# Contents

**Introduction** .............................................................................................................................................. 6

“The Khoi, Nama and San languages” in the Constitution ................................................................. 6

Linguistic classification of “The Khoi, Nama and San languages” ................................................. 7

Which Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages are still spoken in South Africa today? ......................... 10

Living South African Tuu Languages ............................................................................................... 11

## N|uu

- History of N|uu in South Africa ........................................................................................................... 11
- Number of N|uu speakers in South Africa ....................................................................................... 15
- Locations where N|uu is taught by ŖKhomani descendants in South Africa ............................... 16
- Language Vitality status of N|uu ...................................................................................................... 17
- Orthography and literacy practices of N|uu .................................................................................... 20
- Educational publications in N|uu ..................................................................................................... 21
- Mother Tongue film productions in N|uu ....................................................................................... 33
- Archives and Digital Collections that include N|uu ......................................................................... 35
- Academic publications about the N|uu language ........................................................................... 44
- UNESCO support of N|uu ................................................................................................................ 50
- Linguists who have worked on N|uu since the 1990's ................................................................. 51
- Community stakeholders and activists for N|uu ............................................................................ 54
- Recommendations for the future ................................................................................................... 56
- Documentation ...................................................................................................................................... 57
- Preservation ........................................................................................................................................... 58
- Maintenance ......................................................................................................................................... 59

## Tum’i

- History of Tum’i [Tumʔi] in South Africa ....................................................................................... 62
- Approximate number of Tum’i speakers in South Africa ............................................................. 62
- Location of remaining Tum’i speakers in South Africa ................................................................. 63
- Vitality Status of Tum’i .................................................................................................................... 63
- Orthography and literacy practices of Tum’i ................................................................................ 66
- Mother Tongue publications in Tum’i ........................................................................................... 66
- Mother Tongue productions in Tum’i .......................................................................................... 66
- Archives or Digital Collections that include Tum’i ....................................................................... 66
- Academic publications about the Tum’i language ..................................................................... 67
Selected academic publications about Nama................................................................. 187
UNESCO support for Nama speakers ........................................................................... 201
Linguists who have worked on Nama ............................................................................. 202
Community stakeholders and activists for Nama .......................................................... 211
Recommendations for the future ..................................................................................... 212
Documentation ............................................................................................................... 213
Preservation ..................................................................................................................... 214
Maintenance .................................................................................................................... 216

Khwe.................................................................................................................................. 221
History of Khwe in South Africa ...................................................................................... 221
Approximate number of Khwe speakers in South Africa ............................................... 221
Location of remaining Khwe speakers in South Africa ................................................... 223
Vitality Status of Khwe .................................................................................................... 223
Orthography and literacy practices of Khwe ................................................................. 226
Mother Tongue publications in Khwe ............................................................................ 230
Mother Tongue productions in Khwe ............................................................................ 242
Archives and Digital Collections that include Khwe ..................................................... 247
Resources that are not yet archived therefore not publicly accessible ......................... 249
Academic publications in Khwe ..................................................................................... 250
UNESCO support of Khwe ............................................................................................ 262
Linguists who have worked on Khwe ............................................................................ 263
Community stakeholders and activists for Khwe ......................................................... 268
Recommendations for the future ................................................................................... 268
Documentation .............................................................................................................. 269
Preservation .................................................................................................................... 270
Maintenance ................................................................................................................... 271

Xri.................................................................................................................................... 273
History of Xri in South Africa .......................................................................................... 273
Approximate number of Xri speakers in South Africa ................................................... 274
Location of remaining Xri speakers in South Africa ...................................................... 275
Orthography and literacy practices of Xri ...................................................................... 280
Mother Tongue publications in Xri ............................................................................... 280
Mother Tongue productions in Xri ............................................................................... 280
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extinct South African Tuu and Khoe languages</th>
<th>307</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History of moribund or extinct Tuu lects in South Africa</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Tuu languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Tongue productions on moribund or extinct Tuu lects</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archives and Digital Collections that include moribund or extinct Tuu lects</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic publications on moribund or extinct Tuu lects</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations for preservation of moribund or extinct Tuu lects</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of moribund or extinct Khoe lects</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cape Khoekhoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korana and Eini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother tongue productions on moribund or extinct Khoe lects</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archives and Digital Collections that include moribund or extinct Khoe lects</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic publications on moribund or extinct Khoe lects</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations for the preservation of moribund or extinct Khoe lects</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Summary | 427 |
| Additional References | 428 |
Introduction

This report was compiled by African Tongue, a linguistics consultancy, by authors Professor Bonny Sands and Dr Kerry Jones for the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) in order to provide updated information on the status of Khoe and San languages (more accurately known in linguistics as Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages, previously known as “Khoisan” languages) in South Africa and what can be done to maintain, document and preserve these languages in the future.

“The Khoi, Nama and San languages” in the Constitution

Prior to 1996, languages spoken by people historically referred to as “Khoe” and “San” people were not legally recognised in South Africa, and many of these speakers are still classified as “coloured” or “mixed race” (Mesthrie, 2008, 32). Despite extensive research in the field of language vitality, “Relatively little is known about Africa’s endangered languages.” (Kandybowicz and Torrence, 2017, synopsis). In southern Africa, “Khoesan languages are among the most marginalised languages on the continent and changes in beliefs about the languages are important first steps to revitalisation.” Sands (2018, 620).

The South African Constitution 1996 (Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) a) ii) is an attempt to rectify the discriminations of the past, legally and politically, by promoting the status of Khoesan languages and their speakers compared to their previously unrecognised status under the Apartheid regime.

According to legislation the Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must-

(S) (a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of

(i) all official languages;

(ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages

It must be noted that the above-mentioned excerpt (S.1.ii) of the South African Constitution, although honourable in intentions, is problematic to implement. This is because the specific languages are not mentioned but rather the historical mode of subsistence of the speakers (Khoi people - historically pastoralists, but today mostly lead more sedentary lives; San people - historically hunter-gatherers, but today also lead more sedentary lives) combined with one specific ethnic group (Nama people - historically a specific group of Khoe people living in the northern regions of South Africa).
For future targeted promotion of “the Khoi, Nama and San languages” of South Africa, it will be useful to specifically identify these languages by name.

i.e.: Nǀuu, Tumǀi, !Xun, Nama, Khwe and Xri.

With extinct or moribund languages such as: !Xam, !Auni, !Haasi, !Ungkue, !Xegwi, Cape Khoekhoe, Eini, Korana, etc.

**Linguistic classification of “The Khoi, Nama and San languages”**

As stated in the South African Constitution, “The Khoi, Nama and San languages” were previously referred to in linguistics as “Khoesan” (English spelling) or “Khoisan” (German spelling) as suggested by Joseph Greenberg in 1955. At that time “Khoisan” was used as a term to represent a group of African languages that shared click consonants and did not belong to other African language families.

Today this method of language grouping is considered outdated and not aligned with the standard Comparative Method which is a more accurate way of grouping languages in the field of linguistics (Güldemann, 2008: 123). The Comparative Method in historical linguistics, refers to a method for linguistic reconstruction based on comparing cognate words in multiple languages in order to determine if they are related and have descended from a common ancestor or antecedent (e.g. Campbell 2013). Upon detailed analysis using the Comparative Method with Khoesan languages it became evident that there was great variance between these languages and other than their shared clicks, they differ significantly from each other (Köhler 1981; Westphal 1971; Winter 1981; Sands 1998). Additionally, in accordance with the outcome of a meeting held in Namibia in 1996 and Cape Town in 1997, where San community representatives agreed that the term “Khoesan” or “Khoisan” be rejected and separate terms “Khoe” and “San” be used to refer to the two historically different groups of people (Hitchcock et al., 2006:6).

Today in linguistics, it is accepted that there are three distinct and independent language families namely: Khoe (also known as Khoe-Kwadi), Kx’a (also known as Ju-ǂHoan) and Tuu (also known as !Ui-Taa) with Hadza and Sandawe as two isolates spoken in Tanzania. The Kx’a family is comprised of two branches; the better-known Ju branch (which includes !Xun and Juǂhoan) was formerly known as “Northern Khoisan”, and a lesser known ǂHoan cluster. The Tuu family was formerly known as “Southern Khoisan”. The Khoe family was formerly known as “Central Khoisan”.


Below is an overview of each language family, Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu; and where speakers have been found historically. The striped blue areas are Khoe languages such as: Cape Khoekhoe, Nama, !Ora, Damara, Naro, Shua, G||jana, Kwadi etc. The orange areas are Kx’a languages, such as: !Xun (!Xũũ), Ju!hoan, !O!Xũũ, etc. The green areas are Tuu languages, such as: |Xam, N|uu, ||Xegwi, !Xóõ, etc.

**Map 1: Historical distribution of Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages in southern Africa**

As shown on the map above, Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages are not limited to South Africa but spread across the border to Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola.
Map 2: Modern day distribution of Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu language speakers in southern Africa

As evident on the map above, Namibia and Botswana have the largest populations of Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu language speakers in southern Africa. In South Africa, the remaining speakers are all found in the Northern Cape in small dispersed clusters.

Overall, Tuu is the most endangered language family of the three followed by Kx’a and lastly Khoe. For the purposes of this report we will focus on those languages specifically spoken in South Africa with reference to our neighbouring countries should the target language be spoken there too.
Which Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages are still spoken in South Africa today?

In South Africa we have languages from all three language families Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu, still spoken today. A total of 6 remain, namely: N|uu, Tum’i, Xri, Nama, Khwe and !Xun. Unfortunately, in many cases the speaker populations are now very small and reduce each year. This table shows the most endangered languages first with the least endangered language last, however it must be made clear that all are endangered.

Table 1: Tuu, Kx’a and Khoe languages spoken in South Africa today

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of language</th>
<th>Language family</th>
<th>Countries spoken</th>
<th>Approx. no. of speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. N</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tum’i</td>
<td>Tuu (Possibly)</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>2 semi-speakers (Bennett, personal correspondence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Xri</td>
<td>Khoe</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>3 (Mössmer, 2019); but possibly more can be located</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. !Xun</td>
<td>Kx’a</td>
<td>South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Angola</td>
<td>16 000 [&gt;6000 in SA] (Jones, 2017)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N|uu is our most endangered language, with only one fluent speaker remaining, followed by Tum’i, with only two semi-speakers, Xri with 3 known speakers, Nama with approximately 2000 speakers, Khwe with approximately 1200 speakers and !Xun with 6000 speakers in South Africa.

In the following sections each of these languages will be presented in further detail grouped by language family.
Living South African Tuu Languages

Today there are two living Tuu languages spoken in South Africa namely: N|uu and Tum'i. Both languages are critically endangered. More detailed information about each language is provided in the sections below:

N|uu

Also known as Njuuki, N|uu was historically spoken by people of San descent in South Africa, Namibia and Botswana. Speakers of the language likely once inhabited a large area, extending northwards and southwards from the confluence of the Auob and Nossob Rivers, eastward to the mountainous area near present-day Olifantshoek. Today the only known speaker is in South Africa. Speakers of the language were historically known to have been in contact with speakers of other languages of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa, including many other Khoe, Kx'a and Tuu languages. N|uu is remarkable for having an extremely large number of consonants and vowels, ranking in the top % .01 of languages in this characteristic (high phonetic complexity).

History of N|uu in South Africa

Historically N|uu has also been referred to in publications as:

- ||ŋ
- Langeberg Bushmen
- ‡Kaurure||nai
- ||ŋ lke
- S2
- Sla
- S1la
- Gemsbok Park
- N|huuki
- N|hu
- ‡khomani

1 Unpublished notes on a language referred to as N|uusaa appear to reference a language that is similar to both N|uu and Xam but distinct from both of these (Guldemann, 2006).
This language has been documented on and off for over 100 years.

- **1885**
The first attempt made at writing Nǀuu words was probably around 1885 by Lucy Lloyd (Lloyd, 1889), but unfortunately her original notes have been lost (cf. Güldemann, 2017).

- **1885 - 1909**
Explorers Heinrich Pabst (1885) and Rudolf Pöch (1907-1909) also recorded a few words and perhaps even made audio recordings, though these are as of yet, inaccessible (cf. Güldemann, 2017).

- **1901 - 1911**
Lucy Lloyd's niece, Dorothea Bleek conducted fieldwork on the language mostly between 1901 and 1911, and these notes can be seen today at the Digital Bleek and Lloyd Collection at the University of Cape Town (UCT), along with much more extensive documentation of |Xam, a related language.

- **1936**
The earliest audio recordings of Nǀuu that we have been able to access were those made on wax cylinders by members of a scientific expedition to the Kalahari in 1936. Clement Doke and L. F. Maingard published important early works on the language as a result of this expedition (Doke, 1936a, b; Maingard, 1937a, b).

- **1961**
Several decades later, Ernst Westphal made tape recordings of the language which have also been digitised and are available online at the University of Cape Town. The dates of Westphal's fieldwork are not precisely known; the UCT archives had labelled his notes as being made 1953 and 1971 or between 1960 and 1969 at Twee Rivieren (Westphal, no date). It appears that his fieldwork on Nǀuu and other languages began in 1961 funded by a grant from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London (Westphal 1974: 5). Publications of his using his own Nǀuu data begin to appear shortly thereafter (e.g. Westphal, 1965). Earlier works (Westphal 1956) refer to Dorothea Bleek's data.

- **1973**
When Tony Traill was unable to find speakers of the language in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park in 1973 (Traill 1995: 15), the language was thought to be extinct...

---

2 Traill (1978) conceded that there might be a few remaining speakers of Nǀuu and |Xegwi speakers in South Africa at that time.
• 1995
In 1995, Nigel Crawhall documented a short wordlist of the language and he and others made many video recordings that are now available online as part of theǂKhomani San | Hugh Brody Collection at UCT. Special Collections.

• 1998
Levi Namaseb of the University of Namibia began the work of creating an orthography (spelling system) of the language that was actually used by community members in 1998. He also helped children learn to speak and write the language.

• 1999
The Kalahari in 1936 wax cylinders at UCT Special Collections were digitised by Tony Traill in 1999.

• 2003 – 2007
American researchers Chris Collins, Amanda Miller, Bonny Sands and Johanna Brugman conducted fieldwork from 2003–2007 supported by the US National Science Foundation, with the assistance of Levi Namaseb. This USA/Namibian collaboration produced a number of articles and a grammar (e.g. Collins & Namaseb, 2011), as well as the audio archive on which the grammar and this dictionary are based. Important works describing the phonetics or sound system of the language appeared (Miller, et al. 2007, 2009; Sands, et al., 2007). These phonetic descriptions have subsequently appeared in secondary literature such as phonetics textbooks, e.g. (Gick, et al. 2013; Esling, et al. 2019), highlighting the importance of this ground-breaking research. The significance of this is that our fundamental understanding of human speech has been directly impacted by scientific knowledge of Nǀuu.

• 2003 – 2005
Mats Exter (with support from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the University of Cologne) did research on the language (working with Katrina Esau) from 2003–2005, which formed the basis of his 2008 Ph.D. thesis.
• **2007**
  In **2007**, with support from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP), a team of researchers based in Germany (Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Tom Güldemann, Sven Siegmund, Martina Ernszt-Shaw) began work on Nǀuu. They refer to the Eastern dialect of the language as Nǁng (lit. ‘home’, since the Saasi also refer to themselves as Nǁngǁee or ‘Home people’), and the Western dialect as Nǀuu. Their work has resulted in a number of publications and student theses.

• **2011**

• **2014**
  ǂKhomani San - Hugh Brody collection - housed at University of Cape Town (UCT), Special Collections. A comprehensive collection ranging from 1995-2012 which includes film footage, photographs, maps, audio recordings and transcript files in the language itself and translated into English (**2014 - ongoing**). The transcription and translation process is managed by Kerry Jones from African Tongue as a service provider to UCT. https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/%E2%80%A1khomani-san-hugh-brody

• **2022**
  Comprehensive **Nǀuu, Nama, Afrikaans and English dictionary** published **2022** (work on this date began in 2003) by African Tongue, Sands, Bonny & Kerry Jones (chief editors) in collaboration with Antjie Kassie, Griet Seekoei, Hannie Koerant, Andries Olyn, Hanna Koper, Kheis Brou, Vytjie ǂAbaka Koper, ǂUna Rooi, Simon Sauls, Elsie Vaalbooi, Katrina Esau, Claudia Snyman, David van Wyk, Mietjie Sussie Bok, Izak Kruiper, Lydia (Sakkas) Kruiper, Leonard Gewersk, Lys (Oulet) Kruiper Pietersen, Fritz Jagers, Magdalena James, Hannetjie van der Westhuizen, Chris Collins, Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Sylvanus Job, Francoise (Betta) Steyn, Dietloff van der Berg, Dotty Mantzel, Willem Damara, Menno van Zaanen, Amanda Miller, Levi Namaseb, Johanna Brugman & Mats Exter., as funded by DSAC, three forms - hard copy, wep portal, app - **orthography verified by PanSALB**
Number of N|uu speakers in South Africa

There is only ONE remaining fluent speaker of N|uu, Ouma Katrina Esau. Her granddaughter, Claudia Snyman speaks the language at a basic conversational level and she and Ouma Katrina teach the language at their local school “ǂqae ǁX’oqe” (Staar na die Sterre/Gaze at the Stars) in Rosedale, Upington. Sussie Bok, is a descendant of |Una Rooi, a fluent speaker of the language. Sussie teaches the language at a local kindergarten in Andriesvale called Eland School, Kalahari, Northern Cape when she has funding and support to do so. Additionally she helps at the Koopan Early Childhood Development centre teaching the N|uu language as and when their is funding and support. Language activist David van Wyk and secretary of the N|uu Language Authority has basic conversational competency in the language. He is based in Upington, Northern Cape.

David van Wyk (partial speaker of N|uu), Claudia Snyman (partial speaker of N|uu), Katrina Esau (last fluent speaker of N|uu) and Sussie Bok (partial speaker of N|uu)
Locations where N|uu is taught byǂKhomani descendants in South Africa

Map 3: Rosedale, Upington, South Africa - where the last remaining speaker of N|uu resides.
Language Vitality status of N|uu

Intergenerational language transmission is listed as the first of nine evaluative factors for language vitality by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group of Endangered Languages 2003), see Table 3 below.

If one were to take a coarse overview of intergenerational language degradation, one finds three types of scenarios, namely: first, all generations have fluent use of a language; second, the language is used by the grandparents and parents but not the children, and third, only the grandparents maintain knowledge of the language (Grenoble & Whaley, 2009: 6). Krauss (1997:26) presents a finer grained description of potential scenarios reproduced in Table 2.
Table 2: Potential scenarios of intergenerational language degradation, (Krauss, 1997:26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorisation system for intergenerational language transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The N|uu language scores “d- All speakers are in their seventies and older, and the language has fewer than 10 speakers” for intergenerational language transmission

Assessing the vitality of a language is a complex task as there are a number of interlinked factors that contribute towards the assessment (Grenoble & Whaley, 2009: 3). Over the last two decades, interest in the field has increased among linguists and invested parties, resulting in a number of studies which focus on how to go about assessing language vitality (Tsunoda, 2005; Creese, Martin, & Hornberger, 2008; Vigouroux & Mufwene, 2008; and Kornai 2015). What stems from this line of research are insights into and assessments of language endangerment (Brenzinger, 2003) as well as a better understanding of language maintenance and revitalisation (Bradley, 2001).

The nature of the link between the level of language vitality and language maintenance and revitalisation depends on the severity of a language’s endangerment. Language
endangerment has been measured in several ways in the past, taking into account many different factors in order to construct a holistic assessment of the status of a language. The concept of language assessment was first introduced by Giles et al. (1977) who developed a basic language assessment tool to measure the transmission of language in the home. This concept was then expanded upon by Fishman (1991), who developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). GIDS was updated by Simons and Lewis in 2010 and henceforth became known as E[extended] GIDS, Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EGIDS Level</th>
<th>EGIDS Label</th>
<th>EGIDS Description</th>
<th>UNESCO Descriptor</th>
<th>UNESCO factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at a nationwide level.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Written</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>Vigorous</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shifting</td>
<td>The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it</td>
<td>Definitely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons, 2010)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children</th>
<th>language transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Moribund</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.</td>
<td>Severely endangered 1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Nearly extinct</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.</td>
<td>Critically endangered 1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dormant</td>
<td>The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.</td>
<td>Extinct 4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.</td>
<td>Extinct 4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The N|uu language scores “8b - Nearly extinct - The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language - critically endangered”

Overall the language vitality of N|uu is in a very fragile state, the language is not being passed on from generation to generation and is almost extinct.

**Orthography and literacy practices of N|uu**

Mother tongue education and literacy efforts only actively began in the N|uu language around the turn of the century. Without a standardised orthography in the language (as this was still being developed), materials for educational purposes were not consistent and therefore made teaching literacy in the language problematic for teachers and students.

Despite these challenges, efforts continue to be made to teach the language both in Rosedale, Upington and Andriesvale, Kalahari, Northern Cape. **Modern facilities and regular financial support for the teaching of the N|uu language is lacking and therefore makes teaching the language challenging in an impoverished learning environment.**

In August 2022, the N|uu orthography was standardised in the form of a collaboratively developed dictionary by African Tongue which was approved by PanSALB and the Khoe and San Language Board (KSLB). With this orthography in place, it is hoped that any new
materials made going forward can be edited and quality controlled for consistency and accuracy.

**Educational publications in Nǀuu**

The first publication in Nǀuu for literacy purposes was published in 2005, with the most recent publication in 2022. These can be seen below. There have been a total of seven publications in 17 years all in South Africa with collaboration from international support.


The first educational publication in the Nǀuu language was produced in 2005 by linguists mentioned above who were working on documenting the language. This was the first attempt at community collaboration and the creation of an early childhood development text in the language. Considering, at that time there was very little data collected on the language this was a good start. The publication was brought to fruition due to the financial and technical support from the Department of Arts and Culture (Northern Cape Upington), University of Namibia, #Khomani youth, #Khomani elders, Norwegian Council of Universities Committee for Development Research and Education (NUFU), the South African San Institute (SASI), Open Channels (UK), Will Grundy, Northern Arizona University and the Department of Linguistics, Cornell University (USA). Significant funding for the development of the primer came from the National Science Foundation of the United States.
The publication is trilingual, English, Afrikaans, N|uu. Nonetheless, working with an endangered language that had a small corpus and no standardised orthography makes the task of creating a primer a difficult one. It was useful to keep the first publication short and to the point using lexical items that are familiar to the remaining speakers that are also culturally specific to the ǂKhomani people and the Northern Cape Region. Without such documents formally published they can very easily get lost in the future as the digital versions are not accessible and the hardcopies distributed or lost. This reiterates the important need for language archiving in one central and accessible location in southern Africa.


This is a bilingual N|uu/Afrikaans story book. It was funded by the South African Aids foundation, an NGO as well as Airports Company of South Africa (ACSA). The project was overseen by the South African San Institute (SASI) who coordinated the process and the local and international collaborators. This was the first step in the production of mother tongue literacy for N|uu in story telling format. However, without a standardised orthography and little previous literacy practices in the language, the publication was difficult to work with for first time learners of the language. The N|uu translations were provided by Katrina Esau with help from her granddaughter Claudia Snyman. Two international linguists assisted with the N|uu orthography and standardisation, Martina Ernszt and Alena Witzlack-Makarevich. Overall, this is a culturally sensitive publication that facilitated interest in literacy in the N|uu language.

Available online: https://groups.google.com/group/language-hunters/attach/db688ed8e3c43ddf/Nuu%20Hunting%20%20for%20print%20almost%20final.pdf?part=0.1

This publication was put together by international researcher Ariel Appel from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel who was a volunteer at SASI in Andriesvale, Kalahari. This is a very practical teaching and learning guide for the language in context. This text was produced with assistance and input from the work of the following linguists: Chris Collins, Tom Guldemann, Levi Namaseb, Bonny Sands, Alena Witzlack-Makarevich and Sheena Shah. The Nǀuu language input was provided by Katrina Esau and Claudia Snyman from Upington. The publication might have better served the community if it was bilingual Afrikaans/Nǀuu rather than English/Nǀuu as the majority of ǂKhomani descendants are fluent Afrikaans speakers and not English. Overall, this is a culturally
appropriate publication with practical and useful application for language learners and teachers and easier to use than the first publication.


This publication was put together by an NGO called Khomsodev in collaboration with N̄uu speakers: Kheis Brou, Katrina Esau, Anna Kassie, Hannie Koerant, Vytjie Koper, Hanna Koper, Andries Olyn, |Una Rooi and Griet Seekoei; linguists: Levi Namaseb, Bonny Sands, Amanda Miller and Johanna Brugman; community members: Willem Damarah, Dea Vaalbooi, Claudia Snyman, Sussie Bok and Petrus Vaalbooi; and the South African San Council and SASI. The publication was funded by Assmang iron ore Khumani Mine.

The publication is trilingual, Afrikaans, N̄uu and English with illustrations done by local Kalahari resident Arrie Raats. Overall this publication is a good early childhood reader for children to begin to learn N̄uu and become accustomed to the language in the written
form. There are however many orthographic errors that could have been avoided if the script was proof edited before going to print. For example using forward slashes instead of | click symbol, hashtags instead of the ŋ click symbol and not beginning sentences with capital letters in N|uu. The publication concept and collaboration is good, as well as including age appropriate and culturally appropriate content, however quality assurance and professional editing were not applied to the text. The publication was finalised without input from the linguist co-authors (Sands, personal communication), highlighting the difficulty of cross-continental collaborations.
This publication was written by linguists Sheena Shah and Matthias Brenzinger in collaboration with Katrina Esau, Claudia du Plessis and Mary-Ann Prins. This project was funded by the A.W. Mellon Foundation, the University of Cape Town, the Endangered Language Fund and the University of Kiel. The Oppenheimer Memorial Trust paid for the printing of the book.

The book is an illustrated trilingual N|uu, Afrikaans, English reader which is made up of 12 thematic sections 1) Greetings, 2) Daily routine, 3) Family, 4) Activities, 5) Travelling, 6) Clothes, 7) Body, 8) Feelings, 9) Animals, 10) Plants, 11) World, 12) Church, followed by an alphabetical word list.

Overall the content of the publication is suitable and facilitates learning for those who already have a literacy background in Afrikaans or English. The N|uu orthography was relatively consistent but not consistent in its entirety. This is problematic, first 1) because different pronunciations of the same word were not taken into account, such as |oba ~ |aba 'child', therefore the work can be taken to be prescriptive rather than descriptive (meaning that the linguist tells the speakers which form is right rather than all words produced by speakers being considered correct). This is possibly because words were not recorded enough times for researchers to notice different pronunciations. 2) Some words are misspelt, e.g. 'ostrich' and 'to feel' are both spelled with an initial ty consonant even though these words begin with quite different sounds (c vs. dsyh in Sands and Jones, 2022). Thirdly, 3) two forms of each word are given: singular and plural, ignoring the fact that in the way that N|uu grammar works, there may be up to 4 forms of words depending on number, not only two. This aspect of the work is prescriptive, in that it attempts to represent forms on the basis of English & Afrikaans grammar, which only distinguish singular and plural. For instance, this work gives nǂûisi 'ear' and ka nǂûi 'ears'; but in spoken N|uu, the unmarked form nǂûi 'ears' is the most commonly occurring form of the word. Grammatical forms were directly elicited rather than taken from natural speech, meaning that the pressure to provide a direct translation for Afrikaans forms was high; this methodology can lead to a large number of forms that are technically correct, but which do not accurately represent natural speech. In English, for example, it is not incorrect to say 'a single ear' vs. 'a pair of ears' but it is more natural to say 'an ear' vs. 'ears'. Finally, 4) the work is also limited in that it only represents the speech of only one elder and therefore only one dialect of N|uu.
Note: In the excerpt above, "lanu" is translated as "to brush" here but is actually "to make clean" -- which is how the word is listed in this publication. This difference in translation is not inaccurate, but if it is not explained to learners, it may be confusing. It is good to include examples like this, to show language use in context, because the verb for "brushing off/sweeping off" (|am|hoa) would not apply to this situation.
This publication was based on an oral story told by Katrina Esau. Her granddaughter Claudia Snyman transcribed the audio and translated it into Afrikaans with the help of her grandmother. The Afrikaans was then edited by Madelein Du Toit and the English by Diana Ferris. The N\uu orthography was checked for consistency by linguists Sheena Shah and Matthias Brenzinger. The publication was supported by the Puku Children’s Literature Foundation, Embassy of Switzerland in South Africa, the National Heritage Foundation, the African Innovation Fund and the Center for the Book, National Library of South Africa.

The conversion of oral stories into text format is an important process for literacy practices in African languages that are culturally appropriate and represent ownership for the storytellers, rather than a top down approach that enforces the translation of a set text. This story is a good example of collaborative and respectful documentation of storytelling. In terms of N\uu orthographic evaluation, however, there is no consistency in spelling between the earlier 2016 publication of Shah and Brenzinger with Katrina Esau and this one. For example, the word for ‘ostrich’, here spelled tjhoi was earlier spelled tyoe; and !qhoi ‘tortoise’ was spelled !oqe in the earlier publication. Nearly every letter of these words has been changed from the earlier publication to this one. Furthermore, spelling within the work inaccurately represents the language; for instance, the same consonant is found in ‘ostrich’ and ‘who’ (spelled coe and cuu xe, respectively, in Sands and Jones, 2022), but these are spelled in this work tjhoi and tjuxe in this work, as if these words contained different consonants tjh vs. tj. The spelling of !qhoi ‘tortoise’ with !qh implies that the word has the same initial consonant as in !qhaa ‘water’, but it does not; the qh in this case are meant to indicate a constricted sound in the throat made during the vowel (vowel pharyngealisation). These spelling inconsistencies present an extreme challenge to language learners. These differences in consistency from publication to publication highlight the need for a standardised orthography before creating educational and learning materials in any language.
This publication was put together by a large group of collaborators and coordinated by African Tongue professional linguistic consultancy, directed by Kerry Jones. The chief editors are Bonny Sands and Kerry Jones; in collaboration with mother tongue speakers of N|uu: Antjie Kassie, Griet Seekoei, Hannie Koerant, Andries Olyn, Hanna Koper, Kheis Brou, Vytjie Abaka Koper, JUna Rooi, Simon Sauls, Elsie Vaalbooi, Katrina Esau; N|uu Language Authority members: Claudia Snyman, David van Wyk and Mietjie Sussie Bok; Nama mother tongue speakers: Izak Kruiper, Lydia (Sakkas) Kruiper, Leonard Gewersk, Lys (Oulet) Kruiper Pietersen and Willem Damarah; local Afrikaans mother tongue speakers: Fritz Jagers, Magdalena James, Francoise (Betta) Steyn and Hannetjie van der Westhuizen; and linguists: Chris Collins, Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Sylvanus Job, Dietloff van der Berg, Dotty Mantzel, Menno van Zaalen, Amanda Miller, Levi Namaseb, Johanna Brugman and Mats Exter.

This is a multilingual dictionary where N|uu is the featured language, followed by Nama, Afrikaans and English. The publication goes into detail in the introduction section on the methodology of the publication and the standardisation process for the N|uu orthography in collaboration with the N|uu Language Authority and the above mentioned linguists based on the data collected from 2003 - 2022 from mother tongue speakers of N|uu. This is the most comprehensive collection of N|uu words and their accompanying translations to date. The orthography used in this publication has been verified by Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) and is now the official orthography for N|uu going forward. This publication was funded by the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture (DSAC) under the section - Human Language Technologies.
The publication comes in three forms: 1) hardcopy book, 2) online web-portal and 3) app called Saasi Epsi. The two digital forms of the publication include audio recordings which are freely available.
Instructional videos for the three outputs are available online for free on YouTube via the African Tongue channel under the playlist “Digital Dictionary Resources for N|uu” https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PL3R3wg475nwzFKTWny4536o9BAhMXqQ6f

**Hardcopy:** How to use the hardcopy N|uu Dictionary?

**Web-portal:** How to use the web-portal for the online N|uu Dictionary?

**Saasi Epsi:** How to use Saasi Epsi? - N|uu Language App

To download the app from Google Play Store, please go to the following link: https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=org.sadilar.mdaf
The online web-portal is hosted by South African Centre for Digital Language Resources (SADiLaR) and all the data relating to the project is digitally archived with them for future use and language preservation of N|uu.

Web- portal: https://dictionary.sadilar.org
Mother Tongue film productions in N|uu

There are two films that have been made that feature the N|uu language specifically, both are made by award winning visual anthropologist Hugh Brody. Both are archived at University of Cape Town’s Special Collections.

Image: David Kruiper, previous traditional leader of theǂKhomani people and Hugh Brody working together in the Kalahari (ǂKhomani San - Hugh Brody Collection, UCT, Special Collections)


Tracks Across Sand: TheǂKhomani San of the Southern Kalahari, the story of a land claim is a detailed documentary of sixteen chapters with 4.5hrs of film footage. The film features the story of theǂKhomani people, how they lost their land and their language and the fight to reclaim them.

“We want our story and history to be known and shared in the world.” ǂKhomani San Elder

This project was funded and supported by Open Channels, South African San Institute (SASI), Comic Relief Inc. UK, University of Fraser Valley, University of Cape Town - Special Collections, from 1996 to 2010. All footage and research to so with this project has been gifted to the University of Cape Town Libraries for safekeeping and digitisation in order for the story of theǂKhomani people to be preserved and accessible to future generations. This is an outstanding production of visual anthropology showcasing theǂKhomani people and their story authentically and with collaboration and respect.

Gazing at the Stars: The Fight to Save N|uu was produced in both English and Afrikaans. This was a follow up film from Tracks in the Sand with a specific focus on the N|uu.
language and any progress made with documentation and maintenance since 2012. The film includes a short documentary about N|uu, and interview with Ouma Katrina Esau and Ouma Griet Seekoei, three lessons 1) The sounds of N|uu, 2) Simple N|uu sentences, 3) Greetings and body parts, followed by cultural practices, games, stories and dance.

The purpose of this film is to share information about the history of the N|uu language and provide some basic educational resources about the language and culture to facilitate learning. The film was funded and assisted by Open Channels and Splash Films.

Archives and Digital Collections that include N|uu

Archives and the digitisation thereof are a valuable and important part of language documentation and preservation. It is important that such collections are physically archived and protected in an appropriate space but also digitised to facilitate access online to a larger audience. This facilitates public access, further encourages research and protects the physical collection from damage and loss due to physical handling of fragile and rare documents, film or audio recordings. Below are local and international archives and digital collections that feature N|uu.

http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/index.html

The Digital Bleek and Lloyd is a digital publication based on the historical Bleek and Lloyd Archive housed at the University of Cape Town Libraries, Special Collections as well as works from the Maingard collection of the Library at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

The Langeberg dialect featured in these notebooks differs in some respects to the dialect of N|uu spoken by Katrina Esau, and even to the Eastern N|uu dialect as documented in recent times. This archival work is therefore of great interest to understanding the diverse forms of the language over space and time.
The collection features Xam, Xun and Kora (Koranna, !Ora) from contributors such as Karre An (Katre), Khannumup (Petros Willems), Kommanna !A (Klaas), !Kon ✖ E (Oud Sanna), !Kun !We (Sabina), !Khwe !Kake (Doorki), !Kweiten Ta ||Ken (Rachel), !Nanni, !Nauxa, !Ns !Ku, !Nu Kweb, !Nu Wa, !Urike, Asis, Abraham, Adam Kleinhardt, Anni u, Asindeya, Auma (Philip), Baladza, Baraxas, Beita De, Bekiman, Bet, Blaitje Snell, Buruku, Burushi, Da, Dabi, Daniel, Daoud Moos, Dialkwain (David Hoesar), Dina, Friedrich Hortnooop, Gaishe, Gandu, Gole Ba, Griet, Cela, Piet Lynx, Gsle, Gsngu, Ha Taris, Hanis Varnaf, Hans, Haushes (Petrus), Hendrix Beren, Hendrik Ronebout, Hiahau (Jan), Hokan (Janike), Jacob and ✖ Nu Kei ✖ Nukai, Jan, Jan Plat, Ka ku, Kabbalah, Kahongu, Kaiki, Kaimam, Kambinda, Kanietu, Kati, Katrina, Kavikisa, Kayabu, Kayata, Kisansu, Kitandu, Klaas, Kyku, Mato, Makanyange, Makasha, Makolo, Makwasha, Malopo, Manangwa, Martha, Maru Tu, Masai, Masarwa, Mbsga, Mkuan, Msruku, Muba, Mulengelu, Ngoringini, NsSangini, O |Una, O ✖ k||n, Piet Lynx, Rachel, Salmon Mattes, Saul, Sela, Shangini, Sok, Soue, Tamme, Tata'basu, Tawashi, Tepa, To'be, Tsho'ga, Tshsmbone, Tsukap, Tubai, Tui ||Kop, Willem, Xugwai, O Opuaniki, Dzs, Kaiki, Kwiiikai, tSivia, !Klungu, !Han ✖ kass'o, !K'abe, !Kaiku, !Kam ✖ Ari, !Keishe !Na, !Kejke, !Ke Ki, !Kai, !Ko, !Kobba !Na, !Ks, !Kukuri, !Kukurib, !Kwi |Kai, !Kwi |Kais, !Kwikai, !Kwikeba, !Kwiikke-ke ||Ei, !Naurub, !Nice, !Nummi, !Uma, !Ur ||Ai, !Urixamab, !jurur ||Ei, !Xum, ||Namshe, ||Ax, ||Axas, ||Hauku, ||K'abe, ||Ka she ||Nau, ||Kabbo, ||Kainus, ||Kaku de, ||Kam |Ari, ||Kei Sib, ||Klon |ki, ||Kove, ||Koase Kei, ||Koasha, ||Koasse, ||Kobe, ||Konap, ||Kweb, ||Namme, ||Oba, ✖ Enn, ✖ Gerri-sse, ✖ Hobeku, ✖ Kasin, ✖ Kekuba, ✖ Nabbe Ta Mas, ✖ Nanni, ✖ Nobuke, ✖ Nu kai, ✖ Nukae, ✖ Nukie, ✖ Nukim, and ✖ Nuku.
Input from all these contributors were collected by Lucy Lloyd, Dorothea Bleek and Wilhelm Bleek at the turn of the century. **This large and historically irreplaceable collection is of great heritage value to South Africa.** The modern digitisation process requires significant funding and expertise to make a physical collection a digital one. This project was possible due to the funding received from the A.W. Mellon Foundation and De Beers - and is the result of the collaboration of four curating incisions over many years, namely: University of Cape Town, UNISA, Iziko South African Museum and The National Library of South Africa.

The project was directed by Pippa Skotnes with input from Eustacia Riley, Thomas Cartwright, Cara van der Westhuizen and Fazil van der Schyff under the LLAREC, Center for Curating the Archive, Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town. The website development was done by Hussein Suleman, Department of Computer Science, University of Cape Town.


Ernst Westphal was a professor of African Languages at the University of Cape Town from 1962 - 1984. Much of his research interests included recording and documenting Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages. These included recordings of N|uu made in October 1961 in the Kalahari. These are very important recordings as they are among the few earlier audio recordings of the language in existence.
From 2007-2010, with funding from ELDP (Endangered Languages Documentation Programme) and MPI-EVA (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, a team based in Germany conducted a major documentation project of N|uu based on recordings of 22 hours of natural speech (229 audio files and 57 video files). The team was led by Tom Güldemann (Humboldt University); he and Alena Witzlack-Makarevich (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) were the primary depositors into the archive. Güldemann began work on the language in 2003, working with E.O.J. Westphal's manuscripts. The German team included graduate student participants Martina (Shaw-)Ernszt and Sven Siegmund. The work products of this team include the archive as well as academic publications. The texts themselves have not otherwise been published (apart from a 45 page unpublished manuscript, Siegmund, et al. 2008) and represent an extremely rich resource for learners of N|uu. We believe that most of the audio has been carefully annotated, however it uses a spelling system unique to this team, which does not match the official N|uu orthography used in Sands and Jones (ed.) (2022). Unfortunately, access to the archives and recordings can be challenging for academics and non-academics alike and therefore not user-friendly or easily accessible.


