

The Ethnonyms ≠Aunin, Topnaars, and !Naranin

PETER E RAPER

University of the Free State, South Africa

The ≠Aunin, also called Topnaars and !Naranin, are an exceptional people, currently regarded as Nama (Khoikhoi) but thought to be originally San (Bushmen). They inhabit the Walvis Bay area and Kuiseb Valley in Namibia, and live primarily from fishing, and from harvesting the seeds of *!nara* (*Acanthosicyos horrida*) plants. Various explanations of the names ≠Aunin and Topnaars have been encountered, the most popular linking the former to the Khoikhoi (Nama) word ≠aub “peak, top, point, pinnacle,” etc., and the latter to the English, Dutch, and Afrikaans word *top* and the Dutch and Afrikaans substantive ending *-naar*. The present paper postulates on linguistic and anthropological grounds that the name ≠Aunin reflects the unique means of livelihood of these people by fishing.

KEYWORDS Ethnonym, Bushman name, San name, Khoisan ethnonym, popular etymology, onomastic method, Cape Khoi

The ≠Aunin, also known as Topnaars, are a particularly interesting Khoisan people. What distinguishes them from any other Khoisan people is their sea-fishing and their annual harvesting of the *!nara* melon (*Acanthosicyos horrida* Welw.) (Budack, 1977: 1). On account of the latter activity, they are also called !Naranin “!Nara people.”

Nowadays the ≠Aunin live along the coast in the vicinity of Walvis Bay in Namibia, in the dunes of the estuary of the Kuiseb River, and in the lower Kuiseb Valley. In former times their tribal territories extended northwards along the coast to Swakopmund and the lower Swakop River Valley, and southwards to Sandwich Harbor and Conception Bay (Budack, 1977: 1). Grundemann’s map of 1867 shows the “≠Aunib od. Topnaars” extending from north of the Omaruru River southwards along the coast to opposite Hollams Bird Island (Figure 1). Vedder (1928: 115) states that “Hundreds of years ago their territory was still of vast dimensions.”

The name ≠Aunin

The name ≠Aunin is encountered also in the forms ≠Ounin and ≠Aonin (Nienaber, 1989: 135–39). These various spellings represent attempts at rendering the

