed [Ebt28]

(Post)alveolar clicks with ejected uvular affrication

kx'axase quickly [Ebt36]

kx'abu sow, scatter seeds, (see also **thoro 'abu)** [Mhf]

kx'abub cream [Mhf]

kx'ai burst [Mhf]

kx'aib afterwards [Mhf]

kx'āib (< ' *xēib*') part, portion [Wrs]

kx'am green [Mhf]

kx'am-, kx'ammi beads, necklace of (large) [Mhf, Lld]

kx'amma porridge [Mhf]

kx'arab Adam's apple [Mhf]

kx'araxab polecat (*muishond*) [Lld]

!kx'aroba early (?) [BK]

kx'au shriek, scream [Mhf]
> **!kxaukxā** shriek [BK]

kx'āus dassie [Lld]

kx'aub (~ **!'aob**) neck [Ebt36]

kx'āu ab (~ ' *keip*') rock snake [Lld]

kx'aururub leopard (praise or avoidance name?) (see also **xurukub**) [Lld]

kx'oētsēgu (~ **xoe**) race one another [Mhf]

kx'oro few (possibly mistaken, see also **kx'oro**) [Mhf]

kx'ūb forehead [Mhf]

(Post)alveolar clicks with prenasalisation

nas time [Mhf]
> **ui nas** immediately (lit. 'one time') [Bch]
> **nai nasa** sometimes [Mgd64]

nā (~ **!nā**) in, inside, among [Mhf]
> **nāb** insides, stomach [Mhf]
> **nābe** entrails (perhaps for *nābi*?) [Mgd67]
> **nabkx'ai** (~ *nābai* [Ebt28]) inside [Wrs]
> **naxukua** intestines, insides [Mhf]
> **nas amma** (lie) on belly [Wrs]

nāb/s tortoise, large mountain tortoise (eaten)
> **nās** 'leopard tortoise' according to Lld) [Mhf, Ebt36, Lld]

nā shine on, cast light [Lld]
> **nā nā** light up, illuminate [Lld]

nabas rhinoceros [Mhf]

naberib blesbok (Xhosa *ilinqa*) (see also **āb** bald-head, blaze (of animal) (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives **!nā** for 'bald, bles') [Lld]

nabub a half-full (?) [Mhf]

nae be born (typically **nae hā**) [Mhf]

nagu kick-fight (?) (see also **nāgu**) [Mhf]

naikx'ima xāb (~ ' *nei*') first quarter of moon [Mhf]

naib giraffe [Mhf]

nais kidney (see also **xāb**) [Ebt36]

naka (~ *naga*) under, below [Mhf]
> **NakamāGaokx'aob** chief's deputy [Ebt36]

namma side [Mhf]

namis name of one of the reed-flutes in the 4-piece consort [Kby]

nanna hailstorm (?) [Mhf]
> **nans** hailstone [Ebt36]
> **nantūsi** hailstorm [Ebt36]

nani six [Mhf]

nanib thumb [Mhf]

nanib jaw, gums (of mouth (?) [Mhf]
> **nanikua** lower jaw [Mhf]

nani gãb grass for thatching (*dekgras*) [Ebt28]

Nanni 'ain collective name for people who lived along the shore of the Gariep (riverside clans, or River People) [Lld]

nao (~ !*nau*) load up (as cargo on a raft) [Ebt36]

nara strew, scatter (?), perhaps for **naro** (?) [Mgd32]

nari (~ *neri*, **'ari**) wild (untamed) [Mhf]

nari move, travel (as wagon) [Mhf]
    naris wheel [Mhf]

nari steal, kidnap [Mgd67]

naro collect up (as stones, small items) [Ebt28]
    naromãsi heap up (as stones) [Wrs]

narob fruit sp. [Mhf]

nasi blow (with mouth) (see also **nasi**) [Wrs]

nau bury, inter [Mhf, Mgd32]

!**nau** (~ !*nao*) load (as people, animals and goods on to the river-crossing raft) (Nama !*nao*) [Ebt36]

nau- (~ **nãub**) ear, leaf [Mhf]

naub log, block or stump of wood [Ebt36]

naub (< ' *nouba*') red ochre [Mgd32]
    nau ãs vessel, small, made from horn, used by women to store ointment or fat mixed with red ochre for smearing (*rooiklip*-horn) [Ebt36]

nau nã depart (?) (note Nama *nau* 'do quickly,' in compound verbs) [Mhf]

nã nã light up, illuminate [Mhf]
    nãb (~ ' *nãm*' [Wrs]) light [Mhf]
    nãba flash (as lightning) [Mhf]

nõ be still, quiet, silent, calm [Mhf]
    nõb silence, peace [Mhf]
    nõsa silent, still, calm [Mhf]
    nõse quietly [Mgd32]
    nõ nõ soothe, quieten, calm (as a mother her baby) [Mhf]

noa stumble, trip [Ebt28]

noã (~ *nua*) come (?), be early (?) (perhaps 'rush') [Mhf]

noã (~ **nua**) grey, blue [Mhf]
    noab grey hair [Mhf]
    noagaob blue wildebeest [Ebt28]
    noa hõ pied, variegated with blue and black, dappled (*bloubont*) [Ebt28]
    noa humma heaven [Mhf]

noas fruit sp. (very small seeds, not eaten, according to Mhf), bitter-apple [Mhf, Ebt36]

nõab/s porcupine [Mhf]

nõas heel [Ebt28]

noar noars plant sp., bush with red berries, juice used to curdle milk [Ebt36]

noba give boy a cow of his own (for milk) [Ebt28]

noeb acacia type, 'thorn tree closely resembling the **ūb**' (*swarthaak*) (*Vachellia mellifera*?) [Ebt28]

nomab root [Mhf]

nona three [Mhf]
    nona nadē three times [Mhf]
    nona 'ãib third [Mhf]

norã roll, wallow [Mhf]

noro grind fine [Mhf]

norob nape of neck (Xhosa *inqolo*) [Ebt28]

nū (~ **nū**) black [Mhf]

nū wide, broad, be far [Mhf]
    nūsa wide [Mhf]
    nū(ga)se far away, remote [Ebt28, Mgd32]

nub fence, hedge, screen, temporary shelter, '*scherm*' (Xhosa *umnquba*) (see also **nūb**). George Thompson,[9] travelling in southern Africa in 1823, described an occasion when he arrived at a Korana kraal: 'Their own huts being all fully occupied, they instantly set about erecting a temporary shelter for my accommodation. This was soon accomplished. Having driven four or five stakes into the ground, in a semi-circular position, they took a rush mat about eight feet long and three broad, and binding it to the stakes with one edge close to the ground, a screen was thus formed sufficient to protect me from the night-wind.'[Mhf]

nua (~ **noa**) hurry, hasten, rush [Mhf]

nua (~ **noa**) grey, blue [Mhf]

nũa fight with feet, kick-fight [Mhf]
    nũagu wrestle, fight

nuaba descent, lineage (Nama !*nõab* 'kind, type, sort') [Mhf]

nubu short [Mhf]
    nubutabi 'ãs omasum [Mhf]

nubu kx'aeb short time [Mhf]
nubu harib short sjambok [Ebt28]
nubu nubu (~ **nubugasi**) shorten [Mhf]
nui set snare, trap [Ebt28]
nuis snare, trap; noose type [Mhf, Ebt36]
num grow beard (Mhf says perhaps *num*) [Mhf]
numakua weeds [Mhf]
nuru shriek, scold, shout (also 'pant' [Wrs]) [Mhf]
nuru xumma spider (large sp.) [Mhf]

Palato-alveolar clicks, plain

ǎ plant (verb) [Mhf]
ǎb bald-head, blaze (of animal) [Mhf]
ã (~ **gã**) set (of sun) [Mhf]
ã (~ **'ã**) into (in verbal compounds) (different roots?) [Mhf]
ãb fence [Lld]
ãb ledge, overhang [Mhf]
ãb plant sp. with edible leaves and roots, latter provide significant source of water [Ebt36]
Aba xãb (< ' *Awa xãm*' [Wrs]) August, (Walther Bourquin[10] relates to Nama *gawa* 'starve') [Wrs]
abu (~ **xabu**, **gabu**) weak, tired, feeble [Mhf]
ae (~ *ei*, *kāi*) drag, draw, pull, smoke (pipe) [Mhf]
ae oesi (< ' *ei oesi*') pull down [Wrs]
ae kx'oasi (~ **'oasi**) take off clothes, undress [Mhf]
ae asen (~ *ai*) dress, put on clothes [Mhf]
aeb smoking (noun) [JM]
aeb (~ **gaeb**) marrow (of bone) [Mhf]
ai (~ *kai*, **gai**) call [Mhf, Ebt36]
ai kx'oasi call loudly, shout out [Mhf]
ais box, wooden chest, crate [Mhf]
ãixa ao (~ ' *xẽi*' [Wrs]) happy (see **ãi(x)a ao**) [Mhf]
amãsi hang up, hang from [Mhf]
an close up (extrapolated from [Mhf])
ankx'aikua lids (as for wooden vessels) [Ebt36]

ankx'am lock, close and secure door [Mhf]
ankx'amma lane, side entrance [Mhf]
anixase almost (?) [Mhf]
ao (' *gou*' [Lld]) cut, pierce (?) (see **ao**) [Mhf]
ao (~ *kao*', *au*, **gao**) want, desire, wish for [Mhf]
aob heart [Mhf]
Aob (< ' Kaob') Hart River (> Afrikaans *hart* 'heart'). The river seems to have taken its name from a clan whose leader was named Aob. [Mgd32]
aokx'ammi (< ' *kao kx'ammi*) conscience (?), lit. 'heart-truth' [Lld]
arabirib (~ **xara**) goat (male) [Mhf]
are go on visit [Mhf]
areb visit, extended stay with people, especially relatives [Mhf]
arob (~ **arob**) path, road [Mhf]
ãu (~ **'ãu**) suffice, satisfy, be enough [Mhf]
ausa suitable, be fitting [Mhf]
ãureb meerkat (Meinhof says red sp. living among rocks) [Mhf]
a ãgu agree (Nama *mã nãgu*) [Mhf, Mgd67]
o rustle (as dry leaves of grass) [Lld]
ō duck, leap to one side, take evasive action [**BK**]
ōb (~ **'ob**) boy-child [Mhf]
oas (~ *oab*, *goab*) clay, mud [Mhf]
oa (~ *koa*, **'oa**, **kx'oa**) come or go out from [Mgd32]
oakx'aob/s person who puts on airs, pretentious person [Mhf]
oa kx'am (~ **hoakx'am**) answer, reply to [Mhf]
õa hoas bird sp., sings *Sũse doe, doe, doe, 'o du* 'Go away quickly, please, you!' [Ebt36]
om believe, trust [Mhf]
ona (~ *kõnã*, **ona**) beg, watch, stare at someone (in hope of hand-out), beg passively [Mhf]
onakx'aob beggar [Mhf]
onab trunk (elephant) [Mhf]
oni an (~ *uni*) lock something [Mhf]

oni ankx'am lock door [Mhf]
onikx'am- (~ *uni*) key [Mhf]
ore (~ **ore**) pray [Mhf]
oreb vessel (carved from wood), into
  which melted butter (**gobeb**) or newly-
  churned butter was poured (see also **kai
  aub**) [Ebt]
ō ōs name of one of the reed-flutes in the
  4-piece consort [Kby]
ū (~ **ũ**) cook, boil [Mhf]
ubi sway [Mhf]
ubitsi hāb wave, billow (water) [Mhf]
uib nose [Mhf]
ui aib snuff [Mhf]
ũib (~ **ũib**) intestine [Mhf]
uidī'i (~ **uidi'i**) united, made as one [Mhf]
uise slowly [Mhf]
ui nuwu gallop [Wrs]
un stare at (see also   **'uī**) [Mhf]
uni twist, turn, wring out (as washing)
  [Mhf]
unikx'am (~ **onikx'am**-) key [Mhf]
uni xoba (~ **onikx'am**) unlock, open
  door [Mhf]
Uni na xāb (<' Kuni na xām') February
  [Wrs]
uru uru clean, wash (clothes) [Mhf]
use (~ **gūse**) nearby, close [Mhf]

Palato-alveolar clicks spelled with a following letter 'g'

gā plant (verb) [Ebt28]
gāmãsi hang up [Ebt28]
gã (~ **ã**) set, sink (of sun) [Ebt28]
gãb ditch, sloot, spruit, stream [Ebt28]
gabib vessel 'for drinking out of, carved
  from willow-wood' [Ebt28]
gabusa (~ abu, **xabu**) weak, feeble
  [Ebt28]
gaes box (wooden), chest, kis [Ebt28]
gai smoke, draw (from a pipe) [Ebt28]
gai (~ **ai**) call [Ebt28, Mgd32]
gaithakua thighs (?) [Mgd32]
gaeb (~ aēb) marrow (of bone) [Ebt28]
gao (~ **ao**) want, desire [Ebt28]
gaob heart [Ebt28]
gao na hate [Ebt28]
gaob portion or cut of meat given to
  men, lower part of carcase, including tail
  [Ebt36]

gaub vessel, 'carved from willow-wood,
  in which to wash butter' [Ebt28]
gaus dish [Mgd32]
gēgu weigh (metaphoric for consider,
  weigh up?) (see **'ãigukasi**) [Ebt28]
gōb springhare [Ebt36]
goab (~ **oakua**) bed-mat (leather) [Ebt28]
goab (~ **oab**) clay, mud [Ebt28, Lld]
goa xaris honey-beer [Ebt36]
gobe mix [Mgd32]
gōxum- anteater [Lld]
guib (~ **uib**) nose [Ebt28]
gunikxam lock door (see **uni** turn, twist)
  [Ebt28]
gunikxams key [Ebt28]
Guni na xāb (<' Guni na xãm') March
  (see also **Uni na xāb**) [Wrs]
guri (<' *guerri*') 'spring away' (Nama
  gurisen 'free self from a hold, break
  free') [Lld]

Palato-alveolar clicks, delayed ejective (glottalised)

'a slaughter [Mhf]
'aba (<' *aba*') slaughter for
  [Mgd32]
'āb reed (for flute), arrow [Mhf]
'ādi (feminine plural) consort of
  reed-flutes (for names of individual
  flutes, see under 'flute names' in the
  English-to-Kora index) [Kby]
'ās reed-flute [Mhf]
'ākx'anis finch (bird sp. frequenting
  reeds) [Ebt28]
'ās aīb reed-dance [Mhf]
'ā (~ *ã*) enter, go in, in (in compound
  verbs) [Mhf]
'ai make go in (with causative
  extension –*si* as –*i*) [Mgd32]
mãsi 'a place in, put inside [Mgd32]
'ā (~ **kx'ā**) steal [Mhf]
'ākx'aob thief [Mhf]
'āb spittle, saliva [Ebt28]
'āb (<' *ãb*') fence (?) [Lld]
'aeb (~ *'ãieb*, *aeb*) base for *sãb* or buchu
  powder, prepared from 'musty bark' from
  the roots of 'an old blue-bush (**harib**), or
  the wag-'n-bietjie (**xarob**), or the taaibos
  (**'āub** or **gaib**) [Ebt36]
'aebsãb karee buchu [Ebt36]

’ai stick on, cleave to (intransitive verb) [Mhf]
  ’ai ’ai stick on to [Mhf]
’aib foot [Mhf]
  ’aikx’ī (< ‘ *ei γī*’) pick up spoor, find track (?) [Lld]
  ’ai ’am on tiptoe [Lld]
  ’ai xunūkua toes [Lld]
’āi think, consider (~ ’ī) [Ebt28]
  ’āib thought [Ebt28]
  ’āigukasi (< ‘ *eigukasi*’) weigh up, consider [Wrs]
  ’āi ’āisen think of something [Ebt28]
’āieb (~ ’aeb) base of buchu powder, made from one or more ingredients, especially harib (bloubos) and xarob (wag-’n-bietjie) [Ebt36]
’amma (~ *’amma*) top (Xhosa *incam*) [Mhf]
  ’amma (~ ’ama) on [Mhf]
  ’amka at, on top of, above [Mhf]
  ’amkamā ’amma top of [Mhf]
’ama climb, ascend [Mhf]
’an (~ ’an [Wrs]) know [Mhf]
  ’anabaka knowingly, on purpose [Mhf]
  ’anna knowledge [Mhf]
  ’anbasen watch out for oneself, be aware [Mhf]
  ’ankx’ai accustomed, used to, familiar with [Mhf]
  ’anmãsisa (< ‘ *anmãsisa*’) well-known [Mgd32]
  ’an ’an announce, make known [Mhf]
  ’an kx’oasi work out, calculate [Lld]
’ao (< ‘ *ao*’) stick on to (transitive verb) (see also ’ai) [Mgd]
’aob heart, lungs and liver, portion or cut of meat (*harslag*) given to men [Ebt36]
’ara (~ kx’ara) spit out, spurt saliva [Ebt28]
’are gāb burrweed (klitsgras) [Ebt28]
’arob (~ xarob) berry-bush, thorny, ‘known as the wag-’n-bietjie’ [Ebt28]
’au be tame (see also kx’ū) [Ebt28]
’aub cold, coolness [Mhf]
  ’ausa cold [Ebt28]
’aub raisinberry bush (taaibos) [Ebt28]

’au gananab berry bush (‘*taaibos wat trossies bessies dra*’) [Ebt28]
’āu be satisfied, have enough [Mhf]
  ’ãusa enough [Ebt28]
’eri run [Ebt28]
’ī think, suppose (< ’āi) [Mhf]
  ’īb thought [Mhf]
  ’ī ’īsen think through, consider, ponder [Mhf]
  ’ī ’ī!nā remind (make someone remember) [Mhf]
  ’ī ’ã remember [Mhf]
  ’ī ã think, suppose [Mhf]
  ’ī am suspect evil of someone [Mhf]
  ’ī’o unthinking, uncomprehending [Mhf]
’o heal, get well (intransitive verb) (as of a wound closing, drying?) [Wrs]
’ō narrow [Wrs]
’ō- (~ ’o-) dry(ness), drought [Mhf]
  ’ōsa ūb dry, arid earth [Mhf]
’oa (~ *koa*, kx’oa) come or go out from [Mgd32]
  ’oaxa (~ kx’oaxa) come out from, rise (as sun) [Mhf]
’oab wind [Mhf]
’om (~ *’um*) sew [Mhf]
’onib (~ kx’onib) worm [Ebt28]
’orob/s awl, bodkin, needle [Mhf]
’ūb colour [Mhf]
  ’u ’u decorate (as by means of pokerwork), Afrikaans ‘*blom*’) [Ebt36]
’ū (~ *ũ*) eat [Mhf]
  ’ūsi edible [Mhf]
  ’ū ’ū fruitful [Mhf]
  ’ūkahāb beggar [Mhf]
  ’ūkx’ai habahaib table [Mhf]
’ūb food [Mhf]
’ūb edible wild bulb (perhaps simply ‘food’) [Lld]
’ubu blunt, not sharp [Ebt28]
’uī stare closely at, study [Mhf]
’ui ’uib (~ *’ue ’ueb*) cheek (of face) [Mhf]
’um (~ ’om) sew (Xhosa –*chumsa*) [Mhf]
’um dip, immerse [Mhf]
’ūrikurukx’aob (~ ’uri) smith, metal-worker [Mhf]
’ūruba forgive [Mhf]

Palato-alveolar clicks, delayed aspirated

hã rare [Mhf]

hã push, press [Ebt28, Lld]

    hã hã push in [Ebt28]

    hã goa push away, off [Ebt28]

haba (~ haba) flat, broad, wide [Mhf]

habab 'baster gemsbok' [Lld**]**

hai visible, open [Mhf]

    hãi hãi (~ *hẽi hẽi*) announce, reveal openly [Mhf]