Earlier work by Mats Exter of the University of Cologne is now archived along with the Collins and Sands recordings housed at SADiLaR.
The linguistic fieldwork conducted by Bonny Sands, Johanna Brugman, Amanda Miller, Chris Collins and Levi Namaseb from 2003-2006 and was archived in 2015 with the Endangered Languages Archive in the United Kingdom. This collection includes dictionary entries in N|uu as well as recordings in sentences and oral texts that relate to the grammatical sketch of N|uu. This data has subsequently also been archived in South Africa at SADiLaR in 2022 to facilitate local access. It is prudent to have a digital collection in more than one place so that should there be a system crash or physical fire resulting in the loss of the collection, a digital copy can safely be found elsewhere. This team also has raw phonetic data that is not archived (e.g. ultrasound videos, palatography photos, airflow data) but selected parts of this data have appeared in scholarly publications. This data is not very useful to language learners. Phonetic data not yet in the archive also includes sets of words recorded by Johanna Brugman for phonetic studies; this data set includes words already in the archive, but repeated multiple times. Additionally, some small sets of recordings of |Una Rooi, Kheis Brou, Vytjie Koper and Simon Sauls were made by Bonny Sands which are not yet included in the archive. Simon Sauls requested that his recordings be restricted to community use, and not for wider distribution.
The work on this collection is ongoing. The current islandora platform is what is currently available online however this will eventually be curated and moved to the new iBali site which is run via Omeka-S. The collection includes hundreds of photographs of the Khomani people, posters and maps depicting original place names in N|uu and Nama, hundreds of hours of film footage and transcript files of the film footage. The film footage is most especially important for language preservation as it includes detailed interviews where N|uu and Nama was spoken extensively. The process of creating accurate and verbatim transcript files with English translations has been underway since 2014 as a collaboration project between UCT, Open Channels and African Tongue. Unfortunately the project has run out of funds and in order to continue this process and convert the metadata onto the new modern platform, funding is required. This collection is of great national heritage importance and like the Bleek and Lloyd should be protected and registered with UNESCO.
This collection is also with the Endangered Languages Archive. The website for this collection indicates that it includes four audio files and three video files that are available to subscribers. Included are recordings of the hundreds of words and phrases in the publication Sheena Shah & Matthias Brenzinger (2016). *Ouma Geelmeid ke kx’u //xa//xa*, but these are only available upon special request from the depositors.
This is a digital collection of place names in Nǀuu, Nama and Kora. Such work on place names in minority languages is greatly needed to be done in South Africa by linguists specialising in these languages, by geocoding and verifying the proper orthography of the target language. This is an incomplete data set and can be added to in the future but provides over 200 place names and in some cases the corresponding name in other languages too. This collection is held at UCT and is a result of a UCT, African Tongue and ǂKhomani Kalahari community collaboration.

Collins, Chris, Bonny Sands (depositors). (2022). Nǀuu language archive. SADiLaR: https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12185/537

SADiLaR have archived the more than 10,000 audio files recorded by Bonny Sands (7009 files), Chris Collins (3567 files), Mats Exter (682 files) and Kerry Jones (952 files). These audio files are of individual words, individual words in a frame sentence “I say ___” (Na ka ___) and also of phrases, sentences and stories. Recordings cover all of the words and phrases in the following publications:

- Collins and Namaseb (2011) A Grammatical Sketch of Nǀuuki with Stories.

A carefully curated selection of these recordings were chosen for use in the dictionary web-portal and mobile app Saasi Epsi.
This collection requires funding in order to be fully digitised and curated for public and scholarly online access.
Academic publications about the N|uu language

Scholarly works on N|uu are many because they focus on different aspects of the language that are of interest to other scholars. Broadly speaking, these works tend to fall into one of the following categories:

1) Some studies focus on the **mechanical aspects of how clicks and other sounds are pronounced**. While one work might focus on the motion of the tongue, another might focus on the acoustic characteristics of the noises made. Because N|uu has such a large set of consonants and vowels, many of which only occur in one or two other languages in the world, the descriptions of the sounds are of great theoretical and practical interest to linguists. The pronunciation of a sound changes depending on where in a word or sentence the sound occurs, and on what sounds occur next to it. Any language, but especially a language with so many consonants and vowels, can generate sufficient interest to result in the publication of many academic studies (e.g. Exter 2008; Miller 2010; Miller et al. 2007, 2009).

2) Other studies focus on the **mechanisms by which N|uu words and sentences are formed**. The rules of N|uu grammar are unique to N|uu and provide a window into the cognitive mechanism that allows for human languages to have similar structures, while at the same time allowing for differences among different languages. The linker construction (cf. Collins 2017, 2019) is especially rare cross-linguistically and is therefore of great interest to syntacticians. Other scholars may focus on a different aspect of how words combine into sentences, such as ‘come’ and ‘go’ verbs (Ernszt 2012), pronominal forms, possessive marking, or the like. Any language, but especially a language that is so different to other known languages, can generate sufficient interest to result in the publication of many academic studies.

3) Other studies take an interest in **how the different structures of N|uu (sounds, words, grammar) change over space and time**. It is impossible for any single study to describe every aspect of linguistic structure, much less how such structures change over time. Studies on language change generally appear after research describing the basic structures have already appeared, so we expect to see more research studies on N|uu language change in the future (particularly once scholars have time to compare N|uu and |Xam more thoroughly). Studies so far include a study of change in kinship terms (Boden 2014), and a comparison of idiolects, or forms used by individual speakers (Auer 2018).

4) **Research focussing on literary forms of N|uu are rare** but include Namaseb (2006, 2016). Generally speaking, literary analyses of African languages are less abundant than works analysing smaller chunks of linguistic structure. It is difficult for linguists to get recognition from their universities from the publication of stories; rather, analyses of the linguistic or literary structures generally must accompany such works. This is unfortunate when there is such a dire need for literacy materials in minority languages. Many rare accounts of oral storytelling are found in the ǂKhomani San Hugh Brody Collection.

5) Studies that have a focus on developing a language fall under the rubric of "**Applied Linguistics**" rather than Linguistics proper. Pedagogical works mentioned earlier in this report would count as such academic products. Under this category, we may also include
Shah and Brenzinger (2017), outlining the history of the development of a N|uu orthography.


Lloyd, Lucy C. (1889). A short account of further Bushman material collected: third report concerning Bushman researches, presented to both Houses of the Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, by command of His Excellency the Governor. London: David Nutt.


UNESCO support of N|uu

N|uu is listed in the UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger. A short film was produced by Discovery and the United Nations to show the plight of the language in 2004 and is freely available online and in their archive.

Language: Niuu (‡Khomani), South Africa | Cultural Diversity - UNESCO Multimedia Archives

The Bleek and Lloyd collection which features N|uu has been registered in the Memory of the World Register with UNESCO since 1997 and is recognised for its cultural and heritage significance at a global level.

UNESCO also sponsored the South African website, http://www.san.org.za/ featuring important cultural heritage information online. The site was managed by SASI and is still active online.
Linguists who have worked on N|uu since the 1990’s

Table 4: Linguists potential availability for future work on the documentation, preservation and maintenance of N|uu

(Those who are located in South Africa are highlighted)

| # | Name              | Contribution/specialty                                                                 | Year work began on N|uu | Location          | Availability |
|---|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 2 | Tony Traill      | Verified N|uu language in collaboration with Nigel and Levi Namaseb                          | Early 1990s          | deceased           | No           |
| 3 | Levi Namaseb     | Mother tongue speaker of Khoekhoegowab. Documented N|uu and Nama stories of the ǂKhomani San for this thesis. A grammatical sketch of N|uuki with stories (2011)
| 4 | Chris Collins    | A grammatical sketch of N|uuki with stories (2011)
   N|uuki Namagowab Afrikaans English ǂXoakiǂxanisi/ǂMidi di ǂKhanis/ǂWoordeboek/ Dictionary (2022)
   [https://as.nyu.edu/faculty/chris-collins.html](https://as.nyu.edu/faculty/chris-collins.html) | Early 2000s          | New York, USA      | Yes          |
<p>| 5 | Bonny Sands      | N|uuki Namagowab Afrikaans English ǂXoakiǂxanisi/ǂMidi di ǂKhanis/ǂWoordeboek/ Dictionary (2022) | Early 2000s          | Flagstaff, USA     | Yes          |
|   | Name                      | Description                                                                 | Date       | Location          |  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role and Details</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sven Siegmund</td>
<td>Postgraduate student of Tom Güldemann</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Menno van Zaanen</td>
<td>SADiLAR – Professor of Digital Humanities</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Notes: Possibly indicates a possible connection or contribution.*
Community stakeholders and activists for N|uu

Among theǂKhomani people, they have created a group of local community members who have a specific interest and focus on the N|uu language. This group is made up of members from Upington and the Kalahari. The community leader Petrus Vaalbooi is included in this group and is also on the local Community Property Association (CPA) and therefore reports to them on any matters he feels necessary to share. The group is called the N|uu Language Authority (NLA) and its members are as follows:

Table 5: Current members of the N|uu Language Authority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position in the community</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ǂXuuleeki Katrina Esau</td>
<td>Last Fluent speaker of N</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǂXuu N!ai Petrus Vaalbooi</td>
<td>Traditional Leader</td>
<td>Kalahari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Pietersen</td>
<td>Acting Chairperson</td>
<td>Kalahari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David van Wyk</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Upington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helena Busakwe</td>
<td>Vice Secretary</td>
<td>Upington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia Snyman</td>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Upington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilhemina Mondzinger</td>
<td>Additional member</td>
<td>Upington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel Maasdorp</td>
<td>Additional member</td>
<td>Upington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mietjie Sussie Bok</td>
<td>Additional member</td>
<td>Kalahari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deon Noubitsen</td>
<td>Additional member</td>
<td>Kalahari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two of the above members, Claudia Snyman and Mietjie Sussie Bok, also serve on the Khoe and San National Language Body as coordinated by PanSALB.
In South Africa there is a body that represents San matters called the South African San Council. In 2017, in collaboration with Roger Chennells their representing attorney and Hennie Swart, Director of the South African San Council (SASI) they created a document called the San Code of Research Ethics, available online at the following link: https://trust-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/San-Code-of-RESEARCH-Ethics-Booklet-final.pdf

The document highlights the four keys pillars for collaboration: 1) respect, 2) honesty, 3) justice and fairness, and 4) care.

Since the creation of the document in 2017 Hennie Swart from SASI has since passed away and Roger Chennells has since retired. Additionally, the !Xun and Khwe leadership and representation has also passed on. Today in the public domain it is unclear who the San Council consists of exactly and what the roles are of each of the representing members. They currently do not have a website.

For further information please contact Leana Snyders leanacloete@ymail.com, from the Upington office.

In the Kalahari itself there is the Bushman Council office which represents those from the area. Their contact details are as follows:

Luce Steenkamp - Administrative Manager
Email: bushmancouncil@khomaisan.com
Website: www.khomanisan.com
Recommendations for the future

According to Grenoble and Whaley (2009:6), “The dynamics of intergenerational transmission are perhaps more important to understand than any other relevant factor in assessing the need for language revitalisation.” Fishman has been emphasising this point since the early 1990s “Without intergenerational mother-tongue transmission [...] no maintenance is possible. That which is not transmitted cannot be maintained” (Fishman, 1991:113).

As mentioned above, in relation to intergenerational language transmission N|uu scores “d- All speakers are in their seventies and older, and the language has fewer than 10 speakers” and for language vitality, “8b - Nearly extinct - The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language - critically endangered”. Therefore, it is clear that in its current state N|uu is not being naturally passed on from one generation to the next and therefore there are no fluent speakers below the grandparent generation.

Based on the above analysis of the current vitality status of N|uu a multimodal approach is recommended to “[a] promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of N|uu”.

If a language is not naturally being passed on from one generation to the next anymore then assistance is required to maintain that language. In order for language maintenance to take place language documentation and preservation need to occur first.

---

3 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996 (Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) a) ii)
Documentation

Efforts of language documentation have taken place sporadically from 1885 with only real significant work taking place from the 1990s onwards. Such work is highly specialised and not possible without financial backing. Much of the work done in the last 30 years has been funded by UNESCO, international university research funds and through NGOs. Such efforts are very important, however, going forward it would be ideal if the South African government could show an active role in encouraging and funding such efforts. This could be done by collaborating with local mother tongue speakers as well as local and international specialist linguists to design research projects with clear deliverables and project plans that focus on the documentation of N|uu.

With only ONE remaining fluent speaker left, language documentation efforts are limited and in the future would mostly rely on archival materials which could be verified with Ouma Katrina Esau. It is important that the suggestions provided include good quality audio recordings which should be made available via the potential output and archived for future public use.

Table 6: Suggestions for future language documentation work of N|uu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Potential output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of traditional stories as told by Ouma Katrina Esau</td>
<td>Such stories can be converted into language educational materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of prayers as told by Ouma Katrina Esau</td>
<td>Such prayers can be converted into a N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of N</td>
<td>uu songs as sung by Ouma Katrina Esau and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting of remaining Tum’i speakers and Ouma Katrina Esau. This is a unique and rare opportunity.</td>
<td>Comparative analysis between the two related languages before the elderly speakers pass away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of Ouma Katrina Esau’s religious beliefs as the last speaker of N</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preservation

Once language documentation takes place, it is important that this work is preserved for future access and development. This is where the role of physical and digital archives become crucial in preserving linguistic records. In the past, the majority of documentation efforts have been deposited in international repositories as South Africa did not have a dedicated repository for languages. In recent years the Department of Science and Innovation opened the South African Centre for Digital Language Resources (SADiLaR).

Going forward, physically archived collections in South Africa that include the N|uu language should be digitised and made accessible online in order to facilitate public access. There are three such collections in South Africa.

| Table 7: Physical archives that include N|uu and need to be digitised |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| **Name and location of collection** | **Action required** |
| Brody, Hugh. (forthcoming). ǂKhomani San | This collection is not fully digitised. The metadata still needs to be completed on the collection as well as transcriptions and translations of all film and audio files. This process started in 2014 but is a long term and large project and requires substantial funding to complete. This project could provide employment for local community members as advisors working in collaboration with linguists, translators, computer scientists, librarians and digital scholars. |
| | Hugh Brody Collection. Ibali Digital Collections, UCT |
| | [https://ibali.uct.ac.za/s/ibali/page/welcome](https://ibali.uct.ac.za/s/ibali/page/welcome) |
| Collins, Chris, Bonny Sands (depositors). (2022). Nǀuu language archive. SADiLaR: [https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12185/537](https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12185/537) | Additional recordings made for phonetic studies have not yet been included in an archive. Laboratory phonetic data (palatography photos, ultrasound recordings, etc.) have not been archived. Recordings of Simon |
Sauls have not been included in an archive.

Deposit to be made at a suitable South African archive (we recommend SADiLaR), metadata to be developed, public access to be granted

### Maintenance

Language maintenance includes education and literacy development in the target language. This is only possible once the language has been documented enough to have a descriptive grammar and standardised orthography to ensure consistency for teaching and learning purposes. In 2022, PanSALB signed off the standardised orthography for N|uu described by Sands and Jones (2022). In 2011 a descriptive grammar was written by Chris Collins and Levi Namaseb. With these two important resources developed and accessible, future literacy and language learning material for educational purposes can be developed in N|uu.

With only one fluent speaker of N|uu remaining, the language is no longer being transmitted from one generation to the next. Therefore literacy and archival materials (including audio and video) will be very important resources in the future for language learning.

**Table 8: Language maintenance recommendations for N|uu that are in need of funds to be put into action**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>uuki Namagowab Afrikaans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>More dictionaries should be printed for public access and deposited into local libraries across the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḦXoaki Ḧxanisi/Midi di ḦKhanis/Woordeboek/Dictionary (2022)</td>
<td>Consider publishing a print run of the dictionary in a larger font size to accommodate those with vision impairment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There has also been a request from the public to be able to purchase the publication. A publishing contract will need to be secured in order for the publication to be available for purchase just like other dictionaries. No profit can be made from the sale of the dictionaries as per the agreement with the community, however the dictionaries can be sold at cost price for those who would like to purchase them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Talking Dictionary in N|uu

This project has been underway since 2020. It needs to be completed and the output made available to the #Khomani people as well as the South African public and international public.

### The suggested projects below need to be fully designed before being funded and put into action

It must be on record that the school “Gǀaqe ||X’oqe” (Staar na die Sterre/Gaze at the Stars) in Upington was badly vandalised during the COVID-19 pandemic and national lockdown. The school is not structurally sound and not safe or suitable for teaching. This is not the first time that the school has been vandalised over the years to such a degree that it is no longer functional. Currently the school does not have a premises from which to work and conduct lessons. Teachers Katrina Esau and Claudia Snyman work without salary and are community volunteers. In order for the school to be operational they need a safe and secure learning environment for teachers and learners. Teachers also need salaries, the school has operational costs e.g. water, electricity, cleaning, security, stationary etc. There is also no transport for students to and from the school. A full site visit and needs analysis is needed with a long term learning and support program.

Eland school in Andriesvale, Kalahari is in a wooden prefabricated structure. This could be improved upon to make for a more comfortable learning environment for both teachers and learners. The school has some basic operational costs covered however are in need of support for consumables such as: stationary, paper, classroom furniture, learning materials, teaching equipment etc.

Keeping Kidz At School Program  
[http://clairebarry-kalahari-sunrise.weebly.com/keeping-kidz-at-school.html](http://clairebarry-kalahari-sunrise.weebly.com/keeping-kidz-at-school.html) and

School Project  

both need financial support and rely on donations only.

For more information please contact Claire Barry at

Mobile: + 27 847717073  
Email: kalahari_sunrise@yahoo.co.uk

A full site visit and needs analysis is needed with a long term learning and support program.

Teacher qualifications - both Claudia Snyman and Sussie Bok have not completed their teacher training qualifications. It would be beneficial for the teachers and learners if
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuition sponsorship</td>
<td>These two teachers as well as other interested community members could be sponsored for their tuition in order to complete their studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's dictionary</td>
<td>Creation of a children's dictionary in N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special themed subjects</td>
<td>Production and distribution of works on special/themed subjects specific to the Khomani people (e.g. plants, animals, traditional life).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storybooks with workbooks</td>
<td>Production and distribution of storybooks with accompanying workbooks for teachers and learners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animated films</td>
<td>Production of animated films based on traditional stories and other texts (with annotated texts).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YouTube Channel</td>
<td>Production of a YouTube Channel that includes basic oral lessons in N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interface to access recordings</td>
<td>Creation or expansion of an interface to access recordings of example phrases and sentences in *A Grammatical Sketch of N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interface to Güldemann &amp; Witzlack-Makarevich</td>
<td>Creation or expansion of an interface to access recordings found in Güldemann &amp; Witzlack-Makarevich ELDP archive, with orthography updated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interface to SADiLaR archive</td>
<td>Creation or expansion of an interface to access additional lexicon recordings in the SADiLaR archive by Sands et al. so listeners can hear additional pronunciations of words in the dictionary *N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interface to Ouma Geelmeid</td>
<td>Creation or expansion of an interface to access recordings of example words and sentences in *Ouma Geelmeid ke kx‘u #Xa#xa N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Tum’i**

*Tum’i* is the second *Tuu* language that is still alive in South Africa today. It is a critically endangered language with minimal documentation.

**History of Tum’i [Tumʔi] in South Africa**

Three speakers of an unknown San language, most likely to be in the !Ui subgroup of the Tuu language family and therefore closely related to |Xam and N|uu, were identified by Will Bennett and Kelly Kilian in July 2018 (Kilian 2020)\(^4\). The three speakers are siblings Elsie (since deceased), Francine (74) and Robert (68), who reside in Prieska (Kilian 2020). Currently, Bennett and Kilian refer to the language as “Tumʔi”, which means “to say/speak/understand”, and hope to continue working further with the remaining known speakers to gain a better understanding of the language (Kilian 2020).

**Approximate number of Tum’i speakers in South Africa**

Elsie, the most fluent speaker of the three siblings, has recently passed away. She is survived by her two younger siblings Francine and Robert who are partial speakers. There are no other known speakers of Tum’i however it is possible that they exist - further canvassing throughout South Africa is needed to identify and collaborate with speakers of endangered languages.

\(^4\) It is possible that Tum’i could be a collection of remembered words from |Xam and and Kora rather than a distinct language. Both |Xam and and Kora are known to have been spoken in Prieska (as noted by D. Bleek).
Location of remaining Tum’i speakers in South Africa

Map 5: Prieska, Northern Cape, South Africa - where the only known speakers of Tum’i reside.

Vitality Status of Tum’i

For a description of intergenerational language transmission as listed by UNESCO as the first evaluative factor for language vitality as well as some basic theory on language vitality, language maintenance and language revitalisation, please see section “Vitality Status of N|uu” above.

Table 9: Potential scenarios of intergenerational language degradation, (Krauss, 1997:26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorisation system for intergenerational language transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>a-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tum’i scores “d-, All speakers are in their seventies and older, and the language has fewer than 10 speakers.”

There are only two known speakers of the language, one in his 60s and the other in her 70s and neither are fluent. With a d- score the language is on the brink of extinction, like Njuu.

Language endangerment of Tum’i according to the E[xtended] Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is a score of “8b - Nearly extinct - The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language - critically endangered”.

Overall the language vitality of Tum’i is in a critical state, and on the brink of extinction.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EGIDS Level</th>
<th>EGIDS Label</th>
<th>EGIDS Description</th>
<th>UNESCO Descriptor</th>
<th>UNESCO Factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at a nationwide level.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Written</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>Vigorous</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shifting</td>
<td>The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children</td>
<td>Definitely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Level</td>
<td>Stage</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moribund</td>
<td>8a</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.</td>
<td>Severely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearly extinct</td>
<td>8b</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.</td>
<td>Critically endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dormant</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Orthography and literacy practices of Tum’i**

None.

**Mother Tongue publications in Tum’i**

None.

**Mother Tongue productions in Tum’i**

None.

**Archives or Digital Collections that include Tum’i**

None.
Academic publications about the Tum’i language


UNESCO support of Tum’i

None.

Linguists who have worked on Tum’i

Table 11: Linguists potential availability for future work on the documentation, preservation and maintenance of Tum’i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contribution/specialty</th>
<th>Year work began on Tum’i</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Availability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Will Bennett</td>
<td>Phonology professor at Rhodes University and supervisor to Kelly Killian</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Makhanda</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kelly Killian</td>
<td>Produced her Masters about the Tum’i language with Prof. Will Bennett as her supervisor; Lecturer at Rhodes University</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Makhanda</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Community stakeholders and activists for Tum’i

None
Recommendations for the future

Intergenerational language transmission is imperative for language maintenance and language survival. As mentioned above, in relation to intergenerational language transmission, Tum’i scores “d-, All speakers are in their seventies and older, and the language has fewer than 10 speakers” and for language vitality, “8b - Nearly extinct - The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language - critically endangered”.

Therefore, it is clear that in its current state Tum’i is on the brink of extinction. Based on the above analysis of the current vitality status of Tum’i a documentation and preservation approach is recommended to “(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of Tum’i”.

Tum’i has been documented from only three known speakers. It is important that any further documentation takes place with the remaining two partial speakers to collect as much insight as possible on the language itself as well as its history. Through this process it could be possible to trace other speakers. Additionally, any recordings and data collected since 2018 should be professionally archived at a national level as part preserving a record of this language for our national heritage and future study. Should additional speakers come forward in the future, access to these records for verification is essential.

Tum’i is most closely related to Njuu as a remaining living Tuu language. It is our strong recommendation that a physical meeting of Ouma Katrina Esau with Francine and Robert should be accommodated. This meeting should include the presence of linguists who have worked with both languages to assist the speakers in finding any common ground and to document any similarities and differences in the two languages. Kelly Kilian and Will Bennett recorded about 4 hours of interviews with the Tum’i speakers. From these recordings, they were able to document a lexicon of 125 words. These recordings should be archived in South Africa for national heritage purposes and future public access.

---

5 The South African Constitution 1996 (Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) (a) ii)
Living South African Kx’a Languages

Today there is only one living Kx’a language spoken in South Africa namely: !Xun. !Xun is an endangered language spoken in southern Africa and described in the section below:

!Xun

Also known as !Xung, !Xuun and !Xunthahli. !Xun is spoken by people of San descent in South Africa, Namibia, Botswana and Angola. Speakers of the language cluster likely once inhabited a large area, probably including parts of Angola, Namibia, Botswana and Zambia. The presence of !Xun speakers in South Africa, however, dates to more recent times. With the exception of the Ju’hoan and !X’ao!|’aen varieties, most languages of this cluster are simply referred to as !Xun, even though this label encompasses a wide variety of historically distinct language varieties. South African !Xun historically derives from Angolan and Northern Namibian !Xun dialects, some of which are currently also spoken by many people in Namibia and Angola, especially at former army bases such as Mangetti Dune, Namibia. Other terms that have been used to refer to Angolan !Xun speakers include Sekele, Vasekele, Mucuassequeles, Mucuancalas, Maligo, and Kwankhala. The number of different dialects of !Xun spoken in South Africa is currently unknown but numbers at least 2.

Speakers of !Xun in South Africa are multilingual, and can usually also speak and or understand Afrikaans, English and some Khwe. Older generations, especially the men who fought in the wars in Angola and Namibia, can often also speak Portuguese, Chokwe, Nyemba, Oshiwambo, Herero, Hailom, Mbukushu, Khoekhoegowab and Ju’hoansi due to language contact situations prior to moving to South Africa (Jones, 2017:131). !Xun speakers in South Africa can additionally speak Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana and some English, due to migration for seasonal farm work within South Africa during months of harvest in the farming industry (Jones, 2017: 144).

---

6 Additional spellings include IXû, IXû, IXû, IKung and IXun.
7 this has been spelled various ways in the literature, e.g. Žu|hõasi, , Zjúc’hõasi, ʒû-hoas, Ju’oasi, Ssu|gnassi, Dzu’oasi, etc.
8 also referred to in the literature as {Aul}jen, {Aul}jei, Auen, Makaukau and Makoko.
9 Notable exceptions include the dialects of (Namibian) !Xun spoken by 4 children who were transported to South Africa and whose speech was documented by Lucy Lloyd in the 1880s. This is archived in the Bleek & Lloyd collection (http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/kun.html). A careful linguistic analysis of these dialects is found in Lionnet (2014) and an ethnographic study is found in Biesele (2002).
History of !Xun speakers in South Africa

The text below is extracted from the doctoral thesis written by Jones 2017, for further detail please see the thesis proper. The history of !Xun and Khwe speakers in South Africa are inextricably linked. The languages themselves are totally different from each other and are not mutually intelligible, but from approximately 1961 the journey of these two language groups began to merge in a shared history and experience.

“Many of the !Xun in South Africa today, started their journey south from Serpa Pinto (now Menongue) which is approximately 500 km north of the border between Namibia and Angola (Robbins, 2006: 4). The northern !Xun live outside of the Kalahari sand system in a forested area in southeast Angola (Barnard, 1992) and refer to themselves as the “!O !Xũ” (Forest people) (Barnard, 1992: 45).” (Jones 2017:13)

“Today there are very few remaining !Xun in Angola due to increased hostilities that began during Portugal’s War in Angola, 1961-1974 (Mendelsohn & El Obeid, 2004: 133). These hostilities and severe acts of violence included massacres of entire families, the castration of young men, the drowning of young children in rivers and the use of women in hard labour and as concubines (Robbins, 2006: 8). According to Rev. Mario Mahongo, the previous leader of the !Xun in South Africa, interviewed by Robbins (2006: 9), over 230 San were shot in a bloodbath at Maringa (Angola) in the 1970s with an estimated 25% of all Angolan !Xun killed over this period of time.

In 1974, a South African soldier named Colonel Delville Linford was seconded to the Portuguese army in Angola (Robbins, 2006: 8). While serving in Serpa Pinto (now Menongue) as a liaison officer he bore witness to !Xun fighting with the Portuguese (Robins, 2006: 8). According to Linford the !Xun soldiers were known as “Flechas” (arrows) by the Portuguese soldiers (Robbins, 2006: 4). In July 1974 according to interviews conducted with Linford by Robbins, “[…] everybody involved or suspected of being involved with the Portuguese army against the freedom struggle became targets […] the hunters became the hunted. And in order to avoid being exterminated the San fled southward into South West Africa (now Namibia)” (Robbins, 2006: 8). On the 2nd November 1974, fully armed !Xun soldiers crossed the Angolan border into Namibia along with their families. The exact number of !Xun as well as Khwe living near the Angolan/Namibia border who crossed into Namibia for safety due to warfare, is unknown, but is estimated to be several thousand (Hitchcock, 2012: 84).

Colonel Linford arranged with General Loots, the chief of Special Forces of the South African Defence Force (SADF) to accommodate the “Flechas” in the Caprivi at Alpha base camp (Robbins, 2006: 9). From 1974 onwards, San were recruited into the SADF in order to receive training to prevent operatives of the South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO) from crossing the border in southern Angola, into South-West Africa (now Namibia) (Robbins, 2006: 9). The San recruited into the SADF in 1974 included both
Angolan !Xun as well as Namibian Khwe of the Caprivi, commencing their joint fate en route to Platfontein, South Africa (Robbins, 2006: 10).” (Jones 2017:14-15)

“Acculturation of the !Xun and the Khwe families under the employ of the SADF became evident in the clothing that they chose to wear, the change in their economy and social structure as well as their language repertoire. Soon after the arrival of the deployed !Xun soldiers from Angola, the Khwe from the Caprivi sought military training (Robbins, 2006: 10). By the 1990’s most of the social economy in the Caprivi was dictated by the presence of the SADF, “Virtually the entire Bushman population of the western Caprivi is supported by the military. If they (SADF) go, the entire socio-economic structure will collapse” (Gordon, 1992: 186).” (Jones 2017:16)

Years later, “at Mangetti, conflict arose between the different San groups and as a result the !Xun, Khwedam and Ju’hoansi were segregated into different camps. This segregation spread to Omega base and continued later to Schmidtsdrift and Platfontein in South Africa (Robbins, 2006: 13). It is noteworthy to mention that the northern !Xun speakers (originally from Angola) and the north-western !Xun speakers (originally from Namibia) were grouped together. Tensions continued to arise among the soldiers and there was a reported incident, where 14 Bushmen were executed by two South African army officers (Robbins, 2006: 14). Today differences among the !Xun of Platfontein are still evident and a matter of contention.” (Jones 2017:18)

“As the Namibian war came to an end the SADF gave the !Xun and the Khwe the following three options: To stay in Namibia (in the Caprivi or Bushmanland), to resettle in South Africa, or to return to Angola (Hitchcock, 2012: 86). Many of the !Xun and the Khwe did not want to return to Angola where fighting was still underway. They then had to consider whether they wanted to move to South Africa, where they could possibly be supported by the SADF and the South African state, or, whether they wanted to stay in Namibia where they would possibly face retribution, or whether they wanted to leave the military entirely and settle somewhere else, for example in Zambia or Botswana (Hitchcock, 2012: 86). Finally, on the 14th February 1990 a decision was made. Approximately 50% of the San from both battalions chose to move to South Africa, whereas the remaining 50% chose to stay in Namibia (Robbins, 2006: 18). The entire battalion at Omega was given the option by the SADF to stay in Namibia or move to South Africa, i.e. all the !Xun and Khwe soldiers and their families based at Omega (Robbins, 2006: 18). Whereas at Mangetti Dune, only the !Xun soldiers were given the option to move to South Africa (Robbins, 2006: 18). The Ju’hoan soldiers from Namibia’s Bushmanland were excluded from this option and had to stay in Namibia (Robbins, 2006: 18). Ultimately, Khwe, Angolan !Xun and Namibian !Xun chose to move from Namibia to South Africa in pursuit of a safer and better life with the assistance of the SADF.

The relocation of approximately 4000 !Xun and Khwe who opted to move to South Africa was called “Operation Mattras” where they were moved from northern Namibia to Schmidtsdrift in South Africa (Robbins, 2006: 19). Most of the !Xun who chose to stay in Namibia remained in Bushmanland, whereas the Khwe remained in the Caprivi
On the 21st March 1990, the !Xun and Khwe of “Operation Mattras” were flown from Omega (Namibia) and Mangetti Dune (Namibia) to Grootfontein (Namibia), and from Grootfontein to Kimberley (South Africa). They travelled the remaining 80 km by truck to Schmidtsdrift (South Africa) (Robbins, 2006: 19). (Jones 2017:19-20)

“Life for the San in Schmidtsdrift was shaped by a military culture that was hierarchical and male-dominated (Robins, Madzudzo, & Brenzinger, 2001: 13). As a result, the Schmidtsdrift women were dependent on their soldier men, who had made the decision to move to South Africa; yet these women equally bore the brunt of economic and psychological collapse (Robbins, 2006: 28). According to Linda Waldman, an anthropologist from Wits University in the mid 1990’s, the biggest problem that most women in Schmidtsdrift mentioned was domestic violence (Robbins, 2006: 28). Unemployment in Schmidtsdrift was rife and by 2000, only 122 men (Robbins, 2006: 28) were still employed by the army of the original 372 employed in 1990 (van Wyk, 2014: 133). Men started finding other work in the private security sector, yet another occupation that excluded women, which further added to the social demise of family units in Schmidtsdrift (Robbins, 2006: 28).” (Jones 2017:21)

“In 1999, after almost 10 years of living in tents in Schmidtsdrift, the !Xun and Khwe were awarded the title deeds to farms called Platfontein, Wildebeeskuiil and Droogfontein through the former president, Nelson Mandela (Robins, Madzudzo, & Brenzinger, 2001: 13). These farms were registered in the name of the Communal Property Association (CPA) and funds came from the South African Government in the amount of R7 500 000 for the purchase of the land (Robins, Madzudzo, & Brenzinger, 2001: 14). Thereafter, R14 214 600 was assigned to the !Xun and Khwe from the national housing subsidy scheme of which R15 000 was allocated per household (Robins, Madzudzo, & Brenzinger, 2001: 14).

Finally, in June 2004 the relocation of !Xun and Khwe from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein began, with the first 1000 people being moved across into their new homes that month (Robbins, 2006: 34). The building of the new houses in Platfontein was slow and often families were moving in before the cement was dry (Robbins, 2006: 34). Facilities in Platfontein were better than the ones provided in Schmidtsdrift; for example, a school built of bricks rather than corrugated iron, as well as a clinic, local shops and eventually the community radio station (Robbins, 2006: 34). Platfontein is also closer to Kimberley than Schmidtsdrift and therefore brought the !Xun and the Khwe closer to employment prospects and conveniences that the city might offer. The majority of the !Xun and Khwe who lived in Schmidtsdrift moved across to Platfontein over the coming years. Interestingly, there were isolated small groups who chose to stay in Schmidtsdrift.

Today the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein continue to struggle against stereotypes, economic hardship and difficulties with acculturation.” (Jones 2017:21-22)
Table 12 below provides a summary of the chronological milestones that the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein experienced from 1961 to date as discussed above.

**Table 12: Movement milestones relating to the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein, South Africa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Milestone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961-1974</td>
<td>Portugal’s War on Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1989</td>
<td>Namibian War of Independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Establishment of Bushman Battalion 31 in the Caprivi and the recruitment of !Xun and Khwe soldiers by the SADF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Bushman Battalion 36 established in Tsumkwe, Bushmanland by the SADF including !Xun, Khwe and Ju’hoan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Ceasefire declared 1 April, SWAPO wins November elections, San participate in elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Namibian independence was declared on 21 March 1990. Relocation of !Xun and Khwe soldiers and their families to Schmidtsdrift, South Africa. Formation of the 31 South African Infantry Battalion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Disbandment of the 31 South African Infantry Battalion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Title deeds to Platfontein, Wildebeeskuil and Droogfontein handed over to the CPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>!Xun and Khwe move to Platfontein</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Approximate number of !Xun speakers in South Africa**

Today there are approximately 18 000 speakers of !Xun or more in southern Africa, with **more than 6000 fluent speakers in South Africa**. Currently !Xun has the **largest speaker population of “Khoe and San” languages in South Africa** however the largest population of !Xun speakers can be found in Namibia where there are more than 9000 speakers, followed by Botswana with 2000 speakers and Angola with 1000 speakers (Brenzinger 2013: 10).
!Xunkhwesa is a combined school for !Xun and Khwe children in Platfontein from grade R to grade 12. The mother tongue is only used in grade R and half of grade 1 thereafter a full shift to Afrikaans as the medium of instruction up to grade 12, with English taught as an additional language.

Location of remaining !Xun speakers in South Africa

The majority of !Xun speakers in South Africa reside in Platfontein, a small town 15 min outside of Kimberley, Northern Cape. There are some speakers who remain in Schmidtsdrift and others who have relocated throughout the country in pursuit of seasonal work.

Map 6: Platfontein in relation to the closest town, Kimberley, North Cape, South Africa

Map Data: 2023 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd
Vitality Status of !Xun

For a description of intergenerational language transmission as listed by UNESCO as the first evaluative factor for language vitality as well as some basic theory on language vitality, language maintenance and language revitalisation, please see section “Vitality Status of Njuu” above.

Table 13: Potential scenarios of intergenerational language degradation, (Krauss, 1997:26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorisation system for intergenerational language transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The !Xun language scores “a, The language is spoken by all generations, including all, or nearly all of the children” for intergenerational language transmission.”

This score is strong evidence that the language has a healthy oral practice among the !Xun people in South Africa and therefore is a very good candidate for further development, most especially in new domains such as literacy and media. For an in-depth description of intergenerational language transmission of !Xun in Platfontein, please see the thesis written by Jones, 2017.

Language endangerment of !Xun according to the E[xtended] Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is a score of “6a - Vigorous - The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language - safe”

Overall the language vitality of !Xun is in a safe state, as the language is being passed on orally from generation to generation. However, !Xun is considered endangered due to the low numbers or speakers globally in total which puts it at risk of endangerment.

**Table 14: Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons, 2010)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EGIDS Level</th>
<th>EGIDS Label</th>
<th>EGIDS Description</th>
<th>UNESCO Descriptor</th>
<th>UNESCO Factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at a nationwide level.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Written</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>Vigorous</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shifting</td>
<td>The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Definitely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Moribund</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.</td>
<td>Severely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Nearly extinct</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.</td>
<td>Critically endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dormant</td>
<td>The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Orthography and literacy practices of !Xun

From 1997-2002 the South African San Institute (SASI) worked in collaboration with mother tongue speakers of !Xun (as well as other Khoe and San languages) to assist with language and cultural preservation. During this time submissions were made by SASI to PanSALB in 1996 and 1997 as well as the Penduka declaration in 2001 (SASI, 1996; WIMSA, 2001; WIMSA, 2004). In 2000 the !Xun and Khwe Communal Property Association (CPA) was established (SASI, 2001: 7). The creation of separate language committees was helpful and facilitated the monitoring of specific feedback and progress for each language. Nevertheless, there were logistical and financial problems that hindered regular meetings, which in turn affected speedy progress on language related matters. Unfortunately no practical support came from PanSALB from these submissions.

Most disturbing of all is the failure of the Pan South African Language Board to deal with these constitutional failures. The organisation, which is explicitly responsible for ensuring the protection and promotion of San and Khoe languages has to date not established a Khoe and San Language Body, held meetings with line function departments, or communicated effectively with communities (SASI, 1999:14).

As reported by Jones (2017: 25), “In 2000 the !Xun and Khwe Community Property Association (CPA) took on language related matters as part of their operations. They started off well and had their busiest year in 2002, thereafter their efforts dwindled and by 2008 the CPA no longer focussed on language maintenance or education issues. This responsibility was handed over to the respective !Xun and Khwe Language Committees who were to report back to the CPA. According to the current !Xun Language Committee and the Khwe Research and Development Organisation (KRaDO) they have not worked on any language projects for many years and do not have the support they need to do so.10

“The !Xun Language Committee still exists but it is not functional at the moment. We are not working on any projects because we don’t have any support or funding”

(!Xun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014).11

In 2001, the provincial Department of Education commissioned a report on the “Language in education needs of San (!Xun, Khwe and #Khomani) and Nama communities” (SASI, 2001: 16). From this report, agreement was made between the provincial government and

10 Khwe Research and Development Organisation (KRaDO) is a registered non-profit organisation (NPO) made up of Khwe speaking members from Platfontein. They registered themselves independently 16 December 2013. Some of the members are also members of the Khwe Language Committee.

11 A meeting was held with the !Xun Language Committee and Dr Jones to discuss language development issues from the time that they moved to Platfontein. This took place at the !Xun Early Childhood Development School, 11 April 2014, Platfontein.
SASI for the creation of a Provincial Language Committee. This committee was required to include a representative from the NKSLB (SASI, 2001: 16). **SASI in collaboration with the NKSLB and community activists from the !Xun and Khwe communities, conducted a preparatory workshop on language standardisation which was held in Platfontein** (SASI, 2001: 17). From the above mentioned meetings and workshops the NKSLB produced its visions, mission, aims, objectives, budget and work plans for 2000/2001. Their three priorities were: “the standardisation of !Xun and Khwe, introduction of Khoekhoegowab, !Xun and Khwe into provincial schools and the promotion of language attitude awareness in rural and urban areas” (SASI, 2001: 17).

According to Jones (2017:28), “The biggest achievement for the NKSLB came in May 2001 with the resolutions known as the “Penduka Declaration” that were presented in Katutura, Namibia by San activists from Namibia, Botswana and South Africa (SASI, 2001: 17). Included in the “Penduka Declaration” was a resolution on the standardisation of Khwedam and !Xun for educational and publication purposes (SASI, 2001: 17). **!Xun should adopt the Ju alphabet used for the Ju|’hoan language and orthography.** The resolution regarding the standardisation of !Xun was well received by both the !Xun Language Committee. “The Penduka Declaration is a good thing. It helped us get our dictionary, the one Ferdie made. We agree that !Xun should use that same orthography as Ju|’hoansi” (IXun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014). The dictionary referred to in this instance is the trilingual !Xun/Afrikaans/English dictionary written by Ferdie Weich (2004).

