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Aspects of the phonetic and phonological structure of the G/ui language

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CHAPTER 1 SOME SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF G|UI COMMUNITIES

1.1 Chapter introduction

For a linguistic documentation of an endangered language, it is important to record current sociolinguistic conditions. As already mentioned, G|ui is regarded as one of the most endangered Khoisan languages (Batibo 2002: 277). However, since virtually no sociolinguistic information on the G|ui language has been reported, we know little about its recent state, such as the estimated population of its speakers, the geographic distribution of G|ui-speaking communities, dialectal variation of the language, and the extension of language shift. In order to bridge this gap in our knowledge, I conducted a series of extensive surveys of G|ui-speaking communities in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR), Ghanzi District and Kweneng District, Botswana, between 1996 and 1998 (the locations are listed in Table 1.1). This chapter describes selected sociolinguistic and dialectological aspects of G|ui, based on (i) the results of this extensive survey, (ii) information personally provided by other researchers working on G|ui, and (iii) relevant data from the literature.

Table 1.1 Sociolinguistic and dialectological surveys

Year	Investigated G|ui Communities
1996	East Hanahai, Dutlwe, Takatokwane, Machane, Khekhenye, Thomelo, Xade, Kagcae.
1997	New Xade, Xade, Kagcae, Dutlwe, Tswane.
1998	Dutlwe, Maseru, Masoko, Tsetseng, New Xade, Somo, Khesekoe.

1.2 Three dialects of G|ui

One of the important findings of the survey concerns dialectal variation in G|ui. During the survey, I conducted a dialectological investigation into the G|ui varieties spoken in the communities. This investigation has revealed that there are three distinct dialects. I will call these three (i) the Xade dialect, (ii) the Thomelo dialect and (iii) the Khute dialect. The distribution of these varieties is shown in the map in Figure 1.1.

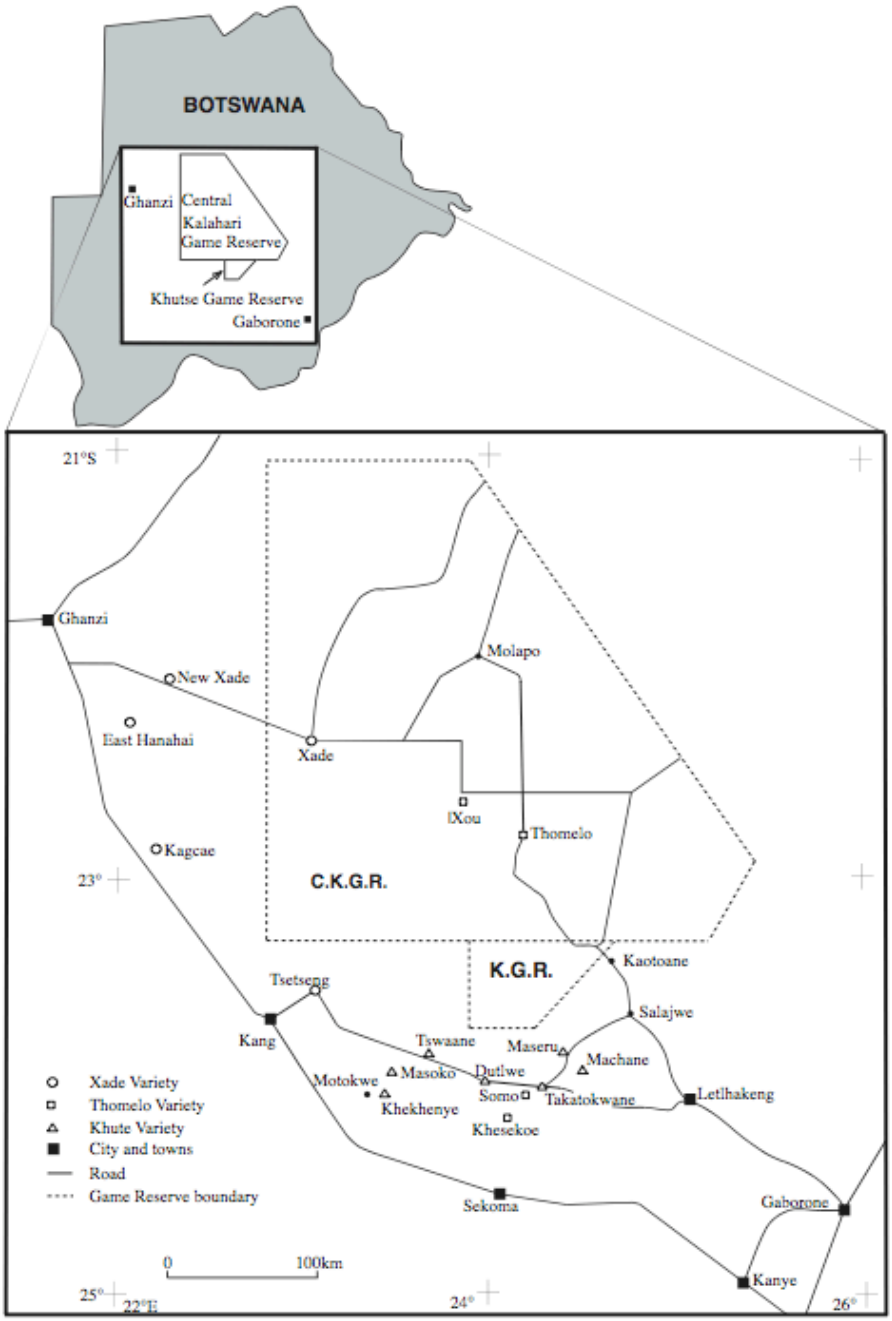


Figure 1.1 Distribution of the G|ui dialectal varieties.