Hai xas June [Wrs]

hana crawl (as baby) [Lld]

hane obstruct, interfere, impede (perhaps same as **hani**) [Mgd67]

hani prevent, hinder, get in the way of [Mhf]

hanu correct, right, in good order [Mhf]

    hanub correctness [Mhf]

    hanusa (~ -se) straight [Mhf]

    hanusedī correct, put in good order [Mhf]

    hanusedīb person who puts things in good order [Mhf]

    hanu hanu correct, put in good order [Mhf]

haob sorrel (suring), cooked and preserved to be eaten in winter with milk [Ebt36]

harib bluebush (*bloubos*) [Mhf]

hau slap, hit (with hand) [Mhf]

haukā yawn [Mhf]

hã gaibi forked aiming stick (*mikstok*) (note Nama *hã* 'forked (of a stick)', *âibasen* 'take aim') [Lld]

hẽi hẽi (~ **hãi hãi**) announce, reveal openly [Mhf]

hiras hyena [Lld]

hōs (~ **hōs**) womb, placenta [Mhf, Ebt28]

hõa report, bring news [Mhf]

    hõab (< ' *hoãm*') news [Wrs]

    hoakx'am reply, respond, answer [Mhf]

    hoa hõa answer [Ebt28]

hoas scrub hare (*kolhaas*) (*Lepus saxatilis*) [Lld]

hõam (~ **hõab/s/i**) wildcat [Mhf]

hobesa unclear [Mhf]

hoe weep, cry bitterly [Mhf]

hoekx'au slander maliciously, tell lies about someone [Mhf]

horo (< ' *horro*') blister, form blisters [Wrs]

horokx'ob frog [Mhf, Lld]

hū collect, fetch, gather (?) (possibly variant of **hao**) [Ebt36]

hus mole (animal) [Wrs]

hubi burn, ('light fire' [Wrs]) (Ouma Jacoba Maclear has **hubib** for 'fire') [Mhf]

hũib Cape willow, bush-willow, wood used for carving vessels (*Salix mucronata*) [Mhf]

    hũidanis 'willow-honey', sticky substance obtained from leaves of willows after rain, could be used as sugar source for honey-beer [Ebt36]

hums locust, grasshopper [Mhf]

Palato-alveolar clicks, aspirated (~ fricated)

xā (~ **xā**) oppose, deny, refuse, prevent, contradict, say 'no' [Mhf]

    xā 'ã refuse (?) [Mgd67]

Xābā xās June [Mhf]

xabu (~ abu, habu) tired, weak, feeble [Mhf]

    xabusa tired [Mhf]

xai wake up [Mhf]

xai (~ *xi*) shine, flash, sparkle, gleam [Mhf, Lld]

xãib (~ ' *xẽim*' [Wrs]) peace [Mhf]

    xãi 'a slaughter, sacrifice for reconciliation [Mhf]

    xãi xãi reconcile (make peace) [Mhf]

xam (~ xam) young [Mhf]

    xambiridai small young goat, kidling (with diminutive **-da**) [Mhf]

xam xam break up, smash [Mhf]

xam!xonas smallpox [Mhf]

xanis (~ xanib) book [Mhf]

xani xãb new moon [Mhf]

xankua clothing [Mhf]

xanu slip, slide [Mhf]

    xanu (~ *xaũnũ*) smooth, slippery, polished [Mhf]

    xanusa slippery [Mhf]

    xanu xanu polish, smoothe [Mhf]

xarab stone of fruit, kernel [Ebt36]

xaragub male sheep, ram [Mhf]

xaramāb bull (Meinhof says **ma** a contraction of **goma**) [Mhf]

xari aib tobacco variety, ('small smoke'), 'broad leaf, medium height, strong' (perhaps 'small leaf') [Ebt36]

xarob (~ 'arob) thorny sp. (wag-'n-bietjiebos) [Ebt36]

xaru continue, last [Mhf]

xau smear, anoint [Mhf]

xau berry (bush and plant), sweetish, could cause acute constipation [Ebt36]

xi (~ xai) flash, sparkle [Lld]

xob kernel, stone, pit (of fruit) [Mhf]

xōb (~ kōb, khōb) bone [Ebt28]

xodi (~ kai xodi) thighs [Lld]

xō resemble, liken to, compare [Mhf]

xoa against (be), oppose, dislike [Mhf]

xoab elephant [Mhf]

xom (~ xum) shave, barber [Mhf]

xon sweet [Mhf]
      xon xūb sweet-thorn acacia (*soetdoring, Vachellia karroo*), 'inner bark soaked, pounded, twisted to make cordage', seeds dried and roasted for use as coffee [Ebt36]

xōnthamab (< ' *xonthamab*') sweetmelon, watermelon [Mhf]

xu extract, take out [Mhf]

xūb (~ xum) brain (see also **!hūb**) [Mhf]

Xū 'ōb hām April [Wrs]

xum (~ xom) shave, barber (see also **om** and **xā**) [Mhf]

Palato-alveolar clicks spelled with a following letter 'k'

The words listed below are a subset of the aspirated ~ fricated clicks, and were written with a following letter 'k' by Engelbrecht in his early work (1928) on Kora. They were probably only very lightly aspirated in the speech of his first consultants.

kā (~ xa) refuse [Ebt28]

kabib cushion, pillow (leather) [Ebt28]

kāi content (be) [Ebt28]
      kāidī satisfy, make happy [Ebt28]
      kāi āi satisfy, make happy [Ebt28]

kamsa (~ xam) young [Ebt28]

kanis (~ xanis) book, letter [Ebt28]

kanu (~ xanu) smooth (be) [Ebt28]

karagūb (~ xara) ram [Ebt28]

karukx'aib (~ -xēb) palate, roof of mouth [Ebt28]

karamab (~ anamāb, xara-) bull [Ebt28]

kau smear [Ebt28]

kō (~ xō) compare [Ebt28]

kōb (~ xōb) bone [Ebt28]

kōs (~ xūb) brains [Ebt28]

koab/s (~ xoab/s) elephant [Ebt28]

kom (~ xum) cut, shave [Ebt28]

kon (~ xon) sweet [Ebt28]
      kon gāb sweetgrass [Ebt28]

kones, kone 'aub fish spp. without barbels [Ebt28]

Kuni na xām February [Wrs]

kurub (~ kx'urub) vein, artery [Ebt28]

Palato-alveolar clicks with ejected uvular affrication

kx'ao pick up [Mhf]
      kx'aokhasi raise, hoist [Mhf]

kx'ara (~ kx'ara) vomit, spit up [Mhf]

kx'arab kernel, pit, stone of fruit [Mhf]

kx'ari split, burst, break in two (?) (see **noa kx'ari**) (note Nama *khare* 'split, burst (intransitive) [Lld]

kx'āukua wild cherry, Khoi cherry (Meinhof says *Cassine maurocenia* or *Maurocenia capensis* (now *Maurocenia frangularia*, endemic Cape peninsula and west coast up to Saldanha)) [Mhf]
      kx'au gum bushy sp. (taaibos) [Lld]

kx'ōb salt [Mhf, Lld]
      kx'ō'o tasteless [Mhf]
      kx'oxasa salty [Mhf]

kx'oa (~ koa) emerge, go or come out, go forth [Mhf]
      kx'oaxa (~ kx'oa, kx'oaxa) emerge from [Mhf]

kx'onib worm, caterpillar [Mhf]
      hō onib multi-coloured caterpillar sp. [Ebt28]

kx'ū tame [Mhf]
      kx'ū kx'ū tame (make tame) [Mhf]

kx'ummi heat, hot [Mhf]

kx'urub vein, artery [Mhf]

Palato-alveolar clicks with prenasalisation

na leak (as vessel), pour out (intransitive) [Mhf]

      naxudī (~ **naxuri**), **naxusi** [Wrs, JM]) pour out, away [Mhf]

      na 'ari (~ **kx'ari**) put fire out, extinguish (by pouring on water) [Mhf]

      na am pour over, on to [Mgd32]

nā kick, dance [Mhf

      nāgu (~ **nagu)** kick-fight [Mhf]

      nākx'am beat, pound (of heart) [Mhf]

      nā!am kick dead [Mhf]

      nāxu surpass, exceed [Mhf]

nã dry out [Lld]

      'oa nã dry out in the wind, as when making meat into biltong [Lld]

nabab loin-cloth [Mhf]

nabas hare sp. (mountain hare) [Lld]

nabaris lizard, rock lizard, *koggelmander*, agama [Ebt28]

      naboros lizard*, geitjie*, skink [Ebt28]

nae sing (see also **nae**) [Kby]

nai seize cattle as spoil, reive, rustle [Mhf]

nai trim, fix shoe [Mhf]

nais (~ *neis*) dove [Mhf]

naidab (~ *naitab, neitap, nirab, netab,* **naidab**) baboon [Mhf, Lld]

      naidab 'aribes edible wild bulb, like small yellow potato, eaten raw, (baboon-*kalkoentjie*) [Ebt36]

nam whistle (with mouth) [Mhf]

namma kaross, cloak of jackal or sheepskin, or ox-hide (Swati *sichama*) [Mhf, Ebt36]

nami around [Mhf]

namū baptise [Mhf]

nam nabēb scorpion, small sp. [Mhf]

nan make fire (by striking flint) (see also **na**) [Mhf]

nanu reach, obtain (Mhf has question mark) [Mhf]

nau (~ *nou*) hit, strike (see also **hau**) (Ouma Jacoba Maclear gives for 'make fire') [Mhf]

      nauhaisa hit with stick [Ebt28]

      naukx'ai slap [Ebt28]

nautsi norab sword (Xhosa *ingcola* 'long-necked, short-bladed assegaai') [Mhf]

      nau am beat to death, strike dead [Ebt36]

      nau kx'abu kx'abu beat to a pulp [Ebt36]

nau nā 'go away, depart' (?) (Meinhof has as alternative for **nau nā**) [Mhf, Lld]

na na make fire (by striking flint) (see also **nan**) [Mhf]

neis (~ **nais**) dove, turtle-dove [Mhf]

nenib (< **nainib**?) pipe oil, dottle, resinous tar residue in pipe [Ebt36]

noa punch, lob stones at, shoot at (with arrows) [Mhf]

      noagu strike, fight with (reciprocal extension –**gu**) [Mhf]

      noagoa shoot to pieces [Ebt28]

      noa 'umsa punch, box [Ebt28]

      noa kx'ari strike so as to split (?) [Lld]

nõab/s/i (~ **nõab/s/i**), (~ ' *noãm*' [Wrs]) calf, young of cow [Mhf]

noasi make be seated [Mhf]

nona sitting (? < **nũ na**) (see **nũ**) [Mhf]

nou (~ **nau**) hit (see also **hau**) [Mhf, Ebt36]

nũ black [Mhf]

      nũgaob wildebeest (name means 'black', but animal identified as 'blue') [Ebt28]

      nũmūs pupil of eye [Mhf]

      nūso õab medicine known as '*swartstorm*'

      nūxatse āibeb rinkhals (snake) [Ebt28]

      nũ hũgab hyena (*swart wolf*) [Ebt28]

      nũ hō pied, with black dominant (of goats and cattle) (*swartbont*) [Ebt28]

      nũ 'aub barbel, carp [Ebt28]

      Nu xãs May (note Robert Gordon's record of '*noe khaas*' 'black month')[11] [Wrs]

      Nũ garib Gariep (Orange River), lit. 'Black River' [Ebt28]

      nũ onas smallpox (?) (*swartpokkies*) [Ebt28]

      nũ nama black with white belly (animal coat pattern) (*swart-witpens*) [Ebt28]

nū 'ōb edible wild bulb, 'black, long
and round, size of thumb' [Ebt28]
nū hiras brown hyena (strandwolf)
(*Hyaena brunnea*) (Lld]
nū (~ nu) sit, sit down (Xhosa *ngcú*
(ideophone) 'of sitting perched up high')
[Mhf]
nūi cause to sit [Lld]
nūkx'āis chair [Mhf]
nūsab/s king, chief [Mhf]
nūsasib xu 'ūb kingdom [Mhf]
nūbhaib tree at the centre of a
chief's homestead or settlement,
meeting tree (*werfboom*) (see also
hao-) [Ebt36]
nubi (~ *nibi*) spleen [Mhf]

nubi kx'aib anthrax ('spleen sickness')
[Ebt36]
num laugh ('smile' [Wrs]) [Mhf]
num coals [Mhf]
numī (~ numī) twist, turn, wind [Mhf]
nūse during, since (?) [Mhf]

Endnotes

1   Lucy C. Lloyd, "Manuscript notebooks
on Kora [1879]," Kora notebook MP2,
22.

2   Carl Wuras gives a questionable folk
etymology for the name of this month as
"the excrements make boiling month",
in his *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache*

[1858], ed. Walther Bourquin (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*: Suppl. 1) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Hamburg: C. Boysen, 1920), 47.

3   Lloyd, "Manuscript notes on star names in Xam and Kora, obtained from Asin [1874]," Xam notebook BC_151_A2_1049, 3901–3907.

4   Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, transl. Anne Plumptre (London: Henry Colburn, 1815), vol 2, Appendix, fn.

5   In Andrew B. Smith and Roy H. Pheiffer, "Col. Robert Jacob Gordon's notes on the Khoikhoi 1779–80" *Annals of the South African Cultural History Museum* 5, no. 1 (1992), 1–56.

6   Hendrik Wikar, *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)* ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 140–141.

7   Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 265.

8   Ella Margaret Shaw and Nicolaas Jacobus van Warmelo, *The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni: Personal and General* (*Annals of the South African Museum* 58, part 4) (Cape Town: South African Museum, 1988), 518.

9   George Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa (part 1),* ed. Vernon S. Forbes (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1967), 120

10   In Wuras, *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache*, 11.

11   See note 7 above.

English – Kora index

A

aardwolf ib
abba-kaross (baby sling) haneb
abdomen (lower) 'õbāb
above 'amka
absent xaisa, hã tama
acacia species: *See Special List 3*
accuse kx'ana
accustomed, used to 'ankx'ai
ache, be sore, hurt thũ
Adam's apple kx'ārāb
add to koko
admire, be amazed buru
adze haba 'ams
after thoakx'ai
afternoon 'ui kx'aeb, 'uri
afternoon, evening 'uib
again, a second time am ã
again, also xāba
agent mãbasakhoeb/s
alive kx'ũi
all hoa, hoase, horaka
all, the whole of kob
allow mãkx'am
almighty hoa aikua
almost anixase
alone ona, guise
alter, change dī xoni
although, nevertheless xabe
always nika
always, eternally hoa kx'aekua
amid, between 'aigu (*postposition*)
among, in na (*postposition*)
amused (be) sõe
and tsĩ (~ tsi, thi, ti, tĩ)
and i, ī (~ ĩ)
and then ī ko (~ ī ho)
anger, wrath xõb
anger, annoy, enrage xõ xõ
angry (be) 'ã, xõ
angry xansa, hāxa, thũ aokx'ai, xo aokx'ai
animal names: *See Special List 2*
ankle, ankle bone orob
anklet rattles xororokua

announce, make known 'an 'an, hãi hãi(xa)
annoy, worry, tease nora
annoyed, upset, heartsore thũthũsen
answer, give reply hoa hõa, hoakx'am
ant (various small species) omborob, kx'anim
anteater gōxum, goxomab
anthill, termite heap ams
anthrax nubi kx'aib
antidote 'oa 'oab
appoint, set mĩmãsi
approximately thãse
April Xũ 'ōb hām
arise, wake khãi
arm 'õab
arm (upper part) xũi
around nami
arrange, put in place mãsi
arrange, set in order dī hanu
arrive sī na, ũ oxa
arrived (have) oāxa
arrow 'āb
as if, seeming khama
ascend, climb 'aba
ash thaob
ask tĩ (~ tẽ)
assemble, collect, meet hau (*intransitive verb*)
at diba (~ daba), kx'ai (*postposition*)
at, on top of 'amka (*postposition*)
attach, fasten, stick on to 'ai
August Xạuka ununu, Awa xãm
autumn Xaris
avenge dī 'akx'am
awake xai
awl, bodkin, needle 'orob
axe 'ōs
axe-handle 'ō nām-

B

baboon naidab/s/i
baby sling, abba-kaross haneb
back (of body) kx'āb
back, behind, last ause (*adverb*)
backbone, small of back, ridge hurib

bad   kx'orexa, 'au (~ gaosa), thūsa, asi
bad, evil-hearted   asi ao
bad omen (be)   goa goa
bag, leather sack for curdled milk   'abab
bag, sack, pouch   hōb
bald-head, blaze (of animal)   āb
baptise   namũ (~ namũ̃)
barbel, carp   nū 'aub
bare, empty   'ō
barefoot   'ō 'ai
bark, bay, howl   hū
bark, husk, rind   sorob
barter, trade   'āmā
base for buchu powder   'aeb (~ aeb)
basket (large)   hās
basket (small)   harub
be   a (*aspectual marker, copula in present and future tenses*)
be   i (~ ī) (*aspectual marker, copula in past tenses*)
bead types and strings of:
   bead necklace   akarab
   bead ornament   'aib
   bead string (ostrich eggshell)   nuib
   bead strings worn round body   kx'ams
   beads (large), necklace of   kx'ammi
   beads (mixed), string of   'ariakarab
   large glass (black, blue, green)   xams
   small, wood or stone   kx'aib
   very small, different colours   kx'ais
beans, of elandsboontjie   tsililikua
beard, moustache   numma
beat (of heart)   nākx'am
beat, strike, hit   nau
because   tu'i (?)
because, on account of   nāmaka, hētihi
bed-mat (leather)   oaba
bee   uīb
bee species   sabib
beer (honey)   xaris
beestings, colostrum   hammi
before, in front of, facing   kx'ai 'a
beg   ona
beggar   onakx'aob, 'ũkahāb
begin   thõathõa
behind, after   ause (*adverb*)
behind, back of   ã (*postposition*)
believe   om
belly, paunch   xabas (?)

below   thoa, naka
bend, bow   gam gamsen
bend knee, kneel   hon
berries   gananaka (~ gararakua)
berry bush species: *See Special List 3*
between   kx'aigu (*postposition*)
big   kai
bird (general)   kx'anis
bird names: *See Special List 2*
birth   õaēb
bite   bā
bitter   kx'au
bitterbos   gumma
black   nū
blacksmith   karokx'aob
blameless, innocent   habi'osa
blesbok   naberib
bless   xai
blessing, mercy, gospel   xaib, xais
blind   hamkx'ai
blink, wink   ts'uts'u
blinkklip (specularite)   haib
blister, form blisters   horo (*intransitive verb*)
blister, lump, swelling   hubub
blister beetle (*Mylabris* species)   nabos
blood   'aob
bloukop-koggelmander   'uixexoeb
blow (as wind)   om
blow (with mouth)   nasi (~ nasi)
blow (as when playing wind instrument)   xãe (~ xãi)
blue, grey, roan   noa
blue wildebeest   noagoab
blue-bush (*bloubos*)   harib
blunt   'ubu
body, side   xāb
boil, simmer, cook   ũ (*intransitive verb*)
boil   ũ ũ (*transitive verb*)
bone   xōb
book, letter   xanis (~ xanib)
boomslang   'urub, xurub
born (be)   nae
bosom, breast   thamkx'arib
bow (hunting and musical)   khās
bow, musical (types of):
   multiple strings over resonator   gutses
   mouth bow, non-attached resonator
      gabus

cheat, deceive huri xaru
check all around   oa
cheek (of face) tampanib, ʼui ʼuib
cheetah xurukub, ʼarurub, kxʼaururub
chickenpox gam onas
chief, ruler, judge gaokxʼaob/s
chief's co-counsellor ('chief's right-hand')
    gaokxʼaob(di kxʼam) õab
chief's deputy ('under-chief')
    nakamãgaokxʼaob
child, offspring õab/s/i
child, very young person   ʼōb/s/i
chin anna
chisel, adze (noun)   haba ʼams
choir, ensemble performers
    xō naekxʼona
choose, select kxʼõa kxʼoasi
churn nubu (*verb*)
churn nubu hoeb (*noun*)
chyme (intestinal contents)   harab
clan ʼaib/s
clan names: *See Special List 1*
claw, fingernail   orob
clay, mud   oas
clean, pure   ʼanu
clean, wash (clothes)   uru uru
clean self khosen
cleanse   ʼanu ʼanu
clever, wise gā(sa), gākxʼaī
cleverness gāb
cliff   nō nōb
climb   ʼaba, ʼama
climber (plant species) haikuadoras
cloak (soft, used for burials) gārēb
cloak, kaross   namma
close up something gabakxʼam
cloth xaib
clothes tanikua, xankua, xankua
cloud, sky   hommi
coals num-
cobra (*geelslang*)   hai ʼaob
cold xai, ʼausa
cold (noun), coolness xaib, ʼaub
cold, cooled down (be) xai xaie
collect, gather, assemble   hau hau
collect honey sam
colour ʼūb
come hā
come out from   kxʼoaxa

comfort (verb) thamtham ao
command mĩba
commandments, rules, prohibitions   xaeb
compare xō
conceal, hide gaugau
condemn, accuse, judge   ora
conductor, leader of flute ensemble
    performance   xo na ausab
conquer bā
conqueror bākxʼaob
consider ʼãi ʼãisen
consult kxʼabebagu
container (tortoise-shell) ʼurus
contemplate, consider, think over
    ʼãi ʼãisen
content, happy ãi(x)a ao
continue, last, endure xaru
contradict ʼoa ʼoa
cook, boil gũ (*intransitive verb*)
cook sãsi (*transitive verb*)
cord, string thurib
correct, put in good order hanusedī,
    hanu hanu
correct, right, in good order (be) hanu
correctness hanub
cosmetic, face-paint gukxʼunubis
cough ʼui
count gõa, kxʼā
counting game gabes
country, land, earth hūb
cousin, nephew, niece nulib/s
cover thōm am, ū (*transitive verb*)
crack (a whip) goa
crane (bird) hoar nān, xuruxurub,
    hanumu noab
crave, long for xorē
crawl, as baby hana
cream kxʼabub
create, make kuru
creator (divine), mythological being
    Tsui õab
creator, inventor kurukxʼaob
creature, creation kuruxub
creep, crawl away doni
creep, stalk (as hunter) xuri
creep, stir, flutter kun(kun)
creep out from kunxu
creeper (sp. plant) ʼorob
crest, crown haeb
crippled (be) hora

crook, scoundrel hõagaob
crooked hoa na, hoa, gau, gama
crow (black) hamxorab
crow (white-collared) gorāb
cry, scream kx'ā
cunning, smart guixa(sa)
cup, drinking vessel kx'ā 'ores
cure (heal) person kx'ora, nebi
cure, tan (hide) nolo
curl up hunkhoba
current (in river) hūm-
curse, swear goe
cushion, pillow (leather) abib
cut ao,
cut apart ao ā
cut away, trim aobē
cut hide circularly, for thongs hari
cut off ai
cut off small piece, cut out thongs sō
cut throat (of animal, for sacrifice)
    aoxodom, xaodom
cut up, chop xao
cut, shave xum (~ xom)
cutter, leather-worker aokx'aob

