

## Special list 1 Names of the Korana clans

It is clear from the wording used in some of the texts that the Korana people (*sida* !Orada, or ‘we the Korana’) had an overarching sense of belonging to a specific political entity or nation. Some historians and anthropologists currently question the notion of early indigenous nationhood in southern Africa, suggesting that the concept might be a colonial imposition, or at least a modern development triggered by the impact of colonisation. The debate is a subtle one, of course, and is appropriately couched in highly nuanced terms, but we should nonetheless be cautious not to assume that prior to the arrival of ‘the white man’ there were no pre-existing polities with a social cohesion of their own. Certainly, there was an abstract Kora term (!Orakhoesib), which referred to a collective *political identity* defined in terms of belonging to the Korana people. (Our consultant, Ouma Jacoba Maclear, proudly told us that she was a ‘Korana-/’os’, or ‘Korana child’.)<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, most of the Kora speakers who worked with Louis Maingard and Jan Engelbrecht in the 1920s and 1930s had a clear sense of their *familial identity*, in terms of direct ancestral lineages. As Engelbrecht recorded,<sup>2</sup> children were given a name at birth, and might later acquire a nickname, but while all children belonged in principle to the clan of their father, each in addition took on a ‘great name’ or ‘ancestor name’ (*kaikhoe/’onna*). In the case of a boy, this was the name inherited by his mother from her father’s clan, while a girl took the name of her father or his ancestral clan. Benjamin Kats, for example, belonged to the Kats clan (the |Hōakua||’ais), but took his great name !Hamarib from the clan name of his maternal grandfather.

Both Maingard<sup>3</sup> and Engelbrecht<sup>4</sup> obtained valuable information concerning the names of Korana clans<sup>5</sup> still remembered by their consultants in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They used this data to revisit the early records of 18<sup>th</sup> century travellers such as Hendrik Wikar,<sup>6</sup> and later accounts provided by others, such as the missionary John Campbell.<sup>7</sup> Engelbrecht attempted, in addition, to establish some of the highly complex divisions, hierarchies, and alliances within some of the larger clan groupings.

As Engelbrecht and Maingard have pointed out, and as has been discussed also by Gabriel Nienaber, some of the clan names of the early Cape records can be plausibly correlated with certain of the names recorded at a later period. This process of identification is helped by the fact that the Cape Khoi began providing Dutch versions of their clan names from a relatively early period, so that by 1813, for example, Campbell<sup>8</sup> was able to provide a list where the names were almost all given in their Cape Dutch forms. Lucy Lloyd<sup>9</sup> was nevertheless still able in 1879 to obtain a number of names in both their Kora and Cape Dutch versions. A few of the names recorded at a later date by Engelbrecht were given only in Afrikaans, and may have been of relatively recent origin. In some cases, the latter seem to have arisen from the name of a particular leader, such as the name Slaparm (‘Lame arm’), which was the

nickname of a leader otherwise known as Sigebe. (Engelbrecht noted that while clan leadership was typically hereditary, some leaders emerged on their own merits and were then accepted as the heads of breakaway clans.)<sup>10</sup>

The list given here is bound to be incomplete, since the meanings of some of the older names remain obscure, while there will have been many clans whose names were never recorded. The old records are sometimes additionally confusing because certain groups, it seems, had alternative names, or else were occasionally lumped together and referred to in general or collective terms. Readers wanting to explore the subject further are invited to refer to the work of Engelbrecht and Maingard mentioned above, and may also like to consult Nienaber's richly comprehensive survey of all early records of the Khoi clan names.<sup>11</sup>

List 6.1a Names of Korana clans as identified and grouped by Engelbrecht (1936, 1–79) and Maingard (1964)

Clan names	Translation	Source
<b>1. Kai!Orana</b>	<b>Great Korana</b>	
Hū̀kx'en  'ais	Scorpion clan	[Mgd64]
!Xau  'ais	Seekoeie (Hippopotamus) clan	[Ebt36]
‡'Oxokua	Smalwange (Narrow cheek) people	[Mgd64]
!'Aba  'ais	Rooivolk (Red clan)	[Ebt36]
!Gan‡nū  'ais	Kinswartse (Black chin) clan	[Ebt36]
‡Goas  'ais	Moddervolk (Clay clan, perhaps refers to a river?)	[Ebt36]
!Namkhamkua	Symense (Side – or 'shore'? – people)	[Mgd64]
Hō  'ais	Sakvolk (Pouch clan)	[Ebt36]
<b>2.   'Arebe  'ais,   'Aremā  'ais</b>	<b>Links (Left-standing clan)</b>	<b>[Mgd64]</b>
Sono  'ais	Pencil clan	[Ebt36]
Uluna  'ais	Little springboks clan (?)	[Ebt36]
!Ausn  'ais	Laaste-lê volk (Last-lying clan)	[Ebt36]
‡Gam  'ais	(see ‡Amsa  'ais below)	[Ebt36]
(‡Amsa  'ais)	Aftrek natie (Trek-away) clan	[Lld]
!Gan(a)  'ais	Chin clan (?)	[Ebt36]
!Oara  'ais	(see !Ora  'ais below)	[Ebt36]
!Ora  'ais	Kora clan	[Mgd64]
Matōna (or Meivolk)	May people	[Ebt36]