These dialect distinctions are determined in terms of two phonological variables, namely (i) the extension of palatalization in the lexicon and (ii) the existence of preglottalized velar nasal click accompaniment. Table 1.2 illustrates these three dialectal distinctions.

Table 1.2 Two variables involving the distinction of three dialects of G|ui

	Dialect	Extreme extension of palatalization	Preglottalized nasal accompaniment
1	Xade	–	–
2	Thomelo	+	–
3	Khute	+	+

First, G|ui has undergone a historical sound shift, in which /t d t^h t'/ were palatalized into /c ɟ c^h c'/ (see Chapter 5 for details). The extension of this palatalization in the lexicon varies among the three dialectal varieties. In the Xade dialect, palatalization is blocked before a pharyngealized vowel and before the uvular fricative /χ/ or the affricated uvular ejective /qχ'/, while in the Khute and the Thomelo dialects, it is never blocked, and consequently, there are virtually no words with alveolar stops in these two varieties (e.g. /tą̰ū/ (Xade) vs. /cą̰ū/ (Thomelo and Khute) "be tired"; /tχārā/ (Xade) vs. /cχārā/ (Thomelo and Khute) "spring up"; /tqχ'ám̄/ (Xade) vs. /cχ'ám̄/ (Thomelo and Khute) "sp. of termite").

Second, in the Khute dialect, /k|ʔ k!ʔ k‡ʔ k‖ʔ/ are realized as [ʔŋ| ʔŋ! ʔŋ‡ ʔŋ‖] if followed by a pharyngealized vowel, while in the other two dialects, they are always realized as [k|ʔ k!ʔ k‡ʔ k‖ʔ] (e.g. /k|ʔą̰m̀/ (Xade and Thomelo) vs. /ʔŋ|ą̰m̀/ (Khute) "twig, offshoot") (See Chapter 3 for details with full exemplification).

Table 1.3 summarizes the dialectal affiliation and estimated population of the G|ui communities described in Section 1.3, where I make additional comments on the dialect of each community in the course of the description.

Table 1.3 Dialectal affiliation of G|ui communities and population of each community. The G|ui residents in Khesekoe and Somo were immigrants from |Xou and their children

	Dialect	Communities	Population
1	Xade	Xade	350
		Kagcae	88
		Tsetseng	38
		East Hanahai	7
		Total	483
2	Thomelo	Thomelo	100
		Khesekoe (|Xou)	11
		Somo (|Xou)	5
		Total	116
3	Khute	Dutlwe	10
		Tswane	4
		Khekhenye	50
		Takatokwane	50
		Machane	20
		Maseru	20
		Masoko	6
		Salajwe	10
		Total	170
TOTAL			769

1.3 Sociolinguistic conditions of G|ui communities in the pre-relocational stage

This section describes the sociolinguistic conditions of the communities that I surveyed. In the course of the survey, I conducted interviews with many G|ui speakers in the communities. In such interviews, I used G|ui as medium. In interviews with school teachers (referred to as Kgotlana (1996) and Tsenene (1994)), I used English.

Before starting the description, it is necessary to comment on the stage of the G|ui communities that I am dealing with. In accordance with Botswana Government policy to relocate all settlements in the CKGR, most of the G|ui residents in the Reserve moved to a new settlement outside the Reserve. The resettlement of residents in Xade started in May 1997 and ended in August 1997 (Sugawara 1998: 88). The area for resettlement is located on the northern side of the Xade-Ghanzi road about 70 km to the

west of Xade (see Figure 1.1). The new settlement is officially called "New Xade," and is called in G|ui /qχ'ûĩ sà kʻmī/, which literally means "seek life."

In the course of the relocation and the expansion of New Xade, residents from other settlements, such as Thomelo, Molapo, and farms of Ghanzi and D'kar, migrated to New Xade (Takada 2001: 91). It is difficult to foresee the sociolinguistic impact the resettlement in New Xade will make on G|ui communities as a whole, and this question is to be explored in future studies. In the remainder of this chapter, I describe the sociolinguistic conditions of G|ui communities in the pre-relocational stage, i.e. the stage immediately before the resettlement to New Xade in 1997. As will become clear from the description, the language shift from G|ui to Setswana and/or Sekgalagadi had started and proceeded to a different extent according to the community and dialect.

1.3.1 Xade

I start the description with the G|ui community of Xade, which was located in the mid-western part of the CKGR (see Figure 1.1). The description below includes information about the estimated population, aspects of language contact and lexical borrowings. Since this village has been the main research location of my intensive linguistic investigation since 1992, relatively detailed information of Xade G|ui society, especially concerning language contact, has been more readily available than that of other G|ui communities dealt with in later sections.