It was only in 2002 that the first government supported project for the !Xun (and Khwe) language began, called “The !Xun and Khwe oral history project” and operated in conjunction with XK-FM to record and air the oral history of !Xun and Khwe individuals in South Africa (SASI, 2002: 26). According to a !Xun Language Committee member, “It helped !Xun speakers because we recorded our songs and stories and put them on radio. We still record songs and stories today” (IXun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014).”

Jones (2017: 32-33) further states, “In 2005 sites for two early childhood development (ECD) centres were allocated in Platfontein: one for the !Xun and one for the Khwe (SASI, 2006: 84). The focus of the ECD centres is “the promotion of mother tongue education and the integration of culture into the curriculum” (SASI, 2006: 84). Initially six ECD teacher trainees were sponsored two years of training through the Custoda Trust, in order for teachers to be properly qualified and for the ECD centres to receive subsidies from the Department of Social Development (SASI, 2006: 84). By 2008 eleven trainees had completed their ECD training of which three were selected to continue on to the next level (SASI, 2008: 14). This began the process of early childhood education in the mother tongue in !Xun and Khwe in South Africa. Today the ECD program is seen as a good

---

12 “Ferdie” refers to a South African missionary of the Dutch reformed church, Rev. Ferdie Weich who worked on !Xun dialects for educational and religious purposes.
innitiative within the Platfontein community with need for improvement, expansion and further support.

*The ECD program is very good. It helped the children to learn so that they can go further in their life. It prepares them to go to !Xunkhwsa (Government primary school and high school). Over the years, the ECD has got new classrooms, a playground, classroom revamp, with many more children attending. The ECD capacity is 60 and they are not allowed to take more than that but there are more than 100 children that should be attending. The parents do not bring their children to school. The food provided for the children is bad. To develop in the future the ECD needs more classrooms, a bigger play area, toilets for the teachers, better pay for the teachers, more teachers, more cooks, better food for the children at lunch time, an office, a principal, a photocopier, a computer, a fax machine, a telephone (!Xun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014).*

The Bible Society of South Africa and Namibia have been working with !Xun speakers in Namibia and South Africa since the 1970s to date. During this time they have produced many Bible stories, other sort related texts and translated books from the Bible. This has been done collaboratively with mother tongue speakers and provided employment for local language activists, teachers and language enthusiasts. *It would be very important, going forward, to collaborate with these community members on !Xun literacy efforts as they already have an established orthography and writing culture that they use among themselves that should be aligned with educational materials and other literacy outputs (further discussion on this provided in the recommendations section).*

**There are two published !Xun dictionaries:**

The first dictionary is known to !Xun speakers in Platfontein. Those who do work with it say it is a good start but that it includes some errors and inconsistencies. Additionally, the Weich dictionary does not include dialectal differences between the different !Xun dialects (there are at least two dialects spoken in Platfontein). Lastly, very few people in Platfontein have access to a hardcopy despite the dictionary being published in South Africa. This dictionary is trilingual !Xun, Afrikaans and English.

Although the dictionary contains many modern terms, e.g. *paipi nǂum kkao* ‘plumber’, *gulu nǂo* ‘bacon’ (lit. ‘pig skin’) and *zango* ‘court of justice’, it does not include many plant terms or other expected items such as: ‘polecat’, ‘abba kaross’.

There are many spelling inconsistencies in the dictionary. For instance, one word for ‘butterfly’ *tha thava* is spelt with a space, as if it were a compound. Another word for ‘butterfly’, *tavalele* is written as though the initial consonant is unaspirated, when it almost certainly has contrastive aspiration, as has been documented by Jan Snyman (1997) for Angolan !Xun. The two words share the same root, *thava*, which should be spelled the same in both words. The amount of spelling inconsistencies in the dictionary led researchers Bonny Sands and Amanda Miller to conclude that it was an inadequate tool to use in their research on Mangetti Dune !Xun; they concluded it would be faster to spell words from scratch based on their own extensive experience with Juǀʼhoansi and Nǀu०.

A major shortcoming of the dictionary is that it does not document dialect differences found in South African !Xun. Even when different dialect words have been included in the dictionary (e.g. *tha thava* ‘butterfly’, *tavalele* ‘butterfly’, these are presented as synonyms and the dialect difference has not been noted). The term *thabakaka* ‘butterfly’ is also used but is not included in the dictionary. Interestingly, Jan Snyman (1997) documented words similar to these in different parts of southern Africa: *thabalele* (in Angola), *thathaba* (in Tsintsabis, Namibia), and *thabakaka* (in Okongo, Namibia).
The second dictionary is not familiar to South African !Xun speakers as they do not have access to it. The dictionary features one specific dialect of Northern Namibian !Xun (Northwestern - and has a more central Ju vocabulary) which is quite different from the !Xun historically spoken in Angola and therefore unlikely to be suitable for a majority of South African !Xun speakers. This dictionary contains approximately 1000 entries.

It is available online from Germany: [https://www.koeppe.de/titel_a-concise-dictionary-of-northwestern-xun](https://www.koeppe.de/titel_a-concise-dictionary-of-northwestern-xun)

There is one published grammar in !Xun:
It is available online from Germany:  https://www.koepp.de/titel_the-xun-language

It is likely that some of the varieties of !Xun documented in this grammar are also spoken in South Africa. The grammar is extremely useful for linguists interested in documenting South African !Xun. The grammar may also be useful for community members interested in understanding differences in sentence structures that occur across different !Xun varieties, but the technical language in the work makes it somewhat less useful as a resource for !Xun speakers without a background in linguistics.
There is one published orthography for !Xun:


The orthography presented in this work appears to have been produced by Portuguese-speaking Angolans. Most younger !Xun speakers in South Africa are not fluent in Portuguese and many older speakers who can understand Portuguese may not be literate in that language, limiting the usefulness of this publication in the South African context.

The spelling system differs in some respects from the spelling system used in Weich’s dictionary, which is the only spelling system South African !Xun speakers are currently familiar with. The nasal sound transcribed by the IPA symbol [ŋ], for instance, is spelled with the engma character (ŋ̂) in this orthography, which follows the system used in König
& Heine’s 2008 dictionary. It is spelled ng in Weich’s dictionary, which is how the sound is spelled in languages such as Ju|’hoansi and N|uu.

Another difference relates to the spelling of a particular click, a fricated palatal click, with a double-exclamation point !!. This follows the system used in König & Heine’s dictionary but it is not known if this pronunciation occurs in South African !Xun. In the Ekoka/Okongo !Xun of Northwestern Namibia documented by König and Heine, the # sound does not occur and is always replaced by !!, the fricated palatal click. An example of this is the word ’ǹǃǃǂ’python’ in the König & Heine (2008) dictionary, spelled n‼in ‘jibóia’13 in Ndala et al. (2014), and spelled nǂang ‘python’ in Weich’s dictionary. The form ’ǹǃǃǂ’ has diacritics marking tone, but the initial apostrophe is also significant as this indicates that the nasalised click is pre-glottalized; a difference in the presence or absence of pre-glottalization changes the meanings of words. König and Heine’s work is the most carefully transcribed of the three; Weich’s dictionary has failed to note pre-glottalization and the Ndala booklet has failed to consistently write the final [ŋ] sound, which they have here spelled n rather than ŋ. We think that !Xun speakers in South Africa need to decide amongst themselves whether to have an orthography that unifies all the dialects that they speak, or whether the different dialects might have different spelling conventions based on different pronunciations. The # spelling is preferred for a system that unifies all !Xun orthographies. For educational purposes, it would also be preferable to use the # spelling rather than !!, since # is more visually distinct from ! and quicker to type or write.

To date (February 2023), a standardised version of !Xun in South Africa has not been verified by PanSALB or the South African !Xun community.

Without a standardised orthography, making sure that there is consistency between publications and teaching efforts is challenging for both students and learners.

Despite these challenges, efforts continue to be made to teach the language in Platfontein at the ECD centre and in grade R at the !Xunkhwesa school as well as translation efforts of the Bible by the Bible Society of South Africa. Modern facilities and regular financial support for the teaching of !Xun is lacking and therefore makes teaching the language challenging in an impoverished learning environment.

---

13 The Portuguese word ‘jibóia’ means ‘boa constrictor’ but this type of snake does not exist in Angola and must instead refer to the python.
Educational publications in !Xun\textsuperscript{14}

In 2004 a series of trilingual !Xun/Afrikaans/English readers was written by Ferdie Weich in collaboration with !Xun speakers from Platfontein. These are illustrated early childhood readers, culturally sensitive and were well received by Platfontein residents.

[reader 1, title unknown]


\textsuperscript{14} This literature survey does not include references on Ju|hoan, ǂX’au|en or on distinct varieties of !Xun that are not thought to be spoken in South Africa (Okongo/Ekoka !Xun, Grootfontein !Xun, Mupa !Xun, Botswana !Xun, etc.)
In 2005 the Molteno Project published the Breakthrough series in !Xun which included readers as well as teacher manuals and word and sentence builders. These were delivered to the SASI office in Platfontein and to the !Xun Language Committee.

Ya de ké gu ya ta ké xami. Ya ta ré ké xami n'tava Bāl. Ya /kä ké n/a'ng n'tava ke Bāl.

tju’ho tju mde mbo mi tang j/a dava g’aq
txung’aq txung’aq txunde tci g’oaqma tci dema tahli
deve skola longisakao t’anu kerka plosi dorpa
stolo gu g/u poto ’m mali suiti tee bisi
#ole cumbi khukhu de /oeh pahnga phembe
thi d’ala /ah tzema tci dje tci #hi tu okxoi ke
kulu u tcole sila n’on n/uhn tanetsi
g’e hokoe tca’z ta tjing shi g’uun
txung’aq txung’aq txunde tci g’oaqma tci dema tahli
deve skola longisakao t’anu kerka plosi dorpa
stolo gu g/u poto ’m mali suiti tee bisi
In 2009, Weich in collaboration with the Bible Society of South Africa, produced Bible readers in !Xun and delivered these to Platfontein. The original text was written in English and was then translated into !Xun in collaboration with Platfontein community members and the !Xun Language Committee.


Unfortunately, the creation of such educational and literary texts appear to be premature as members of the community are not literate in their mother tongue and therefore cannot read the texts. There are also no qualified language teachers who can teach mother tongue literacy in the local schools in !Xun (as of 2014, further on site assessment would need to be conducted to establish if this is still the case).

Today the Break Through readers are at the !Xunkhwesa school and with SASI but they are not used. The Bible stories were distributed within the community. Neither of these resources are used today. There are no trained mother tongue teachers to use the Break Through readers with the students at school. The Bible stories were kept but not used because nobody knows how to read them. Even the Dominee\textsuperscript{15} doesn’t know how to read !Xun (!Xun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014).

\textsuperscript{15} “Dominee” is an Afrikaans word meaning “Minister”. In this instance the speaker is referring to Dominee (Minister) Kapilolo Mario Mahongo, the traditional and religious leader of the !Xun in Platfontein.
These publications appear to be out of print and are not held by any libraries in the Worldcat system (which allows for international lending).

In 2012 SASI produced a bilingual illustrated storybook in !Xun and Afrikaans (the same text was produced in N|uu and Khwe too).


This publication was funded by the South African Aids foundation, an NGO as well as Airports Company of South Africa (ACSA). The project was overseen by the South African San Institute (SASI) who coordinated the process and the local and international collaborators. This included the !Xun Language Committee as well as the Khoe, San and Nama National Language Board. The !Xun translations themselves were done by Katiewe Tamie and Geologie Mayeni. Overall, this is a culturally sensitive publication that facilitated interest in literacy in !Xun.
In 2014, Hantie Guys transcribed !Xun songs sung in the local church in Platfontein with assistance from Kerry Jones. His wife Cecillia and daughter Ita, were in the church choir and were going to a choir competition. He wanted to help the local !Xun choir by providing a song book to stimulate interest in the written form of !Xun. He also included the South African National Anthem which he translated into !Xun. Guys called his song book “!Xuhn Getzi” (!Xun Songs) following the orthography of Weich who taught him to read and write in !Xun from the time that they both lived in Namibia in the 1970s. Guys is not part of any of the formal language committees or structures related to government but he does work on translating the Bible for the Bible Society of South Africa. He is very passionate about his language and encourages his family to use it in their daily life. His daughter is a !Xun presenter at the local XF-FM radio station. The manuscript was self published.
Guys and Jones continue to work collaboratively on !Xun transcriptions and translations. In 2014 and 2015 African Tongue ran the Language Tent at the Kalahari Desert Festival funded by National Lotteries Commission. In 2014 the theme was animals where children could come and learn about the different names for animals in N|uu, !Xun and Khwe and making match masks and nametags to remember their lessons. In 2015 the children focussed on language and identity and made Kalahari Passports where they had fun with instamatic cameras and writing basic sentences in N|uu, !Xun and Khwe about who the children are and where they come from.
2015, Kalahari Desert Festival, Language Tent, hosted by African Tongue - trilingual learning space
In 2017 Guys and Jones received funding from Germany via African Tongue to produce a series of 6 basic classroom posters along with accompanying worksheets for the grade R and grade 1 !Xun speaking children. These were made in collaboration with !Xun community members and children. The methodology is discussed in the following presentation.


Examples of the poster series are provided below:

!Xun teacher and language activist Lofina with her grade R students excited to work with their new classroom posters
Grade R !Xun children in Platfontein excited to work with the materials that they helped create
Mother Tongue productions in !Xun

A long standing community production effort in !Xun in Platfontein is XK-FM radio station (107.9FM) which produces content both in !Xun and Khwe for local listeners. The station was launched 18 Augusts 2000 by the late Minister of communication, Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburi in Schmidtsdrift. The station later moved to Kimberly and then Platfontein in 2005. This is a community radio station that has a broadcasting licence from the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). All employees (total 17) at XK-FM come from Platfontein and air 15 hours of content per day. Staff include: presenters, station manager, music compilers, producers and an archivist. One can listen to the station live online at the following link: http://web.sabc.co.za/digital/player/1.0/xkfm/index.html#listenLiveTab

It is important to note that the station archivist keeps a record of !Xun and Khwe material that is aired and has been doing so since the launch of the station. Therefore there are thousands of hours of recorded content in the form of songs, interviews, soap operas, children’s shows, news, health information and traditional storytelling. Such records should be archived at a national level for heritage and educational purposes.
In 2004 a music CD was launched that featured traditional !Xun music and !Xun storytelling entitled "Kulimatji Nge: We tell our old stories with music" (SASI, 2004: 55).


"A remarkable record of San music, ancient and modern, as performed by the !Xung community at Schmidtsdrift in the northern Cape, a group of people who have found their way from southern Angola via northern Namibia to South Africa within the last few decades"

Project director Mr. Kapilolo Mario Mahongo (previous traditional leader in Platfontein, since deceased)

Project coordinator: Julia Raynham
Archives and Digital Collections that include !Xun

1879-1925

!Xun material in the Digital Bleek & Lloyd Collection. Rare Documents and Manuscripts Department, University of Cape Town.

http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/index.html

Description: The Digital Bleek and Lloyd is a digital publication based on the historical Bleek and Lloyd Archive housed at the University of Cape Town Libraries, Special Collections as well as works from the Maingard collection of the Library at the University of South Africa (UNISA). Various items including notes by Dorothea Bleek, Jemima Bleek and Lucy Lloyd contain material on various !Xun varieties:

Lucy Lloyd notebooks 108 - 124

Dorothea Bleek notebooks 8-10, 12-13, and 21-23

Jemima Bleek's 1879 interviews with !Nanni and Tamme. (vols. XI and XII). (Bleek Collection: BC151 A2.2.1).

!Nanni, Da, Tamme, and JiUma

!Xun contributors to the Bleek and Lloyd collection (1879 -1890)
Description: Ernst Westphal was a professor of African Languages at the University of Cape Town from 1962 - 1984. Much of his research interests included recording and documenting Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages. These included recordings of !Xun and field notes produced in approximately 1961-1965. !Xun speakers were recorded in various locations in Angola, including Mupa, Mavinga, Chipunta and Longa. At least some recordings appear to have been done in collaboration with António de Almeida, a well-known Angolan anthropologist. These are very important recordings as they are among the few earlier audio recordings of Angolan !Xun in existence. Not yet available at the archive are Westphal’s note cards16 with !Xun language entries which approximate a draft dictionary. There are more than a dozen recordings that refer to !Xun in one of the following spellings: !Xuun, !xũ, !Kung, and !x. However, at least some of the recordings labelled !Xun are actually of Ju'hoan, (or a variety of !Xun very closely related to Ju’hoan, recorded in Dobe, Botswana). Westphal was able to carefully transcribe !Xun because of his experience of working on Ju’hoansi and other languages with similar sound systems dating back to 1953. He began working on Angolan !Xun in 1956, working with tape recordings made by António de Almeida (Westphal 1974: 4).

Description: includes some Northern Namibian !Xun recordings, some of which have been transcribed and published (e.g. Köhler 2018) and in passim in the book series "The World of the Khwe Bushmen in Southern Africa (Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute im südlichen Afrika)". Recordings of !Xun were originally made between 1968 and 1974 (Köhler 2021: 17).

Description: The collection contains audio and video recordings and transcriptions of four traditional stories collected in Mangetti Dune, Namibia. The stories are particularly useful because each line of the story was recorded in slower, more careful speech, and translated into Afrikaans and English. The collection includes line by line written transcriptions in an ELAN transcription file (.eaf).

Description: includes transcriptions of 57 animal words in !Xun taken from König & Heine (2008)'s "A Concise Dictionary of Northwestern !Xun". Database includes pictures of animals.
Resources that are not yet archived therefore not publicly accessible

- **1950s-1970s**


  Description: The archive was originally housed at the Centro de Antropobiologia, Instituto de Investigacțao Cientifica Tropical, Lisbon but this institute has closed. The audio and video recordings of various Angolan languages including !Xun are not yet in the online catalogue and thus are not easily accessible.

- **1970s-1980s**


  Description: Audio recordings made by Jan Snyman have not been located in any archive. Recordings in the UCLA Phonetics Archive labelled ǃXũ ([http://archive.phonetics.ucla.edu/Language/KTZ/ktz.html](http://archive.phonetics.ucla.edu/Language/KTZ/ktz.html)) are actually of Ju|'hoansi.

- **1997-2012**


  Description: Co-author Bonny Sands does not have access to this dictionary which does not seem to have been archived anywhere. and a 2013 Excel Spreadsheet produced by Amanda Miller with a Mangetti Dune !Xung word list of 974 items based on fieldwork in 1997, 2005, 2008, 2010 and 2012.


  Description: Dozens of hours of audio recordings of elicited lexical items collected in 1997, 2005, 2008, 2010 and 2012. The collection includes unpublished field notes, audio and video recordings. Data collected include ultrasound videos and palatography photos. Recordings from these field trips have not been archived.
1998-2006


Description: Dozens of hours of audio recordings of lexical items, sentences and phrases which have provided the basis for their (2008) dictionary and (2015) comparative !Xun grammar.

2012-2020


Description: Valuable recordings of diagnostic lexical items recorded by speakers in different locations within Angola, and of Angolans residing in Namibia. Speakers of !Xun in Mupa, Angola, have a tendency to drop certain clicks from words; a phonological process not documented in other !Xun varieties.

2014 - 2017


Description: These are Language Life Stories told in the mother tongue about how each speaker came to speak and or understand the languages in their language repertoire. These are collected from Platfontein !Xun residents. Some speakers originally came from Angola and others Namibia and therefore spoke different !Xun dialects.
Selected academic publications about !Xun (ethnographic and linguistic)

Scholarly works on !Xun are many because they focus on different aspects of the language that are of interest to other scholars. Broadly speaking, these works tend to fall into one of the following categories:

1) The most basic type of linguistic study involves the documentation of words in a word list. There is currently only a single study of the South African !Xun lexicon, which is the Weich (2004) dictionary already described above. This dictionary has many spelling errors and does not represent all of the dialects spoken in South Africa. There are a few works documenting a limited number of words in the lexicons of !Xun varieties from Angola, the Northern Namibia/Angola border, and Mangetti Dune. Small amounts of Angolan !Xun vocabulary appear in works such as: Bleek (1929, 1956), Westphal (1962, 1963) and Fehn (2020). It is not known how close the languages represented in these works are to those spoken in South Africa.

Note that many works that are labelled as being on !Xun are actually using that name to refer to Ju|’hoansi (e.g. Snyman 1980). Other works on !Xun refer to Northern Namibian varieties, either of the Ekoka/Okongo type (e.g. Heikkinen 1986, König & Heine 2001 & 2008) or of a Caprivian type (e.g. Köhler 1973-74, 1986) that is closer to Ju|’hoansi. Since some South African !Xun speakers lived in the Caprivi and other parts of Namibia before arriving in South Africa, we cannot say which dialects may be represented in South Africa.

2) Studies of phonetics and phonology focus on the mechanical aspects of how clicks and other sounds are pronounced. While one work might focus on the motion of the tongue, another might focus on the acoustic characteristics of the noises made. Because !Xun has such a large set of consonants and vowels, many of which only occur in one or two other languages in the world, the descriptions of the sounds are of great theoretical and practical interest to linguists. There are currently no studies of South African !Xun phonetics or phonology. There are, however, several studies of Mangetti Dune !Xun, a dialect spoken in Namibia, of a population that includes elders who once lived in Angola. Although these studies only describe one dialect, this dialect is very likely to be similar to one of the dialects spoken in Platfontein. Studies include: Hudu et al. (2009), Krebs (2014), and Miller (2013, 2016, 2019) and Miller et al. (2009).

3) Other studies focus on the mechanisms by which !Xun words and sentences are formed. The rules of !Xun grammar are unique to !Xun and provide a window into the cognitive mechanism that allows for human languages to have similar structures, while at the same time allowing for differences among different languages. The linker construction (cf. Collins, 2017, 2019) is especially rare cross-linguistically and is therefore of great interest to syntacticians. There are currently no studies of South African !Xun
**morphology or syntax.** Heine and König (2015) is a very important study of the morphology and syntax of a number of different !Xun varieties, with a great deal of data from Northern Namibian !Xun which is likely to be more similar to South African !Xun than Ju’hoansi is. There is relatively little information about Angolan !Xun in this study, however, and no data in this study from speakers living in South Africa. The lack of data on Angolan !Xun and South African !Xun is quite severe; there are a few sentences in E.O.J. Westphal’s archived fieldnotes, and one publication of his contains 10 sentences of !Xun from Maligo, Angola (Westphal 1968).

4) Other studies take an interest in how the different structures of !Xun (sounds, words, grammar) change over space and time. It is impossible for any single study to describe every aspect of linguistic structure, much less how such structures change over time. There are currently no studies of South African !Xun historical/comparative linguistics. There are, however, a few studies that include Angolan !Xun as well as varieties of !Xun spoken near the Namibia/Angolan border that may inform studies of South African !Xun. Heine and König (2015) is an important study of the comparative morphology and syntax of a number of different !Xun varieties. However, there is relatively little information about Angolan !Xun, and no data from speakers living in South Africa in this study.


There are a few works analysing the speech of three young !Xun children who temporarily resided in South Africa more than a century ago, as originally documented by Lucy Lloyd (Bleek & Lloyd 1911, 1938; Lloyd 1911). These boys spoke 2 different !Xun dialects and the only documentation of their dialects comes from this unique South African record (Bleek & Lloyd Archive). Numerous works have examined this dialect and the experience of these children, e.g. Deacon (1996, 2002), Dickens (1996) Lionnet (2014), and Winberg (2011, 2014).

5) There are no literary studies of South African !Xun texts. There are two analyses of stories of Angolan !Xun (Almeida 1957, 1960). Schmidt (2011) includes stories collected by missionary Terttu Heikkinen in Ekoka !Xun (Northern Namibia).

There are several South African !Xun stories and interviews which have been translated into English and Afrikaans. Examples include: Ndala (2005), Rabbethge-Schiller (2006), Samcuia (2005), Winberg (2001a, 2012) and Mahongo & Carimbwe (2014). These works are important in helping a wider South African audience appreciate !Xun folklore and wisdom, but they are not documentation of the language itself, as !Xun linguistic structures have been replaced by Afrikaans and English ones.
6) Studies that have a focus on developing a language, fall under the rubric of "Applied Linguistics". Pedagogical works mentioned earlier in this report would count as such academic products. A few works that we list in this category include ones that provide information about the number and location of the !Xun. Works that describe the presence of !Xun in Angola include Jordan & Manuel (2018), Brenzinger (2001, 2010, 2013) and Pakleppa & Kwononoka. (2003). Older works describing the !Xun in Angola are largely in Portuguese (e.g. Magalhães 1922) or in French (e.g. Thiébaud 1934). There is one academic study proposing an orthography for !Xun (Ndala et al. 2014) which was produced by !Xun in Angola. We do not know if speakers of !Xun in South Africa were consulted but we suspect that they were not.

In a South African context, publications that focus on language and education (Siegruhn, 2002; Pamo, 2011; Grant, 2019; Siegruhn & Grant, 2021), contemporary scenario updates (Jones, 2019), as well as language attitudes (Jones, 2017) assist with providing a social and political context of !Xun in the Northern Cape. Such descriptions and analyses are important for laying the contextual background of the new environment for !Xun speakers in order to assist with further linguistic study of the language.

7) The majority of academic works about the !Xun in South Africa contain little to no linguistic information but describe various aspects of life in Schmidtsdrift and Platfontein (e.g. Bahta 2014, Beyene 2014, Dockney 2011, Steyn 1994), identity (Bodunrin 2018, Maruyama 2018), and experiences with the South African Defense Force (e.g. Cann 2013), and experiences as refugees (Brinkman 1999, 2009; den Hertog 2013).

---

17This is not a complete list of anthropological works. There are additional shorter works in Portuguese not listed here that are of cultural interest, such as Almeida (1961) on methods of fire-making (Almeida, Maria Emilia de Castro e. (1961). O fabrico do Fogo entre os Bosquimanos de Angola. Garcia de Orta, 9(4): 657-666.)


Mahongo, Kapilolo Mario & Katunga Carimbwe. (2014). Dima the Magician: Story Told by the !Xun San People. Illustrations by /Thaalu Bernardo Rumao. Kimberley, South Africa: !Xun and Khwe San Art and Culture Centre. [!Xun story told in English] [Surname Mahongo misspelt as Mahango on the cover]


Schmidt, Sigrid. (2013). South African |Xam Bushman Traditions and their Relationships to Further Khoisan Folklore. (Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung, 31). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe. [x, 251pp] [Note: includes some !Xun stories]


8) Inaccessible resources (cited in other works)


Almeida, António de. (19–). !Xun recordings held in Lisbon, Portugal.


Colebrooke, W. M. G. (1829). Report upon the state of the Hottentots and Bushmen. Cape Town: Grieg. [60pp]

Diniz, José Oliviera Ferreira. (192-). Une étude de l’ethnographie d’Angola. [Pp 754]
Note: Cited by Diniz (1918).


Köhler, Oswin R. A. (1972). Wörterbuch des !Khung: Dialekt von Dikundu. Manuskript. [This and other field notes on !Xun are likely housed at the Oswin Köhler archive, Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main. https://www.uni-frankfurt.de/62950201/Oswin_K%C3%B6hler_Archive__OKA]


UNESCO support of !Xun

UNESCO has sponsored the South African website, http://www.san.org.za/ featuring important cultural heritage information online including information about !Xun. The site was managed by SASI and is still active online.

!Xun should be added to UNESCOs Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger. The latest version is due 2023. To date there is poor representation of endangered African Languages in this publication.
Linguists who have worked on !Xun since the 1990’s

The only linguist who has conducted extensive research on South African !Xun is Kerry Jones.

There is currently little capacity within South Africa for scholars with sufficient background to conduct high-quality studies of South African !Xun. Will Bennett of Rhodes University arranged for Mira Grubic and Bonny Sands to conduct a 2-week field work course on South African !Xun at the African Linguistics School in Grahamstown in 2019, with Kerry Jones acting as an interpreter and advisor. Sands’s class focused on phonetics while Grubic’s class focused on semantics. Students in both classes who have continued to stay in the field of Linguistics include Admire Phiri, Camilla Christie, and Daniel Auer. We would not normally list linguists with such limited field work experience for consideration; however, given the enormous need for documentation of !Xun, we will list these and others scholars here who have demonstrated the potential to work on South African !Xun.

---

18 Mira Grubic normally works on Chadic languages of Nigeria and is unlikely to be interested in doing long-term fieldwork in South Africa.
19 Not listed here are excellent scholars such as Kemmonye Monaka, Andy Chebanne and Hirosi Nakagawa who will presumably be preoccupied with work on various Kx’a, Tuu and Khoe languages of Botswana for which development goals have been established.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contribution/specialty</th>
<th>Year work began on !Xun</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Availability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Amanda Miller</td>
<td>Fluent 2nd language speaker of Ju</td>
<td>’hoansi; extensive field work on N</td>
<td>uu, ǂHoan, Mangetti Dune !Xun, Ekoka !Xun and Grootfontein !Xun. Specialties: phonetics, phonology, tone, lexicon, grammar</td>
<td>Early 1990s to late 2000s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bernd Heine</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ekoka/Okongo !Xun and some Angolan !Xun; Khwe. Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Mid 1990s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bonny Sands</td>
<td>Field work on !Xun varieties: Mangetti Dune !Xun, Ekoka !Xun, Grootfontein !Xun (as well as on N</td>
<td>uu and other languages). Specialties: phonetics, lexicon, phonology, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Late 1990s to present</td>
<td>Flagstaff, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Christa König</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ekoka/Okongo !Xun. Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Specialties</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Currently Living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chris Collins</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ju'hoansi, N</td>
<td>uu, and other languages with similarly complex sound systems (ǂHoan, Sasí, Kua, Tsua).</td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, phonetics and phonology</td>
<td>Early 2000s to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gertrud Boden</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khwe and Western !Xóó and 'Njohan (a Taa language of Namibia), languages with similarly-challenging sound systems. Experience working with !Xun material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive.</td>
<td>Specialties: Anthropologically-oriented work (kinship terms, language and the landscape, story-telling, etc.)</td>
<td>Early 2000s to</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Akira Takada</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ekoka !Xun and</td>
<td>Gui.</td>
<td>Specialties: Anthropologically-oriented work (kinship terms, language socialization, etc.)</td>
<td>Early 2000s to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tom Güldemann</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the morphology and syntax of N</td>
<td>uu, as well as Kx'a, Tuu and Khoe-Kwadi languages in general</td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Early 2000s to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>late 2000s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Specialties</td>
<td>Timeframe</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sheena Shah</td>
<td>Field experience with the phonetics and lexicon of N</td>
<td>uu and Mangetti Dune !Xun</td>
<td>Specialties: Applied Linguistics</td>
<td>Late 2000s to 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Alena Witzlack-Makarevich</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the morphology and syntax of N</td>
<td>uu and Khoekhoe.</td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology</td>
<td>Mid-2000s to present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Anne-Maria Fehn</td>
<td>Field work on !Xun in Angola in Mupa and in assorted other locations.</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ts'ixa and other languages with similarly-challenging sound systems. Experience working with !Xun material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive. Specialties: morphology, lexicon, syntax, phonology, tone, historical linguistics</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lee Pratchett</td>
<td>Extensive field work on ‡Ao</td>
<td>lein (similar to Ju'</td>
<td>hoan) and some languages of Botswana</td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Field Work Experience</td>
<td>Specialties</td>
<td>Time Period</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Christian Rapold</td>
<td>Field work experience onǂAakhoe Haiǂom</td>
<td>phonetics, phonology, grammar, historical linguistics, tone</td>
<td>Early 2010s to present</td>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Christfried Naumann</td>
<td>Field work experience on Taa</td>
<td>phonetics, phonology, grammar, tone</td>
<td>Early 2010s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Radek Nedvěd</td>
<td>Extensive field work experience on Grootfontein !Xun</td>
<td>anthropology, sociolinguistics, dialect contact</td>
<td>2007-2011</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kerry Jones</td>
<td>Extensive field work on !Xun in Platfontein, South Africa; extensive experience with Ju</td>
<td>'hoansi and N</td>
<td>uu, languages with similarly-challenging sound systems</td>
<td>2014 to present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Will Bennett</td>
<td>African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun</td>
<td>phonology, tone</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position and Experience</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Admire Phiri</td>
<td>African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Camilla Christie</td>
<td>African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Daniel Auer</td>
<td>African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Alex de Voogt</td>
<td>Field work experience on Botswana !Xun (which is more similar to Ju</td>
<td>'hoansi than to Angolan or South African !Xun); experience with Hadza and Sandawe in the early 1990s</td>
<td>2020s</td>
<td>New Jersey, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: morphology, phonetics, grammar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Community stakeholders and activists for !Xun

Among the !Xun speaking residents of Platfontein there are two community based groups that focus on the use of the !Xun language, especially in the written form:

1) !Xun Language Committee

2) !Xun Language Group for the South African Bible Society

According to the current list of members of the Khoe and San National Language Body as coordinated by PanSALB and provided to African Tongue by Mr Moremi, there are no !Xun representatives on the KSNLB.

Recommendations for the future

Intergenerational language transmission is imperative for language maintenance and language survival. As mentioned above, in relation to intergenerational language transmission, !Xun scores “a, The language is spoken by all generations, including all, or nearly all of the children” and for language vitality, “6a - Vigorous - The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language-safe”. Therefore, it is clear that in its current state !Xun is naturally being passed from one generation to the next in oral form. Based on the above analysis of the current vitality status of !Xun a multimodal approach is recommended to “(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of !Xun”.

---

20 The South African Constitution 1996 (Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) a) ii)
!Xun is being successfully passed on orally from one generation to the next. In the future this will not be enough for its survival in terms of language use as the lifeways of !Xun speakers change over time to a sedentary way of life. From a language domain analysis of language use conducted by Jones (2017), it is clear that there are very positive attitudes towards !Xun by the Platfontein !Xun descendants and that they require assistance with literacy efforts. This includes accommodating the language into new domains to ensure its survival e.g. media, literacy, education etc. Simultaneously, as a heritage language, it is important that !Xun also be formally documented and preserved for future language maintenance efforts.

**Documentation**

!Xun is spoken in Angola, Namibia, South Africa, and Botswana. Efforts to document the language and its different dialects have taken place by many linguists mostly from Europe and the USA as well as South Africa. The South African context poses a complex context because the !Xun speakers that reside in South Africa, come from various regions in southern Africa and therefore do not necessarily all speak the same dialect. In terms of language documentation it will be very important to collaborate with South African !Xun speakers in order to establish what their priorities are in relation to literacy practices in order to develop an orthography that is practically applicable and suitable for their needs. From a scientific standpoint, it will be helpful to undergo this orthography development process in collaboration with suitably qualified linguists too to ensure that there is consistency throughout. Such an undertaking will take several years of collaborative fieldwork and data collection on site in collaboration with local !Xun speakers and teachers.

With several thousand speakers of !Xun in South Africa and an active speaking population, the language holds strong possibilities for long term sustainable growth and development in the future for both educational, media, religious and technological domains. It is also important to note that there are efforts to develop educational materials in Namibia and Botswana and these have the potential to also be used in South Africa.
Table 16: Suggestions for future language documentation work of !Xun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Potential output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development of standardised !Xun orthography for educational purposes</td>
<td>Multilingual South African !Xun dictionary. This can be in hard copy format, online and a mobile app version. It is strongly recommended to collaborate with SADiLaR for the tech development and archiving of the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of traditional stories as told by !Xun elders</td>
<td>Such stories can be converted into language educational materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of traditional !Xun songs</td>
<td>Song book with accompanying audio. This could be done in collaboration with the local radio station.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of !Xun gospel songs</td>
<td>Hantie Guys already has the first draft, this could be expanded upon and formally published and made available to the local community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preservation**

Once language documentation takes place, it is important that this work is preserved for future access and development. This is where the role of physical and digital archives become crucial in preserving linguistic records. In the past, the majority of documentation efforts have been deposited in international repositories as South Africa did not have a dedicated repository for languages. In recent years the Department of Science and Innovation opened the South African Centre for Digital Language Resources (SADiLaR).

Going forward, physically archived collections in South Africa that include !Xun should be digitised and made accessible online in order to facilitate public access. Additionally, any new language documentation in !Xun should be added to a central repository that facilitates free public access, is user friendly and has a long term plan in place for maintenance of digital data.
Table 17: Physical archives or private collections in South Africa that include !Xun that should be digitised and made publicly accessible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and location of collection</th>
<th>Action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XK-FM !Xun recordings in their archive. Platfontein, Northern Cape</td>
<td>XK-FM and SABC could be approached about making a selection of their archived content digitally available on an online platform for public access and future study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Life Stories Cape Town, Western Cape</td>
<td>Permission to be gained from !Xun participants to have these ELAN files and audio archived and made publicly accessible. A selection of the stories could be used to generate a !Xun story book or animation for educational and entertainment purposes in !Xun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ideally, all !Xun language recordings made in South Africa should be archived within South Africa. There is an opportunity for South Africa to take a leadership role in archiving languages in the SADC region. There are many recordings of !Xun made by researchers such as Bernd Heine, Anne-Maria Fehn and Bonny Sands in Namibia and Angola that are not part of an accessible digital archive. Should an archive based in Africa be available to such researchers, they would likely be more than willing to submit their extensive collections to be part of such an archive.

**Maintenance**

Language maintenance includes education and literacy development in the target language. This is only possible once the language has been documented enough to have a descriptive grammar and standardised orthography to ensure consistency for teaching and learning purposes. To date there isn’t a standardised !Xun orthography for !Xun speakers in South Africa. It needs to be determined if the !Xun grammar descriptions that have already been written would be applicable to a South African context or not. This would need to be determined in collaboration with South African !Xun residents and specialist linguists. Without these two important resources developed and accessible, future literacy and language learning material for educational purposes are at risk of being inconsistent between publications. Such lack of consistency creates teaching and learning problems both for teachers and learners when it comes to developing literacy materials.
Maintenance of !Xun can also be supported in areas that do not necessarily require literacy, e.g. the creation of audio and video materials for the purposes of education and entertainment. As the language is successfully being orally transmitted from generation to generation, audio and video materials can be created to support this process and assist with the transition into literacy dominated domains.

*Table 18: Language maintenance recommendations for !Xun that are in need of funds to be put into action*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Proposed action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The suggested projects below need to be fully designed in collaboration with South African !Xun speakers and selected linguists before being funded and put into action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children’s dictionary in !Xun</strong></td>
<td>Thematic children’s dictionary. This can be monolingual, bilingual or multilingual accompanied by illustrations/photographs. Matching playing cards and learning material can be designed to accompany the dictionary and enhance learning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Early childhood development (ECD) assessment of learning environment</strong></td>
<td>Updated assessment needed for the ECD learning environments for !Xun speaking children. What facilities and resources are needed to improve and facilitate learning. To be done on site in collaboration with teachers, learners and parents. Creation of a long term learning support program for children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult literacy classes</strong></td>
<td>Many adult !Xun speakers have not had the opportunity to have basic literacy classes in their mother tongue. A basic survey can be conducted to determine who would be interested in participating in such a program and what would the target content be? Such a curriculum should be collaboratively designed with community members. Appropriate literacy materials to be designed for an adult audience. Creation of a long term learning support program for adults.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>!Xun YouTube channel</strong></td>
<td>Free online YouTube channel to host basic learning content in !Xun. The channel can be split into different themes for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
different audiences, e.g. Mother tongue !Xun speakers (different age groups), !Xun for non-mother tongue speakers, basic animated clips for teaching and learning etc.

It will be important to collaborate with local !Xun speakers to determine which themes and context they would like to produce.

Such productions will require a budget to cover: equipment, training, internet access, project manager and full project design etc.

| Basic online !Xun language game | Designed in the form of a mobile app, a free app that encourages literacy and language use.
This project would require a partnership with !Xun community members, animators, app developers, content developers, teachers and linguists. |
| Upgrade of local teacher qualifications | A needs assessment for local !Xun teachers to have their teaching qualifications upgraded. Such training can include the use of the newly developed language learning materials.
New young teachers also need support to begin their teaching career and gain meaningful local employment to encourage and sustain local language development and maintenance efforts. |
| Book series | Production and distribution of works on special/themed subjects specific to the !Xun people (e.g. plants, animals, traditional life) |
| Storybooks | Production and distribution of storybooks with accompanying workbooks for teachers and learners |
| Animated short films | Production of animated films based on traditional stories and other texts (with annotated texts) |
| University partnerships | Interested !Xun speakers and South African Universities could partner up for longer term collaborations in a mutually beneficial exchange of teaching and learning from each other.
Such an endeavour could be formally funded and supported for long term language development goals. |
Living South African Khoe Languages

In South Africa we have three living Khoe languages that are still spoken today, namely: Nama, Khwe and Xri. These languages are related linguistically, and therefore share certain linguistic commonalities. All three languages are endangered by virtue of their small number of fluent mother tongue speakers in South Africa.