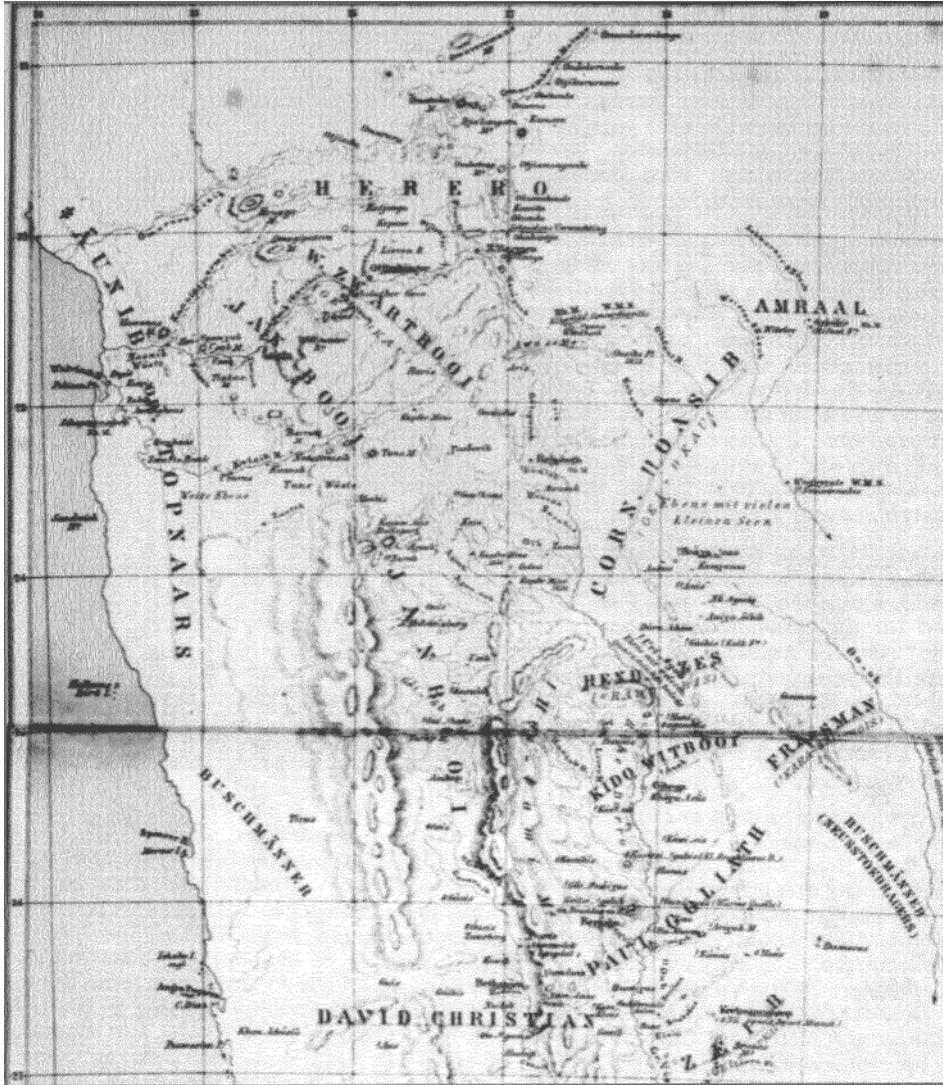


FIGURE 1 Grundemann's Map of 1867.

pronunciation of the name in writing; $\neq ao$ is the modern Nama (Khoikhoi) spelling of $\neq au$. The click in the ethnonym has consistently been recorded as the alveolar click \neq , formerly called the palatal click, formed by rapidly withdrawing the tip of the tongue from the alveolus and pronounced as “the sound made by a child tasting something sweet” (Bleek, 1956: 640). The component *nin* of the name $\neq Aunin$ means “people” (Budack, 1977: 2).

Most sources consider the name $\neq Aunin$ to be derived from the Khoikhoi word $\neq au-b$ “die Spitze (eines Berges, Hügels etc.),” “the peak (of a mountain, hill etc.)” (Kroenlein, 1889: 38), interpreted as “point, peak, top” and the like. However, the reasons given for the name vary. The German missionary Knudsen (1844 in Nienaber, 1989: 135) said $\neq Aunin$ means “die Oben,” “those at the top.” According to him the

reason for the name was that these people fled from the Herero, taking refuge in the mountain-tops (Nienaber, 1989: 141). The missionary Wallmann (1858: 53) gives the meaning of ≠Aunin as “die an der Spitze,” “those at the point.” The meaning of “the people of the point” is also given by the anthropologist Hoernle (1926: 6), who interprets the name as referring to the ≠Aunin inhabiting the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Nama Khoikhoi. Green (1952: 40) says the name means “sharp people.” Budack (1977: 1) states that “In Nama, the noun ≠aos means something like ‘extremity’ and is not only applied to the top of a mountain, but also to far away places and marginal areas of a territory. [...] An adequate translation into English could be ‘people of a marginal area.’ From the viewpoint of other Khoekhoe tribes, the ≠Aonin inhabited an out-of-the-way area of Namaland situated on its north-western border.” The final *-s* of the word ≠aos is the Khoikhoi third person singular feminine ending (Kroenlein, 1889: 292), whereas the final *-b* as given by Kroenlein in the word ≠au-*b* is the Khoikhoi third person singular masculine ending (Kroenlein, 1889: 40).

Krenz (letter of 1986 in Nienaber, 1989: 157) states “Das ≠Ao in ≠Aonin bezieht sich auf die Hornspitze des Rindes; ≠Ao in ≠Aodaman bedeutet ‘hoch’.”; “The ≠Ao in ≠Aonin refers to the point of the horn of an ox; ≠Ao in ≠Aodaman means ‘high’.” Möller (2008) points out that the German word *Spitze* means “sharp point,” and remarks that the ≠Aunin were depicted in a painting by Thomas Baines using fishing-spears, the reference to “sharp” and “point” in the name ≠Aunin possibly being to these pointed spears. The spear originally used for spearing fish was made of tamarisk wood (*Tamarix usneoides*), hardened by thrusting it into hot sand under a fire, with the bark still on it (Budack, 1977: 17). The Topnaar also used a gemsbok horn for the spearing of fish (Chapman, 1971: 1, 175). The straight horn, which in full-grown animals reaches an average length of 1 meter, has a very sharp point and is an effective weapon. McKiernan (1954: 34) writes about “spears which are made from Gemsbok horns [...] fastened on long poles.”