D
dagga, hemp, cannabis 'amaxab
daily hoatsēkua
dance ai (*verb*)
dance aīb (*noun*)
dancing, of women to the flute aru
dappled, variegated, painted garu
dark (become) xai
darkness, evening, night xaib
dassie kx'āus
daughter õas
dawn goa abab
day tsēb
day after tomorrow oabab ãkx'ai
daily hoatsēkua
dazzle (of sun's rays) soresdi xãi- (*noun, gender unknown*)
dead xaisa (*euphemism,* 'departed')
death 'ōb
debate, orate kobakx'ao
December Ausimã xãb (~ Ausema harre xām)
deceive, trick gãgā
declare, explain nā 'a

decorate, paint or mark with ornamental designs 'u 'u
deep hoa!na, hoa na, am ã
defeat, conquer bā (~ bã)
delay, neglect hanisen
deliver (send something) sī na
deliver, rescue, redeem oreba
dent (in metal) abo-, am-
deny xa (~ xa)
depart, leave, go away xu
descend, go down, get down gõa
descent, lineage nuaba
desert (noun), arid veld 'aukarob
desert, flee, run away kx'oe
desire, want, lack, need tura
desire, want, wish ao
desist from doing dīxu
deurmekaarbos alib
dew am kx'āb (~ 'āb)
die 'ō
die of starvation, poverty kx'aro 'ō
different, other xara
dig khao (~ khau)
dig into, as with spade hā
digging stick hāhaib, kx'ākhaos (*lit.* 'sharp digger', avoidance term?)
digging stick weight (bored stone) hares
dip, immerse 'um
direct, arrange kx'unu
dirty kx'uri kx'uri, kx'uri
dirty, make dirty kx'uri kx'uri
disease, illness, sickness 'aeb
disease (of sheep, *brandsiekte***)** garos
disobey nãu 'oa
dissatisfied (be) ha huimũ
ditch, sloot, river gãb, 'ab
divide ū 'ā
divide, share out mã 'ã
do, make dī
do for dība
do wrong, be guilty habi
doctor, sorcerer aixāb
dog arib/s
dog (large breed, domesticated for hunting) Ora'alina (~ arina)
donate gaumã
door kx'amxab (~ kx'amma)
door, lane kx'am 'āb
doubt, be doubtful ĩka aē

Douglas   'Ommikx'ami (*name of town*)
dove, turtle-dove   nais, xai nabus
down from   õasi
dowse, extinguish (as fire), dry up (as water)   kx'ari
dragonfly   am xurib
draw, drag, pull   ae
draw water   kx'aro
dream   habōb, 'um xoab (*noun*)
dream   'om xoā (*verb*)
dress (verb)   xansen, ae aesen, ana
driedoring   hau
drift, float   ama
drink   kx'ā
drive, push   doē a
drive away   abē
drought   xurub
drum   xais
drunk, inebriated   oro
dry , as vegetables, meat   'ō 'ō (*verb*)
dry up, as water   kx'ari
dry up, wither, shrivel   'ō (~ 'ō)
dry, arid earth   'ōsa hūb
duiker (antelope) (*platduiker*)   garos
dummy calf   gūkhurub (~ kharob)
dung (dried)   kx'arub
dung (wet)   hāub
during   nũse (?)
dust   tharab
duty   dīb
duwweltjie thorn   hanib
dwell, live, settle   'an
dwelling place   'ān xaib, 'an 'ās

E
eager   kx'oasa
eagerness   kx'oasab
eagle   kai nās
ear   nãub
early   oakaka
earth   hūb
east   sorebna oaxa xāb
easy, light   subu
easy, light   suī
eat   'ũ
edge, rim   kx'am
edible   'ũsi
edible gum   harab, 'amareb
edible wild bulbs: *See Special List 3*

edible wild cucurbit   khãs
edible wild root   guxutsēb
edible wild root   ari 'aib
edible wild root (long, white)   dīxatseb
eight   xaisi
eighteen   xaisi kx'a
eland   xans
elephant   xoāb
elephant's foot plant (*elandsboontjie*)   'a 'ab
eleven   ui kx'a
emerge from, rise (as sun)   kx'oaxa
empathise   thãba
empty   'ō nā
encircle, surround   han
encounter, meet   ui au
end   'amma
endless   'am'o
endure, suffer   thũkxamē, thũ xa
enemy   kx'au'i
engrave, scratch, write   xoa
enough   'ãusa
enough (have), be sated   'ã
enrich   xū xū
enter, go in   'ã
equal, same as, similar to   khama
err, make mistake, get lost   habu
estimate, valuation   'ãixūb (*noun*)
evening   'uib
evil spirit   gaunab
exceed   'amkuba
exhausted   ai
expand, swell   khoba
explain   oesi 'a
extinguish   kx'ari, na 'ari
extol, praise   gare
extract   xu
eye   mũb
eyebrow   aub

F
face, surface   kx'aib
face-paint, cosmetic   hobos
fail to do correctly, err, make mistake   dīsa
fall   nā
fall down   oē na
family (extended), kin group   haos
family, offspring, children   õagub

far away   nū(ga)se
fasten   abu
fasten with knot   hũ
fasten, tie up, bind, load, pack   hau
fasten, tie, load   !ai
fasten, load up, pack (as on to raft)   !nao
fat (be)   'au(sa), kau
fat (melted)   nuib
father   abob, ĩb
father, ancestor   ũb
fat-tailed sheep   Oragus
fear   'ao (*verb*)
fear   'aos (*noun*)
fearful, afraid   'aosa, huri hurixa
feast   arib
feather   'amma
February   Uni na xam
feeble, weak   xabusa
feed, take animals to graze   ũn 'ũ
feel (cause to)   thãthã
feel, try, test   thã
fence, hedge, screen   nub
festival, holiday   kaitsēb
fetch, bring   ūhã
fever   xais
few   kx'oro
fieldmouse (*streepmuis*)   aus
fight   'ãgu, 'ãgu (*verb*)
fight   'ãgub (*noun*)
fight, make war   xãugu
fight with feet, kick-box   nũa
fight with fists, box   'um noagu
file off, neaten, trim   xũ na
fill up   kx'oa kx'oa
finch   'ākx'anis
find   hō
finger   xunub
fingernail, claw   orob
finish, complete   toa (~ dītoa)
finish, run out, expire, be exhausted   horo
fire   'aeb
fire-drill   haidoros
firewood   'aekua
firewood, kindling   āhaib
first   kx'aise
first quarter of moon   naikx'ima xãb
fish   'aub/s
fish species (without barbels)   ones,
    one 'aub

fist   'ums
five   koro
flame   khabu
flash, as lightning   taba
flash, sparkle, shine, glitter, dazzle   xai
flat, broad, wide   haba
flea   'aitab
flee, fly, run   doē, hã
flog, beat   ōã, nau
flow, gush, as spring   hui
flow, stream   ãmã
flower   gorāb/s
flower tassle (yellow) of acacia thorn
    harēb
**flutes (consort of individual monotone
    reed-flutes)**   'ādi
> *flute names (individual) for 4-flute
>   consort:*
> **1** ō ōs
> **2** namis
> **3** kai 'ās (tonic note (1) according to
>   some consultants)
> **4** tuxana
> *flute names (individual) for 6- or
>   7-flute consort:*
> **1** o os (~ ō ōs)
> **2** goatoab (largest, 'roars')
> **3** gamas (~ *gomas*) (bass, few feet
>   long)
> **4** hũis (higher pitch, together with
>   *gamas* makes up the *kai 'ākua*)
> **5** aros
> **6a** kx'ā 'ās (according to some
>   consultants)
> **6b** ūbis or 'ulīs) (according to other
>   consultants)
flutter, move, creep   kun(kun)
fly (insect)   ganãb
fly, flee, run away   doē, !xoe, hã
foam   goab
fog, mist   taurab, daurab, homs
fold up, put together   hun
follow   sao, ũsao 'ã, ũ kx'ai kx'ai
following, next (year)   hisi
food   'ũb
foolish, feeble, weak   xabu (~ habu)
foolish, stupid   autje
foot   'aib
forbid, oppose, deny   xa, xa
ford (cross river)   xanu

ford, bridge   gaos, xanub
forehead   kx'ūb, 'ūkx'ams
foremilk (from cow)   kx'aibīb
forget   xam
forgive   'ŭruba (~ 'ŭruba)
forgive, allow   xuba
former, long past, formerly   hētsurika, hētsēka
four   haka
four times   haka nadi
fragrant powder, buchu powder   sãb
free for   orēba
free oneself   orēsen
frequently   oa kx'aikua
friend   'oma(khoe)b (~ 'uma)
friendliness   'oma 'ā-
friendly   'uma 'ã, 'uma 'uma
friendship   'umagub
fright   hurib
frighten someone   huri huri
frightened, fearing   huri, 'ao
frightening   huri hurixa, 'ao 'aoxa
frog   'ubereb, goberib, horokx'ob
from   xu (*postposition, associated with postnominal –a*)
frost, snow   abāb, xoab
frozen   aba'abasa
fruit species   narob
fruit species (bitter-apple)   noas
fruitful   'ŭ 'ŭ
full (be, as pot)   kx'oa(sa)
full (too)   kx'oa na
full moon   hae kx'ãs
full-grown   kaikai
fuss, make noise   ha
futile, in vain   ākx'aiba

G
gall   thābab
gallop   ui nuwu, !ore
games:
    counting game   gabes
    pick-up seeds   gibigu
    guessing game (which hand object is hidden in)   hais
    kleilat   dzoro noagu
    mancala   hūs
    spearing (of rolling target)   thama 'ãigu

game, wild animals   xamaren
gaol, prison   haukx'omma
garden   samob, hānāb
gargle   obo
Gariep (Orange River)   Nū garib
garments, clothing in general   tanikua, xankua
    garment for lower body, worn by men   hãib (~ gaib)
    garment for lower body, worn by women   xabib
    headcloth   !xaib
    headdress   haeb
    headdress (soft, could be wrapped)   gārēb
    headdress, cap, hat   abas
    headdress, hat   hais
    headdress, of men   hã hais
    headdress, of women (tasseled)   hare abas
    kaross, cloak   namma
    sandal, shoe   habob
    wraparound skirt, worn by women   ūb
gather, collect, assemble   hau hau (*intransitive verb*)
gather, collect   dī hau hau (*transitive verb*)
gather fruit, berries   hare
gather, pick up small items   xoro
gathering, collection, assemblage   hŭb
gemsbok   ais, xaib
genet   dzoa, 'arob
get up early   goaga khãi
get down, climb off, dismount   õaxa
ghee, melted butter   xurubeb
gifbol   xarob
giraffe   naib
gird, girdle (a horse)   'aisen
girl's coming of age ceremony   habab
give   mã, au
give away   mãxu
give boy a cow of his own   noba
give portion of, share out   mã 'ã
give to   mãba
glow-worm   biri kana
glue, mastic   thāb
gnu, wildebeest   gaob
go   ŭ, ī, ãu
go around   ŭ nammi
go away   bē, nau na
go backwards   ŭbikx'oa

go for, fetch   ũba
go over   ŭ na
go through   xaru, xaru
go to (and reach), arrive, go and   sī
go up and down, rock   nabubē
goat   birib/s/i
goat (male)   xarabirib
goat (small young)   xambirida'i
God, Creator   Thui Gõab
gone, lost   bēsa
good, beautiful, nice, fine   ãi
good, pretty, beautiful, fine   ĩsa
goose   gãs
gospel   xaib
grain, corn, bread   horob
grandfather   naob
grass (general)   ãb
grass for thatching (*dekgras*)   nani gãb
grass species (*kweekgras*)   'are gãb
grateful (be)   xon̲
grave (burial place)   hōbāb
graze, feed (as animal)   'ŭ
great, big   kai
greedy   hari
green   kx'am
greet   nabē
grey, blue   noa
grey hair   noab
grieve, weep   sĩ
grind (with stones)   xon
grind fine   noro
Griqua people   Xirikuana
groan   aē
ground, earth   hūb
ground squirrel (*Xerus setosus*)   e nāb
groundcover (plant sp.)   'urub
grow beard   num (?)
grow, flourish (of plants)   hao
grysbok   'aris
guard, take care of something valuable
   dãsen
guilt, fault   habib
guilty   habixa(sa)
guinea fowl   ae nub/s
gum (edible, from acacias)   harab
gums (of mouth)   gũxugu
gun   'abus
gunpowder   'abuxurub
gurgling (of water)   dubudubu

H
hailstorm   nanna
hair   'ũb
half-full   nabu
hammer   'arēs
hammerhead bird   'ases, hams
hand   'ommi
handle (of axe)   'ō nam
handle (of spear), shaft   kõahaib
handsome, beautiful   ĩsa
hang around neck (as necklace)   ā
hang up   amãsi
happen   ī ko
happy   ãixa, ãixa ao
hard   karo
harden   karokaro
hardened   karokaro
hard, tough   karosa
hard-veld (karoo)   'aukarob
hard, heavy   'om
hardebos   autsamab
hare species   'õas
hare species (mountain hare)   nabas
harsh, rough   ōsa
harslag (portion of meat)   'aob
hartebeest   xamab/s/i
hastily, quickly   sũse, kx'ai'osē
hat (worn by men)   hã hais
hat (tassled, worn by women)   hare abas
hate   kx'ui, gao na
hateful, horrible   kx'uixa-a
have   ūhã
hawk   kx'aub
hawk, eagle, raptor species   khaurub
he   'ãib
head   mũ 'ãb
headdress (types of)   haeb, !xaib
     headdress, cap   abas
     headdress, hat   hais
     headdress, of men   hã hais
     headdress, of women (tasseled)
        hare abas
     soft, could be wrapped   gārēb
heal, get well   'o (*intransitive verb*)
heal someone   kx'ora, nebi
heap up (as stones)   oro, naromãsi
hear   nau
hear, listen, pay attention   komsen
hear, understand   'ã

heart   aob
heart, lungs and liver, portion of meat (*harslag*)   'aob
heat   kx'ummi
heaven, sky   noa humma, hommi
heavy   'om(sa)
hedgehog   'amiros
heed, listen to   nãu kx'au
heel (of foot)   nõas
heifer   noas
height   guris
heir   'umis
help   hūib (*noun*)
help   hūi (*verb*)
hemp, cannabis, dagga   'amaxab
hen, chicken   kukuru
herbs, wild fruits   xaikx'akua
herd (abundance) of cattle   kx'oasa gomana
here   hēba
hide away, lurk   gau
hide something   gaugau
hide, hunter's shelter   nub (~ nūb)
highlander   urisēmāb
hill, high ground   urib, !ares
hip, haunch   homma
hippopotamus   xaos
hire, employ   gae
hit, strike   nau
hold tight   xōkarokaro
hole, cave   āb, kx'āb
hollow, curved   hoa
home, dwelling place   'an 'ās
homeless   'an xãi'o
homestead, settlement, village   ãub
honey   danis
honey badger   hirseb
honey-beer   xaris, goa xaris
honeycomb   gaub, 'āb
hook, fish-hook   xoāsens
hope   mã ã (*verb*)
horn   nãb
horn for storing butter or fat   go nãb
horse   hāb/s/i
hot (as sun, fire)   amsa
hot, warm (as cloak, but also of emotional state)   kx'õa(sa)
house   kx'ommi
house door   kx'am 'āb

house roof   kx'ommi 'am 'āb
householder, head of house   kx'omkx'aob
how?   hamti?
however, moreover   xabe
humanity   khoesib
humble   hamsa
hundred   kx'arutjisi
hunger   'āb
hungry (be), hunger   'ã
hungry, starving   'ã 'ō
hunt, chase game   hae, hami
hunting dog   gaub
hurriedly   kx'aio'sē
hurry   sũbu, sũse, nua
hurt someone   thuithui
husband   xaib
hyena species: *See Special List 2*

I
I (man)   tire
I, me (man)   –r(e)
I (woman)   tita
I (woman)   –t(a)
I, me (woman)   –te
if, when, since   ō
ignorance   'antamahāb
ill, sick, feverish   kx'aesen
illness, sickness   kx'aeb
in   nā (*postposition*)
indeed, since   kom (*used with clausal-final* o)
inherit   'umi
initiation school   dorob
inside   nābakx'ai
insides, stomach   nāb
instructions, prohibitions, commandments (rules of *doro*)   xaeb
intestine   ũib (~ ũib)
intestines, insides   naxukua
iron   kx'urib
itch, scratch   xon xon

J
jackal species: *See Special List 2*
January   Kx'aisemã hare xãm
javelin   hãikõab
jaw   nanib
jaw (lower)   nanikua
jealous   hā

jealousy hāb
joke xore (verb)
journey ũs
joy, merriment sõem
judge ora (*verb*)
judge orakx'aob (*noun*)
judgement, court of orab
July Hai xãs
jump huri
jump into huri 'ã
jump off, down from huri oa
jump over huri na
jump over, across huri ãu
June Xãbā xãs

K
kambro 'āb
kareebos xareb
karoo 'aukarob
kaross, cloak namma
katbos hũs (~ nuseb)
Katse clan Hõakua 'ais
keep, store, preserve sãu
kernel, pip, stone xob, kx'arab
key gunikxams
Khoi cherry (*Maurocenia frangularia*)
   kx'āukua
kick, dance nā
kick-fight ai, nāgu
kidney xãb/s
kierie, stick 'õas
kill am
kindle, make fire, light khau; nan
king nũsab
kingdom xū 'ũb, nũsasib xu 'ũb
kiss 'oa
klipbok xaisin
klipspringer ui garob
knead xo
knee oab
kneel, bend hun
knife kõas
knife (fine bladed tool) xoakõas
knobkierie baramus (~ garamus)
knock hũ
know 'an
know how, have mastery of kx'ao
knowingly, on purpose 'anabaka
knowledge 'anna

koenskop (meat portion) 'ūs
koggelmander nabaris, 'arokhob
kommandovoël (*dikkop*) kx'ākx'anis
Korana nationhood Orakhoēsib
Korana person Orab/s/i
korhaan (*Otis afra*) har gab (~ har ka kas)
kraal, animal enclosure harab