Nama (Khoekhoegowab)

Nama is also known as Khoekhoegowab or Khoekhoe. There are other names that have been used for this language as spoken in Namibia, e.g. Damara, Namidama, Hai||om (ǂĀkhoe Hai||om), Topnaar (ǂAonin). For the purposes of this report, the language will be referred to as Nama as this is the term that fluent mother tongue speakers in South Africa use when referring to their language. Khoekhoegowab has been used in the literacy space as an umbrella term to include all of the above languages when referring to formalised literacy practices, especially in Namibia.

It must be noted that South African Nama is distinct from the dialects spoken in our neighbouring countries, however they are mutually intelligible. In so far as possible, it would be beneficial for there to be cooperation between South African Nama speakers and those in our neighbouring countries to share language and media resources such as: orthographies, grammar descriptions, literature, film, art and so on for enjoyment and further development and use of the language. Approximately 10% of South African Nama words (documented in the Kalahari) differ in pronunciation and spelling from those in Namibian Nama (based on a study of the Sands & Jones 2022 dictionary), making the difference somewhat similar to the difference between South African English and American English. So, while resources can be shared, there is also a benefit in producing materials specifically for South African Nama.

---

21 There is not a single “Damara” or “Nama” dialect but several, as documented in Wilfrid Haacke, Pastor Eliphas Eiseb and Levi Namaseb’s (1997) study “Internal and external relations of khoekhoe dialects: a preliminary survey”.

22 It is not known how many dialects of South African Nama there are but there are no fewer than two.
History of Nama in South Africa

Prior to Bantu and European colonisation in southern Africa, Nama speakers were spread over a vast area from the Cape into the Karoo and up towards the Northern Cape and beyond. A result of hundreds of years of pastoral pressure from Bantu expansion southwards and European settlement in southern Africa lead to the **Nama people being pushed from their traditional lands. Today the Nama people are spread throughout South Africa**. Their language and many of their traditional cultural practices can still be found in small, mostly remote pockets of the country.


Approximate number of Nama speakers in South Africa

Nama is spoken in the following countries: **Angola, Namibia, Botswana** and **South Africa** (Fredricks 2013). The largest Nama speaking population can be found in Namibia, followed by Botswana, Angola and South Africa. **South Africa therefore has the smallest Nama speaking population of the four countries with an unknown number of fluent mother tongue speakers, numbering no more than 2000-4000.** The exact speaker population of Nama in South Africa is unknown and the numbers may be significantly smaller than quoted here. Current and accurate research on more precise speaker numbers is needed.

The number of Nama dialects spoken in South Africa today is not known but there does appear to be some **dialectal diversity**. For example, speakers of Nama in the Kalahari region (i.e. Askham and Andriesvale area) have different terms for the same animals or birds compared with speakers from Riemvasmaak and Pella (some of these differences are noted in the Sands & Jones 2022 dictionary). It has been reported that teachers from Riemvasmaak who worked in Kuboes (in the Richtersveld) found that a different dialect of Nama was used there, with the differences being great enough to give rise to conflicts between parents and teachers about whose Nama was "correct" (Berzorn 2003: 354). **Overall the dialectical diversity of Nama in South Africa is an understudied phenomenon that needs much more attention and description.**

---

23 This figure is based on Crawhall's (1999) estimate of 6000 speakers more than two decades ago considering reports that only a small percentage of children have been acquiring the language (Witzlack-Makarevich 2006, Berzborn 2003).
Location of remaining Nama speakers in South Africa

The majority of Nama speakers in South Africa are found in the Northern Cape in towns or regions such as Riemvasmaak, Pella, Richtersveld, Steinkopf, Kuboes, Leliefontein, Komaggas, Concordia, Rietfontein and Andriesvale. In Klein Namaqualand today, however, the language is considered moribund, as it is only spoken by the elderly if at all and no longer being learned by most children (Christie 2023).

There have been no surveys of Nama language use in South Africa in recent years but multiple factors leading to the shift from Nama to Afrikaans have been described in Christie (2023). According to Berzborn (2023) and Witzlack-Makarevich (2006), use and knowledge of Nama in Kuboes (in the Richtersveld) varies depending on age. Those middle-aged and younger know and use much less Nama than do the elderly. While Berzborn (2003: 350) claims that “even young people will switch to Nama as soon as they arrive at the stockpost”, she also states that some children “have no, or only a passive understanding of Nama”. Witzlack-Makarevich (2006: 12), on the other hand, states that few teenagers and children “seem to understand and speak Nama”, the few exceptions being those who were raised by their grandparents. Considering the fact that it is now 2023, the children that these researchers met in the early 2000s are now adults themselves. If very few were able to speak Nama at that time and already had a preference for Afrikaans over Nama, we must assume that very few children are currently acquiring Nama in Kuboes, and likely in other locations as well. Based on these earlier descriptions of Nama language use, Christie (2003) describes Nama in the Richtersveld as moribund.24 If it is true that only ¼ or ⅕ of Kuboes Nama spoke Nama fluently twenty years ago (Witzlack-Makarevich (2006: 12), then the number of speakers today must be a much smaller percentage of an already very small population. Although Kuboes is just one area where Nama speakers were found in previous decades, the significant shift from Nama to Afrikaans seen here is likely to occur in other areas, and perhaps be even more advanced.

24 This description follows Connell’s (2002: 168) characterization of a language that “reaches the point where intergenerational transmission no longer occurs”.
Map 7: Areas where Nama speakers are found in the Northern Cape

Map Data; 2023 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd
Vitality Status of Nama

For a description of intergenerational language transmission as listed by UNESCO as the first evaluative factor for language vitality as well as some basic theory on language vitality, language maintenance and language revitalisation, please see section “Vitality Status of Njuu” above.

Table 19: Potential scenarios of intergenerational language degradation, (Krauss, 1997:26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorisation system for intergenerational language transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nama scores “b-, The language is spoken by adults in their thirties and older but not by younger parents” for intergenerational language transmission.

This score shows that the use of Nama is on the decline in South Africa and therefore is a good candidate for further development, most especially in new domains such as
literacy and media and early childhood development. Additionally, there has been an ongoing expression of interest for Nama to be made available to those who no longer speak the language in various provinces across the country. Several thousand Nama descendants have undergone language shift to Afrikaans as their mother tongue (the language that they learnt from their parents and the language that they are most fluent in) and would like to reconnect with their ancestry by having the opportunity to learn Nama formally. Therefore there are two strains of language maintenance that should be considered for Nama: 1) support for fluent speakers who need assistance and input for literacy and media development 2) support for those who are not speakers of Nama but would like the opportunity to learn and reconnect with their lost cultural heritage. Further description and recommendations are found in the “recommendations” section of this report for Nama.

Language endangerment of Nama according to the E[xtended] Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) straddles between two scores as the status and use of the language differs greatly from town to town. “6b - Threatened - The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children- vulnerable” and “7 - Shifting - The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children - definitely endangered”. Although Nama is taught formally in South Africa, this is still a relatively new phenomenon with poor government and formal support for such efforts. Many efforts throughout the country are done on a volunteer basis by community activists, teachers and support from local churches or religious groups. Ad hoc efforts occur sporadically by the government in support of the language without long term structured planning and support.

Overall the language vitality of Nama in South Africa is vulnerable and heading towards endangerment, as the language undergoes a shift to Afrikaans and other locally dominant languages. Additionally, Nama is considered endangered due to the low numbers or speakers globally and most especially in South Africa, which puts it at risk of endangerment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EGIDS Level</th>
<th>EGIDS Label</th>
<th>EGIDS Description</th>
<th>UNESCO Descriptor</th>
<th>UNESCO factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at a nationwide level.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Written</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>Vigorous</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shifting</td>
<td>The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Definitely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons, 2010)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Moribund</th>
<th>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.</th>
<th>Severely endangered 1 (intergenerational language transmission)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Nearly extinct</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.</td>
<td>Critically endangered 1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dormant</td>
<td>The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.</td>
<td>Extinct 4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.</td>
<td>Extinct 4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Orthography and literacy practices of Nama**

There has been relatively little development of the Nama language in South Africa because early mission work in Khoekhoe communities was largely conducted in Afrikaans or Dutch. For instance, Georg Schmidt, an early missionary to the Khoekhoe (working from 1737-1734) used Dutch (i.e. early Afrikaans) because he reportedly couldn't learn one of the three clicks\(^{25}\) (Krüger 1966: 173). While there was some mission work conducted in the Nama language conducted in South Africa (Christie 2023), it has left relatively little trace in the literature\(^{26}\). For instance, Johannes Van der Kemp who worked in Bethelsdorp from 1803-1811 appears to have translated a catechism into Nama (or another Khoekhoe language) but this has been lost (McDonald 2020). Studies of missionary work amongst the Nama in South Africa include Krüger (1966), Heese (1998), Rawson (2018) and McDonald (2020).

---

\(^{25}\) Since there are four click types in standard Nama, his pronunciation was either worse than he thought, or he was learning a distinct type of Khoekhoe which had undergone click loss.

\(^{26}\) One exception is a hymn with Nama words that was written down (though without indications of the clicks) by Barnabas Shaw, a Scottish Methodist missionary who worked in Leliefontein from 1816-1827 (Shaw 1840: 267, cited in Christie 2023).
Significant early work producing **Nama language materials was primarily done by missionaries in what is now Namibia** (in villages such as Bethanie, Komaggas, Hoachanas and Berseba) (Moritz 1968, 1969-70). Some missionaries such as Schmelen and Ebner appear to have spent time in South Africa but it is unclear if their works represent a South African Nama dialect rather than a Namibian Nama dialect and if their publications were available in South Africa as well as in Namibia.

**Very early works on Khoekhoe did not use the click letters ǀ, ||, ǃ, ǂ rendering them of limited value for use in modern-day literacy efforts**, e.g. Leibniz (1717), Contant d’Orville (1770), Ebner (1829), Lichtenstein (1808, 1812), Tindall (1856)27, and Schmelen (1831). Only later, after missionaries in Namibia established the use of the ǀ, ||, ǃ, ǂ click letters, do we see works such as Charency (1864) which use them. The introduction of click symbols in Nama orthography is discussed in Haacke (2018). Papers on Nama language development and planning include Haacke (2005, 2018) and Cluver (2000).

This document is not a complete survey of early works on Nama but merely **references those which may possibly have a significant South African Nama component**. For instance, we have mentioned Schmelen’s work because we know that although he primarily worked in what is now Namibia, he spent some time working in South Africa and his Nama-speaking wife, Zara Schmelen, was from Steinkopf in South Africa and may have done much of the translation work previously attributed to him (cf. Trüper 2000, 2006). We have not included a comprehensive list of works by missionaries such as Barth, Baumann, Hahn, Knudsen28, Wallmann and Krönlein (but cf. Vedder 1928: 151-152 for a list of works produced by early missionaries).

**Modern day works on South African Nama such as Sands & Jones (2022) follow from the tradition of works on Namibian Nama such as Haacke & Eiseb (2002) and the Curriculum Committee for Khoekhoegowab (2003)**. The development of Namibian Nama orthography is also discussed in Davids (2002) and Dammann (1982). Academic works on the use of Nama in Education include Boois (1996), Skrywer (1996) and Namaseb (1996).

---

27 Tindall (1856) uses the letters C, Q and X as in isiZulu and isiXhosa, and adds V to represent the ǂ click type.

28 Knudsen’s (1846) Nama version of the Gospel of Luke may have been based in part on Zara Schmelen’s translation work.

**Educational publications in Nama**

Educational materials in Nama include dictionaries and glossaries:


A description of the above mentioned dictionary by Macmillan Education Namibia in 2022 is as follows:

“This bilingual dictionary of Khoekhoegowab (Nama/Damara), a Central Khoesan language today confined almost entirely to Namibia, aims to document extensively the lexicon of this endangered language. The book contains over 24 500 Khoekhoegowab entries, including some 2 700 examples of usage. Over 1 150 entries are terms that have been coined or sanctioned by the Khoekhoegowab Curriculum Committee officially responsible for corpus planning. Over 1 000 entries are assigned to some dialect, including Haiilom.

This dictionary is an authoritative source of reference on the standardised orthography. Entries are marked for tone systematically, based on tonological principles established in a separate study.
English renderings of Khoekhoegowab entries have been selectively included in an English-Khoekhoegowab Index of over 26,000 entries. Eliphas Eiseb, acting traditional chief of the Damara, was teacher, then pastor and also acting vice-praeses of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, before he embarked on this lexicographic project in 1981. Wilfrid Haacke is Professor of African Languages at the University of Namibia.

Title: Khoekhoegowab Dictionary

For customer care, orders and further inquiries, kindly contact us at:
Tel: +264 61 232165
Fax: +264 61 233538
Email: info@nph.com.na
Web: www.nph.com.na


Dausab, Pedro (2010). Leer jouself Nama/teach yourself Nama/Aitsama Namagowaba ||khā||hāsen. Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport of the Western Cape: Cape Town. [19pp]
Description: This resource is bilingual Afrikaans/English with Nama translations. It is a basic phrase book with accompanying CD for the audio aimed at self tuition for students interested in learning Nama.

An article about the publication by the author for LitNet: https://www.litnet.co.za/die-taal-namataal-khoe-khoegowab/

The above four publications are based on Namibian Nama. The publication below features South African Nama and Namibian Nama.


Description: This dictionary features N|uu, but has matching translations in Nama in two varieties, South African Nama AND Namibian Standardised Nama. This output was developed by African Tongue and funded by the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture.
School grammars:


Description: a Khoekhoe grammar


Description: university-level materials; mimeographed

For the purposes of this report, we do not provide a fully comprehensive listing of ALL books that have been published in Nama as this is beyond the scope of this report. However, in an unpublished conference presentation, Davids (2006) estimated the number of titles by the end of 2005 to be 90 (of which close to half being school textbooks). Even with a complete listing (which would be made by examining all editions of the catalogue Namibian Books in Print, it is unclear how many of these titles might be accessible to researchers, teachers, government officials and interested community members in South Africa without further research on the matter).

Another basic grammar which was developed by an engaged second language learner of Namibian Nama for use in South African schools is:


Available online: https://www.culturalsurvival.org/sites/default/files/KHOIKHOI%20READER%20V123small.pdf

Denver is based in the Western Cape and is an activist for Nama and Nama speakers in mostly urban environments and schools in the province. He has limited training in linguistics and educational pedagogy however collaborates with others (as in this publication) to create local learning materials.
Examples of school readers include:


Description: textbook in Khoekhoegowab with Nama language texts


Description: Nama reader
For a full list of Khoekhoegowab readers (28 in total) currently available from Namibia Publishing House, please see the following link to their catalogue: https://www.nph.com.na/products/schools?subjects%5B0%5D=Khoekhoegowab&page=1
The text collections include books of poetry, as in the Tsanadi lHarus series, with publications aimed at different grades.
Description: ŦAkhoe Haiǁom rhymes (poetry) and stories show Namibian support for materials development in minority dialects of Khoekhoe.

The Bible is also available in Nama (Khoekhoegowab). This can be accessed digitally or as a hardcopy. The digital version can be found at the following link:

https://naq.global.bible/bible/d5293177bf46cb20-01/GEN.1
The Bible in Nama (Khoekhoegowab) can also be downloaded at the following link for free:


Available online: https://www.livelingua.com/peace-corps/Khoekhoegowab/Khoekhoegowab.pdf

**Mother Tongue productions in Nama**

Nama literature and concert songs


Description: Adult non-fiction book translated from English into Nama in Namibia


Description: a novel about the tradition of the Igbo.

Description: Traditional mythology about the Rainbeast told simultaneously in four languages: English - IsiXhosa - Haiǁom - Afrikaans.
Nama film productions

The films below are fully in Nama or a combination of Nama and or Afrikaans and English.

Inspirational Films Inc. (2012). **Jesus.** Jesus Film Project: Orlando, Florida. [127 min]

Description: Full length feature film about the story of Jesus translated from English into Khoekhoegowab and free to download online: https://www.jesusfilm.org/watch/jesus.html/khoekhoegowab.html


Description: An award winning South African feature film, the story of Krotoa is told in Afrikaans and Nama with English subtitles.

For more detailed information about this film please see the following website: https://www.penguinfilms.co.za/portfolio-item/krotoa/

Official film trailer: https://youtu.be/J87DMgxLJCc
It must be noted that in 2022, a local documentary was also made about the life of Krotoa and is hosted for free online via YouTube via the Camissa Museum channel.

https://youtu.be/tbEm7b7N5iM

Description: Award winning full length feature film in Nama shot in Namibia featuring a bone-chilling story of love and loss. The film is based on a book by August C. Bikeur and later a radio soap opera performed in Khoekhoegowab.

Watch the official trailer to the film in Nama, see the following link:
https://youtu.be/q1VjtSHnHf4

Watch the official trailer to the film in English, see the following link:
Hairareb_official_trailer (Namibian feature film)

Film review available here:
https://www.imdb.com/title/tt13029360/

Description: A short bilingual film, Nama and English, about rhino poaching triggering social change in a village in rural Namibia, seen through the eyes of a 9 year old girl. This film has won multiple awards and has a strong cultural and conservation message.

The official trailer: [https://youtu.be/e3H1qRZxC-Y](https://youtu.be/e3H1qRZxC-Y)

The film: [https://www.baxuandthegiants.com/](https://www.baxuandthegiants.com/)

Interview with filmmaker: [https://youtu.be/a8Kz6gQNwf4](https://youtu.be/a8Kz6gQNwf4)


Description: Full length documentary film in English and Nama about the people of Sesfontein and the importance of the local fresh water spring (kai-as). This film features oral histories and the importance of land, conservation and heritage.

The film is available online: [https://vimeo.com/486865709](https://vimeo.com/486865709)


Description: Short film (4 min), mostly in English with some Nama voiceover done by Bradly van Sitters.

https://living-language-land.org/contribution/the-story-of-xau/

https://living-language-land.org/words/xau/

https://vimeo.com/587100440
Description: An award winning short planetarium film told in Afrikaans and Nama. It is the first African-produced digital planetarium film to feature indigenous African starlore. The film features live footage as well as animation and was funded by The National Arts Council - Presidential Employment Stimulus Programme, the African Astronomical Society, the African Planetarium Association, the South African Astronomical Observatory and the Worldwide Indigenous Science Network.
Nama Audio Stories

Series of Christian teachings in Nama by the Global Recordings Network.


https://globalrecordings.net/en/language/1953
https://globalrecordings.net/en/language/4354
https://globalrecordings.net/en/program/5511
https://globalrecordings.net/en/program/17870
https://worldlanguagemovies.com/program/c17870

Free Christian audio stories for download, examples above.
Online audio stories in Nama, free to access and download.

In honour of the Namibian Heritage week in 2020, the National Theatre of Namibia released a series of traditional stories told in different national languages, including Khoekhogoewab.

These performed stories were audio recorded and provided for free online: https://www.ntn.org.na/folklores-recorded-for-heritage-week/
Queen R. Urikhos has an online Nama (Khoekhoegowab) Spotify channel where she broadcasts on popular topics in her mother tongue.

**Nama radio station**

Nama is featured on the NAMCOL radio station in Namibia as a subject and a language to further mother tongue education and provide input to those wanting to learn the language as a second or additional language. NAMCOL is supported by the Ministry of Basic Education in Namibia.

Examples of recorded radio lessons:

https://youtu.be/KY3jPC2iCkc (Khoekhoegowab Grade 8, Lesson 1-5)

https://youtu.be/agoxIVAAIloQ (Khoekhoegowab Grade 9, Lessons 1-5)
In South Africa, in the town of O'Kiep, north of Springbok in the Northern Cape is a community radio station called Nama FM. They mostly broadcast in Afrikaans but include Nama where they can.

To listen online for free: [https://radionfm.co.za/](https://radionfm.co.za/)

**Nama on YouTube**

Nama is featured on the NAMCOL Edu YouTube channel to support the language as a subject in schools in Namibia. NAMCOL is supported by the Ministry of Basic Education in Namibia.

Examples can be seen at the following links:

- [https://youtu.be/qML_HTNBCKI](https://youtu.be/qML_HTNBCKI) (Khoekhoegowab Grade 10/11)
- [https://youtu.be/xVMJXimN2Ns](https://youtu.be/xVMJXimN2Ns) (Khoekhoegowab Grade 9)
- [https://youtu.be/CIREx3yHpQQ](https://youtu.be/CIREx3yHpQQ) (Khoekhoegowab Grade 8)
This series has been produced by NAMCOL and funded by the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture.
The YouTube channel **Easy Languages**, features free online Nama (Khoekhoegowab lessons). These were filmed in Namibia with local mother tongue teachers.

Links to these lessons for beginners, 2nd or additional language speakers:

https://youtu.be/Nz44WiTVJww - Khoekhoegowab lesson 1

https://youtu.be/5XAvZ_BnEAc - Khoekhoegowab lesson 2


https://youtu.be/OWS_33tTWXk - Khoekhoegowab lesson 4

https://youtu.be/XodRYc3ucHA - Khoekhoe - Matisa - Blackboard Project

https://youtu.be/FObQsP-QAFE - Khoekhoegowab Basic Phrases - Numbers from 1 to 10

https://youtu.be/NKEiUHoSATU - Khoekhoegowab Basic Phrases - Common words

https://youtu.be/ZhYdAlljv9I - Khoekhoegowab Basic Phrases - Animals

https://youtu.be/LzSVV6u9hF4 - Khoekhoegowab Basic Phrases - Family


https://youtu.be/qjApWXTZeOg - Khoekhoegowab Basic Phrases - Around the House

https://youtu.be/brifDsUwY94 - Khoekhoegowab Basic Phrases - Colours

https://youtu.be/gWeEy3fAvlc - A short video about me: Hendry Adrianus
University of Cape Town, Summer School featured the three part series “Whose language is ‘Khoekhoegowab?’” by Wilfrid Haacke, formerly professor at the University of Namibia. This series was recorded in 2021 and is available online for free via Youtube at the following links:

https://youtu.be/uBseoB2JJFk

https://youtu.be/CFhpBOy2soU

https://youtu.be/6bONXzMBQT0

“Seeds of Peace’ is a 15-minute video on IPACC’s mediation & conflict resolution project with the indigenous Nama people of South Africa’s Richtersveld World Heritage Site.

The mediation project aims to empower the Richtersveld Nama to resolve conflicts without resorting to litigation. The video outlines the background to conflicts dividing the Nama community and follows IPACC’s pilot mediation training workshop with the Richtersveld Nama. IPACC plans to develop a mediation training model that can be used by other indigenous communities across Africa.”

This film includes the Nama language and conflict resolution training practices supplied by IPACC.

[YouTube video thumbnail]

The film is freely available online: [https://youtu.be/wNFxkLZbfpo](https://youtu.be/wNFxkLZbfpo)

**In 2021 African Tongue assisted with COVID-19 health information in the mother tongue of various endangered languages in southern Africa. This effort was funded by the Kalahari Peoples Fund.**
Health information in Nama can be found at the following link:

https://youtu.be/5rYSmHecP98
**Nama Animations**

Varty, Jeani (2020). *From the Cave's Mouth.* [3 min]

Information about the film: [https://africanfilmny.org/films/from-the-caves-mouth/](https://africanfilmny.org/films/from-the-caves-mouth/)

The film is animated and narrated in Nama (with English subtitles)- it is freely available online: [https://youtu.be/feqbpknX4oc](https://youtu.be/feqbpknX4oc)

---


"Moon's Message" is **one of three animations** recently completed by the SAAO based on traditional Khoi and San starlore. The animations will be provided initially in four languages: Khoekhoegowab, isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English with hopes to expand such offerings in the future into additional national and minority languages.

Multiple Versions of the original story as told by the Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu speakers of Southern Africa

Early versions documented by: Alexander (1838) "An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa: Through Hitherto Undescribed Countries of the Great Namaquas, Boschmans and Hill Damaras", Knudsen (1848) "Greater Namaqualand" Bleek, W (1864) "Reynard the Fox in South Africa" and Hahn(1881) "Tsuni-||Goam. The Supreme Being of the Khoi Khoi".
Free to watch or download at: https://youtu.be/-BhhCL8ZDCY

Jantjies, Dedire (2021). **Stories in die Wind.** [19 min 55 sec]

This is a seven part animated series told in Afrikaans with options of subtitles in English or Nama.

https://youtu.be/QqvDkGHMWtY - Episode 1

https://youtu.be/bFSYqNL_CXo - Episode 2

https://youtu.be/OT5420p09-w - Episode 3

https://youtu.be/CW8DXfwkeUc - Episode 4

https://youtu.be/dlmPj4cB92o - Episode 5


https://youtu.be/KbjyE35jvag - Episode 7
Interviews with the filmmaker and Ouma Katrina Emilie Gouws (||Nadi) and Anastasia Jordana Nama speaker from the Northern Cape. Deidre Jantjies interviews Ouma about her life and how she came to learn Nama.

https://youtu.be/qxqxPfrLbBE  - Ouma Katrina: Episode 1

https://youtu.be/_GMcUOFnbv0  - Ouma Katrina: Episode 2

https://youtu.be/q1NkRWTNE4M  - Ouma Katrina: Episode 3

The project was developed in partnership with the Programme for Innovation in Artform Development (PAID) an initiative of the University of Free State and the Vrystaat Art Festival, generously supported by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

For further information about the project:

Nama apps

This app features Nama (Khoekhoegowab) for beginners. The interface is in English. The app was developed by shotgun.experiments and was released in 2017 for primarily a Namibian market.
This app features Nama (Khoekhoegowab) for beginners. The interface is in English. The app was also developed by shotgun.experiments and was released in 2017 for primarily a Namibian market.

This app features Nama (Khoekhoegowab) and has a focus on vocabulary learning. You can take online quizzes to test and improve your Nama vocabulary. The app was also developed by shotgun.experiments and was released in 2018 for primarily a Namibian market.
This app features the Bible in Nama (Khoekhoegowab) and was developed by Nyanzi tech in 2022 for primarily a Namibian market.

This app is available for android and iOS where Nama (Khoekhoegowab) is a feature language that the user can download which includes predictive text, a dictionary and the click symbols for your mobile phone keyboard.
Saasi Epsi: How to use Saasi Epsi? - N|uu Language App

To download the app from Google Play Store, please go to the following link:

The primary language of this app is N|uu but it also includes South African Nama, Namibian Standard Nama, Afrikaans and English.

Newspapers/magazines

In Namibia, the newspaper New Era publishes regularly in Nama.

Their articles can be found online at the following link:
https://kundana.com.na/in/category/khoekhoegowab

In South Africa, LitNet published a bilingual Nama/Afrikaans article in 2018 by Carla Heising.

https://www.litnet.co.za/khoekhoegowab-ti-%c7%82nisasib/

There are as yet, no regular media broadcasts or publications in Nama in South Africa.
Archives and Digital Collections that include the Nama Language


Description: Ernst Westphal was a professor of African Languages at the University of Cape Town from 1962 - 1984. Much of his research interests included recording and documenting Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages. These included recordings of a Nama choir and Nama vocabulary. Westphal recorded two Nama speakers from Okahandja, Namibia. Some of the vocabulary recordings **appear to have been originally recorded by D.M. Beach, most likely in the 1930s.**

Description: includes Nama and Haijoom sound recordings.


The Hugh Brody collection includes Nama stories told by Anna Swarts and others. Many of the recordings include code-switching between N|uu and Nama. The work on this collection is ongoing. The current islandora platform is what is currently available online however this will eventually be curated and moved to the new iBali site which is run via Omeka-S. The collection includes hundreds of photographs of the #KhOMani people, posters and maps depicting original place names in N|uu and Nama, hundreds of hours of film footage and transcript files of the film footage. The film footage is most especially
important for language preservation as it includes detailed interviews where N|uu and Nama was spoken extensively. The process of creating accurate and verbatim transcript files with English translations has been underway since 2014 as a collaboration project between UCT, Open Channels and African Tongue. Unfortunately the project has run out of funds and in order to continue this process and convert the metadata onto the new modern platform, funding is required. This collection is of great national heritage importance and like the Bleek and Lloyd should be protected and registered with UNESCO.

Example transcript file: **2001_01-04 transcript**
This collection requires funding in order to be fully digitised and curated for public and scholarly online access.

2003-2006


Description: Multimedia archive of a Khoekhoe dialect spoken in northern Namibia

- Sessions: 299
- Audio recordings: 403
- Video recordings: 384
- Annotations: 83
#Xoake - Praat - Speak

A collection of traditional stories as told by #Khomani residents of the Kalahari

This project is led by African Tongue and funded by Worldwide Indigenous Science Network (WISN).

The aim of the project is to collaborate with traditional #Khomani storytellers to assist with documenting and sharing these stories to anyone who would like to learn more about their culture. These stories are told in Nama and Afrikaans and cover a variety of themes, from creationist stories to good old comedy.

These stories are currently being transcribed and translated - once complete they will be made available online for free.

It is hoped in the future, that a selection of these stories can be developed into a book or animation in collaboration with local artists for further enjoyment and sharing.
Selected academic publications about Nama

Scholarly works on Nama focus on different aspects of the language that are of interest to other scholars. Broadly speaking, these works tend to fall into one of the following categories:

1) The most basic type of linguistic study involves the documentation of words in a word list. There is currently only one major study of the South African Nama lexicon, which is the Sands & Jones (eds.) (2022) Nǀuu dictionary which includes entries translated into Nama. This does not include as many Nama words as occur in the main Namibian Nama dictionary Haacke & Eiseb (2002) or in the accompanying school glossary (Haacke et al. 2010). Before the publication of the groundbreaking 2002 Khoekhoegowab Dictionary, there was an earlier Nama school dictionary (Goodwill et al. 1991) and glossary (Haacke & Eiseb 1998). These works built upon a long foundation of lexicographic work on Nama including: Rust (1969), Krönlein (1889), Olpp (1888) and various unpublished manuscript lexicons. A compilation of Nama and other Khoekhoe dialect words can be found in Nienaber (1963).

Besides the rich lexicographic tradition of work on Namibian Nama, there have also been works focused on specific lexical areas such as plant terms, emotion words and place names (e.g. Thalmayer et al. 2021, Nienaber & Raper 198329, Eiseb & Haacke 1991). Camilla Christie’s (2021, 2022) work on Namaqualand plant words in Afrikaans shows the impact of Nama and other Khoekhoe dialect words can be found in Nama.

A very important study of the lexicon of Namibian Nama varieties is Haacke et al.’s (1997) dialect survey, comparing the variety of words used for 95 different meanings. Comparing these same words as used in Nama in different locations in South Africa is a scientific priority; this would help establish the number of Nama dialects currently spoken in South Africa and enable us to understand their historical connection to different dialects in Namibia.

29 There is a fairly large literature on the etymology of South African place names believed to be derived from Khoekhoe words. We will not cite all such references here. The quality of these works is very mixed as much of the work refers to older Khoekhoe lexical resources and etymologies have been proposed without much understanding of the phonological processes involved in the adaptation of words containing clicks. The contribution that Nama has made to the linguistic landscape of South Africa as evidenced by place names and borrowings into regional Afrikaans is immense.
2) Studies of phonetics and phonology focus on the mechanical aspects of how clicks and other sounds are pronounced. There are currently no studies of South African Nama phonetics or phonology. There are several studies of Namibian Nama phonetics and phonology (including tonology), including (but not limited to): Kusmer (2019, 2021), Bennett (2020), Proctor et al. (2016, 2020), Fredericks (2013), Brugman (2009), Miller et al. (2007), Haacke (1992, 1999a, 2008a, 2013a, b, etc.), Cruttenden (1992), Ladefoged & Traill (1984, 1994), Trubetskoy (1958), Beach (1938). Fredericks, Traill, Beach and Bennett conducted research at South African universities; other researchers interested in Nama have been based in the US, UK, Namibia and even Australia.

3) Other studies focus on the mechanisms by which Nama words and sentences are formed. The rules of Nama grammar are unique to Nama and provide a window into the cognitive mechanism that allows for human languages to have similar structures, while at the same time allowing for differences among different languages. There is currently only a single study of South African Nama morphology / syntax which is Alena Witzlack-Makarevich’s (2006) MA thesis from the University of Leipzig.


In contrast to the very small amount of attention that has been paid to South African Nama, there have been a large number of studies of Namibian Nama grammar dating back to the mid-1800s. Important studies of Namibian Nama grammar and morphology include Den Besten (2002), Hagman (1977), Haacke (1976, 1978, 2006, 2013b, c, 2014), Olpp (1964), Rust (1965), Dempwolff (1934-35), Meinhof (1909), Vedder (1909), Planert (1905a), Seidel (1892), Schils (1886), Hahn (1870), Charency (1864), Tindall (1856), and Wallmann (1857). Many other works discussing particular aspects of Nama morphology and syntax exist besides these which have been presented here to show both the depth and scale of research done in Namibia. In contrast, the state of research on South African Nama is remarkably underdeveloped.

4) Other studies take an interest in how the different structures of Nama (sounds, words, grammar) change over space and time. It is impossible for any single study to describe every aspect of linguistic structure, much less how such structures change over time. There are currently no studies of South African Nama historical/comparative linguistics. There are many historical linguistic studies involving work on Namibian Nama including (but not limited to): Fehn (2019, 2020), Starostin (2016), Rapold (2014), Heine & König (2008), Haacke (2009, 2008b, 2007, 2002, 1999b, c), Güldemann (2004, 2006), Vossen (1997), Winter (1981), Budack (1986), Köhler (1963, 1962), Planert (1905b, 1926), and Schils (1894).
5) There is **only one literary study that includes South African Nama texts**: Levi Namaseb’s (2006) Ph.D. thesis from the University of Toronto entitled “Language, Environment and Community in Storytelling of Khoekhoe, ǂKhomani, English and Afrikaans in Southern Africa”. The South African Nama texts are those by Abraham Adams of Riemvasmaak, David Kruiper of Andriesvale, and Piet Kortman of Grootmier. This collection is also significant in that it includes a number of N|uu texts, Namibian Nama texts, and Afrikaans texts from ǂKhomani of the Northern Cape. There is reference in the text to an accompanying DVD of the recordings of the stories but we do not have access to these recordings.

Collections of Namibian Khoekhoe (Nama, Damara and Hai||om) texts by academics include: Schultze (1907), Baumann (1915-16, 1917-18), Stopa (1936, 1959), Namaseb (1997, 1998) and Wagner-Robertz (2000, 2002), which include recordings on CD-ROM. Sigrid Schmidt is an important scholar of Nama folklore, having published more than a dozen books, at least some of which (Schmidt 2009, 2013) include transcriptions of the original Nama text as well as English (or German) translations. Although many Nama speakers told the stories collected in Lange (2014), none are presented in the original Nama. Very early works with texts include grammatical works mentioned above and Wandres (1909). An early study of Nama texts in (English) translation is Wilhelm Bleek (1864).

6) Studies that have a focus on developing a language fall under the rubric of "Applied Linguistics". Pedagogical works mentioned earlier in this report would count as such academic products, along with discussions about how language policy in South Africa applies to the Nama situation (e.g. Berzborn 2003, DeWet 2011, Crawhall 1999 as well as the annual reports written by SASI from 1996 onwards).

There are a few works about the cultural and linguistic revitalization of Khoe or "Khoisan" language and identity such as Prah (2003), Brown & Deumert (2017), Barnabas & Miya (2019) and Verbuyst (2022).

7) There are ethnographic, archaeological, anthropological and historical works about the Nama in South Africa, and also descriptions of the Nama by early explorers. Such works generally have little to say about the Nama language but they are still of interest to linguists because they often have comments about whether the Nama speakers were bilingual in Afrikaans or not, or because they may provide population figures. For instance, Cornish-Bowden's (1925) brief report indicates that there were still Nama in Namaqualand at the time who could not speak Afrikaans while later reports seem to indicate that fluency in Afrikaans was universal in Namaqualand.


Contant D’Orville, André Guillaume. (1770). Histoire des différens peuples du monde, contenant les cérémonies religieuses et civiles, l’origine des religions, leurs sectes & superstitions, & les moeurs & usages de chacque nation … Paris, Herissant fils, etc. [vol. 4, pp. 423-476]


S. W. A. Department of Bantu Education. (1977). Nama/Damara (Orthography No. 2). Windhoek: John Meinert.


Webley, Lita. (1998). Tracing the emergence of a pastoralist identity in Namaqualand. The proceedings of the Khoisan identities and cultural heritage conference, held at the South African Museum, Cape Town, 12-16
UNESCO support for Nama speakers

In South Africa, in 2007 UNESCO declared the Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape was declared a World Heritage Site. Such efforts help to preserve the landscape and the culture of the people of the region which includes the Nama language.

Further information can be found at the following link: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1265/

As well as a dedicated website: http://www.richtersveldwhs.org/special.php
In Namibia, in 2020, the Aixan/Gana/Obâns tsi ||Khasigu, ancestral musical sound knowledge and skills was inscribed in the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in need of Urgent safeguarding. This includes the Nama language in the form of song.

Further information can be found at the following link: https://ich.unesco.org/en/USL/aixan-gana-obans-tsi-khasigu-ancestral-musical-sound-knowledge-and-skills-01540

Linguists who have worked on Nama

There are only four linguists in the present-day who have done fieldwork on Nama in South Africa: Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Levi Namaseb, Sylvanus Job and Kerry Jones. Linguists who have worked on Namibian Nama, Haiǁom, Botswanan Nama, Kora or Xri or other Khoe languages are also well-qualified to work on South African Nama.
Table 21: Linguists’ potential availability for future work on the documentation, preservation and maintenance of Nama

(Those who are located in South Africa are highlighted)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contribution/specialty</th>
<th>Year work began on Nama (or related language)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Availability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wilfrid Haacke</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Namibian Nama Specialities: syntax, morphology, phonology,</td>
<td>1970s to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lexicon, historical linguistics, dialectology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sigrid Schmidt</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Namibian Nama</td>
<td>1970s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dagmar Wagner-Robertz</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Namibian Nama</td>
<td>1970s to 2000s</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>Unlikely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rainer Vossen</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khoe languages Specialities: syntax, morphology, phonology,</td>
<td>1980s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Unlikely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>historical linguistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Thomas Widlok</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Haiǁom Expertise: Anthropology, lexicon</td>
<td>early 1990s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience or Expertise</td>
<td>Time Period</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Reliability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Levi Namaseb</td>
<td>L1 speaker of Namibia Nama</td>
<td>1990s to 2010s</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>Unlikely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Expertise: folklore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Joe Tsonope</td>
<td>Experience with Botswana Nama</td>
<td>1990s to present</td>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Expertise: Sociolinguistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Herman Batibo</td>
<td>Experience with Botswana Nama</td>
<td>1990s to late 2010s</td>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Unlikely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Expertise: Sociolinguistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Hans den Besten</td>
<td>Experience with Khoekhoe lects</td>
<td>1990s to 2010s</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Expertise: Syntax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bernd Heine</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Khwe as well as !Xun varieties</td>
<td>Mid 1990s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Unlikely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, historical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>linguistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Matthias Brenzinger</td>
<td>Experience with Khwe</td>
<td>ca. 1999-2008</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Christa Kilian-Hatz</td>
<td>Extensive experience working with Khwe material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive. Specialties: morphology, lexicon, syntax</td>
<td>late 1990s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bonny Sands</td>
<td>Experience with N</td>
<td>uu, ǂHoan, Mangetti Dune !Xun, Ekoka !Xun, Grootfontein !Xun, Hadza, Sandawe. Small amount of field work on Xri. Specialties: phonetics, lexicon, phonology, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Late 1990s to present</td>
<td>Flagstaff, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Gertrud Boden</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khwe and Western !Xôô and 'N</td>
<td>ohan (a Taa language of Namibia). Specialties: Anthropologically-oriented work (kinship terms, language and the landscape, storytelling, etc.)</td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Chris Collins</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Kua and Tsua, related Khoe languages (as well as work on Ju</td>
<td>'hoansi, N</td>
<td>uu, ǂHoan, Sasi, other languages with similarly complex sound systems). Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, phonetics and phonology</td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Fieldwork Details</td>
<td>Time Period</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Christa König</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ekoka/Okongo !Xun and analysis of Khwe</td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, historical linguistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Tom Güldemann</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the morphology and syntax of N</td>
<td>uu, as well as Kx'a, Tuu and Khoe-Kwadi languages in general</td>
<td>Early 2000s to late 2000s</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology, historical linguistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Johanna Brugman</td>
<td>Extensive field work experience on Namibian Nama (Damara) and N</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>2000s</td>
<td>US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: Phonology, phonetics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Laurentius Davids</td>
<td>L1 speaker of Namibian Nama (Damara), extensive experience producing educational materials in Khoekhoegowab</td>
<td>2000s to 2010s</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Anne-Maria Fehn</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Khwe dialects of Namibia and Botswana including</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ani. Extensive field work on Ts'ixa, a related Khoe language. Extensive experience working with Khwe material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive.</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience Details</td>
<td>Specialties</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Availability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Alena Witzlack-</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Richtersveld Khoekhoe and Namibian Khoekhoe as well as on</td>
<td>morphology, lexicon, syntax, phonology, tone,</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Makarevich</td>
<td>Nǀuu.</td>
<td>historical linguistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Gerald Stell</td>
<td>Experience with Namibian Nama</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialty: code-switching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Gertie Hoymann</td>
<td>Extensive field work experience on ǂAakhoe Haiǃom</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: conversation analysis, morphosyntax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Michael Proctor</td>
<td>Experience with Namibian Nama</td>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialty: phonetics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience/Research Details</td>
<td>Timeframe</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Christian Rapold</td>
<td>Extensive field work experience on ǂAakhoe Haijkom, as well as on Khoekhoe spoken in Tsumeb and Grootfontein Specialties: phonetics, phonology, grammar, historical linguistics, tone</td>
<td>early 2010s to present</td>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Menan du Plessis</td>
<td>Extensive research in Kora</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Lee Pratchett</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Tshwa, a related Khoe language of Botswana as well as ǂAophoain (similar to Ju’hoan) Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Sylvanus Job</td>
<td>L1 speaker of Namibian Khoekhoegowab Specialty: morphology and syntax</td>
<td>2011 to present</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Christoph Wirsching</td>
<td>Experience with Namibian Khoekhoegowab Specialty: morphology and syntax</td>
<td>2011 to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Specialties</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Experience Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Niklaas Fredericks</td>
<td>L1 speaker of Namibian Khoekhoegowab</td>
<td>Speciality: phonology</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>2013 to present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Kerry Jones</td>
<td>Field work with Nama speakers in the Kalahari, with Khwe in Platfontein, South Africa as well as experience with !Xun, Ju</td>
<td>’hoansi and N</td>
<td>uu. Specialties: Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics, lexicon</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Admire Phiri</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Tjwao, a related Khoe language. African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun</td>
<td>ca. 2015 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Caroline Kloppert</td>
<td>Experience with Nama Expertise: Morphology</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Martin Mössmer</td>
<td>Fieldwork experience with Xri</td>
<td>2017 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Specialties</td>
<td>Time Period</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Camilla Christie</td>
<td>Experience with Nama words in Namaqualand Afrikaans. African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 2018 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Will Bennett</td>
<td>Experience with click phonology; Tum'i. Specialties: phonology, tone</td>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 2018 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Leland Kusmer</td>
<td>Experience with Nama Specialties: phonology &amp; morphosyntax</td>
<td></td>
<td>2018 to 2021</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Naomi Lee</td>
<td>Experience with Nama Specialties: morphology &amp; syntax</td>
<td></td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Community stakeholders and activists for Nama

Mr Lionel Pieter Dawids, a mother tongue Nama speaker from Riemvasmaak, is a convenor of standardisation, lexicography and terminology development of the Nama language for the Khoe and San National Language Body as coordinated by PanSALB.