The name *Topnaar*

Wallmann (1858: 53) states that the name *Topnaar* is a translation of the name ≠Aunin; Budack (1977: 1) also regards *Topnaar* as a Dutch-Afrikaans word that approximately translates the traditional ethnonym ≠Aunin. The component *Top* of the name *Topnaar(s)* is thus assumed to be the Dutch and Afrikaans word *top*, having the same meaning as “top” in English, with the extended significations of “summit, highest part, highest position, paramount,” thus approximating the meaning of Nama ≠Au-. The component *-naar* of the name *Topnaar(s)* is considered to be the Dutch and Afrikaans suffix *-naar*, added to certain verbs and nouns to indicate the agent, and encountered in such words as *leuenaar* “liar,” from *leuen* “a lie”; *towenaar* “magician,” from *tower* “work magic, bewitch”; and *meulenaar* “miller,” from *meule* “mill.” The final *-s* of the name *Topnaars* is assumed to be the Afrikaans, Dutch and English plural marker.

The meaning of the name *Topnaar* given by different writers is the same as that given for ≠Aunin, but again with various reasons being given for the name. Wallmann (1858: 53) writes: “Topnaar [...] welches Worth eine Uebersetzung des Namawortes

≠Aunin ist, d.h. ‘die an der Spitze’,”, “Topnaar [...] a word which is a translation of the Nama word ≠Aunin, i.e. ‘those at the point’.” Fritsch, writing in 1872, informs us that “Der Stamm heisst wohl ‘Topnaars’ (die obersten), weil sei am weitesten nördlich wohnen,” “The tribe is called ‘Topnaars’ (the highest people), because they live furthest to the north” (Nienaber, 1989: 137). Andersson (1856: 325–26) states that “Topnaar [...] signifies the First, the Highest, the Great, or those who originally inhabited Great Namaqualand.” Chapman (1971: 1, 191) in 1859 says that “The Beach Hottentots are here called Topnaars, signifying aborigines.”

The names *Topnaar(s)* and ≠*Aunin* have thus been interpreted as “people in the mountain tops”; “the highest people, foremost, first”; “those furthest north”; “those furthest south”; “aborigines”; “those at the point”; “those at the extremity”; “sharp people,” “fish-spear people” and “people of a marginal area.” Nienaber (1989: 142) accepts the interpretation of “people of the mountain tops,” explaining that the name was applied to the ≠Aunin who fled from the Herero and took refuge in the mountain-tops. However, the ≠Aunin are known to have inhabited the area long before the arrival of the Herero, who reached the present Hereroland only about 1750, and inhabited the Swakop Valley from 1793 (Vedder, 1938: 157). By contrast, “the ≠Aunin have been in the area for at least 300 years and probably much longer” (Budack, 1977: 33–34). Miller (1975: 313), referring to the discovery of Walvis Bay by Dias in 1487, states: “Before that the bay was known only to local tribes, most likely only to the Topnaars and the Strandlopers.” Traces of charcoal on potsherds dated by the Isotope Division of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) shows that there is evidence of Khoikhoi along the west coast dating back to 1350 (Budack, 1977: 6).

Therefore, although “the ≠Aunin were later confined to the small and barren territory of Walvis Bay by the Herero in the north and west, and by the Nama in the south” (Vedder, 1928: 115), this happened relatively recently, presumably after they had received their name.

Considering the antiquity of the name ≠*Aunin*, the variety of interpretations of the name, and their inapplicability in some instances, doubt is cast on whether ≠*Aunin* is indeed derived from the Nama word ≠*aub* “top, peak, point,” etc.