L
labour (in childbirth) kharo goab
lack, need, seek kx'õa
ladder 'abas
ladle (made from horn of wildebeest)
   hora nãb
lake huri ami gonab
lamb kx'aob/s/i
lame hora
land, field, earth, country hūb
lane, side entrance ankx'ama
language kobab
lark species (*vlakvoël*) tsibes
lark, pipit (*koestervoël*) khurus
larva (aquatic species) ts'units'ēb
late hanase
late (be) hana
laugh kx'ãi, num
law gaos/b
lawless gao'ose
lay egg, bear young kx'õa (~ õa)
lay, make lie goesi
lazy 'obesa
lead 'ā ui (*verb*)
leaf, ear nãub
leak (as vessel), pour out na (*intransitive verb*)
lean against anasen
lean, thin kx'aro(sa)
learn, study xā xāsen
leave, abandon xu
ledge, overhang, cliff ãb, nō nōb,
left hand 'are kx'õab
left (as opposed to right) 'are
leg nūb
leg (lower) haib
leg, thigh tĩb
lend, borrow ubi
length kuihub
lengthen guxuguxu
leopard xoasaob

letter, book xanis
level, flat, broad haba
liar aekx'aob
lick thā
lie (tell untruth) ae
lie down oe
lie in hiding oē kx'am
lie on back ã a
lie, conceal 'oa
lie, falsehood aeb
life kx'ũib
lift, pick up ūkhasi
light, easy subu
light nãb
light up nã nã
light, lamp 'am 'amma
lightning tābāb
like, as, resembling khama
lion xammi
lip (of mouth) kx'amkx'ai
listen, hear, understand 'ã, komsen, nãu
little, small ā
little bird kx'anidab
little finger ātse xunis
little lamb kx'aodab/s/i
little thing, matter, issue, property xudab
live, be alive kx'ũi
lively sũ
liven, make alive sũsũ
liver kx'ãib
living, alive kx'ũesibe
lizard species: *See Special List 2*
load, pack on to something, fasten ai 'aba, !nao
lock door oni ankx'am
locust species nananab
locust, grasshopper hums
loin-cloth nabab
long kuxa
look at aba
look back abakx'oa
look in aba 'ã
look down into aba gõa
look out for, tend, protect (keep watch over) oa(si)
lord, master, man of wealth xūb
lose way, stray, become lost kā, habu, ōdaubxu
lose, drop kāxu

lost kāsa
louse kx'urib
love nãm, 'ã (*verb*)
love 'ãb (*noun*)
lowly, humble hamsa
lump, bump, swelling hubūb
lung soeb
'lynx' (*rooikat*) (*Caracal caracal*) hãb

M
maanhaar jakkals (*aardwolf*) (*Proteles cristata*) gaib/s (~ gib, ib)
mad dãho
mad soesa
maize milib/s
make, create kuru
make, do dī
make fire (by striking flint) na na, nan
make horse trot ai ai
make other xara x'i
male bovid, bull xaramãb
male sheep, ram xaragub
man, adult man kx'ao(khoe)b
man, master kx'aob, kx'aosab
manager, overseer aba 'amkx'aosāb
mancala game hūs
mane haub
mantis nananãb, gaunãb
many, greatly kaise (*adverb*)
many, much, plentiful xoasa (*adjective*)
many, much (very) kai orase
March Guni na xãm
marriage 'āxaib
marrow (of bone) aēb
marry xai 'ãi
master, Englishman hũb/s/i
master, mistress hũ(n)khoeb/s
mat (of reeds) harub
May Nu xās
measure korokoro (~ kororo)
meat kx'ōb
meat portion (*harslag*) 'aob ('heart, liver and lungs')
meat portion (*poenskop*) 'ūs ('forepart of carcass')
meaty, fleshy kx'okx'o
medicine sō oāb
meditate, contemplate, consider, think 'ãi 'ãisen

meerkat (grey) xarab/s
meerkat (red) ãureb
meerkat (yellow) haiseb
meet (go to) ũ oa
meet, encounter ui au
melt (as cooked fat) gobe
melt, dissolve (as frost) thūni
mend, bind together xum
mend, patch daru
mention, gossip gaga
mention, touch on thã xa
mesembryanthemum species (vygie), large purple flowering gabib
mesembryanthemum species (quagga-vygie), large yellow-flowering oire gabib
message sĩbāb
metal-worker, smith ’ũrikurukx’aob
mid, between kx’aigu
midday, noon thē nāb (~ tsē nāb)
mild, soft thamsa
milk bĩb (noun)
milk kx’ao (transitive verb)
milk into mouth kx’ambī
milk left after calves have finished suckling gūbĩb
milking bĩb amma
mirage sorethaub
mirror mũkx’ais
mischievous sora
miss (a shot), err sā
mist daurab; tairab
mist, fog homs
mistake (make), miscalculate kx’abesā
mix, gather, collect hau hau
mock, jeer at xu
mole (animal) hus
monarch, king nũsab/s
Monday Mandax
money marib
mongoose (grey) hau ’eb
mongoose (yellow) haiseb
monkey ’oreb
monkey species (small) xorib
moon, month xãb/s, xam
    new moon xani xãb
    first quarter naikx’ima xãb
    full moon hae xãb
    last quarter, old moon gaida xãm

moonlight xãb(di) nãb
month xãb, xam
    January Kx’aisema hare xãm (‘first flowering of acacias’?)
    February Uni na xãm
    March Gunĩ na xãm
    April Xũ ōb xãm
    May Nu xãs (‘black month’?)
    June Hai xãs (‘yellow month’?)
    July Thuse xãm (~ Hai xãs ‘yellow month’?)
    August Awa xãm (‘red month’?)
    September xauku ũ ũ xãm (‘painted veld’?)
    October Ana hare xãm (‘flowering of camelthorn’?)
    November Kx’aisema hare xãm (‘first flowering of acacias’?)
    December Ausema hare xã (‘last flowering of acacias’?)
moreover, however xabe
morning oab
mosquito tsonoseb
moth species haba ganab
mother ĩs; aitjos
mountain areb; ’uib
mouse (striped) xaus
mouse species thũbeb
mouth kx’amma
move, creep, stir kunkun
move, travel (as wagon) nari
mud, clay oab
muishond, polecat (*Ictonyx zorilla*) kx’araxab
murderer khoe amkx’aob
murmur ’umdom
musical instruments:
    consort of monotone reed-flutes ’ādi
    drum, played by women xais
    musical bow, multiple strings over resonator gutses
    musical bow, non-attached resonator gabus
    musical bow, with mouth-blown quill reed goras
    musical bow, non-attached resonator, string struck with small stick khãs
mythical snake Gõegõe
mythological being, divine creator Thui Gõab

N

nail (of fingers, toes) gorob
naked (be) ʼō xa
name kxʼonna
name, bestow name kxʼonnamā
name, call by ai
nape of neck norob
nape, neck ʼaob
narrow ʼō
nation ʼai nās
navel nēb
nearby, close ūse
neat, nice ĩsa
neck ʼaob
need, desire, want ao
needle, awl ʼorob
nephew, niece, cousin nulib/s
neural spines, portion of meat gāb
never tatsexabe, āsixabe
new ʼāsa
new moon xani xãb
news hoãb
next (year) hisi
nice (make) ãi ãi
nicely, well ĩsase
night thũxub
night, darkness xaib
nine guēsi
No! Hã'ã!
noise, fuss, alarm hāb
nose uib
not tama
not coming hā'osa
not know ʼū
not see mũ'o
notice, observe sãu
November Kxʼaisemā hare xam
now, then ho'o
nowhere xaī'o
number, quantity õab
numbers, numerals kxʼākua
    1 ui
    2 am
    3 !nona
    4 haka
    5 koro
    6 !nani
    7 hãukxʼū
    8 xaisi
    9 guēsi
    10 disi

O

obliged to do (be) dī ʼari
observe, wait, halt ae
occur, happen ī ko
October ʼAba xās, Ana hare hãb
offspring, children õagub
old, aged, senior gaida
old (of things) naisa
olive (fruit) ʼum-[?]
omasum (one of the stomachs of a ruminant) hara kxʼoms, nubutabi ʼãs
omentum fat hau nuib
on ʼamma
on, at, in front of kxʼai
once gui nās
once upon a time hētsēka
one ui
only, alone uise
open (be) xoba
open, uncover xoba (~ khoba)
opinion, situation koku
oppose, deny xoa, xa (~ *xa*)
ostrich ʼamib/s/i
ostrich egg ʼubub
ostrich eggshell abub
ostrich eggshell bead string nuib
other nãi (~ nĩ)
other, different xara(se)
otter ʼomethãb
out kxʼoa
over, above ʼamka
overhang, bank of river ho hob, nō nōb
owl hũ hũb

P

pack-ox aigomab
pain thũb
painful thũsa
paint (as a surface) kxʼaru kxʼaru (*verb*)
painted, dappled garu
palate, roof of mouth xarukxʼaib
pan, vlei xubis
parasol gabus
parent ĩb/s
part, portion hui-, xareb
partridge haris

pass, go ī, ãu
pass, route (over mountain) ũib
pasturage 'ũ xaib
path, road, trail arob (~ arob), daob
patient 'aebxa
paw, claw, fingernail orob
pay debt surute
peace xãib
peace (make) xãi xãi
peel, shell kora (*transitive verb*)
peg out, stretch hide ãu
perfume ãiham 'ãub
perhaps, rather xabe
person khoeb/s/i
person who puts on airs oakx'aob/s
person who puts things in good order
    hanusedīb
pick up ūkhãsi, kx'ao, xō oã
pick up, collect up (as stones, small
  things) naro
pied colourations, variegated patterns
  (animal coat colours):
        parti-coloured with some black (of
          goats and cattle) (*swartbont*) nū hō
        parti-coloured with yellow (*geelbont*)
          hai gane
        parti-coloured with blue and black,
          dappled (*bloubont*) noa hō
        parti-coloured with red (*rooibont*)
          gane
pierce through hā xarū
pierce, bore hole (as in stone) hū
pigeon, dove xai nabus, nais
pillow (leather) abib
pioneer, founding father, chief
  kx'ai ũkx'aob
pipe (for smoking), 'ãbeb, xōb, sūb
        pipe (for smoking, bone) hais
        pipe (for smoking, stone) 'uisūs
pitfall trap surugub, gaiseb
pity someone xom
place where ba
place, site xaib
place, site (of settlement) 'ãs
plan, advise, decide kx'abe
plan, strategy kx'abeb
plant ā (*verb*)
plant species: *See Special List 3*
plates, dishes, cups 'orekua
play huru (*verb*)

plead xomma
pleasant, good, cheerful ãi(x)a ao
pleasure haub
plover sp. (*kommandovo*ël, dikkop?)
  kx'aukx'anis
pluck (as chicken) thuru
plug (of grass, used to tune reed-flute)
    'ãb
point, indicate nae
point out, show au
poison āb (*noun*)
poison, bewitch, kill xai 'ām
pole, stick haib
polecat (*muishond*, *Ictonyx zorilla*)
  kx'araxab
polish, make smooth xanu xanu
polygamous (having two or more wives)
  amsi
poor āsi(sa)
poorly, not done well 'ause
porcupine nõab/s
porridge kx'amma
portion of meat (*harslag*) gaob
portion of meat (*kambene*, neural spines)
  gāb
portion of meat (*poenskop*) 'ūs
possess 'ãi
pot (also used for smoker's pipe) sūb
pots (clay) Birisude
potter sū numkx'aos
pouch, bag, sack hōb
        pouch, slingbag (general use) nanĭb
        pouch, sling-bag (large) gūs
poultry, small livestock guxukua
pound, knock hũ
pound, stamp grain bā
pour into, mix thoro
pour out hae hae, naxudī
pour over, on to na am
pour, shake into thoro 'a
powder xurub
power, strength aib
praise, glorify, honour koa, koakoa, gare
pray xomma, ore (~ ore)
preach kx'au nā
preaching, religious teaching xa xab
preparation (as of food, hides)
    'an 'anneb
present (here) hã hã
preserve, store sãu

press ãi
press, force 'āē
pretty ĩsa
prevent hani(na)
prison, gaol haukx'omma
prisoner xō āb, habikx'aosab
produce, bring forth dīxu; dani
produce danib (*noun*)
prohibitions, rules (of *dorob*) xaeb
promise mĩba (*verb*)
proud, arrogant (be) uri(sa), kx'an
puffadder 'ais, 'ais
puffball nubus
pull, drag āē
pull down ae oesi
pumpkin hutsib
punch, box noa 'um
punch, lob stones at, shoot at (with arrows) noa
punish xara, abē
pupil of eye nūmũs
pure, clean 'anu
purify (in ritual sense) olo
purify, cleanse, wash (in ritual sense) 'ā
pursue ŭkx'aikx'ai
pus, matter from wound ūb
push, press hã
push away, off hã goa
push into hã 'ã
push through xaru, xaru
put, place, arrange mãsi
put fire out, extinguish na 'ari
put head in ansen
put in ū 'a
put outside 'augamãsi
put together, unite ui ui

Q
quagga ores, gōxais
quagga, zebra daub/s
quickly sũse
quiet, silent (be) nō
quieten a noise hã hui
quiver (for arrows) gurus

R
race, run kx'oē, hai hau
race one another kx'oētsēgu
raft ãmas

rage, be angry xo
rain tū (*verb*)
rain tūs (*noun*)
rainbow hoas anãb
raise, hoist kx'aokhasi
raisinberry bush (*taaibos*) 'aub
ram, male sheep xaragub
rare, scarce hã
rash (on skin) garos
rat arub
raw kx'ora
razor omgõas
read kobakx'ai
ready, finished horo
receive, accept xo 'oa
reconcile, make peace xãi xãi
red dappled (of animal coat) tho
red, red and white (as of horse) kx'aba
red-white belly (*rooitwitpens*) **(of animal coat)** xao na
reed species: *See Special List 3*
reed-dance 'ās aīb
reed-flute 'ās
reedbuck hūbkx'ãb
reform, change one's ways gunisen
refuse ai, xa
rejoice khū
rejoice, thank ãi(x)a ao
relationship, friendship 'ōmãb
remain behind kx'aru au
remember 'ĩ 'ã
remind 'ĩ 'ĩ!nã
render fat kx'aira
renew kx'orakx'ora
repent habi 'au
reply, respond hoakx'am
report, bring news hõa
rescue, free orē
resemble someone uidi-i
respect (someone's advice) nãu kx'au
rest sã
restless, unsettled hã xai'o
return home 'anu
return, go back hoba, kx'oã
revive kx'ontsēbēkasi (*transitive verb*)
revive, heal kx'ũi (*intransitive verb*)
rhinoceros nabas
rib kx'arab
rich xū

rich man   hu ŭb
ride   abi
ridge (along animal's back)   hurib
rietbok   ga 'ãs
right, correct, in proper order   hanu
right (not left)   kx'am
rinkhals   nūxatse ãibeb
ripe, ready   ansa
rise (as sun), emerge   kx'oa
rise, get up   khãi
river   arib
river, stream, ditch   'ab
road, path   daob
roar (of lion)   'an
roar (of water)   gõgõ (~ gŭgŭ)
roast, braise (in pan or pot)   kx'aida
roast (over coals, braai)   kx'am
rob   dī ai ai
rock, stone   'uib/s
rock hare (*kliphaas*)   'ui õas, ganas
rock lizard, agama sp. (*bloukop-koggelmander*)   'uixexoeb, 'arokhob
rock snake   kx'ãu aib
roll up, wind, coil   xami
roll, wallow   norā
roll, wallow (as horse)   'abubēsen
roof   kx'ommi 'am 'āb
rooikat, 'lynx' (*Caracal caracal*)   hãb
root   nomab
root (magical)   marisab
rosyntjiebos   xãus
rot, decay, spoil   kx'ō
rotten   kx'obesa
rough   oasa
round, spherical   'um
round about, around   nami
rout, drive off (in battle)   han hai
rub body with cream   uru
ruler, chief, judge   gaokx'aob/s
rules, prohibitions of *doro*   gaokua, aukua, xaeb
rumour   khoemĭba
run   ari, 'eri
run away   hã
run, chase   hai (~ hae)
run, race   kx'oē
rustle, steal cattle   nai

S

sack, pouch, bag   hōb
sacrifice, make offering   'ui, kx'orā
sad (be)   'oa
sad, be worried, troubled   khau
saddle   haneb
salt   'ūb, kx'ōb
salty   'ū 'ūsa, kx'oxasa
same   ī
same as, like, as if   khama
same   xā
San person ('Bushman')   Sāb
sand (fine)   xāēb
sated, be full   kx'ã
satisfied, have enough   'ãu
save, preserve, keep   sãu
say   mĩ, nā ('tell')
scatter   arasen, haisen (*intransitive verb*)
scent, perfume   ãiham 'ãub
school   skōla
scold   kx'ai
scold, abuse, curse   ai ai, 'ōē
scold, shriek   nuru
scoop out, serve   hora
scorpion   hūs
scorpion species (small)   nam nabēb
scrape off   xaubē, xau
scratch, scrape   xana
scratch, engrave, write   xoa
scratch, itch, prickle   xon xon
scream   kx'aukx'ā, nuru
screen, fence, temporary shelter, hunters' hide   nub
scrub hare (*kolhaas*, *Lepus saxatilis*)   hoas
sea   huri amma
season, time   kx'aeb
second (in ordinal sense)   am 'ãib
see   mũ
seed   xumma
seeds (of sweet-thorn acacia)   xū nana
seek, search for   kx'õa
seem   khama thã
seize   xō xa
selfsame   'ũb
sell   'amaxu
seller   'amaxunakhoeb
send   sĩ
send to or for someone   sĩba
separate lambs from ewes   'õama

separate, depart   'ari
September   Xauku ũ ũ xãb
servant   āb/s/i
serve   'uni
serve up   hora
set (as sun)   gã
set date   mĩmãsi
set snare, trap   nui
settlement group, family, kin-based community   haos
settlement, homestead, collection of dwellings, village   ãub
seven   hãukx'ũ (~ hũxũ)
seventy   hãukx'ũ-djisi
sew   'om
shade, shadow   garab
shake   kunkun (*transitive verb*)
shallow   'ari
shame (feel)   tao
shameful   taosa
sharp   kx'ā, kx'ā kx'ā
sharpen   kx'ā kx'ā
sharp stone, quartz   urub, uru uib
shave, barber, trim hair or beard   om, xom
sheath for knife   gõakx'omma
sheep   gūb/s/i
shelter from rain   ā
shepherd   gū oasikx'aob
shepherd's tree (*witgat, Boscia albitrunca*)   hõneb
shield   khōs, xaukhos
shine   'anub (*noun*)
shine, as sun   taba
shine, light up   nã
shine, sparkle   xai
shiver   xarē
shoe, (also spoor?)   habob
shoot (arrow)   kx'ãu, noa
    shoot at one another with bows and arrows   kx'ãugu
    shoot at one another with guns   'abu noagu
    shoot to pieces   noagoa
short   nubu
short time   nubu kx'aeb
shorten   nubu nubu
shoulder   hōb
shoulderblade   arab

show, point   nae, au
shred, tear to pieces   xau
shreds, tatters   xausenkua
shriek   kx'aukx'ā
shriek, scold   nuru
shrike (bird species)   xan oereb
shy   sausa
sibling   ã(sa)b/s
sick, ill, feverish   kx'aesen
sickly   kx'aesenxa
sickness   kx'ae(sen)b
side   namma
sigh   haimãsi 'um, haimãisen gao
silence   nōb
silent, quiet (be)   nō
silent, still   nōsa
sin, do wrong   kx'ōrē
sin, quarrel   kx'ōrēb (*noun*)
sinful   kx'orexa
sinner   kx'orekx'aob
sinew, thread, string   'abab
sing   nae (~ nae)
sing high notes   urise nae
sing low notes   ari doma nae
sing solo   uise nae
sister   ãs
sit, sit down   nũ
site, place of settlement   'ās
six   nani
sjambok (short)   nubu harib
sjambok, whip   harib (*noun*)
skilled, capable, brave   kx'oasa
skin (for storing butter)   gubub
skin, hide   khōb (*noun*)
skin   han (*verb*)
skink, lizard   naboro-
sky, cloud, heaven   hommi
slacken (as when pulling)   tharotharo
slander   hoekx'au (*verb*)
slap   nau(kx'ai)
slaughter   'a
slaughter (sacrifice) for celebration   ũ 'a
slaughter for sacrifice   ũi 'a
slaughter, cut throat of sacrificial animal   aoxodom
slaughter, sacrifice for reconciliation   xãi 'a
slave, servant   āb
sleep   'om

sleeping-mat (leather)   goab, oakua
slip, slide   xanu
slippery   xanusa
slippery, smooth   xanu
slowly   uise
small   ā
smaller (make)   ā ā
smallpox, chicken pox (*pokkies*)
   xam xonas, onas
smallpox (*swartpokkies*)   nū onas
smart, cunning clever   guixa(sa)
smear, anoint   xau
smear, rub with fat, anoint   sobo
smell, give off smell (of a thing)   ham(’ĭ)
smile   num
smith, metal-worker   ’ũrikurukx’aob
smoke   kx’anni (*noun*)
smoke (pipe), draw, pull, drag   āē
smooth, clean, virtuous   orasa
smooth, slippery, polished   xanu
snake   ’aob (~ kx’aob)
snake species: *See Special List 2*
snare (for birds)   noas
snare (noose type)   nuis
snatch   gam
sneeze   kx’am
snore   xaru
snow   abas/i, xoab
snuff   ui aeb
so it is said   koma
so, thus   nātī
soft   tham, thamsa
soft (be completely)   thamtham
soften   thamtham
softness   thamsab
son   õab
soon   ’āse, dādā
soothe, quieten   nō nō
sorcerer, doctor   aixāb
sore, wound, ulcer   thuib
sorghum   semib
soul, breath   ’ũms
sour   xuru
sourbush   õeb
sourgrass (*suurgras*)   gao gãb
sourmilk   harebīb
sow, scatter seed   kx’abu, thoro
space, place   xaib
sparkle, shine   xai

speak   hoa, koba, khom
spear, large knife   kõab
specularite (*blinkklip*)   haib
sperm, seed   xumma
spider species (large)   nuru xumma
spider species (small)   nũis
spirit of dead person   hūsab
spit up   kx’ara
spittle, saliva   ’ãb
spleen   nubi
splinter, chip   kx’abob
split wood   xan
spoil, decay   ’ai
spoon   harisob, xamma (~ xams)
spots   hōku
sprawl, flounder   gora
spring time   ’Abab/s
spring, water-hole, well   kx’aus
springbok   gũs, gũs
springhare   gōb
sprinkle, scatter   thoro, xari
sprout, grow   hao
spurt water from mouth   xabi
spy   xai (*verb*)
spying   xais
stab, pierce, prick, sting   hā
stalk (as hunter)   xuri
stammer, stutter   aikhom
stand, stay, remain   mã
stand with, for someone   mãba
stand up, rise   khãi
stand up, rise for   khãiba
star   ’amirob/s (~ ’amorob/s)
   Aardvark star   Xūs
   Cold or Winter star   ’Ausa ’amiros
   Dassie star   Kx’ãus
   Eland star (*alternative name*)
      Gaosdi ’amiros
   Eland star (four stars near Orion)
      Xan ’amiros
   Eland (Orion's Belt)   Xankukua
   Evening star   Tse ’amoros
   Hare star   ’Õas
   Hartebeest star (name used by men)
      Xamas
   Lucky star   Xai ’amoros
   Morning star (Venus)   Oa ’amorob
   Ostrich Nest (Magellanic clouds)
      ’Amis ãub
   Pleiades   Hōdi

