

**Language attitudes as a change agent for language vitality:
A case study of two Khoesan languages in Platfontein (RSA)**

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Kerry Lee Jones

Date: 01/08/2017



Professor Heike Tappe

Date: 01/08/2017

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Abstract

Khoesan languages are considered an endangered language family. This study investigates how language attitudes influence language vitality intergenerationally in a case study of two Khoesan languages, namely !Xun and Khwedam. The case study investigates two extended families, one of !Xun, one of Khwedam speakers, respectively, in Platfontein, South Africa. Language attitudes are defined according to the tripartite model first suggested by Baker (1992:15) consisting of (1) knowledge (contextual knowledge), (2) emotion (emotional reactions) and (3) behaviour (behavioural predispositions). Language attitudes were determined through an ethnographic approach that included interviews and observations over a period of two years. Moreover, extra-linguistic factors were considered in the assessment of language attitudes in this study. Results reveal that both the !Xun and the Khwe family expressed in-depth knowledge of the social, political, historical and economical significance of their mother tongues. Emotional reactions towards their mother tongues were strongly positive for both speech communities. However, among the !Xun the ancestral language was especially revered. This difference in attitudes may reflect differences in the family trees of the two extended families investigated: The !Xun family consists of five generations with a number of family members who are older than 60 years residing in Platfontein. In contrast, this older generation is absent in the Khwe family.

Perceived language use as accounted for by participants and as observed in the field, revealed that speakers of both languages predominately used their mother tongue in and around the home. A change in lifestyle from nomadic hunter gatherers to a 'westernised' sedentary life resulted in the loss of cultural practices, such as traditional wedding ceremonies and traditional trance dance healing practices. Lifestyle changes, furthermore introduced 'new' language settings, such as formal education, formal employment, government services, church, media and technology, which are largely inaccessible in Khoesan languages. Hence, strong positive language attitudes towards their mother tongue may not suffice to secure the vitality of !Xun and the Khwedam spoken by these families. Without intervention, a language shift to Afrikaans, the socially and politically dominant language in the area, is likely to occur in these families.

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To my makers, with love

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List of abbreviations

ACALAN	African Union's African Academy of Languages
CASAS	Centre for Advanced African Studies
CPA	Communal Property Association
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
ECD	Early childhood development
EGIDS	Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
ILD	Index of Linguistic Diversity
IPACC	Indigenous Peoples of African Co-ordinating Committee
KRaDO	Khwe Research and Development Organisation
LVE	Language Vitality Evaluation
NKSLB	National Khoe and San Language Body of South Africa
NPO	Non-profit organisation
NNC	Nyae Nyae Conservancy
NNDFN	Nyae Naye Development Foundation of Namibia
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
SCCC	Social Cognitive Causal Chains
SASI	South African San Institute
SADF	South Africa Defence Force
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

1. Introduction

1.1 Recognition of Khoesan languages in South Africa

The loss of Khoesan¹ languages in southern Africa is a long and sad chapter in our history. There are 35 known Khoesan languages however only 13 of these are still spoken today (Güldemann, 2013: 26). According to Sands (forthcoming: 12), “Khoesan languages are among the most marginalised languages on the continent.” The South African Constitution 1996 (Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) a) ii)² in an attempt to rectify the injustices of the past, legally and politically elevates the status of Khoesan languages and their speakers compared to their previously unrecognised status under the Apartheid regime. In order to best support speakers of Khoesan languages in accordance with the constitution, continued research is needed to provide a better understanding of the linguistic context of Khoesan languages in South Africa. In recent years, the importance of these languages and what they encompass has been discussed from a social, political and academic perspective (Mesthrie, 2008b: 33, Sands & Güldemann, 2009, Schlebusch, 2010: 293, Voßen, 2013:1). Such research has the potential to assist with fulfilling the mandate of protecting these unique languages and giving them the recognition that they deserve in South Africa’s history.

1.2 Language endangerment in an African context

Language death is said to be at its highest rate in human history, where in the last 500 years, more than half of the world’s known languages have disappeared (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:2). To date, language endangerment research has not focussed on Africa due to the assumption that Africa has a healthy diversity of languages, as almost one third of the world’s languages are spoken on the continent (Paul, Simons, & Fenning, accessed 19/09/2016). However up to 28% of these languages are seriously endangered and language documentation and preservation

¹ The origin of the term “Khoesan” is discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.1 *Southern Africa*. In relation to this thesis, “Khoesan” only refers to the associated languages and not any particular group of people. This is 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). Additionally, it must be noted that the term “Khoesan” or “Khoisan” for the purposes of this thesis does NOT refer to a single genetic unit but rather refers to click-languages historically referred to as “Khoisan” in the history of Khoisan linguistics (Heine & Honken, 2010; Güldemann, 2014) .

² According to legislation the Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must-

- (5) (a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of-
 - (i) all official languages;
 - (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages

initiatives are struggling to keep pace with the speed of language attrition and language loss (Sands, forthcoming: 1). Language revitalisation is considered to be only at its inception in Africa with work published on the topic from the 1990s onward (Brenzinger, Heine & Sommer, 1991; Brenzinger, 1998; Adegbija, 2001; Batibo, 2001; Mous, 2003; Batibo, 2005; Blench, 2007; Connell, 2007; Batibo 2009, Chebanne, 2016). Therefore, investigation into endangered languages in Africa requires further attention and research.

1.3 Language attitudes as change agents for language vitality

In this thesis, I argue that language attitudes are change agents for the vitality of endangered languages. However, language attitude assessment is not a standardised practice in linguistics, as there are many approaches to and theories of language attitudes depending on the researchers' training and preference.³ According to Austin and Sallabank (2013:314), "Empirical research on language attitudes in endangered languages [sic] communities has been rather sparse to date". To my knowledge, language attitude research has not been done before with speakers of San languages in South Africa.

Language attitudes are a critical factor in language maintenance endeavours (Schmidt 1990; McGregor 1994; and McKay 1996, <http://www.rnld.org/languagecentres>). Therefore, it is prudent to assess the language attitudes of a given language community, prior to the initiation of any language maintenance efforts. In this way, the language vitality situation of a respective language will be clearer to those aiming to provide institutional support. It is necessary to know whether the speakers actually wish for their language to be maintained, in which way(s) and for which purpose(s) language maintenance endeavours should be conducted. On the basis of my own research it is clear that the !Xun speakers whom I interviewed agree that they are losing their language and cultural practices, as exemplified in the quote provided below:

Ka ma gu a he a ua n||a'an semukahe ua n||aan. A khan ||ang !Xun ||ang. Ta dju ke ||ang dju ba shing thali ta dju ke ||ang ||ang dju u ke poamo. Ta ka dju u ke n||aan ne koe tci wicese kae ||ue panga. !Eh khan ||ue o ||ang he ne koe ge'e. Ta ke ||ha dju tane he koe t'hala tane koe g!ua. Dju ba shing he ne koe dju de shing. Ta ||ha ka ndoa wa n|oh he wa n||ang he wa !hoan ka ng dju ||e||e ke o ka dju ku 'm, n||ang, !hoan, n|oh. Dju ng-a ka ndoa a ma sa'a, dju ba sing ke g||eh-a dju he ke gae-a dju kho ke a n|ulu n|e sing. Ko ng keh ||'an dju ke !ahva, !avha, !avha, !avha ta... ta ng !eh khan matangua ya ng !eh khan |oa ka sa'a ka |una ka ta !ho.

³ For further discussion on language attitudes see section 3.4.

If I take you and you grow up, then you will speak !Xun. We speak our Father's language and we speak our language until the end, until we are grown up with all the things that they did. Then they do and show us also how to dance and sing. They show us how to sing and do the big dance. It's our parents who taught us. The meat of the roan antelope, and the eland and the kudu is what our parents made for us and we ate it, eland, kudu and roan antelope. This is what our parents gave to us. To move your shoulders and here we clapped, clapped, clapped, clapped our hands and...and these days we don't hear it anymore, we've lost it and we just sit.

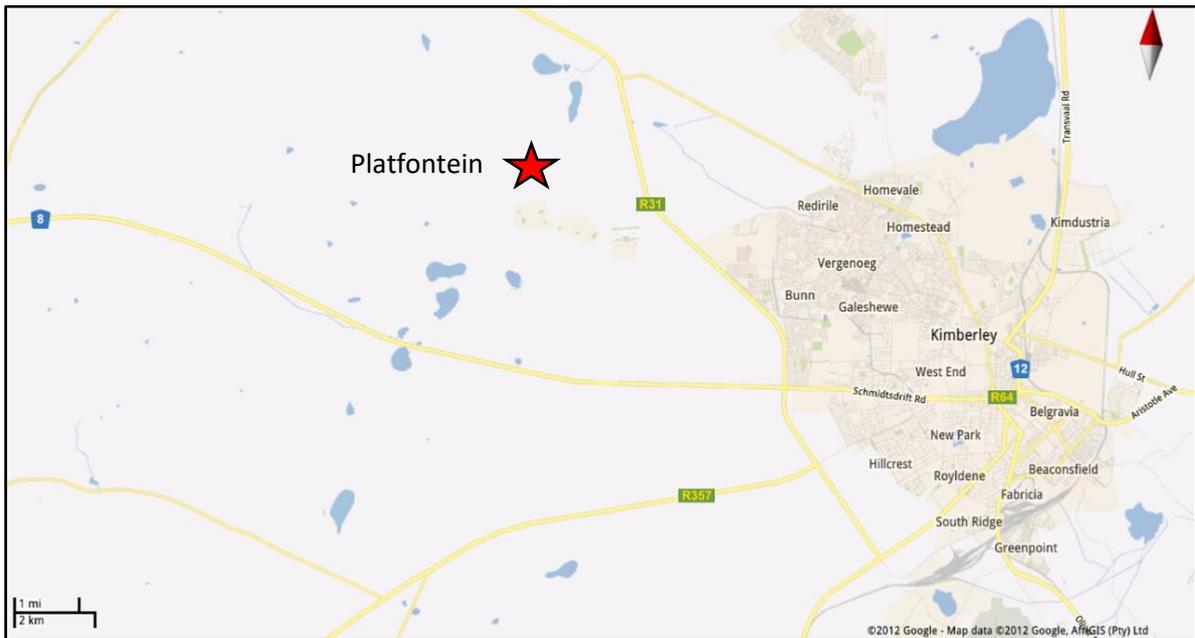
[!Xun female elder 1, Platfontein, 2014]

It is the purpose of this thesis to make a preliminary attempt at understating and rating the language attitudes of selected speakers of two Khoesan languages, namely !Xun and Khwedam from an intergenerational perspective. Language attitudes are one of the key sociolinguistic factors used in language vitality assessment of endangered languages. It is hoped from such an assessment that one could then make informed recommendations for language maintenance of !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein, South Africa.

1.4 Platfontein and Khoesan languages

Platfontein is a unique location in South Africa, in that there is a concentrated number of speakers of two distinctly different Khoesan languages in one location. Platfontein was originally a farm of 13000 hectares (Robbins, 2006: 31) and was purchased for the !Xun and Khwe. This land purchase was part of a resettlement agreement in 1997 for the San who fought for the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the Department of Defence, in Angola and Namibia (then South-West Africa) during Portugal's War in Angola, 1961-1974 and the Namibian War of Independence, 1966-1989 (Robbins, 2006:31).

Platfontein is located at the outskirts of Kimberley, in the Frances Baard District of the Northern Cape, South Africa, see Map 1.1.



Map 1.1 The location of Platfontein in relation to the closest town, Kimberley. (Google maps, 2012)

1.5 The current study

This is a sociolinguistic study that employs mixed methods to better understand the language attitudes of an extended !Xun and an extended Khwe family in Platfontein in order to inform future language maintenance endeavours in the social context of these languages and stimulate further research on the topic.

For the purposes of this study, language vitality and intergenerational language transmission are discussed in relation to language attitudes because “attitudes to language are of key importance in assessing the chances of endangered language survival” (Austin & Sallabank, 2013: 313). Language attrition, or the loss of a language is discussed in the literature within very diverse theoretical models and frameworks; amongst these are, e.g.: Jakobson’s regression hypothesis (Jakobson, 1941); Generative Grammar (Chomsky, 1981; Ingram 1989; Seliger & Vago 1991); and Psycholinguistics (Ammerlaan, 1996; Hulsen, 2000). However, this is a sociolinguistic study, and my focus on language attrition will be from a sociolinguistic perspective. Sociolinguistic factors and further extra-linguistic factors play a considerable role in the prediction of language attrition and are essential for assessing to what extent, and what type of language death is likely to occur.

In this thesis, I examine sociolinguistic factors according to three categories as suggested by (Köpke, 2007: 23-25) which she associates with language attrition or language loss⁴: first, language use and functional language domains; second, the cultural context of the immigrant⁵ and intergenerational language transmission, and third, attitudes, motivations and identities.

Over the last two decades, interest in language vitality assessment 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). In this study, I conduct a language vitality assessment for both !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein. I go about this by firstly using Simons and Lewis' Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). In relation to which, I am both interested in the intergenerational language transmission of !Xun and Khwedam and in the associated context which influences language vitality as a whole, most especially language attitudes.

Secondly I examine !Xun and Khwedam according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) evaluative factors for language vitality. These evaluative factors were developed by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit of UNESCO in order to determine the vitality of a language by examining contextual information associated with intergenerational language transmission that provide a deeper understanding of the situation of a given language.

1.6 Thesis outline

Firstly, in Chapter 2, I provide a historical overview of the two languages under consideration, !Xun and Khwedam with a specific focus on the South African context. This overview includes: the status of Khoesan languages, the arrival of the !Xun and Khwe in South Africa, the self-representation of the San in South Africa, and the San as over-researched and under-supported communities.

Secondly, in Chapter 3, I provide a critical analysis of the literature on the following topics: language endangerment as a worldwide phenomenon, language revitalisation in southern Africa, language vitality, sociolinguistic factors associated with language attrition, language

⁴ These three categories are discussed in further detail in Chapter 3, section 3.3.2 *Sociolinguistic factors associated with language attrition*.

⁵ In this instance the !Xun are immigrants from Angola and Namibia and the Khwe are immigrants from Namibia.

vitality assessment, and language attitudes comprising of cognitive, affective and behavioural components.

Chapter 4, Methodology, provides insight into how this study was conducted. I first discuss how I gained access to the community and conducted a pilot study. Then I describe the methodological context of the study. Here I include the following: the process of participant selection, why I decided to create three data streams, how the data in each stream was collected, analysed and collated, how I went about including translators in the study, how I tackled validity in a mixed-methods study and finally, which ethical considerations I adhered to in the study.

As discussed in the literature review chapter, McKenzie (2010:22) mentions that language attitudes can be represented in a tripartite model. This model comprises of three components: a cognitive, an affective and a behavioural component. Each of the three research sub-questions of the current thesis relates to one of these components. Consequently, there are separate data streams which are in turn discussed in three separate chapters:

Chapter 5 (Data stream 1: Contextual knowledge): i) What is the *historical sociolinguistic background* of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?

Chapter 6 (Data stream 2: Emotional reactions): ii) What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?

Chapter 7 (Data stream 3: Behavioural predispositions): iii) What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?

Chapter 8 is the discussion chapter, which provides a synopsis of the research outcomes presented in chapters 5, 6, and 7 and the theory discussed in chapters 3 and 4. This analysis of these three components (cognitive, affective and behavioural) is brought together to answer the main research question: What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontein and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?

Finally, in Chapter 9 I present my conclusions, theoretical implications of the study, offer recommendations for future research, an outlook for !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein, guidelines for potential language maintenance initiatives as well as limitations of the study. This research provides the first preliminary analysis of language attitudes of two Khoesan

languages in South Africa. It is hoped that informed language maintenance efforts could emerge from this analysis for the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein.

2. A linguistic overview of !Xun and Khwedam in South Africa

2.1 Chapter outline

!Xun and Khwedam are both Khoesan languages that are spoken in South Africa today. The following chapter provides a brief overall background of Khoesan languages. The status of these languages is discussed in relation to the number of remaining speakers of each individual language. A general overview is provided of Khoesan languages in southern Africa and thereafter, specific focus is given to Khoesan languages in South Africa. Of the Khoesan languages spoken in South Africa, particular attention is given to !Xun speakers and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein as they are the target linguistic groups of this study. A historical account is provided, describing how the !Xun and the Khwe came to be in South Africa from Angola and Namibia respectively. Self-representation of the San is discussed in relation to language rights, education and development from 1996 onwards with specific attention given to both the !Xun and the Khwe. Finally, this chapter discusses the kinds of research that has been conducted with the !Xun and Khwe of South Africa as subjects. I argue that despite their popularity among researchers from various fields, they are under-researched by African scholars working in the field of linguistics.

2.2 Status of the Khoesan language family

According to Heine and Nurse (2000:7) there are four language families that originated in Africa. Table 2.1 below, illustrates the size of each language family in relation to the number of languages in each language phyla. Of these four language families, the Khoesan language family is by far the smallest: It comprises of only 35 known languages, which represent 2% of the languages that originated in Africa. It is likely that there were more than 35 Khoesan languages; however, some of these may already have vanished before there was a scholarly interest in the language family (Voßen, 2013:1).

Table 2.1: Representation of the language phyla in Africa according to number of languages per language family

	Language family	Number of languages	Percentage of total
1	Niger-Congo (Including 500 Bantu languages)	1436	70%
2	Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-semitic) e.g. Arabic	371	18%
3	Nilo-Saharan e.g. Masai	196	10%
4	Khoesan e.g. Khwedam	35	2%
	TOTAL	2038	100%
	Source: Heine & Nurse (2000)		

2.2.1 Southern Africa

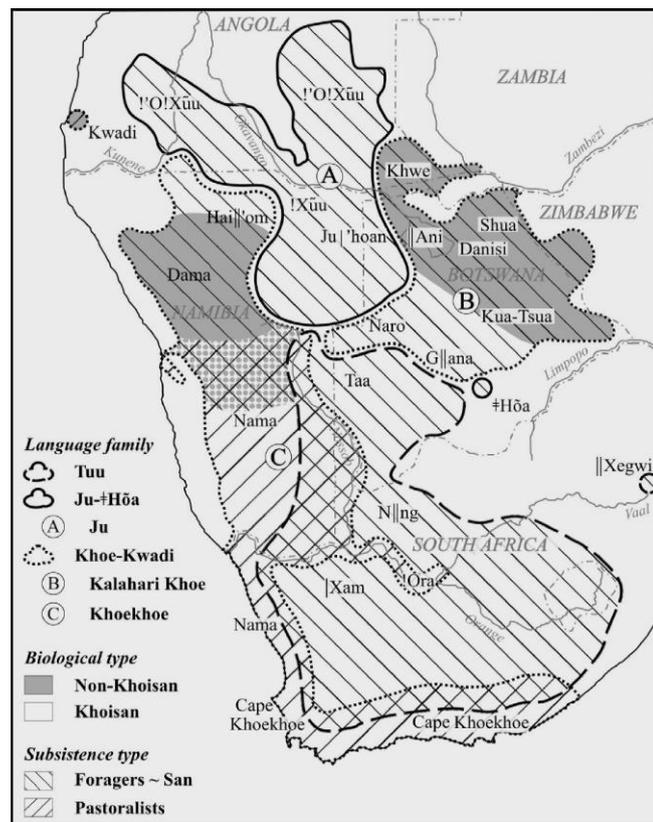
The first mention of Khoesan speaking peoples in western literature was in 1654 with the name “Boesmanneken” (Voßen, 2013: 1). This later appeared as “Bosjesman”, which evolved into the commonly used term “Bushman” (Köhler 1971: 373). Historically, the term “Khoesan” (originally spelt “Khoisan”) was coined by the German scholar Leonhard Schultze in 1928 in order to establish a physical anthropological link between “Hottentots and Bushmen” (Voßen, 2013: 3). This link is reflected by the two components of the word “Khoesan”: “khoe” meaning “person” and “san” meaning “foragers” (Voßen, 2013: 3). Khoesan speaking peoples are mostly found in Botswana and Namibia. However, there are also smaller populations found in Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Voßen, 2013: 2). The two isolates or east African outliers Hazda and Sandawe, are spoken in Tanzania (Voßen, 2013: 2).

According to studies by the University of Witswatersrand, Khoe and San DNA are “among the oldest lineages that have survived in the human population” (Schlebusch, 2010: 293). Therefore the Khoe and San people possess “the oldest ‘genetic material’ not just in South Africa, but in Africa and, ergo, the world” (Mesthrie, 2008b: 33). Given researchers’ (Smith, 1992; Sadr, 1997; Mitchell, 2002) consensus regarding Africa as the cradle of humankind, Khoesan languages are assumed by many to be the “oldest living languages in the world today” (Mesthrie, 2008b: 33). This assumption is strongly contested by linguists Bonny Sands and Tom Güldemann in their book chapter entitled “What click languages can and can’t tell us about the origin of language” (Sands & Güldemann, 2009). Within their chapter, they provide a convincing argument against this obsolete assumption that “linguistic, genetic and cultural features correlate” (Sands & Güldemann, 2009: 218). Prior to genetic research on Khoe and San descendants there was an assumption that an older-looking economic practise would correlate with an older language. Again, such a face value assumption lacks evidence correlating a conservative economic basis with a supposed conservative language and negates the notion that hunter-gatherer economies as well as their languages would have undergone change over time due to contact with agriculturalists.

Of the 35 known Khoesan languages, only 12 are still spoken today. In the northern Khoesan or Kx’a language family, there are !Xun (Ju) (16 000 speakers)¹ and #Hoan (more than 50 speakers) (Brenzinger, 2011: 7). In the southern Khoesan or !Ui-Tuu language group there are

¹ Although I would contest the number of !Xun (Ju) speakers to be more than suggested by Brenzinger 2011, there is currently no conclusive evidence to the exact number of speakers in this language family that the researcher is aware of.

the Taa (2 600 speakers) and N|uu (4 speakers) (Brenzinger, 2011: 7). The central Khoesan or Khoeid language group is composed of: Khoekhoe (200 000 speakers), Naro (10 000 speakers), ||Gana-|Gui (2500 speakers), Khwe-||Ani (8 600 speakers) and the Shua and Tshwa (4 100 speakers) (Brenzinger, 2011: 7). There are also two isolated Khoesan languages, namely Sandawe (60 000 speakers) and Hadza (800 speakers) (Brenzinger, 2011: 7). Aside from Khoekhoe, the remaining 11 Khoesan languages are all endangered and poorly documented (Voßen, 2013: 5). Map 2.1 below illustrates the origin of several Khoesan languages in southern Africa.



Map 2.1: The geographical origin of several Khoesan languages (Güldemann, 2006: 7).

2.2.2 Republic of South Africa

In the Republic of South Africa, Khoe and San languages are protected according to the 1996 Constitution in the Founding Provisions (page 5), section 6, Languages, point 5) a) ii):

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

(5)

- (a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of-
 - (i) all official languages;
 - (ii) the **Khoi, Nama and San languages**

However, prior to 1996 Khoe and San languages were not legally recognised, and today the speakers of these languages are still often classified as “coloured” or “mixed race” (Mesthrie, 2008b: 32). The lack of recognition of Khoe and San descendants as legitimate and separate ethnic groups has led to the anonymity of South Africa’s first indigenous peoples. Le Fleur and Jansen (2013: 1) stated that “indigenous peoples are still not officially recognised as such and official statistics do not reflect their presence in South Africa”. That being said, Khoesan speakers in South Africa historically came from “five main groupings, namely: San, Griqua, Nama, Korana and the Cape Khoe” (Le Fleur & Jansen, 2013: 1). Today, other general misconceptions that surround speakers of Khoesan languages include (1) that there is only one Khoesan language instead of several languages; (2) that there are no more speakers of Khoesan languages; (3) that Khoesan languages are very rudimentary; and (4) that these are only oral languages and not languages that have an orthography or literary practices (Coombes, 2003:215).

According to Tony Traill (2002: 29) there were approximately eleven closely related varieties to the Cape Khoe language varieties in the 17th century, with an estimated 100 000 to 200 000 speakers. It is believed that these speakers were spread over an area from what is known today as Cape Town towards the east, as far as Fish River (Mesthrie, 2008b: 34). By comparison, the southern Bushman languages were considered to be even more widespread throughout the rest of the country (Traill, 2002: 29). By 1971 Wright estimated that the number of San in South Africa was only be between 10 000 and 20 000 people with the speakers more sparsely distributed than the Khoekhoe varieties (Mesthrie, 2008b: 34).

Jan van Riebeeck, a Dutch colonist, arrived in South Africa in 1652 and over the coming years the social structure of the Khoekhoe broke down with the arrival of slaves from the east Indies, Madagascar and Mozambique (Mesthrie, 2008b: 35). Within one hundred years of the arrival of the Dutch, the Khoekhoe languages of the south Western Cape were the first to disappear, namely: Hesse (Hai-se), Chainou, Cocho, Guri, Gorinhai (!Uri-||’ae), and Gorachou (!Ora-||Xau) (Elphick 1985:211 and Traill 2002:31). Social prejudice against Khoekhoe languages by these new immigrants resulted in language shift taking place among many of the Khoekhoe speakers to the emergent lingua franca, derived from Dutch, which became known as Afrikaans (Mesthrie, 2008b: 35). Additionally, in 1713 the smallpox epidemic virtually wiped out the Khoekhoe in the Western Cape, finalising their demise in the area (Traill, 2002: 31).

Speakers of Khoekhoe varieties who moved to the interior of the country survived longer than those who remained in the Cape. For example, speakers of Kora (!Ora) and Gri (Xiri) varieties of Khoekhoe moved to the areas surrounding the Orange and Vaal River (Mesthrie, 2008b: 35). These languages lasted into the twentieth century. Sadly, both are now extinct (Traill, 2002: 32). The last speaker of !Ora (otherwise known as Korana) stopped speaking the language in December 2011 as she had no one else to speak to (Menan du Plessis, personal communication, 2012). Currently, the only surviving Khoekhoe language spoken in South Africa is Nama, which is mostly spoken in the Richtersveld area of the Northern Cape (Traill, 2002: 33). Language shift to Afrikaans in this remote area did not take place for many years due to Nama speakers' geographical isolation from the rest of the population in the province. During the 1950s there were many monolingual Nama speakers in the Richtersveld area. Steadily this began to change with the introduction of compulsory Afrikaans in local schools (Traill, 2002: 34). Today, the estimated number of Khoekhoe speakers in Namibia is 200 000, whereas in South Africa there are approximately only 2000 speakers, with some speakers found in Botswana (Brenzinger, 2011: 16).

The status of San languages in South Africa is more dismal than the Khoekhoe varieties. According to Wright (1971:1), San varieties were spoken throughout South Africa for over 8000 years. The most recorded and widely spread of the known South African San languages is |Xam (Cape Bushman) (Mesthrie, 2008b: 35). This language was recorded by Wilhem Bleek and Lucy Lloyd during the mid-nineteenth century (The digital Bleek and Llyod collection, accessed 12/07/2015). Today the language is extinct.² To honour this language and its speakers, it appears today on the South African coat of arms as “!Ke e: |xarra ||ke” which roughly means “Unity, in Diversity” (Smith, Lewis-Williams, Blundell & Chippindale, 2000: 467). However, there is some controversy around the accuracy of this transcription as well as the translation (Barnard, 2003: 243).³ The demise of the |Xam speakers was harsh 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

² The Bleek and Lloyd collection is housed in the Special Collections of the Library at the University of Cape Town.

³ For further information on this controversy, the reader may consult: Barnard, A. (2003). Comment !Ke e: |xarra ke – Multiple origins and multiple meanings of the motto. In *African Studies*, Vol. 62, Issue 2. Pg. 243-250. Taylor and Francis Ltd. On behalf of the University of Witwatersrand.

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 (Tswana, Xhosa, Swaiti, Zulu or Sotho) (Traill, 2002: 40-41). The last remaining speakers were found in 1873 in the Qacha's Nek area of Lesotho (Traill, 2002: 41). Today Khoesanists have very little knowledge of the language (Traill, 2002: 42). Similarly, the last known speaker of ||Xegwi died in 1988 (Paul, Simons, & Fenning, accessed 13/07/2015). ||Xegwi was last known to be spoken in the Lake Chrissie area of South Africa near the Swaziland border (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-06-24-the-secret-pool-of-surviving-bushmen-at-chrissiesmeer>, accessed 13/07/2015).

Today San languages are still spoken in Namibia and Botswana whereas South Africa only has one remaining San language called N|uu (Mesthrie, 2008b: 36). To date, there are only four mother tongue speakers of N|uu left and they live in and around Upington in the Northern Cape (The author is currently working with the last N|uu speakers).

Due to Portugal's War in Angola, 1961-1974 and the Namibian War of Independence, 1966-1989 many !Xun and Khwe were part of the South African Defence Force (SADF). In 1990, when Namibia gained political independence, approximately 4 500 !Xun and Khwe as well as their dependants were relocated to Schmidtsdrift by the SADF (Robins, Madzudzo, & Brenzinger, 2001). In the early 2000s they were again relocated from their temporary tent city dwellings in Schmidtsdrift to a farm called Platfontein (Robbins, 2006). Platfontein became the permanent home of these !Xun and Khwe, who previously had suffered from political and social unrest.

In sum, four of the 12 modern Khoesan languages are still alive and spoken in South Africa today, namely: Khoekhoe, N|uu, !Xun and Khwedam .

