CHAPTER 5

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 Lloyd¹ (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 Meinhof³ (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 Engelbrecht⁵ (Ebt1936), which he obtained from Benjamin Kraalshoek (BKr), Benjamin Kats, and Andries Bitterbos (AB); the narratives obtained by Louis Maingard⁶ (Mgd1932 and Mgd1967) from members of the Bloemhof Korana (Bhf), as well as additional texts obtained by Maingard⁷ (Mgd1964) from a few speakers he met with in Bloemfontein, who were originally from Bethany (Beth); and the work by Douglas Beach⁸ (Bch) on the phonetics of Khoekhoe languages, in which he included a story dictated to him by Benjamin Kraalshoek.

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 Koronadialekt des Hottentottischen (Supplement 12 to the Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen) (Berlin: Reimer, 1930).
⁵ Jan A. Engelbrecht, The Korana (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936).
We have provided the texts with parallel English translations in facing columns. 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 impediment. 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$p’, and the use of a macron (Afrikaans *strepie*) over a vowel (‘ã’) 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. In the case of Lloyd’s work, our versions can always be checked against her original manuscripts, which are available online. 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 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’.)
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.

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 ǂNū !Garib lkū ḥā o,
in kje Kai\(^{14}\) !Korakua hō.
In kje īarilkūa kwa,\(^{15}\)

5  i kje ǂAob\(^{16}\) !na mãsi !kwaxa,\(^{17}\)
i kje ṅāba xu Taungs ḥa hā,
i na ṅāba Briqua\(^{18}\) ǁgobē,\(^{19}\)
i kje ṅāba xu ǁkāuguǀxoa i,
i kje ṅāba Briqua ḥanǁhaīa.

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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 hurī xu-da na să lū ‘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, laimaika, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (bās) of the willows, ḥāib, 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 l’arilīa ko a, or alternatively l’arilīa-ku a.

16 The meaning of ǂAob, 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 (loaxa) the Hart River’.

18 The Birikua (thought to mean ‘goat people’) were speakers of Tswana dialects. The Taibosch 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 ǁgobē being unclear. The phrase is translated by Maingard to mean ‘there the Brikwa attacked them’.

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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 (lū hā), they the Great Korana found (hō).
Then having separated (l’ariloa-ku a [?]) from them,

5  at the Hart River (ǂAob ḫa) they stopped (māsi) approaching (loaxa).
And then away from there (ǂnāba xu) into Taungs (Taungs ḫa) they came (hā),
and there the Tswana (Birikua) attacked [?] (ǁgobē),
and it was fought together with one another (ǁāuguǀxoa) there,
and there the Tswana were routed (ǂhanǁha-(s)i-he, lit. ‘strike-run-Caus-Pass’).
10 I kje Taub\textsuperscript{20} nāba !kame.
I kje nāba xu Mamusaba\textsuperscript{21} !koa doe, i-ku kje nāba xu
\|oro khoekua\textsuperscript{22} Hai !Garib !koa doe.
I kje hā-ku kje hā,

10 And Tau there was killed (\textit{tamhe}).
And from there (nāba xu) to Mamusa
(Mamusaba \textit{loa}) they trekked, and
from there, a few people (\|x\|oro khoekua) to the
Vaal River (Hai !Garib \textit{loa}) trekked.
And when they arrived there,

15 hippopotamuses (\textit{ixaodi}) here (hēba)
were seen (mũhe) in the Vaal River.
Then they sent messages (\textit{\|an\|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 kje nāba).

15 The San (Sāku) there found (hō hā)
the old man (aubi),
he was struck down (\textit{hanhe}) by them,
but he fought his way through (lit. ‘fought-open’ \|ãu\|xoba)
the road (daob).

20 The San (Sāku) there found (hō hā) the
old man (aubi),
he was struck down (\textit{thanhe}) by them,
but he fought his way through (lit. ‘fought-open’ \|ãu\|xoba) the road (daob).
[By] the San (Sāku)
two daughters (\textit{am} \|ãdi) of his (\textit{ab})
were killed (\textit{tamhe}).

20 And Tau there was killed (\textit{tamhe}).
And from there (nāba xu) to Mamusa
(Mamusaba \textit{loa}) they trekked, and
from there, a few people (\|x\|oro khoekua) to the
Vaal River (Hai !Garib \textit{loa}) trekked.
And when they arrived there,

25 Another man (\textit{\|na\|khoeb}) to Mamusa
[for help] was sent (\textit{sĩhe}),
and men [who] were from there were
fought alongside with (\|\|na\|xohe), and
when they came (hā),
there were San still remaining (hā)
there,
and the men fought with (\|ãugu) the San. \textsuperscript{384}

25 Another man (\textit{\|na\|khoeb}) to Mamusa
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when they came (hā),
there were San still remaining (hā)
there,
and the men fought with (\|ãugu) the San. \textsuperscript{384}

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{21} The town of Mamusa is now named Schweizer-Reneke,
after two of the soldiers killed in a battle they
fought against the Korana chief David Massouw
in 1885.

\textsuperscript{22} Maingard usually spells khoe as ‘khwe’ and khoekua as
‘khwekwa’. The original spellings have been adapted here
for ease of reading.

\textsuperscript{23} Mooifontein, a farm near Bloemhof.

\textsuperscript{24} With the common plural suffix, this word becomes ‘Sān’.

\textsuperscript{25} This phrase features a rare occurrence (for Kora) of
the copula in the past form \textit{i}. Judging by Maingard’s translation,
the first instance of \textit{ha} is \textit{hā} ‘remain, stay’,
while the second is the aspect marker \textit{hā}, used here in
association with \textit{i}. The function of the \textit{a} at the end of the
phrase is not clear.

\textsuperscript{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.
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 (ǀŨdiǀŨais).

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).

The expression xatti khoeb, which quite literally means 'white man', is unusual. (The term usually used for an Englishman or 'white man' was fūha.) 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.

This is the clan (the Katse, or Cats) to which Benjamin Kats belonged.

Meinhof writes 'dome', and translates the phrase hè dome kxāj as 'in this manner'.

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.

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).
Ten men were sent to him, with a cow and a calf. 
On the cow (gomas ſ’ama) he would ride (labi) 
and the cow was in milk, 
so that he might (ka) drink its milk. 
He was barefoot (l’oǂ’ai tje a), 
so when the cow arrived (sĩ), 
he climbed on. 
The men did not find (hō tama) 
fighting (ǁ’agub), 
and they went away, 
and to Delport (Delport kx’ai) 
having been made to remain seated (hã-ǂnũ-a-si-he).  

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 !nae hā
   i-r tje tje hēba \|]xa][xasen hā \|]xanis kobab
   si-tje \|]xa][xakx’aob Meyeri dib.
   I-r tje \|]nām \|]’aib xu ho \|]ni kobab dib.

5  \|]xaisi \|]kx’aru tjisi haũkx’û tjisi
   !nona \|]kx’a \|]’aĩ kurib \|]na
   i-r tje skōl \|]hā hā.\(^43\)

10 \|]Nā abas \|]nā
    i-b tje \|]xa][xaxk’aob ada hāb xa
    \|]na][xāe hā
    Kimberlib\(^46\) daob kx’ai.
    \|]Na \|]kx’ae na \|]xa][xab kuru !ũ
    Kimberlibā !oa
    Kx’aatsekou xa,

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.’

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.

Meinhof offers the correction !kx’aru for ‘kx’aru’.

On the basis of official records, Maingard (1932, 143) puts the year of the great snowfall at 1876.

Lloyd noted that according to Piet Links, an old name for Kimberley was !Âs.

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15 and on the Monday early in the morning (\textit{oakaka}) he would race back (\textit{noa!xoē}) to the school.
And on that day, while racing (\textit{noa!xoēhāxā}) through the snow, he was thrown from (\textit{nā!xahē}) his horse, and was hurt (\textit{thūthūhē}) in the shoulder (\textit{hōb}).

20 For three days and nights the snow kept falling.
And the day the snow melted (\textit{thūni}), the ditches (\textit{'aku}) were overflowing (\textit{ãmã}) (‘streaming’).\footnote{This is the place where I was born, and where I learned to read from our teacher Mr Mey er. 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.}

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Bhf5. From the life-story of Iis (Iis) (Mgd1932, 142–143)

1 Kai ǃkoab kurib !na
Iis kje !Xoub47 kx’ai !nae hā.
I kje !koab hoa kx’ommi na !gokx’ai.
ǁNāǁ’ae kx’ommi na |harukwa xu dīe hā.48

5 I kje |harukwa |hāb49 xu dīe.
I kje tarakhoedi !garib !na |hākwa dī|hau|hau.

Bhf5. From the life-story of Iis (Iis) (Mgd1932, 142–143)

1 In the year (kurib !na) of the big snow (kai ǃxoab)
Iis at Saron (!Xaub kx’ai) was born (ǃnae hā).
The snow every house (hoa kx’ommi) was covering up (ǃgokx’ai).
At that time (ǁNāǁ’ae) the houses from mats (ǀharukua xu) were made (dihe hā).

5 The mats were made from reed (ǀhāb xu).
The women in the river (ǀgarib !na) the reeds gathered (di|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 (laigomub) 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 kareebboom. The mats for roofing were generally made from two preferred species of reed, ǀharu and ǀtib, and were fastened to the poles by means of cord made from the inner bark of various species, including the soetdoring (ǂxonǀhūb), 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 (Mhf, 68–69)

1 Six days a week, four weeks a month, twelve months a year, come let us study (ǁxaǁxasen)

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.

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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 (Mhf, 69)

1! Åsa Pokotji,
|oro54 xudaku
i-r tje na xoabatsi tidi koku xa
tsĩ nabe-tsi55.

5 Kx’ontsēbe seda56 tje hā,
du ka hamti kx’ontsēbe57 hā?
Hamtsē i-ts ka ta ǁōaxa,
ǁxābi i-ts ta hā tsi?58
Ho’o ǁna daob kx’ai i,59

10 ta ǁnati dī-tsē!
A hē daob kx’ai ha!
A hēhē ǂxanis hā’ūba re,60
a-si Mosib māba re.

Kareli ko ǁxaba xoaba-re hā

15 kx’uĩhāku an xa,
i tā, koma, hē tsēku !na hā.
I-r tje xu’ō ba-tsī hā tje,
a-r nabe-tsi.

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.

The original ǀoro of Benjamin Kats appears in Meinhof’s re-written version as ǀxoro. It is possible that Meinhof only meant to substitute ǀxoro, but that in the process the wrong click was introduced.

The –tsi here and in several other places seems to be a formal version of the usual –ts for ‘you (ms).’

For sida.

Benjamin Kats has ǁxontsebe in the original.

Meinhof re-writes Kat’s ’tsi’ as tsi.

The phrasal division and the literal translation given for lines 9–11 follow Meinhof, but may not be correct. Benjamin Kats has ǁxai at the end of line 9 – which looks much like the expression for ‘that’ used by Piet Links. Meinhof, however, changed the spelling to ǁxai (’on’). If the expression was indeed ’on that road’, it is a further possibility that it had a metaphorical meaning similar to English ‘on that course’.

The instances of re in lines 12 and 13 may be rare occurrences in Kora of the ‘politeness particle’ re of Nama.

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
(Lld, MP1: 081–089)

1 Abob kie kie hēti hī ḋāna,63 hē na ḋub kh’ab i-ra kunxu,64

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 (‘ban) reflect social distinctions made and accepted by the narrator himself – as opposed to being a mimicry of those propounded by the Englishman or ‘master’ (hũb), 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 (ṇā-re) this (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 uthlango 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 Nomacquoaos, the Blip and the Eynikkoo […] 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).
all the different kinds of people (ǁ'õan hoan) came out of that one cave (ǀui kx'āb).