Clan names	Translation	Source
<b>3.  Nū  'aikua ~  Nusan</b>	<b>Clans who lived north of the Gariep</b>	<b>[Ebt36]</b>
‡Nū  'ais	Black clan (alternative name for above)	[Mgd64]
(i) !Geixa  'ais	Townaars (Sorcerer) clan	[Mgd64]
(ii) Kx'am  ōakua	Right-arm (or hand) people	[Mgd64]
Kraalshoeks	Homestead place (people)	[Ebt36]
Yzerbekke	Iron mouth (people)	[Ebt36]
Buffelboute	Buffalo haunch (people)	[Ebt36]
Slaparms	Lame arm (people) (after the nickname of 'Sigeb'?)	[Ebt36]
Xuli  'āis	(?)	[Ebt36]
Tabokx'au  'ais	(?)	[Ebt36]
Goubis  'ais	(?)	[Ebt36]

List 6.1b Further (ungrouped) names of Korana clans as identified by Engelbrecht<sup>12</sup> and Maingard<sup>13</sup> (1964), with a few collective terms

Other names	Translation	Source
‡Nam  'aikua	Karoshebbbers, Karosdraggers (Cloak-wearing) clans	[Mgd64]
Amaxakua	Hartebeest people	[Mgd64]
!Au  'ais	Snyers, Cutters (Tailors?) clan	[Mgd64]
!Urinkua  'ais, !Urimā  'ais	Hoogstanders, Bostaanders (Highlanders?) clan	[Mgd64]
Hōakua  'ais	Katse (Cats) clan	[Mgd64]
Hōana	Katte (Cat) people	[Ebt36]
Gumtena	Bitterbos people	[Ebt36]
Kx'autama  'ais	Not-bitter clan (?)	[Ebt36]
Tsoa  'aina	Nether (below) clan(s) (?) (Collective term?)	[Ebt36]
Ũte  'ais	Springbok clan	[Ebt36]
‡Xani  'ais	Boekvolk, Pampiere (Book, or Documents) clan	[Ebt36]
'Ai  'aina	(?) (Alternative name for ‡Xani  'ais)	[Ebt36]
Nūisin  'ais	Spinnekoppe (Spider) clan	[Ebt36]
!Amsakua	Preparers of skins people (Tanners?)	[Ebt36]

Other names	Translation	Source
‡Kx'āu‡gum	Taaibosch	[Lld]
‖Xōaxan	Arm (or hand) people	[Lld]
Dausin ~ ‖'Uriakua	Quagga people	[Lld, Ebt36]
‖Kōabin	Knee (or 'hoek', referring to bend in river?) people	[Lld]
Harroken	Sinew people	[Lld]
<b>General names (collective)</b>		
Nusan	Near-dwelling people who lived north of the Gariep	[Lld]
Xāusan	People who lived south of the Gariep	[Lld]
!Usa‖'aikua (< 'Kusak'kykwa)	Far-dwelling clans who lived south of the Gariep	[Burchell]
!Nanni‖'ain	Shore-dwelling clans who lived along the Gariep	[Lld]
Einiqua	River people	[Wikar]