Mr James Mapanka - South African Nama Development Association (SANDEVA)

Mr Gerrit Damarah - Nama Development Institute of South Africa (NADISA)

Mr Gerrt Links - Richtersveld Nama Authority

Ms Dina Christiaan is an advocate for the Nama language and is based in Steinkopf and provides translation services for local radio station Nama FM


Mr Paul Swartbooi - Bondelswarts Nama Authority

Ms Adelheid Bok - Onseepkans

Two schools where Nama is formally taught in South Africa

Riemvasmaak Primary School
Kuboes Primary School

Feedback from the local schools on support they’ve had for their language:

1. In 2004/2005 the Molteno project was rolled out in Nama to provide educational materials and resources in the language. These were done according to Molteno methodology with minimal community input. The resources were delivered however due to the lack of community collaboration and input many errors were found in the materials and therefore not necessarily suitable for teaching and learning purposes. A Manager was appointed by the Department of Education to evaluate this process and provide support where needed. Teachers and community members feel that this process could be improved.

2. Nama Development Institute of South Africa (NADISA) developed some standardised curriculum and grammar books in Nama, as well as some readers. This was done independently without any government support.
3. The Twinning Agreement was established in 2018 between ||Kharas Region of Namibia and the Northern Cape to support education in the Nama language. The intention was for the teaching and curriculum to be introduced in 2018 at a grade R level and for each grade to progress with each year. Six years later this is not the case and only grade R is taught. Neither of the schools have the proper curriculum and teacher support that they were promised as part of this program.

So far for the year 2023 neither school has received the correct curriculum materials and support required for the year (as of March 2023). Therefore no formal teaching of Nama has happened so far. The current support at both these schools is not sufficient for regular teaching and learning.

This matter should be urgently taken up with the Minister of Basic Education

Recommendations for the future

Intergenerational language transmission is imperative for language maintenance and language survival. As mentioned above, in relation to intergenerational language transmission, Nama in South Africa scores “b-, The language is spoken by adults in their thirties and older but not by younger parents” and for language vitality, “6b - Threatened - The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children- vulnerable” and “7 - Shifting - The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children - definitely endangered”. Therefore, it is clear that in its current state Nama is a threatened language in South Africa and undergoing a language shift to Afrikaans and other locally dominant languages in the Northern Cape region. Based on the above analysis of the current vitality status of Nama a multimodal approach is recommended to “(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of Nama”.

---

30 The South African Constitution 1996 (Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) a) ii)
The use of Nama in South Africa is dwindling from generation to generation. It is likely that without external and institutional support going forward that the language as it is used in South Africa will go extinct. This process is exacerbated by the change in lifestyle of South African Nama speakers with the introduction of new language domains that do not currently support their language in a South African context. There is a strong interest nationally for the support of the Nama language and culture from the Richtersveld, to Riemvasmaak to the Kalahari and the Karoo. Literacy efforts for mother tongue speakers as well as second or additional language speakers for both children and adults - require assistance with literacy efforts. This includes accommodating the language into new domains to ensure its survival e.g. media, literacy, education etc. Simultaneously, as a heritage language, it is important that South African Nama also be formally documented and preserved for future language maintenance efforts.

Documentation

Nama is spoken in the following countries: Angola, Namibia, Botswana and South Africa (Fredricks 2013). Efforts to document the language and its different dialects have taken place by many linguists mostly from Europe and Namibia. The South African context poses a challenge as the speaker populations are small and dispersed over a large geographical area due to diaspora as a result of multiple waves of colonisation. Detailed research into the remaining Nama dialects in South Africa is yet to occur and therefore we do not have an accurate description of those that remain and their current status. Therefore, in terms of language documentation it will be very important to do a national assessment and recording of Nama dialects found throughout the country. This is a large and costly undertaking that requires suitable funding, specialist linguists and the collaboration of Nama speaking communities. Such an undertaking will take several years of collaborative fieldwork and data collection on site in collaboration with local Nama speakers.

With only a few thousand speakers of Nama in South Africa and dwindling Nama speaking population with access to little or no resources in their mother tongue, the language is in need of urgent assistance for long term sustainable growth and development in the future. It is important to note that there are efforts to collaborate with Namibia - as Namibia has the largest Nama speaking population in the world and longest history of formally supporting the language. Such collaborations are strongly encouraged.
Table 22: Suggestions for future language documentation work of Nama in South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Potential output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development of standardised Nama orthography for educational purposes</td>
<td>Multilingual South African Nama dictionary. This can be in hard copy format, online and a mobile app version. It is strongly recommended to collaborate with SADiLaR for the tech development and archiving of the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>followed-up by extensive lexical documentation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of traditional stories as told by Nama elders</td>
<td>Such stories can be converted into language educational materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of traditional Nama songs</td>
<td>Song book with accompanying audio. This could be done in collaboration with the local radio station.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of Nama gospel songs</td>
<td>Such efforts could be conducted in collaboration with local choirs, the radio station and local language activists and released online via Youtube, sold as digital albums or CDs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation of the various Nama dialects in South Africa and their current status</td>
<td>To be archived in a publicly accessible repository for future use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preservation

Once language documentation takes place, it is important that it is preserved for future access and development. This is where the role of physical and digital archives become crucial in preserving linguistic records. In the past, the majority of documentation efforts have been deposited in international repositories as South Africa did not have a dedicated repository for languages. In recent years the Department of Science and Innovation opened the South African Centre for Digital Language Resources (SADiLaR).

Going forward, physically archived collections in South Africa that include South African Nama should be digitised and made accessible online in order to facilitate public access. Additionally, any new language documentation in Nama should be added to a central repository that facilitates free public access, is user friendly and has a long term plan in place for maintenance of digital data.
Table 23: Physical archives or private collections in South Africa that include Nama
that should be digitised and made publicly accessible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and location of collection</th>
<th>Action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brody, Hugh. (forthcoming). ČKhomani San</td>
<td>This collection is not fully digitised. The metadata still needs to be completed on the collection as well as transcriptions and translations of all film and audio files. This process started in 2014 but is a long term and large project and requires substantial funding to complete. This project could provide employment for local community members as advisors working in collaboration with linguists, translators, computer scientists, librarians and digital scholars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Brody Collection. Ibali Digital Collections, UCT</td>
<td><a href="https://ibali.uct.ac.za/s/ibali/page/welcome">https://ibali.uct.ac.za/s/ibali/page/welcome</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nama-FM recordings in their archive.</td>
<td>Nama-FM should be approached about making their Nama content freely available online and digitally archiving it in a suitable repository to facilitate public access and future study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Kiep, Northern Cape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ČXoake - Praat - Speak</td>
<td>Permission to be gained from Kalahari Nama participants to have these ELAN files and video files archived and made publicly accessible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional oral story project from the Kalahari</td>
<td>A selection of the stories could be used to generate a Nama story book or animation for educational and entertainment purposes in Nama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town, Western Cape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1 South African Nama and L2 Afrikaans adaptations of Nama loan words</td>
<td>Recordings need to be archived and made accessible (following the wishes of those recorded).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recorded by Camilla Christie (Rhodes University, Makhanda)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ideally, all Nama language recordings made in South Africa should be archived within South Africa. There is an opportunity for South Africa to take a leadership role in archiving languages in the SADC region. There are recordings of Nama speakers made by local and international researchers that are not part of an accessible digital archive. Should an archive based in southern Africa be available to such researchers, they would likely be more than willing to submit their extensive collections to be part of such an archive. An archival team would need to be dedicated to developing the metadata of such collections to make sure they adhere to the FAIR principles of digital archiving.

**Maintenance**

Language maintenance includes education and literacy development in the target language. This is only possible once the language has been documented enough to have a descriptive grammar and standardised orthography to ensure consistency for teaching and learning purposes. To date there isn't a standardised Nama orthography for Nama speakers in South Africa. It needs to be determined if the Nama grammar descriptions that have already been written would be applicable to a South African context or not. This would need to be established in collaboration with South African Nama speakers and specialist linguists. Without these two important resources developed and accessible, future literacy and language learning material for educational purposes are at risk of being inconsistent between publications. Such lack of consistency creates teaching and learning problems both for teachers and learners when it comes to developing literacy materials. E.g. how to represent long vowel sounds etc.

Maintenance of Nama can also be supported in areas that do not necessarily require literacy, e.g. the creation of audio and video materials for the purposes of education and entertainment. As the language still has a mostly elderly speaking population, audio and video materials can be created to support the language and encourage younger generations to use it.
### Table 24: Language maintenance recommendations for South African Nama that are in need of funds to be put into action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Proposed action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The suggested projects below need to be fully designed in collaboration with South African Nama speakers and selected linguists before being funded and put into action</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s dictionary in Nama</td>
<td>Thematic children’s dictionary. This can be monolingual, bilingual or multilingual accompanied by illustrations/photographs. Matching playing cards and learning material can be designed to accompany the dictionary and enhance learning.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Early childhood development (ECD) assessment of learning environment | Updated assessment needed for the ECD learning environments for Nama speaking children. What facilities and resources are needed to improve and facilitate learning. To be done on site in collaboration with teachers, learners and parents. Creation of a long term learning support program for children. This could be divided into two streams:  
1. Children who can already speak the language and need additional support  
2. Children who can’t speak the language at all |
| Adult literacy classes | Many adult Nama speakers have not had the opportunity to have basic literacy classes in their mother tongue. A basic survey can be conducted to determine who would be interested in participating in such a program and what would the target content be? Such a curriculum should be collaboratively designed with community members. Appropriate literacy materials to be designed for an adult audience. Creation of a long term learning support program for |


This could be divided into two streams:

1. Adults who can already speak the language and need additional support
2. Adults who can’t speak the language at all

**South African Nama YouTube channel**

Free online YouTube channel to host basic learning content in South African Nama.

The channel can be split into different themes for different audiences, e.g. Mother tongue Nama speakers (different age groups), Nama for non-mother tongue speakers, basic animated clips for teaching and learning etc.

It will be important to collaborate with local Nama speakers to determine which themes and context they would like to produce.

Such productions will require a budget to cover: equipment, training, internet access, project manager and full project design etc.

**Basic online Nama language game**

Designed in the form of a mobile app, a free app that encourages literacy and language use.

This project would require a partnership with Nama community members, animators, app developers, content developers, teachers and linguists.

**Upgrade of local teacher qualifications**

A needs assessment for local Nama teachers to have their teaching qualifications upgraded. Such training can include the use of the newly developed language learning materials.

New young teachers also need support to begin their teaching career and gain meaningful local employment to encourage and sustain local language development and maintenance efforts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book series</th>
<th>Production and distribution of works on special/themed subjects specific to the Nama people (e.g. plants, animals, traditional life)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Storybooks</td>
<td>Production and distribution of storybooks with accompanying workbooks for teachers and learners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animated short films</td>
<td>Production of animated films based on traditional stories and other texts (with annotated texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University partnerships</td>
<td>Interested Nama speakers and South African Universities could partner up for longer term collaborations in a mutually beneficial exchange of teaching and learning from each other. Such an endeavour could be formally funded and supported for long term language development goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nama film festival</td>
<td>A film festival can be arranged for screenings online or throughout South Africa in target areas where Nama speakers reside and where there is an interest in learning the Nama language. The necessary screening and licensing procedures will need to be followed with the film makers etc in order to secure the rights to screen the films publicly. Such an event will share the Nama language and culture through the medium and film where literacy in the language is not needed. In some cases additional funds would be required for adding subtitles or dubbing to selected films to ensure the target audience can follow the film.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nama language school in the Kalahari</td>
<td>There are many mother tongue speakers of Nama in the Kalahari region of South Africa. Further investigation into identifying the speakers and providing a language school for both adults and children where the Nama language is the primary focus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Such schools can use audio, visual and text based support for the language. | Such schools can use audio, visual and text based support for the language.  

**Teacher training in the Nama language**

It must be noted that there is a shortage of qualified teachers to teach Nama as a language who have been trained how to teach and what to teach in the language itself. Such training does not yet exist in South Africa but there are training facilities in Namibia that do provide such services.  

It is recommended that teachers receive such training to be more effective in the classroom and foster relationships with Namibian sister schools.  

**Standardised Curriculum for the Nama language in South Africa**

There has been a strong plea from many years from the Nama speaking population of South Africa to have a standardised orthography, set curriculum and teaching materials for the Nama language both for mother tongue speakers and second language speakers.  

To date this has not been delivered or rolled out.  

It is recommended that a suitable task team is allocated for this task and held accountable for deliverables.  

**Locally produced Nama Films**

African Tongue in collaboration with the South African Astronomical Observatory and the Riemvasmaak community have created a script and budget for a local Nama film to be shot on location and create local employment, as well as spread awareness about the Nama language and culture.  

A call for local films to be produced in Nama should be encouraged and funded.  

**Nama-Afrikaans dictionary**

An Afrikaans translation of the Haacke & Eiseb dictionary has been requested by community members for more than two decades (cf. Berzborn 2003).
Khwe falls into the Khoe language family and is also known as: Khwedam (in the language itself); the language and its speakers have been referred to as: Kxoé, Kxoe, ḫXom, ḫXoo, ḫAni, Zama, Vazama, Mucuazamas, Cazamas, Mucuengos, Cacuengos, Hukwe, Xǔ, Xũkhwe, Kwengo, Makwengo, Gǀanda, ṭAnda, Gǀandakhwe, ḫAnikhwe, Gǀani, Gǀanikhwe, Buga, Bugakhwe, Buka, Bukakhwe, Handá, etc.

**History of Khwe in South Africa**

Today, Khwe speakers are found in five countries: Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia. Notably, the centre of their range is the eastern Caprivi (Robbins, 2006: 6). During Portugal’s War in Angola (1961-1974), and the Namibian War of Independence (1966-1989), many Khwe were part of the South African Defence Force (SADF). In 1990, when Namibia gained political independence, approximately 1000 Khwe, as well as their dependents, were relocated to Schmidtsdrift by the SADF and given South African residency (Robins, Madzudzo, and Brenzinger, 2001). In the early 2000s they were again relocated from their temporary tent city dwellings in Schmidtsdrift to a farm called Platfontein, just outside of Kimberley in the Northern Cape of South Africa (Robbins, 2006).

**Approximate number of Khwe speakers in South Africa**

The number of Khwe speakers in South Africa is approximately 1200 speakers in and around the Platfontein area. These Khwe speakers mostly originate from Namibia where there are approximately 4000 speakers left, followed by Botswana with 1700 and Angola and Zambia 300-400 speakers (Brenzinger 2013: 22). These figures need to be updated for a South African context for 2023.
Map 8: The distribution of Khwe speakers in southern Africa according to figures provided by Brenzinger (2013: 10, 22).
Location of remaining Khwe speakers in South Africa

The majority of Khwe speakers in South Africa live in and around Platfontein in the Northern Cape. Since 2011 the numbers have increased from 1200 speakers to well over 2000. Exact numbers are still to be verified for 2023.

Map 9: Platfontein in relation to the closest town, Kimberley, North Cape, South Africa

Vitality Status of Khwe

For a description of intergenerational language transmission as listed by UNESCO as the first evaluative factor for language vitality as well as some basic theory on language vitality, language maintenance and language revitalisation, please see section “Vitality Status of N|uu” above.
Table 25: Potential scenarios of intergenerational language degradation, (Krauss, 1997:26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorisation system for intergenerational language transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>a-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-d</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>e</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Khwe scores “a, The language is spoken by all generations, including all, or nearly all of the children” for intergenerational language transmission.”

This score is strong evidence that the language has a healthy oral practice among the Khwe people in South Africa and therefore is a very good candidate for further development, most especially in new domains such as literacy and media. For an in depth description of intergenerational language transmission of Khwe in Platfontein, please see the thesis written by Jones, 2017.

Language endangerment of Khwe according to the E[xtended] Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is a score of “6a - Vigorous - The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language- safe”
Overall the language vitality of Khwe is in a safe state, as the language is being passed on orally from generation to generation. However, Khwe is considered endangered due to the low numbers of speakers globally in total which puts it at risk of endangerment.

Table 26: Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons, 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EGIDS Level</th>
<th>EGIDS Label</th>
<th>EGIDS Description</th>
<th>UNESCO Descriptor</th>
<th>UNESCO factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at a nationwide level.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Written</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>Vigorous</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shifting</td>
<td>The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children</td>
<td>Definitely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Moribund</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.</td>
<td>Severely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Nearly extinct</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.</td>
<td>Critically endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dormant</td>
<td>The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Orthography and literacy practices of Khwe**

According to formalised discussions on the use of Khwe orthography for everyday use, education and literacy development, the **Penduka declaration is used as a guiding document** from Khwe speakers in South Africa, Namibia and Botswana.

*The Penduka Declaration is very good. Yes, it is very helpful. We agreed on a simplified version of the existing orthography*

(KRaDO, personal communication, 15/04/2014)
The Khwe orthography was initially developed by German linguist Oswin Köhler (Köhler, 1962, 1981, 1989, 1991). A simplified version of this orthography was requested by Khwe speakers in the Penduka Declaration. According to SASI, Khwe speakers would have assistance in the modification of their alphabet with the help of researchers from the University of Cologne (SASI, 2002: 28). Köhler was a professor and then associate professor at the University of Cologne from 1960 until 1977, where his work was subsequently archived (http://oka.uni-frankfurt.de/, accessed 04/04/2016). For this reason, researchers from the University of Cologne were asked to assist with the development of the Khwe orthography.

Over and above continuous disappointment from the South African government from 1996-2000 where no practical support for the Khwe language was provided a dispute between Khwe speakers and researchers from the University of Cologne arose. This dispute centred around who has the right to decide on the selection of a standardised Khwe orthography. According to the SASI annual review (2002: 15):

*The University of Cologne’s Department of Linguistics attempted to enforce an alphabet with symbols that cannot be used on a normal ASCII based computer. Khwe activists held the position that they developed in the Penduka Conference on Language Standardisation in 2001. Cologne eventually accepted that Khwe people in Africa might write the language as best suits their technological needs.*

This was confirmed by KRaDO who felt very strongly that their language was stolen from them.

*We decided to change the use of the language to be more user friendly and computer friendly. The German linguists were not happy that we did this. They contacted us through WIMSA under the WIMSA education program. We did not solve our differences. They were very angry with us for making our decision and said that we can’t take out the tones and make the language computer friendly. They said that we must leave the language as it is. They stole our language and took it to a German university (KRaDO, personal communication, 15/04/2014).*
There is one published Khwe dictionary:


Available online as a hardcopy or pdf: https://www.koeppe.de/titel_khwe-dictionary

Copies can also be purchased in Windhoek from Macmillan Publishers educational book store.

By 2003, a Khwe/English dictionary was published in collaboration with Namibian Khwe speakers and Christa Kilian-Hatz from the University of Cologne, who expanded upon what Oswin Köhler had done before her (Kilian-Hatz, 2003). Although a great advance for speakers of Khwe, KRaDO members felt that the text is not user-friendly to non-linguists and not conducive for everyday use.
We use the dictionary that we agreed on in the Penduka Declaration. The green one, but it is difficult to use. It is easier for academics than the community. It is not user friendly and not computer friendly. Also the representation of the tone markers are too complicated and other letters that are not easy to find and use. e.g.: The use of ɛ in the alphabet (KRaDO, personal communication, 15/04/2014).

Similarly, according to KRaDO:

*The Khwe language Committee still exists today but they haven’t done anything in years. They were working under SASI but SASI has had financial trouble over the last few years and so funding and work levels have been low. Things are now slowly starting to pick up. We are currently not working on any projects. This group has the potential to be effective but we have no funding or resources* (KRaDO, personal communication, 15/04/2014).\(^ {31}\)

**There is one published Khwe grammar:**


---

\(^ {31}\) A meeting was had with KRaDO and Dr Jones to discuss language development issues from the time that they moved to Platfontein. This took place at the !Xunkhwesa School, 15 April 2014, Platfontein.
To date, a verified Khwe orthography for Khwe speakers in South Africa is yet to be developed. The Namibian government has created an orthography for educational and literacy purposes in Namibia. It may be prudent to collaborate with Namibia on their efforts to see if such an orthography could also be suitable in a South African context. Should this be possible there the two countries could share literary resources and encourage literacy of the same language on both sides of the border.

**Mother Tongue publications in Khwe**

Mother tongue publications have originated in Namibia (in the 1990s) and Botswana in Khwe and later appeared in South Africa in 2004 and 2007 with early readers published by Molteno.


Available online as a hardcopy or pdf:

https://www.koeppe.de/titel_folktales-of-the-kxoe-in-the-west-caprivi

Wilson, Pinkie & Molteno Project. (2007). **Tio kurina: Breakthrough to Khwedam: Reader 1: grade 1.** Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. [16pp]

Wilson, Pinkie & Molteno Project. (2007). **Te ndeku: Breakthrough to Khwedam: Reader 2: grade 1.** Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. [16pp]


Wilson, Pinkie & Molteno Project. (2007). **Cureki: Breakthrough to Khwedam: Reader 4: grade 1.** Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. [16pp]


In 2004, “Breakthrough to Literacy” material was developed in Khwe by Molteno Institute for Language and Literacy and piloted at the !Xunkhwesa school in Platfontein (SASI, 2004: 54). Khwe language facilitators received training on how to use the materials for the early literacy phases of education (SASI, 2004: 54). Later that year the second Penduka Declaration was made and the following was recommended in a South African context:

> We note with pride the inclusion of San and Khoe languages in Section 6 of the South African Constitution. We also note the slow progress in the implementation of San languages in formal schooling. We call on South Africa to coordinate language in education efforts between the Department of National Education and the Northern Cape Department of Education. We call on the Department of Arts and Culture at National level to articulate a clear policy on San and Khoe languages, specifically addressing the issues of vulnerable traditional knowledge and the safe-guarding of endangered languages, such as N|u (WIMSA, 2004: 7-8).

After the second Penduka Declaration, no further submissions to the government were made or Penduka Declarations coordinated by SASI. There are members of the Khwe Research and Language Development Organisation (KRaDO) who are literate in their mother tongue and received training on the use of the Molteno language materials. Despite these two factors in their favour, mother tongue education does not currently occur in Khwe in Platfontein due to lack of funding. There is also dissatisfaction around the literacy products produced thus far, as members of KRaDO feel that the texts should have been edited together with the community before publication as they contain errors.

> Yes, we received training and the books were used for a few months but then there was no money to pay the teachers. They are good but there are mistakes in them. They need to be edited.

(KRaDO, personal communication, 15/04/2014).

In Botswana in 2007, a series of bilingual English/Khwe books were published describing various culturally specific topics from everyday life. E.g. Book 3 describes the use of veld plants for food and medicine by the Khwe of Botswana. These books are well received by Khwe speakers and considered important for documenting indigenous

---

32 Molteno is a South African based non-profit organisation.
knowledge. Khwe speaking descendants growing up in South Africa do not have access to this knowledge anymore as they no longer live in the same area as their forefathers. The vegetation in Platfontein is very different to that found in Botswana and Namibia where other Khwe speaking communities live. Khwe speaking residents of Platfontein will lose access to this kind of indigenous knowledge for future generations. This series of publications was funded by the Comic Relief fund and Open Channels in the UK.
In Namibia, in 2009, there was a flurry of mother tongue Khwe publications:


This publication was funded by First Voices, a Canadian NGO and published by Trafford Publishing. The content was created by local Khwe language activists Petra Ocipka and Bothas Marinda.
This reader by WIMSA is a collection of black and white illustrated short stories in Khwe as told by Namibian Khwe speakers. The publication was supported by WIMSA, and NIED and funded by ICEIDA. It would be important to share such texts with South African Khwe speakers to find out if they are happy with the orthography and would like access to such resources.
This book is part of the government prescribed curriculum in Namibia and is part of the “Go for Environmental Studies” program for grade 1 learners. It was developed by the Namibian Basic Education Program and funded through WIMSA. The original text was translated into Khwe by Bothas Marinda.

In 2010, in collaboration with the Nanetya Foundation, ethnic Stories in Mother Tongue, stories in Khwe were transcribed and translated and made available online in Khwe with assistance from Marlene Winberg and Willemien le Roux. These stories can be found online at the following link:

http://nanetya-foundation.org/category/african-stories/botswana/
(Some of the Khwe stories in Winberg's (2010) collection "The Storyteller" appear on this website.)
In 2012 SASI produced a bilingual illustrated storybook in Khwe and Afrikaans (the same text was produced in N|uu and !Xun too).


This publication was funded by the South African Aids foundation, an NGO as well as Airports Company of South Africa (ACSA). The project was overseen by the South African San Institute (SASI) who coordinated the process and the local and international collaborators. This included the Khwe Language Committee as well as the Khoe, San and Nama National Language Board. The Khwe translations themselves were done by Billies Pamo, Jafta Kapunda, PW Manu, Tomsen Nore, Ghumba Katchorro. Overall, this is a culturally sensitive publication that facilitated interest in literacy in Khwe.
In 2014 and 2015 African Tongue ran the Language Tent at the Kalahari Desert Festival funded by the National Lottery Commision. In 2014 the theme was animals where children could come and learn about the different names for animals in N|uu, !Xun and Khwe and making match masks and nametags to remember their lessons. In 2015 the children focussed on language and identity and made Kalahari Passports where they had fun with instamatic cameras and writing basic sentences in N|uu, !Xun and Khwe about who the children are and where they come from.

In 2017, Kerry Jones received funding from Germany via African Tongue to produce a series of 6 basic classroom posters along with accompanying worksheets for the grade R and grade 1 Khwe speaking children. These were made in collaboration with Khwe community members and children and are bilingual Khwe/Afrikaans. The methodology is discussed in the following presentation.
Examples of the poster series are provided below:
The Bible Society of South Africa have been reportedly working with Khwe speakers in South Africa since 2018, according to SABC News. The translation is expected to be completed by 2030. Translation work has been done collaboratively with mother tongue speakers and provided employment for local language activists, teachers and language enthusiasts. **It would be very important, going forward, to collaborate with these community members on Khwe literacy efforts** as they already have an established orthography and writing culture that they use among themselves that should be aligned with educational materials and other literacy outputs (further discussion on this provided in the recommendations section).

**Mother Tongue productions in Khwe**

**Radio**

As mentioned in the !Xun section and repeated here for the Khwe. A long standing community production effort in Khwe in Platfontein is XK-FM radio station (107.9FM) which produces content both in !Xun and Khwe for local listeners. The station was launched 18 Augusts 2000 by the late Minister of communication, Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburi in Schmidtsdrift. The station later moved to Kimberly and then Platfontein in 2005. This is a community radio station that has a broadcasting licence from the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). All employees (total 17) at XK-FM come from Platfontein and air 15 hours of content per day. Staff include: presenters, station manager, music compilers, producers and an archivist.

One can listen to the station live online at the following link: [http://web.sabc.co.za/digital/player/1.0/xkfm/index.html#listenLiveTab](http://web.sabc.co.za/digital/player/1.0/xkfm/index.html#listenLiveTab)

---

It is important to note that the station archivist keeps a record of !Xun and Khwe material that is aired and has been doing so since the launch of the station. Therefore there are thousands of hours of recorded content in the form of songs, interviews, soap operas, children’s shows, news, health information and traditional storytelling. Such records should be archived at a national level for heritage and educational purposes.

Film

Voice of our Forefathers was created by filmmaker Tom Bongani Hart while registered at the University of KwaZulu Natal for his Masters degree. This short film was made in collaboration with Khwe speakers from Platfontein in 2008 and is an excellent example of collaborative media making. The film is set in Platfontein and includes animation to represent the historical aspects of the story and on site footage for the contemporary representation. The film can be found online for free at the following link: https://youtu.be/6IdT8LmH5gg
Film review:

"Voices of Our Forefathers (2008) is a participatory video that was made with a group of Khwe Bushmen in Platfontein in the Northern Cape. It is unique not only for its inclusion of the Khwe subjects in the production process, but also for its unique representation of them. It portrays them from historical as well as modern perspectives. This research explores how a group of Khwe youth -- the research participants -- engaged and negotiated their encounter with the Voices of Our Forefathers (2008). It does this within the context of participatory communication for development and participatory video.

The research explores research participants' responses to Voices of Our Forefathers and critically examines articulations of empowerment. Most of the research participants felt empowered because VOOF (2008) incorporated the Khwe in the production process, particularly in terms of how they wanted to be represented. The Khwe Bushmen's participation in their representation resulted in a range of nuanced interpretations and responses to VOOF (2008), which included discussions on rethinking their identities, learning new skills, fostering a sense of ownership of the film and the use of their language (Khwedam) in The Voices of Our Forefathers. It is argued, however, that although the research participants may have expressed that they are empowered, this needs to be understood and critically examined with respect to the larger contexts within which Bushmen, in general, live, which may or may not affect their senses of and the realities of their empowerment. Finally, it is argued that VOOF (2008) needs to be understood as a part of an on-going process in participatory communication for development. It might not have provided research participants with the necessary resources to completely transform their lives; it did, however, contribute to changing how they perceive themselves, which, according to Freirean theory, is a necessary step in empowering oneself." Jonathan Dockney (2010).34

34 Dockney's (2010) comments appear on the YouTube page for this film
Kukuri is a film produced and directed by local film producer and director Philippe Talavera. It was funded by the Ombetja Yehinga Organisation (OYO) Trust. The film premiered 14 June 2018 and is a fiction film about the life of a young Khwe woman from Kavango East, Namibia. This film is primarily in the ǁXoo variety of Khwe (with English subtitles).

The film can be found online at the following link: Kukuri | Full African Drama Movie in English | TidPix

Kukuri explores themes of teen marriage, traditional expectations and career ambitions. It is a film designed to showcase experiences relevant to the modern lives of Khwe speakers.

SanDance! A journey to the heart of Africa's original dance culture... is a film produced and directed by local film producer and director Richard Wicksteed. The film premiered 2 August 2020 and is a documentary film about dance culture among the San people. This film includes Khwe speakers (with English subtitles) and their input about the importance of traditional dancing for healing purposes and connecting with their ancestors. A trailer of the film can be found online at the following link: https://youtu.be/Mr7s9vq2tCg
Synopsis by filmmaker:

“SanDance! is a documentary film that celebrates the transcendent dance culture of the San - the first people of Africa, and of all humanity. SanDance! follows five San dance groups from rehearsals in remote Kalahari villages into electrifying performances at the annual Kuru Dance Festival in Botswana. Along the way, SanDance! immerses viewers in the visionary world of the age-old trance-healing dance that lies at the heart of San ancestral culture in the Kalahari.” Richard Wicksteed
Archives and Digital Collections that include Khwe

Description: ||Xom Khwe


Note: includes many Khwe and ||Ani recordings made from 1959-1992.

Description: Ernst Westphal was a professor of African Languages at the University of Cape Town from 1962 - 1984. Much of his research interests included recording and documenting Khoe, Kx’a and Tuu languages. These included recordings of Khwe and field notes produced in approximately 1961-1965. Varieties of Khwe as labelled by Westphal include (from north to south)35: Xũ, Gǁani, Buka, and Handá. It is not known if speakers of all of these Khwe varieties reside in South Africa.

---


Description: includes transcriptions of 86 animal words in Khwe taken from various publications. Database includes pictures of animals.

---

35 At present, there are no recordings labelled as Xũ in the Westphal archive. Westphal indicates that Xũ was spoken in Angola and the other varieties in Botswana.
Resources that are not yet archived therefore not publicly accessible


Description: includes ||Ani & Gjanda (Buga of Khwai). Uncertain if notes on these languages represent older sources or Traill's own field notes.


Description: includes ||Ani, Buga Khwe & Gjanda (Buga of Khwai). Uncertain if notes on these languages represent older sources or Voßen's own field notes.


Description: ||Xom Khwe


Scholarly works on Khwe focus on different aspects of the language that are of interest to other scholars. Broadly speaking, these works tend to fall into one of the following categories:

1) The most basic type of linguistic study involves the documentation of words in a word list. There is currently no study of the South African Khwe lexicon. There is one Khwe dictionary (Kilian-Hatz 2003), based on ||Xom Khwe. Although this is a well-regarded dictionary, it is not known how well this dictionary represents the Khwe varieties spoken in South Africa. Certainly, a more comprehensive dictionary could be achieved with further work (see comments in Chebanne 2007), as has been demonstrated by the large numbers of words found in Khwe texts that are not in the dictionary (e.g. Köhler 2021, vol. 5.1, pp. 628-634; vol. 5.2 pp. 644-650).

There are a number of scholarly works describing particular sets of Botswanan or Namibian Khwe words and names. For instance, words for traditional cultural items are given in Boden (2001), plant names in Schladt (2000b) and kinship terminology in Boden (2014a). Khwe personal and place names have also been described (e.g. Boden 2014b, White & le Roux 2003a). Khwe gestures have been documented in a few studies (e.g. Hindley 2014, Mohr 2017, Mohr et al. 2019).

2) Studies of phonetics and phonology focus on the mechanical aspects of how clicks and other sounds are pronounced. There are currently no studies of South African Khwe phonetics or phonology. There are also no studies of the phonetics of Khwe spoken in other countries. There are only a few studies of ||Ani phonology, including Elderkin (2019) and Vossen (1986, 2003, 2013). It is not known if there are speakers of ||Ani Khwe in South Africa. Fehn's (2019) comparative study of Khwe dialect phonology is an important recent work on the sound system of Khwe, including tone.

3) Other studies focus on the mechanisms by which Khwe words and sentences are formed. The rules of Khwe grammar are unique to Khwe and provide a window into the cognitive mechanism that allows for human languages to have similar structures, while at
the same time allowing for differences among different languages. There are currently no studies of South African Khwe morphology or syntax. Studies of the morphology and syntax of a number of different Khwe varieties have been conducted by Oswin Köhler, Bernd Heine, Christa Kilian-Hatz, Anne-Maria Fehn and Rainer Vossen. The most significant of these is Kilian-Hatz's (2008) "A Grammar of Modern Khwe (Central Khoisan)".

4) Other studies take an interest in how the different structures of Khwe (sounds, words, grammar) change over space and time. It is impossible for any single study to describe every aspect of linguistic structure, much less how such structures change over time. There are currently no studies of South African Khwe historical/comparative linguistics. Important works on Khwe language structures have been written by Oswin Köhler, Edward Elderkin, Anne-Maria Fehn and Rainer Vossen. Fehn's (2019) comparative study of Khwe dialects has the most relevance for researchers interested in South African Khwe. This work focuses on changes in phonology and the lexicon that have taken place across time and space in the Khwe varieties of Namibia and Botswana.

5) There are no literary studies of South African Khwe texts. There are, however, a number of text collections of Khwe spoken elsewhere, including Kilian-Hatz's (1999) "Folktales of the Kxoe in the west Caprivi" and her 1997 collection "Modern Kxoe Songs". Oswin Köhler's enormous collection of texts are published by the German publishing house Dietrich Reimer in a series entitled: "Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute im südlichen Afrika" / "The World of the Khwe Bushmen in Southern Africa". These books are very expensive and inaccessible to most South Africans. Boden's (2014b) book on Khwe family names contains many texts in Khwe recorded in Namibia.


6) Studies that have a focus on developing a language fall under the rubric of Applied Linguistics. Pedagogical works mentioned earlier in this report would count as such academic products. A few works that we list in this category include ones that provide information about the number and location of the Khwe. Works that describe the presence of Khwe in Angola include Brenzinger (2001, 2010, 2013).

The development of a Khwe orthography out of the work of Oswin Köhler, Christa Kilian-Hatz and Mathias Schladt is described in Schladt (2000a).

A book entitled “Voices of the San: Living in Southern Africa Today” was launched in Kimberley, South Africa that contained stories of San people throughout southern Africa, including those of the !Xun and the Khwe, by Willemien le Roux and Alison White (SASI, 2004: 55). The presence of multimedia publications in South Africa featuring the voices of !Xun and Khwe people was a first for South African history.
In a South African context, publications that focus on language and education (Siegruhn, 2002; Laurenson, 2003; Pamo, 2011; Grant, 2019; Siegruhn & Grant, 2021), contemporary scenario updates (Jones, 2019), as well as language attitudes (Jones, 2017) assist with providing a social and political context of Khwe in the Northern Cape. Such descriptions and analyses are important for laying the contextual background of the new environment for Khwe speakers in order to assist with further linguistic study of the language.

7) The majority of ethnographic/anthropological works about the Khwe relate to their life in Angola, Botswana and Namibia and not South Africa. One exception is work by Itunu Bodunrin on the use of hip-hop among Khwe in Platfontein.


Mushawango, David. (2004). Khwe Community, Omega 1 village, Namibia. Penduka II Declaration on San languages in education. Penduka II: Second WIMSA International Conference on San Languages in


**UNESCO support of Khwe**

UNESCO has sponsored the South African website, [http://www.san.org.za/](http://www.san.org.za/) featuring important cultural heritage information online including information about Khwe. The site was managed by SASI and is still active online.

Khwe should be added to UNESCOs Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger. The latest version is due 2023. To date there is poor representation of endangered African Languages in this publication.
Linguists who have worked on Khwe

The only linguist who has conducted research on South African Khwe is Kerry Jones.

There is currently little capacity within South Africa for scholars with sufficient background to conduct high-quality studies of South African Khwe. We list these and others scholars here who have demonstrated the potential to work on South African Khwe.