1.3.1.1 G|ui population in Xade

Xade was known as the largest sedentary area of the "San" (or "Basarwa" in Setswana) in the CKGR, and was administratively categorized as a village in the Census (1992). As Ikeya (1996: 70) pointed out, Xade had the largest San population in Botswana.

According to Sugawara (1998: 88), the whole population of Xade immediately before the relocation was over 700. Sugawara does not present any details on this figure, but it may include temporary residents, such as pupils of Xade Primary School and newcomers from other settlements in the CKGR. Therefore, the population of original Xade residents just before the relocation is conservatively estimated to be less than 700.

The residents in Xade mainly consisted of G|ui, G||ana and Kgalagadi people. The ratio of these three groups was roughly estimated by Ikeya (1989) to be 2:1:1 in October 1987. Based on this ratio and the population of Xade estimated above, the population of G|ui speakers in Xade just before the relocation can be estimated to be less than 350. This indicates that Xade had the largest G|ui population among all the G|ui communities that I surveyed (see Table 1.3).

1.3.1.2 Language contacts in Xade

In Xade, G|ui had language contact with G||ana (the Khoe language closest to G|ui), Sekgalagadi, Setswana and English. Since G|ui and G||ana are mutually intelligible, communication between G|ui and G||ana speakers was usually conducted in such a way that a G|ui spoke G|ui and a G||ana spoke G||ana in a conversation. In other words, G|ui and G||ana regularly coexisted in G|ui-G||ana conversations in Xade. In the following three subsections, 1.3.1.2.1 to 1.3.1.2.3, I focus on (i) aspects of language contact with Sekgalagadi , which was relatively important in the past, and (ii) aspects of language contact with Setswana, which recently became more important, and additionally, I comment on contact with English.

1.3.1.2.1 Language contact with Sekgalagadi

I observed that the G|ui people in Xade tended to make their residential units away from the area of the Kgalagadi residents. Consequently, their contact with Sekgalagadi speakers in Xade was likely to be limited to occasions when G|ui people visited the Kgalagadi area for temporary jobs or for shopping (to buy sugar, tea, tobacco or alcohol), and occasions of rituals that the G|ui asked a Kgalagadi medicine man to perform in the G|ui area (Sugawara 1991: 107). Below, I describe the patterns of language use for communication between G|ui and Kgalagadi, which they employed mainly on these limited occasions. The description is based on the available data, which are unfortunately unsystematic and sporadic.

1.3.1.2.1.1 G||ana used in G|ui-Kgalagadi communication

In July 1997, I interviewed five G|ui adults (three males and two females) concerning a medium language for communication with the Kgalagadi people in Xade. Their comments are summarized as follows:

Pattern 1 Sekgalagadi or Setswana is used as a medium language if the G|ui person can speak Sekgalagadi or Setswana.
Pattern 2 A G|ui person who can speak Sekgalagadi or Setswana plays the role of interpreter.
Pattern 3 G|ui people speak G|ui, and Kgalagadi people speak G||ana.

Patterns 1 and 2 are commonly observed in other neighboring Khoisan-speaking communities, such as G|ui in Kweneng District, G||ana in the CKGR, Naro in D'kar, ǂHoã in Dutlwe and !Xóõ in Kagcae. However, Pattern 3 is noteworthy because another Khoisan language (G||ana in this case) is used for communication with non-Khoisan people. If Pattern 3 is widely used in Xade, it will characterize the G|ui-Kgalagadi communication of Xade.

The following facts suggest that this pattern was common in Xade. Kazuyoshi Sugawara (p.c.) observed in 1987 that a Kgalagadi medicine man talked with G|ui people in G||ana on an occasion of a ritual in Xade. I myself occasionally observed Pattern 3 being used. My informants claimed that they often used Pattern 3.

Since Pattern 3 requires an active command of G||ana on the Kgalagadi's side, many Kgalagadi people are expected to be bilingual in G||ana if this pattern is common. There are indirect observations that suggest that G||ana-speaking Kgalagadi people were not rare. First, in July 1997, I interviewed five Kgalagadi families consisting of 35 people (13 adults and 22 children) in Xade. I found that 17 (seven adults and ten children) could speak G||ana. Second, my G|ui and G||ana informants asserted that many Kgalagadi people, especially of the older generation, can speak G||ana with different levels of proficiency. Finally, Kazunobu Ikeya (p.c.) conducted interviews with the Kgalagadi using G||ana, and found a large proportion of Kgalagadi adult residents in Xade had a good command of G||ana.

1.3.1.2.1.2 G|ui people who are bilingual in Sekgalagadi

In Xade, G|ui-Sekgalagadi bilingualism was virtually limited to the generations that did not receive formal education, and was extremely exceptional in the younger generation. I gathered information about the proficiency in Sekgalagadi of 57 G|ui-speaking adults (31 males and 26 females, neither having experienced formal education) from my two G|ui informants. These informants knew all these speakers, and had an active command of Setswana and a passive command of Sekgalagadi. Among these 57 speakers, eleven (eight males and three females) are considered to have a good command of Sekgalagadi. Their proficiency of Sekgalagadi was hard to measure, but these eleven speakers were said to be good speakers of Sekgalagadi. Here, we can tentatively estimate that about 20 percent of G|ui adults can speak Sekgalagadi by assuming these 57 speakers represented G|ui adults in Xade.

