

## 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.<sup>1</sup>

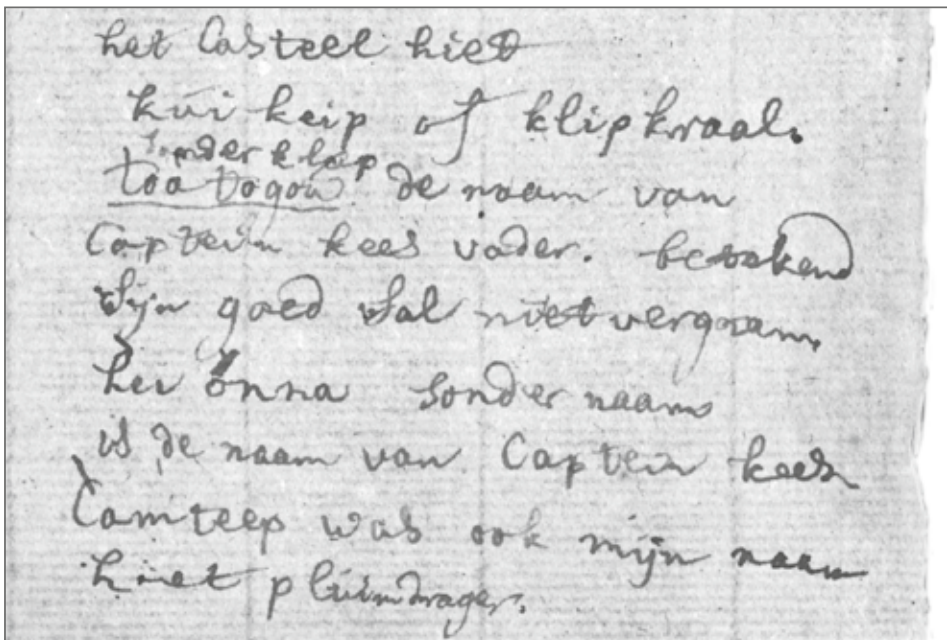


FIGURE 2.1 Extract from the manuscript notes of Robert Gordon. The page shows his note from about 1779 of a Khoekhoe name for the castle at the Cape as *kui keip*, which he was told meant *klipkraal* or 'stone kraal', and which was probably /'ui !xaib. (R. J. Gordon. Papers. MS.107/10/1. The Brenthurst 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 (17<sup>th</sup> to late 18<sup>th</sup> centuries)

Although the Portuguese navigators had found their way around the southern tip of Africa by the close of the 15<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> nevertheless sometimes ventured into ‘Saldanha Bay’ (which was renamed Tafel Bay or Table Bay by Joris Spilbergen in 1601),<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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’ (*hāukx’ū* ~ *hūxū*) in Herbert’s *chowhawgh*. (The word for ‘seven’ in Nama is *hū* [hū].) Another early record was supplied by Etienne de Flacourt, who obtained a word list on his return voyage from Madagascar in 1655.<sup>5</sup> 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 *bi!’āb* 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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;<sup>6</sup> and in 1717, in the *Collectanea Etymologica* compiled by Leibniz.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

### Het Onse Vader in Hottentots.

*Onse Vader, die in de Hemelen zyt, (a)*

*Cita bô, t? homme ingá t'siha,*

(a) gelukkig zij. juxta Hottent.

*gebeyligt werde uw naam, uw (b) Koning-*

*t? sa di kamink ouna, hem kou-*

(b) heerschappye. Hottent.

*ryke kome, uw wil geschiede op der*

*queent see, dani hinqua t'sa inhee K? chou*

*aarde, als in den bemel, geeft ons*

*ki, quiquo t? homm' ingá, maa cita*

*beden ons dagelyk broot, vergeeft ons*

*heci cita kóua sequa 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 verlost ons van den (c) bo-*