Then two (ǀam) teachers emerged at the same time (ǀuise),

5 a Tswana man and an Englishman, and the Korana teacher fought (ǂnoagu) 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 (ǀnamaka) unite (ǀxub ka ǀui, lit. become (?) one thing).’

But the Tswana man refused (ǂxa) (that) to be united.

And then the Boer (Bur’i) united with the Englishman.

And the Englishman was the first to go his way (daob hō ‘take the path’),

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 ǁuan hoan. The word ǁ'a'i is not commonly found in the Kora corpus, but the equivalent word in Namibian Khoekhoe, namely ǁoab, means ‘kind, sort, type.’ It seems that Piet Links was referring to 'all kinds of people.'

Although ǀhũb is often used in the sense of 'white man', it is clearly contrasted in this narrative with Bur’i (Boer or Afrikaner), and should probably be understood as referring specifically to an Englishman.

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.

It is not clear whether ‘kha’ should be interpreted here as ka or xa.

Lloyd has 'lxei'.

Maingard has be in place of Lloyd’s be, making the expression as a whole aibe, which is the Nama (but not Kora) expression for ‘first’. It is perhaps a variant of ǀkx'āise ‘first, at first’.
and after the Englishman (ǀhũb), the Boer went his way, and then all kinds of people (khoe ǀǀõan) went their way: the slaves (kwobon) went their way, and the Griquas went their way, the ‘ǃKuǀain’ (!Nũǁ|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 (ǀxai’i ǀkx’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 khoeǀõan, 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 ‘ǃKuǀain’ were, according to Piet Links, a second kind of ‘Baster’, with short rather than smooth hair. They may alternatively have been the ‘ǀnûsakaǀaikut’ or ‘ǀfar 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 ǀKusa’kykwa or ǀKusakwa, which imply ‘men beyond the river’. Those who inhabit the northern side of that river are called ǀNusakwa’.

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’ (ǀxäǃxäkx‘ao), though it may be the derivational –si used to create abstract nouns, and so giving here the sense of ‘teachingship’, ‘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.)
Then the Englishman said:
'The people have argued with one another.
'Send for (sǐ'ū) them and let them come (a-n hā) to you (sats daba),
'and ask them [when they are] with you (sats daba),
'what [might be the issue (?)].
'You must hear (ǁnāu) wherefore (taib-ba),
'and then you must work out (ǁixoá) that (ǀxaib) –
'therefore (ǀxaib-ba) people are always (ǁnika) fighting (ǂnoagu).

'They must come to you.
'Let me (a-r) tell you (mĩba-tsǐ): 'Play your part!' (ǁtī ǁsǐ dib, 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
to come back,
you may stand
and name your reward (gomas ǂai, lit. ‘call your cow’).’

And the Korana man heard (ǁnāu) that speech (ǁnā mǐb),

76 Lloyd spells this 'lou' and comments that it is equivalent
to 'ǂnoù', 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 ǂtaugu, 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 ǀxaib '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 ǂkx'āiǂkx'ai may be ǂxaiǂxai 'reconcile, make
peace'; or alternatively it may be the counterpart of
Nama ǂaiǂai 'enrage, anger, infuriate'.

81 Maingard translates the obscure phrase ǂkumǂnoro as
'come back'. The first word ǂkum is perhaps ǂû 'go', while
ǂnoro may have been Giri and similar to a Nama word
meaning 'back of the head'.
tsĩ ra |hũba !xoe|hui| kao.

45 E ra |hûb xa tẽje:
Ham|i i-ts ka gau?83

∥Na khoeb !koa,
i-r kie gau a-r sīkõnã.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 khoeb ‘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 ḵ̱ob ‘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 (sīkõnã ‘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 (ǂao) to take a run at (ǃxoe|hui) the Englishman.

45 And [he] was asked by the Englishman: ‘Where to (ham|xî) is it you might be going?
[And he replied bitterly]: ‘I (gau) to that man, To lurk and beg in silence (ǂona).’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 lâmas, a river-crossing raft [excerpt]. (AB9)
vii. Making fire in the olden days, and hunting. (BK3)
viii. Bows and arrows. (Bhf8)
ine. Kaross-making. (Beth1)
x. The making of the lgoa lxarib or honey-beer. (Bhf9)
xii. The doro, or young men’s initiation school. (Bhf2)
xii. The rules for young men attending initiation school. (BK4)
xiii. The lgam //’aeb ceremony held after a young man’s first big kill. (Bhf3)
xiv. The Ṭhabab, 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.

Tus tsĩ |xurub

1 |Naisa ǁk’aeckua, i tje na ǀūb ta kaise ǁxuru o,
   *In die ou tye as die wêreld sal baie droog wees,
   i tje na khutekakhubeb kx’õahe ǀ’aub !na
   *is ’n trapsuutjies gesoek geword die veld in
   i tje na hōheb ta o,
   *en as hy gekry-geword is,
   kx’ũisibe87 ǀ’hã i khauǂ’ãhe88
dan is hy lewendig grawe-ingegeaang-
geword.

5 I tje na kai tūsi tū
   *En dan het groot reën gereën
   i tje na ǀnanobi kaise ǀxō.
   *en dan is die weer baie straf gewees.
   I tje na kaise ta ǀnanob ǀxō o,
   *En as die weer dan baie straf is,
   sīkhauǂkx’oasie.
dan is hy gaan-grawe-uitkom-geword.
I-s ta ǀnantūsi o,
As dit sal hael-reën wees,

10 i tje na laoǀ’o’i
dan is die laaste-kind
|ui ǀnans ǁk’aeb kx’am !na


Rain and drought

1 In other times, if the earth (lūb) 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 (khaoll’h-õ-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-khaol-
ǂkx’oa-si-he, lit. ‘go-dig-make-be
emerged’).
And if it was hail-rain,

10 then a last-born child (lauǀ’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 ‘i’, ‘ü’ and ‘i’ for ‘o’; ‘u’ and ‘a’. His glottal stop symbol, as in ǀkx’aeckua, has been replaced by the apostrophe.

87 The role of the morpheme bé in this context is uncertain.
As a main verb, bé 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.’
BK1. The gathering of wild bulbs from the veld (Mhf, 63–64)

1 Sida !Orada !kh’ae ku xa 
tarakhoedē tje na saoǂ’ũb 
l’œoba loa ǃũba. 
[Na ǂ’ũb |’onni l’okua.90]

5 Haide |xa tje na khaoe, 
!lamlā tama ǂhai kh’aisa.91 
[Na haidē |’onni lkh’akhaodē. 
|’On xa tje ǘē tama gose’tje 
!loasilae hā.

10 lkh’o adē ta o, 
tje na !jam kh’a okhōekhara |xa. 
[Na khoekhara !tje na !nub |uib 
kuruĩ.

89 The Nama word meaning ‘stop/cease raining’ is !gao, 
while a last-born child is !gao ǀgôas. (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 !uĩ nans ‘one hailstone’ – given that !uĩ nais 
(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 

91 Meinhof translates line 6 as ‘the [bulbs] were not deep, 
but open (ǂhai) 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 ḱ’ānu khoedē xu tsī.

15 I na ho’o khao thoathoa khoedi.
Tsebi na mĩmãsìhe93 há,
laiguku |xa,
i-dē tje ni hā’ũē.
Koro tsī !nani tsēkua na !’aub !na hā khoedi.

20 Tsēb ta hā o,
i na ḱ’am tsi !noma gomāku |xa ūbae tsī ūhāe.
Ī ko ḱ’ũxa ḱ’ãobi.
Saob na hā ḱ’xaru ḱ’ubi ḱ’nāb,

25 hisi ḱ’Xu ḱ’ãb kōse94 ḱ’ai tama.

And when they were finished (toa-ku), they went home (ʃ’ānu) and left (xu) the women.

15 And now (ho’o) the women began (thoa-thoa) to dig (khao).
On a day (tsēbi) that had been agreed upon (mĩ-mā-se-he hā),
with pack-oxen (lai-go[ma]ku [xa]),
they had to be fetched (hā-ũ-hē).
The women used to stay for five or six days in the veld.

20 And when the day came,
Then, with two or three oxen,
[the women would] be gone for (ǃũ-ba-he) and fetched (ũ-hā-he).
And then the settlement (ʃũobi) was rich in food (ʃ’ũxa).
That food (ʃũbi ǀnāb) used to last right through (hãǂxaru) the winter (Saob),
and did not spoil (ʃ’ai) up until (kōse) the next (hisì) summer (ǀXuǀ’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 Tokua, 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 Jexûkhaodê, 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 göse.
BK2. The preparation of wild bulbs
(Mhf, 64)

1 Hēhē Ḉùb di Ḉ[‘an][‘anneb:
‘hùb tham hāb na kai ‘aeb khaue,
I na ‘aeb ūbēhē,

5 I na thamsa Ḉ[kx’ummi Ḉ[‘naba hā,
num Ḉ[tsĩ ‘aeb Ḉ[tsĩku na ūbēhē.
I na Ḉ[hōb Ḉ[nabub Ḉ[tsĩ thoro ae.
I na Ḉ[kx’ummi Ḉ[tsĩ thom Ḉ[‘amme.

10 Ḉ[Ab Ḉ[kx’ai, āb Ḉ[‘okaro.
I na Ḉ[xaba Ḉ[hokua Ḉ[‘ah e tsĩ Ḉ[ho’o sāũhe.
I Ḉ[ko Ḉ[‘ūsi xunneb ta tsĩ Ḉ[kx’amma
kuru xaē, tsĩ xun tama a Ḉ*[‘ūē tsĩku xa ī kō Ḉ*[‘ūsi.

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 Ḉ[‘abib
was dug out especially for the children

96 Meinhof translates this word as ‘time’. It is possibly a
misprint for Ḉ[k x’aib ( (~( Ḉ[k x’a eb).

97 In Tswana dialects, the word tshuga or tshuge
refers to a ‘white edible corm’ in a ‘brown fibrous shell’. It was

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 Ḉ[haob,
and Bitterbos said that it was boiled and then
pressed into a wide-mouthed Ḉ[xaib vessel (possibly to ferment?),
and was eaten together with milk in the
winter.

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 space for a half
full sack (ollah Ḉ[nabub)
and pour [the bulbs] in (thoro ae).
They would then be covered over
(thom Ḉ[am-(h)e) with the hot sand.

15 Ḉ[harub Ḉ[kx’ai) so that they
could dry hard (ḷ’o-ka ro).
Then it was poured back into sacks,
and now it was stored (sāũ-he).
The ground food (ḷ’ūsi xun-h-e-b) could
be made into porridge (ḷkx’amma),
but it could also be eaten without
being ground, both were ways of
eating it.392
Chapter 5

Bhf7. Stone artefacts (Tatab, Teteb and Iis) (Mgd1932, 145–146)

1 Tarakhoedi na !'okua
   !Khares thi haib thikha khau|kwa.
   ||Koaakaka kje na !'ku,
   i na !uri|kae kx’oa ha.\(^\text{99}\)

5 Saob kx’ai \|nâukua na \|oro
   \|nâe.
   !Kharedi kx’ausakua xa
   tarakhoedi diba.
   Gaida khoekua i kje diba.

10 \|Guru|uikua i-da kje dî tama,
    Sâkua-ku kje dî-ku a.

Bhf7. Stone artefacts (Tatab, Teteb and Iis) (Mgd1932, 145–146)

1 The women (tarakhoedi) for wild
   bulbs (!’okua)
   the bored stone (lxares)
   and the stick
   (haib) would dig with (khaol|xa).
   Early in the morning (\|oakaka) they
   would go (lû)
   and in the the afternoon (l’uri\|ae)
   would return (kx’oa).