2.3 How !Xun and Khwedam came to be in South Africa

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 !Xu” (Forest

people) (Barnard, 1992: 45). Barnard's description of !Xun (often spelt !Kung), highlights the all too common misconception of the "purity" and isolation of the !Xun:

Readers of !Kung ethnography are too often left with the mistaken impression that these people lived until recently in splendid isolation both from San groups and from non-San. It is as if culture contacts there were unknown or likely to lead only to contamination of the "purity" of the foraging lifestyle. In reality, !Kung in all areas have long lived in contact with other San groups, as well as Ambo (Ovambo), Herero, Tswana and other Bantu-speaking peoples. They have shared their land and traded with these groups for centuries (Barnard, 1992:40).

With culture contact comes language contact and therefore it cannot be assumed that the !Xun were entirely monolingual prior to their eventual move to South Africa. Data from Chapter 5 of this thesis further substantiates that mother tongue !Xun speakers were not monolingual at the time that they lived in Angola or Namibia.

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 Mahango, the leader of the !Xun 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 (Robbins, 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 “Fletchas” 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).

Today the Khwe 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). It was noted by Desmond Clark in 1951 (pg. 62, 64) that the Khwe of the eastern Caprivi:

The skins of smaller antelopes are usually preferred. The men wear two skins back and front suspended from a belt around the waist. The women also wear skins but the back skin, which is decorated with tassels folds to join the front skin. The babies are carried on the mother’s hip, not on the back, suspended in a carrying skin [...] Besides strings of ostrich eggshell beads the women wear necklaces and waist bands made from small pieces of reed, and skin, woven grass or giraffe hair bracelets, which may be worn at the wrist or just below the knee, while children sometimes wear them around their waists.

In comparison, according to Richard Lee in 1979, 28 years later:

The Khwe include groups of widely differing economic and physical types, ranging from quite traditional hunter-gatherers [...] to highly acculturated black Basarwa.

And Linford, interviewed in 2004 about the !Xun and Khwe in the Caprivi during their time of service (Robbins, 2006: 10) noted that:

These people were still in their natural state. The men wore loin clothes and carried bows and arrows and little bush axes tied with a thong around the waist. The women wore short

skirts, front and rear, of hides and many beads. Every woman was either pregnant or had a baby on her hip and one in the hand. The young girls also wore skirts but surprisingly they were not topless as the women. The young boys wore clothing.

One notes from Clark's description in 1951, to Lee's in 1979 and Linford's in 2004 that acculturation occurred among the Khwe exhibiting combined elements of traditional Khwe, black Basarwa and western practices.

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).

From October to December 1975, San soldiers from Alpha base camp invaded Angola, 500km inside Angolan territory (Robbins, 2006: 12). The Bushmen from the Alpha base became known as Battalion 31 (later known as Battalion 201) and were revered for their excellent skills in field craft (Robbins, 2006: 12 & 14). After the Angolan invasion by Battalion 31, the Alpha base was equipped as a permanent base, which included wooden cabins, a hospital, shop, school and church (Robbins, 2006: 12). Along with these new facilities came a change in lifestyle for the !Xun from nomadic hunter gathers to established consumers, participating in formal employment, formal education, and state provided facilities. The soldiers and their families were taught Afrikaans and the Department of Education and Health Services provided services at each base (Robbins, 2006: 14). Portuguese women (wives of non-commissioned Portuguese officers) started a bakery and clothing factory where several San women were employed (Robbins, 2006: 12). According to Lee and Hurlich (1982: 335) economic development activities were encouraged by the SADF including assisting the !Xun and Khwe in keeping livestock, building roads and drilling boreholes in the area in order to facilitate their becoming economically self-sufficient. This injection of a cash economy and westernised development activity was stimulated by the presence of the SADF not only introduced a change in lifestyle for the !Xun and the Khwe but exposure to new languages needed in order to participate in these new domains. For example Afrikaans in the workplace, education, health services and

church, Portuguese in the workplace, church and the media (music and radio specifically) and English in education and the media (music and radio specifically).

In 1978, Alpha base was moved to a new site and renamed Omega (Robbins, 2006: 12). By this time the base housed over 3000 San which was more than half the population of the western Caprivi at that time (Robbins, 2006: 12). Over and above those housed at Omega an informal settlement of San grew immediately outside the base (Robbins, 2006: 12). The Omega base camp included Khwe from Angola, whom the South Africans referred to as “Barakhwena” (Hitchcock, 2012: 84). When the !Xun were asked why they moved to Omega and if they did so voluntarily, examples of their responses were the following: “The army told us that we had to go” (Taylor, 2009: 432) and “In Angola we were suffering; there was [armed conflict]. P.W. Botha brought us [here] from Angola [...] the Boers told us we’d die [there] if we didn’t leave” (Battistoni & Taylor, 2009: 121). By 1981, the population at Omega had grown to 3500 (Robbins, 2006: 12). More and more San were being employed by the SADF, so much so that a second San battalion, Battalion 33 (later known as Battalion 203) was established at Mangetti Dune, in Bushmanland, Namibia (Robbins, 2006: 14).

Battalion 33 was made up of trained !Xun soldiers from Omega as well as locally recruited Ju|’hoansi (Robbins, 2006: 13). Some of the Khwe from Omega were moved to the west Bushmanland (Tsumkwe west) area (Hitchcock, 2012: 84). According to !Xun ex-soldiers from Bushmanland, one of the reasons the SADF sent the !Xun to Mangetti was because the SADF thought that the Angolan !Xun (speakers of northern !Xun lect, Heine and König, 2004: 264) would be more amiable with the resident Ju|’hoansi (speakers of eastern !Xun lect, Heine and König, 2004: 264) and Mangetti !Xun (speakers of north-western !Xun lect, Heine and König, 2004: 264) since they “speak the same language” (Hitchcock, 2012: 85).

Linguistically speaking, the SADF were not far off the mark. !Xun and Ju|’hoansi are both in the northern Khoesan or Kx’a language group and are therefore mutually intelligible to an extent; whereas Khwedam is in the central Khoesan or Khoed language group and differs greatly from !Xun and Ju|’hoansi (Brenzinger, 2011, 10). These relationships are illustrated in the example given in Table 2.2. below. Here we see the example of the comparison for the lexeme “butterfly” in northern !Xun, north-western !Xun, eastern !Xun and kalahari west Kxoe (Khwedam). One can note that, in this instance, the first syllable in northern !Xun and north-western !Xun are the same for the word “butterfly”, i.e. “tha”. The north-western and eastern

word for “butterfly” are almost identical except that the north-western lexeme contains the repeated voiceless syllable (“tha-tha”) whereas the eastern lexeme contains the voiced syllable (“dha-dha”). The Khwedam lexeme for “butterfly” has no similarities to the above mentioned !Xun lects other than it begins with the letter “t”, as in the northern and north-western !Xun lexemes.

Table 2.2: A comparison of the lexeme “butterfly” in northern !Xun, north-western !Xun, eastern !Xun and Kalahari west Kxoe.

English	Khoesan variety	Cluster and lect	Own name	Branch	Reference
butterfly	<i>thavalele</i>	northern !Xun (N1, N3)	!Xun	northern Khoesan	Weich, 2004: 137
butterfly	<i>tha thaba</i>	north-western !Xun (W1, W2)	!Xun	northern Khoesan	Weich, 2004: 137
butterfly	<i>dhadhaba</i>	eastern !Xun (E1)	Ju ’hoansi	northern Khoesan	Dickens, 1994: UID 230
butterfly	<i>teteve</i>	kalahari west Kxoe	Khwedam	central Khoesan	Kilian-Hatz, 2003: 246

Unfortunately, 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.

Furthermore, the !Xun and the Khwe were treated differently by the SADF (Sharp & Douglas, 1996: 325). The !Xun were mostly used by the SADF as counter-insurgency forces or as ‘home guards’. In comparison, the Khwe were used in conventional military operations (Hitchcock, 2012: 84). Ironically, the !Xun were the most dependant on the SADF. Yet the Khwe received greater assistance as they were not considered ‘proper Bushmen’ but rather a perfect combination of ‘Black and Bushmen’ and were accorded ‘superior’ military value (Sharp & Douglas, 1996: 325-326). This concept of the ‘ideal warrior’ was mentioned by Uys (1993: 4):

In some dim distant past his [Cuamama Makua, leader of the Kazamba (Khwe) Bushmen] ancestors had merged with a black tribe in Angola and produced the ideal warrior – combing the strength of the black with the cunning of the Bushman.

In the 1980's, social, economic and health problems were observed among the San in northern Bushmanland by John Marshall and Claire Ritchie (Marshall & Ritchie, 1984). Examples of these problems included high rates for the treatment of gunshot and stab wounds of San people at the local clinic, alcohol-related conflicts, malnutrition of adults and children, and psychological distress (Marshall & Ritchie, 1984; Ritchie 1987).

With the end of the Border War looming, the !Xun and the Khwe would soon be on the move again. The image of the 'Bushmen soldiers' as excellent trackers, fighters and 'first-rate soldiers' was commended by South African military personnel (Breytenbach, 1997). However the San were also romanticised by the SADF, who saw them as "hunter-gatherers" who lead "an innocent and idyllic life [...] in harmony with nature" (e.g. Breytenbach, 1997: 83). The !Xun and the Khwe under the employ of the SADF viewed themselves as "people who need to eat" and "indigenous peoples" and as being "exploited by all institutions and peoples that they interacted with" (in Hitchcock, 2012: 84, interview data, Caprivi, 1995; Tsumkwe, 2001). According to the !Xun and Khwe "the Bushman soldier myth" (Taylor, 2009:433) that was created by the SADF, film-makers, journalists and politicians put them in a dangerous position as it could cause other groups or the state to seek retribution against the Bushmen once Namibia achieved independence (Hitchcock, 2012: 84).

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 (Hitchcock, 2012: 86). 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).

The !Xun and Khwe of Schmidtsdrift became known as the 31 South African Infantry Battalion, until its disbandment in 1993 (Hitchcock, 2012: 87). Their primary task was routine patrol duty on the South African borders with Botswana and Zimbabwe (Robbins, 2006: 21).

The disbandment of the 31 South African Infantry Battalion caused chaos and further distrust among the !Xun, the Khwe and the SADF. With little or no prospects of employment, the cancellation of the Schmidtsdrift housing project and the cancellation of any pension from the SADF, life in Schmidtsdrift became very unstable (Robbins, 2006: 23). Some San soldiers continued to serve for the SADF. Unfortunately, they were stationed in areas where they could not bring their families along (Robbins, 2006: 25). As a result, husbands were separated from their wives, children and elders, causing further instability in the community. This instability spiralled out of control with increased social and health problems such as incidents of rape, attempted suicide, extreme domestic violence, alcohol and drug abuse, tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases, malnutrition and teenage pregnancies (Robbins, 2006: 25). According to Katharina Meyer, an artist who lived with the !Xun and Khwe in Schmidtsdrift from August 1993 until the end 1994:

The people that I worked with were the older !Xun, the San who had come down from Angola to South West Africa in 1974. They seemed completely disempowered. They simply did what they were told. They were subsisting there in the tents, completely dependent on the army for everything. By contrast, the Bushmen that I had known in the Kalahari (in Botswana) were vastly better off. They were lively and they were free. By contrast, the Schmidtsdrift people were weighed down (Robbins, 2006: 25).

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 dependant on their solidier 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).

2.3.1 The !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein

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, Wildebeeskuil 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).⁴ 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

⁴ The CPA is a community trust that includes all the members of the Schmidtsdrift community.

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. Observations such as these were made during the fieldwork that was conducted for the purposes of this study in 2013 and 2014.⁵ Table 2.3 below provides a summary of the chronological milestones that the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein experienced from 1961 to date as discussed above.

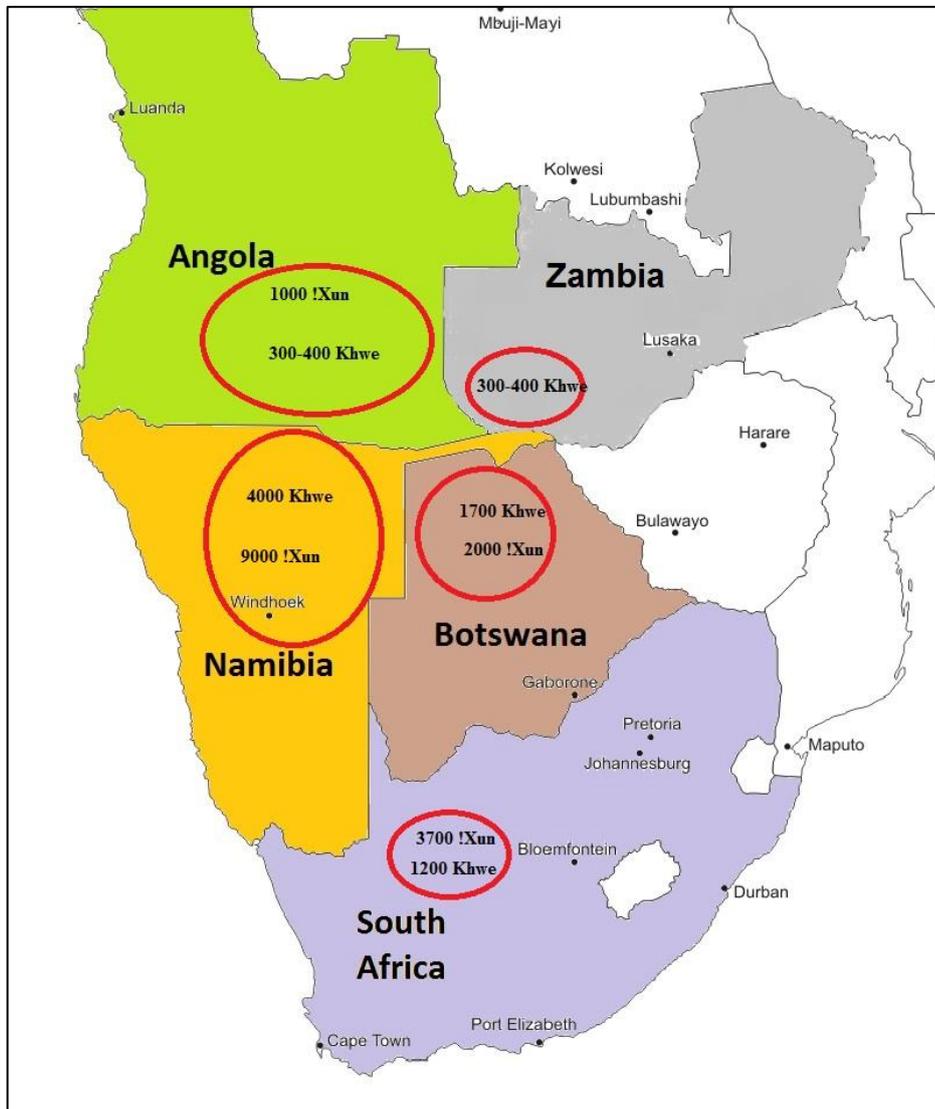
Table 2.3: Chronological account of milestones relating to the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein, South Africa

Year	Milestone
1961-1974	Portugal's War on Angola
1966-1989	Namibian War of Independence
1974	Establishment of Bushman Battalion 31 in the Caprivi and the recruitment of !Xun and Khwe soldiers by the SADF
1978	Bushman Battalion 36 established in Tsumkwe, Bushmanland by the SADF including !Xun, Khwe and Ju 'hoan
1989	Ceasefire declared 1 April, SWAPO wins November elections, San participate in elections
1990	Namibian independence declared 21 March 1990. Relocation of !Xun and Khwe soldiers and their families to Schmidtsdrift, South Africa. Formation of the 31 South African Infantry Battalion.
1993	Disbandment of the 31 South African Infantry Battalion
1999	Title deeds to Platfontein, Wildebeeskuil and Droogfontein handed over to the CPA
2004	!Xun and Khwe move to Platfontein
	(Adapted from: Hitchcock, 2012: 130-131).

Map 2.2 below provides a rough visual of the number of remaining !Xun speakers and Khwedam speakers in southern Africa. Currently the !Xun are the largest Khoesan speaking population in South Africa with 3700 speakers. Yet the largest population of !Xun speakers can be found in Namibia where there are 9000 speakers, followed by Botswana with 2000 speakers

⁵ For further information on fieldwork observations, see Chapter 5.

and Angola with 1000 speakers (Brenzinger 2011: 10). The number of Khwedam speakers in South Africa is 1200 speakers in and around the Platfontein area, however the Khwe mostly originate from Namibia where there are approximately 4000 speakers left, followed by Botswana with 1700 and Angola and Zambia 300-400 speakers (Brenzinger 2011: 22).



Map 2.2: The distribution of !Xun speakers and Khwedam speakers in Southern Africa according to figures provided by Brenzinger (2011: 10, 22).

2.4 The San and self-representation

Due to the demand of San people throughout southern Africa to represent themselves locally, regionally and internationally, the regional Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) was established in Windhoek, Namibia in 1996 (Brörmann, 2002:1). The regional WIMSA office would focus on support and networking of San communities in

South Africa, Angola and Namibia. Shortly after the establishment of the regional WIMSA office came the WIMSA/Botswana office. WIMSA/Botswana is based in D'Kar and focusses on San affairs in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana (Brörmann, 2002:1).

In an effort to provide assistance in South Africa for the San people, a support organisation called the South African San Institute (SASI) was established as a Trust in 1996 (<http://www.sasi.org.za/wwwa.html>, accessed, 08/03/2016). SASI identified three areas of focus for their future efforts: legal support and advocacy; culture, heritage and language; and tourism through the development of income generating projects (<http://www.sasi.org.za/wwwa.html>, accessed, 08/03/2016).

2.4.1 Insights gathered from South African San Institute (SASI) annual reviews and community representatives in relation to !Xun and Khwedam

Throughout the SASI annual reviews the importance of San languages and cultural preservation is mentioned as a core focus area of the organisation. Initial high priority and attention on this topic was spurred from 1997 to 2002 by submissions made by SASI to the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) in 1996 and 1997 as well as by the Penduka Declaration in 2001 (SASI, 1996; WIMSA, 2001; WIMSA, 2004). These submissions brought the plight of the San to the attention of South African, Namibian, and Botswanan government officials.

In 1997, a project was initiated by SASI called the “Cultural Survival Program”. The purpose of the project was to:

[...] establish the needs and concerns of the San and Khoekhoe communities with regard to language and cultural survival. [...] Develop consensus on needs and project priorities related to culture and language (SASI, 1998: 13).

After the submissions made by SASI to PanSALB in 1996, and January 1997 and May 1997, as well as initial information gathered from the “Cultural Survival Program”, SASI and the South African San they represent were disappointed with the lack of accountability and action taken by PanSALB:

The interaction with PanSALB proved ineffective. However, it highlighted a potentially serious problem with the constitution. PanSALB was unable to respond to the needs expressed by the Khoekhoe and San communities. [...] The failure of PanSALB to protect the

constitutional rights of San and Khoe people may require legal action in the future.
(SASI, 1998: 15)

There was nonetheless a local breakthrough where acknowledgment was made by the local statistics bureau in Kimberley who agreed to “include San and Khoe demographics in future statistics and census information” (SASI, 1998: 20).

SASI then turned to other sources for support in the documentation of Khoe and San languages and found initial support from United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Sadly, this support fizzled out over the years:

UNESCO Deputy Director promised four San and Khoe delegates that the South African office of UNESCO will make San and Khoe cultural survival a high priority in 1998, including ensuring development of language curricula, a socio-economic survey, and an introduction of community radio. (SASI, 1998: 17).

Thereafter SASI started the “San Advocacy Training Project” in 1998 in an attempt to facilitate San people in representing themselves:

To become effective advocates for their own cultural and educational needs requires supporting people to work together to represent their needs to the government and building capacity of community institutions to manage collective intellectual property and cultural resources such as language, traditional bush skills, folk culture and oral history (SASI, 1999: 16).

Yet again, SASI was discouraged by PanSALB’s lack of response or action to their projects and submissions in 1998, 1999 and 2000:

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).

In 2000 the !Xun and Khwe Communal Property Association (CPA) was established (SASI, 2001: 7). During that year the CPA met to discuss their Human Rights as per the South African Constitution and as a result the !Xun and Khwe Language Committee 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.

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.⁶ “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).⁷ 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).⁸

Finally, in 2001, workshops for San attendees were held with a focus on: training, cultural events and the creation of language committees and language boards among the South African San. The response from those currently in !Xun or Khwe language committees is positive with regard to the creation of various sub-committees to represent different San languages. “Separate sub-committees mean that we could get more specific feedback” (!Xun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014). “We were forced to work together by the government

⁶ 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.

⁷ A meeting was had with the !Xun Language Committee and the researcher to discuss language development issues from the time that they moved to Platfontein. This took place the at the !Xun Early Childhood Development School, 11 April 2014, Platfontein.

⁸ A meeting was had with KRaDO and the researcher to discuss language development issues from the time that they moved to Platfontein. This took place the at the !Xunkhwesa School, 15 April 2014, Platfontein.

but once they realised that the Khoe and San speak many different languages, they were allowed to have subcommittees to represent the different communities” (KRADO, personal communication, 14/04/2014). This was the first time since initial contact in 1996 that SASI had proactive cooperation from PanSALB in recognising Khoe and San languages:

SASI in cooperation with PanSALB funded the organisational development training for the National Khoe and San Language Body of South Africa (NKSLB). This involved a series of workshops throughout the year that generated a vision, a mission statement, a code of conduct, a set of priority aims, objectives and tasks. The body began to test its strength by challenging several government departments, the SABC and other agencies to clarify what each is doing to promote the use of the languages of indigenous peoples. (SASI, 2001: 15).

There are currently no government programmes that recognise, or promote the use of indigenous languages or knowledge systems. [...] the new government has limited capacity to implement those language and cultural rights. The most important structure to emerge in this period has been the National Khoe and San Language Body of South Africa (NKSLB). This is a body created under Parliament and is part of the PanSALB. The NKSLB was formed in August 1999 but initially had very little capacity support from its parent structure PanSALB. The current members are themselves speakers of various Khoe and Ju languages in South Africa. (SASI, 2001: 15).

Today the NKSLB and PanSALB are not considered helpful or useful bodies from a practical perspective, to !Xun speakers or Khwedam speakers of Platfontein.

They don't function today. PanSALB doesn't include them (NKSLB) anymore. They've gone backwards. They (NKSLB) are not invited to any meetings. We don't know how often they meet or what they are working on. This group is not helpful to the !Xun because we are not included (!Xun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014).

Yes, they (NKSLB) still exist today. They are not working on anything they are only there for meeting, networking and lobbying. They have irregular meetings. Nothing happens from this board (KRADO, personal communication, 15/04/2014).

Unfortunately, after 2001, submissions to PanSALB drastically decreased due to their lack of cooperation and in turn, so did action related to language preservation. This was due to the lack of support, accountability and organisation of the South African government on the matter of

the National Commission for the Protection and Promotion of Cultural, Linguistic and Religious Communities (Section 185).

Currently all documentation sits with the Minister and cabinet subcommittee. No progress is evident. [...] Mostly Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) staff indicated that PanSALB and Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) are the only ones with mandates to deal with indigenous cultural and language rights. PanSALB and DPLG deny this allegation. The UNESCO National Commission expressed sympathy for the situation of Khoe and San groups but made no progress in bringing DACST into line with international standards and practices (SASI, 2001: 16).

It was found that provincial efforts were proving more productive and fruitful than action at a national level. The provincial Department of Education commissioned a report on the “Language in education needs of San (!Xun, Khwe and ǀKhomani) and Nama communities” (SASI, 2001: 16). From this report, agreement was made between the provincial government and 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). In turn, SASI provided information on language and cultural rights and conditions of indigenous peoples to The International Labour Organisation, UNESCO, National Language Services and the Department of Provincial and Local Government (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).

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 and speakers of Khwedam will have assistance in the modification of their

alphabet with the help of researchers from the University of Cologne (SASI, 2002: 28). The resolution regarding the standardisation of !Xun and Khwedam was well received by both the !Xun Language Committee and KRaDO. “The Penduka Declaration is a good thing. It helped us get our dictionary, the one Ferdie⁹ made. We agree that !Xun should use that same orthography as Ju|’hoansi” (!Xun 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). “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) Ju|’hoansi is on the same dialect continuum as !Xun, in the Ju or northern Khoesan dialect cluster therefore they are mutually intelligible to an extent (Güldemann, 2008: 126) . Due to their similarities the conventions of the Ju orthography were selected for the standardisation of the !Xun orthography. The Khwedam orthography was initially developed by German linguist Oswin Köhler (Köhler, 1962, 1981, 1989, 1991). A simplified version of this orthography was requested by Khwedam speakers in the “Penduka Declaration”.¹⁰

Two other important statements included in the “Penduka Declaration” challenged governments and media to be more responsible in the representation of languages and cultures practised by the San. The second was to not be represented as a unanimous group under the term “Khoisan” and to rather recognise the unique identities of the different San people.

Governments, the media and the public should have greater awareness and respect for San peoples’ languages and cultures. The media should stop projecting stereotypes of San peoples, portraying us as speaking one language and living in a stereotyped manner. [...] The San peoples reaffirm our distinct heritages and identities and reject being placed under the label Khoisan along with people who do not speak our languages or share our traditions and customs. The media should be more responsible when reporting about San peoples and speak to our representative organisations and spokespersons. (WIMSA, 2001: 3).

⁹ “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.

¹⁰ 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 Cologne university were asked to assist with the development of the Khwedam orthography.

Excitingly, in 2001 a San culture and education centre opened called !Khwatuu (water pan in !Xam) in Ysterfontein, Western Cape, South Africa, assisted by private international funding. The mission of the centre is as follows “Restore and display the heritage of the San as contained in the culture, history, folklore, visual arts, cosmology and language” (SASI, 2001: 22). Conversely, the NKSLB was showing signs of weakness despite support from SASI and PanSALB:

The National Khoe and San Language Body, is supported by SASI but remains fairly weak despite support from PanSALB. There is inadequate technical support and limited internal capacity for budgeting and operations. This is compounded by the absence of a secretariat to support the structure and of a clear development and training programme for its members (SASI, 2002: 9).

Support and improvement with regards to language standardisation was evident in Namibia by the Namibian Institute for Educational Development, who sponsored a joint Ju|’hoansi and !Xun workshop on orthographic review, in January 2002 (SASI, 2002: 9). In comparison, the South African government were still lagging behind in proactive support, “The budget allocation by PanSALB to NKSLB for 2002 took months to secure and then all funds were identified for meetings and not for genuine language development” (SASI, 2002: 14). Over and above continuous disappointment from the South African government came a dispute between Khwedam speakers and researchers from the University of Cologne about who has the right to decide on the selection of the standardised Khwedam 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 feel 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).

By 2003, a Khwe/English dictionary was published in collaboration with Namibian Khwedam 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 Khwedam, KRADO members felt, that the text is not user-friendly to non-linguists and not conducive for convenient 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 \mathcal{E} in the alphabet (KRADO, personal communication, 15/04/2014).

Finally, after six years of negotiations the CPA along with the !Xun and Khwe Language Committee finally began the first language project with the !Xun and Khwe of South Africa. The project was 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). This project was well received by Platfontein residents and continues on today at the radio station XK-FM. 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” (!Xun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014).

In 2004, “Breakthrough to Literacy” material was developed in Khwedam by Molteno Institute for Language and Literacy and piloted at the !Xunkhuesa school in Platfontein (SASI, 2004: 54).¹¹ 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:

¹¹ Molteno is a South African based non-profit organisation.

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 co-ordinate 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 government were made or Penduka Declarations coordinated by SASI.

Additionally, in 2004 a music CD was launched that featured traditional !Xun music and !Xun story telling entitled “Kulimatji Nge: We tell our old stories with music” (SASI, 2004: 55). Later that same year 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. This spurred the production of two Afrikaans children’s books based on !Xun stories collected from an oral history project, namely, “Die Pam-Pam Voël” and “Die Eland Man” by Kapilolo Mahongo and Marlene Winberg (SASI, 2004: 55).

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 Khwedam in South Africa. Today the ECD program is seen as a good initiative 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 !Xunkhwesa (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 Khwe are in agreement with the !Xun with regards to the ECD program being a good community initiative in Platfontein. However, they are of the opinion that the use of the mother tongue in the Khwe ECD is being replaced with Afrikaans. “It is a good idea. They are not using Khwedam there, they are only using Afrikaans and so the children are losing their language and their culture but the children are well looked after at the ECD (KRADO, personal communication, 15/04/2014).

Finally, by 2009 the early childhood readers by Molteno were published and delivered to Platfontein as well as basic Biblical texts published by the Bible Society of South Africa (Molteno Project 2005, Bible Society of South Africa, 2009). These were then followed by the “Ek is Spesiaal” readers co-ordinated by SASI in 2011 that were published in !Xun, Khwedam and N|uu with accompanying Afrikaans translations (South African San Institute, 2009). 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.

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 Dominee¹² doesn't know how to read !Xun (!Xun Language Committee, personal communication, 11/04/2014).

The Khwe however have 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 Khwedam 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).

Since 2011 there has been very little reported progress on either !Xun or Khwedam in Platfontein. Conflict of interest among various language boards or committees has resulted in divided efforts and confusion regarding roles and efforts for language preservation among representative community members. Another concern from community members as well as community representatives is the lack of feedback, accountability or sharing of information, or data from outsiders such as researchers, filmmakers, or media production companies (KRADO, personal communication, 15/04/2014).