An alternative explanation

The ≠Aunin are sometimes regarded by Khoikhoi and other peoples as being Bushmen or San. “The Herero of former times classified the ≠Aunin with the Bushmen and not with the Khoe-Khoen” (Budack, 1977: 2). Vedder (1938: 258–59) relates that, when Willem Swartbooi in Rehoboth lost his influence with the community and went to live among the Topnaars near Walvis Bay, his people said of him: “Our chief has become a Bushman.” Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk (1962: 345) state that “The fruit pulp of *Acanthosicyos horrida* Welw. is [...] eaten by [...] the Bushmen near Walfish Bay,” the very area noted for the presence of the ≠Aunin.

The language of the ≠Aunin, too, is shown to display San influence. Kroenlein (1889: 38) states that “die Topnaars sind eine wunderlich redende Volksart, da sie in etlichen Fällen ganz anders reden als wir (Dialectverschiedenheit);” “the Topnaars are a wonderfully speaking people, since in some cases they speak completely differently from us [the Khoikhoi] (dialectal variety).” For example, the ≠Aunin use the term

/hoëgu to refer to whales. “This word is derived from the dialect of the so-called ‘Namib Bushmen’ who are extinct today and have been partly absorbed by the Topnaar” (Budack, 1977: 23).

Another example of a San word used by the ≠Aunin is the word for a fishing spear made from a gemsbok horn attached to a long pole, as described by McKiernan (1954: 34). Budack (1977: 19) states that “Elderly people today still remember the shafted gemsbok horn. They call it //gawa-!ami. Thus far an explanation of the word has not been possible. Probably it has something to do with Nama *!am*, meaning ‘to put together’.” This is not a Nama word, but derived from San. The word //gawa means “gemsbok,” referring to the animal of which the horn is used, and is cognate with the Kung (N2) word *gaua* “gemsbok” (Bleek, 1956: 45). The Naron (C2) verb *!am* means “to put in, stick in” (Bleek, 1956: 370), examples speak about “an arrow-head is made, of bone is made, and stuck into the shaft.” The differences between the language of the ≠Aunin and that of the Nama may thus be attributable to the ≠Aunin being San originally, or to their language being influenced by that of the San with whom they came into contact and were integrated.

It is generally accepted that the primary function of a name is to identify an entity uniquely and to distinguish it from others in the same class or category, thereby facilitating unambiguous reference to it. Since sea-fishing is the one activity that sets the ≠Aunin apart from all other Khoisan peoples, as Budack (1977: 1) has pointed out, their name is considered to refer to that activity. In other words, the distinguishing characteristic of these people is reflected in their ethnonym, ≠Aunin, “fish people.” The component ≠Au- “fish” is comparable with the Old Khoikhoi word *tʰkchaub* “fish,” the click represented as *tʰk* in the word *tʰkchaub* the palatal or alveolar click ≠ (Nienaber, 1963: 501), the digraph *ch* the velar fricative release, the final *-b* the masculine singular ending (Kroenlein, 1889: 40). The component *-nin* of the name ≠Aunin means “people,” and occurs also in ethnonyms such as !Naranin “!nara melon people” and Hurinin “sea people” (Budack, 1977: 2). The component *ni-* of the suffix *ni-n* is cognate with the San plural marker *-ni*, as in the dialectal word */hū:ni* “white men,” the plural of */hū:* “white man” (Traill, 1974: 22). According to Meinhof (1909: 131) the suffix *-ni* sometimes also conveys a local implication, i.e. indicates a locality or, as Nienaber (1989: 150) puts it, “die *-ni-* [is] ’n afleidingsmorfeem met ’n lokativerende funksie t.o.v. die bewoners van ’n plek of omgewing,” “the *-ni-* [is] a derivative morpheme with a locativizing function with respect to the inhabitants of a place or vicinity.” The final *-n* of the suffix *ni-n* is the Khoikhoi third person common plural ending (Kroenlein, 1889: 233).