5 In the winter (Saob kx’ai) the leaves
   (\|nâukua) would dry out (\|oro)
   and be fallen (\|nâ e).
   The bored stones (lxaredi) by the men
   (kx’aosakua xa)
   the women for were made (dî-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 (Sâkua) who made
   those.\(^{393}\)

\(^{99}\) The ‘ha’ in line 4 is perhaps hâ. 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’ (\|bro), 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] *(Ebt1936, 212)*

*Kx’um !na xabakua*


5  Hũib !naub |xa tje na kuru ||nā xukwa, *Wilger-stomp van het hulle gevorm daardie goeters, i tje naancement’aiku kuruba ||hoekua. En hulle het deksels gevorm-vir die bamoes.* ||Nubu tsīkua tje na hîlnahe101 *Gekarring en so is gemaak-in-geword i tje na nubu dī. en hulle het vet (botter) gemaak. […]* I tje na ||nubu|nuib *En hulle het daardie karring-vet (=botter)*

10  goman di ||nûkû !na ‘ai. **beeste se horings in gegooi.** I tje na |kx’aeb Sauba ′ûhe. *En dit is tyd winter geëet word. […]* |Kx’urib tje na ||am|am ‘n Yster het hulle warm-gemaak

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 (bit!na-he).

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**Vessels in the house (kx’ommi)**

1  In [the old days of] the Korana, [they] made dishes (*l’oreku*) from wood (*haiku* |xa), spoons and containers. [They] used to eat out of those things. [They] would thicken (*āu’āu*) milk in the vessels.

5  [They] created (*kuru*) those things from stumps of willow-wood, and [they] made lids (*!tan-kx’ai-ku*, lit. ‘close-on-3mp’) for the containers. [They] were used for churning (*!nubu*) in And [they] made fat [butter] (*!nuib*). […] And that butterfat

10  [they] would pour (*!/ai*) into cows’ horns (*!/nûkû*). And it was eaten (*!’ûhe*) [in] the winter (Saob) time (*!/kx’aeb*). [The vessels were carved from willow-wood.] An iron [tool] was heated (*!/am|am*)
The sense is that the rims and shoulders of the wooden vessels were decorated (geblom, lit. ‘flowered’) by means of ornamental pokerwork. The word ǂu is obscure, although Meinhof has ǂūb ‘colour’ (Nama ǀûb).

The verb thōa seems to be cognate with Nama tsōa as in tsōa ‘thread beads on to string’ and tsōab ‘strap or sling, handle made from cord’. The formulation thōasise reflects a pattern seen in connection with other tools, such as ǀkx’axusise ‘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.

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.
1 In [the old days of] the Korana, they made things for swimming across the river with.
If a person was going across (!’āu) on his own (!’ona), he chopped (!’xai) a log (!’naub),
then undressed himself and fastened on (!’la:i-!’nā-o-si-he) his clothes (!’xankua) on to his head (bili!’āb).
Then he would go into the water (!’jammi) and push the log along and swim across the river with that log.
And they also (!’xaba) made a boat (!’ãmas) for their reed mat houses (!’harukx’ommku).

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.

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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 ‘i’ for ‘ı’, ‘i’ and ‘i’ for ‘ı’; ‘u’ and ‘u’; and his glottal stop symbol, as in kx/i, 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 ’nao here used to mean 'load' may have been ’nau.
I tje na !garib ta |kx’oa, xabe !âu.
En as die rivier sal vol-wees, nogtans gaan deur.

15 I |ona na !âul|kx’aihe !naub
En alleen-is-deurgaan-op-geword-blok
tje na bâs ti |aihe.
is die ‘bâs’ so genoem-geword.

And if the river was full (\(lkx’oa\)), nevertheless (xabe) they crossed.

And the solo-crossing log was called the bâs.\(^{395}\)

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 bâs.

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 Schultz noted, the Nama people of the modern period did not make clay pots, although they had the terms \(\&goasûs\) ‘clay pot’ and \(kxoekxoesûs\) ‘khoekhoe pot’. The Kora term for a clay pot was Birisûs ‘Tswana pot’.
BK3. Making fire in the olden days, and hunting (Mhf, 65)

1 In the old Korana days, we did not have iron (\('uriku-a\).
With stone and wood we used to work to sharpen something.

5 [For] fire (\('aeb\), we worked (\(kuru\)) with wood and the \(lxarob\) [bulb].
We used to rub (\(lnoro\)) the \(lxarob\) till it was soft (\(thamtham\))
and strike (\(^{\dagger}nau\)) with two stones (\(iam \ ('uisara \ |xa\)) to kindle (\(khau\)) [fire].

For the springbuck (\(ũsi\)), a pitfall trap (\(surugub\)) was made (\(di-bā-he\),
[they] weren’t shot (\(kx'ãu-he\)) with the bow (\(khās \ |xa\)).

10 The giraffe (\(naib\)) was chased (\(aru-he\))
with horses (\(hāku \ |xa\)),
and stabbed (\(tha-he\)) with spears (\(kōaku\)).

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with horses (\(hāku \ |xa\)),
and stabbed (\(tha-he\)) with spears (\(kōaku\)).

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107 The text given here is Meinhof’s edited version of a text originally written down by Benjamin Kats.

108 The expression \(kx'axusise\) 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 \(kerr\) 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  The San used (di|xo|a) poison (lāb). The Korana did not use poison. The boys (lˈōkua) played (l|huru hâ) with small bows (lgâ khâ-di |xo|a) like (khama) playthings (lhuru-be-kua).

5  And the warriors (lˈa-kxˈaosa-kua) shot (l|no|a) in the war (torob |na) with large bows (khâ-di) and arrows (lˈā-kua). And in the hunt (лимãi |na), the springboks (lũdi) and wildebeest (gao-kua) were caught (l|xō-hê) in the pitfall trap (surugub |na), and were killed (l'am-he) with a spear (gõab |xo|a).

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 lˈkûdi for 'springboks' seems unusual (compare lˈkûdi), a similar form was obtained by Engelbrecht (1928) from one of his consultants.

115 Another name for pitfall traps was lˈgaisêkua (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.

107 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.

1  Thoathoa tsēb,
  baster gū di khōb ūhāe, 
  i na |kx’ā|kx’ā-he.\textsuperscript{116}
I na |kam ¦‘æeb\textsuperscript{117} tsēb, thama ta o,

5  i na !horohe, i na |noroe.
I ko toae |kx’oms |kx’a.
Kai |namma ñani khōkua na ūe,  
|ka |namma haka na ūe.
!Nona ¦‘æeb tsē, ¦‘oros i na ab dīe.

10 ¦‘Khoba jέ ¦‘oros dī.
|Nai !nasa hakase ¦‘ome,  
|nai !nasa |kam khōkua.

---

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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’ā| ¦‘æeb ‘time’, which was occasionally recorded with a nasalised diphthong. For comparison, see the use of ordinal expressions with |lui| in BK15.

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This text is not provided with a free translation because the literal version seems sufficiently transparent.
Bhf9. The making of the !goa !karib (honey-beer) (Tabab) (Mgd1932, 147)

1 Danisa ūǂkēi.
   ǁNāib[^119] i na ūhûe.
   I na ǁkûkêe, i na ǁkarae.[^120]

5 I na thamsa !kaib ab ūe.
   I na danis ǀkoa ǂgobe.
   I na ǀkamsa ǁgammi ha ǂnaǂamme.
   I na o !gokx’âie.
   I na ǀkûkûe.

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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 (ǃharab !na) for the boys (ǀ’ōkua).
   An ox (gomab) is slaughtered for (ǂ’aba-he) them.
   The fat (ǁnuib) is poured for (ǂnaǂam-he) them into a dish (ǂgaus ǃna).
   The dish (ǂgausi) is made (di-he) from willow-wood (ǂhûiba 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 ǁnāib root or moerwortel was referred to as the haap or haawortel in other accounts (Mgd1932, 147). Maingard says that Tabab told him the ǁnāib 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, Khadria, Stapelia, Trochomeria, Tylosena; also, sorghum grain, maize bran and termite fungus.’

120 The word ǂkara, which Maingard translated as ‘sift’ is unusual, though Khwe has ǂkâri ‘sift’ (A common word for ‘sift, strain’ is found in Nama as ǀamn and in Naro as ǀngu.)

121 A more detailed account of the doro is given by Andries Bitterbos (Ebt1936, 157–161).

122 Perhaps better ǂnabae.

123 Perhaps i he ǂgausi.

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 ǂAnmãsisa khoekua124 xa na sãsibae.125
I o kx’aku na ǁkae,
i na ǂgãie,
i na oe.
Ina ǀuikuaǃ hôe ǁnãu ǀna.126

10 I na ǀhn’n ti mĩ.
!”Nuse hã a, i-ku ta ǂgãie o,
i-ku ǀnãu.
I na gõab mãe, garamuʃ ǀkoà.127
I na ǁxaeb128 mâe:
• Tãe sausub dao xu ǃlaub ǀna ha
  ǀaiba!129
• I-tsa gûxûkwa ǁkaigu ǀai na gûxub
  mû o, tãe ǀgaba ǂai xa u ǂãhû
  ǁkâuba, i na ǁkãub gai khoekua
  ǀgaba ǂai xa.

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 ǂanmãsisa 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 mittleren 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:
  ǀxaeb ǀte na ab ǀkânsûa ka ǀiet word by sy oor
  gešlaan 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 ǀxoa, 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 ǂkhæc 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.

5 They are cooked for (sã-si-ba-he) by
well-known men.
And if then while (ǁ‘ae, lit. ‘time’) they
are busy drinking,
they are called (ǂgai-he),
then they answer (oe).
And stones (ǀuikua) are knocked
  together (ǁhû-he) in their ear (ǁnãu
  ǀna).
10 They say: ‘hn’n’.
Then when they are far away (ǀnûse)
and called, they hear (ǁnãu).
And a spear (gõab) is given (mã-he),
as well as a stick (garamuʃ).
Then the teaching of the prohibitions
(ǁxaeb) is given (mã-he):
• Do not light your pipe (sausub)
  from a fire (ǁ’ae-ba) in the veld
  (ǀauba)!
• If among (ǁ’aigu) the livestock
  (gûxûkua) you see a sheep that
  is limping (ǀ’ai na), do not look
  directly (ǂgaba) at its foot (ǂ’aib)!
  Rather bring (ǂhû) it back to the
  village (ǁûša), so the senior men
  of the village can look at the foot.
• If you find (hō) something (xūb) [livestock?] in the veld, bring it back home to the village (ǁãuba), so that its unthinking (xūǂãib) owner (hũ khoeb, lit. ‘master’) may find it in the village.

• Abstain from eating hare (ǃõas)!

If you do anything wrong (di-sā, lit. ‘mis-do’), you are again (ǁxaeb) taken into (ǁǂ’āe) instruction.

If you should eat (ǂ’ũ) a hare (ǃõas), you die (ǁ’ō) right there (ǁnaba).

When he emerges (ǂ’oa) from the house (kx’omma xu), then a heifer (ǃnona kurisas), a three-year-old (ǃnona kurisas), and it [OR, the boy] was made to run (ǃxōe-kasi-he).

If (o) he catches (ǃxō) [it] then he is a man (kx’ausa). If he does not catch it, he is taken (ǁǂ’āe) again (ǁxaeb) into instruction (ǁxaeb !na).

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 failed, he was considered to have become a man; but if he failed, he had to go through the whole process again.

130 The second ho may be a misprint for hâ.
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), so 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 ‘ǂgau’ is obscure. Although it bears a superficial resemblance to Nama ǂau ’tame’, the Kora word for ‘tame’ was ǂkx’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.’