The eleven G|ui-Sekgalagadi bilingual speakers had all learned Sekgalagadi when their families were living or working with Kgalagadi people before sedentarization in the 1980s. In sedentary life, however, there was no strong need for Sekgalagadi in Xade. There was, therefore, little motivation to learn Sekgalagadi , and this probably led to the disappearance of G|ui-Sekgalagadi bilingualism among the younger generation in this community.

G|ui-Sekgalagadi bilingualism among the younger generation was found exceptionally in G|ui-Kgalagadi intermarried families. It was found in three cases, and did not have a strong linguistic impact on the G|ui-speaking community. There were ten children of G|ui-Kgalagadi intermarried parents in total. I interviewed the intermarried parents and asked about their children's language: five of the ten children were G|ui-Sekgalagadi bilingual; three were Sekgalagadi monolingual; and two were G|ui monolingual. Their language choice seemed random, or at least there was no strong preference for Sekgalagadi. G|ui-Kgalagadi intermarriage did not lead to a decrease in G|ui speakers.

1.3.1.2.2 Language contact with Setswana – influence of formal education

Formal education is starting to make an impact on the G|ui community in a way that has given rise to new bilingualism with Setswana. As part of the sedentarization policy, a primary school in Xade was initiated in 1979 with only one teacher as an open air school-class, for which a building was built in 1983, and then the classes virtually started on a regular basis with three new teachers in 1984 (Tanaka 1994: 117-120). When I visited the school in Xade in 1994, there were around seven teachers including a couple of students appointed as "Tirelo Setshaba," i.e. National Service of pre-college stage, at Xade Primary School (Tsenene 1994). The Remote Area Development Project conducted by the Botswana Government successfully encouraged local children to attend this school. This resulted in preparation for new multilingualism in the community.

Table 1.4 Number of children registered in Xade Primary School. The column of S 5-7 presents the number of pupils of Standard 5, 6 and 7. The data of 1983-1995 are collected by Ken'ichi Nonaka (1996 p.c.) from incomplete records of Xade Primary School. The data of 1996 and 1997 are suggested by Hiroyuki Akiyama (1999 p.c.) The records of 1990, 1991 are not available. The records of the number of graduates are not available

Year	Total	S 5-7
1983	75	0
1984	127	0
1985	142	0
1986	155	0
1987	155	26
1988	129	41
1989	145	57
1992	129	38
1993	148	29
1994	171	40
1995	237	55
1996	180	66
1997	168	57

To begin, I will show how the school successfully gained more attendants since its establishment. Table 1.4 shows the number of children enrolled at Xade Primary

School from 1983 to 1997. The children registered at the school dramatically increased in 1983 and 1984, which suggests that the school was accepted by Xade residents from the initial stage. The number then remained over 120 until 1997. This stable enrollment of pupils is probably attributed to the favorable attitude of the children's families toward school. This attitude is in contrast with that of Kagcae residents that I will point out later.

Here, it is worth attempting a rough estimation of the number of G|ui-Setswana bilingual speakers that this school produced based on the currently available data.

As at other primary schools in Botswana (Janson and Tsonope 1991), instruction was conducted only in Setswana and English at Xade Primary School. Table 1.5 shows the languages for instruction of each level at this school. This indicates that the children had intimate contact with Setswana at the earlier levels, from Standard 1 to Standard 4, during which they acquired a certain command of Setswana. One G|ui graduate of Xade Primary claimed that pupils started to understand (but not yet speak) Setswana when they entered Standard 4 level. According to Tsenene (1994), pupils at this school came to understand and speak Setswana by the time they reached Standard 5, and their proficiency at this stage was "satisfactory" although they spoke Setswana with a particular "accent" that sounded different from that of Kgalagadi pupils.

Table 1.5 Languages for Instruction at Xade Primary School (Suggested by Tsenene 1994)

Level	Language(s)
Standard 1-3	Setswana
Standard 4	Setswana and/or English
Standard 5-7	English

Based on the observations above, we can preliminarily conclude that G|ui children of Standard 5 were bilingual speakers with G|ui as their first language and with Setswana as their second language of "satisfactory" proficiency.

As shown in Table 1.4, the school had its first Standard 5 pupils in 1987, numbering 26. For the following two years, 1988 and 1989, the new Standard 5 pupils are estimated to be 15 in 1988 and 16 in 1989. (Due to the lack of records, we cannot estimate the increase in Standard 5 pupils after 1989.) If we estimate the annual increase in Standard 5 pupils from 1990 to be 15 based on the minimal increase from 1987 to 1989, "satisfactory" Setswana-speaking pupils amount to 177 in 1997. If we apply the proportion of the G|ui population to the Xade population, i.e. about 50% according to Ikeya (1989) mentioned above, to the total number of bilingual pupils of 177, the Setswana-speaking G|ui speakers would be estimated to be approximately 88, which is about a quarter of the G|ui population in Xade. This proportion is obviously not negligible in considering the change of this community in terms of bilingualism.