2.5. Over-researched, under-supported

Of all the Khoesan speakers, the Ju|'hoansi of northern Namibia are considered ‘the most studied, and the best-studied, of any ethnic group in the world’ (Barnard, 1998: 12). Fascination with Bushmen or San was spurred from the 1950’s onwards when John Marshall created a series of documentaries that became an international success and today are housed in the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History.¹³ Two common assertions are often made when working with indigenous people: 1) that they are over-researched; and 2) that research never benefits the target group (Saugestad, 1998:8). I am of the opinion that the !Xun and the Khwe of South Africa are popular research subjects in various academic fields, however, they are poorly represented by linguists, and most especially African linguists (see paragraphs 2.5.1

¹² “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.

¹³ The John Marshall film collection is called: A million feet of film/A lifetime of friendship, 1950-2000 <http://anthropology.si.edu/johnmarshall/>.

and 2.5.2 for a substantiation of this assessment). The research conducted for the purposes of this study produces recommendations in relation to language preservation and documentation of both !Xun and Khwe and therefore has the potential to be useful to both target groups.

The following section of this chapter provides a scope, although not exhaustive, of previous research conducted with the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein in various fields. Thereafter rationale is provided as to the uniqueness of this particular study from a South African linguistic perspective and as a potential means for benefiting the !Xun and the Khwe.

2.5.1 The Platfontein San as an over-researched group

Research conducted with the !Xun and the Khwe from the time that they arrived in South Africa in 1990, has been constant and diverse. Examples of fields of interest have been: military history, social anthropology, African studies, gender studies, medicine, politics, geography, law, social development, education, media and communications, history, linguistics, economics, contemporary art, archaeology, music, health care, visual anthropology, psychology, genetics, arts and development, tourism, public health, child psychology and evolutionary biology. Within these fields PhD dissertations, masters theses, honours theses, journal articles, reports, books and book chapters have been produced that revolve around the !Xun and the Khwe of South Africa. Appendix 1 provides a table with examples of such publications from 1993-2015 in the varying fields pertaining to the !Xun and Khwe of Schmidtsdrift and Platfontein.

The concept of “research fatigue” or “over-researched communities” is a topic that is not extensively discussed in the social sciences. According to Sukarieh and Tannock (2012: 494) “though parenthetically acknowledged as an issue by researchers across a wide range of geographic areas and fields of social science research practice for decades, it has rarely been written about as a subject in its own right.” Nonetheless, there are some key issues identified by researchers in Clark (2008) as discussed in Sukarieh and Tannock (2012: 495), one of which are “concerns over the relations of research expectations and promises of social change and alienation of the researched from researchers’ practices and questions”.

In relation to the San in Platfontein, there is a rhetoric among many community members that “Most researchers come in to take from us to further their own careers. They do not care about us or want to help us. They steal our knowledge” (KRADO, personal communication,

15/04/2014). As a conscientious researcher, I had to ensure those that participated in this study that their cooperation would be beneficial to the community as a whole. This would be achieved by making recommendations based on the given research to potentially inform further language documentation, preservation and education for both !Xun and Khwedam in South Africa.

With regard to the alienation of community members from the research process in the context of Platfontein, careful measures were put in place to meet with family members and to discuss the research process of this particular study and what the purpose is of these processes. Information handouts were also given to each participant that included the researchers direct contact details so that they could be in further contact if this is desired by any of the participants. Participants were also encouraged to provide input or suggestions for the study and to be part of the identification process of family members to take part in the study. The acknowledgement of a reciprocal relationship was important for a cooperative and positive ethos throughout this study.

Sukarieh and Tannock (2012: 495) went on to identify areas of concern the researched have in over-researched communities: “misgivings that the researched have about the social and political identities and agendas of the researchers they encounter in the field; and the impact that over-research has in social relationships and identities”. Evidence of both these points were observed in Platfontein. Some elderly members were under the impression that they had to provide their identity documents at each interview and state their rank in the army. Subsequently it was brought to my attention that field researchers interested in military history had recently worked in Platfontein and this was a requirement during the interviews that they conducted. This experience further justified the necessity to clearly define the parameters and affiliations of the research conducted for this study. ‘Over-research’ also had an impact on social relationships in Platfontein where evidence of jealousy and demand for payment for participation was initially encountered. Platfontein residents mentioned that researchers from abroad were paying community members for their participation in their studies. Payment varied from researcher to researcher and this had caused jealousy and conflict among community members. This could potentially create a hostile environment for a new researcher engaging with the Platfontein community. Fortunately, established long-term relationships by the researcher with key family members from both the !Xun and the Khwe facilitated further engagement, information sessions and interviews with Platfontein residents with minimal conflict or altercation.

2.5.2 Research and support of !Xun and Khwedam by South African linguists

The field of linguistics has barely touched on !Xun and Khwedam in a South African context, despite evidence that !Xun and Khwe have been in South Africa since 1990 (Robbins, 2006: 19). In most instances, any research that has been done with the South African !Xun and Khwe refers to language rights and education in connection with the South African Constitution (Crawhall, 1993, 1999a, 199b, 2001; Siegrühn, 2002; Hays & Siegrühn, 2005; Lubbe & Truter, 2007; Davids, 2010; Pamo, 2011). If one were to expand to southern Africa, publications on !Xun and Khwe languages are mostly based on data collected by foreigners in Namibia and Botswana, as illustrated in Appendix 2 and 3. Linguists originally from southern Africa or based at southern African universities or institutions are in the minority of linguists that have worked with either !Xun (as per Appendix 2, 6/19 linguists, 32%) or Khwedam (as per Appendix 3, 2/12 linguists, 17%). All of those African linguists who have worked with either !Xun or Khwedam are no longer active as they have passed away or retired, leaving the field wanting for local African linguists. One can also note that the majority of linguistic research conducted with !Xun and Khwe is descriptive in nature in the fields of lexicography, morphology, syntax, followed by anthropological linguistics and sociolinguistics.

2.5.3 The unique nature of this study

What is unique about Platfontein is that two endangered Khoesan languages are spoken in one South African town by two different San ethnic groups, the !Xun and the Khwe. This provides a rare opportunity for the collection of data pertaining to language attitudes of speakers of two Khoesan languages in one location in South Africa. With this information, it can potentially be determined whether language maintenance or preservation initiatives would be welcome and successful in Platfontein. To date, the detailed correlation of language attitudes and language vitality of Khoesan languages, in a South African context, has not been investigated. Such an analysis could be informative in the construction of an updated language maintenance or language preservation initiative for !Xun and Khwedam in South Africa.

Throughout the process of this study, interviews were recorded in the mother tongue, transcribed and later translated with the assistance of local translators.¹⁴ The interviews provide intergenerational language life stories in both !Xun and Khwe that include anecdotes spreading

¹⁴ For more information on the methods employed in this research study, please see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

across five generations, over three countries and through two wars. This data provides a unique description in the mother tongue, not only of language contact and change but social, economic and cultural change experienced by two families (one !Xun and one Khwe).

Finally, as an immediate and tangible way of giving back to the community, educational posters will be designed and printed in !Xun and Khwedam in collaboration with the local translators and teachers. These will be handed over to the community, to assist with mother tongue literacy education in the classroom for the preschool and junior primary phase.

2.6 Summary

In sum, Khoesan languages as a language family are endangered, with a low number of speakers in South Africa compared with Namibia and Botswana. The involvement of !Xun and Khwe from Angola and Namibia, respectively, in warfare from the 1960s to 1990, resulted in them ultimately seeking refuge in Platfontein, South Africa. The relocation of !Xun speakers and Khwedam speakers to a permanent settlement in South Africa offers a unique situation for the study of two endangered Khoesan languages in a South African context.

With this influx of Khoesan speakers in 1990 in conjunction with the new Constitution of South Africa in 1994, speakers of Khoesan languages began to take a stand for their language rights. Progress in relation to the rights and development of Khoesan languages in South Africa are the following: the formation of several language boards, committees and bodies; the formulation of two Penduka Declarations clearly outlining the position of speakers of Khoesan languages; the selection of appropriate orthographies for !Xun and Khwedam and the development of basic mother tongue educational materials. These achievements are unfortunately overshadowed by poor support from local government, slow production of mother tongue literacy materials and very little training in mother tongue education and teaching for local students and teachers.

Since the !Xun and Khwe moved to South Africa they have been the topic of study for researchers in many academic fields. There has not, however, been much linguistic research in relation to !Xun and Khwedam in South Africa, outside of the areas of language education and language rights. This study is a first from a sociolinguistic perspective conducted by a South African linguist on !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein, South Africa.

3. Literature review

3.1 Chapter outline

With approximately half of the world's known languages having disappeared in the last 500 years, language death is estimated to be at its highest rate in human history (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:2). So far Africa has not had much attention in the area of language endangerment because, at first glance, Africa appears to have a healthy diversity of languages, with almost one third of the world's languages spoken in Africa (Lewis et al., accessed 19/09/2016). However up to 28% of these languages are seriously endangered and language documentation and preservation initiatives are struggling to keep pace with the speed of language attrition and language loss (Sands, forthcoming: 1).

I argue that language attitudes are change agents for the language vitality of an endangered language. However, language attitude assessment is not a standardised practice in linguistics as there are many approaches and theories depending on the researchers' training and preference.¹ According to Austin and Sallabank (2013:314), "empirical research on language attitudes in endangered languages communities has been rather sparse to date". To my knowledge language attitude research has not been done before with Khoesan languages in South Africa. Therefore, it is the purpose of this thesis to make a preliminary attempt at assessing the language attitudes of selected speakers of two Khoesan languages, namely !Xun and Khwedam. Such an assessment has the potential to provide the necessary information to assist with conducting a language vitality assessment and in turn, one could then make informed recommendations for language revitalisation and maintenance of !Xun and Khwedam.

Concepts addressed in this chapter are the following: Linguistic diversity from an international perspective, language revitalisation in southern Africa, language attrition, sociolinguistic factors associated with language attrition, language vitality assessment, and finally language attitudes.

3.2 Language endangerment: A worldwide phenomenon

Research on endangered and minority languages has steadily gained momentum since the 1980s and has recently developed into an increasingly established topic both academically and in the

¹ For further discussion on language attitudes see section 3.4.

media. The all too popular reference to Krauss' prediction of the loss of 95% of the world's estimated 6000 languages in the coming century, has become the hallmark of any document written on the topic (Krauss 1992:5). Since his initial bleak warnings of the rapid demise of the world's languages, the 1990s saw a boom in media attention on 'last speakers' of a number of languages around the world (King et al., 2008:1). The rapid rate of decline in the number of languages found around the world was confirmed into the 2000s (Crystal 2000; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Gibbs 2002; Abley 2003; Dalby 2003). Nettle and Romaine (2000:2) estimated that approximately half of the known languages around the world have disappeared in the past 500 years. It must be mentioned that on the opposite end of the spectrum, new languages are established or born around the world (Chaudenson, 2001). However according to the Index of Linguistic Diversity (ILD), the death rate of languages superseded the birth rate of languages around the world between 1970 and 2005, resulting in an overall decrease in language diversity by 20% (Harmon & Loh, 2010: 97).

Over time, linguists have developed and refined theoretical frameworks for the assessment of language vitality as well as critiques of many of the assumptions that underpin such models (Fishman 1991; Nettle & Romaine 2000; King 2001; UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003; Romaine 2006; Vigouroux & Mufwene 2008). On the ground, there has been steady progress in the development of funding programs, organisations and community-based efforts to document, maintain and develop endangered languages (Hinton & Hale, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 2017). In turn, the involvement of members of endangered language communities, who play an increasingly vocal role in scientific investigation and practical work, has become common practice (King et al, 2008: 1). This was the case in this particular study, where the involvement of mother tongue speakers of !Xun and mother tongue speakers of Khwedam was paramount for any investigations to take place.

3.2.1 Linguistic diversity from an international perspective

According to the Ethnologue database compiled by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) there are 7097 languages spoken by 6, 506, 259, 160 people around the world (Lewis et al., accessed 19/09/2016). From these rough estimates it is obvious that global distribution of

languages is noticeably uneven.² According to Romaine (2007: 118) 5% of the world’s languages are spoken by 94% of the world’s population leaving the remaining 95% of the world’s languages to be spoken by only 6% of the world’s population.

Figure 3.1 below indicates the inverse relationship between the number of languages identified around the world and the size of the populations that speak these languages as their first language (L1). Ninety-two of the world’s languages are spoken by 80, 26% of the world’s population; this means each of these languages has 10 000 000 or more L1 speakers (Lewis et al., accessed 19/09/2016). In contrast, 1 250 of the world’s languages are spoken by 18, 66% of the world’s population, where each language has between 100 000 and 9 999 999 L1 speakers (Lewis et al., accessed 19/09/2016). Lastly, at the top level, 5755 of the world’s languages only have between 1 and 99 999 L1 speakers and are each spoken by only 1,08% of the world’s population (Lewis et al., accessed 19/09/2016).

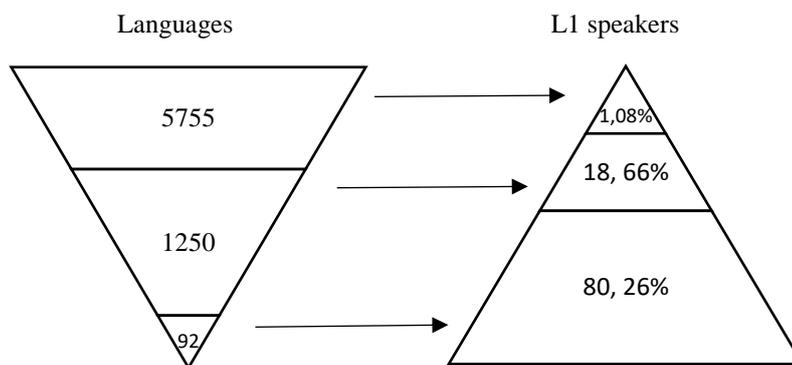


Figure 3.1: The inverse relationship between the number of languages identified around the world and the size of the populations that speaks these languages as their L1.

The criteria for assessment of the vitality (i.e. health or life) of a language is discussed in section 3.3 *Language vitality* of this chapter. One of the controversial yet pertinent factors in language vitality assessment is the speaker population size. Logically, the smaller the speaker population size the more likely it is that the language is in danger of becoming extinct. A closer look at the distribution of the world’s languages shows that linguistic diversity is not evenly spread across the globe but rather has concentrated areas of dense linguistic diversity versus areas of sparse linguistic diversity. Table 3.1 shows the count of living languages versus speaker population size around the world according to area.

² Ethnologue distinguishes between languages and dialects and only counts ‘languages’; however, see Wolfman and Schilling-Estes 1998, for information on the differentiation between languages and dialects and the phenomenon of dialect endangerment.

Table 3.1: Distribution of the world’s living languages according to area (Lewis et al., accessed 19/09/2016)

Area	Living languages (count)	(percent)	Number of speakers (total)	(percent)
Asia	2 296	32,4%	3, 929, 931, 706	60,4%
Africa	2 139	30,1%	847, 791, 487	13%
Pacific & Australasia	1 313	18,5%	6, 854, 607	0,1%
Americas	1 062	15%	49, 090,069	0,8%
Europe	287	4%	1, 672, 591, 291	25,7%
Totals	7 097	100%	6, 506,259, 160	100%

One can note from the information provided in Table 3.1 from the Online Ethnologue that Asia is the area with the highest count of living languages (2 296), with the largest percentage of total number of speakers (60,4%) in the world. Africa has the second highest count of living languages (2 139) with the third largest percentage of total number of speakers (13%) in the world. The Pacific and Australasia have the third highest count of living languages (1 313), with by far the smallest percentage of total number of speakers (0,1%) in the world. Therefore, the Pacific and Australasia have the greatest extent of language diversity in the world. The Americas are not far behind with a count of 1 062 living languages with the second smallest percentage of speakers (0,8%) in the world. Finally, Europe has the smallest count of living languages (287) with the second largest percentage of total number of speakers (25,7 %) in the world. This shows that Europe has the lowest extent of language diversity in the world.

3.2.2 Language revitalisation in southern Africa

According to Table 3.1, almost one third of the world’s languages are found in Africa. However, 10-28% of these languages are considered seriously endangered, according to Sands (forthcoming: 1) as well as other linguists (Brenzinger & Batibo 2010; Simons and Lewis 2013; Lewis et al. 2016). This conservative estimate would mean that approximately 213-598 languages are seriously endangered in Africa, yet in comparison with endeavours on other continents, language revitalisation in Africa fails to keep pace (Sands, forthcoming: 1).

In stark contrast to this alarming estimation language revitalisation is considered to be only at its inception in Africa with work published on the topic from the 1990s onward (Brenzinger, Heine & Sommer, 1991; Brenzinger, 1998; Adebijaja, 2001; Batibo, 2001; Mous, 2003; Batibo, 2005; Blench, 2007; Connell, 2007; Batibo 2009, Chebanne, 2016). The concept of language

revitalisation was recognised by African scholars who drafted the “Asmara Declaration” in 2000, a manifesto which highlights the necessity for the revitalisation of African languages, as critical for the development of Africa (Blommaert, 2001: 132-133). According to Sands (forthcoming) and my own observations language revitalisation in southern Africa “[...] has largely been approached through traditional methods of language development with a heavy emphasis on literacy. These efforts are hampered by a lack of documentation funding, even when language policies are favourable”.³

Success of many language revitalisation efforts in southern Africa is not yet fully evident due to a lack of resources at local and national levels. Large multinational initiatives such as the African Union’s African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) have a strong focus on the promotion of African languages however their attention mostly revolves around the promotion and development of stable African languages (in terms of numbers of speakers) rather than language revitalisation efforts (<http://www.acalan.org/index.php/en/>: Accessed 01/08/2017). Considering such an important, competing goal, language revitalisation efforts are unfortunately not prioritised by ACALAN for the time being. Moreover, many projects are still in their early development phases (Sands, forthcoming), for example, the documentation of Tjwao, a Khoesan language spoken in Zimbabwe (e.g. Ndlovu 2014, and Phiri 2015, in Sands forthcoming). Two successful cases of language revitalisation (or rather language development) of Khoesan languages are of Ju|’hoansi in Namibia (Hays, 2016) and Naro in Botswana (Hitchcock, 2013 in Sands forthcoming). In both cases “The populations that speak these languages are small, but there has been relatively little language shift” (Sands, forthcoming: 13). Unfortunately, despite documentation efforts in the early part of the century by Bleek and Lloyd, the Khoesan language |Xam, is now extinct (The digital Bleek and Llyod collection, accessed 30/01/2017). Work conducted in the field of language rights of indigenous first peoples has been considered “shoddy” (Hymes, 1996:80) and should rather be, according to Blommaert (2001: 131), “supported by the best possible science”. One can recognise from the literature that the field of language revitalisation is relatively new in the African context with much work still to be done.

³ See Chapter 2, “A linguistic overview of !Xun and Khwedam in South Africa”, for more information.

3.3 Language vitality

Language vitality is central for discussions and analyses in the field of language revitalisation and relates directly to the main research question of this study:

What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?

For the purposes of this study, language vitality and intergenerational language transmission, are discussed in relation to language attitudes because “attitudes to language are of key importance in assessing the chances of endangered language survival” (Austin & Sallabank, 2013: 313). Language attitudes are the focal point of this study as discussed in section 3.4 and draw motivation for their investigation from sections 3.3.1-3.3.3. Language vitality is considered from three perspectives: Section 3.3.1 provides an introduction to language attrition (types of language death, causes of language shift, and multilingualism and language shift), in section 3.3.2 I discuss sociolinguistic factors associated with language attrition (language use and functional language domains; the cultural context of the immigrant, and intergenerational language transmission; and attitude, motivation and identity), and in section 3.3.3 I discuss possible ways of language vitality assessment (a scale for language vitality and UNESCO’s evaluative factors for language vitality).

3.3.1 Introduction to language attrition

The road to extinction of a language has been described in the literature as language attrition. Fishman defines it as a “process whereby intergenerational continuity of the heritage language is proceeding negatively, with fewer ‘speakers, readers, writers and even understanders’ [in] every generation” (Fishman, 1991:1). Below I discuss language attrition in relation to: types of language death, causes of language shift, and multilingualism and language shift.

3.3.1.1 Types of language death

According to Crystal (2000:11), “A language is said to be dead when no one speaks it any more. It may continue to exist in a recorded form [...] but unless it has fluent speakers one would not talk of it as a ‘living language’”. If one were to trace the histories of languages that died, one would note that the stories of their passing are not the same and that within each context there

are different factors that contributed to each language death. Mesthrie and Leap (2009:248) (based on Campbell and Muntzel, 1989) identify four types of language death: gradual death, sudden death, radical death and 'bottom-to-top' death. A fifth, and less common type of language death is 'top-to-bottom' death (Tsunoda, 2005:47).

Gradual death, the most common form of language death, involves language shift or the gradual replacement of one language by another over a period of generations (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:53). An example from an African context, is Kora (also known as !Ora or Korana), a Khoe language. Over a period of generations, Kora was gradually replaced by Afrikaans until the few remaining speakers decided to shift from Kora to Afrikaans as there were very few speakers of Kora left (du Plessis, forthcoming: 8). Such a gradual shift from one language to another over several generations is an example of absorption (see Figure 3.2). According to Batibo (2005: 96) there are four types of gradual language death, namely: absorption, suffocation, erosion and contraction (see Figure 3.2). Absorption and suffocation involve "the progressive increase in the domains accorded to the dominant language, with the eventual absorption of the community into the dominant one; or the use of a certain amount of pressure, which may result in language suffocation" (Batibo, 2005:96). An example of language suffocation comes from the Maasai in eastern Africa, who forbade those that they conquered to speak their mother tongue for fear of a revolt (Batibo, 2005: 11). Thus, those languages that were forcibly restricted or suffocated were reserved only for use during cultural activities, therefore many east African languages underwent suffocation or bottom-to-top language death, such as: Akie, Sonjo, Kwavi and Aasax (Batibo, 2005: 11). These two forms of gradual language death are sociolinguistic in nature as societal factors such as inequality and complex patterns of language use lead to the death of a language (Batibo, 2005: 94). Figure 3.2 below illustrates the processes of gradual and sudden language death in relation to the marked bilingualism model (Batibo, 2005:96).

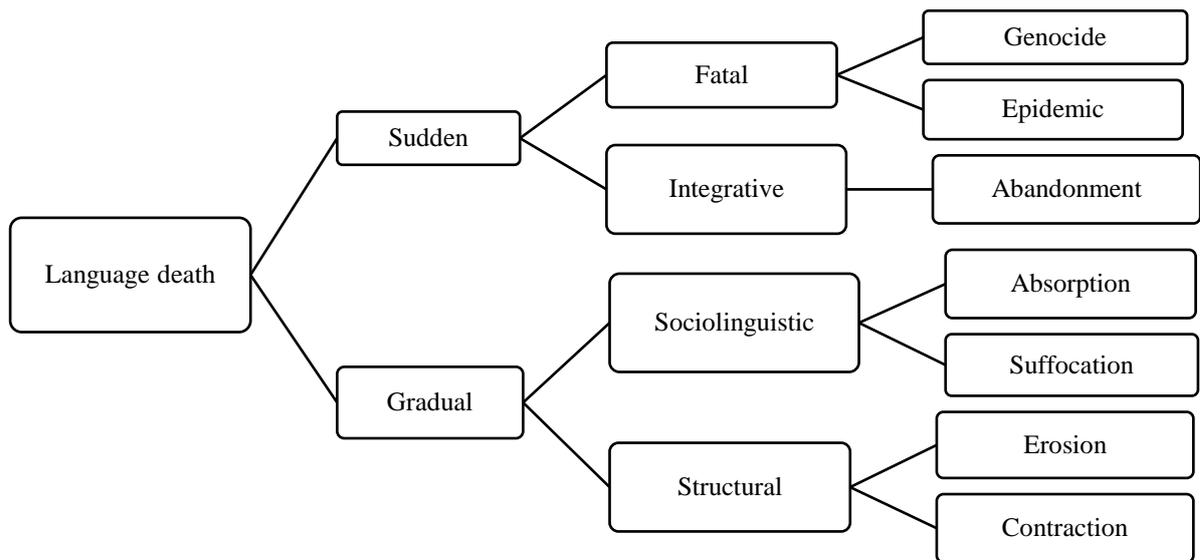


Figure 3.2: Potential scenarios of sudden and gradual language death

However, gradual language death can also be caused by the structural demise of a language, where a language is no longer functional due to either erosion which results from an oversimplification of its forms, or contraction, where the rules of a language are reduced so much that the language is no longer functional (Batibo, 2005, 96).

A case of bottom-to-top death, is where “a language ceases to be used as a medium of conversation, but may survive in special use like religion or folk songs” (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:248). In such cases the language is lost in domains of family and intimacy and is only used in elevated ritual contexts, such as a liturgical language, e.g. Latin, Classical Arabic or Tzeltal in Mexico (Hill: 1980 in Dorian, 1989:185) or the example mentioned above of the death of many east African languages due to the dominance of the Maasai. Top-to-bottom death occurs where there are two styles of a particular language and the one style is absorbed by the other due to changes in societal practices and therefore becomes defunct (Tsunoda, 2005:47). Language contact and shift is discussed in further detail in section 3.3.1.2 of this chapter.

In the case of sudden death, almost immediate extinction of a language takes place without an interim period of bilingualism (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:248). Sudden language death takes place over a comparatively short period of time, caused by events such as genocide, epidemic disease (radical or fatal death) or language abandonment (integrative death) (Batibo, 2005: 95-96, also compare Figure 3.2).

Batibo (2005:96) rather generically states that the most common cause for radical or fatal language death is genocide. He further explicates that such a fate affected “[...] the Khoesan

groups in southern Africa when the Bantu communities moved in more than 1000 years ago”. Prins (2009) elaborates a similar assessment by way of a more specific example, i.e. the language loss of the Drakensberg’s Secret San. In this instance, due to genocide of the Drakensberg San by local Bantu groups from South Africa and Lesotho, the remaining speakers of the language abandoned their language, ||Xegwi, out of self-preservation (Prins, 2009). In such cases of radical language death which are due to political persecution “a community may opt, out of self-defence, to stop speaking their language. The last speakers are thus fluent in the dying language, but don’t actually use it or transmit it to their children” (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:248).

3.3.1.2 Causes of language shift

Causes of language shift are usually multiple and interrelated (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:249) therefore stories of language loss and eventual language death are seldom identical. Nevertheless, over the years, linguists have noticed trends in contributing factors to language decline: economic changes, demography, status and institutional support (Giles et al. 1977; Appel & Muysken 1987:32-45, Batibo, 2005: 51-60).

Economic changes and subsequent pressures associated with those changes, are pertinent factors when investigating language shift (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:249). Observations by linguists (Giles et al. 1977; Appel & Muysken 1987:32-45, Batibo, 2005: 51-60) reveal that industrialisation or the change from a local traditional, self-sufficient way of life to a westernised but dependant existence that involves unequal power dynamics, may result in language shift from the language of the subservient speech community to the language of the more dominant speech community.

Languages are most diverse and abundant in areas where small-scale economies revolve around a local and rich ecosystem (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:47). However, when “once-viable and autonomous speech communities are either destroyed or deprived of their traditional land and resettled with other groups who [do] not always share the same language” language shift and eventually language death occurs (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:248). Therefore, minority languages often die in urban environments because in such scenarios indigenous peoples and their languages are being assimilated into modern society.

Such a power dynamic between indigenous peoples and dominant, westernised societies is evident in Namibia, South Africa and Botswana where over the last century speakers of Khoesan languages have been forced from their traditional lands and into a transitional phase

where western economic practices have been adopted into their everyday life. These practices include: agropastoralism; village, reserve or settlement life; farming and herding; and wage labour and other forms of formal and informal employment (Smith et al. 2004:82).

Hence rapidly decreasing traditional habitats and external pressures partially account for global language attrition (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:48) whereas in cases where local resources are controlled by an indigenous community, languages are much more likely to be conserved (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:249). This means that in situations where an indigenous group maintains control of their traditional land or habitat, and way of life, language maintenance is likely to occur. The link between language vitality on the one hand, and near isolation from the immediate environment and a self-sufficient way of life on the other hand, was also noted by Dorian (1989:118) in relation to Albanian speakers of Greece:

Relative geographical isolation, along with a socio-economically self-sufficient way of life, played a decisive role in the retention of the language for a period of almost five centuries.

This concept is reiterated by Nettle and Romaine (2000:160):

This is not because traditional peoples have some mysterious essence that keeps them in harmony with nature [...] as some romantic portrayals of indigenous people imply. It is for the more practical reason that it is the traditional people who will have to stay around in the environment and make their living there.

Therefore, in order to protect speakers of indigenous minority languages, their indigenous environment also needs to be protected from other dominant groups (economically, politically, socially and environmentally). Should minority groups wish to be protected, such assistance usually comes from local government or legal aid via non-government organisations. Great success was achieved by the Ju|'hoansi in northern Namibia in 1991 when the new government of Namibia backed their land rights (Biesele & Hitchcock, 2013: xxviii). It was only later in 1998 that the Nyae Nyae Conservancy (NNC) was founded, the first conservancy on communal land in Namibia (Biesele and Hitchcock, 2013: xxviii). Since Nyae Naye Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN), now in conjunction with NNC, assists local !Xun and Ju|'hoansi; their mission being: "Support and empower the San people in Namibia to improve their quality of life economically and socially including land and human rights and the sustainable use of natural resources" (<http://www.nndfn.org/>: accessed: 01/08/2017). In South Africa, the #Khomani people launched a land claim under the new constitution in 1994. This

claim was to land in the southern Kalahari, most of which lies within the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. By March 1999, 40 000 ha of farmland outside of the park was awarded to the #Khomani and from then onwards language and cultural preservation projects have been on the rise (Chennells, 2001: 271). Therefore, both Namibia and South Africa have made positive advances in the return of ancestral land to first peoples since their independence; these in turn have resulted in land conservation as well as in cultural and linguistic initiatives.