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• I-tsa xūb !aub !na hō ho,130
  ūhā ǁkãuba !koa,
  i-b !hũ khoeb (xūǂãib)131
  ha hō-bi ǁkãuba !na!132
• !Õas ũxu!
  I na xūbi ta disa o,

25 ǁxaba ǁkxaeb !na ũjikāi.
  I-b ta !õas ũ o,
  i na ǁnaba Ź ŵ.
  I-b ta kx’omma xu ũ koa o,
  i na hōxa,

30 !nõas ǂgauwe133 !nona kurisas,
  i na !kxōekasie.134
  I-b ta !kxō o,
  i kx’ausa.
  I-b ta !kxō tā a,

35 ǁkaba ǁkxaeb !na ũjikāi.
The heritage texts of the Korana people

**Bhf2.ii. Version B (Matiti)**

1 He was taken into the *doro*, and senior men (*kai khoekua*) looked after (*l'ōosi*) him, when (*l'ãae*) they went to meet (*l'oolû*) 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 (*ǀ'ae-ba*) found (*hô-he*) in the veld!
- Do not eat (*ǀ'û*) hare (*ǃ'õas*)!
- Do not, if you see (an animal) you find (*hô*) in the veld is limping (*ǀ'ai na*), do not look at (*ǃgaba*) its foot (*ǀ'aib*)!

10 Bring it to the settlement (*ǁãuba!*), 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 (*ǀũ-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. *ǀna! turi daba !lĩno-ahe, i tje na ǀna! turib a ǀfanhe doro!xôhe i-b ko 'kxaib, ūn ab xa, 'that boy had a small cord (turi) tied around his ankle (ǀfanhoa-he), and by means of this cord it was announced (ǀfan-he) that he had been taken for initiation (doro-ǀxôhe) by his parents (ǀfan ab)*.

136 The use of *ku* here is obscure.

137 Maingard translates this obscure line as: 'when (ǀkae) they go and meet (ǀkoeãkû) the cows (ǀkome), (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 *ǃkosa* is a little obscure. Maingard translates it as 'transgress', but note Nama *ǃgōsa* 'unique'.
15 Then the fat of sheep (gūna di ǁnuib) was drunk (kx’āsi-he), and [he] was called (ǂgai-he), and [he] answered (oe). And stones (ǀuikua) were struck (Ihō-he) in his ear (ǁnāu !na). Then [while] being far away, if he was called (ǂgai-he), he will hear (ǁnāu).

20 A three-year-old (!nona kurisas) heifer (ǀnõas) was brought out for him (ûǃoasiba-he). And [he] chased (ǁgaru), and if [he] caught its tail (saoba), he was a man (kx’aos a). But if [he] should not catch it, then [he] was taken in (ûǂ’ai) again (ǁxaba). 401

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.

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: i tje na ǁnā bīb ǂnūso ôaba ǂhübi tsĩ xon tsĩ bīb ǃna thoroe, ‘en vir daarde 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 ǂaukoa to gaukua (perhaps gaokua).
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 (ǁnati),

10 you have gone against (lūlna) the rules,
and you are expelled (ǃ’aoǁna-he).
When it has again (ǁxaba) been slaughtered for you to go to the doro,
then you can speak (koba) [try?] again.
The same (ǁxā) [number of] cows were slaughtered (ǂ’a-he).

15 The whole of these our rules (gaode)
you must fulfill.402

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144 Benjamin Kats originally wrote lu la, and translated it as 'geoverte'.
145 Benjamin Kats wrote lao fae, 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.

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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 ǁ’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 ǂnoa o,
   i na ǁnausab siǁnae.
   I na goman ǂae,

4 |gorekua\(^{150}\) mäsi |khā kx’ai ǁnausab.

Bhf4. The ǀhabab, the young woman’s coming of age ceremony (Iis and Meis) (Mgd1932, 140–141)\(^{151}\)

1 ǀkaeb ta ha o,
   kōs di ǀhabab,
   i na !khaib dibae.
   I na ǀharuba mäsiǀkae,

5 I na |konamäkx’am ǀab dibae.
   I na !nose ǂnu,
   xukua gaise !gaba tama,
   i ǀkaosen tama.
   I na ǂko a 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 (ǂnoa) [an animal] like (xammi) a lion (ǁnausab),
   then his uncle (ǁnausab) is told (sĩǁna-he, lit. ‘send-tell-Pass’).
   Oxen (goman) are slaughtered (ǂ’a-he),

4 and his uncle confers (mäsi) cuts (ǀgorekua) on his body (ǀxā kx’ai).\(^{403}\)

Bhf4. The ǀhabab, the young woman’s coming of age ceremony (Iis and Meis) (Mgd1932, 140–141)

1 When the time (ǁ’aeb) comes for the ǀhabab of a girl (ǀ’os),
   a place (ǀxaib) is prepared for (dī-ba-he) [her].
   A mat (ǀharub) is provided in there for (mäsiǂ’a-he) ([her],

5 and a private (ǀona-mä ‘alone standing’) entrance (ǀxaosen) is made for [her].
   She sits (ǂヌ) quietly (ǃnōse),
   [and does] not look (ǃgaba) too much at things,
   and does not scratch at herself (ǀxaosen).
   If she goes out (ǂ’oa),

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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 ǀhabab 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 ǀkonamâkx’am ǀaba ǀkoasa.
I na gai khoesa ǀoasi.
I-ku ta o,
i-ku ǀûkua toa o,152
i na ǀkâsab153 ǀgûb mâ.

15 I na ǀgûb ǀaë,
i na āb Îna laoxodomae.
I na ǀgaus Îna xaba die ǀaubi,
i na gai khoesa ǀsâsie,
i na gai oudi154 i na habu.155 […]

20 Înuib Îkwa i na uree,156
i na ure toas ta o,
i na Înuiba Îkauwe,
i na Înouba Îkaba Îhobo,
i na ǀsâba thûmme.157

25 I na ǀgûb ta ǀsâsie o,
i na ǀaë’osa kaisa khoedi ǀûe.

152 Maingard translates line 13 as ‘when the ceremony is finished.’ The word written by him as ‘ǀûkua’ was perhaps ǀnûkua, or ‘sittings,’ and may have been a euphemism for the time of seclusion.

153 Maingard translates ǀkâsab 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 /au/, 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 ǀuru-he with vowel assimilation. He writes it as ure in line 23. (Note ǀkuru for ‘rub’ in line 39.)

157 This word thûmme (ǀhâm-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 tsom or tsom. Lloyd has tsom, while Meinhold recorded thom in a compound verb, where the meaning in both cases seems to be ‘cover.’
Then with a back-skirt (ǃtĪb ǀxoa), a fore-skirt (ǃxabib) and a kaross (ǀnamma) she is dressed (ana-he), and beads (ǀ’amdi) are hung around her neck (ǁā-he).

30 Then the old woman touches (ǃxā) everything (hoa xukua), as well as a grindstone (ǃxunǀ’uib), and they grind together (ǃxunǀ’oa-he) (lit. ‘it is ground together’).

Then she is taken into (ǁūǂ’ã-he) the river (ǃgariba).
The old woman goes to fetch (ǁūhā) a twig (ǃhais).

35 and when she has found it (ǁhōsi-s), then clay (ǀgoab) is taken (ǂ’u-he), and she is rubbed (ǀ’uru-he) with this clay (ǀgoaba hēba) and her thighs are rubbed all over.

Then at the water’s edge (ǁgamma kx’amǃna) she is placed (ǁmā-si-he [?]) on her knees (ǁoaku kx’ai), and it [the water] is struck (ǂnau-he) [with] the twig (ǁhaisa), and she is sprinkled (ǁxari-he).

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158 Maingard translates Ŭko in line 32 as ‘contacts’.

159 The word Ŭkur 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 Ŭtururu, which is specifically to smear or rub with white clay.

160 Maingard translates Ŭgaithakua 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.’
When a man (kx’aob) a girl (ǀ’osi) desires (kx’oa),
and if (o) the girl gives consent (āmã),
then the elders (kai khoena) are sent (sĩ-he)
and at the door (kx’amǁ’ab) of the
house (kx’ommi) standing (mãsi-he)
go and ask (sī-xoa [?]).
Then the elders ask.

And if the girl is happy (ǀāiǂao),
and the parents do not (ta) refuse (ǂxāǃã[?])
then a sheep is slaughtered (ǂ’a-he)
by the uncle (ǁnaosab xa),

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.

162 Maingard translates line 45 as ‘Then she returns to
the stad.’ The obscure word lkoalkũ occurs also in the
account of the doro, and seems to mean ‘go to meet’
note Nama loa ‘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
i 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 āmã ‘give consent, accept a marriage
proposal’.
166 The use of xoai here is obscure, but is perhaps meant for
kxoa ‘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 di ‘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 mâñ̃̚ñ̚gu ‘agree’).
10 by the throat-cutting manner (laoxodom),
and its entrails (lnābi) are taken out (†na-he [?]).
It is cooked (sāsi-he), and eaten (†ũ-he),
and [there is] happiness (lāi†aob). 405

Bhf13. Soregus, or the mutual pact of friendship (Kheis and Saul van Neck) (Mgd1967: 45)

1 If a man wanted (†ao) [to arrange] a soregus,
then at the time (ǁ’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 If the woman should refuse (†xā),
then it was finished (dītoa-sa).
But the pact was made if she should consent (māsen).
It was a mutual arrangement of friendship (ǁ’omas) alone (ǁuis). 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 Bechuana 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 considered 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.’

10 !kaoxodom,
i na !nabe ‡nae. 170
I na sasie, i na ‡ue,
i na !kaie ‡kaob.

Bhf13. Soregus (Kheis and Saul van Neck) (Mgd1967: 45)

1 I na khoeb ta soregus ‡kao o,
i na theba kx’aǁkaib xabas xu,
i na khoes kx’oaǁãib ‡kao khoes
thēba kx’a|koa.

5 I-s ta khoes ‡kã o,
dîtoasa.
I na soregus di, i-s ta mãsen.
I na soregus di ‡ũmas ‖kuis.

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)\textsuperscript{171} (Mgd1932, 143)

1 Gaoxaob ta !nauhe o,\textsuperscript{172}
i na !hobab !nauhe,
i na !khaib dìbahe,
i na haikua !narahe,\textsuperscript{173}

5 i na !harub !lasibahe,
i na !kha !ôb !õammi xa xamihe,
i na !nâba !goisihe,
i na !nai !haruba !kaukx’amhe,
i na !hûba thuruhe.\textsuperscript{174}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[1] When a chief (Gaoxaob) is buried (ǃnau-he),
then a grave (ǃhobab) is dug,
and a space (ǃxaib) is prepared for him,
and raked smooth (ǃxara-he) [with] twigs (haiku),
\item[5] and a reed-mat (ǃharub) is spread for (!ásiba-he) [him],
and the dead body (ǃxa !ôb) is wrapped (xami-he) with a kaross (ǃõammi xa),
and laid down (ǃgoe-si-he) there,
and covered over [with] another reed-mat (ǃnai !haruba),
and [with] earth (ǃhuba) is sprinkled (ǃthoro-he).\textsuperscript{407}
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{171} See BK21 for an example of the kind of lament that would be delivered on the occasion of a burial.

\textsuperscript{172} Engelbrecht noted (1936, 187) that an alternative word sometimes used in place of ǃnau (perhaps as a euphemism) was sâu, which means ‘put away, store.’ The word ǃsâa for ‘dead’ was sometimes similarly replaced by ǀsâa ‘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 \textit{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 (\textit{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).

\textsuperscript{173} Maingard translates line 4 as ‘Twigs are strewn.’ The word ǃnau is not recorded by other authors and has no obvious counterpart in Nama, unless it is ǃkhara, which can mean to smooth an area by dragging a tree over it.

\textsuperscript{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 When a person died, 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 (\(khao\)), and we measured (\(korokoro\)), in that way (\(\|nāt\)) we worked out (\(|\#n\|^\|kx'oa-si\)) \(koh\) \(kōb\) \([?]\) the measurement [of the person].

10 In this way then we would take and bend [the body] together on itself (\(|xoloa-gu\) \([?]\)), and go and bring it in (\(sī ú\|^\#\)) and place it, covering it (\(thom\|^\#\)).