*thummá — k' harnta cita hi aquei hee k? dou*

(c) van dem quaden Man, Duyvel

*sen, want uwe is dat Koningryk, en de*

*auna, --- t? aats kouqueetla, hiquet? aats*

*kragt, en de beerlykbeys in der eenvigbeys.*

*diaha, hique occisa ha, nauwi.*

FIGURE 2.2 Cape Khoekhoe version of the Lord's prayer as obtained by Nicolaas Witsen in the late 17<sup>th</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> that the two word lists were respectively compiled by the young German scholar, George Frederick Wreede, and the Cape Secretary, J. W. de Grevenbroeck.<sup>10</sup> A further short word list was obtained by Johan Daniel Buttner<sup>11</sup> ‘between 1712 (his year of arrival) and 1716 (year of his manuscript)’. His account of his travels was not published, however, until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup> (Francois le Vaillant<sup>13</sup> 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<sup>14</sup> 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.’<sup>15</sup> Gordon’s testimony is of unparalleled value, since he had some fluency in the local Cape variety of Khoekhoe. His journals<sup>16</sup> 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’.<sup>17</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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),<sup>18</sup> 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.

enige ketten tott vermen.

Soel	Lou	Woci lu	Lie
Caan	Maan	Wom na	Mond
Caacaan	Maan	Coong	Tonden
o Camma	Lavater	la	Vosten
gredi	Schaap	songua	hand
caume	Lamb	Toea	schamelheid der ziele
ti	en	Noub	schamelheid van de
Maan	Twee	Tamma	Broth & oude
Noria	Diec	omma	Rammen
Flotta	Vier	Domma	Kiel
gald	hoff van	Gouli	vinger
Kraab	Oliphant	Nour	hoff nos.
Nabat	Reinoster	Combuoi	23 uur
Jus ora	God	aaan ta	Ja
Ha ha mi om	spreeken	aaan te	Ncon
Lah gisi gisi		Joc	rog
mingua, kange	Attenititi spreken	Compuoi	Carha mei ke 18 me nam
Aruti ja	Gij zijt mijn vriend	Coor-lour	heft van
Lah ca couha	Nit gy denken		
Ja am le he lale	hee vaart gij		
Jeri Roi	Ik ben niet		
Goere	hoog		
Quouqua	Nan		
Tre avoua	Ik heb honger		
Lata	Gij		
Tre van vrammi ca	Ik heb dorste		
Erini avou camma	Dat is lekker		
Nan cobaba cob	in de zee		
ha kaba, tnoe caui			
Cobe ticanise	hij land is niet		
Mebati robe a	Kabon		
kala hamnoofi			
Cobe adahal	Maar is het land		
Cain li ca cali camma	Ik drink a		
Jessawa cam	Nigeme		
Compe	god zij met u		
Stie Nan cocha	Ik moet naar om rug		
Hase tur	Deba		
tite	geen goed meer		
Toeki	Rogen		
Terakuis	Nouor		
Quouqua	Nan		
Bi a	het hooft		
Nouqua	Oogen		
Nouqua	Ooren		

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 *b'i'a* (*bi'l'āb*) for 'head' (*het hooft*, third word from bottom of the list). Note that the last two words, *mouqua* (*mūkuva*) for 'eyes' (*oogen*) and '*nauqua* (*l'nāukua*) '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 Gariiep 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 Gariiep. 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.)<sup>20</sup>

### 2.2.2 From the early period of British colonisation in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 Gariiep 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,<sup>21</sup> P. B. Borchers, and the artist Samuel Daniell.<sup>22</sup> Somerville's journal<sup>23</sup> 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 Borchers<sup>24</sup> 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 invaluable detailed accounts of their journeys include Henry Lichtenstein, a German explorer who travelled in the years 1803–1806; William Burchell, described by Vernon Forbes<sup>25</sup> 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<sup>26</sup> 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,<sup>27</sup> which carries as a bonus one of the earliest records of a 'Bosjesman' or !Ui language, is shown in Figure 2.4.