The demography, or number of speakers of a particular language, appears to be a further, obvious factor for assessing the vitality of a language, i.e. the smaller the population size of speakers, the more endangered a given language. However absolute numbers of speakers cannot be looked at in isolation: distribution of those speakers is also critical to the survival of a language (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:250). For example, in 1996, Crawhall identified 25 speakers of N|uu, a Khoesan language from the Northern Cape of South Africa, that had previously been thought extinct (Sands et al. 2007a:55). Those 25 speakers were dispersed around the Northern Cape and hence were not in regular contact. In many cases, they were not even aware that there were other speakers of their language. Due to the small population size and sparse distribution of speakers, there are only three speakers of N|uu left today. It is plausible that, had those 25 speakers lived in the same village or town, the language would have been kept in use and might possibly have been transmitted to the next generation.

The third factor for assessing the vitality of a language relates to status or social inequality. Status refers to “differences between social groups in the social honour or prestige they are accorded by others. Status distinctions often vary independently of class divisions, and social honour may be either positive or negative” (Giddens, 1989: 212). A status may be fixed at birth (e.g. gender, wealth, ethnicity), or achieved (e.g. occupation prestige, political power). For example, wealth is used to confer high status; however, there are aristocratic families in Britain who have lost their wealth but still occupy a high status socially. The opposite can be said for ‘new money’ which is often looked down upon by the well-established wealthy (Giddens, 1989: 212). As discussed in Chapter 2, Khoesan language speakers have been marginalised and dispossessed in our history resulting in a low social status and lack of power. As a result, Khoesan languages have undergone language shift due to dominant social, economic and political pressures (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:250). For example, political pressure under the Apartheid regime in South Africa, and South-West Africa (now Namibia) resulted in the separation of the population according to race. Speakers of Khoesan languages and of various ethnicities, e.g. !Xun, Khwe, Ju|’hoansi, #Khomani, were not socially recognised by their

ethnicity but rather classified as ‘coloured’. During this time, not only were the ethnicities of Khoesan speakers denied but their languages were often banned too. In many of these cases language shift typically took place from the mother tongue (a Khoesan language) to Afrikaans (Mesthrie, 2008a: 331).

Lastly, the fourth contributing factor to language shift is the lack of institutional support. Institutional support of a minority language is closely linked to status. For example, the recognition of and assistance with the use of a minority language in education, religion, administration or the media can support the vitality of a language (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:250). In relation to education, in Namibia, Khoekhoegowab and Ju|’hoansi are recognised as languages of education (Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture, 2003:4). This recognition gives Khoekhoegowab and Ju|’hoansi an elevated status over other Khoesan languages in Namibia that are not recognised as languages of education, and puts both of these languages on an even par (in legislative terms, not necessarily in practice) as the other official languages of education. This elevated political status results in more literature being available in Khoekhoegowab and Ju|’hoansi than the remaining Khoesan languages spoken in Namibia. However, despite the state’s efforts to support Khoesan languages, student enrolment in Khoekhoegowab Studies at the University of Namibia are still very low (<http://allafrica.com/stories/201602191463.html>: accessed: 04/07/2017).

As discussed in Chapter 2, “A linguistic overview of !Xun and Khwedam in South Africa”, the South African constitution states that Khoesan languages must be promoted and conditions must be created for their development and use alongside all official languages. Therefore, the South African government is required to assist in the support, use and promotion of Khoesan languages (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: section 6:5). This recognition of Khoesan languages by the state has assisted in a political and social elevation of their status which is slowly assisting with bringing about positive social change for the speakers of these languages (see e.g. Chapter 2, section 2.4. *The San and self-representation in South Africa*). This process is however, very slow and years of misrepresentation require significant efforts to eradicate erroneous assumptions. Gross misconceptions of Khoesan languages and about their speakers in South Africa (see e.g. Chapter 2, section 2.3. *How !Xun and the Khwedam came to be in South Africa*) perpetrate misunderstandings of its First Peoples and a poor understanding of their needs and wants; a situation that exacerbates the challenges of language vitality programs.

3.3.1.3 Multilingualism and power

The term ‘language shift’ in sociolinguistics denotes the “change from the habitual use of one language to that of another” (Weinreich, 1968: 68). For language shift to take place, there must be a transitional period of bilingualism or multilingualism (Denison 1977: 16; Mougeon and Benaik 1989: 293; Sasse 1992: 12; Campbell, 1994:1961; Mesthrie 1994: 1990). However, I would point out that with !Xun and Khwedam speakers, as with many other indigenous minority peoples, bilingualism or multilingualism is the status quo and that language shift would only take place when there is an imbalance of power between a language pair (i.e. a dominant majority language versus a regressive minority language) (Dressler, 1988:1984). In other words, the trajectory of language death of !Xun and Khwedam is not that speakers were historically monolingual and only became multilingual or bilingual when their languages came under pressure, resulting in language shift. Rather, from the preliminary data collected in the pilot study referred to in Chapter 4, section 4.2 *Entré to speech communities in Platfontein*, I hypothesise that historically, multilingualism has been customary among !Xun and Khwedam speakers and that their mother tongue has been retained despite prolonged social, political and economic pressures. My hypothesis motivated my first research sub question:

What is the *historical sociolinguistic background* of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?

The data gathered in relation to the above research question is linked to the knowledge that participants have of their mother tongue in relation to the other languages in their repertoire, and their unique social contexts that have changed over the last five generations. For further explanation, see section 3.4.1 *Attitudes as knowledge*. Data was presented in Chapter 5 – Data stream 1 and discussed in Chapter 8, Discussion.

Examples of stable long term multilingualism among other indigenous peoples around the world are the Aboriginal Australians and Amazonian Indians. Aboriginal Australians were traditionally multilingual, and it was only when they were confronted with speakers of a politically and socially dominant language, English, that Aboriginal languages began to shift (Dixon, 1980:32). It was estimated that precolonial Australia had approximately 260 indigenous languages, today less than 100 languages survive with less than 20 spoken by young children (Nettle and Romaine, 2000:123). Research by Ponsonnet in 2011 (<http://www.sorosoro.org/en/2015/09/the-australian-tradition-of-multilingualism-and-the->

post-colonial-context/: accessed, 03/07/2017) confirms that multilingualism was traditionally a norm among Aboriginal Australians,

[...] individuals and groups did communicate and exchange goods, skills, spouses, and rituals across large regions by means of physical movements or by means of intermediaries, each group exchanging with its closest neighbours, weaving a fine social network. Multilingualism is both a condition and a result of such an exchange network. Among Australian indigenous people, learning several languages is usually considered a spontaneous process, occurring along the normal course of growing up and becoming an adult.

Today multilingualism in Aboriginal languages is rare, however, over 40 language centres have been established in Australia which play a pivotal role in the maintenance and even in some cases, revival of Aboriginal languages (Schmidt 1990; McGregor 1994; and McKay 1996, <http://www.rnld.org/languagecentres>: accessed, 03/01/2017). Language revival, another term coined by Fishman (1964:53) is the reversal of language shift from the dominant language back to the minority language.

Amazonian Indians found in the Vaupés area of Brazil and Colombia, are traditionally multilingual due to the practise of “tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe” (Sorensen, 1967: 670). In this instance, linguistic exogamy, is the practice of a man taking a wife who speaks a different language to himself (Gumperz, 1996:370). The result of tribal and linguistic exogamy among the Vaupés is that:

Almost every individual knows fluently three, four or more languages. [...] a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother’s language as well as in his father’s; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. [In the central part of the Northwest Amazon] is a large, culturally homogenous area where multilingualism – and polylingualism in the individual – is the cultural norm. (Sorensen, 1967: 670-671).

Some 40 years since Sorensen’s paper, follow up research was conducted to establish if linguistic exogamy is still practiced among the Vaupés. The results showed, that despite increased contact with colonial pressures, tribal and linguistic exogamy is still practiced: “it is obvious that the system still survives and that most of the defining characteristics and cultural categories persist despite a history of interference and enormous changes in the demographics

and lifestyles of individual participating groups” (Stenzel, 2005:24). This second example of multilingualism in indigenous minority communities shows that it is possible for the mother tongue and multilingualism to survive despite the presence of external pressures. Language shift to a more dominant language will not necessarily occur, if the mother tongue plays a significant role in the cultural practices and beliefs of the speakers, and if they have the means to adapt to diverge such external pressures.

3.3.2 Sociolinguistic factors associated with language attrition

Language attrition is “often considered to be a reversal of language acquisition” (i.e. the loss of a language, from various perspectives, versus the acquisition of language) and is discussed in the context of very diverse theoretical models and frameworks; amongst these are, e.g.: Jakobson’s regression hypothesis (Jakobson, 1941); Generative Grammar (Chomsky, 1981; Ingram 1989; Seliger & Vago 1991); and Psycholinguistics (Ammerlaan, 1996; Hulsen, 2000).

However, as this is a sociolinguistic study, my focus on language attrition will be from a sociolinguistic perspective. Language attrition, according to Schmid and de Bot (2004: 218-219) is:

[...] only partly determined by internal linguistic factors. [...] However, external and social factors also play a role. Such factors comprise sociolinguistic variables like age, gender, education etc. as well as length of time elapsed since the onset of attrition. However, language attrition might also be influenced by factors which operate on the level of society, and these are far more elusive to describe, determine and operationalize. Such factors can largely be subsumed under theories of prestige, (ethnic) identity, and assimilation.

Sociolinguistic factors or extra-linguistic factors that contribute towards language attrition can be grouped into three categories: language use, the cultural context of the immigrant⁴, and attitude, motivation and identity (Köpke, 2007: 23-25). They play a considerable role in the predication of language attrition by describing to what extent, and what type of language death is likely to occur.

⁴ In this instance the !Xun are immigrants from Angola and Namibia and the Khwe are immigrants from Namibia.

3.3.2.1 Language use and functional language domains

Firstly, language use can be considered a fundamental variable at the crossroad where psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of language attrition meet (de Bot, 2001: 65). From a psycholinguistic perspective, language use is associated with activation and inhibition of language whereas from a sociolinguistic perspective frequency of language use is seen as a predicting factor for language attrition (Köpke, 2007: 23). Logically, speakers who frequently use their mother tongue are less likely to lose their mother tongue than speakers who make little use of their mother tongue.

One way of assessing language use is from a functional domain perspective where one can identify in which domains the mother tongue is used most, and in which functional domains the mother tongue is used least often. However, frequency of language use is not the only aspect of language use that is consequential but quality of use and type of contact are equally important (Myers-Scotton, 2007: 61).

The assessment of language use from a functional domain perspective assists in addressing why a language is or is not transferred from one generation to the next (Adegbija 1993:167; Myers-Scotton 1993:36; Romaine, 2000:44, 7; Holmes, 2013:21). Language shift as a result of intergenerational language loss is expected when languages compete for functional allocations or domains (Bokamba, 2008:119). In the field of sociolinguistics, Fishman highlighted that different settings potentially allow for the use of different languages in each setting in a multilingual society. He defined domains as:

[...] regardless of their number, in terms of institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interaction that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors (Fishman, 1972: 19).

Typically, speech communities navigate various social domains which organise and define social life, for example: family, education, employment, and religion (Holmes, 2008:21). Each domain comprises of domain-specific factors, namely: addressee(s), setting and topic (Holmes, 2008:21). These factors result in code choices for each domain, in that each domain is associated with a language or variety or register that is regarded appropriate or suitable for use and is used to identify widespread sociocultural norms and expectations (Swann, 2009a:154). Examples of domains of language use are laid out in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Examples of domains of language use (based on Holmes, 2008:21).

Domains of language use			
Domain	Addressee	Setting	Topic
family	parent	home	planning a family member's birthday party
religion	priest	church	choosing the Sunday sermon
education	teacher	school	solving a maths problem
employment	employer	workplace	applying for a promotion

The identification of which domains are “safe” (monopolised by the minority or endangered language) and which domains are not (monopolised by the dominant language) may provide a scope for suggestions of language revitalisation and maintenance of the minority language in the future. For example, studies of language use from a functional domain approach, informed language revitalisation efforts in Wales with great success (Morris, 2013:46).

3.3.2.2 The cultural context of the immigrant and intergenerational language transmission

The relationship between cognition and culture is described by Sperber and Hirschfeld's theory (2007) where they claim that culture emerges from Social Cognitive Causal Chains (SCCC) creating semantic relationships between people (Köpke, 2007: 23). According to this theory SCCCs include linguistic and pragmatic input or norms (cf. Smith & van Buren, 1991). Therefore, Köpke (2007: 24) claims that “immigrants are cut off from the SCCCs of the L1 community and no longer have any support in stabilizing their L1 representations and practise. [...] The input, or lack thereof, of the L1 community would hence be the critical factor in L1 attrition”. One way of assessing cultural or language transfer from one generation to the next is to describe the intergenerational language transmission of the given language. (Further discussion on intergenerational language transfer, see section 3.3.1.2 *Intergenerational language transmission*). However, language use and language contact with the L1 community in the home country versus other immigrants in the host country are not the only factors that affect language attrition (Köpke, 2007: 23). One also needs to consider attitudes towards the mother tongue by its speakers.

According to Grenoble and Whaley (2006:6), “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). 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), see Table 3.5 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, 2006: 6). Krauss (1997:26) presents a finer grained description of potential scenarios reproduced in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Potential scenarios of intergenerational language degradation, (Krauss, 1997:26)

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

The scenarios in Table 3.3 can be used descriptively in language vitality assessment to categorise the state of intergenerational language transmission. Once the grade of intergenerational language degradation is established, one needs to understand reasons as to why such intergenerational language transmission patterns occur, in order to make informed recommendations for language maintenance and revitalisation efforts. Current research by Köpke and Schmid (2004), Vigouroux and Mufwene (2008), Grenoble and Whaley (2006) as well as Chebanne (2016) and Sands (forthcoming) identify attitudes, motivations and identities as the most common factors that lead to a disruption of intergenerational language transfer, as discussed in section 3.3.2.3 *Attitudes, motivations and identities*. Each of these factors will vary according to the unique context of each speech community around the world. Language attitudes have been emphasised as one of the most important factors e.g. by Swadesh (1948), Sasse (1992), Bradley (2001), and Batibo (2008) and are thus discussed in detail in section 3.4 *Language attitudes: Cognitive, affective and behavioural*.

3.3.2.3 Attitudes, motivations and identities

Cherciov, (2012:716) suggests that attitude is generally considered one of the most influential factors for first language (L1) attrition. According to Köpke, (2007: 25), “Attitudinal factors include a complex variety of values attributed by the community [...] to the languages (L1 and L2) as well as issues like bilingualism, immigration, [and] integration [...] will in all cases have some influence [...] on the motivation to acquire L2 and/or to maintain L1”. External factors such as socio-economic context or ideological context can affect speakers’ motivation for language use (Dressler, 1991:103). For example: In a socioeconomic context, the recessive speech community (e.g. speakers of Khoesan languages) is subordinate to the dominant speech community (e.g. speakers of Afrikaans, in South Africa) (Traill, 2002:27-28). An example of an ideological context would be the case of different groups of immigrants in Israel: The exclusive use of Hebrew was an ideological imperative at the time when Francophone immigrants arrived in Israel. Whereas in more recent times Russian immigrants have retained their mother tongue in the home as they have economic and instrumental reasons to motivate their language use (Ben-Rafael & Schmid, 2007: 205). “Patterns of language choice reflect language attitudes. Therefore, in cases of language shift one has to investigate underlying changes in attitudes towards the languages involved, namely the abandoned language and the target language” (Kaufman & Thomason 1988; Brenzinger, 1992:4).

Motivation for language use is associated with the activation threshold hypothesis which asserts that: (1) a language that is not used will gradually become a language that is lost; (2) those elements that are most frequently of the L2 usually replace their less used L1 equivalents; (3) language comprehension is retained for longer than language production because self-activation necessitates a lower threshold than comprehension (Paradis, 2007:125). Paradis (2007:128) states that “Motivation/affect may play an important role by influencing the activation threshold. Thus attrition may be accelerated by a negative emotional attitude toward L1, which will raise the L1 activation threshold. It may be retarded by a positive emotional attitude toward L1, which will lower its activation threshold.”

Other aspects that may affect motivation can be linked to age, education or gender. For example, from a psycholinguistic perspective, when investigating L1 loss in an L2 environment it is necessary to consider the age at the onset of bilingualism of the selected speakers versus the age of the onset of attrition (Köpke & Schmid, 2004:9). There is an accumulation of evidence that suggests that an L1 system can be eroded dramatically if the attrition process takes place

well before adolescence (e.g. Vago 1991; Kaufman & Aronoff 1991; Seliger 1991; Turian & Altenberg 1991; de Bode 1996; Isurin 2000a; Isurin 2000b; Schmitt 2001; Nicoladis & Grabois 2002).

The variable education, “has been reported to be a highly significant variable in studies on language maintenance and loss” (Yagmur, 2004:152). This is contested by Schmid and de Bot (2004: 219) who state “Very little research has been devoted to the influence of the education level on language attrition.” Results from studies that include education as an independent variable in relation to language attrition are contradictory. For example, in a study by Jaspaert and Kroon (1989: 92) education was flagged as the most important determining factor for language loss. Whereas in Köpke’s study (1999:204) the level of education of participants did not show significant results in relation to attrition at all.

“Within the context of research on language attrition, gender has not been investigated as an independent variable” (Schmid & de Bot, 2004: 221). However, many studies on language change and variation show that the gender of the participants’ can be an important sociolinguistic factor (e.g. Swann, 2009b: 213). Unlike the other sociolinguistic factors discussed in this section, findings on gender in relation to language attrition are culture or context specific and cannot be considered universal (Schmid & de Bot, 2004: 221). For example, in a cultural context where men are more likely to seek work outside of the home or of their own community than women, it would be expected that women maintain their mother tongue whereas men acquire additional languages found in the work place (Yagmur, 1997:19). Therefore, men could have a different language repertoire to women in each community.

Lastly, identity is related to group membership which is determined by a number of complex characteristics, attitudes and behaviours (some discussed above), many of which (e.g. age, gender and ethnicity) are beyond the individual’s control (Schmid & de Bot, 2004: 223). Linguistic behaviour, however, is to some extent, a behaviour that an individual does have the power to control or change. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985:181), “Acts of Identity”, states that an individual will conform to patterns of linguistic behaviour in order to resemble the group of people to which she/he wants to belong. Therefore, one of the most important markers of identity is said to be language behaviour (Giles et al., 1977:325; Edwards, 1985: 96). In the context of immigration or forced movement from one geographical area to another, the attitudes imposed on the new arrivals by established residents are often accompanied by stereotyped notions that these newcomers are of lower status (Schmid & de Bot, 2004: 223).

Immigrants or newcomers can respond to such negative attitudes with a strong desire to assimilate to the dominant community as quickly as possible (Yagmur, 1997: 31). Therefore, they abandon their mother tongue for the language of the dominant community. Alternatively, as a conscious act of defiance against the dominant community, the immigrant community can “flaunt” their mother tongue to exhibit pride and unity in their group membership or ethnicity (Giles et al. 1977: 323, 331). The link between language and ethnicity was established by the likes of Edwards (1985:6), Fishman (1989:5), and Giles et al., (1977: 331). In relation to minority languages, speakers base their sense of ethnic identity on language, i.e. to be considered Mohawk one must be able to speak Mohawk (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006:91).

3.3.3 Language vitality assessment

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, 2006: 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 (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, 2003) as well as a better understanding of language maintenance and revitalisation (Bradley, 2001).

3.3.3.1 Scale for language vitality

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 3.4. The EGIDS label included in Table 3.4 is associated with the status of a language as discussed in section 3.3.1.2 *Causes of language shift*.

Table 3.4: Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Simons & Lewis, 2010)

EGIDS Level	EGIDS Label	EGIDS Description	UNESCO Descriptor	UNESCO factor
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	Safe	4 (existing domains)
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at a nationwide level.	Safe	4 (existing domains)
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	Safe	4 (existing domains)
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe	4 (existing domains)
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe	6 (literacy domains)
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe	6 (literacy domains)
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe	1 (intergenerational language transmission)
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	1 (intergenerational language transmission)
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	1 (intergenerational language transmission)
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely endangered	1 (intergenerational language transmission)
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	1 (intergenerational language transmission)
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct	4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct	4, grade 1 (Highly limited domains)

Since Fishman’s initial publication on GIDS in 1991, it has subsequently been used in the vitality assessment of languages around the world, (Lewis et al., accessed 05/02/2017). The

[E]GIDS obviously does not account for the underlying reasons for any disruption in intergenerational language transmission, nor does it take into account any contextual information (e.g. demographics, or location) or external pressures (e.g. socioeconomic status, political status). In relation to this study, I am both interested in the intergenerational language transmission of !Xun and Khwedam and in the associated context which influences language vitality as a whole, most especially language attitudes.

3.3.3.2 UNESCO’s evaluative factors for language vitality

The Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) developed a Language Vitality and Endangerment document (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, 2003). This document highlights nine major evaluative factors for the measurement of language vitality. Some of the indicated factors, namely 2-8, assist with providing contextual information associated with intergenerational language transmission that provide a deeper understanding of the situation of a given language.

I argue, in relation to this study that factor 8, community members’ attitude toward their own language, is a key determiner for the vitality of !Xun and Khwedam. My argument is in agreement with Grenoble and Whaley’s (1998:24) comment that “the subjective attitudes of a speech community towards its own and other languages are paramount for predicting language shift”.

Table 3.5: UNESCOs thirteen major evaluative factors for language vitality (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003, Minasyan, 2011:2)

Factor	Description
1	Intergenerational transmission
2	Absolute number of speakers
3	Proportion of speakers within the total population
4	Trends in existing language domains
5	Response to new domains and media
6	Materials for language education and literacy
7	Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use
8	Community members’ attitude toward their own language
9	Amount and quality of documentation
10	Status of language programs

11	Distribution of the language community: concentrated, mixed or scattered
12	Degree of internal variation of the language
13	Distribution of languages transnationally

These UNESCO language vitality assessment factors, see Table 3.5 above, have widely been attested (Jones, 2013:20, accessed 16/07/2016; Tsung, 2014:154; Grant, 2014:110, Lewis et al., accessed 05/02/2017). In 2011 the first nine factors were then revised to 13 by UNESCO and their Ad hoc group of linguists (Minasyan, 2011:2). The collection of accurate data pertinent to each factor in order to evaluate the vitality of a language is a potentially challenging, costly and a time-consuming endeavour. Nonetheless, an assessment of each of the nine evaluative factors will give a description of the given language and highlight areas that require immediate attention over others, should a revitalisation effort result from the assessment. However, at this point, the methodologies employed in such evaluative exercises are not standardised (Jones, 2013:20, accessed 16/07/2016; Tsung, 2014:154; Grant, 2014:110; Lewis et al., accessed 05/02/2017), and rightly so, as each language presents a unique context that offers different challenges (Jones, 2013:20, accessed 16/07/2016; Tsung, 2014:154; Grant, 2014:110; Lewis et al., 05/02/2017).

3.4 Language attitudes: Cognitive, affective and behavioural

Many previous studies on ethno-linguistic vitality focus on a particular group of people and their attitudes towards their own culture and language (Giles et al, 1977; Cargile, Giles, Ryan, & Bradac, 1994; and Ihemere, 2006). This perspective when combined with the work of Smolicz (1981), Yamamoto, Brenzinger and Villalon (2008), Fernando, Valijarvi, and Goldstein (2010) and Parianou (2010) whose research shows that language has a core cultural value, provides a strong foundation for the potential development of a language attitude and revitalisation theory. The term ‘core values’ was introduced by Smolicz (1981) as:

Core values can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group’s culture. They generally represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership. Rejection of core values carries with it the threat of exclusion from the group. [...] Core values are singled out for special attention because they provide the indispensable link between the

group's cultural and social systems; in their absence both systems would suffer eventual disintegration (Smolicz, 1981:75).

Language is a core cultural value that is regarded as a key component to group identity, especially in relation to language maintenance (Smolicz, 1999: 105). Therefore, there is potentially a link between language attitudes and language maintenance.

According to Mufwene (2008: 256), increased prestige and dominance of “glocal” languages (dominant languages in the local area, e.g. Swahili in Tanzania, Lingala in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Town Bemba in Zambia and Wolof in Senegal) are responsible for the decline in minority languages and not necessarily global languages. He goes on to state:

The overemphasis on worldwide economic globalization as the primary cause of language loss has prevented any fruitful comparisons between, on the one hand, recent and current evolutions and, on the other, what must have occurred during the earliest political and economic hegemonies in the history of mankind (Mufwene, 2008: 206).

Glocal languages are used as lingua francas in African communities which may result in marginalisation and low prestige of minority languages (Batibo, 2008: 1). Consecutively, many minority language speakers develop negative attitudes towards their own language(s), which may result in limited intergenerational language transmission and may ultimately lead to language shift from the mother tongue to a glocal language. In the case of !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein there may be a potential language shift towards Afrikaans, which is the glocal language in the area.

The study of language attitudes, in linguistics as well as social psychology (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Potter and Westherell, 1987; McKenzie, 2010), is a large and diverse field encompassing social dialectology (Preston, 1999; Bex & Watts, 1999; Garrett et al., 2003), ethnographic studies (Philipsen and Carbaugh, 1986; Robinson-Stuart, 1996; McCarty, 2011;), language and education (Stubbs, 1976; Lasagabaster & Huguet 2007; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009), as well as language policy (Ricento, 2000; Marley, 2004; Wright, 2016). According to Coronel-Molina (2009:9), “Different researchers in various fields (such as linguistics, social psychology, and sociology) focus on these different areas, and hence their definitions of language attitude reflect their perspectives. This explains in part why, as several researchers above noted, there is no one accepted definition of language attitudes.”

According to Baker (1992:15) attitudes were mostly studied from the behaviourist perspective during the 1960s (e.g. McGuire, 1968; Wicker, 1969). However, after the 1960s, the study of attitudes and language attitudes especially, diversified and became more interdisciplinary, combining techniques found in linguistics, sociology and psychology. In keeping with this trend, this study acknowledges that there are different types of language attitudes namely: cognitive, affective and behaviourist (Baker, 1992:15). In other words, language attitudes are understood as being multi-componential, encompassing cognitive (the individual's belief structure, knowledge and perceptions), affective (the individual's emotional reactions and feelings) and conative or behavioural (the individual's tendency to behave in a certain way) aspects (Ladegaard, 2000:216; McKenzie, 2010: 22-23; Parianou, 2010: 165). One of the most advantageous traits of a tripartite model of attitudes is that it allows for ambivalent attitudes to exist, thereby acknowledging the complexity of language attitude studies (McKenzie, 2010: 24). For example, an individual may believe that mother tongue education is good but at the same time the same individual may not insist that their child attend a school where the child's mother tongue is the medium of instruction.

According to Perloff (2003: 56) language attitude intensity needs to be taken into consideration as strong attitudes are more likely than weak attitudes to:

- a) affect judgements
- b) guide behaviour
- c) persist
- d) be resistant to change

Therefore, positive and strong language attitudes by speakers of endangered languages towards their mother tongue would lead to continued intergenerational language transmission.

The term 'language attitudes' encompasses a broad range of possible interpretations and therefore a number of varying scientific studies on the topic. Examples of such studies are mentioned in Baker (1992: 29-30):

- i) attitudes towards language variation, dialect and speech style
- ii) attitudes towards learning a new language
- iii) attitudes towards a specific minority language
- iv) attitudes towards language groups, communities and minorities
- v) attitudes towards language lessons
- vi) attitudes of parents towards language lessons

- vii) attitudes towards the uses of a specific language
- viii) attitudes towards language preference

According to Parianou (2010:167), “In a further effort, language attitudes should include attitudes towards language maintenance and planning”. In the case of this study, I am concerned with the language attitudes of !Xun speakers and Khwedam speakers who live in Platfontein towards their mother tongue. My study includes: iii) attitudes towards a specific minority language (i.e. !Xun and Khwedam), v) attitudes towards language lessons (specifically, mother tongue language lessons), vi) attitudes of parents towards language lessons (again, specifically, mother tongue language lessons), and viii) attitudes towards language preference (of either the mother tongue or Afrikaans from a functional domain approach) and attitudes towards maintenance and planning (of !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein). St Clair (1982:164) asserts that:

To understand fully how language attitudes develop, it may be necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation. These patterns of development may have once surfaced in the form of social movements and, even when these events are now a part of written record, their forces still remain [...] One area of sociolinguistic research not fully covered in the literature, however, is the role that such historical forces play in the creation of language attitudes.