Porcupine star   Noas
Porcupine star (alternative name)
   Ōgi
Rice stars   Õas
Springbok star (Orion's Belt)
   Ûs 'amiros
Termite star   Kx'anis
Tortoise star (Orions's Belt)   Omm
*Uintjie star (said to refer to an edible
   white bulb)*   Abis
Young wife's star
   Õaxais 'amiros
stare at   aba
stare at fixedly   abakarokaro
stare back at   abakx'oa
stare closely at   'uī
stay back at rear   xuī oe
stay, remain   hã
steal   kx'ã
steal cattle, reive, rustle   nai
steenbok   'aris
stem of plant, base   tsoa
stem, tendril (as of vine)   darub
step over   bā na
stick (walking)   xaurus
stick on to   'ai
stick on to (make something)   'a 'ai
stiff, rigid   xau
sting (as bee)   kx'ãu
stinger (of bee)   xãb
stir   huni
stirring spoon   hunihaib, huni xamma
stomach, belly   xomma, nāb
stone, pebble   'uis
stone buchu   'uisāb
stony (as ground)   'uixase
stony (of ground)   'ui na
stone weight (bored) for digging stick
   hares
Stop!   Hui!
Stop! Wait a bit! Hold up!   Ae!
store, preserve   sãu
storm   hũb
straight, correct, right   hanusa
strandwolf (brown hyena)   nū hiras
stranger, traveller   ũsab
straw, chaff   horo 'ākua
stream, current   hum
stream, rivulet (*sloot*)   'ab

strength   aib
strengthen   ai ai
stretch oneself   hũsen, garosen
strike, fight with   noagu
strike, hit, catch   mãsi
strike, hit (with stick)   nau
strike with stone, knock, pound   hũ
strike fire   nan
string, sinew, thread   'abab
strong   ai(sa)
strong, solid   ai ai
struggle, fight, wrestle   'ãugu
stumble, trip   noa
suck   ōm
suckle (a baby)   bīsi (*transitive verb*)
suckle (as a baby)   bī (*intransitive verb*)
suddenly, soon, shortly   'āse 'āse, dādā
suffer, endure   xum(xā), kx'am osen
suffice, satisfy, be enough   'ãu
suitable, fitting   kx'anu, hāsa
summer   Xōnāb, Xu 'āb
summit, peak, tip, top   'amma
sun   soreb/s
sunset   soreb(di) ãb
sunshine, sunlight   soremũ xãu, sorebtãbab
sunbird species   xue-
Sunday (Lord's day)   Kx'aotseb
supper   'ui haub
suppose, think   'ãi
surface   kx'aisa
surpass, exceed   nāxu
surrender   xũi
surrender, give in   mãsen
surround   han nami
surrounded (be)   kx'āra nuasie
suspect evil of someone   'ĩ am
swallow (verb)   tom
swallow, gulp   'ubi
swallow (bird)   'a ao-
sway   ubi
swear solemn oath   'oe
swear, curse   oe
sweat   aosen
sweep   nau
sweet   xon
sweetgrass   xon gãb
sweet-thorn acacia (*soetdoring*)   xon xũb
sweetmilk   'ãbīb
swell   xãi

swell, rise (as dough) khū
swim thã
swimming horse (flotation log) dãs, bãs
sword nautsi norab

T
taaibos 'au gananab, kx'au gum, gaib
table 'ũkx'ai habahaib
table, board 'anna, hanna
take ū
take down ū oasi
take for, from ūba
take out ū 'oāsi
take away ūbē, ū ũ
take animals to graze (as shepherd, cowherd) 'ũkasi
take away ābē, dobē, xarabē
take off clothes, undress ae kx'oasi
take time, be slow kx'aeb xa
take with hā xa
talk in sleep sui noa
talkative kx'am naxa
tame (be) 'au (~ kx'ū)
tame (make tame) kx'ū kx'ū
tan (hide), cure, soften nolo
tap, draw, as water kx'aro
tassled cap hārē abab
taste, feel, try, test thã
tasteless, bland kx'ō'o, thã'ose
teach xã xã (~ xā xā)
teacher xã xãkx'aob (~ xā xākx'aob)
tear (water from eyes) ammũb
tear, shred xau (verb)
tease, annoy, pester nora
tell nā
ten disi
tend (cattle, sheep) 'õasi
termite kx'anib, gatsi gabi
test, try, taste, feel thã
test, try dīthã
testify oesi 'ā
that nā
theft kx'ãb
then, afterwards aka, ko, nao
there naba
there over yonder na kx'i
they (*women*) 'ãidi
they (*men*) 'ãikua
thicken (as soured milk) ãu

thief 'ãkx'aob
thigh(s) tĩb, xodi
thin (be) gã, oro
thin, slender, fine 'ũi (~ hũi)
thing, object, matter xūb
think, suppose 'ãi
think of something 'ãi 'ãisen
third nona 'ãib
thirst, be thirsty ã
thirsty ãsa
this hē (~ hi)
this here hēhē
thong, cord thurib
thorn xūb
thornbush (wag-'n-bietjiebos) xarob (~ 'arob)
thornbush with red berries (*hardebos*) (*Lycium* sp.) autsamab
thought 'ãib
thread, string, sinew 'abab
threaten 'aeba
three nona
three times nona nade
throat, gullet 'arab
throat, voice domma
throw away āxu
throw down ū nā
throw, hurl, toss ao (~ au)
throw missile, shoot arrow noa
throwing spear hãikõab
thumb nanib
thunder urub (*noun*)
thunder uru (*verb*)
thus ti, hēti, nāti
tie, fasten, load ai
tigermoth 'u nabos
time nas
time, season, occasion kx'aeb
tired (be) 'ū
tired, weak, feeble xabu(sa)
to, towards oa (*postposition, associated with postnominal –a*)
tobacco baxab
tobacco variety kai aib, xari aib
today hētsē
together in group (be) kx'are
tongs (blacksmith's) xō 'urib
tongue tamma
too much ĩbe

tool kx'āxūb (*lit.* 'sharp thing', avoidance term?)
tooth ũb
top 'amma
tortoise (geometric) hurus (~ 'urus)
tortoise (mountain) nāb/s
touch on, mention thã xa
touch, handle xā
tough, hard karosa
town harib
town (small) haridas
trader, dealer 'amakx'aob
transitory ũsa
trap (w. fall mechanism) noas
trap (pit-fall) surugub, gaisekua
travel, take the road bē daob xu
traveller dao!ũkx'aosab
tread, step, tramp bā
tree at centre of a chief's homestead, meeting tree (*werfboom*) haos, nũbhaib
tree, stick, bush haib/s/i
trim, fix shoe nai
trot (urge horse to) ai ai
troublemaker haridēkx'ukx'aob
true kx'ama
truth kx'amab
truly, really kx'amase
trunk (of elephant) onāb
trunk (of tree) amma
Tswana people Birina
tuning plug (for reed-flute) 'āb
turn dark gan gan
turn, twist xonisen, 'one
turtle am haeb (~ am gãib)
twelve am kx'a
twenty amtjisi
twins gena
twins (of animals) horena
twist, turn, wind numĩ
two am

U
udder 'ums
ugly gaisa
ugly, hateful asi
uncertain (be) are
uncle ã(sa)b, naob
uncle (father's brother) ũ āb
unclear hobesa

under naka
understand nãu 'ā
undo dī kx'ari
undress ae kx'oasi
unfavourable (be) ao na
unite ui ui
unlock door uni xoba
unthinking 'ĩ'o
urinate xam
urine 'ūb
us *(men) (excl. 1mp)* sike
us *(women) (excl. 1fp)* sisē
us two *(excl. 1cd)* sim
us two *(men) (excl. 1md)* sikham
us two *(women) (excl. 1fd)* sisam
us, our *(excl. 1cp)* sida
use dī xoa
useful ãi 'ãxa
utensil (plate, dish, cup) 'oreb

V
vaalbos karutsib
vein kx'urub
veld, plain, hunting ground 'aub
veldkos 'ãukua
veld, earth, ground hūb
veldkos, bulb 'ōb
very kaise
vessel, types of:
　　for storing milk (largest kind) bamus
　　horn, small, for storing red face-paint nau nãs
　　small, for storing massage fat, could be horn ubus
　　wooden hoeb
　　wooden 'oreb
　　wooden, for drinking out of gabib (~ gabis)
　　wooden, for milk, water xabab
　　wooden, for melted or fresh butter kai aub
　　wooden, three-legged 'arab
　　wooden, for melted or fresh butter oreb
　　wooden, for milk hoeb
　　wooden, for milking into kx'ao na xabib
　　wooden, for souring milk ai hoeb
　　wooden, in which to wash butter gaub
　　wooden, lugged, for milk xabib

village haridas
villain, crook hõagoaob, !guixab
violence aikx'aro-
visible, open hai
visit (go on) are
visit, extended stay areb
voice domma
vomit kx'ara (~ kx'ara)
vulture, eagle kai nab

W
wade, ford, cross river xanu
wages suruteb
wag-'n-bietjiebos 'arob (~ xarob)
wagon gunis
wagtail aokx'anis
wait (in hiding, for prey) 'ãu
wake up xai
walk, go ũ
walking stick xaurus
want, desire, wish ao
warmth, heat kx'ummi
wash kx'ã
wasp arib, urub
watch out for oneself 'anbasen
watch over someone mũ namãsi
watch over, tend to, look after oa(si)
water ammi
water (a little) amdana
waterfowl gari ams
waterfowl, wild duck, duck gãs
watermelon (wild melon) thamas/b
watermelon birithama-
watermelon (sweet kind) xõnthamab
watermelon (wild), bittermelon
  xauthamas
wave (of water, sea) ubitsi hãb
way, manner dommi
we all *(incl. 1cp)* sada
we all *(men) (incl. 1mp)* sake
we all *(women) (incl. 1fp)* sasē (~ sasi)
we both *(men) (incl. 1md)* sakham
we both *(women) (incl. 1fd)* sa(sa)m
weak xaresa
weak, feeble, foolish, weary xabu
  (~ xabu)
wealth xū ũ-
wear clothes xansen
weed xum *(verb)*

weeds 'ãi haikua, numakua
week vekheb
weep hoē, sĩ
welcome, greet nabē (~ *nabī*)
well, spring kx'aus (~ 'aus)
werfboom haos, nũbhaib
west sorebna ãxa xāb
wet kx'ã
what? taēb
wheel naris, nūs
when? ham'o?
where? ham(b)a?
where to? taib xū
which? ham?
whip, sjambok ōas, harib (noun)
whip, flog oa *(verb)*
whisper tubu
whistle (with mouth) nam
white xati
white ant, termite gatsi gabi-
who? dā-
why? taēba?
wide hoa na, nū(sa)
widen hoa nakasi, honahona
wide open (be) xobasen
wide, broad, flat haba
widow kx'aomasas
wild (untamed) narisa
wild bulb species (edible, but very bitter)
  kx'aukx'aub
wild bulb species (*gifbol*) xarob
wild bulb species (too bitter to be eaten)
   'atãkoeb
wild cherry, Khoi cherry (*Maurocenia*
  frangularia) kx'ãukua
wild garlic xorahaib (~ 'ōraib)
wild olive 'um-
wild olive (*kareeboom*) xareb
wild pumpkin xanub
wildcat au hõab, hõab
wildebeest gaob, nũgaob, noagaob
wilderness, desert 'aukarob
wildpig, bushpig nãkx'ob
willow hũib
wind 'oab (noun)
wind, twist, turn numĩ (~ numĩ)
wine kx'aba xarib (*lit.* 'red honey-beer')
wing(s) gaboku
winter Saosa, Saob

wipe away   nabi
wipe off   nao
wipe dry   'um
wise, clever gā
wisdom, intelligence gāb
wish, want, desire tura
witgat tree (*Boscia albitrunca*)   hõneb
with   xa (*postposition*)
without o'se
without anything xu'o
witness oesi 'ākx'aob
woman, wife tara(khoe)s
womb (of animal)   hōs (~ hōs)
womb (of woman)   hās
wool, hair   'ũb
word   mĩb
world   hũb
world, surface of the earth   hūbkx'aib
work sĩsen (*verb*)
worker sĩsenkx'aob
worm, caterpillar   kx'onib
wound thuib (*noun*)
wound thuithui (*verb*)
wrap xami
wrap (garment), back cover, kilt   ub
wrestle, fight 'ãugu
wrestle, fight   nũagu
wring, twist   oni
wrist   'om!'aob

write, scratch, engrave xoa
write to xoaba
wrong, other, different   xara
wrongly thūse

Y

yawn   haukã
year kurib
yeast, sourdough   xurub
yellow, pale, vaal   hai
yes indeed aio
Yes! Ā!
yesterday   kx'atse
you (*man*) *(2ms)* sats
you two (*men*) *(2md)* sakharo
you (*men*) *(2mp)* sakao
you (*woman*) *(2fs)* sas
you two (*women*) *(2fd)* sa(sa)ro
you (*women*) *(2fp)* sa(sa)o
you two (*men or women*) *(2cd)* sakhao
you (*men or women*) *(2cp)* sadu
young   xam(sa)
young woman õaxai-
youth, young man kx'arob, kx'axab

Z

zebra daub
zebra, quagga ores, oxais
Zulu people   Hu nauna

Special list 1
Names of the Korana clans

It is clear from the wording used in some of the texts that the Korana people (*sida Orada*, or 'we the Korana') had an overarching sense of belonging to a specific political entity or nation. Some historians and anthropologists currently question the notion of early indigenous nationhood in southern Africa, suggesting that the concept might be a colonial imposition, or at least a modern development triggered by the impact of colonisation. The debate is a subtle one, of course, and is appropriately couched in highly nuanced terms, but we should nonetheless be cautious not to assume that prior to the arrival of 'the white man' there were no pre-existing polities with a social cohesion of their own. Certainly, there was an abstract Kora term (Orakhoesib), which referred to a collective *political identity* defined in terms of belonging to the Korana people. (Our consultant, Ouma Jacoba Maclear, proudly told us that she was a 'Korana- *'os'*, or 'Korana child'.)[1]

At the same time, most of the Kora speakers who worked with Louis Maingard and Jan Engelbrecht in the1920s and 1930s had a clear sense of their *familial identity*, in terms of direct ancestral lineages. As Engelbrecht recorded,[2] children were given a name at birth, and might later acquire a nickname, but while all children belonged in principle to the clan of their father, each in addition took on a 'great name' or 'ancestor name' (*kaikhoe 'onna*). In the case of a boy, this was the name inherited by his mother from her father's clan, while a girl took the name of her father or his ancestral clan. Benjamin Kats, for example, belonged to the Kats clan (the Hõakua 'ais), but took his great name Hamarib from the clan name of his maternal grandfather.

Both Maingard[3] and Engelbrecht[4] obtained valuable information concerning the names of Korana clans[5] still remembered by their consultants in the early part of the 20th century. They used this data to revisit the early records of 18th century travellers such as Hendrik Wikar,[6] and later accounts provided by others, such as the missionary John Campbell.[7] Engelbrecht attempted, in addition, to establish some of the highly complex divisions, hierarchies, and alliances within some of the larger clan groupings.

As Engelbrecht and Maingard have pointed out, and as has been discussed also by Gabriel Nienaber, some of the clan names of the early Cape records can be plausibly correlated with certain of the names recorded at a later period. This process of identification is helped by the fact that the Cape Khoi began providing Dutch versions of their clan names from a relatively early period, so that by 1813, for example, Campbell[8] was able to provide a list where the names were almost all given in their Cape Dutch forms. Lucy Lloyd[9] was nevertheless still able in 1879 to obtain a number of names in both their Kora and Cape Dutch versions. A few of the names recorded at a later date by Engelbrecht were given only in Afrikaans, and may have been of relatively recent origin. In some cases, the latter seem to have arisen from the name of a particular leader, such as the name Slaparm ('Lame arm'), which was the

nickname of a leader otherwise known as Sigeb. (Engelbrecht noted that while clan leadership was typically hereditary, some leaders emerged on their own merits and were then accepted as the heads of breakaway clans.)[10]

The list given here is bound to be incomplete, since the meanings of some of the older names remain obscure, while there will have been many clans whose names were never recorded. The old records are sometimes additionally confusing because certain groups, it seems, had alternative names, or else were occasionally lumped together and referred to in general or collective terms. Readers wanting to explore the subject further are invited to refer to the work of Engelbrecht and Maingard mentioned above, and may also like to consult Nienaber's richly comprehensive survey of all early records of the Khoi clan names.[11]

List 6.1a   Names of Korana clans as identified and grouped by Engelbrecht (1936, 1–79) and Maingard (1964)

Clan names	Translation	Source
1. Kai!Orana	**Great Korana**	
Hūkx'en 'ais	Scorpion clan	[Mgd64]
Xau 'ais	Seekoeie (Hippopotamus) clan	[Ebt36]
'Oxokua	Smalwange (Narrow cheek) people	[Mgd64]
'Aba 'ais	Rooivolk (Red clan)	[Ebt36]
Gan nū 'ais	Kinswartse (Black chin) clan	[Ebt36]
Goas 'ais	Moddervolk (Clay clan, perhaps refers to a river?)	[Ebt36]
!Namkhamkua	Symense (Side – or 'shore'? – people)	[Mgd64]
Hō 'ais	Sakvolk (Pouch clan)	[Ebt36]
2. ‖'Arebe‖'ais, ‖'Aremã‖'ais	**Links (Left-standing clan)**	**[Mgd64]**
Sono 'ais	Pencil clan	[Ebt36]
Uluna 'ais	Little springboks clan (?)	[Ebt36]
Ausn 'ais	Laaste-lê volk (Last-lying clan)	[Ebt36]
Gam 'ais	(see Amsa 'ais below)	[Ebt36]
(Amsa 'ais)	Aftrek natie (Trek-away) clan	[Lld]
Gan(a) 'ais	Chin clan (?)	[Ebt36]
Oara 'ais	(see !Ora 'ãis below)	[Ebt36]
!Ora 'ais	Kora clan	[Mgd64]
Matõna (or Meivolk)	May people	[Ebt36]

Clan names	Translation	Source
3. |Nū||ʼaikua ~ |Nusan	**Clans who lived north of the Gariep**	**[Ebt36]**
Nū ʼais	Black clan (alternative name for above)	[Mgd64]
(i) !Geixa ʼais	Towenaars (Sorcerer) clan	[Mgd64]
(ii) Kxʼam õakua	Right-arm (or hand) people	[Mgd64]
Kraalshoeks	Homestead place (people)	[Ebt36]
Yzerbekke	Iron mouth (people)	[Ebt36]
Buffelboute	Buffalo haunch (people)	[Ebt36]
Slaparms	Lame arm (people) (after the nickname of 'Sigeb'?)	[Ebt36]
Xuli ʼãis	(?)	[Ebt36]
Tabokxʼau ʼais	(?)	[Ebt36]
Goubis ʼais	(?)	[Ebt36]