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 (\(|\#āi\)),

15 then [only] do we call it a grave (\(hobab\))\(^{408}\).

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1 PL6. Burial \(^{175}\) (Lld, MP2: 110–112)

1 Khoe‘i ta [“ō o] \(^{176}\)

\(e\)-\(da\) na \(\|xum\)^{177} \#nammi \(\#xo\),

\(e\)-\(da\) na \(thurib\),

\(ku\)^{178} \(\#xo\), \(\|xum\).

5 \(e\)-\(da\) na \(haidi\), ū,

\(e\)-\(da\) na \(kx'ab\), si kao,

\(e\)-\(da\) na \(korokoro\),

\(\|nati\)-\(da\) na \(|\#n\|^\#kx'oa-si\)

\(kon\) \(hā\) \(kōb\)^{179}.

10 \(\|nati\)-\(da\) na \(ǃ\)xo \(ǃ\)koragu,^{180}

da na si ū\(ka\) hē da na tsumm \(lkā\).

\(\|nati\) hē \(e\)-\(da\) na mī \(|hobab\).

\(kxaise\) i-\(da\) na \(kx'ab\), ti hi \(|kā|,

i \(|^\#kā\) ta o,

15 \(e\)-\(da\) na \(|hobab\), ti mī.

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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 \(1^\text{st}\) 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 \(\#xo\) ‘with’.

179 In Lloyd’s original, this obscure line is written \(kon\) \(hā\) \(kōp\) \([?]\) \(kōb\).

(Note Nama \(\#kōsib\) for ‘measurements of a person.’)

180 In the manuscript, \(koragu\) has the pencilled alternative \(ǃ\) \(koagu\).
It is perhaps part of a compound with \(ǃ\) \(xo\), 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 \(ǃora\) – \(ǃhoa\) 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’os, 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

183 Kuno Budack, “The †Aonin or Topnaar of the Lower !Khuiseb valley and the sea” Khoisan Linguistic Studies, no. 3 (1977), 1–42.
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 (göe), pleas for the beloved to get up for them (khâiba), 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, ḫaba Ḧarib am Ḫiąa mã ǃurina?
   – Ḧgüti.
   Of what is it said, ‘white things (ǃurina) standing at the edge (am Ḧiąa) of a red (Ḫaba) ridge (Ḫarib)?’
   – the teeth.

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187 Leonhard Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907), 539–545.
b) *Tare’e goma, lhuni //ganihe?*  
   – *xaib.*  
   Of what is it said, ‘it is drawn (//ganihe) yellow-brown?’  
   – the kudu.

c) *Tare’e goma, lure !nāba’ī |aba'e?*  
   – *lāris.*  
   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, and subsequently went on to prepare several extended collections of them, in the series known as *Diere Stories*. In his introduction 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. 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 mentions similar nicknames in Nama, such as ǂHãeb for the springbok (//gũb), Kailgaba ‘Big-back’ (in reference to the mane or ruff) for the lion (xammi), ti !gā |haisetse (‘my yellow brother’) for the jackal (|girib), and for the silver jackal (lxamab), the hunter’s name ǂGaihetomab.)

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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.


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 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.

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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)  
(Mgd1967, 45–46)

1 ǂxaib ta !kũ hã, khoesa oã-tse! 
Hamti-ts ka hã !kub !na? 
Hamo a-ts ta oreda? 
A-da !nab !na na ǂkoaxa

5 ǂhaos ǂhaosa.195 
|Kona’o kie hetse. 
Birikua ǂnari196 hoan |kie.197

193 Mulukab was apparently one of the last people in the 1930s who still knew how to play the gorâ (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 ǂnari 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 ǀxī '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 (Ebt36, 211, 187)\textsuperscript{198}

1. Oh father, do you lie and lie forever today with your courage (\textit{l'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 (\textit{hetihĩ}) where is he who might look after me better (\textit{dā}) than you lying there? Where might I again (\textit{ǃxaba}) see courage like yours? By us it will not be wept, for what purpose (\textit{ka}) would it be wept (\textit{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 (\textit{ǃxaib}) there is anyone who can surpass (\textit{dā}) his departed courage. Tomorrow only shall I weep. Now my sisters I must leave off.\textsuperscript{409}

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 'ō' and 'u:' and 'a:' for 'o:', 'u:' and 'a:'. His glottal stop symbol, as in \textit{ǃarib} and \textit{kx'āmme}, has been replaced by the apostrophe. The translation originally given by Engelbrecht is a free and fairly loose one.

\textsuperscript{200} The expression \textit{ǃgoe ka ǃgoe} 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'.

\textsuperscript{201} Ebt gives the meaning of \textit{ǃgaub} as 'sadness', and translates line 2 as 'Are you lying there with saddened face with no smile?' In fact the word \textit{ǃgaub} is obscure – although Nama has \textit{ǃga(a)am} as an adjective meaning 'with black or dark or dirty mouth', which in Kora would be \textit{ǃgauxakx'ām}.

\textsuperscript{202} The instance of \textit{dí} here and its repetition in line 11 are among the very few cases in the corpus of Kora texts where the Nama-like \textit{dí} 'surpass, go over' is used instead of \textit{bā}. The choice may have been motivated by aspects of register. Another instance occurs in PL2, where it may reflect a Griqua influence.

\textsuperscript{203} The meaning of \textit{saxa} is not clear, although Engelbrecht mentions that Andries Bitterbos translated the \textit{~xa} with 'of, from' (probably Afrikaans \textit{van}).

\textsuperscript{204} For this line and the final one, the translation is the free one provided by Engelbrecht (1936, 187), and may not be accurate.

\textsuperscript{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 (Mhf, 74–75)

1  Tsuguru !na mās

!harib !na mā !loab,
Ulas `ã,
|haimaku

|khx`ègu mā

5 Kolitani, |Amub, Felstrop

Tʃilgos, ǃUlas

Tjelkausōb ti xaiba,
khāiba-te!

BK11. Lyrics of a dancing song: version B, with exchanges (Mhf, 73–74)

Woman: ǃHarib !na mā !loa-tse,
Ulas labe!
Tʃilgos, ti xai, khāiba-te!
ǃHoar!nāb !hobos dādā ubase!
|’Ũ!num-ts ka na te?

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 mās 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/lhà 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 Beaconfield 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 Tʃilgos 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.

214 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 (khāiba), 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 (ʃharib), which 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 (khāiba) 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!âre! Daûsa sorebi!

Woman: Fale xu-te, khoemĩba xu-te! Nabi xamma !au-tsi na xammi! !Ora tai, ë’as ëib!


AB8. Counting backwards (a game (!gabes) played with pebbles) (Ebt36, 225–226)

1 Djisi !‘uide tje na ū tsĩ !noasi, 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 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 (!â-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!

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’ (ǁuis) is close to – but subtly different from – the word for ‘one’ (ǀui).
412 This piece does not need further translation.
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,

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,

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 ḷkʰ’aisi-se in the context of working (BK3), and ṭho-a-si-se in the context of attaching a handle (AB1), where the roots to which –si attaches are nominals.

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 Kho 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.
and one left remaining, take away the stone.

If he counted wrongly (loa-sā),
then he forfeited a goat.
He had to count quickly (lkx’axase).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.

15 ǀuise ḫnoas ūbē.
neem die enkelde wat sit weg.
I-b ta ḫoasā o,
As hy sal mis-getel het,
i tje na biris surute.
dan het hy bok betaal.
!Kx’axase i-b tje nĩ loa.
Vinnig moet hy tel.

413
Chapter 5

**PL1. The story of Moon and Hare and the origin of human mortality**

1. Moon (ǁXās) said: ‘People must die (ǁ’ō) as I thus (ti-r) die seemingly (ǁ’ō khama).’
   But Hare (ǃŌas) said: ‘[They] die and must die forever (ǁ’ōlū, lit. ‘die-go’).’

5. And so Hare was struck in the mouth (ǂnoa-ǃk’ami-ǃnā-he) by Moon (ǁXās xa), [his] mouth was struck and split (ǂnoaǂk’ari-heim.)

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221 This story was obtained by Piet Links (ǁOxaǂxam, or ǁOxa the younger) ‘from his paternal grandfather, Kai Ōaxa, 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 Schultz (Asa 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 ū ‘go’ to add a quasi-aspectual implication of permanent completion after ū ‘die’ is rare for Kora, and may reflect a slightly archaic register.

225 It is interesting to note that the phrase ūnoa-ǃk’ami-ǃnā ‘strike-mouth-in’ of line 5 is passivised as a whole.

226 In line 6, the phrase ūnoaǂk’ariǂk’ami ‘strike-split-mouth’ is similarly passivised as a whole. The verb ċk’ari, which is not encountered elsewhere in Kora, may be related to Nama ċkhare ‘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.)
PL2. How the San lost their cattle
(Lld, MP1: 026–029)

1 The San were born (ǃnae) with cattle. This is how the Korana man in cleverness (gā) surpassed (dā) the San man. At night-time (thuxuba) [he] kindled (khau) a fire (ǀ’aeb), and the cattle went (ǀũ) towards the fire (ǀ’aeb ǀoa).

So Hare told [Moon] (ǁnā-b):
You (sats) must now (ho’o) be a wildpig’s (ǁnak’ob) shoulder-blade (ǁgarasi). Ascend (ǀ’aba) and go sit (sī ǀnũ) in the sky (ǀhummi ai), and seated there (ǀnũã), shine (ǀnā) on the earth (ǀhūb ǀna).

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 ǁk’xa’i 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 ǀnā ǀna is a reduplicated form of ǀnā, and means ‘make light’ or ‘light up’.
232 This story was obtained by Piet Links (ǁOaxa ǀxam) from his paternal grandfather, Kai ǁOaxa, 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 ǃOrab 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 ǀbū. 10 A-ts ǀnũã ǃkub ǀna ǀna.
5  E kie tẽje:

\[Nâ \hyperlink{238}{\text{xir}a \hyperlink{238}{b} \text{tsi} \hyperlink{238}{k} \text{tsi} \text{x}a}\],\[238\]

hamba sa di-ba?

\[Xinab kie ti di-ba.\]

E kie !Korab, hê ti mi,

5  And [he, one of the San] was asked (tẽ(\(j\))-e):

‘Out of the shining (\(\text{xir}a\-b\)) and the black (\(\text{nū}b\-b\)),

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 (\(\text{lh}u\)b) [morning] dawned (\(\text{o}\a\)),

And it was asked by the San man:

‘Where (\(\text{ham}b\)-a) is the thing there (\(\text{xub} \text{ba}\)) that was shining (\(\text{x}i \text{ko na}\))?’

[And the Korana man said:] ‘Mine are these now remaining.’

15  So the San man could not get (\(\text{i}\x\text{xo}\)) [anything], and went away.

[The Korana man called after him:] ‘Where to (\(\text{ham}l/i\)) are you going?

‘Can (\(\text{kx}a\o\)) you (\(\text{e-ts}\)) not (\(\text{tama}\)) tell me (\(\text{nā}r\-\text{e}\))?’

‘If you go off without telling me

‘what thing was said (\(\text{xub} \text{ko mǐ ĥā}\))

[that has angered you];

20  ‘if I am to understand (\(\text{nau}\ǐ\)) what the thing is,

‘you can’t just be going without telling me (\(\text{na}r\-\text{e} \text{tama} \text{a}\)).’

So in this way the San lost (\(kā\)) their cattle,

And the Korana [came to] possess (\(l/i\ǐ\)) 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 (Meis and Kwalakwala) (Mgd1967, 44–45)

Once (juí tsē) there was a herd of quagga mares (lo(a)xai-di), and there was only one spring (juí ’aus) where there was water, but there was a baboon (naitaba) who lorded (gao) over it.

When (o) the quaggas went (lū) to drink (kx’ā) the water (gama), they were chased away (aru-koa-he) by the baboon.