More than ten years later, in relation to the quote above and in an African context Adegbija (1994: 29) states, “This last observation is particularly applicable to sub-Saharan Africa, in which, as noted earlier, works relating to language attitudes are particularly few.” According to Sands (forthcoming) research into language attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa is only just beginning to emerge for example in Cameroon (Mundt, 2016), Nigeria (Senayon, 2016) and Sudan (Garri & Mugaddam, 2015). In relation to Khoesan languages, Sands (forthcoming) provides examples of language attitudes studies, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, namely, Tjwao (Ndlovu, 2014; Anderson, et al. 2014, Phiri, 2015) and N|uu (<http://www.digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/%E2%80%A1khomani-san-hugh-brody>: Accessed 30/01/2017). However, these studies focus primarily on language documentation and community development in an attempt to positively affect language attitudes. My study on the other hand, aims to first describe and account for current language attitudes of !Xun and Khwedam speakers in Platfontein to establish whether such language documentation and community development initiatives would be welcome.

3.4.1 Attitudes as knowledge

The cognitive component of attitudes includes an individual's beliefs or knowledge about the world (McKenzie, 2010: 22; Parianou, 2010: 165). When investigating the concept of knowledge in relation to language attitudes, a researcher will differentiate between descriptive knowledge, involving one's perceptions of the world (e.g. that my mother tongue is endangered), and prescriptive knowledge (e.g. prayers to the ancestors should be done in the mother tongue) (McKenzie, 2010: 22). In this study, I am interested in descriptive knowledge that individuals have about their mother tongue in relation to the other languages in their repertoire. The assessment of the participants' descriptive knowledge about their L1 (Khwedam or !Xun) in a multilingual context, helps me to examine whether they cognitively anticipate a language shift from their L1 to Afrikaans. The investigation of this component of language attitudes provides evidence for research sub-question (i):

i): What is the *historical sociolinguistic background* of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?

My approach to language attitudes is similar to what St Clair (1982:164) with regards to investigating language attitudes from a historical sociolinguistic perspective. The relevance of a historical sociolinguistic perspective was also acknowledged by Bradley (2013:2), "A further important factor in determining attitudes is the historicity of the minority language." In previous studies in language vitality assessment (Giles et al, 1977; Cargile, Giles, Ryan, & Bradac, 1994; and Ihemere, 2006) or in language attitudes studies (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Stubbs, 1976; Philipsen & Carbaugh, 1986; Potter & Westherell, 1987; Robinson-Stuart, 1996; Preston, 1999; Bex & Watts, 1999; Ricento, 2000; Garrett et al., 2003; Marley, 2004; Lasagabaster & Huguet 2007; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; McKenzie, 2010; McCarty, 2011; Wright, 2016), a historical sociolinguistic account has been acknowledged as an important part of understanding the context of language vitality or language attitudes.

In this study, I provide a historical account of Khoesan languages based on the literature and feedback from South African San Institute (SASI) reports and the !Xun and Khwe language board in Chapter 2. However, in addition, I am interested in the knowledge that participants have about their own historical sociolinguistic context. I anticipate that my results will assist with providing a description of the historical sociolinguistic context of !Xun and Khwedam speakers across the generations of each participating family from the unique perspective of the participants. Such a description of historical sociolinguistic contexts has not explicitly been

referred to as ‘knowledge’ in the literature, however, it is my opinion that this reference highlights information held by speakers that is usually incorporated as part of the contextual background of the study. Ladegaard (2000: 216) stated that the knowledge component of language attitudes can comprise of recognisable features which he lists as the following: “Knowledge about and experience with: language varieties, language use in a regional and social perspective, and own language usage”. Therefore, the position taken in this study towards knowledge is similar to that of Ladegaard (2000). I intend to contribute to this line of research by foregrounding participants’ knowledge of their historical sociolinguistic context.

3.4.2 Attitudes as emotion

The affective component of attitudes or language attitudes involves an emotional response to the attitudinal object, e.g. a love for traditional dancing (McKenzie, 2010: 22). One of the most important factors underlying continued transfer of a language from one generation to the next is “the [emotional] value assigned to the language by the speakers themselves” (Ravindranath, 2009:9). The investigation of this component of language attitudes contributes to answering research sub-question (ii):

- ii) What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?

I am interested in the emotional reactions that individuals have towards the various languages in their repertoire – most specifically their mother tongue – and I would like to ascertain whether emotional reactions are influenced by the different domains that these languages compete in.

3.4.3 Attitudes as behaviour

The final component of language attitudes, the conative or behavioural component, refers to an individual’s predisposition to behave in a particular way, e.g. singing in Afrikaans at church. According to Brenzinger and Dimmendaal (1992:4) “Patterns of language choice reflect language attitudes. Therefore, in cases of language shift one has to investigate underlying changes in attitudes towards the languages involved, namely the abandoned language and the target language.” I am interested in the behavioural predisposition that my participants have towards the use of the languages in their repertoire. The investigation of this component of language attitudes may enable me to answer research sub-question (iii):

- iii) What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?

Seminal studies (e.g. Edwards, 1992; Bradley, 2001; Choi, 2003; Gal, 2006) which investigate behavioural predispositions of speakers of minority languages in the past have found that speakers' knowledge or beliefs and emotional responses to the target language affected language behaviour, i.e. their language use (Allard & Laundry, 1992: 172). For example, sociohistorical knowledge of Amazonian Indians from the Vaupés area show that speakers have come under increased political pressure since the 1960s which had the potential to negatively affect their multilingual way of life (Sorensen, 1967:670). However, their strong positive emotional response towards their multilingual cultural practise has resulted in the continued practice of exogamy and therefore their language use or behaviour has for the most part been maintained (Stenzel, 2005:24).

The results of various language attitude studies indicate that each unique context for each language investigated, will yield results specific to that context and cannot be overly generalised to all endangered languages in all countries around the world as each context is unique. Therefore, the results from this study are comparable to other language attitude studies in the theory or methodology employed however the results are likely to be unique to the given context; namely language attitudes of !Xun and Khwedam speakers, in Platfontein, South Africa.

3.5 Summary

Language endangerment is a worldwide phenomenon. However, language endangerment in Africa has only recently received the interest of academics and other associated parties (Sands, forthcoming). The causes of language attrition in the multilingual context of southern Africa have not been thoroughly investigated. From a sociolinguistic perspective causes of language shift and eventually language death are associated with factors such as language use and functional language domains, the cultural context of the immigrant and intergenerational language transmission, as well as attitude, motivation and identities.

Language attitudes are considered an important contributing factor to the vitality of a language. Although language attitudes are a widely studied phenomenon in a number of academic fields, for the purposes of this study I have identified language attitudes to comprise of the following: knowledge (historical sociolinguistic context of speakers), emotion (the emotional reactions to the use of the mother tongue by their speakers) and behaviour (language use from a functional domain perspective of the mother tongue). Each of these components relates to a research sub-

question in this study. A synthesis of the results is expected to provide a description of the language attitudes of !Xun and Khwedam speakers from an intergenerational perspective. Finally a language vitality assessment can be made of !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein and in turn, I can then make informed recommendations for language revitalisation and maintenance for both languages.

4. Methodology

4.1 Chapter outline

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and substantiate the methodological context and approach to this study. The following topics are expanded upon and clarified within this chapter: entrée to speech communities in Platfontein, the methodological context, participant selection, methods and instruments used for the collection and analysis of data streams 1, 2, and 3, merging of the three given data streams, principles underlying the selection of translators, challenges for validity and finally, ethical issues and procedures.

4.1.1 Introduction and contextualisation

The context for the development of this research study is informed by the literature and the theories that are critically discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. This study investigates the language attitudes of !Xun and Khwe speakers in Platfontein with the aim to discover whether and in which way language attitudes influence language usage patterns and inter-generational language transfer in these two communities. The focus on language attitudes is motivated by the observation that in language vitality assessment tools, language attitudes appear as a common thread throughout and are considered a vital component for language vitality assessment (Fishman, 1991; Brenzinger et al., 2003; Simons & Lewis 2010).¹

4.1.2 Research questions

This study investigates the language attitudes of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontein and how these affect intergenerational language transfer and thereby language vitality. The main research question relates to point A in Figure 4.1 and research sub-questions: i, ii and iii refer to points B, C, and D respectively. The response to the main research question is drawn from the investigations made in response to the three research sub-questions. The methods and procedure relating to each research sub-question are discussed in detail at: 4.5 *Data stream 1: Language Life Stories (contextual knowledge)*, for research sub-question i (point B), 4.6. *Data stream 2: Feelings towards language (emotional reactions)*, for research sub-

¹ The language attitudes referred to in this instance are the language attitudes of speakers of endangered languages towards their mother tongue.

question ii (point C) and 4.7. *Data stream 3: Domain specific language use (behavioural predisposition)*, for research sub-question iii (point D).

Main research question:

What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?

Research sub-questions:

- i) What is the *historical sociolinguistic background* of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?
- ii) What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?
- iii) What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?

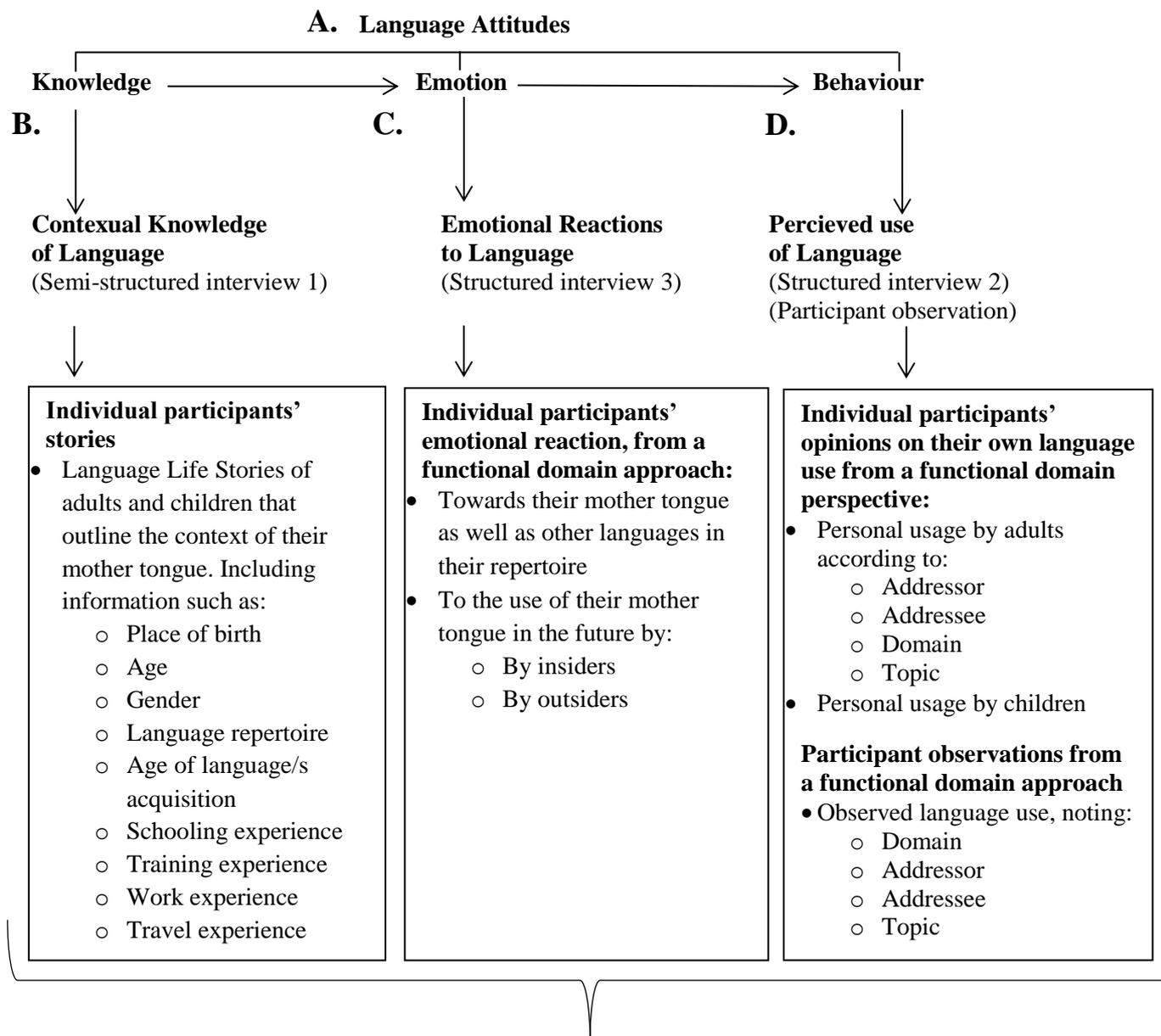


Figure 4.1: Social attitudes towards language: An intergenerational perspective of endangered languages.

4.2 Entré to speech communities in Platfontein

In 2010, first contact with the two speech communities under investigation was established in order to gain experience working with translators and different members of the two communities. The aim was for me to familiarise myself with the research site and to gain a basic understanding of the language repertoire of the residents of Platfontein. The data pertaining to the language repertoire of the local residents is useful for this study as it provides

an overview of the potential languages that participants could refer to during their account of their *Language Life Stories*. This first visit to Platfontein provided me with necessary background information regarding the language repertoire of the community and motivated me to develop the current research.

4.2.1 Exploratory data collection

The exploratory data collection was very flexible in design in order to best facilitate communication between the residents of Platfontein and I. After familiarising myself with the community I conducted 111 informal interviews with both the !Xun (44) and the Khwe (57) regarding their personal background and language repertoire. My further objective was to assess how I would be able to minimise the “observer’s paradox” (Labov, 1972b: 209) and identify noteworthy domains of social interaction or language use within each community.

4.2.2 Pertinent feedback

The outcomes from the exploratory data collection are summarised and categorised into the following themes: the language repertoires of the participants, interactions between researchers and the Platfontein residents, interactions between the participants, translators, and myself and an overview of communal spaces and daily activities.

4.2.2.1 Basic language repertoires, represented generationally

Language repertoires were grouped according to ethnicity and represented generationally, as seen in Table 4.1. There were 57 Khwe interviewed of which 26 were female and 31 male. Additional languages that were mentioned by Khwe participants, in order of frequency among participants were: Afrikaans, English, !Xun, Portuguese, Mbukushu, Barakhwena (Kwena) and Tswana. In comparison, there were 44 !Xun interviewed of which 24 were female and 20 male. Additional languages that were mentioned by !Xun participants, in order of frequency among participants were: Afrikaans, Khwedam, English, Portuguese, Chokwe, Tswana, Kanga, Sesotho, Luchasi, Xhosa, Zulu, Kimbundu, Ju!’hoansi, Herero, Kayundu, Kwanjama, Chiembutu and Mchavie. Across both ethnicities males had a larger language repertoire than females, this could be due to their military training and employment in the private security sector. Even though male informants overall seem to have a larger language repertoire than the female informants, the majority of participants – females and males alike – speak and

understand three languages or more. In terms of intergenerational transfer, all Khwe claimed to speak Khwe as their first language and all !Xun identified !Xun as their first language. Therefore, multilingualism is anticipated in the *Language Life Stories* collected for the purposes of this study. Additionally, it was noted that further information was needed on the contextual background of multilingual participants as well as any evidence of language shift or assimilation to another language

Table 4.1: Table to show additional languages to the mother tongue, in order of frequency, represented generationally.

Age	Khwe	!Xun
0-13	!Xun, Afrikaans	Sesotho, Chokwe, Tswana, Afrikaans, Kangela, English
14-21	Afrikaans, English, !Xun, Mbukushu	Afrikaans, Khwe, English, Chokwe, Sesotho, Zulu, Xhosa, Kangela
22-45	Afrikaans, English, !Xun, Portuguese, Mbukushu, Tswana	Afrikaans, Khwe, English, Portuguese, Tswana, Luchasi, Ju 'hoansi, Hereo, Mchavie
46-65	Afrikaans, !Xun, Portuguese, Barakhwena	Portuguese, Afrikaans, Khwe, Chokwe, Kangela, Tswana, Kimbundu, Kwamjama, Chiembutu
65+	(No Khwe over the age of 65 were interviewed) ²	Portuguese, Afrikaans, Kangela, English, Kimbundu, Kayundu

4.2.2.2 Interactions between researchers and Platfontein residents

With regards to accepting an outsider into the community, many community members were very sceptical. They asked for money after interacting with me, suggested having their photo taken in exchange for money and interrogated me about who I represent. It was reported by many community members that they felt used by researchers and that researchers only “come to get what they need and then leave”. Overall it may be noted, that the community is over-researched, as discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5.1 *The Platfontein San as an over-researched group*). Many community members are familiar with what researchers are and the kinds of questions they ask. From this account, it became imperative for this research study to develop long standing relationships with community members and to get involved, as much as possible, in local activities. This was achieved by joining the South African San Institute (SASI) on language related matters and issues, joining a women’s traditional dance group and attending as many local festivals and events as possible. Since 2010, I have developed social relationships with several members of the community both !Xun and Khwe and I keep in contact with many

² In the case of this pilot study, I did not come across any Khwe participants that lived in Platfontein and were over the age of 65.

of them via social networks. A relationship with community members beyond the scope of this research study has helped gain trust and confidence among community members and myself.

4.2.2.3 Interactions between participants, a translator and the researcher

Finding members of the community who were willing to be translators was not a difficult task as the unemployment rate in Platfontein is very high and many people are looking for work. It was suggested by SASI, to use translators that they recommended for the first time working in the field. Thereafter I was able to establish my own relationships and select appropriate translators myself. It was noted that during the interview process it was best to interview male participants with a male translator and female participants with a female translator when at all possible as this was the preference of most participants. This information was incorporated into the methodology of this research study.

4.2.2.4 Overview of communal spaces in Platfontein

Finally, the location itself has various communal spaces: several churches, a SASI office, a local library, a local radio station, two large trading stores and several small trading stores run out of people's homes, local 'shebeens' (illegal bars or places where locally homebrewed alcohol is sold), a clinic, two kindergartens, the !Xunkhwesa school, an outdoor carpenters' workshop, soccer fields, netball fields, a large graveyard, communal gardens on the outskirts of the village and a social development centre called IsiBindi. Neighbouring Platfontein, on the outskirts of Kimberley are: The Kimberley Correctional Centre (a large medium security prison), Kimberley's local garbage dump and a large Tswana township called Galeshewe. The relationship between Platfontein and Galeshewe is hostile due to competition over local resources. The identification of the various communal spaces in Platfontein is important for the investigation of domain specific language use; the communal spaces were taken into consideration when designing the interview schedules for the purposes of this study. The geographical context of Platfontein provides a basic understanding of the resources available locally as well as what surrounds Platfontein at the periphery. This information is helpful in understanding explanations that participants provide regarding their daily routines and activities which were further investigated for the purposes of this study.

4.2.2.5 Preliminary negative socio-economic observations in Platfontein

Some preliminary observations were made in Platfontein which gave an indication of the socio-economic activity of the community. It was noted that alcohol abuse is prevalent on the weekends as the majority of the community members get paid or their financial government support is received fortnightly on a Friday. Open displays of alcohol abuse were noted (e.g. people walking around with 2 litre coke bottles filled with ‘tombo’ (locally homebrewed alcohol) and drinking in the streets. Physical violence among community members was also commonplace and was recorded almost on a daily basis (e.g. stoning, spousal abuse, stabbing, beating and suicide). According to the local clinic HIV-infections, tuberculosis and teenage pregnancy are primary concerns as well as an increased amount of drug abuse among the youth.

As a consequence of the high unemployment rate and possibly also as a reflection of drug related crime, property theft has become a problem in Platfontein. For example, a visitors’ camp was built with basic facilities as a way of generating income for the community. Unfortunately, the fence that surrounds the campsite has been stolen several times and the facilities have repeatedly been vandalised. Hence the visitors’ camp is not a safe place to stay and has consequently become an abandoned facility. Therefore, I chose to live in nearby Kimberley for the duration of the various fieldtrips and visits to Platfontein but worked in Platfontein during the day and on selected weekends. The observations of social decay due to poverty were important to note in order to be sensitive towards participants and their daily life challenges in the planning and conducting of fieldwork activities for this study.

4.2.2.6 Preliminary positive socio-economic observations in Platfontein

Furthermore, I noted positive actions in the community’s daily routines such as: women making beaded goods, traditional dance groups practicing their routines, people collecting firewood, goats and other small livestock being herded, children playing in the streets, singing groups practising for church or recording their songs at the local radio station, children walking to and from school, elderly women practising subsistence gardening and men carving and working with wood. These observations were helpful in the development of the interview schedules for the purposes of this study. Particularly in relation to domain specific language use with reference to specific settings and associated context within that setting. For example, one domain of language use would be *religion*, the setting would be *in the church* and the associated context would be *singing*.

4.2.3 Summary of pertinent feedback

Initial contact with the speech communities in Platfontein revealed that the residents are multilingual, yet language repertoires differed between the !Xun and the Khwe on the one hand and intergenerationally on the other hand. The historical linguistic context and knowledge that the community members have of this, from one generation to the next, is what was investigated further for the purposes of this study. It was also confirmed that the residents of Platfontein are over-researched (as discussed in Chapter 2) yet very little work has been done by linguists within the community. To overcome the problem of scepticism and distrust, I participated in various activities to show an interest in the community beyond the requirements of the study. Preliminary engagements with various translators revealed that participants prefer to be interviewed by a translator of the same sex, if at all possible. Communal spaces and socio-economic activities were noted for the development of relevant and informed structured interview schedules revolving around domain specific language use. The observations made during the collection of this exploratory data were collated and considered in the development of the methodology employed for the purposes of the research proper.

4.3 Methodological context

The methods employed in this study are aimed at eliciting the language attitudes of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontein, in order to explore intergenerational language transfer. I chose those methods with the aim to the link between language attitudes, intergenerational language transfer and language vitality. To accomplish this task, a mixed methods approach was adopted for data collection where semi-structured interviews, structured-interviews and observation data were collected. These methods reflect a common practice in sociolinguistic research (Angouri, 2010: 30).

4.3.1 A mixed methods approach to the study of language attitudes

Since the 1990s researchers have adopted a pragmatic approach to qualitative and quantitative research methods (Johnson & Christensen, 2012: 32).³ Pragmatism advocates that the research design of any particular study should be based on what will best answer the research question/s (Johnson & Christensen, 2012: 32). Consequently, of the three research paradigms, quantitative

³ “Pragmatism is the philosophical position that what works, is what is important or ‘valid’” (Johnson & Christensen, 2012: 32)

research, qualitative research and mixed research, none is superior to the other. These are represented along a research continuum as seen in Figure 4.2 below. A particular research study can fall at any point along this continuum as “[...] fully qualitative or mixed with an emphasis on qualitative, fully quantitative or mixed with an emphasis on quantitative, or mixed with an equal emphasis on qualitative and quantitative” (Johnson & Christensen, 2012: 32).

Crotty (1998:3) defined research methods as, “[...] the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypotheses”. According to McKenzie (2010: 41) several methods and techniques have been employed to measure language attitudes since the 1960s. These can be grouped into three broad categories: the societal treatment approach otherwise known as the content analysis approach; the direct approach; and the indirect approach (McKenzie, 2010: 41).

This study employs a mixed methodological approach to the measurement of language attitudes. The following methods were selected for the purposes of this study: in section 4.5.1 *Semi-structured interviews that use the narrative technique* (qualitative, in data stream 1), 4.6.1 *A structured interview technique used to access emotional reactions* (quantitative, in data stream 2), 4.7.1. *Data set 1 (structured interviews relating to language use): Method* (quantitative, data stream 3) and 4.7.2 *Data set 2 (participant observations): Method* (qualitative, data stream 3). Such a mixed methods approach can be placed between the quantitative and qualitative poles, as seen along the research continuum by Johnson and Christensen (2012:32), in Figure 4.2.

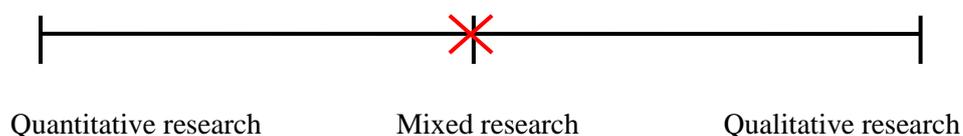


Figure 4.2: The research continuum. (Source: Johnson & Christensen, 2012: 32)

A mixed methods approach is in agreement with Ladegaard (2000: 230) who maintains that the measurement of language attitudes is so complex that researchers need to rely on a number of different techniques of measurement, direct as well as indirect, especially in the investigation of attitude-behaviour relationships in language use. Preston (1999: xxxviii) extends the idea of a mixed methodological approach for the measurement of language attitudes, to what he calls

“interdisciplinary poaching”. This entails that a researcher employs different methodological strands from both linguistics and other disciplines to provide a richer and more holistic analysis of language attitudes than approaches that only employ one methodological approach. This is reiterated by Edwards (1999: 108) who calls for a closer link between linguistics and sociopsychological approaches to the study of language attitudes; such cooperations could potentially result in “[...] a more linguistically aware social psychology or a more psychologically aware sociolinguistics”.

The methods employed in this study, namely, semi-structured interviews, structured interviews and participant observations, were used to best account for the language attitudes of !Xun and Khwe speakers in Platfontein and how these are reflected in intergenerational language transfer. Participant observation is a method typically used in the societal treatment approach (McKenzie, 2010: 41) for the measurement of language attitudes. Semi-structured interviews and structured interviews are both direct approaches to the measurement of language attitudes (McKenzie, 2010: 42). The structured interviews employed Likert scales (Likert, 1932), which are considered by McKenzie (2010: 46) as part of an indirect approach to the measurement of language attitudes. A Likert scale can be used to rate or score a response to a particular question or statement along a basic rating scale as seen in Figure 4.3.

Do you think your children should be taught in !Xun at the !Xunhwesa school?

1	2	3	4	5
definitely not	no	I don't mind	yes	definitely

Figure 4.3: An example of a Likert scale used in this study

According to Kumar (2005: 146), the Likert scale “[...] does not measure attitude *per se*”. However, it does assist in raking participants’ responses in relation to each other with regard to the intensity of their attitude towards as issue or phenomenon (Kumar 2005). In other words it shows the “[...] strength of one respondent’s view in relation to that of another” (Kumar 2005: 146).⁴

⁴ For further discussion on Likert scales see Chapter 3.

The investigation of language use, in order to document possible language shifts, has been carried out by various linguists via three primary research methods: census or large scale surveys, questionnaires or interviews, and participant observation (Pauwels, 2004; Edwards, 1997; Dorian, 1981; Romaine, 1989; Bennett, 1990). Unfortunately, there is currently no large scale survey data pertaining to language use in Platfontein available, therefore the analysis of such data is not possible at this time. Additionally, it is not feasible to collect such data by one researcher assisted by translators in the time stipulated for the completion of a PhD. Consequently, interviews and participant observation were selected as methods for data collection of language use as these methods have been used in reputable language vitality studies by established linguists (Pauwels, 2004; Edwards, 1997; Dorian, 1981; Romaine, 1989; Bennett, 1990; Fishman, 1991).

As this is a mixed methods study it is neither inductive or deductive but both. The main research question (What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?) is deductive in nature as it is based on existing theory that links language attitudes as a contributing factor to language vitality. It therefore required the analysis of patterns of language attitudes and intergenerational language use in order to determine their potential effect on language vitality. Again, research sub-question i) (What is the *historical sociolinguistic background* of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?) is deductive in nature as it draws on theoretical or descriptive frameworks that hypothesise multilingualism as a potential precursor for language shift of endangered languages (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2003: 488). Research sub-question ii) (What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?) and iii) (What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?) are however inductive in nature in that they do not set out to test a hypothesis based on existing theory. They are rather based on the principle of developing theory pertaining to individual emotional reactions and behavioural predispositions in relation to language. These aspects of the research therefore contribute inductively to the investigation of language attitudes of speakers of endangered languages.

4.3.2 A sociolinguistic study

The research design of this study is sociolinguistic. Typically, in sociolinguistic studies one or more of the following data types are collected: naturally occurring data, interview data, questionnaire data or experimental data (Schleef & Meyerhoff, 2010: 3-4). For the purposes of this study the following data types were collected: naturally occurring data, interview data, and questionnaire data. Further information on the details of each of these data types can be found in sections: *4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews that use the narrative technique* (interview data, data stream 1), *4.6.1 A structured interview technique used to access emotional reactions* (questionnaire data, data stream 2), *4.7.1. Data set 1 (structured interviews relating to language use): Method* (questionnaire data, data stream 3) and *4.7.2 Data set 2 (participant observations): Method* (naturally occurring data, data stream 3) and of this chapter.