List 6.1b   Further (ungrouped) names of Korana clans as identified by Engelbrecht[12] and Maingard[13] (1964), with a few collective terms

Other names	Translation	Source
Nam ʼaikua	Karoshebbers, Karossdragers (Cloak-wearing) clans	[Mgd64]
Amaxakua	Hartebeest people	[Mgd64]
!Au ʼais	Snyers, Cutters (Tailors?) clan	[Mgd64]
!Urinkua ʼais, Urimã ʼais	Hoogstanders, Bostaanders (Highlanders?) clan	[Mgd64]
Hõakua ʼais	Katse (Cats) clan	[Mgd64]
Hõana	Katte (Cat) people	[Ebt36]
Gumtena	Bitterbos people	[Ebt36]
Kxʼautama ʼais	Not-bitter clan (?)	[Ebt36]
Tsoa ʼaina	Nether (below) clan(s) (?) (Collective term?)	[Ebt36]
Ũte ʼais	Springbok clan	[Ebt36]
Xani ʼais	Boekvolk, Pampiere (Book, or Documents) clan	[Ebt36]
ʼAi ʼaina	(?) (Alternative name for Xani ʼais)	[Ebt36]
Nũisin ʼais	Spinnekoppe (Spider) clan	[Ebt36]
Amsakua	Preparers of skins people (Tanners?)	[Ebt36]

Other names	Translation	Source
Kx'ãu gum	Taaibosch	[Lld]
Xõaxan	Arm (or hand) people	[Lld]
Dausin ~ 'Uriakua	Quagga people	[Lld, Ebt36]
Kõabin	Knee (or '*hoek*', referring to bend in river?) people	[Lld]
Harroken	Sinew people	[Lld]
General names (collective)		
Nusan	Near-dwelling people who lived north of the Gariep	[Lld]
Xãusan	People who lived south of the Gariep	[Lld]
!Usa 'aikua (< *'Kusak'kykwa*)	Far-dwelling clans who lived south of the Gariep	[Burchell]
Nanni 'ain	Shore-dwelling clans who lived along the Gariep	[Lld]
Einiqua	River people	[Wikar]
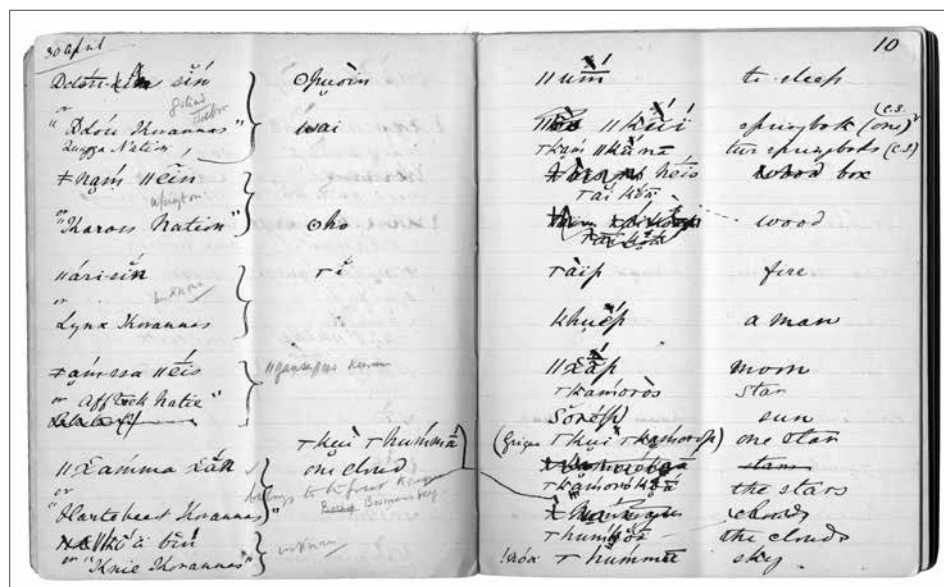
FIGURE 6.1   A page from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1). The far left-hand column shows some of the Korana clan names given by Piet Links. Note Lloyd's mistaken translation of ‖Arisin as 'Lynx Korannas'. The words in the second column on the left-facing page are the |Xam equivalents of the Kora words, and were probably added for comparative purposes. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

Names of the different	Tribes of Corannas on the Great River.
Cabusque	Stabbers.
Karossdragers,	Weavers of karosses or cloaks.
Springbokkers,	Springbucks, being numerous like that animal.
Karabers, or Kleinbonte,	Little spotted.
Naanar Wangs,	Narrow cheeks.
Kannisgeis,	
Bockbrief,	Letter book.
Snyers,	Cutters, or taylors.
Hoogtens,	Heights.
Zeekoe-dragers,	Bearers of sea-cows.
Katmenchen,	Cat-people, on account of their having pursued a hartebeast across a ford called Cat-ford.
Tovernaans,	Wizards.
Kokerbooms,	Quiver trees. Trees from which the Bushmen make their arrows.
Spinnekopsooger,	
Links Staan,	Standing to the left—this refers to those at Malapeetzee.

FIGURE 6.2   Clan names compiled in 1813 by John Campbell (*Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 282), by which time many already had Cape Dutch translations. Some of the explanations seem fanciful.

Endnotes

1   As for the meaning of the name Korana itself, this is unknown. Gabriel Nienaber (*Khoekhoense Stamname*: *'n Voorlopige Verkenning* (Pretoria, Cape Town: Academica, 1989), 647–666) assembled no fewer than eleven different suggestions, but ultimately concluded that not one of them is certain.

2   Jan Engelbrecht, *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936), 151–152. (This work is abbreviated throughout the Dictionary as Ebt36.)

3   Maingard, "Studies in Korana history, customs and language," *Bantu Studie*s 6, no 2 (1932): 103–161);and "The Korana dialects" *African Studies* 23, no. 2 (1964), 57–66. (These two works are respectively abbreviated throughout the Dictionary as Mgd32 and Mgd64.)

4   Ebt36, 1–79; and Engelbrecht, "The tribes of Wikar's journal," in *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, ed. E. E. Mossop , transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 221–237.

5   While the overall evidence suggests that the Kora word for 'clan' was   *'ais*, it is spelled in a number of different ways (even by the same author on different occasions), and sometimes features a masculine suffix *–b* (sometimes written as '*-p*'). The click accompaniment of glottalisation, which some authors indicate by means of the glottal stop symbol (ʔ), is associated with nasalisation of a preceding vowel, which probably accounts for some of the variations in the spelling. The vowel sequence *ai* is sometimes spelled 'ei', and is occasionally also shown with a sign for nasalisation. The word was translated by Maingard as 'tribe' (note Nama   *aes*, which is glossed as 'nation'), but older records have it variously as *natie* 'nation', *mense* 'people' and *volk* 'folk'.

6   Hendrick Wikar, *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935).

7   John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 282.

8   Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, 282.

9   Lucy Lloyd, "Manuscript notebooks on   Kora [1879]," MP1, 9–10, 30.

10   Ebt36, 39.

11   Nienaber, *Khoekhoense Stamname.*

12   Ebt36, 1–79.

13   Mgd, "The Korana dialects."

Special list 2
Korana names for animals, birds and smaller creatures

The Korana names (and Khoekhoe names in general) for most of the larger African animals – such as the eland, hartebeest, elephant, hippopotamus, and buffalo – were noted by the first Dutch settlers and other outsiders almost from the outset. It was a while longer, however, before the names of some of southern Africa's multitude of smaller creatures began to be recorded. Some of the additional names were collected in 1879 by Lucy Lloyd,[1] who accompanied Piet Links on a visit to the Natural History Museum in Cape Town, where Links could study various specimens and give their identifications in his own language. Still more names were obtained only in the early part of the 20th century, when Jan Engelbrecht[2] was able to collect information from various members of the Korana communities he worked with. The list presented here is a compilation mainly from the work of these two authors, but includes occasional data from other sources.

The names are organised under the headings: larger animals; birds; fishes, reptiles and amphibians; and arthropods. A list of terms for animal coat patterns is included in closing. The entries are presented from Kora to English only, because so many of the identifications, particularly for the smaller animals, are vague or obscure. (It is for the same reason that the scientific names are not given.) The main dictionary nevertheless has entries for all of the larger animals, in both the Kora-to-English and English-to-Kora sections.

A few names have presented particular problems of identification, often because the common folk name (in many cases the only name) given as the translation may have several potential referents.[3] The following two sets give some idea of the ambiguities that arise:

'jackal'
> black-backed or silver-backed jackal (*swartrugjakkals*) (*Canis mesomelas*):
>> |**aeb** (~ |*gaeb*, |*aiieb*, |*iieb*, |*ireb*, |*keyab*)
> aardwolf (*maanhaar jakkals*) (*Proteles cristata*):
>> |**gaib/s** (~ |*aib*, |*gib*, |*ib*) (Xhosa *ingci*)
> *draaijakkals* (Afrikaans name used for either the silver jackal (*Vulpes chama*) or the Cape fox (bat-eared fox) (*Otocyon megalotis*)
>> **!xamab**
> jackal species (|*a-jakkal* or 'small jackal') (unidentified, small, brownish):
>> ‖**'āb**

'hyena'
> common hyena (spotted ~ laughing hyena) (*Crocuta crocuta*):
>> ǂ**hiras, |hŭkab, ǂnū|hŭkab** (Xhosa *ingcuka-ceya* 'spotted hyena')
> brown hyena (*strandwolf*) (*Hyaena brunnea*):
>> ǂ**nūǂhiras** (name means 'black hyena')

The word *hũkab* for the hyena seems to mean 'spotted', and may have been a nickname ('spotted one') of the kind sometimes used in the context of story-telling. (In the Jackal stories told by Benjamin Kats, Jackal is referred to as Aiieb, and Hyena as Hūkab.)

The terms for the various small African cats are also problematic. In particular, it is not clear which of these beautiful animals is meant by the name *'hõan*, generally translated simply as 'cat'. There is, for example, a separate word (*hāb*) for the rooikat or caracal (*Caracal caracal*). (This creature is sometimes erroneously referred to as a 'lynx'.) This suggests that *'hõan* was used to refer to one or more of the other small species, such as the African wildcat (*Felis silvestris cafra*), the small spotted (or black-footed) cat (*Felis nigripes*) or the serval (*Leptailurus serval*). It is not out of the question, though, that the two words referred to the same animal or group of animals, and were merely used as alternates in different contexts.

It is the norm throughout much of sub-Saharan Africa for languages to have five or six different words for any given animal, with distinctive terms, for example, for the alpha male, an ousted older male, a young male, or a female with young. There may also be special collective terms for different animals, as well as praise names, and avoidance names, where the reasons for using an oblique term may be complex.[4] The Khoisan languages are unexceptional in this regard, and even though our data may often be incomplete, it is clear that these languages reflect much of the same diversity when it comes to animal terminology.

List 6.2a   Kora names for various large and small animals

Various large and small animals	Identification	Source
daub/s	quagga, zebra	[Lld, Ebt28]
dzoa	genet	[Lld]
gaob	gnu, wildebeest (lit. 'master')	[Lld, Mhf]
gyãb (see *zans*)	rheebok	[Lld]
nons	blesbok (Tswana *none*)	[Mhf]
xamaren	game, wild animals	[Lld]
xamma	lion	[Lld]
xoasaub	leopard	[Lld]
zans (see *gyãb*)	ribbok (Xhosa *iliza*)	[Ebt28]
a ab	waterbuck (great)	[Lld]
aes (*kaib/s, gais*)	gemsbok	[Lld, Ebt28, Mhf]
aob (~ *aus, kaus*)	buffalo	[Lld, Mhf]
e nāb	ground squirrel	[Lld]
gaeb(~ *aiieb, iieb, ireb, keyab*)	jackal (black-backed or silver-backed)	[Lld, Mhf, Ebt28]
gaib/s (*gib, ib*)	aardwolf (*maanhaar jakkals*)	[Lld, Ebt28]

Various large and small animals	Identification	Source
ganas	rock hare	[Lld]
gao/b/s	buffalo	[Ebt28]
garos	duiker (small antelope), *platduiker*	[Lld, Ebt28]
gũs (see also gũs)	springbok	[Ebt28, Mgd]
'amiros (~ *gamiros*)	hedgehog	[Ebt28]
'ui garob	klipspringer (small antelope)	[Lld]
haiseb (~ *hiseb*)	meerkat (yellow), (*bruin meerkat*)	[Lld, Ebt28, Mf]
hau 'eb (~ *hou eb*)	mongoose (grey), 'ichneumon'	[Lld]
hirseb	honeybadger	[Lld]
hõab/s/i (~ *nũab, hõam*)	wildcat	[Lld, Mhf]
hũgab(~ *nũgab, hukhãb*)	hyena (*grys gekleurde wolf*)	[Ebt28]
ga 'ãs	rietbok	[Ebt28]
gũs (see gũs)	springbok	[Ebt28, Mgd]
'ãb	jackal species, also known as *a-jakal* ('little *jakkals*') Engelbrecht says 'small, brownish'	[Ebt28, Mhf]
'arob	genet	[Lld]
'omethãb	otter	[Ebt28]
'oreb (~ *xorib*)	monkey	[Ebt28]
haub (~ *xaub*)	mouse (striped)	[Lld]
xamab	hartebeest	[Lld]
kx'õtseb	meerkat (Meinhof says 'long thick tail', mongoose?)	[Mhf]
nãkx'ob	bushpig, wild river hog	[Lld]
ores	quagga	
oaxais	quagga mare	
gaub	hunting dog	[Lld]
!goxomab	ant-eater, has long tail (aardvark?)	[Ebt28]
hãb	caracal (*rooikat*)	[Lld]
hurugũb	wildcat (large), 'light brown, more like a lion than a leopard but fiercer than either' (= xurukub?)	[Ebt28]
!xurukub	cheetah ('hunting leopard')	[Lld]
xamab	jackal sp. (*draaijakkals*)	[Lld, Mhf]

Various large and small animals	Identification	Source
xanni	eland	[Lld]
xaos (~ !xaus)	hippopotamus	[Lld]
kx'araxab	polecat (*muishond*)	[Lld]
kx'ãus	dassie	[Lld]
kx'aururub	leopard (praise or avoidance name?)	[Lld]
naberib	blesbok	[Lld]
nabas	rhinoceros	[Lld]
naib	giraffe	[Mhf]
nõab/s	porcupine	[Lld]
noagaob	blue wildebeest	[Ebt28]
ãureb	meerkat (Meinhof says 'red sp. living among rocks')	[Mhf]
gōb	springhare	[Ebt36]
gōxum	anteater	[Lld]
habab	gemsbok (baster)	[Lld]
hiras	hyena	[Lld]
hoas	scrub hare (*kolhaas*)	[Lld]
hõab/s	wildcat	[Mhf]
hus	mole	[Wrs]
xoāb	elephant	[Mhf]
nabas	mountain hare	[Lld]
naidab (~ *naitab, neitap, nirab, naidab, netab*)	baboon	[Lld, Mhf]
nūgaob	wildebeest (name means 'black wildebeest')	[Ebt28]
nū hūgab	hyena sp. (*swart wolf*)	[Ebt28]
nū hiras	brown hyena (*strandwolf*) (*Hyaena brunnea*)	[Lld]

List 6.2b   Kora names for various birds

Birds	Identification	Source
gãs	waterfowl, wild duck	[Mhf]
gari ams	waterfowl	[Ebt28]

Birds	Identification	Source
gorāb	crow	[Lld]
har gab (~ har ka kas)	korhaan (*korhaan kranskop*)	[Lld, Ebt28]
khaurub	hawk, eagle, raptor sp.	[Mhf]
khurus	lark, pipit, small bird sp. (*koestervoël*)	[Ebt28]
kx'anis	bird (can also mean winged 'termite')	[Mhf]
kx'aukx'anis	dikkop (*kommandovoël*), has same 'go away' song as the õa hoas	[Ebt36]
tsibes	lark sp. (*vlakvoël*)	[Ebt28]
xuruxurub	crane (*kraanvoël*)	[Ebt28]
ae nu-	guinea fowl (name seems to mean 'spotted black')	[Mhf]
'amib/s/i	ostrich	[Mhf]
xue	sunbird	[Lld]
hamxorab	crow (black)	[Lld]
'ases (see hams)	hammerhead bird (*hamerkop*)	[Ebt36]
hams (see 'ases)	hammerhead bird (*hamerkop*)	[Ebt36]
hanumu noab (see hoar nān)	crane (*kransvoël*)	[Lld]
haris	partridge	[Mhf]
hoar nān (see hanumu noab)	crane	[Mhf]
xai nabus	pigeon, dove	[Mhf]
xan huereb	shrike	[Lld]
õa hoas	(unknown), song is: *sũse doe, doe, doe, 'o du* 'fly away quickly please you!'	[Ebt36]
'ākx'anis	finch (lit. 'reed-bird')	[Ebt28]
nais	dove	[Mhf]

List 6.2c   Kora names for various reptiles, fishes and amphibians

Reptiles, fishes, amphibians	Identification	Source
khūtukakhūbeb (~ *xurutsi kuheb*)	chameleon	[Ebt36]
namitamūb/s	lizard (*geitjie*)	[Lld]
xati 'aob	snake (*witslang*), 'fierce, very poisonous' (*xati* = 'white')	[Ebt28]

Reptiles, fishes, amphibians	Identification	Source
um kx'aos	African rock python	[Lld]
gābiris (~ gābiri gais)	lizard resembling small snake	[Ebt28]
gais	lizard	[Ebt28]
gibirib	lizard ('*Euprepes carinatus*')	[Lld]
'ais (~ 'ais)	puff-adder	[Mhf]
'aob/s (~ kx'aob)	snake (all-purpose term)	[Ebt28]
'ubereb	frog	[Ebt28]
'uixexoeb	rock lizard, agama (*bloukop-koggelmander*)	[Ebt28]
'urus (see also hurus)	tortoise, small (eaten)	[Ebt36]
hai 'aob	cobra (*geelslang*) (hai = 'yellow')	[Ebt28]
huitsibes	snake 'resembling puff-adder, but smaller and thinner'	[Ebt28]
hurus (see also 'urus)	tortoise (geometric)	[Lld]
kx'aob (~ 'aob)	snake (all-purpose term)	[Mhf]
am haeb (~ am gãib)	turtle (eaten) (am = 'water')	[Mhf, Ebt36]
gam 'aob	snake 'small watersnake with yellow underbelly' (lit. 'water-snake')	[Ebt28]
'aub	fish	[Mhf]
xurub (see also !'urub)	boomslang	[Ebt28]
xurutsi kuheb (~ *khūtukakhūbeb*)	chameleon	[Ebt36]
goberib (~ 'ubereb)	frog	[Ebt28]
'ais (~ 'ais)	puff-adder	[Mhf]
!'urub (see also xurub)	boomslang	[Ebt28]
xaib	puff-adder	[Lld]
kx'ãu aib	rock snake	[Lld]
nāb/s	tortoise, large mountain tortoise (eaten)	[Mhf, Ebt36]
ones, one 'aub	fish kinds without barbels	[Ebt28]
horokx'ob	frog	[Lld, Mhf]
nabaris	lizard, rock lizard, koggelmander, agama	[Ebt28]
naboros	lizard, *geitje*, skink	[Ebt28]
nūxatse ãibeb	rinkhals	[Ebt28]

Reptiles, fishes, amphibians	Identification	Source
nū ʼaub	barbel, carp (*lit.* 'black fish')	[Ebt28]

List 6.2d   Kora names for various arthropods

Arthropods	Identification	Source
biri kana	glow-worm (larva of beetle)	[Lld]
kxʼanib (~ *kxʼainib*)	termite	[Mhf]
kxʼurib	louse	[Mhf]
tubutubu	butterfly	[Ebt28]
arib (~ *geirib*)	wasp	[Mhf]
urub	wasp	[Mhf]
ganãb (~ *gãineb*)	fly	[Lld]
gomorob	ant species ('does not build antheap')	[Ebt28]
ʼu nabos	tiger-moth	[Lld]
hō onib	multi-coloured caterpillar	[Ebt28]
am xurib	dragonfly	[Lld]
hare ganab	butterfly ('*kurrlaba*' < Afrik. *skoenlapper*)	[Lld]
nabos	blister beetle	[Lld]
nananab	locust	Ebt36]
nananab	mantis	[Lld]
gatsi gabi-	white ant, termite (*rysmier*)	[Ebt28]
nuru xumma	spider, large kind	[Mhf]
hums	locust	[Lld]
kxʼonib (~ *ʼonib*)	worm, caterpillar	[Ebt28]
nam nabēb	scorpion, small kind	[Mhf]

List 6.2e   Kora terms for animal coat colours

Animal coat colours	Identification	Source
tho	red dappled, '*rooskilder (van ʼn bok)*'	[Ebt28]
xao na	red-white belly (*rooitwitpens*)	[Ebt28]
xati	white (general term)	[Lld]

Animal coat colours	Identification	Source
xati ai	black/red-white foot (*swart of rooiwitvoet*)	[Ebt28]
garu (~ *gauru*)	dappled, speckled, variegated, esp. of goats	[Lld, Ebt28]
'abaxa na	red marking on back (*rooiwitrug*) (of cattle)	[Ebt36]
hai gane	pied, parti-coloured with yellow (*geelbont*)	[Ebt28]
hō	spotted, striped, variegated with black, esp. of goats and cattle (*swartbont*) (Xhosa *incho* 'red and white ox')	[Ebt28]
xena	spotted (?)	[Lld]
kx'aba	red (general term), red and white	[Mhf]
gane	pied, variegated with red (*rooibont*)	[Ebt28]
kx'aru (~ 'aru)	black spotted with white, speckled (note Dama *auru*, *naru*, Nama *aru*)	[Lld]
uriha	white (general term) (Giri)	[Lld]
n gausa	brown (compare Nama *gãu huni* (noted by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 265), 'after the grey-yellow colouring of the dassie, used of cattle, horses, goats and dogs') Also note Nama !*gau* 'become besmeared, !*gau(a)am* 'with black or dark muzzle, as of a donkey'.)	[JM]
goa	brown (general term)	[Ebt28]
!noa	grey, blue	[Mhf]
noa hō	pied, variegated with blue and black, dappled (*bloubont, appelblou*)	[Ebt28]
nū	black (general term)	
nū hō	pied, variegated with black dominant, of goats and cattle (*swartbont*)	[Ebt28]
nū nama	black with white belly (*swart-witpens*)	[Ebt28]

Endnotes

1   Lucy Lloyd, "Manuscript notebooks on Kora [1879]," second notebook (MP2).
2   Jan Engelbrecht, "*Studies oor Korannataal*," *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch* 6, ser. B, no. 2 (1928). (This work is abbreviated throughout the Dictionary as Ebt28.)
3   Thanks to Johan Meyer for pointing out that the name *kommandovël* probably refers not to a plover but to the dikkop (*Burhinus* sp.)
4   The Khoi, for example, seem to have used the word *gaob* 'master' for any animal they preferred not to name directly (for whatever reason) and the word is used on different occasions for the buffalo, the wildebeest, and the eland.