Table 27: Linguists’ potential availability for future work on the documentation, preservation and maintenance of Khwe
(Those who are located in South Africa are highlighted)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contribution/specialty</th>
<th>Year work began on Khwe</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Availability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Oswin Köhler</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khwe</td>
<td>1959-1990s</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rainer Vossen</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khoe languages</td>
<td>1980s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Amanda Miller</td>
<td>Fluent 2nd language speaker of Ju’hoansi; extensive field work on N</td>
<td>uu, Hoan, Mangetti Dune !Xun, Ekoka !Xun and Grootfontein !Xun</td>
<td>Early 1990s to late 2000s</td>
<td>California, USA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Specialties: phonetics, phonology, tone, lexicon, grammar

36 Not listed here are excellent scholars such as Kemmonye Monaka, Andy Chebanne and Hirosi Nakagawa who will presumably be preoccupied with work on various Kx'a, Tuu and Khoe languages of Botswana for which development goals have been established.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Experience/Field Work</th>
<th>Specialties</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bernd Heine</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ekoka/Okongo !Xun and some Angolan !Xun; Khwe</td>
<td>Syntax, morphology, lexicon, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Mid 1990s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mathias Schladt</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khwe</td>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 1998-2000</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Matthias Brenzinger</td>
<td>Experience with Khwe</td>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 1999-2008</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Christa Kilian-Hatz</td>
<td>Extensive experience working with Khwe material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive.</td>
<td>Morphology, lexicon, syntax</td>
<td>late 1990s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bonny Sands</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the languages with similarly complex sound systems: N</td>
<td>uu, Hoan, Mangetti Dune !Xun, Ekoka !Xun, Grootfontein !Xun, Hadza, Sandawe</td>
<td>Phonetics, lexicon, phonology, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Late 1990s to present</td>
<td>Flagstaff, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gertrud Boden</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khwe and Western !Xóó and ‘Njohan (a Taa language of Namibia), languages with similarly-challenging sound systems.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|   | Experience working with !Xun material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive.  
Specialties: Anthropologically-oriented work (kinship terms, language and the landscape, story-telling, etc.) |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | Chris Collins | Extensive field work on Kua and Tsua, related Khoe languages (as well as work on Jul’hoansi, N|uu, Hoan, Sasí, other languages with similarly complex sound systems).  
Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, phonetics and phonology | Early 2000s to present | New York, USA | Yes |
| 11 | Christa König | Extensive field work on Ekoka/Okongo !Xun and analysis of Khwe  
Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, historical linguistics | Early 2000s to present | Germany | Possibly |
| 12 | Akira Takada | Extensive field work on Ekoka !Xun and |Gui, a related Khoe language.  
Specialties: Anthropologically-oriented work (kinship terms, language socialisation, etc.) | Early 2000s to present | Japan | Possibly |
| 13 | Tom Güldemann | Extensive field work on the morphology and syntax of N|uu, as well as Kx’a, Tuu and Khoe-Kwadi languages in general  
Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology, historical linguistics | Early 2000s to late 2000s | Germany | Possibly |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Experience and Specialties</th>
<th>Timeframe</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Anne-Maria Fehn</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Khwe dialects of Namibia and Botswana including ǁAni.</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ts‘ixa, a related Khoe language.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Extensive experience working with Khwe material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: morphology, lexicon, syntax, phonology, tone, historical linguistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Alena Witzlack-Makarevich</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the morphology and syntax of N</td>
<td>uu and Khoekhoe, a related Khoe language.</td>
<td>Mid-2000s to present</td>
<td>Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Christian Rapold</td>
<td>Field work experience on ǂAakhoe Haijjom, a related Khoe language</td>
<td>early 2010s to present</td>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Christfried Naumann</td>
<td>Field work experience on Taa</td>
<td>early 2010s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: phonetics, phonology, grammar, historical linguistics, tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lee Pratchett</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Tshwa, a related Khoe language of Botswana as well as ǂAo</td>
<td>ϕ</td>
<td>ein (similar to Ju</td>
<td>’hoan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Time Period</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Menan du Plessis</td>
<td>Extensive research in Kora which is related to Khwe</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kerry Jones</td>
<td>Field work with Khwe in Platfontein, South Africa; extensive experience with !Xun, Ju</td>
<td>hoansi and N</td>
<td>uu, languages with similarly-challenging sound systems</td>
<td>2014 to present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics, lexicon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Admire Phiri</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Tjwao, a related Khoe language. African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun</td>
<td>ca. 2015 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Camilla Christie</td>
<td>Experience with Nama words in Namaqualand Afrikaans. African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun.</td>
<td>ca. 2018 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Will Bennett</td>
<td>Experience with click phonology; Tum‘i.</td>
<td>ca. 2018 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: phonology, tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Community stakeholders and activists for Khwe

Among the Khwe speaking residents of Platfontein there are two community based groups that focus on the use of the Khwe language, especially in the written form:

1) Khwe Language Committee

2) Khwe Research and Development Organisation (KRaDO)

According to the current list of members of the Khoe and San National Language Body as coordinated by PanSALB and provided to African Tongue by Mr Moremi, there are two Khwe representatives on the KSNLB, Ms Bediana Mushavhanga and Mr Wentzel Katjara.

Recommendations for the future

Intergenerational language transmission is imperative for language maintenance and language survival. As mentioned above, in relation to intergenerational language transmission, Khwe scores “a, The language is spoken by all generations, including all, or nearly all of the children” and for language vitality, “6a - Vigorous - The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first languagesafe”. Therefore, it is clear that in its current state Khwe is naturally being passed from one generation to the next in oral form. Based on the above analysis of the current vitality status of Khwe a multimodal approach is recommended to “(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of Khwe”.

---

37 The South African Constitution 1996 (Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) a) ii)
Khwe is being successfully passed on orally from one generation to the next. In the future this will not be enough for its survival in terms of language use as the lifeways of Khwe speakers change over time to a sedentary way of life. From a language domain analysis of language use conducted by Jones (2017), it is clear that there are very positive attitudes towards Khwe by the Platfontein Khwe descendants and that they require assistance with literacy efforts. This includes accommodating the language into new domains to ensure its survival e.g. media, literacy, education etc. Simultaneously, as a heritage language, it is important that Khwe also be formally documented and preserved for future language maintenance efforts.

**Documentation**

Khwe is spoken in Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Botswana and Zambia. Efforts to document the language and its different dialects have taken place by many linguists mostly from Europe and the USA as well as South Africa. The South African context poses a complex context because the Khwe speakers that reside in South Africa, come from various regions in southern Africa and therefore do not necessarily all speak the same dialect. In terms of language documentation it will be very important to collaborate with South African Khwe speakers in order to establish what their priorities are in relation to literacy practices in order to develop an orthography that is practically applicable and suitable for their needs. From a scientific standpoint, it will be helpful to undergo this orthography development process in collaboration with suitably qualified linguists too to ensure that there is consistency throughout. Such an undertaking will take several years of collaborative fieldwork and data collection on site in collaboration with local Khwe speakers and teachers.

With a few thousand speakers of Khwe in South Africa and an active speaking population, the language holds strong possibilities for long term sustainable growth and development in the future for both educational, media, religious and technological domains. It is also important to note that there are efforts to develop educational materials in Namibia and Botswana and these have the potential to also be used in South Africa.
### Table 28: Suggestions for future language documentation work of Khwe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Potential output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development of standardised Khwe orthography for educational purposes followed-up by extensive lexical documentation</td>
<td>Multilingual South African Khwe dictionary. This can be in hard copy format, online and a mobile app version. It is strongly recommended to collaborate with SADiLaR for the tech development and archiving of the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of traditional stories as told by Khwe elders</td>
<td>Such stories can be converted into language educational materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of traditional Khwe songs</td>
<td>Song book with accompanying audio. This could be done in collaboration with the local radio station.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation and transcription of Khwe gospel songs</td>
<td>Such efforts could be conducted in collaboration with local choirs, the radio station and local language activists and released online via Youtube, sold as digital albums or CDs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Preservation

Once language documentation takes place, it is important that this work is preserved for future access and development. This is where the role of physical and digital archives become crucial in preserving linguistic records. In the past, the majority of documentation efforts have been deposited in international repositories as South Africa did not have a dedicated repository for languages. In recent years the Department of Science and Innovation opened the South African Centre for Digital Language Resources (SADiLaR).

Going forward, physically archived collections in South Africa that include Khwe should be digitised and made accessible online in order to facilitate public access. Additionally, any new language documentation in Khwe should be added to a central repository that facilitates free public access, is user friendly and has a long term plan in place for maintenance of digital data.
### Table 29: Physical archives or private collections in South Africa that include Khwe that should be digitised and made publicly accessible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and location of collection</th>
<th>Action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XK-FM Khwe recordings in their archive. Platfontein, Northern Cape</td>
<td>XK-FM and SABC could be approached about making a selection of their archived content digitally available on an online platform for public access and future study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Life Stories Cape Town, Western Cape</td>
<td>Permission to be gained from Khwe participants to have these ELAN files and audio archived and made publicly accessible. A selection of the stories could be used to generate a Khwe story book or animation for educational and entertainment purposes in Khwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ideally, all Khwe language recordings made in South Africa should be archived within South Africa. There is an opportunity for South Africa to take a leadership role in archiving languages in the SADC region. There are many recordings of Khwe made by local and international researchers that are not part of an accessible digital archive. Should an archive based in southern Africa be available to such researchers, they would likely be more than willing to submit their extensive collections to be part of such an archive. An archival team would need to be dedicated to developing the metadata of such collections to make sure they adhere to the FAIR principles of digital archiving.

### Maintenance

Language maintenance includes education and literacy development in the target language. This is only possible once the language has been documented enough to have a descriptive grammar and standardised orthography to ensure consistency for teaching and learning purposes. To date there isn’t a standardised Khwe orthography for Khwe speakers in South Africa. It needs to be determined if the Khwe grammar descriptions that have already been written would be applicable to a South African context or not. This would need to be established in collaboration with South African Khwe residents and specialist linguists. Without these two important resources developed and accessible, future literacy and language learning material for educational purposes are at risk of being inconsistent between publications. Such lack of consistency creates teaching and learning problems both for teachers and learners when it comes to developing literacy materials.
Maintenance of Khwe can also be supported in areas that do not necessarily require literacy, e.g. the creation of audio and video materials for the purposes of education and entertainment. As the language is successfully being orally transmitted from generation to generation, audio and video materials can be created to support this process and assist with the transition into literacy dominated domains.

**Table 30: Language maintenance recommendations for Khwe that are in need of funds to be put into action**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Proposed action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The suggested projects below need to be fully designed in collaboration with South African Khwe speakers and selected linguists before being funded and put into action</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s dictionary in Khwe</td>
<td>Thematic children’s dictionary. This can be monolingual, bilingual or multilingual accompanied by illustrations/photographs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matching playing cards and learning material can be designed to accompany the dictionary and enhance learning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early childhood development (ECD) assessment of learning environment</td>
<td>Updated assessment needed for the ECD learning environments for Khwe speaking children. What facilities and resources are needed to improve and facilitate learning. To be done on site in collaboration with teachers, learners and parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creation of a long term learning support program for children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult literacy classes</td>
<td>Many adult Khwe speakers have not had the opportunity to have basic literacy classes in their mother tongue. A basic survey can be conducted to determine who would be interested in participating in such a program and what would the target content be? Such a curriculum should be collaboratively designed with community members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appropriate literacy materials to be designed for an adult audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creation of a long term learning support program for adults.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Xri

Xri also known as Xiri, Xriekwa, Gri, Giri, Griekwa, or Griqua is a language from the Khoe family and closely related to Kora (!Ora) or Korana.

History of Xri in South Africa

Today, Xri is only spoken in South Africa. The precise records of the Xri language and its speakers over its known history is fragmentary and inconsistent. Many of the documented accounts of Xri speakers can be found in travellers’ accounts and in reports by missionaries. A popular introduction to the Xri and other Khoekhoe groups can be found in Langeveldt (2006).

The main early sources of linguistic information on the Xri language were compiled by Carl Meinhof (1930) and Douglas Beach (1938). Much later Jan Snyman created an extensive wordlist in the 1970s which was only many years later analysed by Wilfrid Haacke (Haacke & Snyman 2019). In 2007, Levi Namaseb and Bonny Sands presented Xri data at a conference based on recordings they made in 2006 38. Martin Mossmer, beginning in 2018, has conducted research and analyses on the language resulting in talks, published papers, and a BA and MA thesis.

A survey of locations of known Xri speakers in the past and present can be found in Mössmer (2019, 2021). The locations where Xri speakers lived has changed over time due to the complex history of the Xri people. In this report, we focus on the location of known Xri speakers in the present day. By 1975, the Xri language was described as being "known to only a few of the older people" (Nurse & Jenkins 1975: 73).

38 Their recordings consist of approximately 50 lexical items recorded by two speakers of Xri in Dibeng. It is likely that these speakers, Isaak Gertze & Jan Vries are still living in Dibeng.
Approximate number of Xri speakers in South Africa

To date there are three known fluent speakers of Xri (Mossmer 2019), but given Sands & Namseb’s (2007) unpublished research, there are likely at least two additional speakers. Given the lack of linguistic surveys of Xri, there may be more speakers than these 5 who have been known to linguists. Heugh (1998, cited in Heugh 2014) references some 200 self-identified Xri speakers, many of whom may still be alive today. There are also known partial speakers, i.e. They speak Afrikaans fluently and some Xri as a second or additional language. It is possible that more speakers exist, however further funding and research would need to be allocated to specialist linguists for further investigation on the matter. To date sporadic research has taken place on the Xri language in the last 30 years.
Isaak Gertze (Xri speaker), Prof. Levi Namaseb, and Jan Vries (Xri speaker) in Dibeng as photographed by Prof. Bonny Sands in 2006.

Location of remaining Xri speakers in South Africa

The known elderly Xri speakers live in **Campbell, Douglas** and **Dibeng** in the Northern Cape.

*Map 10: Map showing the location of living speakers of Xri*
Vitality Status of Xri

For a description of intergenerational language transmission as listed by UNESCO as the first evaluative factor for language vitality as well as some basic theory on language vitality, language maintenance and language revitalisation, please see section “Vitality Status of Njuu” above.

Table 31: Potential scenarios of intergenerational language degradation, (Krauss, 1997:26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorisation system for intergenerational language transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a The language is spoken by all generations, including all, or nearly all of the children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a- The language is learned by all or most children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b The language is spoken by all adults, parental age and up, but learned by few or no children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b- The language is spoken by adults in their thirties and older but not by younger parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c The language is spoken by only middle aged-adults and older, in their forties and up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c- All speakers are in their fifties and older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d All speakers are in their sixties and older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d All speakers are in their seventies and older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d- All speakers are in their seventies and older, and the language has fewer than 10 speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e The language is extinct; it has no more speakers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Xri scores “d-, All speakers are in their seventies and older, and the language has fewer than 10 speakers” for intergenerational language transmission.
This score shows that **Xri is on the brink of extinction in South Africa. Urgent funding and support is needed for further research to canvas and network any remaining speakers in order to document the language before it becomes extinct.**

Language endangerment of Xri according to the E[xtended] Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is **“8b - Nearly extinct - The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language- critically endangered”.** Compared with other living Khoi and San languages in South Africa, Xri is scarcely documented, especially via the use of modern audio recording technology.

Overall the **language vitality of Xri in South Africa is critically endangered and heading towards extinction**, as the language undergoes a shift to Afrikaans and other locally dominant languages.

**Table 32: Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons, 2010)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EGIDS Level</th>
<th>EGIDS Label</th>
<th>EGIDS Description</th>
<th>UNESCO Descriptor</th>
<th>UNESCO factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at a nationwide level.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>4 (existing domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Written</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>6 (literacy domains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>Vigorous</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shifting</td>
<td>The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children.</td>
<td>Definitely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Moribund</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.</td>
<td>Severely endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Nearly extinct</td>
<td>The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.</td>
<td>Critically endangered</td>
<td>1 (intergenerational language transmission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dormant</td>
<td>The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Orthography and literacy practices of Xri

There is no standard Xri language and no standard Xri orthography. There are no known literacy practices among speakers of Xri in South Africa. Linguists in recent times have presented Xri data using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) rather than the Nama orthography or any other orthography.

There has been no language development of Xri. There is a great deal of linguistic variation amongst speakers who identify as Xri and we suspect that additional variation has simply been undocumented and unnoticed, given the lack of extensive linguistic surveys of speakers\(^9\). This means that it would be premature, in our opinion, to standardise Xri.

Mother Tongue publications in Xri

None.

Mother Tongue productions in Xri

None.

For a description on contemporary Griekwa and Korana people today see:


[www.qriquas.com](http://www.qriquas.com)

\(^9\) The most extensive survey (reported in Mössmer 2021a) looked in 8 towns/cities (not including Dibeng) for speakers/rememberers. It is likely that speakers may be found elsewhere, as Levi Namaseb was able to locate 2 Xri speakers in Dibeng.

Note: Griqua leaders interviewed

[https://tribalalchemy.crd.co/#work](https://tribalalchemy.crd.co/#work)

Trailer: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TDxump6xecs](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TDxump6xecs)


[https://youtu.be/MezHPrlDC_Y](https://youtu.be/MezHPrlDC_Y)
de Graaff, Bart. (2017). **Ware mense.** Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis. [158pp]


Funded by National Lotteries

https://youtu.be/JmSdEJJcgTI

Archives and Digital Collections that include Xri


Description:
The speech of Siela (Cela or Sila) of the Links family documented in this notebook (opposite speech from Piet Lynx) differs from that of the rest of the notebook and might possibly be the earliest documentation of Xri in existence (du Plessis 2018: 12; Mössmer 2019: 61). Siela was documented as having a Griqua mother and a Korana father. According to du Plessis (2018: 43-44, 60), interview notes (in pencil) with Links family members Griet and Siela (whose speech seems closer to Xri than to Korana) were recorded by Jemima Bleek and Isabella Lloyd.
Label: #8 Simultaneous recording with cinema reels 9 and 10 at Ovitoto Reserve, South West Africa.

Audio Available online: https://collections.si.edu/search/detail/ead_component:sova-naa-1984-13-ref4285?q=gordon+gibson&fq=data_source%3A%22National+Anthropological+Archives%22&fq=online_media_type%3A%22Sound+recordings%22&record=22&hlterm=gordon%2Bgibson
Unarchived materials that exist


Description: Unarchived audio recordings (.wav format) of individual words (113 .wav files)

Besten, Mike. (ca. 2007). Recordings of Xri speakers Maria & Mieta Seekoei and Rudolf van Wyk.

Description: Two unarchived .wma (audio format) wordlist recordings (duration: 16 minutes & 9 minutes)

Killian, Don. (ca. 2009). Khoemana audio files.

Description: Unarchived audio recordings of rememberers who self-identify as Xri and/or Korana
Academic publications in Xri

There are relatively few works on the linguistic characteristics of Xri but recent overviews include Mössmer (2019, 2021a). Mössmer’s work builds upon his own fieldwork (conducted in 8 locations), and past fieldwork, most importantly, that of Jan Snyman in the early 1970’s (recently published as Haacke & Snyman 2019).
The most up-to-date survey of all linguistic aspects of Xri is Martin Mössmer's (2021a) MA thesis from the University of Cape Town. As in his (2019) publication, he surveys the history of the language as well as what is known about its sound system, system of word and sentence formation and historical relationship to other Khoe languages.

1) There are a few works documenting Xri lexical items. These include Haacke & Snyman (2019), Sands & Namaseb (2006, 2007), Mössmer (2019, 2021a). Older works include Meinhof (1930) and Beach (1938). These works are not extensive enough to form the basis for a Xri dictionary. Not mentioned here are works citing words taken from these references.
2) There is **very little information** available about Xri **phonetics and phonology** as very few recordings of the language are available. The works mentioned in section 1) typically also include some comments about Xri phonetics and phonology. Although phonetician D.M. Beach worked with some Xri speakers, there is very little information about how their sound system differs from that of Nama and Korana in his (1938) work.

Some of the people Don Killian worked with in his phonetic study identified as Griqua (Killian 2009); he does not distinguish between Griqua and Korana in his study, labelling both as Khoemana. As these speakers were not fluent, this work cannot be taken to be representative of fluent Xri speech. It is, however, an important study for understanding how speech changes in the process of language attrition.

3) There are **no studies of Xri morphology or syntax**. Xri morphosyntax is likely to be very similar to that of Nama and Korana. In cases, we can tell from vocabulary comparisons that Xri words may not have taken the same gender agreement marker as words in these other languages, e.g. Xri Ᵽx'urup ‘bladder’ is masculine, while Nama Ᵽkhùrùs is feminine. In her work on Korana, Menán du Plessis (2018: 44-45) notes that the Lloyd (1879) notebook on Korana makes mention of certain grammatical forms and lexical items that are Xri. Some characteristically Xri forms are noted in du Plessis (2018, in passim) but are not summarised in a separate publication.

4) Most linguistic works (already mentioned in sections 1-3 above) on Xri have discussed its relationship to other Khoekhoe languages (such as Nama, Cape Khoekhoe and Korana).
Speakers of these languages were often in very close contact with one another and the languages likely shared loanwords in addition to shared inherited linguistic structures. There are still outstanding questions about the historical linguistic situation of these languages. A speaker of Korana whose father spoke Xri, Ouma Jacoba Maclear (of Bloemhof), affirmed that her father spoke like Levi Namaseb and Niklaas Fredericks (both Nama speakers), suggesting that Xri is closer to Nama than to Korana (du Plessis 2018: 56). It seems likely that some people identified as Xri spoke a variety closer to Korana, while others spoke a variety closer to Nama; this may explain why some researchers have considered Xri to be closer to Korana than to Nama (e.g. Beach 1938: 181-183). Some people may identify as both Griqua and Korana, as identity can be both flexible and situationally-dependent. Some researchers do not distinguish Xri and Korana as separate languages today (Killian 2009, Christie 2023).

(Known distribution of Khoekhoe languages in the late 18th century, Mössmer 2019: 54).
Regular sound correspondences involving Xri are discussed in Haacke & Snyman (2017) and Mössmer (2019), as well as in other works mentioned above. A few additional publications that touch on Xri historical linguistics include: du Plessis (2018); Nienaber (1962, 1963); Smith (1939/40: 281-293); Traill (1996). These do not present new data, but compare short Xri wordlists with those of Nama and/or Korana. Sound changes particular to Xri are also discussed in two unpublished presentations: Sands & Namaseb (2007) describe the speech of two Xri showing a historical sound change involving the loss of the palatal click *ǂ which has merged with *ǃ in that Xri variety40; Mössmer (2021b) discusses sound changes used by Xri remembers such as click dropping and click insertion.

It is important to note that there are many works on the variety of Afrikaans spoken by those with a Xri (Griqua, Griekwa) identity such as Meyer (2015). **The uniqueness of Griqua Afrikaans is one way in which Khoe identity remains vibrant in South Africa today.** This dialect of Afrikaans has been described in a few works (e.g. Henning 1983, Rademeyer 1938) but is still relatively little known. **The role that Xri has played in the development of Afrikaans has been relatively little explored** (but cf. Conradie 2012).

---

40 The same sound change was noted to occur in the speech of a Korana woman (Engelbrecht 1936: 202).
5) There are no Xri texts that we are aware of.

Many works about Griqua literary genres or literacy (e.g. Belcher 1986, Meyer 2015, Umino-Shiotsuki 1998) are actually about Griqua Afrikaans and not about the Xri language.

6) There are no works on Xri language development or language education that we are aware of.

7) Publically inaccessible resources (cited in other works) include:


8) The majority of works focused on the Xri cover anthropological, political and historical topics and generally have very little to say about the language. The complex nature of Xri history, identity and cultural revival are themes explored in works such as Besten (2005, 2009), Bredekamp (2001), and Erasmus (2010a, b). Works on Griqua history include Marais (1939), Schoeman (2005), Messelaar (2015), Besten (2005) and Ross (1976).


Mössmer, Martin. (2021b) A slow death: language contact and phonetic change in Xri. KBA Network Presentation, 21 January, 2021. available online: https://vimeo.com/kbanetwork


**UNESCO support of Xri**

None.

**Linguists who have worked on Xri**

Due to the fact that Xri has so sparsely been documented at all there are very few linguists who have experience working directly with the language however we do have those who have experience with Nama and Kora who could potentially assist.
Table 33: Linguists' potential availability for future work on the documentation, preservation and maintenance of Xri

(Those who are located in South Africa are highlighted)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contribution/specialty</th>
<th>Year work began on Khoe</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Availability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wilfrid Haacke</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Namibian Nama Specialities: syntax, morphology, phonology, lexicon, historical linguistics, dialectology</td>
<td>1970s to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rainer Vossen</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khoe languages</td>
<td>1980s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bernd Heine</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ekoka/Okongo !Xun and some Angolan !Xun; Khwe Specialities: syntax, morphology, lexicon, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Mid 1990s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Christa Kilian-Hatz</td>
<td>Extensive experience working with Khwe material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive. Specialities: morphology, lexicon, syntax</td>
<td>late 1990s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the languages with similarly complex sound systems: N</td>
<td>uu, ‡Hoan, Mangetti Dune !Xun, Ekoka !Xun, Grootfontein !Xun, Hadza, Sandawe. Limited experience with Xri. Specialties: phonetics, lexicon, phonology, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Late 1990s to present</td>
<td>Flagstaff, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bonny Sands</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the languages with similarly complex sound systems: N</td>
<td>uu, ‡Hoan, Mangetti Dune !Xun, Ekoka !Xun, Grootfontein !Xun, Hadza, Sandawe. Limited experience with Xri. Specialties: phonetics, lexicon, phonology, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Late 1990s to present</td>
<td>Flagstaff, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gertrud Boden</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khwe and Western !Xóö and 'Njohan (a Taa language of Namibia), languages with similarly-challenging sound systems. Experience working with !Xun material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive. Specialties: Anthropologically-oriented work (kinship terms, language and the landscape, storytelling, etc.)</td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chris Collins</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Kua and Tsua, related Khoe languages (as well as work on Ju</td>
<td>'hoansi, N</td>
<td>uu, ‡Hoan, Sasi, other languages with similarly complex sound systems). Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, phonetics and phonology</td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Christa König</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ekoka/Okongo !Xun and analysis of Khwe Specialties: syntax, morphology, lexicon, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Field Work Details</td>
<td>Specialties</td>
<td>Time Period</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Akira Takada</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Ekoka !Xun and !Gui, a related Khoe language. Specialties: Anthropologically-oriented work (kinship terms, language socialisation, etc.)</td>
<td>Early 2000s to present</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tom Güldemann</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the morphology and syntax of N</td>
<td>uu, as well as Kx’a, Tuu and Khoe-Kwadi languages in general Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology, historical linguistics</td>
<td>Early 2000s to late 2000s</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Anne-Maria Fehn</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Khwe dialects of Namibia and Botswana including ]</td>
<td>Ani. Extensive field work on Ts’ixa, a related Khoe language. Extensive experience working with Khwe material from the Namibia/Angola border area in the Oswin Köhler archive. Specialties: morphology, lexicon, syntax, phonology, tone, historical linguistics</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Alena Witzlack-Makarevich</td>
<td>Extensive field work on the morphology and syntax of N</td>
<td>uu and Khoekhoe, a related Khoe language. Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology</td>
<td>Mid-2000s to present</td>
<td>Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Field Work Experience</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Additional Info</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Christian Rapold</td>
<td>Field work experience onǂAakhoe Haiǁom, a related Khoe language</td>
<td>early 2010s to present</td>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: phonetics, phonology, grammar, historical linguistics, tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Christfried Naumann</td>
<td>Field work experience on Taa</td>
<td>early 2010s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: phonetics, phonology, grammar, tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lee Pratchett</td>
<td>Extensive field work on Tshwa, a related Khoe language of Botswana as well asǂAoǁeilin (similar to Juǁhoan)</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: syntax, morphology, phonology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Menan du Plessis</td>
<td>Extensive research in Kora which is related to Xri</td>
<td>2010s to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kerry Jones</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Khwe, !Xun, Juǁhoansi and Nǁuu, languages with similarly-challenging sound systems</td>
<td>2014 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialties: Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics, lexicon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Admire Phiri</td>
<td>Extensive experience with Tjwao, a related Khoe language</td>
<td>ca. 2015 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Camilla Christie</td>
<td>Experience with Nama words in Namaqualand Afrikaans. African Linguistics School 2 week fieldwork class on South African !Xun.</td>
<td>ca. 2018 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Will Bennett</td>
<td>Experience with click phonology; Tum’i. Specialties: phonology, tone</td>
<td>ca. 2018 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Martin Mössmer</td>
<td>Field experience with Xri.</td>
<td>ca. 2017 to present</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Community stakeholders and activists for Xri

The Griekwa National Conference of South Africa
Chairperson: Cecil le Fleur
0445339338
grikhoofkantoor@gmail.com

Oos Griekwaland Traditionele Raad, Kokstad
Chairperson: Gabrielle Marais

Vrystaat Griekwaraad
Leader: Johannes Kraashoek

Griekwa Christian Youth Association

Griekwa Royal House

Griekwa Heritage Days

10 March:
Herdenkingsdag van Hoof Abraham / Remembrance Day

11 May:
Ratelgatdag

18 May:
Geboortedag van huidige Opperhoof A.A Le Fleur / Birthday of A.A Le Fleur

2 July:
Stigtersdag / Founder's Day

10 September:
Munumentsdag / Monuments Day

14 October:
Moedersdag / Mothers Day

21 November:
Oumensfees / Old Person's Festival

31 December:
Afsluit diens / Closing Service
Griekwa flag featuring the plant “Kanniedood” (Can’t die) for its tenacity and ability to survive adverse conditions. Red - blood of Christ, white - peace, blue - heaven, green - fruitful life.

**Recommendations for the future**

Intergenerational language transmission is imperative for language maintenance and language survival. As mentioned above, in relation to intergenerational language transmission, Xri scores “d-, All speakers are in their seventies and older, and the language has fewer than 10 speakers” and for language vitality, “8b - Nearly extinct - The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language- critically endangered”. Therefore, it is clear that in its current state Xri is on the brink of extinction. Based on the above analysis of the current vitality status of Xri a multimodal approach is recommended to “(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of Xri”.

---

41 The South African Constitution 1996 (Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) a) ii)
Xri is critically endangered, sparsely documented and preserved and has no active maintenance plan in place. **It is therefore urgent to:** 1) **identify any remaining speakers,** 2) **digitally document and archive any and all materials relating to the language,** 3) **make available any language related resources to the Grikwa people, the South African public and international scholars for further study and cultural heritage support.**

**Documentation**

Xri is only spoken in South Africa by three, potentially five or more speakers and is not spoken in any of our neighbouring countries. **Xri is sparsely documented and urgently needs digital documentation including audio and video.** Such an undertaking will take several years of collaborative fieldwork and data collection on site in collaboration with local Xri speakers and specialist linguists. Xri is an important heritage language of South Africa which needs urgent protection.

**Table 34: Suggestions for future language documentation work of Xri**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Potential output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canvassing and networking in South Africa for any and all remaining speakers of Xri in order to digitally document and record the language</td>
<td>Comprehensive Xri digital record of both audio and video recordings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preservation

Once language documentation takes place, it is important that this work is preserved for future access and development. This is where the role of physical and digital archives become crucial in preserving linguistic records. In the past, the majority of documentation efforts have been deposited in international repositories as South Africa did not have a dedicated repository for languages. In recent years the Department of Science and Innovation opened the South African Centre for Digital Language Resources (SADiLaR).

Going forward, physically archived collections in South Africa that include Xri should be digitised and made accessible online in order to facilitate public access. Additionally, any new language documentation in Xri should be added to a central repository that facilitates free public access, is user friendly and has a long term plan in place for maintenance of digital data. Ideally, all Xri records should be archived in South Africa. An archival team would need to be dedicated to developing the metadata of such collections to make sure they adhere to the FAIR principles of digital archiving.

Table 35: Physical archives or private collections in South Africa that include Xri that should be digitised and made publicly accessible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and location of collection</th>
<th>Action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xri word cards as collected by Prof. Jan Snyman in the 1970s. These are currently in the private possession of Prof. Haacke in Cape Town, South Africa</td>
<td>These records need to be professionally archived for safekeeping and future reference and digitised with appropriate metadata and made available online for free public access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xri audio recordings and wordlist collected by Prof. Levi Namaseb and Prof. Bonny Sands in 2006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unarchived audio recordings (.wav format) of individual words (113 .wav files)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recordings of Xri speakers Maria &amp; Mieta Seekoei and Rudolf van Wyk by Mike Besten made ca 2007. Two unarchived .wma (audio format) wordlist recordings (duration: 16 minutes &amp; 9 minutes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khoemana audio files as recorded by Don Killian in 2009. Unarchived audio recordings of rememberers who self-identify as Xri and/or Korana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xri audio recordings as collected by Martin Mössmer from 2017 to date.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Maintenance

Language maintenance includes education and literacy development in the target language. This is only possible once the language has been documented enough to have a descriptive grammar and standardised orthography to ensure consistency for teaching and learning purposes. Seeing as Xri has sparsely been documented such efforts would currently be premature. Maintenance of Xri can also be supported in areas that do not necessarily require literacy, e.g. the creation of audio and video materials for the purposes of basic education and entertainment.

Table 36: Language maintenance recommendations for Xri that are in need of funds to be put into action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Proposed action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The suggested projects below need to be fully designed in collaboration with South African Xri speakers and selected linguists before being funded and put into action</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Xri YouTube channel | Free online YouTube channel to host basic learning content in Xri.  
It will be important to collaborate with local Xri speakers to determine which content they would like to produce.  
Such productions will require a budget to cover: equipment, training, internet access, project manager and full project design etc. |
| University partnerships | Interested Xri speakers and South African Universities could partner up for longer term collaborations in a mutually beneficial exchange of teaching and learning from each other.  
Such an endeavour could be formally funded and supported for long term language development goals. |
In South Africa, there are many languages that are already extinct that came from Tuu or Khoe language families. (Kx’a languages did not historically originate in South Africa.) Languages that no longer have any living speakers can no longer be documented or maintained. Only preservation efforts can be put in place, should there be any historical records available. It is entirely possible that there were other languages that existed from these language families that died prior to any formal language documentation efforts.

For those languages that we do have historical records of, it is important that these records are physically and digitally archived for heritage preservation and future reference should any speakers come forward in the future. Such record keeping is important evidence of South Africa’s unique linguistic history.

Table 37: Known extinct Tuu languages from South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Language (alternate spellings)</th>
<th>Language family</th>
<th>Approximate date of extinction</th>
<th>Any known primary materials on the language itself</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ǁXegwi (kʟ̥egwi, ǁKhewgi, Batwa, amaNkqeshe, tlou-tle, S3, SIII, etc.)</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>1988 (^{45})</td>
<td>Audio recorded in the 1930s (Traill 1999a); Westphal (1961) Lanham &amp; Hallowes (1956a, b), Köhler 1967-1974 fieldwork, Ziervogel (1955), Potgieter (1955); Stopa (1959)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{42}\) In the 1800s, IXun speakers Tamme, !Nani and Daq were documented in the Bleek & Lloyd collection, but there do not appear to have been large numbers of Kx’a speakers in South Africa before SADC resettlement of former soldiers from Angola and Namibia.

\(^{43}\) Note that this table does not include Tuu languages found solely outside of South Africa such as !Xóõ (Taa) and Kakia (S5).

\(^{44}\) See references in Treis (1998) as Batwa can refer to any San group.

\(^{45}\) There appear to have still been enough speakers in the 1950’s for conversations to have been observed (cf. Toerien 1958).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Tuu</th>
<th>Likely moribund by the 1930s</th>
<th>No known audio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IGâ!ne (IGâ!Ne, SIlle)</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund by the 1930s</td>
<td>No known audio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anders (1934-35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>]Haasi (Ku]khaasi, Ki]hazii, K’u]ha]si, SIVb)</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund by the 1930s</td>
<td>Audio recorded in the 1930s (Traill 1999a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Story (1937) (published as Story 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>]Auni (]Auo, ]Auni, S4, SIV)</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund by the 1930s</td>
<td>No known audio46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. Bleek (1927, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>]Ungkue (]Unkwe, ]Kunkwe); ]Kx’au (]Kxau, ]Kh’au, SIlb) is a distinct dialect</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund by the 1930s</td>
<td>No known audio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meinhof (1928-29), Norton (1919)47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatia (]Einkusi, ]Keikusi, ]Kê, Vaalpens, Xatia, SIVa)</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund by the 1930s</td>
<td>No known audio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. Bleek (1929)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>]Uingkekwe</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund by the 1930s</td>
<td>No known audio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maingard collection (1935a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>]Xam (]Kham, ]Xam ka le, Suin le, Swy le, S, SI)48</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund in the 1910s</td>
<td>Bleek and Lloyd collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fieldnotes professionally archived and digitised; no audio archives available at present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hahn, in Müller (1888); (Hahn 1870a, b)49, Bleek &amp; Lloyd publications</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

46 It is unclear why there is no extant audio of this language from the Kalahari expedition of the 1930s.
47 The 17 words documented by Norton (1919) in the unnamed language spoken by Fred Baartman of Hopetown may be a ]Xam or ]Ungkue dialect or may represent an otherwise unknown !Ui lect.
48 There are distinct dialects of ]Xam, e.g. Strandberg, Katkop, Achterveld, etc. (Güldemann 2014).
49 Marginal sources include Sparrman’s “Snese”. Sparrman’s work has appeared in many different editions and translations, having originally appeared in Swedish in 1783.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seroa (Sarwa, Vaal-Orange San, Slld)</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund in the 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḳuǁen (ǁKhwe, ǁKuǁen, SIlc)</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund in the 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuǁen (Nuǁen, Nusan51, Nuǁe, S6, SVI)</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund in the 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḶKhuai (Khuai)</td>
<td>Tuu (possibly a dialect of</td>
<td>Xam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riet River San</td>
<td>Tuu</td>
<td>Likely moribund in the 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>′Aro</td>
<td>Unclassified, but probably Tuu (possibly a ′Ungkue dialect)</td>
<td>Likely moribund in the 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǁAudjen</td>
<td>Unclassified, but probably Tuu (possibly a ′Ungkue dialect)</td>
<td>Likely moribund in the 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seekoei River San</td>
<td>Unclassified, but probably Tuu (possibly a</td>
<td>Xam dialect)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

50 This is not the Ju language of Botswana referred to by Bleek (1929) as Ḳ′auǁen (NI) (i.e. Ḳxaːoǁae).
51 Note that the term Nuǁan (Nuǁan, Nuǁa) may refer to languages from three different Tuu subgroups (Güldemann 2014a: 40).
52 Güldemann (2006) says that Lucy Lloyd’s (1998) notebook A2.1124:10318-10332 contains information on |Nusa, a |Ui variety from north of the Middle Orange. Confusingly, this is catalogued as part of the collection “Lucy Lloyd |Kun notebooks”, and the online description says “Nauxa and Ikannahumup (at the South African Museum) give words and sentences in |xam (on the recto pages) and in |Ora (‘Hottentot’) on the opposite pages.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Language(^{53}) (alternate spellings)</th>
<th>Language family</th>
<th>Approximate date of extinction</th>
<th>Any known primary materials on the language itself</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eini (Einiqua, Einikwa, Eyniqua, ŊʔOxoku, ŊNamniku, ǃKaon)</td>
<td>Khoe</td>
<td>2010s or earlier</td>
<td>Maingard (1936, published 1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!Aoǂee (ǃA昶e, Kliptaal)</td>
<td>Unclassified, but possibly Khoe(^{55})</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>Audio: 4 words remembered by Katrina Esau, recorded by Sands et al. in 2021- this material is currently unarchived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Khoekhoe (dialects include: Hesse (Hai-se), Chainou, Guri, ...)</td>
<td>Khoe</td>
<td>Possibly moribund ca. 1910s</td>
<td>No known audio; the only primary materials are extremely poorly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{53}\) Note that this table does not include Tuu languages found solely outside of South Africa such as !Xóõ (Taa) and Kakia (S5).

\(^{54}\) See Maingard (1932, 1964) and Nienaber (1989) for a listing of additional names of tribes/dialects.

\(^{55}\) This preliminary classification is based on an analysis of Esau’s remembered words by Anne-Maria Fehn.
According to Tony Traill (2002: 29), Cape Khoe varieties in the 17th century were estimated to be spoken by approximately 100 000 to 200 000 speakers, spread from what is known today as Cape Town towards the east, as far as Fish River (Mesthrie 2008: 34). By comparison, San languages were considered to be even more widespread throughout the rest of the country (Traill 2002: 29), but more sparsely distributed than the Khoe varieties (Mesthrie 2008: 34). Some of the first known Khoe languages (to the western world) to become extinct in South Africa were: Hesse (Hai-se), Chainou, Cocho, Guri, Gorinhai (ǃUri-ǁae), and Gorachou (ǃOra-ǁXau) (Elphick 1985: 211; Traill 2002: 31). A smallpox epidemic virtually wiped out the Khoe in the Western Cape, finalising their demise in the area in 1713 (Traill 2002: 31). Therefore, speakers of Khoe varieties such as Kora (ǃOra) and Xri (Gri or Xiri) who moved to the interior of the country survived longer than those who remained in the Cape. Sadly, Kora would be considered extinct today.

The status of San languages in South Africa is more dire than that of the Khoe varieties. The most widespread of the known South African San languages was ǀXam (Cape Bushman) (Mesthrie 2008: 35), which was recorded by Wilhem Bleek and Lucy Lloyd during the mid-nineteenth century. Today it is believed that the language is extinct. The demise of ǀXam speakers was ruthless according to Traill (2002, 37): “their societies shattered by warfare, starvation and disease; the women and children enslaved; the men all but exterminated by the genocidal hatred of their enemies”. The enemies referred to here are the Boers, Xhosa, Korana and Griqua (Marais 1968: 28, cited by Traill 1996: 165). For speakers of the San language Seroa (Sarwa) which was spoken in east Griqualand as well as Lesotho, language shift occurred to Bantu languages such as: Tswana, Xhosa, Swati, Zulu or Sotho (Traill 2002: 40). The last known remaining speakers were identified in 1873 in the Qacha’s Nek area of Lesotho (Traill 2002: 41).