4.4 Participant selection

For the purposes of this research project, there were three different methods of data collection; semi-structured interviews, structured interviews and participant observations. Each method required a different sampling technique; an outline of this scheme can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Table showing the method of participant selection and corresponding sample size, in relation to each method of data collection utilised in this study

	Semi-structured interviews with adults	Semi-structured interviews with children	Structured interviews to access emotional reactions	Structured interviews to access behavioural predispositions	Participant observations
	KNOWLEDGE		EMOTION	BEHAVIOUR	
Method of participant selection	Participants selected with the assistance of key informants both !Xun and Khwe. Key informants were interviewed as well as their family members. Participants selected were displayed on family trees.	Once parental permission was established children from each family tree were interviewed	Participants from the semi-structured interviews were later approached to participate in structured interviews. These only included adults and not children. Not all of the participants from the semi-structured interviews were available for the structured interview. Therefore, there were slightly fewer participants in the structured interviews versus the semi-structured interviews.	Those adult participants who took part in the structured interviews to access behavioural predispositions were later approached to participate in a second round of structured interviews. Again, not all of the participants from the semi-structured interviews were available for the structured interview. However four more !Xun participants were available since the last round of interviews and one more Khwe participant.	Permission from key informants and family members to observe in various domains.
Number of participants per data collection method	26 !Xun and 16 Khwe participants.	15 !Xun children and 10 Khwe children	14 Xun and 12 Khwe participants	18 !Xun and 13 Khwe participants	Observations of individuals and groups of people depending on the domain
TOTAL	26 adult !Xun + 15 !Xun children = 41 !Xun participants 16 adult Khwe + 10 Khwe children = 26 Khwe participants				

4.4.1 Respondent-assisted sampling for semi-structured and structured interviews

Research conducted in a fieldwork or community setting, such as the current study, relies on key informants. Prior to the process of collecting data via semi-structured and structured interviews, participants were selected with the help of key informants who “[...] play a pivotal role [...] linking the fieldworker and the community” (Fetterman, 2010: 220). With regards to this study, key informants were selected from the !Xun and Khwe with whom I had established a social relationship since my initial visits to the community in 2010. This existing social relationship facilitated access to the key informants’ families by being introduced as a friend and not only as a researcher. This *modus operandi* was necessary for this particular research population due to the over-researched status of the community from various academic fields and cultural arts development projects (Barnard, 2007: 121). Evidence of being over-researched was found during the pilot study which affirmed the need to establish long-term friendships with community members in order to earn their trust.

Semi-structured interviews were used in the first round of interviews and began with the key informant, a person with whom I had a social relationship. Thereafter the key informant introduced me to his or her family members (some of whom I already knew) and so the interview process continued from family member to family member. The method of using key informants to identify potential participants as a sampling technique is known as respondent-assisted sampling, otherwise known as snowball sampling (Daniel, 2012: 111). The limitations of respondent-assisted sampling are: that the results are “[...] likely to underestimate the variability in the population; similar elements are likely to be samples” (Daniel, 2012: 112) and, because it is a non-probability sampling technique, the results cannot be considered representative of the population being studied (Saunders et al., 2003: 228). The results from this study can therefore be considered exploratory in nature and may aid in developing methods to be employed in subsequent studies revolving around social attitudes towards endangered languages and language vitality.

Despite the limitations associated with respondent-assisted sampling, it is considered an appropriate sampling method for this study because it is typically used in the study of social networks, such as those between family members (Daniel, 2012: 112). The construction of family trees with the key informants was used to identify the family members who are still alive and living in Platfontein as potential participants in this study

4.4.1.1 The function and nature of the family trees

Family trees are diagrams that represent the relationship between several individuals of any given family. In my research they serve the function of identifying family members of the two target families. Once individual family members are identified, their position in the family tree can be ascertained. Thereafter, it is determined for each individual whether they are still alive and whether they live in Platfontein or elsewhere. This information then determines which members of each family tree are potentially available to take part in this study.⁵

4.4.1.2 Overview of the family trees

The family trees enable me to understand the interconnectedness of the participants in the current study and to trace intergenerational language transfer across five generations. Unfortunately, I was not able to interview as many members as I had anticipated from the !Xun family because there were incidents of spousal abuse and one arrest for murder that prevented interaction with the affected family members. For both the !Xun and the Khwe there were cases of participants who initially partook in the study however later received seasonal employment outside of Platfontein and were no longer available to participate.

The key informants for the family trees are Tango Rosa Nakenga (73 years old) for the !Xun and Nini Kapunda (58 years old) for the Khwe, who, as grandmothers, hold positions of authority. With the help of these two women I was able to collect basic information about members of each family tree including members who live outside of Platfontein or who have passed away, which allowed me to create a comprehensive account of each family tree. Both women were also instrumental in introducing me to local family members and in encouraging them to take part in the study.

The information gained from both family trees, i.e. the dispersal of available participants intergenerationally, as well as a basic genealogical history of each family, provided the building blocks necessary for the continued investigation of language attitudes among individuals in Platfontein.

⁵ Only participants who live in Platfontein were considered for this study as funding and time restraints do not allow for the inclusion of family members who reside in Namibia, Angola or outlying towns within South Africa.

4.4.2 Judgemental sampling for participant observations

Participant observations take place in various domains and settings with permission from the participant for me and, if necessary, the translator to join in activities such as attending a church service, visiting a friend, helping with preparing a meal, attending a sports game, or joining a dance group. According to Jorgensen (1989: 20) selective observations in relation to domain are known as nonprobability, theoretical or judgemental sampling, as “[...] it is never possible to observe every possible setting or even every situation that is of interest within a setting. Convenience, opportunity and the interest as well as the abilities of the researcher influence these decisions” (Jorgensen, 1989: 50). Furthermore, judgemental sampling “[...] depends on the researcher’s ability to make decisions about what to observe based on constraints such as opportunity, personal interest, resources, and most important, the problem to be investigated” (Jorgensen, 1989: 50). The aim was to access as many different domains and settings as possible, however certain domains were more restricted and therefore less accessible to me than others. As a consequence, while various domains can be selected prior to data collection, the degree and frequency of accessibility to each domain and setting was only evident once participant observations began. Further details can be found in section 4.7.2 *Data set 2 (participant observations): Method*.

4.5 Data stream 1: Language Life Stories (contextual knowledge)

Data stream 1 consists of Language Life Stories and corresponds to point B in Figure 4.1 above. Point B refers to the knowledge that individuals hold about their mother tongue in context, both geographically and linguistically. Section 4.5 of this chapter outlines the semi-structured interviews used to collect the Language Life Stories, the participants included in this set of interviews, the procedure followed, the interview protocol utilised and the method of data analysis.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews that use the narrative technique

In qualitative or mixed methods research, interviews are considered “[...] a construction site for knowledge. An interview is literally an inter view, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest” (Kvale, 1996:14). Qualitative or mixed methods interviews are considered effective research instruments for getting deep and rich insights into how people experience, feel and interpret the social world (Mack et al., 2005: 30).

There are three different forms of qualitative or mixed methods interviews, namely: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews (Carter & Henderson, 2005: 218) depending on the degree of flexibility of the interview structure, contents and questions (Kumar, 2005: 123). According to Dawson (2002: 27), semi-structured interviews are among the most common types of interviews used in qualitative research. In semi-structured interviews questions or topics of discussion are predetermined by the researcher in order to create an interview schedule revolving around the research questions (Kumar, 2014: 170). Although the researcher needs to adhere to these predetermined themes or questions, these can be modified or adjusted during the interview process in order to accommodate the participant and elicit relevant information on a per interview basis. This is reiterated by Saunders et al (2003: 312) who characterise semi-structured interviews as flexible, in that questions or discussion points can be added, moved or deleted based on the information provided and the conversational flow of each interview.

An interview can also be influenced by the interviewer's level of awareness and emotional state at the time of the interview: this leaves room for a possible distortion of the data (Patton, 2002: 245). According to May (2011: 140), to avoid researcher or interviewer bias the researcher should bracket her own knowledge and let the interviewee "flow" during the course of an interview. The control of bias is an important issue when designing and conducting an interview and can be seen as "[...] an attempt to limit unjustified views" (Mathison, 2005: 34) within the context of a research study. Further discussion pertaining to the control of bias can be found in section 4.10 *Validity in mixed methods research* of this chapter. In adherence with previous research that investigated language attitudes, language use and language vitality (Pauwels, 2004; Edwards, 1997; Dorian, 1981; Romaine, 1989; Bennett, 1990; Fishman, 1991) semi-structured interviews were used for the purposes of this study to collect Language Life Stories.

4.5.1.1 The function and nature of the Language Life Stories

The Language Life Stories provide an intergenerational overview of what the mother tongue of each participant is and an account of how that came to be. Over and above the mother tongue, any additional languages in the participants' language repertoires were documented. The Language Life Stories contribute data necessary to address research sub-question i (What is the historical sociolinguistic background of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?) by providing information pertaining to the historical context or contextual knowledge that individual participants have of

their mother tongue. Moreover, the stories relating to additional languages in participants' repertoires provide insight into which other languages were acquired and for which purposes these additional languages are used. This provides an initial sketch of which languages are used in competition or in addition to the mother tongue. This information is then represented in a family tree in order to document and comment on the change in language repertoires over five generations for both the !Xun and the Khwe families, and whether this affected the use of the mother tongue.

4.5.2 Participants selected to provide Language Life Stories

The participants selected in the first round of interviews for the purposes of this study are represented in the family trees discussed in sections *4.4.1 Respondent-assisted sampling for semi-structured and structured interviews*, *4.4.1.1 The function and nature of family trees*, *4.4.1.2 Overview of the family trees* and *4.4.2 Judgement sampling for participant observations*. Of all family members in each family tree 26 adult !Xun, 16 adult Khwe, 15 !Xun children and 10 Khwe children were available to participate in the study in Platfontein. Those participants aged 16 or older completed the Language Life Story interview intended for adults and those under the age of 16 completed the Language Life Story interview intended for children.

4.5.3 Procedure for the collection of Language Life Stories

Once potential participants were identified from each family tree the researcher consulted with the key informant from each family. In collaboration with a translator, the researcher talked with the informant about: the selected family members, further details on the purpose of the research study, the concept of informed consent as well as the signing of the 'informed consent' document. For further information on the purposes and procedures involved in gaining informed consent see sections *4.10.2 Authenticity* and *4.11.2. Research participants and the South African San Institute (SASI)*.

The key informant from each family then assisted the translator and me in approaching each individual family member (sometimes one household at a time) to provide them with information about the research project. A printed version of this information was made available to the participants in English and Afrikaans. (See Appendix 4 and Appendix 5 for information for adults and information for under 18's respectively.) Information was provided orally in the

mother tongue rather than in writing due to the very low literacy rates in both !Xun or Khwedam. Individuals were invited to participate in the first round of interviews and informed consent was sought. The first round referred to the semi-structured interviews named *Language Life Stories*. The *Language Life Stories* were collected via the “narrative technique” which encouraged the participants to tell his/her story about which languages they can speak and/or understand and how this came to be (Kumar, 2005). The role of the researcher in this instance was to listen to the participant and to gauge where it was appropriate to elicit further information on a particular issue in order to document the historical context or contextual knowledge of each participant’s linguistic repertoire.

The adults from each family were interviewed first so that they had a better understanding of the kind of work involved in the research project. These interviews took place directly between the researcher and the participant in Afrikaans, however if the participant was not able to use Afrikaans or preferred to use their mother tongue a translator facilitated the interview. The use of a translator is integral not only during the interview proper but also for social introductions and explanations about the interview process. Further information and discussion on the role of the translator can be found in section 4.9, *Translators* of this chapter.

After the *Language Life Stories* were collected from the adult participants, permission was requested from parents and legal guardians for the participation of their children in the research study.⁶ Many of the children were present at the time of the adults’ interviews and thus were familiar with the modus operandi of the interview process and were eager to have their own interview. In order to keep the interview process stress free for the children, their interviews took place at their homes or in their yards with close family members nearby. In some instances, a parent or grandparent would have the child sit on their lap during the interview if they were slightly nervous or excited. All interviews with children were conducted in their mother tongue with the help of a translator as well as a family member if the child preferred the latter option. All interviews were digitally recorded for verification and analysis purposes.⁷

4.5.4 Interview protocols for Language Life story interviews

⁶ Details pertaining to ethics and permission from parents and traditional authorities can be found in section 4.11 *Ethical considerations* of this chapter.

⁷ All interviews were digitally recorded on a Samsung Galaxy 10.1 tablet or SIII mini smart phone using the android application TapeMachine by Google Play.

An interview protocol includes the interview schedule or list of questions the interviewer would like to ask during the interview process as well as information pertaining to “[...] the procedural level of interviewing and includes script of what you will say before the interview, script of what you will say at the conclusion of the interview, prompts for the interviewer to collect informed consent, and prompts to remind the interviewer the information that she or he is interested in collecting” (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012:1). In other words, the interview protocol is a procedural guide for directing the researcher. (Copies of the interview protocols used for the collection of Language Life Stories with the adult participants and with the children can be found in Appendix 6 and Appendix 7, respectively).

An interview schedule is used in semi-structured and structured interviews as an alternative to a questionnaire (Saunders et al., 2003: 357). Both questionnaires and interview schedules make use of predetermined questions that may be open-ended or closed (Saunders et al., 2003: 357). The choice between the use of a questionnaire and an interview schedule was made on the basis that within the study population there are many participants who are illiterate, very young or very old, making the completion of a questionnaire impractical. An interview schedule was used in conjunction with the narrative technique in order to elicit information needed to structure the Language Life Stories. For example: date of birth, mother tongue, context for the acquisition of the mother tongue, first additional language, context for the acquisition of first additional language.

4.5.5 Method of data analysis of Language Life Stories

Analysis in research is the process of breaking down or reducing data into units or components to reveal their characteristic elements and structure (Dey, 1993: 30). The data from the *Language Life Stories* are qualitative in nature. Due to the diverse nature of qualitative analysis, there is “[...] no standardised approach to the analysis of qualitative data” (Saunders et al., 2003: 478). This is a consequence resulting from many different qualitative approaches to research and therefore many different strategies for qualitative data analysis (e.g. Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Dey, 1993; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tesch, 1990). The process of qualitative data analysis can be inductive or deductive or along a spectrum between either poles (Saunders et al., 2003: 479).

For the purposes of addressing research sub-question i. (What is the historical sociolinguistic background of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?), the analysis of the Language Life Story data is deductive in nature, in that existing theory was interrogated in the formulation of this research question (Saunders et al., 2003: 488). Appropriate theory was identified when I critically engaged literature surrounding the topics: language attitudes, language vitality and minority languages, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The advantage of a theoretical approach to research is that: “It will link your research into the exiting body of knowledge in your subject area, help you to get started and provide you with an initial analytical framework” (Saunders et al., 2003: 488).

The *Language Life Stories* of the adults were digitally recorded. These recordings were then transcribed and translated from either !Xun or Khwe into Afrikaans (if the interview was not conducted in Afrikaans) and then finally into English.⁸ The transcript files were analysed for commonalities and differences in the language repertoires of each participant. The results were then subsequently grouped generationally for the !Xun and the Khwe in order to answer research sub-question i: What is the historical sociolinguistic background of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally? The grouping of the results according to generation was done in order to describe in detail, any changes in language repertoires from one generation to the next as well as assist with providing information necessary for the main research question: What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?

4.6 Data stream 2: Structured interviews to assess participants’ feelings towards language (emotional reactions)

Data stream 2 consists of data relating to the feelings that participants have towards language and corresponds to point C in Figure 4.1 above. Point C refers to the emotional reactions that individuals have towards the languages in their repertoire from a domain specific approach and relates to research sub-question ii. (What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their

⁸ For further information on the translation process, see section 4.9 *Translators* and 4.10 *Validity in mixed methods research*.

repertoire?). Structured interviews were used to collect data in data stream 2. Section 4.6 of this chapter outlines the rationale for the use of structured interviews; the participants included; the interview protocol and Likert scales; and the method of data analysis.

4.6.1 Rationale for using structured interviews

In comparison to the semi-structured interviews used to collect the Language Life Stories, structured interviews are a more closed technique of data collection (Saunders et al., 2003: 330). Structured interviews, otherwise known as quantitative research interviews or questionnaires, are used to collect quantifiable data (Saunders et al., 2003: 312). Experimental and case study research typically use structured interviews as a research strategy (Saunders et al., 2003: 354). The current research study can be classified as a case study as it examines the language attitudes of two families, one !Xun and one Khwe. Structured interviews are typically used in descriptive research.

4.6.2 A structured interview technique used to access emotional reactions to language

Dillman (2000) suggests that there are three types of data variables that can be collected via questionnaires: opinion, behaviour and attribute. Behaviour variables (data stream 3) were collected to assess the domain specific language use of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontein whereas opinion variables (data stream 2) “[...] record how respondents feel about something” and were collected to assess the feelings that participants have towards language (Saunders et al., 2003: 362). Those questionnaires that are “[...] attitude or opinion questionnaires [...] enable you to identify and describe the variability in different phenomena” (Saunders, et al., 2003: 356). All structured interviews in both data stream 2 and data stream 3 were “interviewer-administered” due to the illiteracy of many of the participants and in order to control for rigor in the back and forth translation process of each question (Saunders et al., 2003: 357).

The structured interviews in data stream 2, Chapter 6, consisted of two types of questions, probing questions and rating scale questions. Probing questions are “[...] worded like open questions but request a particular focus or direction” (Saunders et al., 2003: 330). Rating scale questions or Likert scales (Likert, 1932) are typically used to collect opinion data (Saunders et al., 2003: 372).

4.6.3 Participants

The participants selected in the second round of interviews for the purposes of this study, came from the same pool of participants who completed the first round of interviews as discussed in section 4.5.2 *Participants selected to provide Language Life Stories*. As mentioned in Table 4.2 above, the first round of interviews included 26 adult !Xun, 16 adult Khwe, 15 !Xun children and 10 Khwe children. In the second and third round of interviews children were not included as the nature of these questions was too complex and only suitable for adults. Not all of the participants from the first of interviews were available for the second round of interviews. In total, the second round of interviews included 14 adult !Xun and 12 adult Khwe.

4.6.4 Procedure

As with the previous round of interviews, participants were sought out for the second round of interviews with the assistance of the key informants and translator, following a similar *modus operandi* as the first round of interviews. The participants were now familiar with the interview process and interviews were easily conducted and completed. As before, the interviews took place in the homes of the participants. These structured interviews were aimed at eliciting participants' feelings in relation to the languages in their repertoire, particularly their mother tongue, from a functional domain approach. Overlap in the investigation of the same domains in data stream 2 and 3 were constrained by limited time and resources required for lengthy fieldwork stints. Further discussion of the domains investigated in data stream 3 can be found in section 4.7.1.3 *Procedure* and their overlap in Table 4.3 and section 4.8 *Data stream 1, 2, and 3: Language attitudes and their effect on language vitality of endangered languages* and Chapter 8, *Discussion*. The domains investigated (and their associated settings) in data stream 2 were: family and Platfontein (in the home, Platfontein, sport), traditional and religious practices (prayer, gatherings and ceremonies), education and literacy (classroom and literacy), media and technology (radio and television, print media, cellphone), and beyond Platfontein (in Kimberley).

This interview was broken up into three parts. Part one comprised 70 Likert scales in relation to language and the selected functional domains mentioned above. Part two related to the feelings associated with the future use of the mother tongue by “insiders”, which comprised three probing questions and 24 Likert scales (Naaeke et al., 2010: 152). Part three related to the feelings associated with the future use of the mother tongue by “outsiders”, which comprised

six probing questions and 24 Likert scales (Naaeke et al., 2010: 152). As in the previous interviews, these structured interviews were digitally recorded and took place either in Afrikaans between the participant and the researcher, or in the participant's mother tongue with the help of a translator.

4.6.5 Interview protocol and Likert scales

A copy of the structured interview protocol (questionnaire) and Likert scales used for the collection of participants' emotional reactions to language can be found at Appendix 8.

4.6.6 Method of data analysis

The method of data analysis used in order to determine participants' feelings towards language was descriptive in nature. The probing questions were categorised and analysed thematically and named "conversations about the mother tongue". The identified themes were: general opinions and thoughts about the mother tongue; identity and the mother tongue; and use of !Xun or Khwedam by outsiders. This description of the data showed participants' feelings towards their mother tongue in general, in what way they feel their mother tongue is associated or part of their identity, and what their thoughts and feelings were of outsiders speaking or using !Xun or Khwedam.⁹

From these initial "conversations about the mother tongue" a detailed analysis of the Likert scales across pre-selected language domains took place. The Likert scales were analysed by associating a number 1 to 5 along the rating scales. For each statement/question (for example: *It is important that you listen to the radio in !Xun*) participants selected: strongly agree (5), agree (4), neutral (3), disagree (2), or strongly disagree (1).¹⁰ From these responses I could gather an overall emotional reaction towards the use of the mother tongue within each domain. The higher the score the stronger the participants' opinion on the given question. For the following domains (and settings) the participants' emotional reactions were analysed according to their responses to the respective Likert scales: family and Platfontein (sport), traditional and religious practices (prayer), education and literacy (classroom and literacy), and media and technology (radio and television, print media).

⁹ The researcher is aware that the concept of identity (re)construction can be analysed from an essentialist approach, however a descriptive approach was taken in keeping with the scope of this study.

¹⁰ See section 6.2.3.1 *Scores on Likert scales*, of Chapter 6: Data stream 2

In order to gain richer information from the Likert scale responses, language preference scores were calculated for domains where the same question/statement was asked/provided about/for the mother tongue as well as Afrikaans. These pre-selected language domains (and settings) were: family and Platfontein (in the home, Platfontein, storytelling, singing), traditional and religious practices (church, gatherings and ceremonies – wedding, funeral), media and technology (cellphone), and beyond Platfontein (in Kimberley). For these domains and settings, responses for Afrikaans were offset against the responses for the mother tongue to provide preference scores. To calculate the preference score, the Likert score for the Afrikaans item (scaled 0 to 4) was subtracted from the Likert score for the mother tongue item (scaled 0-4). The preference score could range from 4 to -4, where '4' would indicate a 'complete preference for the mother tongue', '0' would show 'there was no preference for the mother tongue over Afrikaans' and '-4' would indicate 'complete preference for Afrikaans'.

The results from the probing questions and the Likert scales were triangulated to respond to research sub-question ii. (What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?). This data was also analysed for intergenerational language use patterns in order to address the main research question (What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?). Further triangulation took place where language domains overlapped from data stream 2 and 3 as indicated in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Table to show the overlap of results from data stream 2 and 3 according to language domain and setting

Language domain	Setting	Data stream 2		Data stream 3	
		Likert	Preference	Use	Observations
Cognition	Counting	-	-	√	-
	Planning	-	-	√	-
	Dreaming	-	-	√	-
Beyond Platfontein	Visiting outside of Platfontein	-	-	√	-
	Services outside of Platfontein	-	√	√	-
	In the workplace	-	-	√	-
Family and Platfontein	Home and friends	-	√	√	√
	Platfontein	-	√	√	√
	Sport	√	-	√	√
	Facilities and services	-	-	√	√
Traditional and religious practices	Gatherings and ceremonies	-	√	√	√
	Church	-	√	√	√
	Prayer	√	-	-	√
Education and literacy	Classroom	-	-	√	√
	Literacy	√	-	√	-
Media and technology	Radio and television	√	-	√	√
	Cellphone (and internet)	-	√	√	√
	Print media	√	-	-	√

Section 4.7 of this chapter outlines the participants included in this set of interviews as well as the participant observations; the procedures followed; the interview protocol utilised; the method of data analysis for the structured interviews as well as the participant observations; and lastly the triangulation process of collating both data sets.

4.7 Data stream 3: Language use (behavioural predisposition)

Data stream 3 consists of data relating to domain specific language use and corresponds to point D in Figure 4.1 above. Point D refers to the behavioural predisposition that individuals have towards the use of the languages in their repertoire and relates to research sub-question iii) (What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?). Two methods of data collection were used: structured interviews and participant observations. These two methods were used in this instance for validity purposes i.e. to ascertain whether information provided in the structured interviews could be verified through direct observation. For example, if participants claimed to speak !Xun while playing soccer, I would observe local soccer games in Platfontein and note the languages spoken by the players during the games.¹¹ This process of validating data is known as triangulation (Saunders

¹¹ For a discussion on the ‘observer’s paradox’ and further information on observations made in the field, see section 4.6.2.3 *Procedure*.

et al., 2003: 614) and is further discussed in section 4.7.3 *Triangulation of data set 1 and 2 in data stream 3*. The use of two data collection methods resulted in the generation of two data sets for data stream 3: The structured interviews were used to collect data that refers to language use, while participant observations were made to document in situ language use.

4.7.1 Data set 1 (structured interviews relating to language use): Method

The first set of data in data stream 3 came from structured interviews relating to domain specific language use. The following concepts are discussed in relation to these structured interviews: method of data collection, participant selection, procedure followed, interview protocol and method of data analysis.

4.7.1.1 A structured interview technique used to access opinions on language use

Opinion variables “[...] record how respondents feel about something” whereas behaviour variables record “[...] what people [...] did in the past, do now or will do in the future” (Saunders et al., 2003: 362). In the case of domain specific language use among participants, the current and future use of language is investigated among each family. Opinion variables are discussed in section 4.6.1 *A structured interview technique used to access emotional reactions to language*.

4.7.1.2 Participants

The participants selected for the third round of interviews for the purposes of this study came from the same pool of participants who completed the first and second round of interviews as discussed in section 4.5.2 *Participants selected to provide Language Life Stories*. In the third round of interviews children were not included as the nature of the questions primarily pertained to the daily routines and actions of adults. Not all of the participants from the first round of interviews were available for the third round of interviews (see above, section 4.6.3 participants). In total, the third round of interviews included 18 adult !Xun and 13 adult Khwe.

4.7.1.3 Procedure

Participants from the first and second round of interviews were sought out for a third round of interviews. The key informant was again approached with the assistance of a translator. As before, interviews took place at the homes of the participants.

The third round of interviews consisted of closed questions in a structured interview which were aimed at eliciting participants' responses with regards to their daily language use. The interview schedule comprised of a number of different contexts. Each question was a combination of a potential language setting and a context typical for this setting. For example, a setting might be the 'home', with the context, 'eating dinner'. The selected questions pertained to the following settings: counting, planning, dreaming, visiting outside Platfontein, services outside Platfontein, in the workplace, home and friends, Platfontein, sport, facilities and services, gatherings and services, church, in the classroom, literacy, radio and television, and cellphone. In relation to each context the participants were asked whether they participate in such a context; if so how often; and which language they speak when participating in such a context. The results from the third round of interviews were triangulated with the observations made, as presented in Table 4.4 below, and discussed in section 4.7.3 *Triangulation of data set 1 and 2 in data stream 2*.

All the structured interviews were digitally recorded and took place either in Afrikaans between the participant and the researcher, or in the participant's mother tongue with the help of a translator.

4.7.1.4 Interview protocol

A copy of the structured interview protocol (questionnaire) used for the collection of participants' response to daily language use can be found at Appendix 9.

4.7.1.5 Method of data analysis

The method of data analysis used in order to determine the domain specific language use of !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein was descriptive in nature. The data collected from these structured interviews was categorical. "Categorical data refer to data whose values cannot be measured numerically but can be classified into categories according to characteristics that identify or describe the variable" (Saunders et al., 2003: 409). With regard to this study, the primary category under investigation was 'languages used per context', i.e. which of a number of languages (languages being the variables), e.g. !Xun, Khwedam, Afrikaans, Portuguese, Luchazi, Nyemba, Kwangali, Zulu, English, Khoekhoegowab etc., were used in each context by each of the participants, in relation to selected language domains.

Language use was analysed thematically or according to the pre-selected language domains (and settings), namely: cognition (counting, planning, dreaming), beyond Platfontein (visiting outside Platfontein, services outside Platfontein, in the workplace), family and Platfontein (home and friends, Platfontein, sport, facilities and services, traditional and religious practices (gatherings and services, church), education and literacy (in the classroom, literacy), media and technology (radio and television, cellphone). The distribution of languages per domain and setting, across each generation was visualised in various charts and tables, in order to answer research sub-question iii, *What are the behavioural predispositions of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?* Analysis also aimed to provide information necessary to address the main research question, *What are the language attitudes of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?*

4.7.2 Data set 2 (participant observations): Method

The second set of data in data stream 3 came from participant observations relating to domain specific language use. Below, the following concepts are discussed in relation to these structured interviews: rationale for conducting participant observations; participants and domains observed; procedure followed; and method of data analysis.

4.7.2.1 Rationale for conducting participant observations

Participant observation is a method of qualitative data collection which requires the researcher “[...] to be participating marginally in the activities but who remains an outsider” (Henning et al., 2004: 42). Observation in the human sciences is “[...] a purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place” (Kumar, 2005: 119). According to Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013: 75), participant observations connect the researcher to human behaviour in a particular context, through immersion and participation. For the purposes of this study, the researcher observed the use of language in various domains or settings. In other words, language use was studied as a phenomenon that is embedded within a specific context. More specifically, what was of interest was: which language/s were being used, in which domains, in which settings, by which addressors, to which addressees, expressing which topic. This was done in order to verify the information collected from the structured interviews in data set 1 and contribute towards the understanding of language use amongst the !Xun on the one hand and the Khwe on the other hand from a functional domain approach.

4.7.2.2 Participants

For the purposes of this study 6 different domains were investigated under data set 1 (see Table 4.4 below). Each domain had its own unique setting which varied in terms of accessibility to me, social acceptability of my participation, the number of people present at the time of the observation and the frequency of the phenomenon observed. In other words, not all the domains investigated in data set 1 were accessible for participant observations in data set 2.