≠Aunin and Vismans or Souqua

The interpretation of ≠Aunin as “fish people” opens the possibility of a link between the ≠Aunin and *Vismans* or “Fishmen.” Budack (1977: 33–34) has indicated that the ≠Aunin were contemporaneous with the *Strandlopers* (beach-combers), and that some of the old ≠Aoni families could probably be traced back to the so-called *Strandlopers*. Nienaber (1989: 868) equates the *Strandlopers* with the *Vismans*, a Dutch name meaning “Fishmen,” remarking that “*Daar moet ook kennis van die ‘Vismans’ as ‘Strandlopers’ geneem word,*” “Note should also be taken of the ‘*Vismans*’ as

‘*Strandlopers*’.” Budack (1977: 14) equates the *Strandlopers* with the “Cape Khoe,” and refers to “the ≠Aoni and their relations at the Cape” (Budack, 1977: 26). Not only genealogically, but also as regards their exploitation of marine resources, the ≠Aunin and the Cape Khoe (*Strandlopers*) had many things in common. In addition to catching fish, both groups ate washed-up fish (Raven-Hart, 1971: 1, 17, 84, 486). Both the *Strandlopers* and the ≠Aunin ate raw fish that had been salted and left to dry on platforms. The ≠Aunin were unable to kill whales, but ate the meat of stranded whales, as did the “Cape Khoe” (Budack, 1977: 15, 25). The “Cape Khoe” used the same method of preserving whale meat as the ≠Aunin, namely by burying blubber in the sand and making *biltong* “dried meat” (Budack, 1977: 26). Both ≠Aunin and “Cape Khoe” used whale oil, which they stored in sea-bamboo (*Ecklonia maxima*). Like the “Cape Khoe,” the ≠Aunin hunted seals (Budack, 1977: 28) and ate mussels, also using the shells for ornamentation (Budack, 1977: 32–33).

The parallel has thus been drawn between the ≠Aunin, “Cape Khoe” and *Vismans* “fishmen.” Every time Van Riebeeck used the name *Souqua* or variants of the name in his Diary, he added “Vismans.” Thus on January 9 1653 he referred to “Visman (by haer Soaqua genaemt),” “Visman (called Soaqua by them);” on 6 March 1654 to “de Vismans (Soaqua onder haer genaemt),” “the Vismans (called Soaqua among them);” on April 3 1655 to “Souquaas, Visman genaempt,” “Souquaas, called Visman,” and on April 4 1655 to “Soaquaa [hier die Vismans],” “Soaquaa [here the Vismans]” (Bosman & Thom, 1952: 1, 115, 204, 300, 301; Nienaber, 1989: 843).

The question inevitably arises whether *Visman(s)* “fish men” is a translation of *Souqua* or *Soaqua*. The component *qua(as)* of the name *Souqua* or *Soaqua* is the Khoikhoi third person masculine plural ending (Nienaber, 1989: 853), meaning “men,” Dutch “mans,” with the Dutch plural *-s* added at times. If *Visman(s)* is the translation of *Souqua*, *Soaqua* and variants, and the component *-qua* means “men,” the first component, *Sou* or *Soa*, must mean “fish.”

The vowel cluster or diphthong *au* and *ou* are variable. It is feasible that ≠*Au-*, also recorded as ≠*Ou-*, is cognate with *Sou-*, the initial unvoiced alveolar click ≠ approximating the unvoiced alveolar fricative *S*. As regards the variant form *Soaqua(a)*, the component *Soa-* is comparable with the component ≠*choa* and */xoa* “fish” in the Koranna words ≠*choa-sina* and */xoa-sen-s* “*Fischhaken*,” “fish hook” (Nienaber, 1963: 502). Interestingly, although older words for “fish” incorporated the alveolar and palato-alveolar clicks, modern variants incorporate the retroflex fricative click *//*. Thus Khoikhoi words for “fish” include Koranna *//au-b* and Nama *//ou-b* (Nienaber, 1963: 501), while San words for “fish” include the Kung (N2) words *//ou* and *//au*, the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *//au* (Bleek, 1956: 518, 626), and the !Xuhn word *//’au* (Weich, 2004: 163), again displaying the variability of *au* and *ou*. Nienaber (1963: 502) also notes the variety of clicks in Khoisan words for “fish,” and the velar efflux that occurs in older forms but not in modern Nama and Koranna.