**APPENDIX.**

	<i>Coran.</i>	<i>Bosjesman.</i>
Five.....	kurruh .....	
Six.....	t <sup>1</sup> nani .....	
Seven.....	honko .....	
Eight.....	t <sup>1</sup> kaissee .....	
Nine.....	t <sup>1</sup> goissee .....	
Ten.....	diissi .....	
-----		
A Man.....	köhn .....	t <sup>1</sup> kubi.
The head.....	minnong .....	t <sup>1</sup> naa.
The eye.....	muhm .....	t <sup>1</sup> saguh.
The nose.....	t <sup>1</sup> geub .....	t <sup>1</sup> nuhntu.
The mouth.....	t <sup>1</sup> kchamma .....	tub.
The teeth.....	t <sup>1</sup> kuhm .....	t <sup>1</sup> kei.
The tongue.....	tamma .....	t <sup>1</sup> ian.
The beard.....	t <sup>1</sup> nomkoa .....	t <sup>1</sup> nomm.
The hair.....	t <sup>1</sup> onkoa .....	t <sup>1</sup> uki.
The ear.....	t <sup>1</sup> naum .....	t <sup>1</sup> no cingtu.
The neck.....	t <sup>1</sup> aub .....	t <sup>1</sup> kau.
The breast.....	t <sup>1</sup> hamma* .....	t <sup>1</sup> neintu.
The arm.....	t <sup>1</sup> koam .....	t <sup>1</sup> oo.
The hand.....	t <sup>1</sup> koam } .....	t <sup>1</sup> aa.
The finger ..	t <sup>1</sup> unkoa } .....	t <sup>1</sup> kauki.
The body.....	t <sup>1</sup> kaab .....	t <sup>1</sup> kautu.
The belly.....	t <sup>1</sup> komma .....	t <sup>1</sup> geun.
The entrails.....	t <sup>1</sup> geunkoa .....	t <sup>1</sup> kooib.
The back.....	t <sup>1</sup> kam, t <sup>1</sup> ikaib† .....	t <sup>1</sup> hee.
The thigh.....	tiim .....	t <sup>1</sup> koah.
The leg.....	t <sup>1</sup> nuh .....	t <sup>1</sup> noah.
The foot.....	t <sup>1</sup> keib .....	
-----		
Father.....	Aboob .....	Oa.
Mother.....	Eijoos .....	Choa.
Brother.....	t <sup>1</sup> kaam .....	t <sup>1</sup> kang.
Sister.....	t <sup>1</sup> kaans .....	t <sup>1</sup> kaach.
Husband.....	{ kōub } .....	t <sup>1</sup> na.
	{ 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 Plumtre (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<sup>1</sup>komma* for ‘belly’, and the tendency for the masculine singular suffix *-b* to occur as *-m* after a nasalised vowel, as in *t<sup>1</sup>kuhm* for ‘teeth’, *t<sup>1</sup>kam* for ‘back’ and *tiim* for ‘thigh’. The word given as *minnong* for ‘head’ in this list is unusual.

Burchell tells us<sup>28</sup> 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,<sup>29</sup> shown in Figure 2.5.

254	A SPECIMEN OF	18 JUNX,
Thou - - - - -	<i>Tsaats</i> (Tsarts).	
Here - - - - -	<i>Heeba</i> , or <i>Heeva</i> (Háyba).	
Where? - - - - -	<i>Bába</i> , or <i>Bárho</i> .	
Sun - - - - -	<i>Sórréip</i> . Here the <i>ei</i> forms a true diphthong; in which the <i>e</i> and the <i>i</i> are equally blended, by pronouncing them both so closely together, that only one sound is produced.	
Moon - - - - -	' <i>Kaam</i> .	
New-moon - - - - -	' <i>Kám'kaam</i> . 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 - - - - -	' <i>Ký'kaam</i> .	
Moon decreasing, or in the last quarter - - - - -	<i>Ghydá'kaam</i> . The <i>h</i> in this place gives a strong and guttural aspiration to the <i>G</i> .	
Stars - - - - -	' <i>Kammárúka</i> . ('KammarooKa).	
The Pleiades, or Seven-stars	' <i>Koodi</i> , or ' <i>Kódi</i> ('Kody).	
The three stars in the Belt of Orion - - - - -	' <i>Kaankúka</i> ('Kánnkooqua).	
Morning-star (Venus) - - - - -	' <i>Kwákkóorup</i> (Quarcumroop).	
Shadow - - - - -	' <i>Karáap</i> , or ' <i>Karúp</i> (Caraap).	
Clouds - - - - -	' <i>Káma</i> (Koomer).	
Rain - - - - -	' <i>Káviip</i> or ' <i>Kávúp</i> (Kaveep). It is also called <i>Tús</i> or <i>Tuus</i> (Tooce) by some kraals.	
Hail - - - - -	' <i>Nánkwa</i> ('Naanqua or 'Nannquar).	
Lightning - - - - -	<i>Tabáp</i> (Tabárp).	
Thunder - - - - -	' <i>Gurúp</i> ('Gooróop).	
Wind - - - - -	' <i>Kúáp</i> ('Cooárp): in two syllables so closely connected, that this word might almost be written ' <i>Kúáp</i> .	
Water - - - - -	' <i>Kámmá</i> .	
Fire - - - - -	' <i>Kááip</i> , or ' <i>Káip</i> , in two distinct syllables.	
Smoke - - - - -	' <i>Aíkanna</i> . Here the <i>ai</i> forms a diphthong, and bears the accent.	
Mountain - - - - -	<i>Sesin</i> (Saysin). Both these syllables were of equal force; so that the accent was not distinguished.	
Many Mountains - - - - -	' <i>Kýsi sesin</i> ('Kýser saysin).*	
Spring or Fountain - - - - -	' <i>Mú'kammá</i> (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.<sup>30</sup>