For secondary school education, the children attended boarding school in Ghanzi, a town about 200 km away. In 1994, secondary school graduates started to come back to Xade from Ghanzi. Naturally, they were more proficient in Setswana, and less familiar with traditional knowledge, and they tended to seek jobs in road construction camps or wildfire extinguisher camps around the CKGR, where they needed to maintain or improve their command of Setswana.

Regarding the extent of the use of Setswana, Sugawara (1997 p.c.) discusses the change in languages used in official meetings in Xade. He observed that the announcements made by the government in Setswana at official meetings used to be interpreted into G|ui or G||ana in the past, but an announcement from the government was made without interpretation at a meeting held in Xade on 17 April 1997. This suggests that bilingualism with Setswana has recently extended to a wider range of the population at least in listening comprehension. This is probably due to formal education in Xade.

In the course of an anthropological investigation into children in Xade, Hiroyuki Akiyama (1997 p.c.) observed G|ui and G||ana children playing "kole" (i.e. school) in which a child of 8-9 years of age playing the role of a teacher spoke Setswana. This indicates that G|ui children made opportunities to use Setswana themselves outside school.

I conclude that all the observations above indicate that formal education in Xade recently started to cause a significant change in bilingualism in both quality and quantity.

Among G|ui people of the generations that lack formal education, bilingualism in G|ui and Setswana is rare. I noticed that a handful of middle-aged G|ui without experience of formal education can speak Setswana. They said that they learned the language at an informal Setswana course held in Xade at the beginning of sedentarization (the details of this course are not known) and/or they learned Setswana while they were working outside Xade.

Undoubtedly, bilingualism with Setswana is not likely to increase in the older generations because they lack the motivation and opportunity to learn the language.

1.3.1.2.3 Language contact with English

I have not met or heard of any G|ui in the older generation who speak English. I observed that school graduates can speak English with varying proficiency. There is no objective evidence for comparing their proficiency between English and Setswana, but it is my impression that they speak Setswana more fluently than English. This would not be surprising because there were extremely limited needs and opportunities to use and maintain their command of English while there were more for Setswana in Xade.

1.3.1.3 Lexical borrowing

In ending the sociolinguistic description of G|ui in Xade, I note three domains of recent lexical borrowing that took place extensively in this G|ui community, namely numerals, names of the days of the week and personal names.

First, since G|ui has no systematic numerals that can be used for efficient communication concerning numbers, numerals borrowed from English became common. This set of loan words is frequently used in daily life especially for counting money and referring to time.

Second, when the days of the week are referred to, they use the words for the seven days of the week borrowed from Setswana. Both numerals and day names are used not only by the younger generations but also the older generations that lack formal education.

In addition to the two sets of vocabulary, there is a new linguistic convention that involves Setswana. When personal names are registered at the clinic for babies and at school for pupils, their names are usually translated into Setswana. Consequently, those registered at the clinic and/or school have Setswana names that are regularly used on official occasions.

1.3.2 Kagcae

In Kagcae, Ghanzi District, there is another group of G|ui speakers with a relatively large population. The 1991 Census shows that the total number of residents in this "locality" is 188.

When I visited Kagcae in 1996 for the first time, I confirmed that the G|ui in Kagcae were speakers of the Xade dialect. On that occasion, I was informed by G|ui residents that there were three residential areas around the water tabs, namely, the G|ui area, !Xóõ area and Kgalagadi area.

Table 1.6 Population of the G|ui area of Kagcae in 1997

	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total (%)
G|ui	69	3	72 (88)
!Xóõ	2	7	9 (11)
Kgalagadi	1	0	1 (1)
Total (%)	72 (88)	10 (12)	82 (100)

In August-September 1997 (i.e. immediately after the resettlement in New Xade) I conducted a demographic investigation in Kagcae by interviewing all the G|ui families that I found in Kagcae. At this stage, I did not notice any remarkable influence on the Kagcae G|ui population caused by the resettlement of the residents of the CKGR. Therefore, I assume that the G|ui population in Kagcae at this stage approximately

reflected that of the pre-relocational stage. The results of the investigation of the G|ui area are summarized in Table 1.6. I met 72 G|ui speakers, of whom 69 people (96%) were monolingual speakers. This table indicates that G|ui monolingualism was predominant among Kagcae G|ui.

I noticed that most G|ui children of school age did not go to school, with the exception of one family whose children attended school. This is due to the adults' common unfavorable attitude to school. They claimed that they did not like their children to attend school, and that they did not dare to encourage children to go to school if the children hesitated. Accordingly, formal education in Kagcae did not have a strong influence on the increase in Setswana-speaking children. In interviews they often showed an unfavorable attitude not only to school, but also to Setswana. An increase in bilingual speakers in Setswana is not expected in this G|ui community.

Regarding language contact with !Xóõ, intermarriage was not frequent in the G|ui area, and its influence does not seem strong. I found seven children of three G|ui-!Xóõ intermarried couples. Out of the seven children, five were G|ui monolingual, two were G|ui-!Xóõ bilingual, and there was no !Xóõ monolingual speaker.