If ≠*Aunin* thus means “Fish people” and not “top people” etc., then the alternative name *Topnaar(s)* may be a folk-etymological interpretation of the name ≠*Aunin* as “top people,” in which case the component *Top-* is the Dutch and Afrikaans word. However, it has been suggested (Möller, 2008) that *Topnaar* is a phonological adaptation of a Khoisan name, the component *Top-* being an adaptation of ≠*Aub* “fish.” The component *naars* is perhaps a Dutch or Afrikaans suffix meaning “people,” as

discussed above, or an adaptation of the Khoisan word *!nares* “poles,” as evidenced by the Afrikaans name *Paaltjies* “little poles” for the place with the Khoisan name *!Nares* (Budack, 1977: 1). The ≠Aunin certainly utilized poles to a large extent in their fishing activities. As Budack (1977: 20) informs us,

Sometimes the fish were skewered to a pyramid-like structure made of sticks in the water of the lagoon, before they were brought ashore. [...] A stick planted in the ground on the beach [...] had a similar function. It was pierced at its upper end. From there a rope hung down to a short distance from the ground. The rope was drawn through the gill openings of the fish. A wooden cross-piece at the bottom of the rope prevented the fish from slipping off. On Baines’ painting, carrying-sticks can be seen. [...] a wooden structure was usually erected between shady trees and consisted of a platform made of crossed sticks covered with grass and leaves. The fish were laid out to dry.

Another reference to “poles” in connection with the fishing activities of the Topnaars relates to their spearing. Budack (1977: 16) explains that “Spearing should be regarded as the most important method of catching fish. This is done in two ways: (1) the stabbing of certain species on the sea bottom at shallow places off-shore, and (2) killing by the throwing of the spear. [...] both methods were also applied by the Cape Khoe” (Raven-Hart, 1971: II, 238).

All of these things considered, the name *Topnaars* is perhaps an adaptation of ≠*Aob-!nares*, meaning “Fish-pole people,” the unvoiced alveolar click ≠ substituted by the unvoiced alveolar consonant *T*, the diphthong *ao* reduced to *o* by elision of the unstressed vowel *a*; the obsolete and currently unknown word *!nares* “little poles” folk-etymologically interpreted as the formant *-naars* by analogy with other ethnonyms such as *Bergenaars* (Möller, 2008).

The name *!Naranin*

Budack (1977: 2) states that the ≠Aunin are also known as *!Naranin* “!Nara people,” from the *!nares* (*Acanthosicyos horrida* Welw.), a kind of wild melon, which they harvest, as stated above. This explanation of the name *!Naranin* is also given by Kroenlein (1889: 38), Schultze (1907: 172), Budack (1977: 2) and Nienaber (1989: 746). However, this spelling of the name became prominent only after about 1860. The Rhenish missionary Heinrich Scheppmann, writing in 1846, states that “In derselben Gegend [as the /Nawis or Herero] wohnt auch noch der eigentliche Stamm !Narininku, wovon dieses Volk hier, die Topnatie, ausgewandert ist,” “In the same vicinity [as the /Nawis or Herero] lives also still the actual tribe !Narininku, of which these people here, the Topnatie, are derived” (Moritz, 1916: 244). Pastor Walter Moritz (1980: 38) informs us that “Auf einem alten Atlas werden sie [the !Naranin] als ‘!Narininku’ oder ‘See-Nama’ bezeichnet, die vor allem von der Narafrucht leben,” “In an old atlas they [the !Naranin] are described as ‘!Narininku’ or ‘Sea-Nama,’ who mostly live from the Nara fruit.” Scheppmann further writes “Deshalb ist auch der ganze Hottentottenstamm (mit dem beigelegten Namen Annika, Topnatie, eigentlicher Name ist Narinka) noch immer zerstreut,” “Therefore the entire Hottentot tribe (with the additional names Annika, Topnatie, the actual name is Narinka) is also still scattered” (Moritz, 1916: 243). Walter Moritz (1980: 38) points out “Viehe [1890]

schreibe, dass sie sich selbst ‘Narinka’ nennen,” “Viehe [1890] writes that they call themselves ‘Narinka’.”