July 14<sup>th</sup> 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:

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

One of the appendices<sup>31</sup> 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.

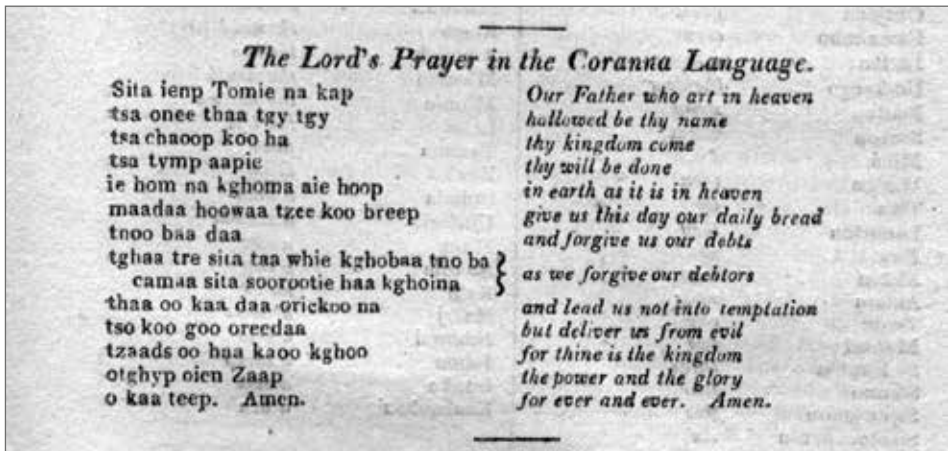


FIGURE 2.6 Version of the Lord's Prayer in Kora as written down by the missionary John Campbell in 1813. The prayer is included in one of the appendices to his *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 388–389. Note the use of *soorootie* (*surudi*), apparently in 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;<sup>32</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> century edition of his travels.<sup>33</sup>

### 2.2.3 From the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

It is from about the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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',<sup>34</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> century by Heinrich Vedder<sup>35</sup> and Maingard.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup> This work was edited and prepared for re-publication by Walther Bourquin in 1920.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup>

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.<sup>41</sup> 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 ||Hùý !keib,<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.)<sup>44</sup>

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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> A trade bill<sup>46</sup> 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 (⊥) for the palato-alveolar click, while using a breve (˘) for the (post) alveolar click, an apparently modified form of the symbol for a 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.<sup>47</sup>

### 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 ‘Bushman’ and would provide suitable companions for the recently bereaved |Xam speaker, |Hangʃkass’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.’<sup>48</sup> A fifth notebook, containing notes taken down

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

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.<sup>51</sup> This well-known South African family name arises from the name of a famous Korana clan, the Left-standers (||'Aremã||'ais), who are said to have taken the name after parting ways with another group, who became known as the Right-Hand people (Kx'am||ōakua). The family, whose members included Piet Links (||Oāxap), Griet (Makas) and Siela ('Cela'), came from Mamusa (now Schweizer-Reneke).