According to Ikeya (1996), there were more !Xóõ in 1989-91 than there were at the time of my visit, many of whom have recently moved out. When I undertook my research in 1997, the population of the !Xóõ area was 77, which was smaller than the G|ui population.

Traill (1985: 2) noted that !Xóõ-G|ui "reciprocal bilingualism is found" along the northern limit of !Xóõ distribution, which includes the Kagcae and Lokalane, about 25 km to the southeast of Kagcae. This partly agrees with my observation in the Lokalane area in September 1995. When I visited a group of !Xóõ speakers in this area, I noticed that some of them have a certain command of G|ui. There may possibly be bilingual G|ui people who speak !Xóõ in the Lokalane and Kagcae areas.

1.3.3 Tsetseng

Like Kagcae, Tsetseng (Kweneng District) has been relatively well known to researchers as having G|ui residents. When I went to Tsetseng in March 1998, I visited all the G|ui families that I was informed of in the village. I recorded the number of members of each family together with their sex and estimated age class, namely old, middle-aged, and young (including infants), and asked about their language. The results are summarized in Table 1.7. Like Kagcae, the resettlement of residents in the CKGR in 1997 did not have an impact on Tsetseng at this stage, judging from the interviews. Accordingly, the G|ui population shown here approximately reflects that of the pre-relocational stage in Tsetseng.

Table 1.7 G|ui Population in Tsetseng (March 1998)

	Old	Middle-aged	Young	Total
Male	4	4	9	17
Female	3	12	6	21
Total	7	16	15	38

I interviewed G|ui of the old and middle-aged generation. They were all proficient speakers of G|ui. Some of them probably had at least a certain command of Kgalagadi because they often had occasions to talk with Kgalagadi people in the village. However, they seemed to maintain G|ui considerably because they asserted that their small children spoke G|ui well.

As shown in Figure 1.1 and Table 1.3, the dialect spoken in this community was the Xade dialect. This community is the southern boundary of this dialect.

1.3.4 Thomelo

Thomelo (conventionally spelled Mothomelo, Mothomela or Mothomelwa), located in the mid-southeast of the CKGR, had the second largest G|ui population in the Reserve. The total population of this locality was reported to be 145 in 1988-89 (CHR 1996) and 149 in 1991 (Census 1992). Kazunobu Ikeya (p.c.) observed that the Thomelo residents consisted of three main language groups, i.e. G|ui, G||ana and Tshela, and that

G|ui speakers lived gathering on the west side of the borehole. He estimated the G|ui population to be about 100 before the resettlement in New Xade started.

I conducted a dialectal investigation in Thomelo in November 1996, and conducted a complementary interview with former Thomelo residents in New Xade in 1997. The results of this study revealed that the dialect spoken in Thomelo was different from both the Xade dialect and the Khute dialect spoken in most of the G|ui communities in Kweneng District. This dialect was only attested in Thomelo and two small G|ui communities, i.e. Khesekoe and Somo, in Kweneng District. I describe these two communities in Section 1.3.5.7.

1.3.5 G|ui Communities in Kweneng District

There are a number of G|ui communities in the mid-western part of Kweneng District. In this region, G|ui speakers have often been called "Ba-Khute" by neighboring non-G|ui people, while they call themselves /g|ûīkò/, as G|ui people in Xade (now in New Xade) call themselves. "Ba-" is from a Setswana noun class prefix marking people, but the origin of "Khute" is unknown. The dialect predominantly spoken in this region, i.e. the Khute dialect, is named after this term.

In November 1996, I conducted an extensive survey of this region and found four "Ba-Khute" communities on the fringe of Dutlwe village, the Khekhenye (or Khekhenya) locality, Takatokwane village and a small settlement called Machane [màc^{h}áànè]. Additionally, I encountered other small G|ui communities in 1997 and 1998, namely Tswane, Maseru, Somo, Khesekoe and Masoko. When I visited these five communities, I heard that their G|ui population had not changed with the relocation of settlements in the CKGR in 1997. Regarding dialect, the Khute dialect was spoken in the communities except Khesekoe and Somo, where the Thomelo dialect was used, as already mentioned.

Below I describe observations of sociolinguistic aspects of the G|ui communities in Kweneng District.

1.3.5.1 Dutlwe

On the northeast fringe of Dutlwe village, I worked on a group of G|ui speakers consisting of four families with four generations. Table 1.8 illustrates the patterns of bilingualism of this group. As this table shows, this group involves multilingualism with G|ui, ǂHoã and Sekgalagadi.

Table 1.8 Bilingualism in a group in Dutlwe

Generation	Age	Language
Generation 1	70	G|ui
Generation 2	45-55	G|ui-Sekgalagadi, G|ui- ǂHoã-Sekgalagadi
Generation 3	15-25	Sekgalagadi-G|ui, Sekgalagadi-G|ui- ǂHoã , Sekgalagadi
Generation 4	-12	Sekgalagadi

There was only one speaker belonging to the first generation who was a female estimated to be 70 years old. She asserted that she can speak only G|ui and can speak neither ǂHoã nor Sekgalagadi.