Special list 3
Korana names for plants and plant products

The Kora plant names given in the collated list below are sourced mainly from Lucy Lloyd's interviews with Piet Links,[1] and the two studies by Jan Engelbrecht,[2] although a few general terms were also recorded by Carl Meinhof.[3] By the time most of these names were recorded, the Korana people were already for the most part living in settled communities that practised both agriculture and animal husbandry, and probably no longer depended on natural vegetation for staples (except perhaps for wild spinach, and certain herbs and teas), although they almost certainly continued to seek out various plants for their medicinal value, or general practical use. When it is considered that the extant Kora plant names were obtained from only a handful of speakers, and in some cases only in the early part of the twentieth century, it is remarkable that we have as many as we do. Perhaps inevitably, though, there are frequent cases of ambiguity and uncertainty concerning an identification, as well as many gaps. Some of the terms for which we might have hoped to find the original Kora names – on the basis of either their mention in the Cape records or their common occurrence in Afrikaans – include *boegoe*, *koekoemakranka*, and *bietou*.[4] Sadly, though, the origins of these remain unresolved.

Over the past few decades, several studies of Khoisan food and medicinal plants have appeared.[5] Most of this research has focused, however, on traditional plant usage by the Nama people, and since the original Nama names are not always indicated, it is often difficult to correlate the Kora names with particular plants that were known to the Nama. It is also the case that certain common Khoekhoe names seem to have been used for a range of different plants, by both the Nama and the Korana, while some of the generic folk names subsequently introduced by way of loan translations into Afrikaans, such as *vaalbos*, *bitterbos*, and *taaibos* could be applied to any number of plants. One of the plants called a *vaalbos*, for example, is tentatively identified as *Tarchonanthus camphorates* by Janneke Nortje,[6] who found, however, that another plant similarly called a *vaalbos* is a *Felicia* species.[7]

The Korana and Griqua people were probably familiar with a slightly different range of flora, since the south-western, south-eastern and inland regions they inhabited feature vegetation types that differ in some respects from those of the far Northern Cape inhabited by the Nama people. The list of Namibian Khoekhoe plant names compiled by Eliphas Eiseb, W. Giess and Wilfrid H. G. Haacke[8] reflects, for example, a mix of names for numerous trees and tree-like shrubs, including *Combretum*, *Commiphora* and *Vachellia* (formerly *Acacia*) species; various reeds, and many arid-adapted plants typical of the Nama Karoo vegetation mix, such as *Euphorbia* and *Hoodia* species. By contrast, the Kora plant names include only a few terms for acacias, such as the camelthorn and the sweet-thorn, and names for only a few trees, such as the Cape willow and the *Terminalia* or silver cluster-leaf, where the latter are both associated with riverine habitats or the Highveld. If any generalisation can be made about the limited and accidental set of Kora

plant names that have come down to us, it is that they include a fairly wide range of specific names for geophytes, reeds, grasses and small, grey-leaved xerophytic plants, including *Agathosma* species (*boegoe* or buchu) – where these are among the main plant types that make up the characteristic vegetation of the renosterveld region.[9] The renosterbos is one of two main sub-types of vegetation found within the Cape Floral Kingdom, where the other type is the fynbos more typical of the mountains. Although the original vegetation of the renosterveld has now been almost entirely destroyed by agricultural activities, it once covered the southern part of the Cape West coast, as well as much of the south-central and eastern interior – which is exactly the region once inhabited by the Cape Khoi and the Korana.

The linguists who collected the Kora plant names were occasionally able to supply botanical identifications as well as Afrikaans folk names, and these confirm that plants identified by the folk names *taaibos* and *karee* are typically *Searsia* species (*xareb*), while plants identified as berry-bearing or raisinbushes (*bessiebosse or resinkiebosse*) are frequently *Grewia* (and perhaps *Searsia*) species. The folk name *kalkoentjie* ('little turkey') is typically applied to *Gladiolus* species (Iridaceae), where the name probably refers to the colouration and characteristic winged flowers of the genus, many species of which are truly beautiful in their wild, unhybridised forms. The corms (*!'okua*) of *Gladiolus* species are often edible, and in the case of the one referred to as *'ūb*, its *uintjies* or 'onions' seem to have been a year-round staple. Other members of the Iridaceae with edible corms include *Ixia*, *Moraea* and *Babiana* species, and perhaps even *Watsonia*.[10] There is no guarantee, however, that any originally supplied botanical name will still be valid today, since the old Linnaean taxonomy of plant species is presently in a state of upheaval, with re-classifications and re-arrangements of families and genera being published almost yearly on the basis of DNA studies. (Any identifications provided in the list are duly tentative and provisional only.)[11]

As in the case of the animal names, the plant names listed here are presented from Kora to English only. The main dictionary nevertheless has entries for some of the more general plant names, in both the Kora-to-English and English-to-Kora sections. Where occasional references are made to words in other languages, the sources are Haacke and Eiseb[12] for the Namibian Khoekhoe dialects, which include Nama; Visser[13] for Naro; Brown[14] for Tswana; Kloppers[15] for Kwangari; and McLaren;[16] and Tshabe and others[17] for Xhosa. Various additional sources mentioned are of necessity abbreviated in the table. The works referred to in these cases are Nortje;[18] Le Vaillant;[19] Wikar;[20] Arnold, Wells and Wehmeyer;[21] Cole;[22] and Chapman.[23]
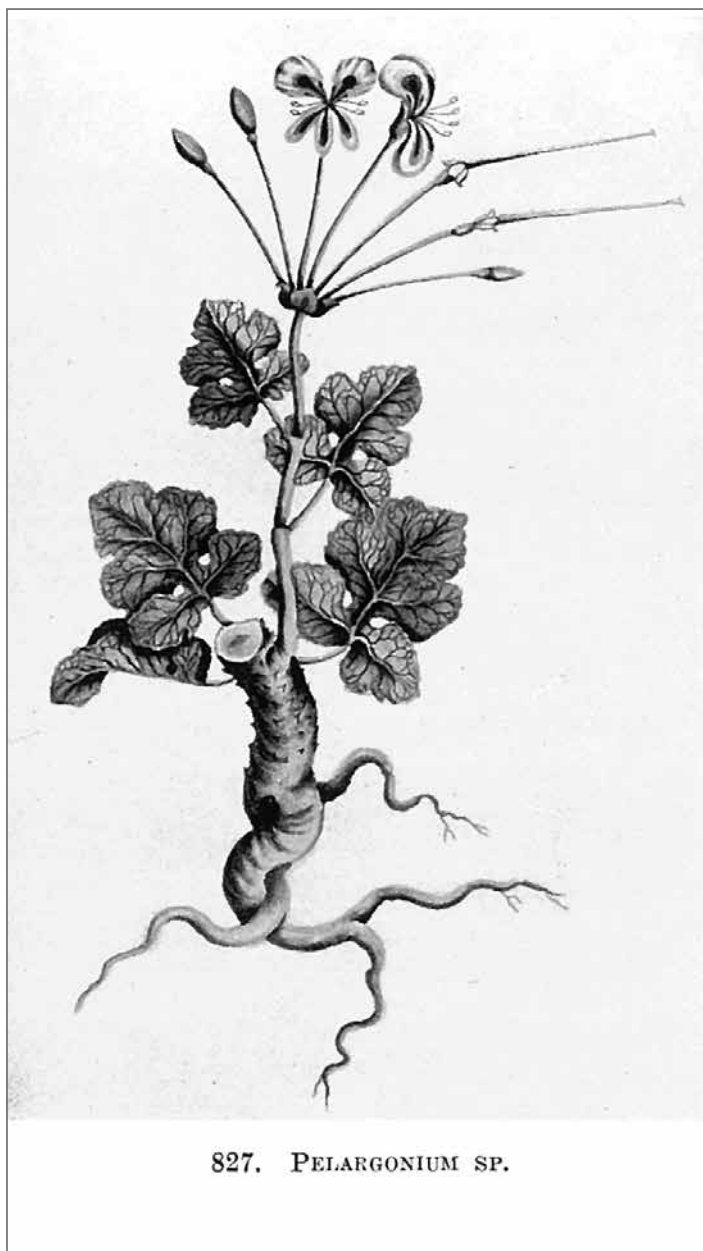
827.   PELARGONIUM SP.

FIGURE 6.3   *Pelargonium* sp. *Simon van der Stel's Journal*, ed. Gilbert Waterhouse (Dublin University Press, 1932).

List 6.3   Kora names for various plants and plant products

Plant name	Description	Source
ari ʼaib (~ ali aib)	edible wild root, 'eaten raw or cooked, sweet'. Popularly interpreted to mean 'dog foot', but possibly from Nama or Giri words meaning 'small leaf'. Nortje (p. 14) cites an early record by Simon van der Stel indicating that the Griqua name 'aree' (Nama 'heijntame') referred to a *Pelargonium* sp. with a sweet edible root.	[Lld, Ebt28, Ebt36]
bībib	bushy sp. 'small green bush w. abundance of rush-like leaves', root could be used as the *moerwortel* for honey-beer.	[Ebt36]
bīhaib	plant sp. said to increase milk yield when eaten by cattle or goats, identified by Lloyd as *Viscum capense* (Cape mistletoe). (*bīb* = 'milk'; *haib* = '*houtjie*' or 'wood' and indicates a medicinal use.)	[Lld]
bubudu	reed sp., brittle, sometimes used for making children's mats (loan?).	[Ebt36]
dīxatseb (~ datsaxeib, daxatsēb)	edible wild root, 'long, white', sweet when cooked. There is some confusion over both the name and the plant intended. Namibian Khoekhoe has *daixa noras* for *Euphorbia monteiroi*, which was used for medicinal purposes, and *daxa(hai)s* (or *xana(hai)s*) for the imported plant *Cannabis sativa*. (Note Nama *daixa* 'milky'.)	[Ebt28, Ebt36]
dūhaib	root burned to charcoal for the medicine known as *swartstorm* ('black storm'). Nortje (p. 17) quotes a remark by Laidler that 'the bluebush root is also known as black-root, the wonderful emetic purgative'; and mentions that common names for this plant, identified as *Antizoma miersiana*, include *bitterbos* and blue-bush. The Nama plant names *dûs* and *dûbes* refer respectively to the acacias *Vachellia senegal* and *Vachellia erubescens* (blue-thorn). The Nama had additional medicines referred to as *witstorm* ('white storm') and *rooistorm* ('red storm'), which were derived respectively from *Asclepias* and *Galium* spp (Nortje, p. 82).	[Ebt36]
dūhais	used for magical love potion. See notes under *dūhaib*, but note also that in Namibian Khoekhoe, some acacias are known as *dũs* (or *nũs*).	[Ebt28]
gao gāb	sourgrass (*suurgras*), (*lit. 'wildebeest grass'*).	[Ebt28]
garutšib (~ karutsib)	bushy sp. (*vaalbos*).	[Ebt28]
gorab/s	flower (in general)	[Mhf]
guxutsēb	edible wild tuber (specific kind).	[Ebt28]
haidoros	fire-drill, made of wood from the *alib* (*deurmekaarbos*), *ōs* (*transiebos*), *karutsib* (*vaalbos*), *hau* (*driedoring*) or *katbos* (*hũs* or *nuseb*), using decayed willow-wood (*hũib*) as tinder, or the inner part of the *gifbol* (*xarob*).	[Ebt36]
haikuadoras	climbing plant with edible part (tuber?). (Perhaps the *slangkambro* (*Ceropegia stapeliiformis*), or *Ipomoea* sp.?)	[Ebt36]
haikxʼai ʼarokua	berries of tall-growing wag-'n-bietjie, crushed, salted and pressed into cakes.	[Ebt36]

FIGURE 6.4   *Gladiolus* sp. *Simon van der Stel's Journal*, ed. Gilbert Waterhouse (Dublin University Press, 1932).

Plant name	Description	Source
harab	gum (edible, brown), 'comes with the *amareb*'. In the diary kept by Johannes Starrenburg (in Le Vaillant, p. 29) during his expedition of 1705, he noted that part of the the way 'consisted of ridges, without grass but full of thorn-bushes, and certain small bushes from which oozes a gum, in smell, taste and colour very like mastic. The Namacquaa […] call this gum *trap* [< *tarab*?], and use it for fixing assegaais, knives etc. as we use resin'.) Wikar (pp 104–105) spoke about '*heyra*' and said that it was found on the 'hook-thorn tree', adding that 'it is sweet to the taste and so filling that one can last a long time on it'.	[Ebt28, Mhf]
hareb	veldkos found in riverbed, sweet bulb eaten raw or boiled with milk.	[Mhf, Ebt36]
hutsib	pumpkin (Tswana *lephutshe*)	[Ebt28]
kai aib	tobacco variety, 'taller, milder.' (Engelbrecht suggests meaning is 'big smoke', but probably 'big leaf', based on Nama *gaeb* 'leaf'.) (See also *xari aib*.)	[Ebt36]

Plant name	Description	Source
kalitob	plant sp. with edible leaves, boiled in milk. Perhaps *Gynandropsis gynandra,* or *Pentarrhinum insipidum*, both species once used widely throughout southern Africa as a form of wild spinach (Arnold, Wells and Wehmeyer, p. 77).	[Ebt36]
karutsib (~ garutšib)	species with hard wood (*vaalbos*). See notes for *garutšib*.	[Ebt36]
khãs	edible wild cucurbit, 'thorny as a pineapple, larger than a fist, grows on vines like watermelon.' (Dama and Hai om *kãb* = *Acanthosicyos* sp. ('Gemsbuck/Herero cucumber'), Naro *kãa̦a*.)	[Ebt28]
khakhares	edible wild bulb, similar to turnip. (Tswana *kgankale*, sp. with edible tuber, possibly *Pterodiscus speciosus* (Cole, p. 217).)	[Ebt36]
kx'aobes	edible wild bulb, about size of sweet potato, sweet, could be eaten raw (largest *kalkoentjie*). (*Gladiolus* sp?)	[Ebt36]
kx'aukx'aub	wild bulb, edible, but very bitter (*kx'au*), not preferred. (Tswana *mogau* ~ *mokgao*, plant with 'very poisonous bulb' (Cole, p. 217).)	[Ebt36]
kx'umm (kx'ommi?)	used of 'bud' according to Lloyd, but possibly also meant 'berry, small fruit'.	[Lld]
muxununu	tree sp. w. edible fruit., silver cluster-leaf, (Tswana *mogonono*, *Terminalia sericea* (Combretaceae))	[Ebt28]
sãb	The ingredients of the fragrant powder or *sãb* depended on seasonal availability and personal preference. (Many of the plants referred to generically as buchu are members of the genus *Agathosma*.) Engelbrecht (Ebt36, pp 106–109) lists the following plants as among those that could be used in the mix: (i) the 'aeb, which was sun-dried and ground to make the base, and could be prepared from the 'musty bark' from the roots of 'an old blue-bush (*harib*)', or the wag-'n-bietjie (*xarob*), or the *taaibo*s (*'ãub* or *gaib*); (ii) 'pounded roots' of the *hū nũ*; (iii) *uisãb* or 'stone buchu'; (iv) the tiny leaves of the bitterbush known as *gumma*, which were dried and slightly scorched over a fire; (v) dried roots of the 'abeb; (vi) the 'areb root obtained from certain reed-like marginal plants; (vii) the gummy root of the *xonabeb*; and (viii) 'urub. The prepared mixture was kept in a small powder box (*'urus*) made from a tortoise shell. The ingredients listed by Maingard (Mgd32, p. 142) include many of the same items, even if the names (or at least their spellings) differ slightly: (i) *kaeb*; (ii) *uisãb*, a 'green lichen growing on stones'; (iii) *hareb*, "veld biesies" (reeds), 'roots only'; (iv) *hu kũb*; (v) *oabeb*, 'grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter'; and lastly 'the *konabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces'. Maingard added that 'the mixture must smell sweet (*gãi ham*)'. A similar fragrant powder, based on different ingredients however, is still prepared by the Himba women of Namibia, who traditionally use a mixture of up to twenty plants. A fragrant ointment they make incorporates resin from the Namibian myrrh tree (the *omumbiri*, or *Commiphora wildii*), ochre and butterfat.	[Mgd32, Ebt36]
thãb	glue, mastic made from the resinous inner portion of the wild bulb known as *gifbol* (*xarob*), used to make seals for small vessels, or to fasten head of a spear into its haft.	[Ebt36]
thamas/b	watermelon, wild melon. (Namibian Khoekhoe *tsamas*, Tswana *tama*.)	[Mhf]