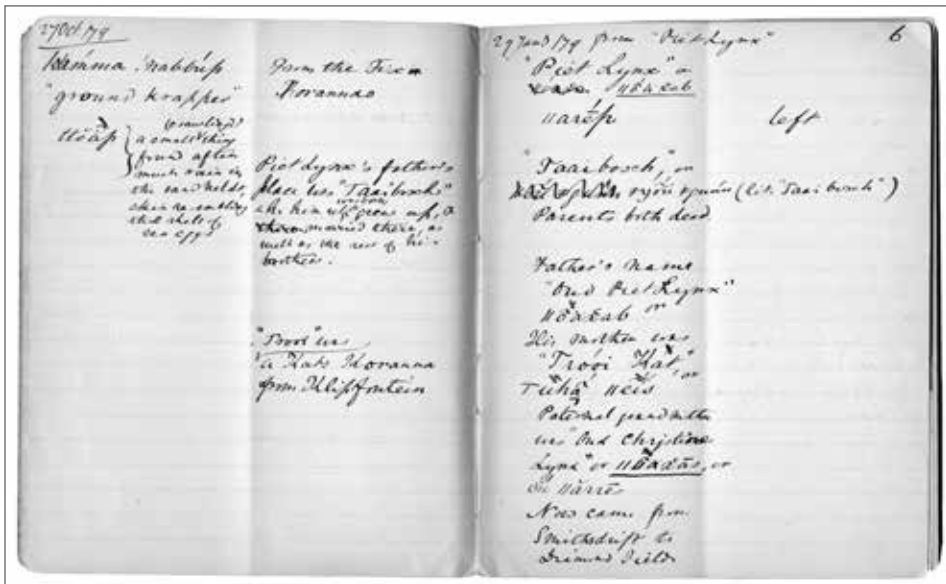


FIGURE 2.7 Pages from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1). These pages show mentions of the Links, Taaibosch, and Kats clans, as well as the mistaken interpretation of the Links family name as 'Lynx', despite the meaning of //are having been given to Lloyd as 'left' (near the top of the righthand 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.<sup>52</sup> Maingard also drew on the vocabularies compiled by Lloyd to prepare an edited list of Kora names for various animals and plants.<sup>53</sup>

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* ( $\tau$ ) 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 ( $\parallel$ ). Like Bleek, she used the Greek letter *gamma* ( $\gamma$ ) 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.<sup>54</sup>

PL2. How the San lost their cattle.<sup>55</sup>

PL3. The lions and Crazy-head Korhaan.<sup>56</sup>

PL4. The common origin of humankind.<sup>57</sup>

PL5. Jackal stories (a sequence of three linked stories).<sup>58</sup>

PL6. Burial.<sup>59</sup>

PL7. Making a living through cleverness.<sup>60</sup>

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 20<sup>th</sup> century

The four scholars whose work on Kora dominated the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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,<sup>61</sup> published in 1909, but it is his study of Kora,<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> 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,<sup>65</sup> 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,<sup>66</sup> 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,<sup>67</sup> and in addition, published one of the first papers to show convincingly that the Khoekhoe varieties were related to Kalahari languages such as Naro.<sup>68</sup> Maingard conducted most of his work with speaker communities during the 1930s,<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> Engelbrecht noted<sup>71</sup> 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:<sup>72</sup> ‘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,<sup>73</sup> and the second was sent to Engelbrecht in the form of a text together with a translation into Afrikaans:<sup>74</sup>

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]’ais). 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.<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup>

- 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:

<i>Ta a-b kobab ada kãxu-da,</i>	‘Do not let our language be lost from us,
<i>ti khoë-du’e</i>	‘you my people’

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

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.<sup>78</sup> 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<sup>79</sup> 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 ||Gob, belonged to the Kats clan (the |Hõa||'ais), and the two men were distantly related, although Bitterbos lived at Barkly West. He assisted Engelbrecht in the 1920s, contributing numerous texts<sup>80</sup> 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* ||'äigu, or melon-spearing.
- AB8. Counting backwards (a game played with pebbles).
- AB9. The *jãmas*, 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’.<sup>81</sup> 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 †Xam|nubus is said to have meant ‘young puffball’, also lived in Kimberley.<sup>82</sup>
- **Hendrik Flink,** also known as Alogob, lived in Barkly West. Engelbrecht noted that his father Hans Flink belonged to the Towenaar (Sorcerer) clan (!Gaixa||’ais), while his mother, Alilora or Hulīs, was from the Bitterbos (Bitterbush) people (!Gumtena). His great name was †Gamab.<sup>83</sup>