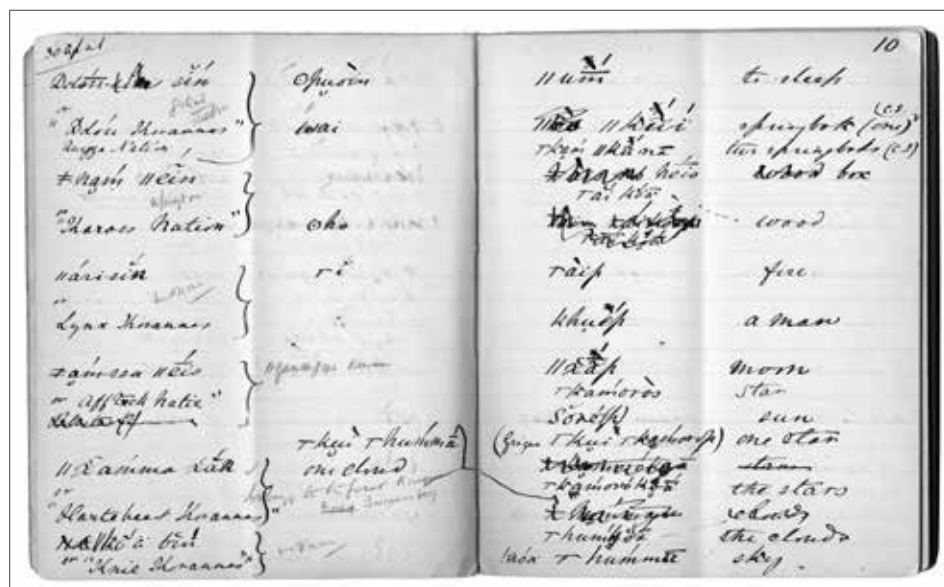


FIGURE 6.1 A page from Lucy Lloyd's first Kora notebook (MP1). The far left-hand column shows some of the Korana clan names given by Piet Links. Note Lloyd's mistaken translation of ‖Arisin as 'Lynx Korannas'. The words in the second column on the left-facing page are the |Xam equivalents of the Kora words, and were probably added for comparative purposes. (Image reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.)

<i>Names of the different Tribes of Corannas on the Great River.</i>	
<i>Cabusque</i>	Stabbers.
<i>Karossdraggers,</i>	Weavers of karosses or cloaks.
<i>Springbokkers,</i>	Springbucks, being numerous like that animal.
<i>Karabers, or Kleinbonte,</i>	Little spotted.
<i>Naanar Wangs,</i>	Narrow cheeks.
<i>Kamisgeis,</i>	
<i>Bockbrief,</i>	Letter book.
<i>Snyers,</i>	Cutters, or taylors.
<i>Hoogtens,</i>	Heights.
<i>Zeekoe-draggers,</i>	Bearers of sea-cows.
<i>Katmenchen,</i>	Cat-people, on account of their having pursued a hartebeast across a ford called Cat-ford.
<i>Tovernaans,</i>	Wizards.
<i>Kokerbooms,</i>	Quiver trees. Trees from which the Bushmen make their arrows.
<i>Spinnekopsooger,</i>	
<i>Links Staen,</i>	Standing to the left—this refers to those at Malapeetsee.

FIGURE 6.2 Clan names compiled in 1813 by John Campbell (*Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 282), by which time many already had Cape Dutch translations. Some of the explanations seem fanciful.

## Endnotes

- 1 As for the meaning of the name Korana itself, this is unknown. Gabriel Nienaber (*Khoekhoense Stamname: 'n Voorlopige Verkenning* (Pretoria, Cape Town: Academica, 1989), 647–666) assembled no fewer than eleven different suggestions, but ultimately concluded that not one of them is certain.
- 2 Jan Engelbrecht, *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936), 151–152. (This work is abbreviated throughout the Dictionary as Ebt36.)
- 3 Maingard, “Studies in Korana history, customs and language,” *Bantu Studies* 6, no 2 (1932): 103–161; and “The Korana dialects” *African Studies* 23, no. 2 (1964), 57–66. (These two works are respectively abbreviated throughout the Dictionary as Mgd32 and Mgd64.)
- 4 Ebt36, 1–79; and Engelbrecht, “The tribes of Wikar’s journal,” in *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 221–237.
- 5 While the overall evidence suggests that the Kora word for ‘clan’ was //’ais, it is spelled in a number of different ways (even by the same author on different occasions), and sometimes features a masculine suffix *-b* (sometimes written as ‘-p’). The click accompaniment of glottalisation, which some authors indicate by means of the glottal stop symbol (?), is associated with nasalisation of a preceding vowel, which probably accounts for some of the variations in the spelling. The vowel sequence *ai* is sometimes spelled ‘ei’, and is occasionally also shown with a sign for nasalisation. The word was translated by Maingard as ‘tribe’ (note Nama //aes, which is glossed as ‘nation’), but older records have it variously as *natie* ‘nation’, *mense* ‘people’ and *volk* ‘folk’.
- 6 Hendrick Wikar, *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*, ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935).
- 7 John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 282.
- 8 Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, 282.
- 9 Lucy Lloyd, “Manuscript notebooks on !Kora [1879],” MP1, 9–10, 30.
- 10 Ebt36, 39.
- 11 Nienaber, *Khoekhoense Stamname*.
- 12 Ebt36, 1–79.
- 13 Mgd, “The Korana dialects.”