Plant name	Description	Source
thoab (~ tsoab)	base, stem of plant	[Lld]
tsililikua	beans of the elephant's foot (*elandsboontjie*). (Tswana *tshidi* 'fruit of *Elephantorrhiza elephantina*', elephant's foot (Cole, p. 304).)	[Ebt36]
xaikx'akua	herbs, wild fruits.	[Mhf]
xauthamas	watermelon (wild), bitter melon.	[Mhf]
aeb (~ 'aeb)	base for buchu powder, see notes for *sãb*.	[Mgd32]
gãb	grass.	[Ebt28]
gãbes	edible wild bulb, similar to small potato, sweet, edible raw.	[Ebt36]
gananakua (~ gararakua)	general term for berries (edible), as of *kareeboom*, *taaibos* or *õeb*.	[Ebt36]
gommi	plant sp. (sheep allowed to graze where it grew). Lloyd identified as *Cenia turbinata* (now *Cotula*).	[Lld]
gumma	bushy sp. (*bitterbos*), leaves used in buchu powder (Gumtena = Bitterbos clan.)	[Ebt36]
'a naub	edible wild bulb, type of *kalkoentjie* (lit. 'grass-leaf'). (*Gladiolus venustus*?)	[Ebt36]
'atãkoeb	wild bulb, too bitter to be eaten, used for poison.	[Ebt36]
'are gãb	grass sp. (*kweekgras*) (*Cynodon dactylon*)	[Ebt28]
'areb	reed sp., root used in buchu powder (Namibian Khoekhoe *ares* = *Cyperus* sp.)	[Ebt36]
'õraib (~ xorahaib)	wild garlic, bulb and leaves eaten (name said to refer to stink).	[Ebt28]
'orob	creeper with edible leaves that have to be cooked before palatable. (Namibian Khoekhoe has *horob* as a general term for various species eaten as a form of wild spinach, including the red pigweed, *Amaranthus thunbergii* (Haacke and Eiseb, p. 206). Possibly also used of *Anginon difforme*, for which Nortje (p. 81) collected the name '*t'norro*'.	[Ebt36]
'uisãb	stone buchu, 'lichen sp. used in buchu powder'. (*Klipboegoe* usually refers to *Coleonema album*.)	[Ebt36]
hãb	plant sp., creeper with very large tuber (size of vegetable marrow), could be dried, crushed and used as the *moerwortel* for honey-beer. Wikar (p. 61) referred to a plant called the '*haäp of haarwortel,*' the root of which was used for honey-beer, but there are in fact numerous plants with names that resemble this, including the wild cucumber (Namibian Khoekhoe *hãb* = *Coccinia sessilifolia*), as well as the *'ãb* (see below), which was probably one of the *Fockea* species notable for their greatly enlarged, water-storing basal stems.	[Ebt36]
hãb	reed sp.	[Ebt28, Mgd32]
hai 'õb	edible wild bulb, 'light brown (*hai*), as big as tip of forefinger, sweet.'	[Ebt28]

Plant name	Description	Source
hanib	*duwweltjie* thorn. (Namibian Khoekhoe *khĩnis* = *Tribulus* spp. (*duwweltjie*).)	[Ebt28]
honeb	shepherd's tree (*witgat*), roots dried, pounded and roasted for coffee, sweet berries crushed into fresh milk and eaten. (Namibian Khoekhoe *hunis* = *Boscia albitrunca*, Naro *n one*.)	[Ebt36]
hũs(see nuseb)	bushy sp. (*katbos*) roots used for fibre, also known as *nuseb*. (Wild asparagus?)	[Ebt36]
xorahaib (~ 'õraib)	wild garlic, eaten raw or boiled.	[Ebt36]
nubus	puffball, powder used for cosmetic face-paint.	[Ebt36]
nuseb(see hũs)	bushy sp. (*katbos*), roots used for fibre, also known as *hũs*.	[Ebt36]
alib	plant sp. (*deurmekaarbos*), wood could be used for the fire-drill. (*Ehretia rigida*?)	[Ebt36]
am amareb	plant sp. with edible leaves, eaten raw with salt.	[Ebt36]
au gab	plant sp. with edible leaves, boiled in milk (*misbredie*). (Perhaps *Tetragonia echinata*?) (Namibian Khoekhoe *gaubeb* = A*maranthus* sp. (pigweed).)	[Ebt36]
õeb	bushy sp. with edible berries ('sourbush').	[Ebt36]
gabib	mesembryanthemum (*vygie*), large purple-flowering. (*Carpobrutus chilensis*?)	[Lld]
ganab	camelthorn (*kameelboom*). (Namibian Khoekhoe *ganab* = *Vachellia erioloba*.)	[Ebt28]
'a 'ab	elephant's foot, *elandsboontjie*, beans of which (*tsililikua*) could be dried, roasted and ground to make coffee but were also used for beads; pounded roots used for tanning hides. (Namibian Khoekhoe *ana gãb* = *Elephantorrhiza elephantina*, elephant's foot, Xhosa *incakotshi*)	[Ebt36]
'abeb	bush with yellow flowers, roots used for buchu powder.	[Ebt36]
'ãi haikua	weeds.	[Mhf]
'ũb	edible wild bulb, roasted, could be gathered all year round, Lloyd identified as *Gladiolus* sp.	[Lld, Ebt36]
hareb	flower tassle (yellow) of acacia thorn.	[Mhf]
hau-	*driedoring*, wood could be used for fire-drill. (Namibian Khoekhoe *haub/s* = *Rhigozum trichotomum*.)	[Ebt36]
xan ãb (see hũ nũ)	small bush growing on sandy soil, roots used in buchu powder, alternative name for *hũ nũ*.	[Ebt36]
xãus	berry-bearing bush (*rosyntjiebos*), used in tanning leather. (*Grewia* spp?)	[Ebt36]
xonabeb (~ konabab)	plant found under thorn bushes, resinous bulb used in buchu powder.	[Mgd32, Ebt36]

Plant name	Description	Source
xūb	thorn (in general); acacia. (Namibian Khoekhoe *khūs = Vachellia karroo*.)	[Mhf]
xū nana	pips of the *soetdoring* (*xon xūb*), dried and roasted for use as coffee. (Namibian Khoekhoe *khūs = Vachellia karroo*.)	[Ebt36]
xurub	plant sp. edible, but bitter. Engelbrecht identified as 'otterboom' (perhaps *otterblom*?)	[Ebt36]
nãib	edible wild bulb similar to sweet potato.	[Ebt36]
naub	leaf (lit. 'ear').	[Ebt36]
amma	trunk of tree.	[Mhf]
autsamab	thorny bush with red berries (*hardebos*). (*Lycium* sp.?)	[Lld]
ōs	acacia (*transiebos*), wood could be used for fire-drill. (Namibian Khoekhoe *gōs = Vachellia hebeclada*.)	[Ebt36]
'amaxab	hemp, cannabis, dagga (lit. 'green tobacco' < *'āmbaxab*).	[Ebt28, Mgd]
'aribes	edible wild bulb, size of large potato, edible raw, but generally roasted (*kalkoentjie*). (*Gladiolus* sp?)	[Ebt36]
'ãukua	veldkos, wild bulbs.	[JM]
'ōb, 'ōkua	veld onion, generic term for edible wild bulbs. (Xhosa *inqoba* '*Cyperus esculentus*, yellow nut grass, *uintjie*'.)	[Ebt28, Mhf]
'one naus	plant sp. with twisted leaves, fruit eaten by children. (This plant, named for its corkscrew twisted leaves (*naus* 'ear, leaf'), was possibly *Gethyllis afra*, or the kukumakranka.)	[Ebt36]
'um-	wild olive. (Namibian Khoekhoe *goms* 'wild olive', Xhosa *umnquma*)	[Ebt36]
'urub	groundcover with grey leaves like *vaalbos*, white flowers dried and used in buchu powder.	[Ebt36]
hūkx'ai 'arokua	berries of low-growing wag-'n-bietjie, crushed, salted and pressed into cakes.	[Ebt36]
hū ōb	plant sp., roots used in making buchu powder. (Same as *hū nũ*?)	[Ebt36]
hū nũ-	small bush growing on sandy soil, roots used in buchu powder.	[Ebt36]
humurub	plant sp., small edible root.	[Lld]
xāb	said by Engelbrecht to have been an alternative name for the *'ãb* (*Fockea edulis*), but this identification seems doubtful. (Possibly the 'ghaap' of some early writers, although this word too has multiple possible sources.)	[Ebt36]
xanub	wild pumpkin.	[Ebt36]
xareb	wild olive (*kareeboom*), berries eaten. (Namibian Khoekhoe *gari aus = Grewia* sp.)	[Ebt36]
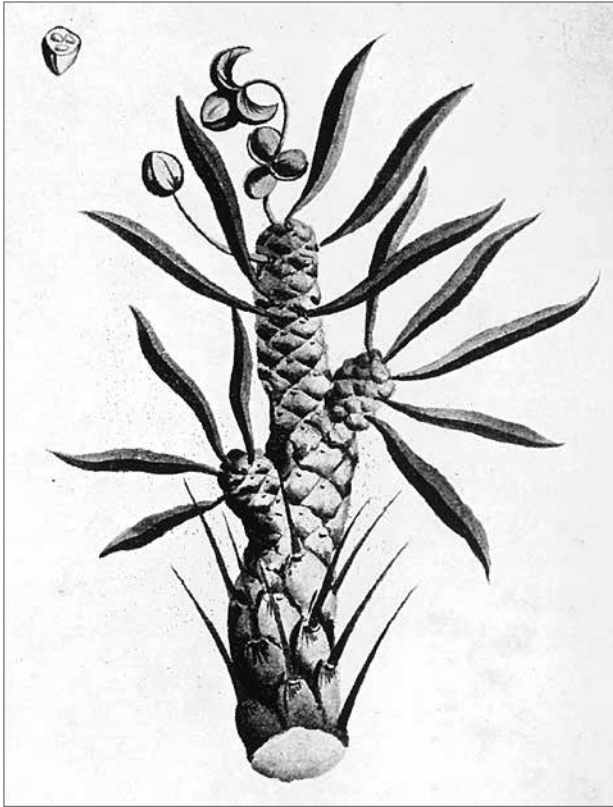
FIGURE 6.5   *Euphorbia* sp. *Simon van der Stel's Journal*, ed. Gilbert Waterhouse (Dublin University Press, 1932).

Plant name	Description	Source
xarob	veld onion sp. (*gifbol*), resinous inner portion used to make a glue. Also used for arrow poison. (Namibian Khoekhoe *kharos* = *Boophane disticha*, *Nerine laticoma*, *Welwitschia mirabilis.*)	[Mhf, Ebt36]
xonthamab (~ xōn)	watermelon (sweet kind).	[Mhf]
nani gãb	grass for thatching (*dekgras*).	[Ebt28]
narob	fruit sp.	[Mhf]
noas	fruit sp. (very small seeds, not eaten), bitter-apple. (*Solanum* spp?)	[Mhf, Ebt36]
noar noars	bush with red berries, juice used to curdle milk.	[Ebt36]
noeb	acacia, 'thorn tree closely resembling the ūb' (*swarthaak*). (Namibian Khoekhoe *noes* (also *gares*, Hai om) = *Vachellia mellifera.*)	[Ebt28]

Plant name	Description	Source
nomab	root.	[Mhf]
numakua	weeds.	[Mhf]
on ǀgãb (~ ǀxōn)	sweetgrass (*soetgras*).	[Ebt28]
ʼāb	reed (used for flutes, arrows). (Namibian Khoekhoe āb = *Phragmites australis*.)	[Mhf]
ʼāb	plant sp. with edible leaves and roots, latter providing significant source of water. (*Fockea edulis*?) (Possibly same as Tswana *lerusho* or *lerisho*, and may be the plant mentioned by Chapman (p. 436), who noted that 'these tubers (*lerush*, or *chabba*) grow in strong rocky places, and twine amongst scrubby bush. […] The tuber, which is soft and watery as a melon, is large and slightly milky-white inside. […] One which I measured was three and a half feet by two and a half feet in circumference, but I have seen them double that size. The juice is of a sweetish taste. This root constitutes both food and drink to Bushmen at some seasons, and to Damaras also.' Cole (p. 256) gives the Tswana name as *leruswa*, and identifies the plant as *Fockea angustifolia*. (Note also Kwangari *e ava* '*Fockea* sp.') (Namibian Khoekhoe hawab = *Fockea angustifolia*, or water root *kambroo*.) Engelbrecht said that this plant was also known as xāb, but the latter probably referred to a different plant. Also said by him to have been called a *kambro*, and to be known additionally as *koeiriempies*. Engelbrecht, who may have been describing yet another plant (*Myrsiphyllum multituberosum*?) when he spoke about the *koeiriempies*, provided the following information about it (p. 116): 'Both the leaves and the root are eaten. The latter, which are underground and stand out radially and horizontally from the centre, are compared to candles or fingers. As many as thirty to forty fingers may occur in one plane. Immediately below this are another set of fingers standing out in the same fashion, and so on until, when perhaps the depth of one foot is reached, the last fingers are found.'	[Ebt36]
ʼaeb (~ ʼãieb, aeb)	base for buchu powder, see under *sãb*	[Ebt36]
ʼarob (~ xarob)	berry bush, thorny (known as the wag-'n-bietjie). (Namibian Khoekhoe aros = *Ziziphus mucronata*, Naro *kxʼaro*.)	[Ebt28, Ebt36]
ʼare gãb	burrweed (*klitsgras*). (*Setaria* or *Pupalia* spp.?) (Namibian Khoekhoe ares = *Pupalia* sp. (*beesklits*).)	[Ebt28]
ʼau gananab	bushy sp. (*taaibos*), bears bunches of berries.(Namibian Khoekhoe ãus = *Grewia* sp. (raisinbush).)	[Ebt28]
ʼaub	raisinberry bush (*taaibos*). (Same as kxʼãukua?)	[Ebt28]
ʼūb	edible wild bulb (= 'food'?)	[Lld]
harib	bushy sp. (*bloubos*). (Possibly *Diospyros lycioides*, but see notes for *dūhaib*, and also note Hai om gares = *Vachellia mellifera.*)	[Mhf]
hũib	Cape willow, wood favoured for carving vessels (*Salix mucronata*). (Xhosa *umswi, umgcwimbe, umnculuba, umngcunube.*)	[Mhf]
hũidanis	willow-honey, sticky substance obtained from leaves of willows after rain, could be used as sugar source for honey-beer.	[Ebt36]

Plant name	Description	Source
xari aib	tobacco variety, 'broad leaf, medium height, strong.' (Engelbrecht suggests meaning is 'small smoke', but probably 'small leaf'.) (See also *kai aib.)* (Namibian Khoekhoe *khari gaeb = Nicotiana rustica.*)	[Ebt36]
xarob (~ 'arob)	thorny sp. (wag-'n-bietjiebos).	[Ebt36]
xau	berry (bush and plant), sweetish, could cause acute constipation.	[Ebt36]
xob	kernel, stone, pit (of fruit).	[Mhf]
xōn xūb	sweet-thorn acacia, 'inner bark soaked, pounded, twisted to make cordage.' (*Vachellia karroo.*)	[Ebt36]
kx'arab	kernel, pit, stone of fruit.	[Mhf]
kx'āukua	wild cherry sp., Khoi cherry. Meinhof identified as *Cassine maurocenia* or *Maurocenia capensis* (now *M. frangularia*). (Endemic Cape peninsula and west coast up to Saldanha.)	[Mhf]
kx'au gum	bushy sp. (*taaibos*).	[Lld]
naidab 'aribes	edible wild bulb, like small yellow potato, eaten raw (baboon-*kalkoentjie*). *Gladiolus* or *Babiana* sp?)	[Ebt36]
nū 'ōb	edible wild bulb, 'black, long and round, size of thumb'.	[Ebt28]
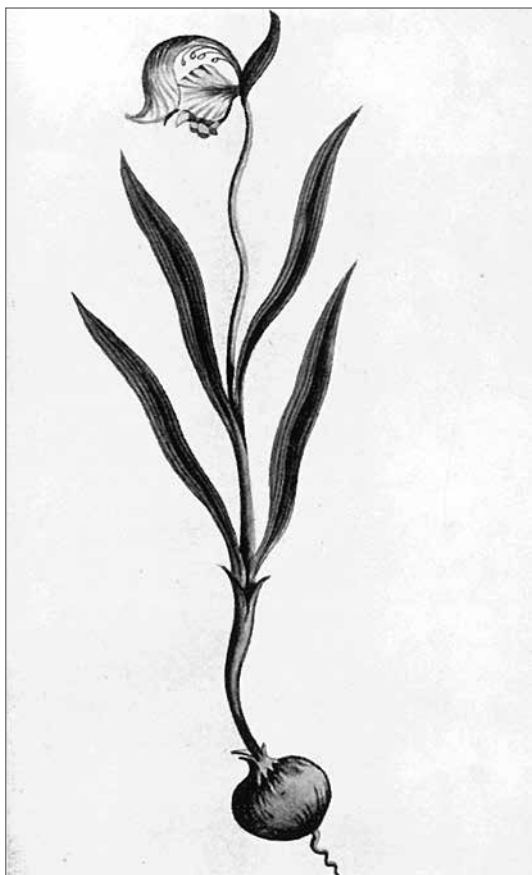
FIGURE 6.6   *Antholyza* sp. *Simon van der Stel's Journal*, ed. Gilbert Waterhouse (Dublin University Press, 1932).

Endnotes

1   Lucy C. Lloyd, "Manuscript notebooks on Kora [1879]."

2   Jan A. Engelbrecht, "*Studies oor Korannataal*," *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch* 6, ser. B, no. 2 (1928); and *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936). These two works are respectively abbreviated throughout the Dictionary as Ebt28, and Ebt36.

3   Carl Meinhof, *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Supplement 12 to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*) (Berlin: Reimer, 1930). This work is abbreviated throughout the Dictionary as Mhf.

4   The name represented in early Cape records as '*ghokum*' for the sourfig (the edible fruit of the large mesembryanthemum), is similarly not found, though it occurs in Xhosa as *igqukuma* or *igcukuma*. (Even today, sourfigs harvested from the wild can be bought

during their brief season from informal traders on the roadsides of Cape Town.) The second part of the Cape Khoekhoe word ('*kum*') is possibly a Kora word *kx'om or kx'um*, which Lucy Lloyd recorded (as '*γumm*') with the meaning 'bud', though its sense may have extended to small fruits and berries.

5   See for example, P. W. Laidler, "The magic medicine of the Hottentots," *South African Journal of Science* 25 (1928), 433–447; T. H. Arnold, M. J. Wells and A. S. Wehmeyer, "Khoisan food plants: taxa with future potential for economic exploitation," in *Plants for Arid Lands: Proceedings of the Kew International Conference on Economic Plants for Arid Lands*, ed. G. E. Wickens, Joe R.Goodin and David V. Field (London: Unwin Hyman, 1985), 69–86; Fiona Archer, "Ethnobotany of Namaqualand: the Richtersveld" (University of Cape Town: MA thesis, 1994); C. J. Skead, "Historical plant incidence in South Africa," *Strelitzia* 24 (Pretoria: South Africa National Biodiversity Unit, 2009); Janneke Margaretha Nortje, "Medicinal ethnobotany of the Kamiesberg, Namaqualand, Northern Cape Province, South Africa" (University of Johannesburg: MSc thesis, 2011).

6   Nortje, "Medicinal ethnobotany," 17.

7   Nortje, "Medicinal ethnobotany," 87.

8   Eliphas Eiseb, W. Giess and W. H. G. Haacke, "A preliminary list of Khoekhoe (Nama/Dama) plant names," *Dinteria* 21 (1991), 17–30.

9   South African National Botanical Institute (Sanbi), "Vegetation of South Africa," on the website PlantZAfrica.com (http://pza.sanbi.org/).

10   De Vynck, J. C., R. M. Cowling, A. J. Potts, and C. W. Marean, "Seasonal availability of edible underground and aboveground carbohydrate resources to human foragers on the Cape south coast, South Africa," *PeerJ* 4 (2016): e1679.

11   Thanks to Camilla Christie for checking and confirming many of the details, and for suggesting a number of additional identifications, including a suggestion that the *'one naus*, named for its twisted leaves, was perhaps the kukumakranka, although she adds cautiously that a number of other plants (including some species of *Moraea*) similarly have helicoid leaves, since these are a fairly common adaptation to arid environments.

12   Wilfrid H. G. Haacke and Eliphas Eiseb, *A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary, with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2002).

13   Hessel Visser, *Naro Dictionary* (Gantsi, Botswana: Naro Language Project, 2001).

14   J. Tom Brown, *Setswana Dictionary: Setswana-English and English-Setswana* (Johannesburg: Pula Press, 1982).

15   J. K. Kloppers, expanded D. Nakare and L. M. Isala, ed. A. W. Bredell, *Bukengango Rukwangali-English/English-Rukwangali Dictionary* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 1994).

16   J. McLaren, *A New Concise Xhosa-English Dictionary* (rev. W. G. Bennie, transliterated J. J. R. Jolobe) (Cape Town: Longmans Southern Africa, 1963).

17   Sonwabo Lungile Tshabe, F. M. Shoba, Buyiswa Mavis Mini, H. W. Pahl, A. M. Pienaar, and T. A. Ndungane, *The Greater Dictionary of IsiXhosa* (3 vols) (Alice: University of Fort Hare, 2006).

18   Nortje, "Medicinal ethnobotany."

19   Le Vaillant, as Francois Valentyn, *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop, 1726* (2 vols), trans. Rowland Raven-Hart, ed. Edith Raidt (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1971, 1973).

20   Hendrik Wikar, *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935).

21 T. H. Arnold, M. J. Wells and A. S. Wehmeyer, "Khoisan food plants: taxa with future potential for economic exploitation."

22 Desmond T. Cole, *Setswana – Animals and Plants* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1995).

23 James Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (2 vols) (London: Bell and Daldy, 1868).

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E na si toasi.

INDEX