Table 4.4: Language domains and their degree of observability for this study

Language domain	Degree of observability	Setting	Example of activity
Cognition	Not observed	Counting	counting money
		Planning	planning what to do the following day
		Dreaming	when dreaming
Beyond Platfontein	Not observed	Visiting outside of Platfontein	visiting friends outside of Platfontein
		Services outside of Platfontein	at the local hospital
		In the workplace	working as, a farm hand
Family and Platfontein	Observed	Home and friends	eating dinner with family or friends
		Sport	when playing or watching soccer in Platfontein
		Facilities and services	when visiting the local clinic
Traditional and religious practices	Partially observed	Traditional practices	when storytelling
		Church	during sermons at a local church
Education and literacy	Partially observed	Classroom	language use in the classroom at !Xunkhwesa
		Reading	when reading
Media and technology	Partially observed	Television and radio	when listening to the radio
		Cellphones and the internet	when talking to a friend on the phone

Language domains that were not observed in relation to this study were ‘cognition’ and ‘beyond Platfontein’. The first domain, ‘cognition’ is not an observable phenomenon as it is not possible to see inside of people’s minds to observe them counting, planning or dreaming. Therefore, for the domain of ‘cognition’, only the data collected from the structured interviews was used to determine language use in this domain. Observations were also not made in the domain ‘beyond Platfontein’ as it was not possible given the scope of this study for me to gain access to settings of visits (often international) to family and friends outside of Platfontein, services outside of Platfontein and in the workplace. Services outside of Platfontien included settings such as the local government hospital, the Department of Home Affairs, Banks, shops and the post office. Many of these settings are government services with the minority of customers or users being !Xun or Khwe. Therefore, observations were not made in these settings. The setting of work was not easily accessible as many of those who were employed had contract farm labour work

far away from Platfontein. Very few people were employed locally. It was not feasible to go to the individual places of work for these, either, as they worked in government agencies, e.g. the local municipality, at the department of social work or the SABC XK-FM radio station. Such work places are difficult to gain access to for the purpose of observation.

In the domain of ‘family and Platfontein’ settings that were accessible to me and therefore observed were: home and friends, sport, and facilities and services. I was able to gain access to the homes of families that I had worked with over the years. Observations were also made when spending time in Platfontein before or after interviews, visiting different families and moving around the village on foot instead of by car. Sport in Platfontein is open to spectators, so gaining access to local soccer or netball games was not problematic. Most sports were played on the weekend and in the afternoons after school or work. There are not many facilities and services in Platfontein (local clinic, shops and collections office) and therefore it was possible for me to make observations in these settings to verify the information provided in the structured interviews with my observations in the given settings.

Language domains that were partially observed due to limited access were: ‘traditional and religious practices’, ‘education and literacy’, and ‘media and technology’. Traditional ceremonies hardly happened during the period of time that I had allocated to field research. Traditional face-to-face storytelling did not take place within the participating families during the field research; however these could be listened to on XK-FM. I did attend two traditional funerals during my observations in Platfontein. Observations were also made in church services conducted by the !Xun and the Khwe. Gaining access to the domain of education and literacy required paperwork from the teachers and heads of !Xunkhwesa combined school, the !Xun Early Childhood Development (ECD) and the Khwe Early Childhood Development (ECD) Centers. All three schools were happy to share their teaching and learning experiences and welcomed me to spend time at each school. The types of media and music consumed in Platfontein could be observed openly. Finding out what forms of media were sold or available in Platfontein gave an indication of what people were interested in; e.g. cartoons, action movies and African music videos. Of the various forms of digital communication (Facebook use, SMS, WhatsApp, BBM, Facebook chat, and emails) only cellphone calls were observable. When the researcher was visiting in someone’s home and an individual made or received a phone call, the researcher was allowed to document the interlocutor and which language/s were used during the call. I was also able to ascertain the purpose of the calls with the participants.

4.7.2.3 Procedure

Participant observation can be divided into different levels of participation of the researcher: complete observer, observer-as-participant, participant-as-observer, and complete participant (Dane, 2011: 262). For the purposes of this study, participation ranged from observer-as-participant, where I was “[...] known to the participants as a researcher but did not take an active part in events” (Dane, 2011: 262) to participant-as-observer, where I was “[...] known as a researcher but fully participate[d] in the on-going activities” (Dane, 2011: 262).

The level of participation during any given observation was dependent on the acceptability of involvement or researcher presence in each setting. According to Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013: 108), “[...] virtually all societies reserve certain roles for those who meet specific demographic and/or social criteria – sex and age, clan, tribe and family membership: and particular skills or credentials – that may place constraints on the degree to which a particular researcher can embed in a particular setting”. In order to combat such social limits during participant observations the following measures are taken as suggested by Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013: 75): linguistic and cultural preparation of the researcher before entering the research site, spending time building rapport with the participants and becoming acculturated, and finding local guides and mentors to teach or include the researcher. This was done by regular visits to the community since 2009; learning from dictionaries and grammar books in !Xun and Khwe; participating in language lessons provided by local community members on request; a thorough literature review on San culture and practises; an introduction to community elders and leaders; pilot study work with translators; joining a San women’s dance group in Platfontein; participating in ethnographic training with San communities by established anthropologist Dr. Megan Biesele; and social networking for those that had access, via Facebook, SMS, WhatsApp and email with various community members, both male and female.

My involvement in as many of the community’s activities or tasks as possible is necessary in order to combat the “observer’s effect” (Blommaert & Jie, 2010: 27) or the “observer’s paradox” (Labov, 1972b:209). The observer’s effect is the notion that the presence of the researcher has an effect on the behaviour of those under observation (Blommaert & Jie, 2010: 27). The benefits of participant observation are: the avoidance of ethical problems within the group as the researcher’s role is overtly evident, the group under observation can be observed

in as natural a setting as possible, and data can be openly recorded (Blommaert & Jie, 2010: 27).

Participant observations took place between interviews and during extended visits in Platfontein. Documentation of participant observations were made primarily through extensive field notes in the form of a field journal (Dane, 2011: 266); these notes were later coded and analysed. These observations were either written in the field while observing, or shortly after the observation took place.

Other forms of documentation of observations were made by taking digital photographs and short video clips when appropriate. The field notes, journals, photographs and video clips were used as reference points in order to answer research sub-question iii, *What are the behavioural predispositions of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?* The analysis of field documentation also provided information necessary to address the main research question, *What are the language attitudes of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?*

4.7.2.4 Method of data analysis

The analysis of the observations made were both descriptive and categorical in nature (Saunders et al., 2003: 409). As stated above, the primary category under investigation was language use according to selected functional domains: the data collected in data set 1: data stream 3, comprised six functional domains.

4.7.3 Triangulation of data set 1 and 2 in data stream 2

The term triangulation refers to the use of different data collection techniques within a research study in order to converge findings and corroborate research results (Bryman, 2006). Triangulation is typically used in mixed methods research to strengthen or add credibility to the researcher's findings (Angouri, 2010:34). Denzin in his early work (1970: 472) mentioned four types of triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theoretical triangulation and methodological triangulation. Triangulation, in relation to this study, pertains to data triangulation. I refer to data triangulation as “[...] the application of more than one sampling method for data collection” to further develop and elaborate the given findings (Angouri, 2010:34).

In order for triangulation to take place between data set 1 and data set 2, both data sets had to document the same categories of data, i.e. language use according to functional domain and setting. A comparison was made for each observable functional domain and setting of the languages used in data set 1 and data 2. Through this description and analysis, I was able to determine to what degree the data sets converged for each functional domain and setting.

An example of convergence of the data or adding further contextual detail, was when in data set 1 participants claimed to use !Xun (the mother tongue) in the home. Upon observation, in data set 2, it was noted that !Xun was primarily used in the home with occasional code-switching or code-mixing to Afrikaans, English, Portuguese or Luchazi for particular topics of conversation. Bokamba (1989:3) defines code-switching and code-mixing as follows,

Code-switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event... code-mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from a co-operative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand.

Thus, the observations in data set 2 confirmed the information that was provided in data set 1, that !Xun is used in the home. Over and above this confirmation, additional information was gained during the observations of occasional code-switching in the home, thereby adding further contextual knowledge to ‘the home’ and thereby ‘family and Platfontein’ as a functional language domain for mother tongue speakers of !Xun.

4.8 Data stream 1, 2, and 3: Language attitudes and their effect on language vitality of endangered languages

Data stream 1, 2 and 3 which refer to points B (knowledge), D (behaviour), and C (emotion) respectively, were collated to provide information and feedback that relates to point A (language attitude), on Figure 4.1 above. In some cases, there were overlaps in language domains investigated in each data stream. These overlaps allowed for triangulation of data thereby adding further credibility to my findings. These language attitudes were then analysed intergenerationally. This provided a unique insight in the case of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers of Platfontein and their attitudes towards their respective primary language from an

intergenerational perspective. Taken together, the three data streams allowed me to address the main research question, What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?

4.9 Translators

This study would not have been possible without the help of translators as I am neither a fluent speaker of !Xun nor Khwedam. Unfortunately, there is “[...] limited literature on using interpreters in social research methods texts” (Desai & Potter, 2006: 172). According to Wong and Poon (2010: 151) “[...] translation is an integral component of cross-cultural research that has remained invisible [...] few have examined the issue of power relations embedded in translation”¹² Despite the lack of literature referring to the use of translators in a social context and how this affects the methodology of the study “[...] there are circumstances which legitimately require translation assistance” (Desai & Potter, 2006: 173). For the purposes of this study, the term “translator” refers to a person who acts as an interpreter for the researcher at the research site, elicits research data in !Xun or Khwe, transcribes research data elicited in those languages, ‘transforms’ transcripts of !Xun or Khwe research data into Afrikaans or English versions thereof and back-translates Afrikaans or English versions of transcripts into !Xun or Khwe for participant verification.

4.9.1 The role and selection of translators

For the purposes of this study, the role of the translator was not only to assist with on site translations from !Xun or Khwe into Afrikaans or English during the course of interviews or observations but also to assist with transcription.¹³ The process of translation and transcription are intertwined, the effect of which, in social research, is also taken for granted (Poland, 1995; Tilley, 2003: 750). The role of the translator and transcriber is to “[...] mediate between the spoken words in interviews and the written texts; they also mediate between the cultural worlds of the researcher and the participants” (Wong & Poon, 2010: 153). Over and above translating and transcribing, translators can become key informants in an ethnographic sense “[...] who

¹² Little has been published on the issues of translation and power relations in research methodology literature with the exception of a few authors (Sparks, 2002; Temple, 1997; Temple & Young, 2004; Threadgold, 2000).

¹³ The translators needed to be available for several days in succession during the process of data collection and transcription in order to work on the research project.

will open doors; they can also help unravel why people behave as they do, who is related to whom or why the next village is different” (Desai & Potter, 2006: 174). According to Desai and Potter (2006: 177) translators are most useful and helpful in interview situations. This is because preparation can be done beforehand and the interview sessions are usually time-restricted. Translators are considered least useful and helpful in participant observation which is usually informal, not time restricted and less structured (Desai & Potter, 2006: 177).

In the process of selecting translators, the advice from Desai and Potter (2006: 177) was considered. I selected translators whose mother tongue was !Xun or Khwe, and for whom English or Afrikaans was their second or additional language, rather than the other way around. I found translators who were socially aware and interested in other peoples’ views and opinions rather than people with rigid and opinionated views which might impose on the data. Lastly, I preferred to work with people with whom I already had a working relationship, which had been developed over time and where trust existed between both parties rather than with someone selected at random (Desai & Potter, 2006: 177). It was preferable to work with a male translator when interviewing male participants and female translators when interviewing female participants (see section 4.2.2.3 *Interactions between participants, a translator and the researcher*, above). However, in the case of this study, it was not feasible to match the genders of the participants and translators in order to conduct interviews due to time and budget constraints. According to Birbili (2000: 4) it is good practise to record formal interviews in order to verify the accuracy of the translations from other sources. I did this with all my interviews.

4.9.2 Importance and implications of using translators

The translator holds a very important role in this study as “[...] the researcher gains access to the ideas and experiences of the participants through the translator, and it is through the translator that the research participants’ voices are heard” (Wong & Poon, 2010: 153). The translators’ way of knowing inevitably influences their interpretation of the interviews and interactions between the participants and myself and subsequently the understanding made of participants’ narratives (Bassnett, 1996: Poland, 1995).

The implications of conducting research through a third party have practical repercussions such as technical matters and the negotiation of social relations (Desai & Potter, 2006: 174).

Technical matters include issues such as budget required for the payment of translators and transcribers, potential competition by other researchers from other fields for translators, the use of more than one translator due to the intensive nature of the work, recorded interactions transcribed by a different translator than the one present during the interaction validates the translation but then increases the financial cost and finally, translation of interactions from another language and back again doubles the time spent on an interview (Desai & Potter, 2006: 175).

The relationship between myself and the translator is an important social relation to take note of. Although it would be ideal for these two parties to be in a relationship as equals, in this research study they are not, as the translators are paid by the researcher for their time and services. Other stark differences between the participants, translators and myself are discussed in section 4.10 *Validity in mixed methods research* of this chapter. However, as suggested by Wong and Poon (2010: 153) the translation process during this research study intended to be open, visible and acknowledged throughout the data collection and data analysis process, in order to facilitate the elicitation and interpretation of participants' responses and feedback as well as validate translations through verifying translations made in recorded interviews.

4.9.3 The methodological dilemma of using translators

According to Wong and Poon (2010; 152), “[...] translation is a practice mediated by social relations of power [...] and not a neutral process in which the translators are mere ‘technicians’ in producing texts in different languages”. Beyond language equivalency, little attention has been given to how the social position and the worldview of the translator may affect text production (Esposito, 2001; Temple, 1997; Temple & Young, 2004). With regards to negotiating social relations, translators may find it difficult to leave behind their own political or social views and may present certain information with more conviction and elaboration than others, filtering out what they consider to be less important (Desai & Potter, 2006: 176). Despite this lack of attention, Wong and Poon are in agreement with Bühler (2002) who suggests that translation involves assigning meanings to words in both languages and is mediated by power relations and social contexts.

4.10 Validity in mixed methods research

This is a mixed methods research study which used research methods found in both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Measures were taken into account to ensure validity or credibility was achieved in this study that are typically associated with both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Validity is a concept that was first discussed by Kelley (1927:14) who said that a test is valid if it measures what it claims to measure. This premise is still used today in modern research.

Traditionally, in quantitative research, a researcher would discuss how validity, reliability and generalisability are built into their research design. Two measures of validity are typically used, external and internal validity (Roberts & Priest, 2006:43). External validity or generalisability refers to the ability of the findings of the study to be applied to other people or situations, and ensures that the “[...] conditions under which the study is carried out are representative of the situations and time to which the results are to apply” (Black 1999). Internal validity or reliability addresses “[...] the extent to which your data collection techniques or analysis procedures will yield consistent findings” (Saunders et al., 2003: 149).

However more recent research notes that: “[...] validity does not carry the same connotations in qualitative research as it does in quantitative research nor is it a companion of reliability (examining the stability or consistency of responses) or generalisability (the external validity of applying results to new settings, people or samples)” (Creswell, 2009: 190). According to Guba and Lincoln (1994: 114), there are two sets of criteria that are appropriate for judging the quality of a qualitative inquiry, namely trustworthiness and authenticity.

As qualitative and quantitative methods are seen as complementary, ensuring validity or credibility of mixed method research will vary depending on the nature of the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in a given study. Therefore, trustworthiness criteria and authenticity criteria are discussed in relation to this study alongside quantitative measures for validity in sections 4.10.1 and 4.10.2.

4.10.1 Trustworthiness

As mentioned above, according to (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 114), there are two sets of criteria that are appropriate for judging the quality of a qualitative inquiry, namely trustworthiness and

authenticity. Trustworthiness criteria comprise “credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability” while authenticity criteria consist of “fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 114).

4.10.1.1 Credibility and internal validity

Credibility (parallel with internal validity) “[...] addresses the issue of the researcher providing assurances of the fit between respondents’ views of their life ways and the researchers’ reconstruction and representation of the same” (Schwandt, 2007: 299). There are a number of strategies that may enhance the credibility of an evaluation (Mathison, 2005: 92). For the purpose of this study, the following strategies were used: triangulation, member checking regarding translation, reflexivity of the researcher, discussion of discrepant information, and prolonged time in the field.

Triangulation, in social research is “[...] the use of multiple methods and measures of an empirical phenomenon in order to reduce bias and to improve convergent validity, which is the substantiation of an empirical phenomenon through the use of multiple methods” (Cox, 2008: 223). The three different streams of data collected in this study are compared and contrasted for any overlapping language domains in order to create a unified and holistic analysis where possible, as discussed in section 4.6.3 *Triangulation of data set 1 and 2 in data stream 2* and 4.8 *Data stream 1, 2, and 3: Language attitudes and their effect of language vitality of endangered languages*.

Member checking through rigorous translation methods is used to validate interpretations of the research findings. Firstly, translators are recognised as “[...] important members of the research team and are included in the discussions of the research epistemology and methodology” (Wong & Poon, 2010: 156) in order for the translators be aware that they are engaging in interpretive activities beyond language exchange during an interview

Reflexivity of the researcher entails the researcher being aware of the possible effect of her own position or biases in relation to the outcomes of research based on the premise that “[...] knowledge cannot be separated from the knower” (Steedman, 1991: 53) and that, “[...] in the social sciences, there is only interpretation. Nothing speaks for itself” (Denzin, 1994: 500). According to Anderson (2008: 184) when carrying out qualitative research, “[...] it is

impossible to remain ‘outside’ our subject matter; our presence, in whatever form, will have some kind of effect”. In order to discuss my reflexivity, my positionality was also clearly stated because “[...] the degree to which researchers position themselves as insiders or outsiders will determine how they frame epistemological, methodological and ethical issues in the dissertation” (Herr & Anderson, 2005: 30). A continuum and implications of positionality according to Herr and Anderson (2005: 31) is found in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Continuum and implications of positionality

Insider (1) -----(2)------(3)------(4)------(5)------(6) Outsider			
Positionality of researcher	Validity criteria	Contributes to;	Traditions
1. Insider (researcher studies own self/practise)	Anderson and Herr (1999), Bullough and Pinnegar (2001), Connelly and Clandinin (1990)	Knowledge base, improved/critiqued practice, self/professional transformation	Practitioner research, autobiography, narrative research, self-study
2. Insider in collaboration with other insiders	Heron (1996), Saavedra (1996)	Knowledge base, improved/critiqued practice, professional/organisational transformation	Feminist consciousness raising groups, inquiry/study groups, teams
3. Insider(s) in collaboration with outsider(s)	Anderson and Herr (1999), Heron (1996), Saavedra (1996)	Knowledge base, improved/critiqued practice, professional/organisational transformation	Inquiry/study groups
4. Reciprocal collaboration (insider-outsider teams)	Anderson and Herr (1999), Bartunek & Louis (1996)	Knowledge base, improved/critiqued practice, professional/organisational transformation	Collaborative forms of participatory action research that achieve equitable power relations
5. Outsider(s) in collaboration with insider(s)	Anderson and Herr (1999), Bradbury and Reason (2001), Heron (1996)	Knowledge base, improved/critiqued practice, professional/organisational transformation	Mainstream change agency; consultancies, industrial democracy, organisational learning; community empowerment (Paulo Freire)
6. Outsider(s) studies insider(s)	Campbell and Stanley (1963), Lincoln and Guba (1985)	Knowledge base	University-based, academic research on action research methods or action research projects

(Source; Herr and Anderson (2005: 31))

For the purposes of this study, my positionality ranges between 4 and 6 along the continuum found in Table 4.5. This variability of my position is in agreement with Herr and Anderson's (2005: 32) assessment that "[...] one's positionality doesn't fall out in neat categories and might even shift during the study". On the one hand, I am an outsider to the community as I am White and come from the KwaZulu-Natal province, whereas the community members under investigation are San and come from Angola, Namibia and the Northern Cape of South Africa. On the other hand, however, I am considered somewhat of an insider to some of the members of the community as I have been involved in language activism meetings and correspondence since 2009 and the development of a Ju|'hoan children's picture dictionary in Namibia since 2012.¹⁴

I have been given a Ju|'hoan name by a Ju|'hoan elder during my time in Namibia. Having a San name assisted me when introducing myself to community members as a person who interacts with San people. I have limited proficiency in !Xun and Khwedam and therefore could not communicate for an extended period of time in the participants' mother tongue. However, a commonality between myself and many of the participants in this study is the ability to speak Afrikaans, which we used as a lingua franca. The ability to speak Afrikaans gave me an advantage over foreign researchers who do not speak Afrikaans as I was able to communicate directly with participants for many of my interactions.

In order to be considered more of an insider and less of an outsider, acts of reciprocity were performed throughout this study and are known as, "[...] a kind of social behaviour – a mutual give-and-take, an exchange of gifts or services – in which we routinely engage in social life but that is especially important in field studies where the researcher is accorded the privilege of access to the lives of those he or she studies" (Schwandt, 2007: 260). Examples of acts of reciprocity in this study were the following: when participants are asked to tell their language life story, my language life story was offered in exchange and small favours such as the sharing of tea, helping with local chores and providing lifts into town when appropriate were provided. An act of reciprocity was also included in the research contract between the researcher and SASI, where I agreed to facilitate the development of mother tongue educational materials for young children in exchange for access to the community. According to Schwandt (2007: 260), reciprocity "[...] is part of the larger ethical-political process of building trust, cultivating

¹⁴ Ju|'hoansi is a language spoken by San people in northern Namibia and Botswana and is related to !Xun.

relationships and demonstrating genuine interest in those whom one studies [...] how far to take the act of reciprocity is a matter of ethical judgment regarding what is appropriate in the circumstances in question.”

The discussion of discrepant information, information that contradicts the assumption that there is “[...] a simple fit between the situation under scrutiny and your theoretical representation of it” (Gibbs, 2007: 93) is included during the data analysis process to add rigor and transparency to the study. For example, it is important to include negative cases that fall outside the general patterns and categories employed to structure the analysis, drawing from the descriptions offered by the participants or translators themselves and stressing the contextual nature of respondents’ accounts and descriptions and identifying the features that help to structure them (Gibbs, 2007). According to Creswell (2009: 191), “[...] discussing contrary information adds to the credibility of an account. By presenting this contradictory evidence, the account becomes more realistic and hence valid.” Therefore, for the purposes of this study, should there be any discrepant information, I ensured that it was included in the analysis process.

Finally, prolonged time spent in the field facilitated the credibility of the study. The data collection and analysis took many months. This immersion in the field provided a sense of deep understanding of the topic under investigation. The justification for prolonged time in the field and validity is stated by Creswell (2009: 191), “[...] the more experience the researcher has in the field with the participants in their natural setting, the more accurate or valid will be the findings”. It was however helpful to have breaks between fieldtrips to allow for reflection.

In quantitative research there are three approaches to assessing internal validity: content validity criterion-related validity and construct validity (Roberts & Priest, 2006:43). Content validity revolves around the relevance and representativeness of items, for example individual questions in a questionnaire (Roberts & Priest, 2006:43). It is most especially important to measure this if a study is designed to ascertain respondents’ knowledge or to measure personal attitudes (Eby, 1993). This was achieved by conducting a pilot study among Platfontein residents both !Xun and Khwe, as discussed in section 4.2 *Entré to speech communities in Platfontein* and through a detailed literature review as seen in Chapter 3 of this study.

Criterion-related validity is established when a tool, such as a questionnaire can be compared to other similar validated measures of the same concept or phenomenon (Roberts & Priest,

2006:43). In relation to this study, theory behind language attitudes and attitude assessment was drawn upon to create the research tools utilised (for example, the standard practice of Likert scales in attitude and opinion measurement). Substantiation of this can be found in section *4.6.1.1 Rationale for using structured interviews*, *4.7.1 A structured interview technique used to access emotional reactions to language* and literature reviewed in Chapter 3 of this study.

Lastly, construct validity requires a demonstration of the relationship between the concepts under study, namely language attitudes held by speakers of endangered languages and the construct or theory that is relevant to them, i.e. attitude theory in linguistics and social psychology (Roberts & Priest, 2006:43). This is typically established through factor analysis which is a statistical procedure used to determine characteristics that relate to each other (Roberts & Priest, 2006:43). However, factor analysis is only effective for sample sizes greater than 300 and therefore is not applicable to this study as the given sample size is less than 50 participants per language (<http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/spss/output/factor1.htm>).

4.10.1.2 Transferability and external validity

In quantitative research external validity or generalisability refers to the ability of the findings of the study to be applied to other people or situations, and ensures that the “[...] conditions under which the study is carried out are representative of the situations and time to which the results are to apply” (Black 1999). In order for generalisability to be relevant in a study the sample of participants must be drawn from a representative sample of the given population. Generalisability however is not relevant to this study as the sample size is not representative of the given population. The current research is rather a case study. A case study is defined by Robson (2002:178) as “[...] a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence”. With regard to this study, two cases were investigated i.e. language attitudes of two families, one !Xun and one Khwe and how these language attitudes affect the language vitality of their respective mother tongue.

Transferability (parallel to external validity), deals with the issue of generalisation in terms of case-to-case transfer (Schwandt, 2007: 299) in qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) maintain that generalisation in qualitative interpretive research is unrealisable; they maintain that “[...] the only generalisation is: there is no generalisation” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 110). However, transferability of findings from one specific case to another is possible. According to

Schwandt (2007: 127) “[...] case-to-case transfer can be accomplished if the inquirer provides sufficient detail about the circumstances of the situation or case that was studied so that readers can engage in reasonable but modest speculation about whether findings are applicable to other cases with similar circumstances”. This was accomplished in this study by collecting data via the methods of semi-structured interviews, structured interviews and participant observations. The study aimed to provide contextual richness, thereby dealing with the “[...] apparent paradox of qualitative work: its avowed focus on the particular and its simultaneous refusal to deny any interest whatsoever in the general” Schwandt (2007: 127). According to Schwandt (2007: 127), the researcher engages in generalising by “[...] making vivid and critical examinations of the connections between unique, uncommon lived experiences and the commonality of groups, social relationships, and culturally constructed images that partially define those experiences”. Therefore, this study is not generalisable but does have transferability.

4.10.1.3 Dependability and reliability

Dependability (parallel to reliability) focuses on the process of the inquiry and the researcher’s responsibility for ensuring that the process was logical, traceable and documented (Schwandt, 2007: 299). According to Jensen (2008: 209) “[...] dependability in a qualitative study recognises that the research context is evolving and that it cannot be completely understood a priori as a singular moment in time. Dependability accounts for these issues through relevant methodologies”. The research context is open to change and variation, in order to ensure dependability of the research, I had to track all of the nuances that differed from the design in the proposal and declare these differences to my supervisor as well as in the writing up of my thesis. An example of such a change could be the change in the number of interviews required, or increasing the contact time for interviews. The tracking of change and variation in a study is known as an inquiry audit (Jensen, 2008: 210), the “[...] transparency and relevancy of this process will increase the dependability of the study”. For the purposes of this study all interviews were digitally recorded as evidence that each interview took place as well as to verify the content of each interview.

4.10.1.4 Confirmability and objectivity

Confirmability (parallel to objectivity), “[...] is an accurate means through which to verify the two basic goals of qualitative research: (1) to understand a phenomenon from the perspective of the research participants and (2) to understand the meanings people give to their experiences

(Jensen, 2008: 113). In qualitative research “[...] the intrusion of the researcher’s biases is inevitable” (Patton, 1990: 336) however steps must be taken to ensure that as far as possible the study reflects the experiences and ideas of the participants rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher.

Triangulation promotes confirmability and reduces the effect of investigator bias in a qualitative study (Shenton, 2004: 72). According to Miles and Huberman (1994) the key criterion for confirmability is the extent to which the researcher admits her own predispositions. Researcher predispositions or researcher reflexivity were discussed in section 4.10.1.1. *Credibility and internal validity* of this chapter. Again a detailed methodological description “[...] enables the reader to determine how far the data and constructs emerging from it may be accepted” (Shenton, 2004: 72) which was achieved via an inquiry audit. Finally, back and forth translation and verification practices between the participant, translator and researcher strengthened the confirmability of the study as discussed in section 4.9 *Translators*.

4.10.2 Authenticity

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994: 114) there are five criteria for authenticity, namely fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity. According to Burns (2010: 35), fairness refers to “[...] the necessity that there should be a balance of voices such that all contributors to the research project are heard”. Throughout the study a balance of the participants’ contributions was maintained in order to uphold fairness. Ontological and educative authenticity refer to the “[...] necessity of raising awareness among participants in those affected by the research” (Burns, 2010: 35). Ontological and educative authenticity is sustained throughout the study by gaining research permission from SASI who represent the community as well as informed consent from each participant to ensure that each participant is aware of the purposes of the research and what is expected of them by participating. Catalytic and tactical authenticities refer to “[...] the prompting by the researcher of interest-based action among research participants” (Burns, 2010: 35). In relation to this study, for those participants that were interested in accessing mother tongue literacy materials I provided assistance on how and where to purchase such materials. Part of the ethical responsibility of this research study is to give back to the community via the development of mother tongue educational materials in !Xun and Khwe, if desired any of the participants or community members were welcome to join in the process of language material development.

Further information pertaining to ethics and ethical responsibility addressed in this study can be found in section 4.11 *Ethical considerations*.

4.11 Ethical considerations

This thesis includes stories of heartache and loss relating to: language, culture, indigenous knowledge systems, land, economic systems and healing practices as exemplified in the following monologue by a !Xun elder. Out of anger and sadness about the loss of her parents during the Angolan war (1961-1974) and the Namibian War of Independence (1966-1989) she physically, emotionally and spiritually left behind her identity as a traditional healer. She did so by burning and then burying the tools and materials she had used for traditional healing.