#### 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> In addition to assisting Engelbrecht in the compilation of the rich Word List, these speakers also contributed a set of sentences<sup>86</sup> 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,<sup>87</sup> and the remainder in 1967,<sup>88</sup> 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 †Gama||'ais. Maingard, who met him in the 1930s, estimated his age then at about 100.<sup>89</sup>
- **Teteb** or Koot belonged to the !Gana||'ais, while his mother came from the Mei people.<sup>90</sup>
- **Tsita**, also known as Thomas Links, was the son of Teteb.
- **Tabab** or Frans Viljoen was 'the son of Khausib and Tuis'. His great name from his mother was !Onob, while that from his father was !Naubib.<sup>91</sup> 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)'.<sup>92</sup>
- **Kheis**, an elderly woman in the 1930s, was the wife of Tabab.<sup>93</sup>
- **!Kutsi**, was the son-in-law of Tabab. Maingard said that he was of 'mixed Griqua and Kora descent'.<sup>94</sup>
- **Dzuli**, or **Julie van Neck**, was the son of Willem, or Bili||xalab, and Gās. He belonged to the !Oara||'ais.<sup>95</sup> Maingard described him as even older than Matiti, who seemed close to 100 years old.<sup>96</sup>
- **Saul van Neck**, was the son of Roelf van Neck or !Araib (of the !Oara||'ais) and Galasi, from whom he took the great name Sonob'.<sup>97</sup> Maingard said that he was nearly as old as Tabab, who was in his 70s or 80s.<sup>98</sup>
- **Meis**, and **Iis** (who was the much younger sister of Meis).<sup>99</sup>
- **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 //aeb* 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 (Dzuli, 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.<sup>100</sup>

- 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<sup>101</sup> 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.)<sup>102</sup>

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.<sup>103</sup> Maingard believed that he was the oldest of all the remaining Bloemhof Korana in the 1930s, estimating his age at 104.<sup>104</sup> Kirby reported that he recorded a number of the songs performed by Daob ‘on the phonograph’,<sup>105</sup> 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’.<sup>106</sup>

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.<sup>107</sup> 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,<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> The names of these men, who spoke the dialect of the Right-Hand people (Kx'am||ōakua), 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+aib).'
- **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 assumed that the language had finally disappeared forever.

### 2.2.5 Kora speakers in the 21<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup> Although we briefly visited one of these speakers, Oupa Dawid Cooper, in 2008,<sup>111</sup> it was only in 2011 that we were finally able to work with him for an extended period of time.<sup>112</sup>

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'.<sup>113</sup> He was told as a child that his mother came from '!Aba, *naby die Groot Rivier*',<sup>114</sup> 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,<sup>115</sup> 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.<sup>116</sup> 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 granddaughter 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,<sup>117</sup> 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 'banjos, 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<sup>118</sup> 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, *Hottentots* (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 Hoop, 1726*, vol. 2, transl. Rowland Raven-Hart, ed. Edith Raidt (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1973), 76–95.
- 14 Peter Kolb, *Naukeurige 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 18<sup>th</sup> century" *Studies in African Linguistics* 34, no. 2 (2005), 159–178; and are discussed in Andrew B. Smith and Roy H. Pfeiffer, "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. Borchers, *An Autobiographical Memoir of Petrus Borchardus Borchers, 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 Dumas, *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, *Tsunil|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 *li|kx’ab* and said to be of unknown meaning – although *|kx’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, Hietsware and Korana” *African Studies* 22, no. 3 (1963), 97–108.
- 69 Maingard also contributed a study of a !Ui language. See Louis F. Maingard, “The †Khomani 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, !Xoon: 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 ‘!Oara||’ais’ was in fact the !Ora||’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 !*Ās* (which she spelled ‘!Kās’).
- 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.