Earlier variants of the ethnonym are thus *!Narininku* (1846), *!Narinku* (1858) and *Narinka* (1846, 1890), the stem of the name being *!Nari-*, the ending *-ni-n-ku* being the San third person plural ending *-ni-* as discussed above plus the Khoikhoi third person common ending *-n*, and the third person plural masculine ending *-ka* or *-ku*, *-gu* in Nama (Nienaber, 1989: 748). The difference in the vowel in the stem of the ethnonyms as opposed to the name of the plant, namely *Narinka*, *!Narinku*, *!Narininku* as opposed to *!Naranin*, was also remarked on by Nienaber (1989: 748), who pointed out that *!nari* is unlikely to have been a variant of the name for the well-known plant *!nara*. Elsewhere (1989: 148–50) Nienaber compares the component *!Nari-* of the ethnonym with the Nama verb *!nari* “stehlen, entwenden,” “steal, pilfer,” and with the noun *!naris* “der Diebstahl,” “theft” (Kroenlein 1889, 247), and suggests that these people were thieves that antagonized the Herero, from whom they fled into the mountains, earning them the name of “Diewe en rowers,” “Thieves and robbers.” However, recalling Viehe’s statement that these people called themselves *!Narinka*, it may be argued that they would be unlikely to give themselves a derogatory name. Moreover, it has been pointed out that these people were in the area long before the immigration of the Herero, and presumably the name is more ancient than their encounter with the Herero. An ethnonymically satisfactory explanation of the name *!Narinin(ku)* involving a word with the vowel *i* needs to be sought.

If the relationship between the \neq Aunin or *!Narinin* and the Vismans or Souquas (or Soaquas) be considered, and also the characteristic exploitation of sea-fish that sets these people apart from all the other peoples, the component *!Nari* may be seen to be cognate with the Kung (N2) word \neq ari “silver fish” (Bleek, 1956: 642), the palato-alveolar click with nasal efflux *!n* approximating the alveolar click \neq . The difference in the click in the two words, namely the alveolar \neq and the palato-alveolar *!*, may be attributed to the variety of clicks encountered in Khoisan words for “fish,” both the alveolar click \neq and the palato-alveolar click *!* being recorded, for example in the Eastern Cape dialect as *t’²kchaub* “fish,” transliterated as \neq chaub, and *!ko oup*, transliterated as *!kou-p* (Nienaber, 1963: 501, 502).

Conclusions

The ethnonyms \neq Aunin and *!Narinin*, referring to the same people, also known as the *Topnaar(s)*, are probably of San origin, as may be deduced from the San third person plural ending *-ni-*. The characteristic that distinguishes these people from all other peoples is their sea-fishing. The component \neq Au- and the component *!Nari-* are phonologically compatible with Khoisan words for “fish,” \neq Aunin and *!Narinin* both meaning “fish people” or “fishmen,” the same meaning as the name *Soaqua(as)* and variants for the *Vismans* or “fishmen” referred to by Van Riebeeck. The popular interpretations of \neq Aunin as “top people, people of the peak,” and the like, are based on a similarity of the component \neq Au- to an homophonous Khoikhoi word \neq au- “peak, point.” The more recent name *!Naranin* is a folk-etymological interpretation based on the harvesting by these people of the *!nara* melon, *Acanthosicyos horrida* Welw.

Pettman (1931: 10) warns of the dangers of taking place names for granted, pointing out that, particularly in the case of names that have outlived the people who gave them, and even their languages, subsequent occupants of the territory often take over the names but accommodate them in sound and form to words that are known to them. This also applies to names of peoples, and the possibility exists that many recorded meanings may in fact be folk-etymological interpretations and adaptations. Research results may be made more reliable by the employment of onomastic methods that combine linguistic, anthropological, topographic and other relevant factors pertaining to the name and its referent.

Speaking of the social changes that lead to the extinction of languages, Traill (2007: 130) points out that, although the relevant evidence regarding language contraction, language shift, language maintenance, language loss, bilingualism, language attitudes, and the like “is mostly scanty and incomplete, it can be coaxed from a number of sources.” Such sources include place names and ethnonyms, which by virtue of their referential nature and irrelevance of lexical meaning have a power of survival that other words do not have, encapsulating ancient and obsolete elements from which the reconstructible may be reconstructed (Nicolaisen, 1976: 48, 173).