‘If we could just manage (bā-sī) to get (hō) a child (’ona), a male child (kx’ao ’ob), ‘this baboon might allow us (huise ‘helpfully’) to drink the nice (iṣa) water.’

And the female (khoesi) got (hō) a child (’ona), a male child (kx’ao ’ob), and this child grew up (kai).

And one day [they] came (hā) with that child (nna ’ob xoa), but they were chased (aru-he) by the baboon, and went away (lū). So the quagga mare(s) quickly (sōse) let [him] be suckled (bī-si-he) plentifully (kaise) at the breast (samma).

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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 (juí ’ob ab), in the hope that as its father (ib), the baboon would then be more helpful.

246 The ‘woman’ (khoesi) 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 kara ‘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’.

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Naitab tsi! koaxaidi tsîna.

1 | Kui tse koaxaidi hà, i kie | kui | aus hà.
 I kie na | naba | kamma hà, i na | naitaba kie gao hà.

5 | Koaxaidi ta | kamma kx’a | kũ o, i na | naitaba | karukwae.
 I na basi ta hō | kui | kob ab ka ḫb hē | naitabi huise iṣa | gamma kx’a.
 I kie khoesi246 | kona ho kx’ao | kob o,247

10 | i na hē | kobi khāi.
 I na | kui tse hā | na | kob kwa,248 i na | naitaba | karue,249 i na | kũ. I na | koaxaidi hā samma bisie | ib sōse kaise.250
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'.

This is probably *tû* 'go' with a vowel that has been lowered in harmony with the following *a*. Maingard translates line 22 as 'and [the baboon] came up (ha) and the two men (*khoekara*) came to grips (*khoegu*).

Maingard notes that *mere* is the Afrikaans *meer* 'more'.

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

1 Once when four (?) husbands (khoexaigun) were out hunting (ǃhami),
two of them (khoekha) watched out carefully (ǃ'au),
and found a herd of quagga (ǀoren).
They crept up (ǀxuri),

5 and shot (ǁxãu) two quaggas.
They slaughtered (ǂ'a) [them] and
prepared for curing,
and the pieces of meat (ǀx'ōkua)
wind-dried (ǂ'oaǂnã [?])
and then they carried it, and rested
themselves.

Then they were crept up on by two lions (ǀam ǀamkhara xa),

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255 This story was told to Piet Links (ǁÕaxa ǂsam) by his
paternal grandfather, Kai ǀÕaxab, 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 ǃK'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 ĥa '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 'ǀou'; in an
unusual instance (for her) of a click accompaniment
indicated by an apostrophe. Maingard rewrote
the word as 'ǀou', and translated it as 'lie-in-wait' (perhaps
equating it with gau 'hide away, lurk in waiting'). Nama
has ĥau 'hunt; keep under surveillance'.

260 The word for 'quaggas' (ǀoren, here written 'ǀoiren'
by Lloyd) is also used to mean 'zebras'. The Bloemhof
Korana used kõaxaidi for 'quaggas'.

261 Maingard follows Lloyd in translating 'ǂa' as 'skin [an
animal]'.

262 The verb ĥã seen in line 6 is not found elsewhere in
the records for Kora, but note Nama ĥã 'prepare, make
biltong, dry-cure meat or fruit'.

263 Maingard follows Lloyd in translating ǂnã (line 7) as
'dry'. This word is not recorded elsewhere for Kora, but
Nama has ǂnã 'dry up'.

264 Perhaps meaning that they carried (tani) the meat over
to the drying poles and hung it up.
10 ||nati uri่นǔk’x’aije, ǂe kie kk’o ǂhuruǃnaje, ǂe kie አنا ǂkam xamkhakara ǂnati ǂkã, ǂe kie አnuni tani, አna kk’oku አna xamkara, አe kie አ蹼نسي268 አnan tani.

15 እ kie አkã, አna ǂnǔk’xabi e kie አEnvelope ǂkã, አe kie አna ǂkã, አe kie አna አkx’oku አna xamkara, አe kie አ두نسي268 አnan tani.

20 አsuauba-rebbe አgari አhã, አkie አxu-re, አkè አxu-hi a-re አnǔ አã.

265 This form of ǂhuri ‘jump’ (seen in line 10 as uri) is more typical of Namibian dialects.
266 Maingard translates አhuriǂnaji 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. ǂnũt’e i-ts አt-ta is አkà ǂhà,270 i-ts አnǔ አtama አhã? አI kie አkhoesa አtèjè, አ�Gari-ts ka አhà sa አnǔǂļaxaib አba አnǔ-b?

270 For አgari.
271 This line is ambiguous, since አtse may be the complementiser ‘that’ (with አtse arising from አtsa?), used after the verb አgari ‘forget’; but may alternatively be a part of the compound አ蹼نسيǂļaxaib ‘sitting place, seat, chair’. The expression አtsaib is perhaps a variant of አtse ‘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 አharrǂã关税, the ‘Korhaan Malkop’ (Crazy-head Korhaan). The common plural ending of አᾶsan 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 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 (nĩ khoes) left her child (ǒasa) with the man (khoeb daba).
And [they] went on the road.

25 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.

273 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.)

274 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 ni.

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 hā,
e-sa nā |kosa nā xu?
Sas mūla |oa-ts ka hā?
Tae kamma-s ka |habu múl̆na hā,
e-sa nā mú-sa na xamku xa-sa na |kos xu?

45 ||Na khoeka281 ||kā,
|Kos mā-ĉe.

Hā’a, hē hā bilāp ǂxōb i.282

Enā ||nati |kūlkae283
tsē na !xoeba !kamme e nā habuwe ||aĩs.

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 ‘!kū lkae’ and provides the gloss 'turned back'.

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 (mūl̆) [what they are]? ‘Why do you seem (khama) to observe (mūl̆na) so feebly (|habu), ‘when you see you are leaving your child with lions.’

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 (bilāb ǂxōb).’

And so [she] turned to run away (|ūlæ)
but was caught (|xo-e) and killed (|am-e) and devoured (habu-(w)e).
50 So then the [surviving] korhaan picked up the spoor (ǂ'ai kx'i), and she ran (ǀxoe), to go and follow it along (saoǁare), and then as if (khama [?]) with shoes [wings?] she put on clothes (ǂxanna hō), and flew (doe) and settled on a bush, and made herself seem dead (ǁ'oǁ'osin).

55 And then in the morning (ǁoa) she rescued (ore) the child, and made it sit (ǂnūi). And then the child said, ‘Go!’

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284 The words in this line are all written separately in the original. The verb ǀare is perhaps ǀari ‘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 ǁi ‘go to’ appears to be used in combination with a following verb to give the sense ‘go and do’. 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 (ǁgaboku), she dresses (ǂkan na hō): Maingard takes ǁgaboku to be a similar word (ǁgaboku) meaning ‘wings’, and glosses the line as ‘and now get up wings lift up’. The word for ‘shoe, sandal’ in Kora is ǁhabob, but may have been mis-transcribed by Lloyd. (Ouma Jacoba initially gave ǀnabukua for ‘wings’, but later corrected this to ǀnamikua.) It is also possible, however, that the word was the plural form of ǁkx’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’ (ǀā), 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 ǀao ǀāi is used to mean ‘pick up a spoor’, while in BK15 the expression ǂāib khūi mã (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 ǀoa, 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.
"Nû! A-ta ǃgurub sî kxõã, ǂ

a-ta kx’ob xa laobasi
ās daob ñna sî kx’am.

60 E nà koda’i ǃhãnasi, ǂ
tsî nà mûb ñna ǀxonûb ĩ i,
na ǀxam mûb ñna ǀxa,
a ǁxam mai-(y)े ǀxonûb ĩ i, ǂ
e ra kx’a na kx’oa ǁkûs ĩ i.

[Alternative:]
61 tsî nà mûb ñna ǀxonûbĩ,
i na xammi mûb ñna ǀxa.
[I] na ǀxam mâie ǀxonûbĩ,
le ra kx’a na kx’oa ǁkûsĩ.

65 E ra hē ti mî, Tare ǀkōsa hēsã,
hî na kx’a i-s ǂxa hâ
a-ta kx’oba ǀkaobasi?
E nà [ko’i ǀxokhâsî,
e nà ǁhanib dîlkâïlîkãi, ǂ

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 (2nd 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 ǀxam 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 (ǀhanib) 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 (ǀûib kxâi mâ).
70 Na xamu ǃauǁnati ǂaib ǃxai mā.
    E nā-si295 tōa-si.

70 And the lions could not (ǁ’oa) stalk (ǁ’au) [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 ǁgaes 'narrative, story.'
Bhf10. The Soreǀ’os, or Sun-child

(Kwalakwala and Tabab) (Mgd1967: 43–44)

1 | Kaib297 i na !kù
   i na Soreǀ’os |aus diba hō.
   In, taiba-s ka hēti ŋnũ?
   I na, hēba i kie ŋan?

5 ti na mĩ.
   I na, ha-re abasi, ti mĩ.
   I na, ě̂̀h ‘à, ti na mĩ,
   ababe tama-ti ě̂̀h,
   khoena298 ŋhane-ti tama Soreǀ’os-ti.299

10 Kx’aise ě̂̀h ‘à ti oe.
   Ha Ŭb sa ŋaob300 tani-si.
   A’a, tani-te, mäsen.
   I na |Kaib !kà ě̂̀h ŋnũ,
   i na ě̂̀h|xoahe,

15 i na dao i na |hokua kaisi dī.
   //Kõa, a-kam sāsāsen.
   Hā ‘à, ti na mĩ

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 Meinhot’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, |jieb 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 ŋhani ‘hinder, impede, inconvenience.’

300 The expression Ŭba ŋaob, which Maingard translates as ‘grandfather’ is perhaps literally ‘father’s uncle.’
And she said: ‘I told you (koa) I was not to be carried, ‘Now I am unable (ǁxāa) to come down (ǁōa).’

20 Then [Jackal] to a bush (haisa !oa) raced (ǁari) and jumped through (hurulxaru).
But the Child to his skin (khōb ib |xoa) stuck on to (ǂ’ao) was (ko a).
Then Jackal headed for home (ǁ’anu).
And he (ǁ‘aib) by his children (ōana) was seen (mū-he):
‘There is our father (sida ĩb) bringing (tanisa-b) plentifully (jkx’oase) meat!’
But his wife (tarakhoes xaĩsas) looked carefully (ǀaba) and saw it was the Sun-child he was carrying.
‘Our father is not carrying meat.’

And his wife [said]:
‘Where (ham-ba) have you been?’ And [she] said:
‘Do not behave like that (ǁnāti tama di).
‘Do not (tae) carry off (tani-xu) the Child like this (ti),
‘if (o) you want (ǂao) to go back to (kx’oa) [being] the same man (ǁxā khoeb).’

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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 (ǁnāti tama di). 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\(^\text{305}\) 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 (\(\text{hōb}\)) he got (\(\text{hō}\)).\(^\text{418}\)

305 Maingard translates: ‘This is how the jackal got his skin (i.e. with black stripes on his back).’ The word \(\text{hō}\) 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.
PL5. Jackal stories
(Lld, MP3: 134–152)
i. |Kireb tsǐ !Noab

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 (sǐsen), and lay on his back playing the gora.

Maingard (Korana Folktales, 44) noted other versions of this story in Nama, including one in Schultz (Aus Namaland und Kalahari, 473).

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’.

This word was translated by Piet Links as ‘gehuur’, and seems to be equivalent to Nama ǃgabe ‘hire’. The narrator also explained that the clay was to be made into bricks (‘stein’) for the house.

The word for ‘jackal’ occurs with various spellings throughout this text.

Maingard glosses this line as ‘and now crawls work to’, taking tǐsin as sǐsen ‘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 ǃkonà or ǃkà (but note Nama ǃāxa ‘industrious, hardworking’).