All four speakers belonging to the second generation, estimated to be about 45-55 years old, had a certain command of Sekgalagadi whose proficiency I could not assess, but they seemed to speak Sekgalagadi less fluently than G|ui. Two of them were a son and a daughter of a G|ui-ǂHoã intermarried couple, and were G|ui-ǂHoã bilingual. These two identified themselves as ǂHoã in ethnicity, but they have a complete command of G|ui and usually speak G|ui in the camp.

The third generation estimated to be about 15-25 manifests varying proficiency in G|ui according to sex: females spoke G|ui relatively well (worse than the second generation), while many males had almost lost the command of G|ui. This resulted in a language use pattern in which speakers of the second generation usually communicated with females of the third generation in G|ui and with males of the third generation in Sekgalagadi. Couples of the third generation communicated with each other only in Sekgalagadi, and consequently their children tended to be monolingual in Sekgalagadi.

The fourth generation, i.e. mostly children under 13 years old attending primary school, were Sekgalagadi speakers who did not speak G|ui. According to the head teacher in Dutlwe Primary School, "Basarwa" children spoke Sekgalagadi just like Bakgalagadi children when they entered school, so teachers had to "correct" their speech to Standard Setswana (Kgotlana 1996). This indicates that the G|ui children were proficient speakers of Sekgalagadi.

Among the children, I could rarely find even those who understood G|ui only passively. When G|ui people of other generations talked with the children, they used Sekgalagadi. G|ui is virtually completely lost in the fourth generation.

Table 1.9 summarizes the languages in which people communicated with those of other generations in this community. This shows that this community was in the process of a language shift from G|ui to Sekgalagadi, implying that the language death of G|ui was about to arrive with the death of the second generation in this community.

Table 1.9 Languages for communication between generations in the group in Dutlwe. G| stands for G|ui, KG for Sekgalagadi and G| / KG for G|ui by females and Sekgalagadi by males

Generation	1	2	3	4
1	-	G|	G|/KG	KG
2	-	-	KG	KG
3	-	-	-	KG
4	-	-	-	-

1.3.5.2 Tswaane

Chris Collins (1997 p.c.) informed me of G|ui speakers living in Tswaane, which is about 30 km west of Dutlwe (see Figure 1.1). When I visited Tswane in August 1997, I met a small group consisting of four G|ui speakers and some ǂHoã speakers.

I interviewed a middle-aged female speaker who had fully maintained G|ui. Her husband identified himself as a ǂHoã, and I found that he spoke G|ui proficiently.

They said that their children spoke Sekgalagadi and did not speak G|ui, but understood G|ui when it was spoken. I could not find other G|ui speakers in the area.

1.3.5.3 Khekhenye

Khekhenye is a settlement located 10 km away from Motokwe village to the east (see Figure 1.1). It is officially recorded as one "locality" together with Chepetese, and the total population of this "locality" was 194 in 1991 (Census 1992).

When I visited Khekhenye in 1996, the G|ui population seemed to be predominant in the center of the settlement near a plastic water tank. Three G|ui speakers (one old male, one old female and one young female) whom I interviewed intensively said that, other than G|ui people, ǂHoã and "tsaasi" (probably speakers of !Xóõ) lived in the settlement. Since there were more than 50 huts in the predominant G|ui area, the number of residents would possibly be over 100.

Regarding language maintenance, females including those of about 15-20 years old were good speakers of G|ui. On the other hand, male speakers including the middle-aged, namely about 30-35, were G|ui-Sekgalagadi/Setswana bilingual losing G|ui, some of whom did not speak G|ui. The language shift from G|ui to Sekgalagadi/Setswana in this community showed a similar pattern to that of the Dutlwe fringe, in which male speakers of a particular generation were losing G|ui and becoming monolingual Sekgalagadi speakers.

The population of G|ui speakers in this settlement would be estimated to be approximately 50.

1.3.5.4 Takatokwane

In the western part of Takatokwane village (population 1113 according to the 1991 Census) there was a G|ui community with possibly about 50 residents in 12 huts. The G|ui speakers in this community had intimate contact with Kgalagadi people, by working on farms more regularly than those on the Dutlwe fringe, but seemed to maintain G|ui more than in Dutlwe. As far as I observed, adults, whether male or female, spoke G|ui fluently, and their children of around 10 years old also spoke G|ui.

1.3.5.5 Machane

There was a small G|ui settlement called Machane, whose official name was not known, on a farm about 10 km to the northeast of Takatokwane village (see Figure 1.1). When I visited the settlement in 1996, there were ten huts where probably 20-30 G|ui people lived. The adults, whose ages were estimated to be over 30, were good speakers of G|ui with a working knowledge of Sekgalagadi, while young people estimated to be under 30 seemed to speak more Sekgalagadi than G|ui. The population of G|ui speakers was estimated to be 20.

1.3.5.6 Maseru

In March 1998, I went to Maseru and investigated a G|ui community of which Chris Collins (1997 p.c.) had informed me. It was located about 20 km to the northeast of Takatokwane. In Maseru, there was another small G|ui settlement. Children in this community had lost an active command of G|ui. I estimated the population of G|ui speakers of Maseru to be about 20.