---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gorinhai (ǃUri-ǁae), Gorachou (ǃOra-ǁXau)</th>
<th>transcribed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

56 This listing does not include all the variant names of these (and other possible) dialects.
History of moribund or extinct Tuu lects in South Africa

|Xam|

The trajectory of the decline in use of the |Xam language is surveyed in Traill's (1996, 2007 reprint) article ‘Khwa-ka hhouiten hhouiten ‘The rush of the storm': the linguistic death of |Xam. More is known about |Xam than any other !Ui language with the possible exception of N|uu yet we still do not have clear documentation of when the last speakers lived. According to Traill, |Xam appears to have still been a thriving language in the 1870s (Traill 1996: 164) though "the process of cultural disintegration was well underway” (Hewitt 1986) at that time as |Xam-speakers faced physical attacks and loss of land (Penn 1996, 2013). Julia Blackburn's (2022) work Dreaming the Karoo: a people called the /Xam, is a popular account of |Xam history combined with personal reflections by the author.

About two generations after early work on |Xam (in the 1870s), "the language was obviously on the point of extinction" (Traill 1996: 168), given the report of Dorothea Bleek who met with remnant groups in Prieska in 1910-11. It is possible that the Tum'i language documented by Kelly Kilian in Prieska in recent years (Kilian 2022) is either a variant of |Xam or a collection of remembered |Xam words; even 100 years after a language is declared to be obsolescent, linguistic forms may still exist. It is not known whether people with |Xam ancestry such as the Karretjie people (de Jongh 2002) retain |Xam vocabulary items.

||Xegwi|

Speakers of ||Xegwi appear to have arrived in the Ermelo District from the Drakensberg in the 1880s (Prins 1999) where they met other Bushmen already living in the area (Sanders 2013). The language was still spoken by a small number of people in the 1950s (Ziervogel 1955, Toerien 1958), and by at least two people in 1967 when Oswin Köhler visited the area. Anthony Traill met Job Mabinda in 1975 but does not mention any other fluent speakers; even Job's brother, Kwaiiman, is said to have known "almost no ||Xegwi (Traill 1999a: 4).

The loss of ||Xegwi is particularly sad as it is known that the last speaker, Job Mabinda (also known as Jopi Mabinda) was murdered (Boekkooi 1988). Of course, it is possible that there were speakers after that time who were simply not known to linguists; it has been reported that there may have still been a 90 year old speaker in 2011 (Davie 2011).
Other Tuu languages

We cannot provide clear dates for the extinction of the other South African Tuu languages but can only refer to the dates of their last attestations (which are often the date of their only attestation). Several languages of the Nossob-Auob area were sparsely documented in the 1930s with no later attestations; these include |Auni, |Haasi and Khatia. Njamani was attested in the 1960s and it is possible that some of these other languages may still have been known or remembered at that time and in later decades, as this was the case with Njuu. Breutz (1963), for instance, indicates that some words of Kattea could still be recalled by elders (despite the lack of fluent speakers).
Languages such as ǀXam, ǁKuǀ’e, ǃGãǃne, Riet River San, ǂUngkue, ǁKx’au, ǀUingkekwe, Khatia and Nǀuǀ’en were attested in the 1910s-1930s but already fading at that time. Some Tuu languages such as Seroa and ǂKhuaǀ may have disappeared from the scene earlier, perhaps one to two generations earlier, while countless others may have disappeared without any linguistic documentation whatsoever. It is not known why ǀXam was spoken over such a relatively wide area; it is possible that ǀXam may have absorbed other Bushman languages at some earlier point in time (perhaps due to pressures associated with the spread of Kora and Cape Khoekhoe). Multilingualism involving several Bushman languages appears to have been the norm in the Nossob-Auob confluence area and may have once been the norm in locations further south.
Next to nothing is known about the language spoken by the Bushmen living in the Seekoei River Valley but Sampson & Neville (2018, 2021) and Neville (1996) have collected accounts from historical documents and report findings from these, and also from archaeological investigations. The language was spoken in an area generally asserted to have been Xam-speaking (e.g. Köhler 1981), but linguistic evidence for this is limited to W.H.I. Bleek having recorded a few words in Colesburg that look like Xam (Bleek 1857). We cannot be certain that Xam was the only language spoken there, as mission stations tended to attract different groups of Bushmen.

In 1815, it was difficult to find Bushmen in the Seekoei River Valley who spoke Afrikaans (Neville 1996: 222, 229) suggesting that Bushman language(s) were still vital at that point. But, the disruptions and social upheaval caused by incoming farmers and workers speaking Afrikaans and Khoekhoe from 1770 onwards (Neville 1996: 257-260) contributed inevitably to language shift which was likely quite pronounced already by the late 1800s. Unfortunately, we do not have comparably detailed historical-archaeological syntheses for other parts of South Africa as we do for the Seekoei River Valley, but we suspect that languages such as Gãne, Riet River San and Ungkue followed a similar trajectory, with only a few speakers remaining alive into the 1930s.

---

57 Khomani and U are alternate names for Western and Eastern Njuu (or N’ng)
58 The shift to bilingualism in Afrikaans may have occurred very rapidly. For instance, “surprising fluency” in Dutch [i.e. early Afrikaans] was reported for Bushmen near Bloemfontein as early as 1837 (Harris 1839, cited in Mason 1974).
Mother Tongue productions on moribund or extinct Tuu lects


Note: film about San descendants in the Transkei

Note: “Filmed in the remote hills and valleys of the southern Drakensberg, this documentary is a unique and timely record of a rapidly vanishing South African culture. Features the Bushman rock art as a background against which the story of the Bushmen unfolds. Explores aspects of Bushmen culture through music, dance, oral history and traditional rituals”.


Trailer: https://youtu.be/CwNJWFuFQ4
To access the full length film: https://store.der.org/in-gods-places-p738.aspx

Foster, Craig & Damon Foster (directors); Hugh Brody (writer). (2003). *Cosmic Africa.* Amsterdam: Off the fence & Cosmos Studios. [DVD] [90 min.]

Overview: “Now a distinguished astrophysicist, Thebe Medupe returns to the small South African town where he grew up during apartheid. With a deep respect for tribal myths and religions, Medupe journeys across Africa, sharing his scientific knowledge and insights with villagers as they explain their traditional stories about how the universe works. Examining everything from Namibian cave paintings to Egyptian monoliths, Medupe tries to bring science and native beliefs together” IMDb online, accessed: 23.03.2023

Trailer: https://youtu.be/ZUJ0FJ95Wt0
The making of Cosmic Africa: https://youtu.be/IT7aNiZVHPo

Overview: “In the 1870s, facing cultural extinction and the death of their language, several San men and women told their stories to two pioneering colonial scholars at the Cape, Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd. The narratives of these San (or Bushmen) were of the land, the rain, the history of the first people, and the origin of the moon and stars. These narratives were faithfully recorded and translated by Bleek and Lloyd, creating an archive of more than 13,000 pages including drawings, notebooks, maps, and photographs. Lavishly illustrated, “Claim to the Country: The Archive of Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek,” created, compiled, and introduced by Pippa Skotnes, presents in book form and on an accompanying DVD with notebook pages and drawings that comprise this remarkable archive. Contextualising essays by well-known scholars, such as Nigel Penn, Eustacia Riley, and Anthony Traill, and a searchable index for all the narratives and contributors are included.” Google books, accessed: 23.03.2023

Description: film on the |Xam and the Bleek & Lloyd archive
To access the full length film:


Online pdf:


Overview “The Broken String is a documentary film that offers a sombre reflection of past and current injustices endured by the Bushman in South Africa. The film’s name is repurposed from the title of a poem by Dia’kwain (David Hoesaar) who was a |Xam speaking Bushman. The poem is an expression of pain and emptiness following a loss. The film skilfully weaves the testimonies of !Aru |'Khuisi Piet Berendse and Hans Springbok with Dia’kwain’s poem.” Jacob Cloete, 2022.

Trailer: [https://youtu.be/mgtK1IMbUcA](https://youtu.be/mgtK1IMbUcA)

Film: [https://youtu.be/E-no8fWYFQw](https://youtu.be/E-no8fWYFQw)
Archives and Digital Collections that include moribund or extinct Tuu lects


https://nlsa.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1017248222?databaseList=283%2C638

Description: 121 page manuscript describing the Cape, includes some Cape Khoekhoe and isiXhosa words, and possibly |Xam words.


Description: 7 page manuscript in German; 44 item wordlist]; see analysis in Güldemann (2006); Tuu language similar to |Xam


Description: Copy of Krönlein’s notes made by W.H.I. Bleek; see analysis in Güldemann (2006); Tuu language similar to |Xam

Description: Handwritten notes.

![Handwritten notes](image)

1879-1925

**Material on |Xam and other Tuu languages in the Digital Bleek & Lloyd Collection.**
Rare Documents and Manuscripts Department, University of Cape Town.


Description: The Digital Bleek and Lloyd is a digital publication based on the historical Bleek and Lloyd Archive housed at the University of Cape Town Libraries, Special Collections as well as works from the Maingard collection of the Library at the University of South Africa (UNISA). Numerous pages include material on different dialects of |Xam, including the majority of notebook pages by W.H.I. Bleek and Lucy
Lloyd, and some notebooks of D. Bleek. The names of |Xam contributors is at: http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/xam.html

and links to notebooks with contributions from these people is located at: http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/authors.html

Some of the notebooks with Taa material in the collection are listed below:


Description: Trans-Orange (Transgariep) Tuu language with similarities to |Xam, data reproduced in Güldemann (2006: Appendix 4, p. 392)


Available online: http://www.lib.uct.ac.za/mss/

Description: Güldemann (2006) says this notebook contains information on |Nusa, a |Ui variety from north of the Middle Orange59.

Bleek, Dorothea F. (1910-11). Bushman Notebook. (Bleek Collection: BC151 A3.3). Rare Documents and Manuscripts Department, University of Cape Town.

Available online: http://www.lib.uct.ac.za/mss/

Note: Contributors: Klaas (Guiman), Willem, Hokan (Janike), Rachel, |xakan-an (Mikki Streep), Dina, Ikun 'kwe (Sabina), Kaiki

Bleek, Dorothea F. (1911). Bushman Notebooks. (Bleek Collection: BC151 A3.4 & A3.5). Rare Documents and Manuscripts Department, University of Cape Town. Available online:

Note: A3.5 includes some cross-linguistic comparison pp. 373-382. Languages listed: |Xam (Colonial), |iŋ (Langeberg & S. Kalahari), |auni (||nossop; Noona), |kâi (||nossop; Khatia), |kunj (Ngami)

Bleek, Dorothea F. (1913). Notebook: Diary, Journey to Kia, Bechuanaland. (Bleek Collection: BC151 A3.6). Rare Documents and Manuscripts Department, University of Cape Town.

Available online: http://www.lib.uct.ac.za/mss/

Note: Kanye diary. Includes report on Lake Chrissie Bushmen (p. 16pp), vocabulary from Warrenton, p. 103ff

Bleek, Dorothea F. (1936). Dorothea Bleek Notebooks. (Bleek Collection: BC151 A3.29-30). Rare Documents and Manuscripts Department, University of Cape Town.

Available online: http://www.lib.uct.ac.za/mss/

Description: |Auni

---

59 Confusingly, this is catalogued as part of the collection “Lucy Lloyd !kun notebooks”, and the online description says “!nauxa and !kannumup (at the South African Museum) give words and sentences in |xam (on the recto pages) and in 'Ora ('Hottentot') on the opposite pages”. 

Description: Includes a copy of Story's K’u|ha:si manuscript

Anon. (n.d.). Story told by an old Bushman of about 70 or 80 years old. Bleek-Lloyd Collection F1.16.


Available online: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP845-1-1-5.

Note: annotated 1964 and retitled Petits Dictionnaires Français-Bushman, Bushman-Français. Les Bushmen des Montagnes [Lesotho] s'appellant "Maccolong"...
Description: 51 TIFF images of a handwritten notebook of 51 pages located at the Morija Museum and Archives, Lesotho. Documentation is of a !UI variety (listed here as Seroa (Sarwa, Vaal-Orange San)), apparently taken from Arbousset & Daumas notes.


Description: 13 page manuscript on language identified as |Uingkekwe

Available online: [https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/ernst-westphal-san-languages](https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/ernst-westphal-san-languages)

Description: Ernst Westphal was a professor of African Languages at the University of Cape Town from 1962 - 1984. Much of his research interests included recording and documenting Khoe, Kx'a and Tuu languages. His collection includes field documentation of **N|amani** and **ǁXegwi** from 1961-1962. Included in the archive are field notes, recordings and notecard vocabulary compilations of these and other languages. Fieldnotes are labelled **Ng|amani.** (BC 1143 (C11) and ǁ xe (Bushmen of Amsterdam, district Ermelo). (BC 1143 (C14) as well as the compilations: 'Book' of entries & index cards. (BC 1143 (D); and **Xhegwi Dictionary notes** (Jan. 1980 Amsterdam). (BC 1143 (D).
Recordings include:


Description: .mp3 audio recording of †Xegwi, e19, mislabelled “Handa pronouns, tenses, etc./Handa songs: sound recording”, tape 20. audio/mp3. mss_bc1143_e19.mp3 (404 KB)


Description: .mp3 audio recordings. The first speaker is N|uu and the second speaker, Abedis, provides providing N|amani equivalents.

Note: includes two ||Xegwi recordings made in 1967.


Description: 27 pages of handwritten field notes including vocabulary and phrases
Unarchived materials that are reported to exist

Wax cylinder recordings of Xam and other languages might possibly exist from the Bleek & Kirby collection that are perhaps being digitised since 2006, but are not yet known to be in an archive (cf. Prentice & Hart (2006) & Anon. (2006))

23 MARCH 2006

Brushing up: Will Prentice, an ethnomusicologist from the British Library’s National Sound Archive, cleans dust from a wax recording cylinder and inspects it for mould.

Extinct San languages recorded on wax cylinders by ethnographer Dorothy Bleek and historian and musicologist Percival Kirby in the early 1900s will soon be available to a wide audience of scholars and language experts, thanks to a National Lotteries-sponsored project driven by UCT Libraries, Iziko Museums and the British Libraries’ National Sound Archive (NSA).

For three weeks the NSA’s expert ethnomusicologist, Will Prentice, was holed up in an SABC sound studio, digitally capturing the once lost sounds of San from 100 old wax recording cylinders. These recordings will provide an aural snapshot of languages never heard.

Traill, Anthony. (1975) notes and recordings of ||Xegwi

Description: Traill worked with Job Mabinda in 1975 (Traill 2002: 42) and took his photo (reproduced in Traill 1999a).


Description: Audio CD includes recordings of ||Xegwi, |Haasi, N|juu, and Korana. Accompanying booklet includes some phonetic transcriptions and linguistic descriptions. The ||Xegwi was recorded by L.W. Lanham of Job (Jopi) Mabinda in 1954; the |Haasi and N|juu recordings were made in 1936; the Korana in the late 1930s. The work is published but is not readily accessible to the public.

Sands et al. (2022). Documentation of Katrina Esau's remembered Kliptaal words.

Description: These audio recordings are in the possession of Prof Bonny Sands and Dr Kerry Jones and have not as yet been formally digitally archived.
Academic publications on moribund or extinct Tuu lects

1) Works on South African Tuu lexicons are of uneven quality and are limited in scope. Generally speaking, words documented in D. Bleek’s (1929) *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* are to be preferred over those in D. Bleek’s (1956) *A Bushman Dictionary* as this latter publication was compiled after her death and, in some cases, it appears that her field notes were improperly interpreted. Words from various Tuu lexicons are compiled in Raper’s (2020) publication *Voices Past and Present: A Comparison of Old Cape Dialectal, Bushman and Khoekhoe Words*, but these have been compiled without the linguistic annotation and interpretation we would hope to have in a lexicon compiled by a researcher who has done field work on other Tuu (or Khoe or Kx’A) languages. That is to say, one cannot take the spelling of a Tuu word at face value; the pronunciation may be quite different from what the spelling initially suggests.

Lexical documentation of ǀXam is fairly copious but must be used with caution as words transcribed by Bleek and Lloyd when they had only just begun working on the language cannot be directly compared to those documented when they were more experienced with the language. Besides the compilations by D. Bleek, one may also consult the Bleek and Lloyd archive online for the original notes which may provide additional contextual cues to help elucidate the translations and transcriptions of words. Besides these resources, one may also consult the extensive ǀXam vocabulary curated by Mark McGranaghan in his (2012) dissertation *Foragers on the Frontiers: the ǀXam Bushmen of the Northern Cape, South Africa, in the Nineteenth Century*, and Peter Raper’s (2021) compilation in Afrikaans. Menán du Plessis is in the process of producing a ǀXam dictionary and grammar which will likely appear in the next few years. Kinship terms in ǀXam and other Tuu languages have been carefully studied by Gertrud Boden.

There is at present no ǀǁegwi dictionary. Henry Honken was in the process of preparing a ǀǁegwi dictionary before he passed away. This dictionary exists in manuscript (dated 2012), as does a manuscript ǀǁegwi dictionary produced by E.O.J. Westphal in 1980. An academic-quality ǀǁegwi dictionary could be produced using these resources but individual lexical items need to be annotated to indicate the original source of the material (whether from Lanham & Hallowes and Ziervogel’s published works or from unpublished notes); This is because different researchers had different abilities when transcribing this language and one needs to know this in interpreting what the intended sound may have been. Only in the case of Traill (1999a) do we have a transcription of ǀǁegwi published together with the recorded audio of the same lexical items. No ǀǁegwi lexical compilations to date have included the lexical items from Stopa’s (1959, reproduced in 1993) work with a man named Jankie who appears to have spoken ǀǁegwi.
2) Because of the extremely limited number of audio recordings of South African Tuu languages, there has been little work on the phonetics and phonology of these languages. Most work on |Xam and |Xegwi phonetics and phonology has relied on work undertaken on Tuu languages such as N|uu and !Xóõ (Taa) in recent decades; discussions of |Xam include Traill (1995b) and Güldemann (2013a); discussions of |Xegwi include Traill (1999a) and Honken (2020). Recordings and works interpreting Tuu phonetics and phonology are extremely important in interpreting the poor lexical resources available on Tuu languages which are no longer spoken. Some of the earliest phonetic research into click languages involved missionaries or linguists pronouncing words they had learned from mother-tongue speakers (e.g. Meriggi 1931 on |Xam) and so can not be considered works on the languages, properly speaking, though they are of some importance for the development of instrumental phonetics. D. Bleek (1924) is an early work on the transcription of Tuu languages. Bennett (2020) is a recent work on the phonology of clicks, including those in Tuu languages.
3) There are several works that describe aspects of the grammar of |Xam but very little has been published describing the grammatical characteristics of other South African Tuu languages which have not been known since the 1970s or earlier. One exception is Bleek’s (1937) work on |Auni grammar.

Dorothea Bleek produced |Xam grammar sketch in English not quite 100 years ago (D. Bleek 1928-29, 1929-30). Piero Meriggi also produced a |Xam grammar sketch around this time based on the Bleek and Lloyd materials (Meriggi 1928-29) in German. Various aspects of |Xam grammar have been described by Tom Güldemann in a number of different publications (e.g. Güldemann 2010, 2013 b, c). Chris Collins (2017, 2019) discusses the role of the linker in |Xam grammar in cross-linguistic perspective. Recently, a |Xam grammar in Afrikaans has appeared, Raper’s (2022) |Xam Grammatika60. It is expected that Menán du Plessis will produce a |Xam dictionary and grammar in the next few years (cf. du Plessis 2022) that will update our knowledge of the processes of word and sentence formation in this language.

---

60 This work is so recent that we have not yet been able to examine a copy.
There is limited information about Xegwi morphology and syntax, much of which appears in Ziervogel's section of Potgieter's (1955) *The Disappearing Bushmen of Lake Chrissie*. Honken (2020) provides a concise introduction to Xegwi morphosyntactic structures. No morphosyntactic descriptions to date (to the best of our knowledge) of Xegwi have included information from Stopa's (1959, reproduced in 1993) work with a man named Jankie who appears to have spoken Xegwi. Stopa's work includes words, phrases, sentences and a short text.

Stopa's unconventional views about language evolution have likely led most linguists to have such deep scepticism of his work that they have failed to take notice of his few more conventional offerings.
4) Works on the **historical linguistics** of the Tuu languages of South Africa are, by necessity, limited by the limitations of the lexical and grammatical material available on the languages. Nevertheless, similarities in lexical items have led to researchers concluding that N|uu,ǁXegwi andǀXam and many of the other South African Tuu languages belong to a common subgroup of Tuu known as IUi. Important works establishing the unity of Tuu languages include: Bleek (1929), Westphal (1956, etc.), Hastings (2001) “Evidence for the genetic unity of Southern Khoesan” and Güldemann’s (2005) chapters in *Studies in Tuu (Southern Khoisan)*. Güldemann has many other papers that have teased apart relationships between poorly attested languages (cf. 2002a, b, 2006a, 2014a, b, 2018, etc.). Other works comparing Tuu languages include Sands (2007) and Starostin (2021, 2022).

Relatively little work has been done on IUi dialectology, but works such as Vosseler’s (2014) undergraduate thesis on AchterveldǀXam will help in this regard. The varied way that Tuu words have been spelled makes dialect (and language) comparison difficult.
Comparative |Xam vocabulary (Planert 1926: 307) showing the difficulty of comparing words across transcription systems. The word for ‘water’ (highlighted in yellow) appears to differ across dialects. Differences across other sets appear to be due to differences in transcription rather than to actual dialect differences.

5) The most important South African Tuu texts are the |Xam texts in the Bleek and Lloyd collection. These can be accessed on the internet. Many of these texts have been reproduced in |Xam and English in various publications such as Bleek & Lloyd (1911) Specimens of Bushman Folklore, and in edited collections such as Skotnes (2007) Claim to the Country: The Archive of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd and Hollmann (2004, 2022) Customs and Beliefs of the |Xam.

Many works that have built upon the |Xam texts in the Bleek and Lloyd collection provide these works only in translation (primarily in English and Afrikaans), or discuss the literary qualities of these works. There have been a plethora of works on |Xam literature in translation by authors such as: Stephen Watson, Helize van Vuuren, Duncan Brown, Antjie Krog, Luan Staphorst, Neil Bennun, Alan James and Michael Wessels.

Less common are works that compare |Xam literary forms with those in other San languages. José Manuel de Prada-Samper, Sigrid Schmidt (e.g. Schmidt 2013) and Mathias Guenther (e.g. 1989) analyse |Xam narratives and/or narratives told by |Xam descendants and place them in cross-linguistic context. Gideon Retief von Wielligh (2017) is a collection of stories from areas where |Xam and ||Xegwi were once spoken; this English translation is
based on a 1919-1921 collection: Afrikaans Boesman stories. The story collection The Man who Cursed the Wind, and other stories from the Karoo / Die Man wat die Wind Vervloek het, en ander stories van die Karoo (de Prada-Samper 2016) includes stories by Afrikaans-speaking ǀXam descendants. Stories told by ǀXam-speakers continue to be told by South Africans today, a lasting linguistic legacy.
Less common still are texts unconnected to the Bleek and Lloyd archive and/or from languages other than ǀXam. Roman Stopa (1959, reproduced in 1993) includes a ǀXegwi narrative “The story of Jankie”, told to him by a man named Jankie who lived near Lake Chrissie. This is a personal narrative, and not a piece of folklore.

Texts produced by Drakensberg San (descendants of !Ui-language speakers) have been studied in a number of works by Michael Wessels (e.g. Wessels 2012, 2014a). Also of interest is the tale “Cagn and the baboons” in Paton (1999). This tale (presented in English and originally written down in the early 20th century) was told by ’Ou Coba’ who may have been a descendant ofǂUngkue speakers. Cagn appears to be an alternate spelling of ǀXaggen, well-known in ǀXam literature.

The literary legacy of South African Tuu languages extends into modern novels written in South Africa by people whose connection to Tuu-language literature has primarily been through the tales collected in the Bleek & Lloyd collection. Laurens van der Post drew inspiration from the stories told by ǁKabbo (a ǀXam speaker whose words are documented in the Bleek & Lloyd collection) for novels such as (1978) A Far Off Place. More recently, Sylvia Vollenhoven’s (2016) The Keeper of the Kumm was inspired by ǁKabbo.
Although most novels inspired by Tuu-speaking peoples have been inspired by the relatively well-known ǀXam, we might add here André Brink’s (2005) novel Praying Mantis about Cupido Kakkerlak, the first Khoekhoe missionary; Cupido’s wife Anna Vigilant likely spoke a ǃUi language. Also, Paul Alan Barker’s (2022) novel The Ferry Inn is remarkable for being inspired by Matabab, the child of Kabara, one of the last speakers of ǀHaasi heard on the wax cylinder recordings made in the 1930s and digitised by Anthony Traill (1999a).

6) There are no works on Applied Linguistics of South African Tuu languages apart from Njuu apart from a few works discussing the use of ǀXam in the motto on the South African coat of arms (e.g. Hitchcock 2003; Barnard 2003, 2004; Smith et al. 2000). Dorothea Bleek’s (1924) “Note on Bushman orthography” is about transcription (and pronunciation) rather than spelling.

7) There are numerous works on the ethnography, anthropology, archaeology and history of South African Tuu groups. These works far outnumber works on the languages spoken by these groups. Many of these works contain information about factors influencing language loss and shift, and so help complete the picture of the history of these languages in South Africa.

There are many works that focus on aspects of ǀXam culture and history. Dorothea Bleek published several articles on ǀXam customs and beliefs in the 1930s which built upon earlier work by her father and aunt (Wilhelm Bleek & Lucy Lloyd). These have been edited and published by Jeremy Hollmann (2004, 2022). Of special interest to linguists are her papers on “special speech” used by characters in folktales (Bleek 1936). In more recent years, works on ǀXam beliefs and culture have been published by researchers such as Ansie Hoff, Roger Hewitt, José Manuel de Prada-Sammer and Chris Low. Other researchers have focused on the understanding of ǀXam to interpret rock art, e.g. Mark McGranaghan, Ann Solomon, J.D. Lewis-Williams. John Parkington, Janette Deacon and others have produced important works connecting ǀXam history to the archaeological record, while researchers such as Nigel Penn, Miklós Szalay and John Wright have explored the history of San in the Cape (i.e. ǀXam) more generally.

62 Anna Vigilant was known to be a Bushman (Malherbe (1979: 367, footnote 18)); she and Cupido are likely the couple referred to “who spoke both the Dutch and Boschemen’s language and will most probably be a most useful interpreter” (Kicherer 1804: 326). Anna may have been related to the Bushman chief Vigilant referred to by Rev. Mr. Kicherer (ibid, p. 325). She may have spoken ǀXam, or perhaps IKhua.
Deacon (1986, 1996) and Deacon & Foster (2005) My Heart Stands in the Hill provide archaeological and historical context to help better understand the world that Bleek & Lloyd’s |Xam consultants came from. Andrew Bank, Jill Weintroub and others have contributed to the historiography around the Bleek & Lloyd collection.
The importance of the ethnographic information gleaned from an interview with Qing, a Bushman from the Maluti mountain region, by Joseph Orpen in the late 1800s has been discussed in many works, most notably José Manuel de Prada-Samper et al.'s (2016) On the Trail of Qing and Orpen. In this volume, Menán du Plessis discusses how Qing's !Ui language appears to have Phuthi (or other Nguni) loanwords. Close contact between Nguni and Bushman groups (as well as with others) has been documented in works by Rachel King and Sam Challis in the Maloti-Drakensberg area where an Amatola "Bushman" identity emerged. Pieter Jolly, Frans Prins and Michael Francis have worked with Bushmen (San descendants) embedded in Nguni and/or Sotho communities in southeastern South Africa/the Drakensberg Mountains. Others who have studied Maloti-Drakensberg Bushmen (primarily to understand how to interpret their rock art) include: Peter Mitchell, Patricia Vinnicombe, Benjamin Smith, Andrew Skinner.

Apart from the Maloti-Drakensberg and !Xam-speaking areas, there has been some limited work done on !Auni by Raymond Dart, L.F. Maingard and Percival Kirby in the 1930s, and more recent work on the Seekoei River Valley Bushmen by C. Garth Sampson and Dennis E. Neville (Sampson & Neville 2018, 2021 & Neville 1996). There is relatively little ethnographic information about Bushmen from other areas (apart from what might be gleaned from archaeological works not listed here).
8) Publicly inaccessible resources (cited in other works) include:


Collins, R. (1841). Report upon the relations between the Cape colonists and the Kafirs and Bushmen in 1808-1809. Cape Town: Robertson & Robertson.


Lloyd, Lucy. (1880). Bushman notebook, Vols. XI, XII, XIII and XIV, no. 1, p. 1-26. Word lists collected by Miss Schunke. (Bleek Collection: BC151 A2.2.2). Rare Documents and Manuscripts Department, University of Cape Town.


References


Anon. (1847). History of the Bosjesmans, or Bush people; the aborigines of Southern Africa. With copious extracts from the best authors, showing the habits and disposition of the above-named extraordinary race of human beings. London: Chapman, Elcoate, and Company. [48pp]


Blackburn, Julia. (2022). Dreaming the Karoo: a people called the /Xam. London: Jonathan Cape. [294pp]


Bleek, Dorothea F. (1931). Customs and beliefs of the !Xam Bushmen. Part 1: baboons. Bantu studies, 5: 167-179. [Note: /Xam has been misspelled "!Xam" here]


De Prada-Samper, José Manuel. (2001). La niña que creó las estrellas: relatos orales de los bosquimanos /xam ['The girl who made the stars: oral tales from the /Xam Bushmen']. (Rescatados Lengua de Trapo, 4). Madrid: Lengua de Trapo. [315pp]


De Prada-Samper, José Manuel. (2016). The Man who Cursed the Wind, and other stories from the Karoo / Die Man wat die Wind Vervloek het, en ander stories van die Karoo. Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, Pre-Colonial Catalytic Project, University of Cape Town. [352pp]


James, Alan. (2001). The First Bushman’s Path. Stories, Songs and Testimonies of the /Xam of the Northern Cape. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press. [269pp]


Lloyd, Lucy C. (1880). Bushman folklore. Folk-lore journal, 2: 39-43. [Note: the author is actually given as “a member of the Working Committee of the South African Folklore Society]; [includes 2 wind stories]


Recommendations for preservation of moribund or extinct Tuu lects

Only for those languages where there is a record of its existence, can any preservation efforts take place. For older historical records, only wordlists and in some cases IPA transcriptions can be found. Later audio recordings and then film footage appear. Below is a list of moribund or extinct Tuu lects that have some form of documentation and therefore that evidence should be physically and digitally archived as a record of our national linguistic heritage and for educational purposes in a freely accessible repository that has a long term maintenance plan for the resources hosted.

Table 39: List of known Tuu lects where archiving and digitisation can assist with future preservation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of language</th>
<th>Physical and digital archiving required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|ǁXegwi            | Audio recorded in the 1930s (Traill 1999a); Westphal (1961)  
Lanham & Hallowes (1956a, b), Köhler 1967-1974 fieldwork, Ziervogel (1955), Potgieter (1955); Stopa (1959)  
An online ǁXegwi digital archive could be made that includes the above materials or links to them (e.g. Westphal recordings) should they already be digitised and available online |
|Nǀamani           | Audio: Westphal (1961)  
D. Bleek (1929), Westphal (1965)  
An online Nǀamani digital archive could be made that includes the above materials or links to them (e.g. Westphal recordings) should they already be digitised and available online |
|ǃGãñe            | Anders (1934-35) can be digitised and made available online |
|ǀHaasi            | Audio recorded in the 1930s (Traill 1999a)  
Story (1937) (published as Story 1999)  
An online ǀHaasi digital archive could be made that includes the above materials or links to them, should they already be digitised and available online |
<p>|ǀAuni             | D. Bleek (1927, 1937) - These resources are already digitised and |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‡Ungkue</td>
<td>Meinhof (1928-29), Norton (1919)(^{63}) could be digitised and made available online</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatia</td>
<td>D. Bleek (1929) - These resources are already digitised and available online</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uingkekwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Xam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seroa</td>
<td>Arbousset &amp; Daumas (1842); (Ellenberger 1932)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An online Seroa digital archive could be made that includes the above materials or links to them, should they already be digitised and available online</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njul’en</td>
<td>D. Bleek (1929), Lloyd (1880)(^{65}), Kroenlein (1861), Hahn (1870)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An online Njul’en digital archive could be made that includes the above materials or links to them, should they already be digitised and available online</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IKhuaï</td>
<td>Lichtenstein (1815) could be digitised and made available online</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riet River San</td>
<td>Wuras (1919-20) could be digitised and made available online</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These records need to be professionally archived for safekeeping and future reference, and digitised with appropriate metadata and made available online for free public access.

\(^{63}\) The 17 words documented by Norton (1919) in the unnamed language spoken by Fred Baartman of Hopetown may be a |Xam or ‡Ungkue dialect or may represent an otherwise unknown IUi lect.

\(^{64}\) Marginal sources include Sparrman's "Smese". Sparrman's work has appeared in many different editions and translations, having originally appeared in Swedish in 1783.

\(^{65}\) Guldemann (2006) says that Lucy Lloyd's (1998) notebook A2.1124:10318-10332 contains information on |Nusa, a IUi variety from north of the Middle Orange. Confusingly, this is catalogued as part of the collection "Lucy Lloyd Ikun notebooks", and the online description says "|nauxa and Ikhumanumup (at the South African Museum) give words and sentences in |xam (on the recto pages) and in !Ora ('Hottentot') on the opposite pages."
History of moribund or extinct Khoe lects

In 1881, Theophilus Hahn made a plea that the government fund research into the poorly documented Khoe lects of South Africa that were already in serious decline at that time (Hahn 1881: 118). Hahn was in a good position to document these dialects and languages because of his experience but earlier researchers were not, and their wordlists are difficult to interpret given their inability to distinguish different click consonants and tones. Cape Khoekhoe was spoken over a huge area and must have consisted of a number of dialects as it surely consisted of different political entities (as noted on many early maps). There has been little work done to differentiate dialect characteristics, but some linguistic distinctions between what may roughly be termed Western Cape Khoekhoe and Eastern Cape Khoekhoe have been noted by (Christie 2023: in passim). Many Cape Khoekhoe names are listed in Maingard (1931), Engelbrecht (1935) and other sources, most notably Nienaber (1989). Distinct from these dialects are Xri (Griqua, Griekwa), Korana (ǃOra, Kora) and Eini (Einiqua). Korana, Xri and Eini were maintained longer than Cape Khoekhoe and linguists such as Maingard were able to locate and work with speakers in the 1930s (Maingard 1932)66, but by the 1960s, it appears to have been difficult for linguists to find speakers to work with. In the case of Korana, some elderly people who could remember some Kora were located by Mike Besten in 2007 (du Plessis 2018: 53).

Cape Khoekhoe

(Map showing locations of some Cape Khoekhoe groups, Maingard 1931)

66 Already in 1932, Maingard describes being able to “discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe – the Links Korana”, and that some authors had declared that “the Korana is extinct” (Maingard 1932: 103-104).
The last generation of children acquiring Cape Khoekhoe has been estimated to be the generation born about 1795 – 1805 (Christie 2023). Children who acquired Cape Khoekhoe in the late 1700s/early 1800s grew up and continued to use the languages into adulthood for many decades. This would account for the presence of wordlists collected up to the mid-1800s and the relative difficulty of obtaining data as noted by Hahn's (1881) comments.

Two short scholarly introductions to Cape Khoekhoe and Korana are Barnard (1992, chapter 9) and Haacke (2016). The (2003) book, People of the Western Cape: A History for Schools, by Andrew Bank and others, is a helpful introduction to the history of the Western Cape Khoekhoe; de Jongh (2016) is a history of the Hessequa, one of these groups. Information about different Khoekhoe groups and their locations come from a wider range of sources than referenced here (limiting references to those that include vocabulary items). A compilation of early works describing the Cape Khoekhoe peoples is given in Nienaber (1963).

Research timeline: Cape Khoekhoe

- (1626) Thomas Herbert
- (1655) Etienne de Flacourt
- (1664) G.F. Wreede
- (1686) Willem Ten Rhyne
- (1691, 1697) Nicolaus Witsen
- (1695) J. G. Grevenbroek
- (1705-1713) Peter Kolb
- (1710) Christian Juncker
- (1717) G. W. Leibniz
- (1725) Johan Daniel Buttner
- (1726) François Valentyn
- (ca. 1772-76) Anders Sparrman
- (ca. 1770-1773) Carl Peter Thunberg
- (ca. 1779) Robert Gordon
- (ca. 1780-85) François le Vaillant
- (1791) Franz von Winkelmann
- (1797) John Barrow
- (1829) W. M. G. Colebrook
- (1846) John W. Appleyard

Timeline of early documentation of Cape Khoekhoe

67 This date is further supported by comments in a collection of letters published in 1857, listed in our bibliography as Wreede (1857).
68 Nienaber (1963: 125) dates his work to 1691 and 1697.
69 This wordlist is sometimes attributed to Job Ludolf who received the list from Witsen. Witsen appears to have turned his attention to languages of Eurasia (Blokland 2021).
70 Since Thunberg had access to Sparrman’s vocabulary, it must have been collected before this time.
71 A page from Gordon’s manuscript journals with Cape Khoekhoe words and phrases is reproduced in du Plessis (2018: 37).
72 These dates must be taken as rough estimates as some works are based on manuscripts created some years earlier. See Nienaber (1963, chapters 8-9) for further discussion and alternate proposed dates.
(The earliest wordlist of Cape Khoekhoe, transcribed in 1626 (Herbert 1634: 16))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khoekhoe Word</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iswee, is one.</td>
<td>Isuim, two.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlms, three.</td>
<td>Hlgywumne, three.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlcyke, four.</td>
<td>Chowbawh, four.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croy, five.</td>
<td>Chibow, five.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlgynom, six.</td>
<td>Chibow, six.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chowbaw, seven.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chibow, eight.</td>
<td>Cibwo, nine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibwo, nine.</td>
<td>And</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibwo, nine.</td>
<td>Chibow, 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Hat, Twubba.</td>
<td>Seals, Harkab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Nose, Tveam.</td>
<td>A Woman, Traqueoffs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Sword, Dshingro.</td>
<td>Bread, Bara. Giue me, Loy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Booke, Bueem.</td>
<td>The Genitor, Guummaey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water, Chtammy.</td>
<td>The wombe, Wchep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brashe, Haddecbereef.</td>
<td>Paps, Semiguve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Skin, Guummye.</td>
<td>Yard, Jficoom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Portion of map created by Balthazar Lakeman (1727), reproduced in Tooley (1970), showing Cape Khoekhoe groups such as the Chirigiquas, Hessequas and Houteniquas)
Hahn (1881) noted that earlier specimens of Cape Khoekhoe words were collected by Witsen, Ten Rhyne, Herbert, Kolb, Valentyn, Leibniz, Sparrman, Thunberg, Barrow, Lichtenstein, and Le Vaillant “and a few others”. These are mostly accessible in original or later editions, as are early wordlists produced by: G. F. Wreede, Étienne de Flacourt, J. D. Buttner, Christian Juncker, and J. G. Grevenbroek. We have been unable to access a few additional original copies of works by Franz von Winkelmann, John W. Appleyard, and W. M. G. Colebrook. In most of these sources, it is difficult to ascertain the geographical location where the words were obtained. Étienne de Flacourt’s (1658) wordlist specifies that it represents [Cape Khoekhoe] spoken at Saldanha Bay and The Cape of Good Hope. Herbert’s (1626) list is described as containing words from Saldanha Bay (Latham 1847: 197). Other early sources may be expected to similarly represent the lects in the Western Cape. Travellers may have worked with Khoekhoe speakers from near Cape Town even if their travels took them further afield, for instance. Some of these works repeat words from earlier works and so information about locations visited may not accurately reflect the original source of the words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Names</th>
<th>Dutch Names</th>
<th>Hottentot Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Quail</td>
<td>Kwartel</td>
<td>Δ—Kabip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Sparrow</td>
<td>Mofs</td>
<td>v—Kabari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Vulture</td>
<td>Aas-Voogel</td>
<td>Δ—Gha ip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Wild Goose</td>
<td>Welde-Gans</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Mountain</td>
<td>Berg</td>
<td>Δ—Karo hei gaamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Rock</td>
<td>Klep</td>
<td>Δ—Gaorip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A River</td>
<td>Rivier</td>
<td>Δ—Neis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Fountain</td>
<td>Fontyn</td>
<td>Δ—Oumma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Tree</td>
<td>Zéé</td>
<td>Δ—Ouip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Waggon</td>
<td>Boom</td>
<td>Δ—Karip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Flower</td>
<td>Waage</td>
<td>v—Aap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>Blom</td>
<td>Δ—Azup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Melck</td>
<td>Hourip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flesh</td>
<td>Waater</td>
<td>Haïp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifh</td>
<td>Vleelch</td>
<td>Kouri-ip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Spider</td>
<td>Vis</td>
<td>Δ—Narina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Camelion</td>
<td>Span</td>
<td>Deip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Butterfly</td>
<td>Kannelle</td>
<td>v—Kama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sample of Cape Khoekhoe vocabulary from le Vaillant (1790, vol. 2, p. 154))

---

73 Some of the names of these authors/editors are cited using variant spellings, e.g. Spaarman ~ Sparrmann, Kolb ~ Kolbe ~ Kolben, Juncker ~ Junckero, Georgius Frederickus Wreede ~ Georg Friedrich Wreede, Hervas ~ Herbert etc. Some alternate spellings are Latinizations.