Here ḫkčim is perhaps for ḫkxāb ‘back’.

Lloyd herself wrote a question mark next to dzà, and the phrase [ib di ḫza is obscure. (Engelbrecht gives a record of za kxâi ‘in the middle’.)

Here ḫzāi is perhaps for xâi ‘blow, play instrument’ rather than kxâi ‘at, on’. Maingard glosses line 4 as ‘and now back’s middle-on lies gora’.

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 gora’. 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.’
And so it was Porcupine [who] alone (\textit{jona}) worked the clay there, and at finishing time (\textit{toa}||\textit{kk’ain}) he cleaned himself. Then Jackal crawled in and rolled himself (\textit{lhobosen}) full of clay, and with his clay-covered body (\$\textit{goa}||\textit{xab}||\textit{xa}), came out to eat his fill (\textit{kk’ol}’a). Porcupine was given lungs (\textit{soeku}) and liver (\textit{kk’ain}) to eat, but Jackal ate a fat (\textit{kau}) kidney (\textit{lx’i}).

Every morning (\$\textit{hoab} \textit{hoab}) they worked together. But one day, the master hearing something that Porcupine said, it was crept up (\textit{xuri-he}) that day and seen (\textit{mũ-he}) how [Jackal] lay (\$\textit{goe}) on his back (\textit{lũs} \textit{ũma}).

And Jackal did not have (\textit{hũ te hũ}) a heart-truth [conscience?] (\$\textit{ao} \textit{kk’ammi}), And Jackal [went and] said [to Porcupine]: ‘Maybe you saw something, maybe you didn’t.’ ‘So let me give you some advice (\$\textit{kk’abes}): ‘you had better listen and straight away obey (\$\textit{nũu} \textit{ũi} \$\textit{naũba}),

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315 The word for 'porcupine' (\textit{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 \textit{khōsen} ‘wash oneself’.)
317 Here \textit{goa} is perhaps for \textit{xoa} ‘with’. The implication is that the ‘lungs-and-liver’ dish is inferior.
318 Lloyd has pencilled in a Cape Dutch translation for ‘\textit{ham tse \textit{kk’op wap}’ as ‘elke dag het kom met daardie molder’, or ‘was come every day with that mud’.
319 The word \textit{xare} does not occur elsewhere in the Kora corpus, but Nama has \textit{xare} ‘adverb expressing doubt/scepticism in question’, as English ‘really’.
20 a-ts di kx’am-re, a-kam ḷāib ḷakam tsin. 321
Ibi !Nöab: ḷahure hā.
I-ts ta mù Ḹkx’aasi. 322
At-s Ḹnā-re taibikham tā dib,

25 A-re ḷan hā, ā hā.
I-bi [Kireb, hā ‘ā, ti mī nā mī, I xere i-ts ka na mūbasin ḷakamkam nā ḷxai’i.] Xare i-ts ka na mū soeb kx’āib tsikara Ḹkais,
i-ts kom ko nā sats Ḹ ‘ū-bi o,

30 i-re tire nā Ḹna Ḹkaua Ḹ ‘ū o.
!Amku Ḹkae kx’oasi, a-kam Ḹlahluhmūisin-kam, Ḹkamba uri Ḹkā-kam Ḹ o.
!Guixa hā Ḹhūphi kie.

35 E nā!Nöab Ḹkae kx’oasi Ḹkamkoa, e nā [Kireb mūthoabkara] 323 kx’ai Ḹhomāsi, i-bi !Nöab nā Ḹgou!hā lhu(h)i(n)mū. 324 [Kireb na !kā, !kālkabi, e nā kaihā Ḹuis Ḹxokhāsi,

321 Lloyd seems to treat Ḹtan 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 kill him’.
322 Lloyd translates this line as ‘The Jackal said, ‘Thou wilt see that I am right.’ Maingard substitutes Ḹkx’ōasi for Ḹk’x’ōasi and translates it as ‘succeed’.
323 Lloyd has a note explaining that mūthoab 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’.

20 ‘and you make this right for me (dī kx’am-re).
‘Let us kill (lam) him (‘āib).’
And Porcupine [said]: ‘I am too weak.’
[Then Jackal said]: ‘You will see that I am right.’
[Porcupine:] ‘Tell me (ĺnā-re) what (tāibi) we will do,
25 ‘so I may know (´an hā) if it is ‘Yes’ (ā).’
And Jackal said: ‘No, don’t say that!
‘Perhaps (xare) you will see for yourself (mūba-sin) that (lsxai’i) we will both be killed (lām-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 (l’amku),
‘and let us both stab ourselves blind (līhā-lhui-mū-sin, lit. ‘stab-cease-see-Refl’),
‘and jump into (uri´ā) the water and die there.
‘He is a villain (līguixa), that Englishman.’
35 So Porcupine pulled out some quills, and Jackal made marks (līhō-mū-si) at the corners of his eyes (mū-thoab-kara kx’ai), but Porcupine pierced (Ďao) and stabbed himself blind.
Then Jackal [passed by] behind his back (ľātnab), and picked up (lxokhāsi) a large stone (kaiha l’uis),
and then he went away (bē) on tip-toe (ǂ’ail’am),
and hurled (ao) the stone into the water there (ǁam ǁba).
‘I am in’, he said.
Then Porcupine quickly (sūse) jumped (uri).
And then Jackal said: ‘What foolishness have you gone and foolishly done?’
And Porcupine [said]: ‘Pull me out!’
And Jackal went running (ǃxoekx’āi) to the homestead (ǁ-aos ǁa):
‘My master, help me (hui-re), a man has drowned (ǁamǁ’ō, lit. ‘water-die’).
Then both seated together (ǂnũasigu) in the saddle (ǂkanni = ǀhanib [?]),
they went down (ǁõa) to the water (ǁammi ǁa).
But the man [Porcupine] was already dead.
‘You villain, [you] have killed a man.’
And he [Jackal] this (hē) closely (ǀūse) was fended off (ǁxau-he),
and being slippery (ǂxanu) he broke free (ǂguri),
and the Englishman fell into (ǁnaǂ’ã) the water.
55 bi kie ǁ'o.
I-bi ǀka ǀkona hâ,
ǁnati hi ǁkaûs gau.
E nâ ǁkai ǀkonî ǀko ko a
e nâ ǁgau xu327 ǂkx'oa goût:

55 and drowned.
And the children were still small,
so [Jackal] ruled (gao) the homestead
(ǁãus).
But once the children were big
children (kai ǁonî),
[Jackal] was evicted (ǁkx'oa-sî-he)
from the homestead (ǁãu xu).419

327 Lloyd has ǁgauru, which she translates as 'young master'.
Maingard amends this to ǁgau xu and translates it as 'werf-out-of'.

419 The Englishman hired two workers to make clay bricks
for his new house. Jackal took his gona 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.

FIGURE 5.9  Sketch of the head of a korhaan
by William Burchell (Travels in the Interior of
ii. Jackal and the leopards

1 E nã lau hã,
e nã xoasaukua !x a !hu,
i-ku i nã !aulxo.  
I-bi nã mì,

5 ŠKã Škamma a !kaese Šnã a kai Šaub ho.  
E nã Škã,
e nã !na !aukoa ùtsĩ!kx’oa, Šnau!na.  
[i]-ku i xoasaukua nã mú !guib ā !xaib,
!xo daowe.

10 E nã mú Šib ŠKireb,
e nã !xoekx’ai.  
E nã !kx’omma Škoekx’amme,
e nã !au!jom.

15 E nã Škara Škoa Škamba Škõa.  
E nã Škx’oaxa, e na Škai,
e nã: Taeb ka ib kx’ommi areb oe te hã?  
Khoen hã, Šnama oe tama?  
E nã Škai – e nã oe!

Maingard (Korana Folktales, 44) noted parallels in Nama stories, including one collected by Schultz (Aus Namaland and Kalahari, 485–487).

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.

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’.

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 (!’aulxo, lit. ‘fish-catching’).
And he said:

5 ‘If you go into the water and sit there waiting (laese) you will catch a big fish.’
So they went in,
and [with] those fishes they brought out (ùsĩ!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 (!’ib), 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 Šloa)
he went down (!’loa) 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 (!’nama) don’t they answer (oe tama)’?
So he called out [again] – and there came an answer!
iii. Jackal and Lion

1 And Lion met up with (hau|xa) [Jackal] while he lay sleeping (\om\oe, lit. 'sleep-lie') on his back (\osa) underneath a ledge (\thoa \ka\ai 'ledge under at').

5 Hie\kab \kai\xarab\-re! A-re \h\d\ga\b\v\i\u a-re m\a\si \kara.335 I-bi ko \k\u, \k\u\l\ar. I-bi n\a \n\k\a n\a \k\x\d\aje xoasaukua,

ii. Jackal and Lion

20 ‘Who has ever said that (\xe\be \x\d\aib\i\l\l\) a house can give an answer! ‘You are foolish, ‘how were you taught (\x\a\-\he)?'

And he ran away again.420

331 Lloyd translates line 22, 'How did his parents teach him?' where 'k\je' is perhaps for \x\a-he.

332 There are parallel elements in one of the Nama stories collected by Leonhard Schultz in Aus Namaland und Kalahari (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907), 486–487.

333 Lloyd writes 'hi\i\', where her diacritic indicates that e is pronounced distinctly from the preceding i. She translates it as 'this', which is ordinarily he 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 hehe (see note 33 below).

334 Lloyd notes that \h\d\ga\b\v\i\u was explained to her as a 'mikstok' or a 'forked aiming stick'. In Namibian Khoekhoe, \h\a means 'forked [of a stick]', and \d\basen 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.
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 Tsuiǁõab who created (kuru)
and put (mâsi) this here ledge here.’

But Lion said: ‘You are lying (ǁae-kao).
‘Jackal told me (ǁnâ-re),
‘let me (ha-re) grab hold of (ǃxoǀxoa)
that rock (ǁnâb ǀ'uib).’

[Then the leopards said:] ‘So (ǁnâti)
leave (ǁnâ) and move away ( xu)!’

[But Lion said:] ‘No, the ledge will fall
(ǁnâ) and split me (ǃkx’ari-re).’

[And the leopards said:] ‘Yes (a), stop
(ǃhuï) this quickly (ǀnuse).’

And Lion pushed (ǂhã) away from the
ledge,
and fell (ǁnâ) on his back (ǃãsa).  

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 Tsuiǁõab 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.

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336 Lloyd initially wrote ‘he ke’, but subsequently changed it
to ‘he ye’. This may be a variant of hehê ‘this here’.

337 Lloyd’s manuscript has ‘ǁkhoǁkoa’, which Maingard
changed to ‘ǁkhoǁkoa’, giving it its own translation ‘receive and take into account’. It is perhaps ǃxoǀxoa ‘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 ǀhui(h)i as ǀkœi, which she glosses as ‘pass’
(possibly from ǀw-o-i). 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 ǀhui ‘stop,
cease.’
BK9. Jackal and Leopard (Mhf, 70–71)

1 |ieb ³⁴⁰ tsĩ Xoasaob tsĩ-khara tje !hami!ũ.
Tsēb horakab ǂanixase tje xub hō tama,
i tje !’āba-khara tje bae o,
!’ūriǁkx’ai hais thoa ǂnũ

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 ||nx |kk’aeb !’ūb !na i-b |Aiieb ||xao’ī mũ hā ā

10 haib !na-’i mā i.
Itje: A a! ti !a!ãgu, i tje !nau|na.
Hais !a! kx’ai i-b tje i o,
|xaoda’i māba,
i tje gau, ta a-b Xoasaob mū-bi ka.

15 |Xoadanib tje mũ’o Xoasaob tje !nu o,
i tje |xao’ī lxo tsĩ !lam,
!naxukua uǂoasi³⁴² tsĩ kx’ob gau gau.
I tje |xā haisa loa hā lari-khara tje hā-s,
i tje !naxuku |uiku |xa hā tsĩ ǂno³⁴³ na ǂ’ũ.