Bibliography

- Andersson, C.J. 1856. *Lake Ngami or Explorations and Discoveries during Four Years of Wandering in Wilds of South-Western Africa*. London: Hurst and Blackett.
- Bleek, D.F. 1956. *A Bushman Dictionary*. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Bosman, D.B. & Thom, H.B. (red.) 1952–1957. *Dagbregister Gebouden by de Oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck*. 3 dele. Kaapstad: A.A. Balkema.
- Budack, K.F.R. 1977. The ꞆAonin or Topnaar of the Lower Kuiseb Valley and the Sea. *Khoisan Linguistic Studies* 3. Ed. by A. Traill. Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1–37.
- Chapman, J. 1971. *Travels in the Interior of South Africa 1849–1863*. 2 vols. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema (Facsimile reprint).
- Green, L.G. 1952. *Lords of the Last Frontier*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.
- Grundemann, R. 1867. *Allgemeine Missions-Atlas, nach Originalquellen bearbeitet*. Erste Abteilung: Afrika, Lieferung II. Gotha: Justus Perthes. Skaal 1:3,000,000.
- Hoernle A.W. 1926. The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of Southwest Africa. *American Anthropologist*, 27(1): 1–24.
- Knudsen, H.C. 1848. *Gross Namaqualand*. Barmen: Steinhaus.
- Kroenlein, J.G. 1889. *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoi*. Berlin: Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft.
- McKiernan, G. 1954. *The Narrative and Journal of Gerald McKiernan in South West Africa, 1874–1879*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Meinhof, C. 1909. *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*. Berlin: George Reimer.
- Miller, W.B. 1975. Walvis Bay. *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*. Ed. by D.J. Potgieter et al. Cape Town: Nasou, vol. 11, 313.
- Möller, L.A. 2008. Personal communication.
- Moritz, E. 1916. Die Reisen Scheppmanns. *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika; Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 29(4): 236–45.
- Moritz, W. 1980. Namen der Topnaar. *Namibiana*, 2(2): 37–41.
- Nicolaisen, W.F.H. 1976. *Scottish Place-Names; Their Study and Significance*. London: Batsford.
- Nienaber, G.S. 1963. *Hottentots*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.
- Nienaber, G.S. 1989. *Khoekhoense Stamname: 'n Voorlopige Verkenning*. Pretoria: Academica.
- Pettman, C. 1931. *South African Place Names Past and Present*. Queenstown: Daily Representative Limited.
- Raven-Hart, R. 1971. *Cape Good Hope 1652–1702*. 2 vols. Cape Town: Balkema.

- Rust, Fr. *Deutsch-Nama Wörterbuch*. Windhoek: Rheinische Mission in Südwestafrika.
- Schultze, L. 1907. *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*. Jena: Gustav Fischer.
- Traill, A. 1974. *The Compleat Guide to the Koon*. Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Traill, A. 2007. !khwa-ka hhouiten hhouiten “The rush of the storm”: the linguistic death of /xam. *Claim to the Country: the Archive of Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek*. Ed. by P. Skotnes. Johannesburg: Jacana, 130–47.
- Vedder, H. 1928. The Nama. *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. Ed. by C.L.H. Hahn, H. Vedder, & L. Fourie. London: Frank Cass, 107–152.
- Vedder, H. 1938. *South West Africa in Early Times*. London: Humphrey Milford for the Oxford University Press.
- Wallmann, J.C. 1858. Die Hottentotten-Stämme und ihre geographische Verbreitung. *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes Geographischer Anstalt*. Ed. by A. Petermann. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 53.
- Watt, J.M. & Breyer-Brandwijk, G.M. 1962. *The Medicinal and Poisonous Plants of Southern and Eastern Africa*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh and London: Livingstone.
- Weich, F. 2004. *San English Afrikaans Dictionary*. Braamfontein: Macmillan.

Notes on contributor

Peter E. Raper is a Research Associate attached to the Unit for Language Management of the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. He was a member of the National Place Names Committee of South Africa from 1972, and served as its chairman from 1996 until it was superseded by the South African Geographical Names Council in 2000. He is currently researching placenames of Bushman (San) origin and their influence on placenames in other languages.

Correspondence to: Peter E. Raper, 40 Junction Road, Bramley, Johannesburg 2090, South Africa. Email: lamoller@absamail.co.za