1.3.5.7 Khesekoe and Somo

In 1998, I encountered two other small G|ui settlements, namely (i) Khesekoe ([khèséékòè] or [qhàséékùè]) located about 30 km southwest of Takatokwane, and (ii) Somo located about 10 km southwest of Takatokwane. The G|ui variety spoken in these two communities was different from that spoken in other communities in Kweneng District, and was the same as that spoken in Thomelo. In other words, Khesekoe and Somo form a dialect island of the Thomelo dialect.

My interview with old G|ui speakers in Khesekoe revealed that the residents in this dialect island were originally from a place called |Xou. Its location is not accurately known but is in the west of Thomelo. They said that they were the group of G|ui who moved most southward. They also said that they left |Xou in a year when smallpox prevailed. It was probably in the 1950s.

In Khesekoe, I found a total of eleven adult G|ui speakers, one female G||ana speaker, together with about 30 children who did not speak G|ui. According to the adults, the

children speak only Sekgalagadi. In Somo, there were only five middle-aged or old G|ui speakers. They said their children did not even understand G|ui.

1.3.6 Other minor G|ui communities

I have described some sociolinguistic aspects of the G|ui communities located in Xade, Kagcae, Tsetseng, Thomelo, and the mid-western part of Kweneng District. There were still other G|ui-speaking communities of smaller size that I visited in 1996. In ending this chapter, I provide additional information on these minor communities based on more limited materials.

1.3.6.1 East Hanahai

In October 1996, I visited East Hanahai, a settlement with a Naro population, and met two families with five G|ui speakers. They communicated with Naro speakers possibly using a broken version of Naro. They said that there were two other G|ui speakers living in East Hanahai, whom I was unable to meet.

Their children were Naro speakers with comprehension of G|ui. I saw adults speak to their children in G|ui and the children speak to the adults in Naro. Their children had no strong motivation to learn G|ui as long as they lived in East Hanahai. Therefore, G|ui speakers in this area were undoubtedly decreasing.

Their variety of G|ui is not examined because I had not yet discovered the two variables for the dialect distinctions when I visited East Hanahai in 1996. Since they asserted that they had their kinsmen in Xade, they were most probably speakers of the Xade dialect.

1.3.6.2 Salajwe

When I visited Salajwe in 1996, I did not find any G|ui communities. However, according to Kazunobu Ikeya (p.c.), who visited Salajwe twice in 1990, in a northern part of Salajwe village, there was a small G|ui community consisting of a few families. He observed that their children were Sekgalagadi speakers losing G|ui, and estimated the number of adult G|ui speakers in this community to be at least ten.

The variety of G|ui spoken in this community is not known, but it may be that of most communities of Kweneng that are near to Salajwe, such as Maseru, Machane etc., i.e. the Khute dialect.

1.3.6.3 Masoko

Masoko was an isolated G|ui camp that I happened to find in March 1998. Six middle-aged G|ui lived there. They had a certain relationship with the G|ui people in Khekhenye and Dutlwe. Their variety is most probably the same as that of other Kweneng G|ui communities, i.e. the Khute dialect.

1.4 Concluding remarks

Recording the sociolinguistic state of affairs is important for a linguistic documentation of an endangered language. The object language of this thesis, G|ui, is one of the most poorly documented endangered languages. This chapter has presented a sociolinguistic and dialectological profile of this endangered language in the pre-relocational stage. Selected aspects of G|ui dialects and G|ui-speaking communities described in this chapter are summarized in Table 1.10.

The three dialectal varieties are determined in terms of the two phonological parameters involving palatalization and the preglottalized nasal accompaniment of clicks. The former concerns one of the topics discussed in Chapter 5, and the latter is described in Chapter 3.

Table 1.10 A sociolinguistic profile of G|ui in the pre-relocational stage

Dialect	Communities	Population	Contact language	Endangeredness
Xade	Xade	350	G‖ana, Sekgalagadi, Setswana, English	relatively healthy
	Kagcae	88	!Xóõ, Sekgalagadi	relatively healthy
	Tsetseng	38	Sekgalagadi	relatively healthy
	East Hanahai	7	Naro	shift to Naro
Thomelo	Thomelo	100	G‖ana, Tshela	unknown
	Khesekoe	11	Sekgalagadi	shift to Sekgalagadi
	Somo	5	Sekgalagadi	shift to Sekgalagadi
Khute	Khekhenye	50	ǂHoã, "tsaasi" (i.e. !Xóõ?), Sekgalagadi, Setswana	shift to Sekgalagadi or Setswana
	Takatokwane	50	Sekgalagadi	relatively healthy
	Machane	20	Sekgalagadi	shift to Sekgalagadi
	Maseru	20	Sekgalagadi	shift to Sekgalagadi
	Dutlwe	10	ǂHoã, Sekgalagadi	shift to Sekgalagadi
	Salajwe	10	Sekgalagadi	shift to Sekgalagadi
	Masoko	6	Sekgalagadi?	unknown
	Tswane	4	Sekgalagadi	shift to Sekgalagadi