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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 ǂkkoasĩ ‘take out’, although Meinhof notes the alternative -ôasĩ ‘down from’.
³⁴³ This is probably for ǂnũ.
20 Then when Leopard had returned (\textit{ihoba hā}) to the bush, he said.

\begin{quote}
‘Oh please give me some,
‘Where (\textit{hama}) did you find food?
‘I am dying (\textit{I’ō-a}) of hunger (\textit{I’āb-a})
\end{quote}

Then Jackal said:

25 ‘I am eating my intestines.

\begin{quote}
‘I always (\textit{nika}) open up myself (\textit{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 (\textit{xā khoēs}),
\end{quote}

Then straightaway (\textit{ñũse}) Leopard took a knife (\textit{kōas}) and opened himself, so that he could take out his intestines.

When Leopard fell over (\textit{ǁoēǁna}), then Jackal jumped on top (\textit{hurikhaī}) of him:

344 Probably hā.
345 The meaning or function of \textit{lö} in line 21 is not clear: Mhf gives it as \textit{denn} ‘then’, but adds a question mark in parentheses. (There does not appear to be an obvious equivalent in Namibian Khoekhoe.)
346 Meinhof has this word for ‘answer’ in parentheses in his Glossary, and suggests that the correct form is \textit{hōa-kxām}.
347 Meinhof said he did not understand the occurrence of –s here. He added that Benjamin Kats later corrected the \textit{xbas} of line 26 to \textit{fxabas} in line 32, and suggested that it might be a variant of \textit{fxoba} ‘oper’. It is possible, though, that \textit{xbas} 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 \textit{ha’} ‘stab, pierce’ has been omitted from an original \textit{xbas ūna hausen}.
348 According to Meinhof, this was later corrected by Benjamin Kats to \textit{fxasi}.
349 The function of \textit{a} in line 29 is not clear.
350 Meinhof explained that \textit{khoes} here is the abstract noun meaning ‘humaness’. (It would ordinarily be \textit{khoesh}.)
351 Meinhof translates \textit{ṁna ūnũse} in line 31 as \textit{and sofort ‘immediately}. In his Glossary he gives \textit{ṁnũse} as meaning \textit{zeit ‘during, throughout, since}, and suggests a connection with \textit{ṁnũ ‘sit’.
35 ‘Stop! Stop! It was only a lamb’s [intestines], this that I was eating!’ And then Leopard died (ʃ'ō hâ).

And then, carrying (tani) the meat of both the leopard and the lamb, Jackal went home. And when he arrived,

40 he presented (sil’na) both carcasses (k’okhara) to his wife, and said:
‘Wife! Today I have killed both a leopard and a lamb: ‘Here is the meat!’

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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!’

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FIGURE 5.10. Another page from Lucy Lloyd’s manuscript of the Jackal and Porcuine story. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)
BK10. The Lion, 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 (ǁkx’aeb ǀna) Jackal [said to Ostrich]:

5 ‘Let’s tie up (ǁhau) this man [Lion]. ‘Only, my sinews are short (ǀnubu). ‘You take out (ǂxu) your long (gaxu) sinews (ǁ’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 (ǀ’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 (ǁkx’aigu), ‘Then we can kick-fight.’

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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 ǀaiieb 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 ǀnao as ‘then.’
25 So they did this, and then Lion kicked first, and his paw (\(\text{xx'abo}\)) stuck fast. Then Ostrich came and kicked right through (\(\text{\#nålxaru}\)) the ant-hill to where Lion was stuck, and he kicked him dead (\(\text{\#nålam}\)).

Then Jackal laughed (\(\text{xx'añ}\)), 'Ha ha!'

30 'There is not a thing you cannot do!' And he dusted Ostrich off (\(\text{\#nåbixa}\)) so that he was his same old self again.

So Ostrich had the ‘right stuff’ (\(\text{\#hanu} \text{yy'abaku, lit. ‘right sinews’}\)).

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357 The word \(\text{\#xx'abo}\) in line 26 (which Meinhof lists in his Glossary with the meaning ‘stark, ‘strong’) may be for \(\text{\#habob ‘paw, hoof, foot, shoe’}\), and is perhaps also syntactically incorporated into the verb \(\text{må} \), 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 \(\text{goe ‘lie’}\) ordinarily occurs with the lateral click.

359 Meinhof translates Jackal’s words in line 32 as ‘Nichts ist er (\(\text{\#xu tamab}\)) gegen dich (\(\text{saxa}\)).’
Jackal, Hyena and the person
(version 2) (Kats, 1935/36)

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 (lū) together,

5 and the two went (sī) and sat on top (amma) of a hill (lores) [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 (lū) 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,

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 Kat’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 |aiieb 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.)

Meinhof has |xaurus for ‘walking stick’ in his Glossary (but note Nama |kharub).
15 uhâ (khoeb) nà 'noa!ũ.
I na: I fnab? ti tê |Hukhâsi,
i-b na |Hukhâb tê: I fnab? ti.
i-b na |Aiieb, A ti mî.
I na khoã |Hukhâ-bi j’âgu!ũ,
20 i-b na |Aiieb hais !ã kx’ai i gau ka !ûse hâ å mû!na ka.
I na |Hukhâ-b tje hâ-bi o,
l’abus !hob xu ū ||na khoebi,
i-b tje na |Hukhâb hâ-bi o,
i na 'noa khoebi.
I na khaĩ |Hukhâ-bi,
25 i-b na |Aiieb, Ā ti mĩ.
I na |Hukhâ-bi,
20 while Jackal went and hid himself in a bush so that he could observe closely.
And Hyena asked: ‘Is that him?’
and Jackal said, ‘Yes.’
Then Hyena got up to go and fight the man,
I na khaĩ |Hukhâ-bi,
i-b na |Aiieb, Ā ti mĩ.
I na |Hukhâ-bi,
25 And Hyena sprang up and came again,
and the man shot again, [hitting him]
and Hyena came towards him,
in the neck (l’aoob kx’ai).
And when Hyena sprang up and came back again,
the man unsheathed (xû) 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 (sî-bi-r), he took a
long thing from his shoulder,
35 ‘and made the thing blow (#lasi),
‘and the thing exploded (#lui)
‘and I got to him again,
‘but he made it blow again,
‘and it exploded again,
i na !aeb tsĩ |uif\xbarab tin /xa
!kx’abu-re,
i na /am /’aĩ !nas \xābā di-re,
i-r na \xābā huri sī,
i na !āx’ab ab xu |ui |’arab ab
\āē\’oase
i na |hau-re tsĩ doa-re,
i-r na !kx’oe kx’aĩ tsĩ ||hā.

‘and he peppered me (l’kx’abu ’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 (ǂāēǂ’oase) a
rib (/’arab) from his back
‘and struck me with it,

45 ‘so then I ran away and fled.’

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
(|’om),
and the digging began.

5 And one woman had a little child who
was crawling (ǂhana),
and she put the child in the shade of a
bush,

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 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.’
and peeled (koraba) bulbs (l’okua) for it and went to go and dig.
And with its mother (ǁûs) having forgotten about it, the child crawled away
and came to where a lion lay asleep (ǁ’om hā),
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 (ǁau) 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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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 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 village.

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369 The verb l’ao in the expression l’ao+’ai ‘pick up a spoor’ is perhaps l’au, which Lloyd recorded with the meaning ‘stalk, hunt.’
370 The ko here seems to mean ‘all of you.’
371 Engelbrecht (Ebt1936) noted /gar/foku 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, Byte-man!’ 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.’
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 (ǃ'ai hã). When she saw the lion, she got a fright (ǃhuri). And then the lion came to her and stood before her.

10 And she darted to one side (ǂo), 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 and squeezed out the pus (ūb).

15 For some days the injured (thuisen) lion was quiet (ǃno), but then one day he gave a little hop, in order to see (mũ ka) 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 unmistakably 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 ǃ'ai as ‘spoil, decay’ in his Glossary.

374 Meinhof explains this word as ‘weichen’.

375 Meinhof has ǃai s e n 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 mù: Ā. ti. I tje !nona ![aï] tsë huri,377
i tje ![na tsë] !ũ! 'aub xa !oa !hami!ũ.
I tje sî ![aes] ūhā khoes na !oa sî
i he kx’ob xa khoes ![aïs] dommi kx’ai ᵃ ũ,

25 xamma ![aïb] dommi kx’ai ti na hî,
khoes i na !oe379 tsî ![’o]’o.
!Nona ![aï] tsë xammi tje ![aub
!hami!ũb ![’oa] kx’aro380 kx’aroba381
i tje dîtoa khoesi,
i tje xammi ![ũ] ![’ûse kx’okua ![ae
kx’am

30 i ko ![’anu.
I-b tje xamma ![’aub xu ha o,
i-b tje khoes hô te ū hô,
† ![’aib] kx’ai mà.
I-s tje xabe khoes ![’anu sî hâ khoes na
†hoê!hoâ,

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 (lhamilû).
And he caught a gemsbok (jaes) 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 (l’û)[o’o).
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
(l’ûse), she bundled up (lae) the meat
and went home (l’ûanu).
30 And when the lion returned from the
veld,
and did not find (hô) the woman,
then he stayed on her spoor († ![aib
kx’ai mà).
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 ![ai] tsê ‘second day’ and
![nona ![ai] tsê ‘third day’.
378 For ‘gemsbok’, Engelbrecht gave ![ais and Lloyd ![ais.
379 Meinhof noted that ![œ should mean ‘cut into strips’.
380 Meinhof notes that Timotheus Yzerbek translated ![oa as
‘morning’ and ![kx’aro as ‘early’.
381 Possibly the counterpart of Nama ![aroma ‘because of’.
35 he-b tje xamma hā ko-b.
Xamma! tī !kx’au kx’aokhoeku,
tsī !’abude ū-kua tsī xamma ūnoa!am khoeku.

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 ŋaap tsi sores
tsi khara ŋoagu ta[n] ai hā.
na x’aep !na
daoo!ux’ aosap !ǔ-loa xa,
|xōasa jas ‘ana sap.

5 ŋāikhara na x’apep dī
daoo!ux’ aosap dī jasa ta kx’aiṣi +ae-
x’oasi ka sip,
napi īaisa kx’arob.

35 just then the lion appeared.
‘Lion!’ screamed the men,
and they snatched up their guns and
the men shot the lion dead.426

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.
The Wind began to blow (lom) strongly. Wind blew fiercely until the traveller pulled his jacket more closely (†ae\-\-an). Then Wind lay down (]]oe). And then Sun blazed down. Immediately (ju! Inas) he pulled off (†ae\-kx’oasi) the jacket. And Wind knew that (lxaiib) Sun had surpassed him (bā-bi hā). 427

Version 2: re-written for greater compatibility with other texts and ease of reading:

1 |Ui tsē †Oab tsĩ Sores tsikhara †noagu tan ĩai hā. 382
   ||Na |kx’æeb †na dao!ukx’aosab †u!oaxa,
   ||xõasa jas383 anasab.

5 | †’Agikha †arka na |kx’æeb di,
   dao!ukx’aosab di jasa taka kx’aise
   †ae\-kx’oasikasib,
   nabi |aisa kx’arob.

I ke †Oabi thoathoa |aisase !om hā.
†’Oab na |aisase !om kose
10 i-b na dao!ukx’aosab jas ab †ae\-\-an.
I ke †Oab ]oe.

I ke Soresi ||hōa!nasn||hōa.
|Ui Inas kx’ama jas †ae\-kx’oasi.
I ke †’Oabi †an sores bā-bi hā !xaiib.

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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 hā in this text may have been the copula a.

383 The word jas is an Afrikaans word for ‘jacket’.

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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.