74 Lichtenstein discusses earlier Cape Khoekhoe wordlists but his own lists are of Korana.

75 Many of the old works with Cape Khoekhoe wordlists are freely available on Google Books as they are no longer under copyright protection. We have not presented an exhaustive list of editions, translations and reprinted versions.

76 Some of the lists are not independent sources of information – for instance, Juncker (1710) includes a wordlist provided by Job Ludolf, which was a wordlist given to him by his friend Nicolaus Witsen. Witsen’s list and other works appear to have been copied by other authors.
The earliest wordlists appear to have come from groups located in the Western Cape; dialects from further east and further inland are only represented in later works as colonists and explorers reached these areas. Nienaber (1963) distinguishes wordlists from 1626–1725 as representing “Ou-Kaapse Dialekte” while wordlists from Thunberg (1773) and Sparrman (1775) are labelled “Oostelike Dialekte”. The words from Von Winkelmann (1788) and Barrow (1797) are not classified by Nienaber into either Old Cape nor Eastern dialect groupings.

Most of the early work on Cape Hottentot includes just words and phrases. However, there are two short religious texts (a Credo and a Decem Praecepta whose transcription is credited to Witsen) that were published in Leibniz’s (1717) etymological collection.
Thunberg and Sparrman's wordlists reflect Khoekhoe spoken quite a bit to the east of the Western Cape Peninsula. Sparrman travelled to various locations including the Seacow (Seekoei) River and Sunday River and to the land of the Houteniquas, described as lying between two rivers: the Groote Brak-rivier and Keureboomsriviere, which feeds into Alagoa Bay. Sparrman travelled with Khoekhoe from the Sunday River (Sparrman 1786-89, vol. 2 p. 186). Thunberg appears to have travelled to the Sneeuberg Mountains, bringing interpreters with him (presumably from the Western Cape) (1795-96, vol. 2 p. 72); he noticed that Khoekhoe "is not everywhere the same, but has very different dialects". It is likely that Thunberg's wordlist reflected the dialect of his interpreters who may have spoken differently to those Sparrman may have primarily worked with from the Sunday River and further east. Thunberg had access to Kolb and Sparrman's vocabularies and noted that his list differs somewhat from theirs (Thunberg 1814: 100).

---

77 This is quite a bit southwest of the location where the Houteniquas are located on Lakeman's (1727) map.
Of the feathered tribe I found in Houtniquas a new species of tantalus, called by the colonists bagedaff, and also badeide. This latter name has, in some measure, the same sound as the bird’s note; the bird itself, which was said to be confined to this province, I have found likewise in great numbers about Zwart-kops-rivier. This same bird is called by the Hottentots ‘ta ‘kai ‘kene, a name which, if rightly pronounced with three smacks of the tongue against the roof of the mouth, a stranger will find more difficulty in uttering than the bird’s own language. It lives chiefly on bulbs and roots, which with its crooked bill, it is said to dig up out of the plains with great ease and readiness. There it is shy and difficult to come at. In the evenings I always saw them upon some tree in the woods at roost, and in this situation, one morning at sun-rise, I had the good fortune to shoot one of them.
Unfortunately, most of the works by early colonists and travellers contain very little information about the sociolinguistic status or history of the languages. Dapper (1668, in a 1933 translation by Isaac Schapera) mentions that all or most of the groups “living close to the Fort, like the Gorachoquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen” (p. 73). This means that society-wide bilingualism with (early) Afrikaans occurred in the Western Cape almost two centuries before the same could be said of parts of Namaqualand and the Northern Cape. Further east of Cape Town, in Graaff-Reinet, knowledge of Dutch (early Afrikaans) was not so common and missionaries still needed the assistance of translators in the early part of the 1800s (Malherbe 1979, Kicherer 1804). Bilingualism and the shift from Cape Khoekhoe to Afrikaans must have taken place somewhat later in the Eastern Cape than close to Cape Town. The Gona dialect at the Kat River Settlement, for instance, appears to have been used as late as the 1850s (Blackbeard 2018, cited in Christie 2023). There are no reports of speakers in the 20th century, rather, we see reports such as Hammond-Tooke’s (1958) indicating that Khoekhoe who were earlier reported to be numerous in the King William’s Town (Qonce) District in the Eastern Cape had become “completely absorbed” by Nguni and Afrikaans-speaking groups.

Surprisingly, it is possible to still learn more about Cape Khoekhoe in the present day. Menán du Plessis discovered a list of words and phrases from ca. 1779 in the manuscript journals of Robert Gordon, held by the Brenthurst Library in Johannesburg. From an examination of this list, she was able to note that some grammatical features resemble Korana more than they do Nama.

Korana and Eini

Research timeline: Eini

Like the Korana, the Eini lived along the Orange River; the Eini along the Lower Orange River to the west of Upington, and the Korana to the east. Maingard (1964) published words and sentences he recorded in 1936 from three speakers of Eini. He worked with Kheip of theǂNamniku (“Kaross Draers”), ǀXei (Trein Slingers) of the ǂKaonǀKaon (“Cutters”), and Ausia, the headman of theǂʔOxoku (“Narrow Cheeks”).

Because of the Korana wars of 1868–1869 and 1878–1879, Korana and Einiqua who remained alive dispersed to locations including Clanwilliam and Calvinia (Maingard 1964: 57). The generation born after the wars would have been less likely to acquire Eini and Korana due to the disruption to society and loss of land. It is estimated that the last generation who lived in a community where the majority spoke Eini or Korana were born before this time. Certainly, some families continued to use the languages, and some individuals born after this period continued to acquire the languages.
The Korana and Eini languages spoken at a greater distance from the original Cape Colony were able to hold out against the pressure to shift to Afrikaans a little bit longer than was the case with Cape Khoekhoe. The last generation to acquire Korana is estimated to be from 1910 – 1925 (Christie 2023). For Korana, the last fluent speakers lived into their 90s and passed away in the 2010s (Du Plessis 2018: 53-57). It is not known when the last Eini speakers may have lived as there has been relatively little linguistic attention paid to this language. Pressures to shift to Afrikaans were quite strong and Korana identity was kept secret in some families (SBA 2022–2023).
As is the case with Cape Khoekhoe, the earliest documents of the Korana language (of Borcherd, Lichtenstein, Burchell and Campbell) are difficult to use due to a lack of consistent way of marking the click consonants. In the early 1800s, knowledge of Afrikaans amongst the Korana appears to be somewhat unusual as individuals who can speak "Dutch" are mentioned by Campbell and Burchell, as though this were not the norm. Burchell’s Korana documentation is notable as being one of the earliest Khoe or San resources to provide information about the language consultant. Burchell worked with Muchunka\(^{82}\), a multilingual man who had a Korana-speaking mother, Setswana-speaking father and Khoekhoe wife (Burchell 1822, vol. 1, p. 485).

\(^{78}\) His name sometimes appears as Borcherds.

\(^{79}\) Wuras was in the area already by this time, according to Maingard (1964: 59).

\(^{80}\) Fieldwork dates and consultants for Engelbrecht, Meinhof and Maingard are discussed in du Plessis (2018).

\(^{81}\) Not included in this timeline are works such as Appleyard (1850) explicitly based on the work of others. For a timeline organised by the names of the Kora consultants themselves, see du Plessis (2018: 33-57).

\(^{82}\) Muchunka was also known as Kees. His Setswana name was said by Burchell to mean ‘poor’; according to Prof. Andy Chebanne of the University of Botswana, *motshonko* (in modern Setswana orthography) is an obsolete euphemism meaning ‘destitute’.
(Sample of Borcherd’s 1801 manuscript showing words in English and Korana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Korana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thom</td>
<td>t'Gram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>t'Kamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>t'Kurp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>k'Gap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>d'Gipe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sample of Lichtenstein’s 1812 vocabulary of Korana and (Xam)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Korana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The thigh</td>
<td>tii'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leg</td>
<td>t'nuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The foot</td>
<td>t'keib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Aboob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Ei'joos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>t'ko'kaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>t'ko'kaas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>{köub}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{keub}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{chaib}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t'na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE CORANNA LANGUAGE.

Sita ienp Tomie na kap
tsa onee thaa tgy tgy
tsa chaoop koo ha
tsa tymp aapie
ie hom na kghoma aie hoop
maadaa hoowaa tzee koo breep
tnoo baa daa
tghaa tre sita taa whie kgh-
baa tno ba camaa sita soo-
rootie haa kghoina
thaa oo kaa daa orickoo na
tso koo goo oreedaa
tzaads oo haa kaoo kghoo
otghyp oien Zaap
o kaa teep. Amen.

Our Father who art in heaven
hallowed be thy name
tiny kingdom come
thy will be done
in earth as it is in heaven
give us this day our daily bread
and forgive us our debts
as we forgive our debtors
and lead us not into temptation
but deliver us from evil
for thine is the kingdom
the power and the glory
for ever and ever. Amen.

(Campbell (1815: 560) transcription of the Lord's Prayer in Korana)

A SPECIMEN OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE KOURA HOTTENTOTS.

One - - - - - 'Kuui (or 'Quee, as it might be written according to English pronunciation).

Two - - - - - 'Kam.

Three - - - - - "Gûnû (or Goonah in English). The mark for ‘short quantity’ (’) implies that the vowel beneath it, is to be pronounced in a short and indistinct manner. The acute accent (’’) is here, as in every other part of this work, used to indicate the syllable which bears the accent, or emphasis.

Four - - - - - Hâkâa, or Hâkâa. Double vowels are used merely to express a more lengthened sound, and are to be considered as bearing the accent; or the same thing is signified by the mark for ‘long quantity’ (”) placed over a single vowel.

Five - - - - - Kûrû (Kooroo, in Eng.)
Six - - - - - "Nannî.
Seven - - - - - Hongkû (Hongkoo).
Eight - - - - - ‘Kyiî.
Nine - - - - - Goûsi (Goosysy).
Ten - - - - - Dësi (Dâsys).

(Portion of wordlist published by Burchell (1824), mostly obtained from consultant Muchunka)
In works on Korana in the mid-1800s, one sees attempts to systematise the spelling of the clicks. Carl Friedrich Wuras, a missionary (who began working with a Korana interpreter, Gert Cloete, in 1836 (du Plessis 2018: 42)), prepared manuscripts on the language which were used by Vedder, Maingard and Appleyard. Wuras used 8 symbols for what are considered to be 4 different click types (cf. du Plessis, 2018: 43; Beach 1938: 190). His Korana catechism is reproduced in Vedder (1927 = Wuras 1927a), along with linguistic commentary; Maingard (1931b) and Hestermann (1955) also provide linguistic analyses of the catechism. Wuras's vocabulary was edited by Walther Bourquin and published in 1920 (Wuras 1920, 1969). Appleyard (1850) includes a grammatical sketch of Korana by Wuras.
Documentation of Korana in the **late-1800s** appears in the Bleek & Lloyd collection, and in later publications resulting from this work (Lloyd 1932, Maingard 1962). Lucy Lloyd primarily through work with the consultant Piet Lynx. Dorothea Bleek met some Korana in Prieska in 1911.

Documentation of Korana in the **late 1920s-late-1930s** flourished, with professional linguists such as Carl Meinhof, Jan Engelbrecht, L. F. Maingard, D. M. Beach, and D. P. Hallowes conducting field work on the language. These linguists were able to build upon work that had already been done on Nama. Meinhof, Engelbrecht and Beach had completed works on Nama before working on Korana. During this time, recordings were made (Hallowes, in Traill 1999); other studies were done including phonetic descriptions (Beach 193883), text collections (Meinhof 1935-36, Engelbrecht 1928, 1936, Maingard 196784), and grammatical descriptions and word lists (Engelbrecht 1928, Meinhof 1930, Maingard 1962). Descriptions of dialect differences from this time appear in Maingard (1932, 1964), and Engelbrecht (1936). Percival Kirby accompanied Maingard to the Bloemhof area and transcribed a number of songs sung in Korana (Kirby 1932).

---

83 It seems likely that Beach would have also made recordings but we are not aware of any that have been found.

84 Maingard notes that the wax cylinder recordings he made in 1932 “are now unusable, as they are perished” (1967: 43).
Documentation of the Korana language in the current millennium started in 2007 when Mike Besten came across people who could still remember some Korana (du Plessis 2018: 53). Don Killian's (2009) MA thesis includes instrumental phonetic analyses and grammatical descriptions of remembers. He met 8 speakers, recording 5 of whom he describes as being able to "speak the language moderately well, but all of them had evidence of attrition, and most had difficulties forming any sort of complex sentences" (Killian 2009: 53). Menân du Plessis's (2018) book is a comprehensive overview of the history of documentation on the language, with a phonological description, texts and lexicon. The recordings she and team members Levi Namaseb and Niklaas Fredericks made were digitised and archived in 2014 at the Endangered Language Archive (ELAR). Her team interviewed Dawid Cooper of Bloemfontein and Jacoba Maclear of Bloemhof. With access to language resources such as du Plessis (2018) Kora: A Lost Khoisan Language of the Early Cape and the Gariep, it has become easier for Korana to access materials to teach the language, which appears to be happening (SBA 2022–2023).

---

85 Killian does not use the speakers’ names but refers to them by initials only. Human Subject Research panels have their origin in protecting participants in medical research which has led to certain protocols (such as anonymity) being used for linguistic research as well on occasion. Killian recorded SW and MP, originally from Douglas; LJ and MK living in Kimberley, and DC in Bloemfontein.

86 To access the recordings, permission must first be requested and granted.
One speaker I did not get a chance to meet, Jacoba Maclaire, gave a speech at a Khoe-san
convention. She was apparently fluent in what she called the Korana language. Dr. Mike Besten,
one of the organizers of the convention, commented, “One of the most extraordinary moments of
the convention was when Ouma Jacoba Mcalibre delivered an entire address in lOra – confounding those
deleatess who had up until then supposed that the last surviving speakers of this once major language
of the old Cape now recall only a few isolated words of it.” (BULT 2008).

(Description of the public re-emergence of the Korana language (Killian 2009: 82))

Mother tongue productions on moribund or extinct
Khoe lects

The films below are about the revitalisation of the language and culture as told in English
or Afrikaans but not directly in Khoekhoe itself.

Films. DVD video. (52 minutes).

Note: film about a Cape Khoekhoe woman who was exhibited in Europe in 1810

Awards:

Best African Documentary, 1999 FESPACO African Film Festival (Ouagadougou Burkina
Faso)

Best Documentary, 1999 Milan African Film Festival (Italy)

2001 African Literature Association Conference Film Festival


2000 National Women's Studies Association Conference Film Festival

2000 American Anthropological Association Conference Film Festival

Note: "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SARA BAARTMAN is the fascinating story of this Khoi Khoi
woman who was taken from South Africa, and then exhibited as a freak across Britain. The
image and idea of "The Hottentot Venus" swept through British popular culture. A court
battle waged by abolitionists to free her from her exhibitors failed. In 1814 she was taken
to France, and became the object of scientific and medical research that formed the
bedrock of European ideas about black female sexuality. She died the next year. But even
after her death, Sara Baartman remained an object of imperialist scientific investigation.
In the name of Science, her sexual organs and brain were displayed in the Musee de
l'Homme in Paris until as recently as 1985."

Responsibility: Zola Maseko, Philip Brooks, Harriet Gavshon. Distributed by Film Resource
Unit; Originally produced by Dola Bill Productions, 1998. Commentary: Phillip Tobias,

To access the full length film: https://icarusfilms.com/if-sara


Trailer available online: https://youtu.be/7lHOG-YV2a4


Online conversation about the series with the Director and Producer: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sKTljfNtp-o&ab_channel=encountersdocfest
“In 1810, indigenous Khoekhoe woman Sara Baartman was taken from Southern Africa and paraded on European stages as part of a freakshow. Only in 2002 were her remains brought back from Paris and buried in her ancestral home. Baartman’s return became a catalyst for the revival of Khoekhoean dignity and pride and the rebirth of Khoekhoean identity. This fascinating film brings a fresh perspective and a new narrative to the Khoekhoe herders of South Africa, exploring the territories and historical events, and interviewing their descendants. Using oral and archeological records, and re-examining old European diaries and reports for hints of the truth, the film rewrites the history of Southern and South Africa, deeply enriching the historical framework before 1652 and the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck.

SAFF is a not-for-profit event organised by a group of passionate volunteers with a mandate to showcase South African talent, culture and diversity. SAFF is a festival with a conscience. The net proceeds from the festival support Education without Borders (EwB).”

Licensing info: https://www.espressomedia.co.uk/khoekhoe-saga-2/

Cape talk interview: https://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/463747/khoekhoe-saga-sharing-the-neglected-history-of-a-south-african-people

Korana

Available online at: https://youtu.be/TyA6ivFqRo4

Note: Oral histories recorded on video include: Suid-Kalahari Stories; Die Griekwa is Nog; Namastories; Die Koue Bokkeveld; Cederberge; Strandlopers; Platfontein; Verlorenvlei Stories; Kosmopolitaanse Kalkbaai Vissers; Korana; Melkhoutfontein Stories.


This soon to be released educational art piece is an interdisciplinary collaboration of linguistics, art and astronomy to showcase names for stars as documented in Kora from over 100 years ago. The artwork will be available to the public at the new South African Astronomical Observatory visitors centre in four languages: Nama, Xhosa, Afrikaans and English.

87 The term *doro* (/dorob/ [dorop] ‘initiation school for young men’) was documented by Meinhof (du Plessis 2018: 280) and is an example of a Korana word without a direct equivalent in modern Namibian Khoekhoegowab (the closest equivalent in Haacke & Eiseb (2002: 33, from Schapera 1930: 283) is the obsolete term *doro-oob* for a ‘man who after initiation may sit at fire w. other men’).
Installation of Kora Star Names artwork under construction late 2022 on location at the South African Astronomical Observatory
Archives and Digital Collections that include moribund or extinct Khoe lects


https://nlsa.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1017248222?databaseList=283%2C638

Description: 121 page manuscript describing the Cape, includes some Cape Khoekhoe and isiXhosa words

Description: Handwritten manuscript journals; includes Cape Khoekhoe vocabulary and phrases


Description: Map of the Orange river with the names of the tribes inhabiting its banks. (cited in Maingard 1964: 57).

Borcherd, P.B. (1801). **Manuscript from Mr. P. B. Borcherd's Travels in South Africa.** MS Grey Collection G.10.c.16 (23), South African National Library.

Description: cited in Meier (1984) as Borcherd's "Kora and Sesuto words" but description says it contains Cora and Sitshuana words.
1879-1925

**Material on Korana in the Digital Bleek & Lloyd Collection.** Rare Documents and Manuscripts Department, University of Cape Town. Digitised in 2005.

[Link](http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/index.html)

Description: The Digital Bleek and Lloyd is a digital publication based on the historical Bleek and Lloyd Archive housed at the University of Cape Town Libraries, Special Collections as well as works from the Maingard collection of the Library at the University of South Africa (UNISA). Numerous pages include material on Korana, particularly in some notebooks of Lucy Lloyd, parts of notebooks by W.H.I. Bleek primarily through the input of contributor **Piet Lynx**. According to du Plessis (2018: 43-44, 60), there are five notebooks with interview notes with Links family members Griet and Siela\(^8^8\) (whose speech is perhaps closer to Xri than to Korana) were recorded by Jemima Bleek and Isabella Lloyd.

Some of the notebooks with Korana material in the collection include:

Lloyd, Lucy C. (1879). *!Kora Hottentot*. [Book 1]. MS notebook, Maingard Papers, Manuscripts Collection, Archival and Special Collections, University of South Africa Library, Pretoria.


---

\(^8^8\) Siela was documented as having a Griqua mother and a Korana father.
Lloyd, Lucy & Isabella Lloyd. (1879). **Two Korana folktales by Piet Lynx.** Maingard File 2.1.2.1. of the Manuscript collection of the Sanlam Library and the University of South Africa in Pretoria.


[https://www.elararchive.org/dk0266/](https://www.elararchive.org/dk0266/)

Description: about 900 sound files illustrating words and sentences, with notes and transcriptions. Speakers are Oupa Dawid Cooper & Ouma Jacoba Maclear.


Unarchived materials


Note: cited in Nienaber (1963)

Description: includes Cape Khoekhoe vocabulary


Note: cited in Nienaber (1963)

Description: includes Cape Khoekhoe vocabulary

Description: Manuscript of Korana vocabulary that has later appeared in print through the efforts of Walther Bourquin

**1930s Wax cylinder recordings of Korana** and other languages might possibly exist from the Kirby collection that are perhaps being digitised since 2006, but are not yet known to be in an archive (cf. Prentice & Hart (2006) & Anon. (2006))


Description: Audio CD includes recordings of !Ora (Korana) (as well as |Xegwi, |Haasi andǂKhomani (N|uu)). The accompanying booklet includes some phonetic transcriptions and linguistic descriptions. The Korana appears to have been recorded by D. P. Hallowes in the late 1930s. The recordings include a poignant speech by a man named Mukalap and the same speaker pronouncing a set of words illustrating the contrastive clicks in the language. The work is published but is not readily accessible to the public.

(‘Portion of Mukalap’s speech to the delegates at the 3rd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Ghent, 1938, translated by W. Haacke & E. Eiseb, from Traill 1999a: 24)

Besten, Mike. (ca. 2007). *Recording of Korana speakers* Jacoba and Sanna Bloemhof.

Description: Unarchived .wma (audio format) wordlist recording (duration: 54 minutes)


Description: Unarchived audio recordings of remembers who self-identify as Xri or Korana
Academic publications on moribund or extinct Khoe lects

1) **Lexical resources for Cape Khoekhoe** from many of the early manuscripts on Cape Khoekhoe varieties have been collated and reproduced in a number of publications, most notably Nienaber's (1963) *Hottentots*. Early on, some of these lists were reproduced with little commentary in other publications (e.g. Adelung 1812: 267-275 & 289-305; Latham 1848: 196-197; Müller (1877), Lepsius (1880)). Other publications include discussions of earlier works: Wandres (1918-1919) discusses Witsen, Ludolf and Le Vaillant's lists while Wreede's works are discussed in Wreede (1857, 1916). Lichtenstein (1812-1815), Appleyard (1850), Struck (1920), Nienaber (1956, 1960, 1962), Spohr (1963a, b), Fodor (1975), Fauvelle-Aymar (2005), and Haacke (2016) also discuss early manuscripts. Both Wilhelm Bleek (1862) and Dorothea Bleek (1939-40) have discussed Cape Khoekhoe vocabulary.

More recently, Peter Raper has compiled these, along with other vocabulary, in the (2020) book *Voices Past and Present: A comparison of Old Cape dialectal, Bushman and Khoikhoi words*.

An important lexical resource for Korana is Menán du Plessis's (2018), *Kora: A Lost Khoisan Language of the Early Cape and the Gariep* which compiles vocabulary documented by earlier researchers. This book is freely downloadable as a pdf from South African History Online. In addition to resources with vocabularies mentioned earlier, e.g. Wuras 1920, Meinhof 1930, Engelbrecht 1936, there are a few works that look in detail at
specific semantic areas, e.g. Lloyd & Maingard (1932) on animal and plant terms, and Barnard (1980, Barnard & Boden 2014) on kinship terms.

2) There are no works describing Cape Khoekhoe phonetics and phonology. A discussion of early symbols for clicks is found in Breckwoldt (1972, 1978).

There are several works describing Korana phonetics and phonology, including Haacke 2013a, Beach (1938), and du Plessis (2018, ch. 3); these works also discuss the tone system in some detail. Beach and du Plessis also include acoustic measurements of tone. Additional works that include a description of Korana phonemes include Traill (1999a), Ponelis (1975), and Güldemann (2010). It is not clear if Fritz Ponelis (1975, reviewed by Köhler 1977) had access to any recordings of the language in his analysis of 'tense' vs. 'lax' Korana clicks. Several older works that discuss Korana phonology provide useful details about pronunciation variants, e.g. Beach (1938); Maingard (1964; 1962: 4-6; 1932: 148-151), Engelbrecht (1936: 202); Meinhof (1930: 30-32). Morphophonological processes are discussed in Haacke (2013a). Killian (2009) presents numerous acoustic phonetic analyses of Korana sounds to help illustrate how contrastive sounds and variant pronunciations are made.

89 His typology of clicks may be seen as a forerunner to ‘cluster’ analyses of clicks proposed by Hirisi Nakagawa and Tom Güldemann (see Bennett 2020 for a review of problems with aspects of this typology).

90 Some are pronunciation variants are dialectal while others occur within the speech of an individual; others appear to be idiolectal, or confined to the speech of an individual (e.g. the merger of ǂ and ǃ in the speech of one Monica Kraalshoek [Engelbrecht 1936: 202]). Maingard (1962: 8-9 also discusses some tone rules.
3) There are **no works describing Cape Khoekhoe** morphology and syntax. Early discussions of Korana morphology and syntax are found in works discussing the catechism transcribed by Wuras: Vedder (1927); Maingard (1931b), Hestermann (1955).

There are **several works describing Korana morphology and syntax**. One of the earliest studies, based on a manuscript by Wuras, appears in Appleyard (1950). Short descriptions of aspects of morphology and syntax appear in Engelbrecht (1928), Maingard (1932), Guldemann (2010) and Haacke (2013b, c). Longer, more complete descriptions may be found in Meinhof (1930) and du Plessis (2018, ch. 4).
II. There are three numbers,—singular, dual, and plural.

1. The dual is formed from the singular, by rejecting its final consonant or consonants, and affixing ku or kara. With the latter affix, which seems properly to belong to feminine nouns, the final consonant of the singular is sometimes retained, and the initial k of kara rejected instead.

2. The plural is formed from the singular, by rejecting the final consonant or consonants, and affixing ku or kua for masculine nouns, and te for feminine nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mas. Kueb, man</td>
<td>Kuecks, two men</td>
<td>Kueku, men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. Kues, woman</td>
<td>Kueesara, two women</td>
<td>Kueete, women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas. Mump, eye</td>
<td>Muka, two eyes</td>
<td>Muku, eyes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Explanation of Korana number marking with examples, based on a Wuras manuscript, published in 1850 by Appleyard; see Haacke (2013b: 152) for an updated analysis)

4) Given the poor transcriptions used in Cape Khoekhoe resources, these lects have not been the focus of historical linguistic studies though there is widespread consensus that they do belong to a Khoekhoe branch of the Khoe language family. A summary of Cape Khoekhoe historical linguistics is found in W.H.G. Haacke's 2016 article "From 17th Century Cape Khoekhoe to 20th Century !Gora and Namibian Khoekhoe".

Korana has been included in many historical linguistic comparisons, even from early times. An early linguistic comparison of Cape Khoekhoe, Nama and Korana appears in Appleyard (1850: 13). Most researchers presenting data on either Cape Khoekhoe or Korana have pointed out similarities and/or differences to Nama. Beach (1938, ch. XVI) uses Korana data to advance a 'Decomposition Theory' (where some monosyllabic roots derive from originally disyllabic roots) and to critique Meinhof's (1909) version of 'Composition Theory' (in which Khoekhoe roots are presumed to have originally been monosyllabic, or of one syllable in length). Beach (1938, ch. XV) includes an important discussion of the comparative tonology of Nama and Korana, in addition to other observations comparing the two languages (which have continued to inform modern historical linguists of Khoe languages such as Rainer Vossen, Ed Elderkin, Tom Güldemann and Anne-Maria Fehn). Haacke (2013a) and du Plessis (2018: 102-104) also discuss Khoe comparative tonology with respect to Korana.
Cape Khoekhoe lects, and pidgins involving speakers of Cape Khoekhoe and Dutch / early Afrikaans are of a great deal of interest to historical linguists interested in understanding the development of Afrikaans from Dutch, e.g. Hans den Besten, Christo van Rensburg, Fritz Ponelis Ana Deumert and Paul Roberge. Etymologies of Afrikaans words derived from [Cape] Khoekhoe are described in works such as Boshoff and Nienaber's Afrikaanse etimologieë, and Haacke's (2015) "Lexical borrowing by Khoekhoegowab from Cape Dutch and Afrikaans". The influence of Cape Khoekhoe on isiZulu and isiXhosa has been studied in a number of works by J. A. Louw, Carl Meinhof and others. Knowledge about Cape Khoekhoe influence on other South African languages is not widely known to the public, even the college-educated.

5) There are no text collections of stories in Cape Khoekhoe. There are a few works that include Cape Khoekhoe oral histories and/or stories in English (e.g. King 1956, Blackbeard 2018). It is likely that additional story collections in Afrikaans also exist but we have not conducted a survey of these. Story collections in German include Benzel (1975) and W. Bleek (1864). Some Cape Khoekhoe and Korana stories in English translation have been analysed by Sigrid Schmidt (2013).

There are several text collections of stories in Korana. Collections of Korana stories can be found in du Plessis (2019, ch. 5), Engelbrecht (1928, 1936), Meinhof (1930, 1935-36), Maingard (1932, 1962, 1967) and the Bleek & Lloyd collection. One text can be found in Beach (1938: 191) and in Traill (1999a) (recorded by Hallowes in the late 1930s). Du Plessis's (2019, ch. 5) collection is important in that it compares different versions of the same stories and groups texts by genre.
6) There have been no applied linguistics studies of Cape Khoekhoe or Korana. No orthography of Cape Khoekhoe was ever developed. Nienaber (1963) provides a history of the attempts at transcribing Cape Khoekhoe. Korana has not generally been written with the same orthography as Namibian Khoekhoegowab (Nama); for instance, words with glottalized clicks are written with an apostrophe in Korana but as plain clicks in Nama, e.g. ǀum ‘sleep’ (Korana), ǁom ‘fall asleep’ (Khoekhoegowab). Since the 1930s, Engelbrecht (1928) used the letters <c, ç, q, x> to represent Korana clicks but in his (1936) publication, he used the <ǀ, ǂ, ǃ, ǁ> letters used in most publications from the 1930s to today. A useful comparative table showing different transcription systems used since the 1920s is found in du Plessis (2018: 91).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Namibian Khoekhoe</th>
<th>Kora (Lid)</th>
<th>Kora (Ebt 36)</th>
<th>Kora (Mgd)</th>
<th>Kora (Mhf)</th>
<th>Kora (Bch)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>voiceless un-aspirated (plain) silent/simultaneous release of rear closure directly on to following vowel</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>lk</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lk</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lq</td>
<td>‘voiced’ audible release of rear closure as uvular stop directly on to following vowel</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǀP</td>
<td>click w. ‘delayed ejection’ prenasalisation w. cessation of nasatisation during click; impression of glottal stop after silent rear release (sometimes referred to as a glottalised click)</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l’</td>
<td>l ~ lk</td>
<td>l’</td>
<td>l’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǀP</td>
<td>click w. ‘delayed aspiration’ prenasalisation w. cessation of nasatisation during click; impression of glottal fricative after silent rear release</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǀP ~ ǀP</td>
<td>simple aspirated or fricated silent/simultaneous release of rear closure, aspirated</td>
<td>lk’h</td>
<td>lx</td>
<td>lx</td>
<td>lk ~ lx ~ lkx</td>
<td>lx</td>
<td>ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǀlx</td>
<td>click w. ejective affrication audible release of rear closure as affricated ejective</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td>lkx’</td>
<td>(lkx’)</td>
<td>lkx’</td>
<td>ox’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nIn</td>
<td>nasalised nasatisation before and during click with silent rear release</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n1q)</td>
<td>nasalised voiced nasatisation before click, audible release of rear closure as voiced uvular stop</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Some of the different conventions to represent clicks in Namibian Khoekhoe and Korana, du Plessis (2018: 91))

There has been a great deal of interest in revitalising Cape Khoekhoe (cf. Verbuyst 2021, 2022; Africa 2020; Brown & Deumert 2017) and Korana (and Griqua) culture and language (Gabie 2014, Erasmus 2010, SBA 2023). As the language of the Cape Khoekhoe is so little known, attempts to revitalise the language have focused on using Namibian Khoekhoe as a stand-in for Cape Khoekhoe (Jones 2019; Sands et al. forthcoming). Siv Øvernes, in various publications and films, has explored the persistence of a Khoekhoe identity in the Cape Town area, particularly among Street People. Michael De Jongh has written about the culture of the Karretjie People who are descendants of Cape Khoekhoe and ǀXam. The interest in language awakening indicates that there is a demand for language development of these languages.
7) Numerous works have discussed the **history of the Cape Khoekhoe** and their ethnographic representations, including works by Elizabeth Elbourne, Robert Ross, Andrew B. Smith, François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar, H. C. Bredekamp, and others. Karim Sadr and other archaeologists have also studied the Cape Khoekhoe. A few works have focused on the Kat River community, which includes many descendants of Cape Khoekhoe, e.g. Blackbeard (2018), Kirk (1973), Tomaselli (2007). There have been some works about the life of Sara Baartman, a Cape Khoekhoe speaker who travelled to London in 1810 (e.g. Holmes 2007), but these generally make little to no reference to the language she spoke.

The **history of the Korana** is discussed in works by Piet Erasmus, Robert Ross, Theresa Strauss, L. F. Maingard (e.g. 1932) and others. The **history of the Eini** is discussed in a volume edited by Andrew B. Smith (1995) and by Nigel Penn.

8) Publicly inaccessible **resources** (cited in other works)


References


Bank, Andrew, Candy Malherbe & Patricia van der Spuy. (2003). People of the Western Cape: A History for Schools. Lansdowne, South Africa: Juta Cariep. [124pp]


Barrow, John. (1801/1804). Travels into the interior of southern Africa (1797-1798), in which are described the character and the condition of the Dutch colonists of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the several tribes of natives beyond its limits; the natural history of such subjects as occurred in the animal, mineral and vegetable kingdoms; and the geography of the southern extremity of Africa. Comprehending also a topographical and statistical sketch of Cape Colony, with an inquiry into its importance as a naval and military station, as a commercial emporium, and as a territorial possession, 2 vols. London: T. Cadell & W Davies. [Pp xvi, 427; 373] [Vocabulary, vol. 1 pp. 219-200]


Bleek, Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel. (1851). De nominum generibus linguarum africae australis, copticae, semiticarum aliarumque sexualium. Dissertation submitted under the name "Guilelmus Bleek". Bonnai (Bonn, Germany): Adolphum Marcum. [Pp iv, 60]


Churchill, Awnsham & John Churchill. (1704). A collection of voyages and travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts. Others translated out of foreign languages, and now first published in English. To which are added some few that have formerly appear’d in English, but do now for their excellency and scarceness deserve to be reprinted. In four volumes. With a general preface, giving an account of the progress of navigation, from its first beginning ... the whole illustrated with a great number of useful maps, and cuts, all engraven on copper ... London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill. 4 vols.


Herbert, Thomas. (1634). A Relation of some yeares travaile begunne Anno 1626. Into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially the territories of the Persian monarhie... London:William Stansby. [wordlist p. 16]


Juncker, Christian. (1710). Commentarius de vita, scriptisque ac meritis illustris viri Iobi Ludolfi, consiliarii quondam serenissimorum Saxoniae Ducum imtimi, viri per eruditum orbem celeberrimi, auctore Christiano lunckero [...] in appendix adiectae sunt tum epistolae aliquot clarorum viorum, tum etiam specimen linguae hottentoticae, nunquan alias ad notitiam Germanorum perlatae. Leipzig & Frankfurt-am-Main: Johann Friedrich Braun. [Pp xvi, 228, xix]


Kolb, Peter. (1719). Caput bonaes spei hodiernum, das ist: vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebüriges der Guten Hoffnung, worinnen in dreyen Theilen abgehandelt wird, wie es heut zu Tage nach


Kolben, Peter. (1731). The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope ... Written originally in High German, by Peter Kolben, A. M. Done into English from the original by Mr. Medley. 2 vols. London: W. Innis & R. Manby.


Lakeman, Balthazar. (1727). Nieuwe Caarte van Kaap de Goede Hoop en't zuyderdeel van Africa. Amsterdam: Balthazar Lakeman.


Øvernes, Siv. (2002). Being a Stroller, Being a Survivor, Being a Khoekhoe: Ambiguous Meetings with Street People in Cape Town, South Africa. MA in Visual Anthropology, Dept. of Social Anthropology, University of Tromsø. [95pp]


SBA (2023). Die Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans (SBA) projek. dir. Sandra Prinsloo. Afrikaans.com https://afrikaans.com/leerhulp/sba-stories/ [including: Suid-Kalahari Stories; Die Griekwa is Nog; Namastories; Die Koue Bokkeveld; Cederberg; Strandlopers; Platfontein; Verlorenvlei Stories; Kosmopolitaanse Kalkbaai Vissers; Korana; Melkhoutfontein Stories]


Schapera, Isaac. (ed.). (1933). The early Cape Hottentots, described in the writings of Olfert Dapper (1668) and Willem ten Rhyne (1686) and Johannes Gullielmus de Grevensbroek (1695). (Publications from the Van Riebeeck


Thunberg, C.P. (1814). An account of the Cape of Good Hope and some parts of the interior of southern Africa. A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world many of which


Vaillant, François le. (1790). Travels into the interior parts of Africa by the way of the Cape of Good Hope in the years 1780, 81, 82, 83, 84, and 85. 2 vols. London: G.G.J. & J. Robinson.


Recommendations for the preservation of moribund or extinct Khoe lects

As with the moribund or extinct Tuu lects, only Khoe lects that have been documented can be preserved. Below is a list of moribund or extinct Khoe lects that have some form of documentation and therefore that evidence should be physically and digitally archived as a record of our national linguistic heritage and for educational purposes in a freely accessible repository that has a long term maintenance plan for the resources hosted.

Table 40: List of known Khoe lects where archiving and digitisation can assist with future preservation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of language</th>
<th>Physical and digital archiving required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kora</td>
<td>Traill 1999 CD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mike Besten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don Killian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Audio recordings by the above mentioned researches should be physically and digitally archived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Various non-audio primary materials, e.g. Maingard (1936, published 1964) - should be physically and digitally archived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eini</td>
<td>Maingard (1936, published 1964) - should be physically and digitally archived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!Aoǂee</td>
<td>Audio: 4 words remembered by Katrina Esau, recorded by Sands et al. in 2021- should be physically and digitally archived</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These records need to be professionally archived for safekeeping and future reference, and digitised with appropriate metadata and made available online for free public access.
Summary

In South Africa today, we have the following living Tuu, Kx’a and Khoe languages (previously Khoesan languages): Nǀu, !Xun, Khwe, Nama, Xri and Tum’i. In order to best promote and create conditions for the use of these languages in accordance with the constitution, further research is needed to provide an informed understanding of the linguistic context in contemporary South Africa. Resources on these languages should be made accessible to the public wherever possible. In recent years, the significance of these languages and what they encompass has been discussed from a social, political and academic perspective (Mesthrie 2008: 33; Sands & Güldemann 2009; Schlebusch 2010: 293; Voßen 2013: 1; Sands 2018: 620; Parkington, Morris & de Prada-Samper 2019). The expansion of such research has the potential to assist with fulfilling the mandate of protecting these unique languages, as well as more adequately giving them the recognition that they deserve in South Africa’s history.

Based on the above information, the following overarching recommendations for language maintenance and preservation are made: 1) a comprehensive language revitalisation assessment report is needed for each living language in collaboration with the remaining speakers; 2) early childhood education for mother tongue speakers is required, should that be the wish of the remaining speakers; 3) international collaboration with Namibia and Botswana to share existing literacy materials at all educational levels to facilitate mother tongue education for those speakers who desire it; 4) invitations to be extended to international specialists encouraging cooperation with African based scholars, to improve theoretical understanding and application in an African context; 5) digitisation of and open access to existing resources (for living, moribund and extinct languages) to be made available online; and 6) an update of the national curriculum is needed to accurately represent contemporary Khoe and San people and their languages today.
Additional References


SASI. (1996). Submission to the Pan South African Language Board and the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology on the Status and Needs of Speakers of Khoe (Nama) and San (Nǀu, NǁX, Kxoedam, Nǀkabee) languages in the Northern and Western Cape Provinces. Mowbray: SASI.