Sho mi tradisie g!ani kuna khokho ta ya-e na ke gu-a mba tsa mde. Sho mi eie mone n||a'an ||'an mi tradisie. Sho kxa ka ng ma tane ke-a dava...neh koe tci kandoa wa gu g'ai khan g'ai ka tcu a khan ma t'ale !aih ||u-e o-a mi tci kandoa ||e||e khan ||ue gu tci |xoah n|ui ka tani tsi. Ta tci mde khan gu mi khan n|ang ta ke o tci ka ma khan ma o ka ya xahvi |ah mi ta na khan gu !xah ka. Ka ng khan hi wicese khan n!aih ke tsau he !Xun tcu ke tsi-a he tsi g|e tsa wicese khan ke sila !hale |ua. He dju t'una khan tsi t'eh ke ||hama Omega !eh mi !ka khan ke djo-a mde tsa mba ta tci sing kandoa hi ke |ah mi ma-o ceh-o ke pangesa gu |ah ka ke hi n!oah |'ua ka tzi n'taqe da'a.

My tradition that I have is the tradition that my mother and father know. This is my tradition, my own tradition. The first when I was small...and the people became sick and lay down then the older people of that sick person would bring them to me. And my Mother took me to show me, she brought the people who were in pain and sick and brought their sickness to one place so that I could draw it out. Then the war began and we started to trek from there to here and my parents were left halfway along the way. We arrived alone from there in Omega and I felt heartsore so I took those things that my parents had given me that makes people well, and threw them? in a hole and set them? alight. At that time, I was still a young girl.

[!Xun female elder 2, Platfontein, 2014]

Promises of language maintenance by academics, government, non-government organisations and similar agencies ignite hope among speakers of endangered languages who are often people who have endured hardship for generations. However, broken promises may cause serious harm and we should therefore be cautious in our language maintenance endeavours, “I have spread my dreams under your feet. Tread softly because you tread on my dreams” (Yeats, 1899).

Therefore, ethical considerations were at the forefront when planning, designing, conducting and writing up this research study. Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler (2005: 92) define ethics as

the “[...] moral principles, norms or standards of behaviour that guide moral choices about our behaviour and our relationship with others”. Research ethics relates to questions about “[...] how we formulate and clarify our research topic, design our research and gain access, collect data, process and store our data, analyse data and write up our research findings in a moral and responsible way” (Saunders et al., 2003:178). For the purposes of this study, research ethics are discussed in relation to the research participants, the translators, myself as the researcher, the University of KwaZulu- Natal (UKZN) and the South African San Institute (SASI).

4.11.1 The researcher and the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)

Ethically, the researcher has “[...] an obligation to use appropriate methodology in conducting a study” (Kumar, 2005: 215). Every measure has been taken to the best of my knowledge to use the most appropriate methodology for the purposes of this study and for that methodology to be clearly and accurately represented, avoiding any researcher bias wherever possible. The research process is overseen by the researcher’s supervisor who ensures that the research practices suggested for this study are ethically as well as methodologically sound. Prior to any fieldwork, a research proposal was submitted to the University of KwaZulu Natal for clearance. In addition to the research proposal, an application for ethical clearance was also made with the Research Office, at the University of KwaZulu Natal. Ethical clearance was granted 12 March 2012, protocol reference number HSS/1344/011D and the research proposal was cleared 26 September 2012, see Appendix 4.10. Ethical considerations have been taken into account regarding the University of KwaZulu Natal, the South African San Institute, the translators the participants and finally, myself in order to create a methodologically and ethically sound research study.

4.11.2 Research participants and the South African San Institute (SASI)

Kumar (2005: 212) states that “[...] in every discipline it is considered unethical to collect information without the knowledge of participants and their expressed willingness and informed consent”. According to the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects, “[...] all informed-consent procedures must meet three criteria: participants must be competent to give consent; sufficient information must be provided to allow for a reasoned decision; and consent must be voluntary and uncoerced” (Schinke & Gilchrist, 1993: 83). For

the purposes of this study, informed consent to work with the community in Platfontein first had to be granted by SASI, a Non-government organisation (NGO) that represents the San in South Africa. The contents of this document protect both parties from any legal action and makes clear the intentions of myself as well as the ethical responsibilities associated with my work with local !Xun and Khwe.

Informed consent for participation in this study for those over the age of 18, can be seen in Appendix 11. With regard to participants under the age of 18, consent from their parents or legal guardians was obtained using the form seen in Appendix 12, in order for a child to participate in the study.¹⁵ Finally, during participant observations, informed consent was gained from each school namely: !Xunhwesa Combined School, !Xun Early Childhood Development Centre and Khwe Early childhood Centre. Copies of said informed documents can be seen at Appendix 13, 14 and 15 respectively. Individual informed consent was not obtained from each participant who was observed. This can be problematic from an ethical standpoint because “[...] the actual research participants, who have given consent, may not be the only people observed. In natural settings, people move in and out of interactions and settings for many reasons” (Drew et al., 2008: 71). In the case of this research study, the actual research participants were not the only people observed therefore an accepted convention for observations in research is that consent is not necessary when, “[...] (a) access to the setting is approved by the agency or institution, (b) participants who are actively involved have given informed consent, and (c) other observed behaviour is considered public and observable by anyone present in the setting” (Drew et al., 2008: 71).

I am aware that it is my responsibility to provide feedback to the community upon completion of this study. Community or participant feedback is often offered by researchers making the final thesis available to the relevant parties concerned by proving copies to the local libraries, NGOs or to key participants. Although copies of the thesis will be provided to the community, I feel that the content will be inaccessible to most participants as the thesis is written in English and an academic register. Due to the inaccessibility of the thesis to the community I suggested assisting in the writing of a basic mother tongue educational piece of material in !Xun and in Khwe in exchange for access to the community during the course of the study. The inclusion

¹⁵ Note: Information sheets were also distributed to participants with the assistance of translators, as discussed in section 4.5 *Data stream 1: Language Life Stories (contextual knowledge)* and can be seen in Appendix 4.A and 4.B.

of mother tongue educational material development was added to the contract between the researcher and SASI and agreed upon by both parties on the 14th November 2012, see Appendix 16.¹⁶

Participants did not receive payment from the researcher in exchange for information or their participation in the study. Acts of reciprocity in the form of small favours such as the sharing of tobacco, tea, helping with local chores and providing lifts into town when appropriate were provided. Favours for participants and their family were provided on an individual and needs basis according on the judgement made by myself within each context.¹⁷ Confidentiality of all content shared by the participants with myself is restricted for the use of this study only. Any further divulgence of information provided by the participants requires additional consent. All documents and recordings collected during the course of this research will be archived for safe keeping and accessible only on written request due to the sensitivity of the data.

4.11.3 Translators and ethical practice

Translators in this study were paid for their services. A standardised rate was negotiated between myself, the translators and SASI prior to any translation work done. The participation of the translators in this study was of their own free will and they could step down from this position at any given time. The translators were instructed that the information that we gathered during the interview process is confidential and not to be discussed or shared with others as a professional courtesy. The translators in this study were treated as colleagues and a valuable component to the study.

4.12 Summary

This chapter provides an account of the methodological approach of this research study which is mixed methods. Within this mixed method study I substantiate how I was able to gain

¹⁶ It must be noted at the time of signing the media and research contract between SASI and myself, a) the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) had dissolved and SASI did not have a new research contract and therefore the old contract was used and a signature from WIMSA was not necessary, b) the title of the thesis was “Bushman whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality”, it has since changed to “Language attitudes as a change agent for language vitality: A case study of two Khoesan languages in Platfontein (RSA).

¹⁷ I have several years of experience working with San communities in different parts of southern Africa. Assistance and favours given to participants is up to the discretion of the researcher, as at times, a free ride to town can cause unnecessary chaos and frustration for both parties.

entrance into Platfontein and access !Xun speakers and Khwedam speakers who would eventually participate in the study. A pilot study was conducted to gain experience working in the community, collect exploratory data and note pertinent feedback in preparation for the research proper. With this information and experience at hand, the methodological context of the research proper could be outlined as a sociolinguistic study that investigates the language attitudes of two endangered languages, namely !Xun and Khwe from an intergenerational perspective, and how these attitudes affect language vitality. Participant selection was described, followed by the three data streams: Language Life Stories, domain specific language use and domain specific feelings towards language. Merging of the three data streams was explained with validity measures considered for mixed methods research. A specific section was dedicated to the acknowledgement of translators and their importance in this study. Lastly, ethical considerations were discussed and accounted for.

5. Data Stream 1: Contextual knowledge

5.1 Chapter outline

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse the data pertaining to research sub-question i (What is the historical sociolinguistic background of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?). Firstly, the outcome of participant selection via respondent-assisted sampling is discussed. Thereafter, with the information gained from such a sampling technique, information and insights were described from the derived family trees. The family trees were then used as a structural map to each of the families participating in this study to elicit their Language Life Stories. These life stories were then analysed generationally for those born in Angola, Namibia and South Africa in order to compare one generation against the next as well as the !Xun versus the Khwe. From generation to generation, these life stories provided the historical sociolinguistic context needed to address the proposed research question.

5.1.1 Brief overview

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are three data streams in this study: data stream 1 (Language Life Stories), data stream 2 (emotional reactions) and data stream 3 (behavioural predispositions). A summary of the data collection and analysis process for data stream 1 can be seen in Table 5.1 below.

The data in data stream 1 comes from the semi-structured interviews that took place with children and with adults, known as Language Life Stories. These interviews were transcribed and translated. Thereafter they were coded for themes and mapped onto individual profiles for each participant. From these individual profiles a collective intergenerational analysis was conducted to provide a historical description of the linguistic context of the !Xun and Khwe of South Africa in order to respond to research sub-question i (What is the historical sociolinguistic background of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?).

In Chapter 8, data stream 1, 2 and 3 were triangulated to provide information and feedback to address the main research question (What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontein and how do these affect language vitality from an

intergenerational perspective?). These language attitudes of !Xun speakers and of Khwe speakers were analysed to provide a unique insight into the case of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers of Platfontein and their attitudes towards their respective mother tongue from an intergenerational perspective.

Table 5.1: Overview of data collection and analysis for data stream 1

	Semi-structured interviews with adults	Semi-structured interviews with children
Description of data stream	Language Life Stories	
Method of participant selection	Family members selected with the assistance of key informants.	Family members selected with the assistance of key informants and parental permission.
Number of participants	26 !Xun and 16 Khwe participants.	15 !Xun children and 10 Khwe children
Tool for data collection	Open-ended interview schedule	
Outcome of data collection	Individual narratives	
Data analysis 1 – data reduction	Transcription and translation of narratives	Translation of narratives
Data analysis 2 – data coding, grouping and collating	Transcriptions coded for themes and mapped onto individual profiles	Translations coded for themes and mapped onto individual profiles
Data analysis 3 – final analysis	Descriptive analysis	

5.2 Outcome of participant selection via respondent-assisted sampling

The result of participant selection via respondent-assisted sampling was the creation of two family trees: one !Xun and one Khwe. The function and nature of the family trees is discussed in section 4.4.1.1 and an overview of the family trees is discussed in section 4.4.1.2 of Chapter 4. These family trees provide a genealogical framework and basic historical context for the intergenerational analysis of language attitudes of the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein.

5.2.1 Information and insights gathered from the family trees

Each family tree spans five generations and each family has family members who are still living in Namibia. Both families have a common history of displacement and service in the South African Defence Force (SADF) during the South African Border war and the Angolan Border War.

The differences between the two family trees are that the !Xun family have members from all five generations living in Platfontein whereas the Khwe only have family members from the 3rd, 4th and 5th generations living in Platfontein. The !Xun family originate from Angola whereas the Khwe family are originally from Namibia and Botswana. All first generation members of the Khwe family have passed away whereas in the !Xun family one first generation family member is still alive and living in Platfontein.

The presence of a living elder means that information about the 'old', traditional ways are more conveniently and directly accessible to the !Xun family than to the Khwe family. For example, the !Xun hear first-hand stories about how their family members lived off of the veld in Angola: how they practiced traditional healing dances and ate the meat of many different animals that roamed near the Cuando river. These stories connect them to the countries of their origin, even though today the !Xun family do not have any family members still living in Angola or Namibia who would be able to come and visit them in Platfontein.

In contrast, the Khwe have no living first generation family member. They do have a living family member from the 2nd generation in Namibia who used to come and visit once a year in the past, bringing traditional food and telling traditional stories. However, the journey from Namibia to Platfontein is far and costly and so his visits have become less frequent since 2012. From an identity perspective, many of the !Xun participants born in Angola had a traditional name, as well as a Portuguese name. The use of Portuguese names has continued through to those !Xun born in Namibia and South Africa. Additionally there were some !Xun children born in South Africa who had a traditional !Xun name and a name from a local Afrikaans television soap opera called "7nd Laan". The Khwe on the other hand had a traditional Khwe name for those born in Namibia as well as an English or Afrikaans name. However, many of the Khwe born in South Africa only had an English or Afrikaans first name (many of which were also from the television soap opera called "7nd Laan") with a Khwe surname but no traditional first name.

5.2.1.1 Summary description of family trees

The !Xun family tree descriptions show that their ancestors originated in Angola and that there are now descendants living in Namibia and South Africa who are survivors of the Angolan War of Independence (1961-1975) and the South African Border War (26 August 1966- 21 March

1990). There are a total of 51 descendants from the !Xun family who were identified in Platfontein (see Appendix 17 and 18 for a detailed description). Of these 51 descendants, 41 were initially available and eligible to participate in the study. Intergenerationally these 41 participants span across five generations as follows: nine family members born in Angola (1925-1964), 13 family members born in Namibia (1965-1990, March) and 19 family members born in South Africa (1990, April-2013).

By contrast, the Khwe family tree descriptions show that their ancestors originate in Namibia and Botswana and that there are now descendants living in Namibia and South Africa who are survivors of the South African Border War (26 August 1966-21 March 1990). There are a total of 26 descendants from the Khwe family who were identified in Platfontein (see Appendix 19 and 20 for a detailed description). All 26 of the originally identified descendants were initially available and eligible to participate in the study. Intergenerationally these 26 participants span across five generations as follows: zero family members in the first and second generation, five in the third, 11 in the fourth and 10 in the fifth.

Participants under the age of two at the time of data collection in 2013 were excluded from the study as they were considered prelinguistic, meaning that as young children, they were at the developmental phase prior to the production of meaningful sentences (Keen et al., 2016:3). The information gained from both family trees, namely the dispersal of available participants intergenerationally, as well as a basic genealogical history of each family, provide the building blocks necessary for the continued investigation of language attitudes among individuals in Platfontein.

5.3 Language Life Stories

In order to answer research sub-question i), Language Life Stories were collected from each participant. These were then collated according to country of birth to provide an intergenerational overview of the historical linguistic context of each family. The countries of birth investigated and analysed are Angola, Namibia and South Africa.

Language Life Stories are individual accounts of the languages that each participant can speak and/or understand, and the story behind how these languages became part of their repertoire.

More Language Life stories were collected and represented for the !Xun than the Khwe in correlation with the size of each family and the number of participants available in Platfontein.

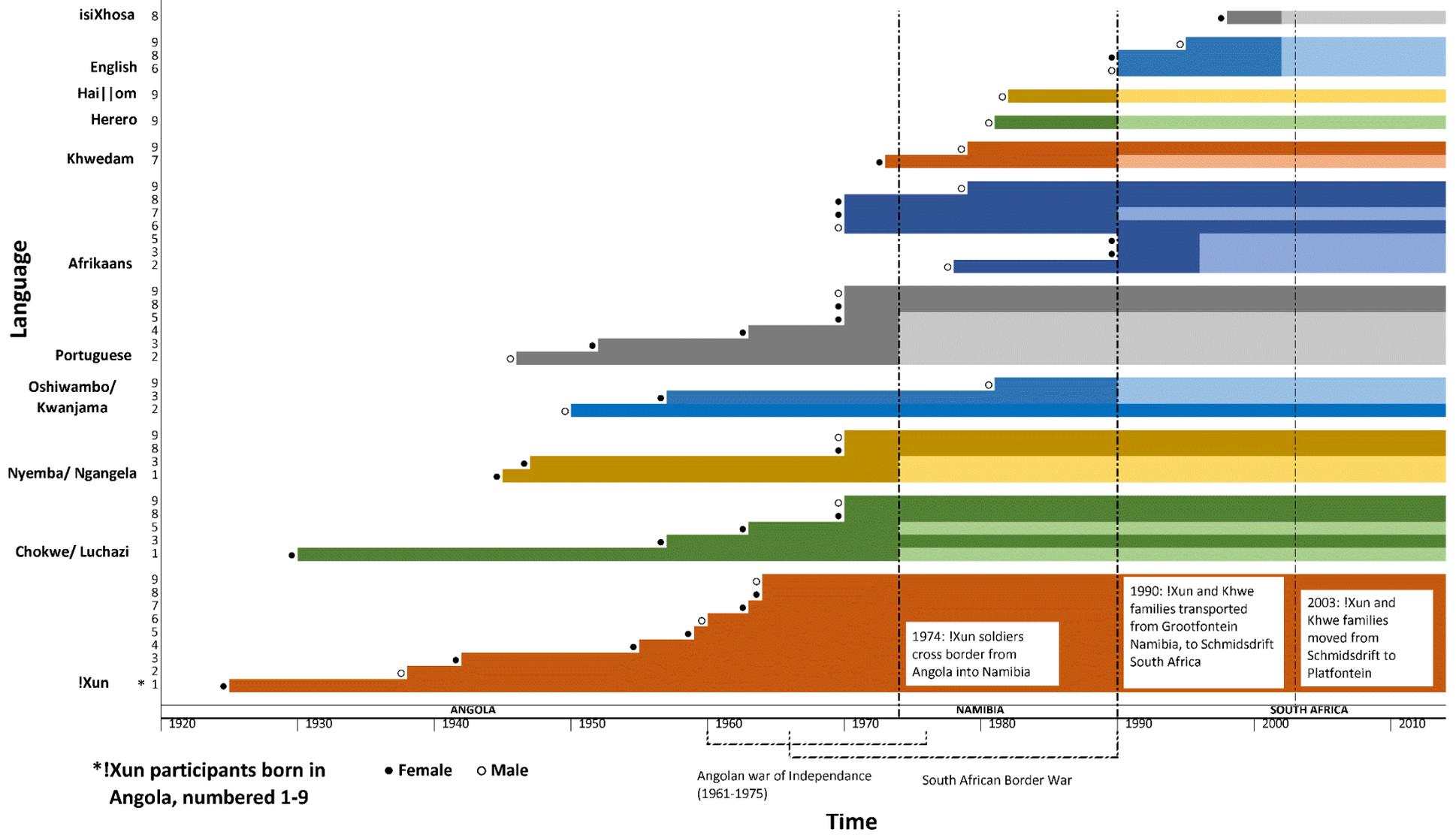
5.3.1 Information and insights gathered from Language Life Stories

From the Language Life Stories collected, it is evident that the language repertoires differ somewhat from one individual to the next depending on their life experiences. Despite these individual differences, there are similarities found when analysing the historical linguistic context in relation to participants' country of birth. Due to the Angolan War of Independence (1961-1975) some !Xun moved across the border into Namibia. However, shortly after that the South African Border War (1966-1990) broke out, which later resulted in some of the !Xun and Khwe in Namibia having to move to South Africa. For further information on the historical context of the South African !Xun and Khwe, see Chapter 2, A linguistic overview of !Xun and Khwedam in South Africa. This movement due to warfare resulted in language repertoires differing from one generation to the next depending on the participants' age and country of birth. Therefore, taking into account these two variables, the language repertoires of each !Xun and Khwe family were analysed. From these individual accounts of Language Life Stories, a collective analysis could be made showing which languages were acquired and under which circumstances or for what purpose, and how these changed over time. This analysis allowed me to address research sub-question i).

5.3.1.1 !Xun participants born in Angola

Of the 41 !Xun participants interviewed in this study, nine were born in Angola. Figure 5.1 *Language repertoires of !Xun participants born in Angola (1925-1964)*, is a timeline that illustrates which languages were acquired by these nine participants and in which country. Furthermore, Figure 5.1 shows which of the languages acquired continued to be used over time by these participants and which languages were reduced in use, or no longer used at all. In Figure 5.1, use of a language is indicated by a bold colour and reduced use of a language by a lighter version of the same colour. Female participants are represented by a black circle, ●, whereas male participants are represented by a white circle, ○.

Figure 5.1: Language repertoires of !Xun participants born in Angola (1925-1964)



*!Xun participants born in Angola, numbered 1-9

● Female ○ Male

Angolan war of Independence (1961-1975)

South African Border War

1974: !Xun soldiers cross border from Angola into Namibia

1990: !Xun and Khwe families transported from Grootfontein Namibia, to Schmidtsdrift South Africa

2003: !Xun and Khwe families moved from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein

5.3.1.1.1 Languages acquired in Angola

The dates of birth of the nine participants who were born in Angola range from 1925 to 1964 (ages 88-49 at the time of data collection, in 2013). Collectively these nine participants mentioned acquiring the following languages during the time that they lived in Angola: !Xun, Chokwe/Luchazi, Nyemba/Ngangela, Oshiwambo/Kwanjama, Portuguese, Afrikaans and Khwedam. All of the nine participants stated that they were able to speak three or more of the above mentioned languages.

Acquisition of !Xun took place in Angola for all nine participants and was learnt from their parents and family members irrespective of gender. Every participant identified !Xun as their mother tongue, the language that they are most proficient in and use most often. All !Xun participants used !Xun as their mother tongue throughout their stay in Angola, they continued to use it when they moved to Namibia in 1974 due to the Angolan War of Independence (1961-1975) and also when they moved to South Africa in 1990 due to the South African Border War (1966-1990), see Figure 5.1. Therefore, for those participants who were born in Angola, !Xun is their mother tongue.

Despite the participants being multilingual, their mother tongue has remained their primary language across three countries and two wars. Unfortunately, it was noted by the female elders that although !Xun was used during traditional healing and dance practices in earlier years, they no longer conduct those practices since they moved to South Africa. Today, traditional dancing is practiced in Platfontein recreationally and used as a commodity in the tourist and performing arts industry but is no longer used for traditional healing dance practices.

Five of the nine participants mentioned acquiring Chokwe, also known as Luchazi, as a second or additional language while living in Angola. Chokwe belongs to the Niger-Congo, Narrow Bantu language family, is a national language of Angola and is mostly spoken in the Cuando Cubango province (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). Between 1930 and 1970, see Figure 5.1, individual participants mentioned that they began to learn Chokwe as a second or additional language. Language acquisition of Chokwe took place due to language contact in the context of shared resources such as water and land. From the time that the participants moved from Angola to Namibia (1974) and later to South Africa (1990), their use of Chokwe declined due to lack of contact with other Chokwe speakers. At the time of the study, three of the !Xun participants born in Angola, mentioned being able to still speak and understand Chokwe,

whereas the other two speakers said they can no longer speak it but could understand a little here and there. The female participants mentioned that they still sing some Chokwe songs in church and enjoy listening to Chokwe music.

Four of the nine participants mentioned acquiring Nyemba, also known as Ngangela, as a second or additional language while living in Angola. Nyemba belongs to the Niger-Congo, Narrow Bantu language family and is said to be fully intelligible with Chokwe/Luchazi and typically used as an L2 among north-western !Xun (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). Individual participants mentioned that they began to learn Nyemba as a second or additional language between 1945 and 1970, see Figure 5.1. As with Chokwe, language acquisition of Nyemba took place due to language contact. However, in this instance the context was mutual places of employment as well as shared cultural practices especially music, song and dance. Participants mentioned working with Nyemba speaking people in Luanda, in the Luanda province and Serpa Pinto in the Cuando Cubango province of Angola. From the time that the participants moved from Angola to Namibia (1974) and later to South Africa (1990), their use of Nyemba reduced due to lack of contact with other Nyemba speakers. Two of the !Xun participants born in Angola, one male and one female, mentioned being able to still speak and understand Nyemba, whereas the other two female speakers said they could no longer speak it but could understand a little here and there. Nyemba continues to be used in South Africa today by !Xun mother tongue speakers in the context of traditional dance as a performance act in the tourist industry by sometimes singing Nyemba songs. Nyemba music is also played by XK-FM in Platfontein, South Africa and is very popular among the !Xun and the Khwe.

Three of the nine participants mentioned acquiring Oshiwambo, also known as Kwanjama as a second or additional language while living in Angola (two participants, one male and one female) and Namibia (one male participant). Oshiwambo belongs to the Niger-Congo, Narrow Bantu language family, is a language of national identity in Angola and is mostly spoken in the Cunene and Cuando Cubango provinces (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). Individual participants mentioned that they began to learn Oshiwambo as a second or additional language between 1950 and 1981, see Figure 5.1. As with Chokwe, language acquisition of Oshiwambo took place due to language contact in the context of shared resources such as water and land in both Angola and Namibia. However after moving Namibia to South Africa (1990), their use of Oshiwambo reduced due to lack of contact with other Oshiwambo speakers. One of the male !Xun participants born in Angola, mentioned being able to still speak and understand

Oshiwambo as he previously had been married to an Oshiwambo speaking woman, whereas the other two speakers said they could no longer speak it but could understand a little here and there.

Six of the nine participants mentioned acquiring Portuguese as a second or additional language while living in Angola. Portuguese belongs to the Indo-European language family, is a national language of Angola and is widely spread throughout Angola as a colonial language from Portugal (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). Individual participants mentioned that they began to learn Portuguese as a second or additional language between 1946 and 1970 during the time that they attended school irrespective of gender, see Figure 5.1. From the time that the participants moved from Angola to Namibia (1974) their use of Portuguese declined, firstly due to lack of contact with Portuguese speakers and secondly due to the !Xun moving into a different educational system where Afrikaans was the medium of instruction and not Portuguese, for those who were still of school going age. Later, in 1990 when the !Xun moved to South Africa, those who were born in Angola were no longer of school going age and were out of the formal education system and even further away from Angola and speakers of Portuguese. At the time of this study, two of the !Xun participants born in Angola, one female and one male, mentioned being able to still speak and understand Portuguese, whereas the other four speakers said they could no longer speak it but could understand a little here and there. Participants also mentioned that they only attended a few years of formal schooling in Angola and then dropped out due to the war before moving cross to Namibia and then South Africa. Today the use of Portuguese first names is still prevalent among the Platfontein !Xun.

Seven of the nine participants mentioned acquiring Afrikaans, as a second or additional language while living in Angola (three participants, one male, two female), Namibia (two male participants) and South Africa (two female participants). Afrikaans belongs to the Indo-European language family, is a national language of South Africa and is widely spoken as a second language in South Africa and Namibia (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016).¹ Individual participants mentioned that they began to learn Afrikaans as a second or additional language between 1970 and 1990, see Figure 5.1. As with Portuguese in Angola, Afrikaans was an official language of Namibia (then South-West Africa and part of South African territory) and South Africa. Afrikaans was also a prominent language in the context of formal

¹ Afrikaans is also spoken in many other countries, including: Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016)

employment, especially in the military over that period of time. From the time that the participants moved from Angola to Namibia (1974) and later to South Africa (1990), their use of Afrikaans increased due to increased contact with speakers of Afrikaans, as well as operating under an education and employment system that strongly favoured Afrikaans under the Apartheid rule. As a result, Afrikaans was acquired by more !Xun mother tongue speakers as they took up military employment in Namibia and South Africa or attended adult literacy classes. Conversely, there were four cases (participants 2, 3, 6 and 7) where the use of Afrikaans decreased during the time that Angolan born !Xun participants lived in South Africa. Participant 2 acquired some Afrikaans while living in Namibia. Once in South Africa, along with participant 3 and 5, they attended adult literacy classes for seniors in Afrikaans between 1990 and 1994. From 1995 onwards adult literacy classes were no longer available and their use of Afrikaans decreased due to a lack of continued regular input and their isolation in Schmidtsdrift from other Afrikaans mother tongue speakers. Participant 7 learnt Afrikaans in Angola and Namibia and used it in the workplace in Namibia. However, when she moved to South Africa in 1990 she was not able to find work and therefore had reduced contact with mother tongue Afrikaans speakers.

Lastly, two of the nine participants, one female and one male, mentioned acquiring Khwedam, as a second or additional language while living in Angola and Namibia. Khwedam belongs to the Khoesan language family and is spoken in Angola, Botswana, South Africa and Zambia (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). Participants mentioned that they began to learn Khwedam as a second or additional language between 1973 and 1979. As with Nyemba, language acquisition of Khwedam took place due to language contact in the context of mutual places of employment, in this instance, with the South African Defence Force (SADF) in Namibia. From the time that the participants moved from Namibia (1974) to South Africa (1990), their use of Khwedam decreased due to lack of regular contact with Khwedam speakers in the workplace. This decrease in regular contact was due to some participants being of retirement age (88-49 at the time of data collection, 2013) when they moved to South Africa and that the 31 South African Infantry Battalion was disbanded in 1993 leaving many SADF members unemployed. Therefore many of the !Xun participants born in Angola no longer had a shared place of work with Khwedam speakers.² Even though the !Xun and Khwe currently live in the same location, they live on separate sides of Platfontein and do not interact with each

² For more information on the historical context of the !Xun and Khwe in South Africa, see Chapter 2.

other useless they are forced to share resources such as the !XunKhwesa school or employment opportunities. These participants are too old to attend school and employment opportunities for participants over the age of 50 are not common. At the time of this study, one male !Xun participant born in Angola, mentioned being able to still speak and understand Khwedam, whereas the female speaker can no longer speak it but can understand a little here and there.

5.3.1.1.2 Languages acquired in Namibia

The !Xun born in Angola lived in Namibia from 1974 to 1990, after the end of the Angolan war of Independence (1961-1975) and the South African Border war (1966-1990). During this time, they continued to acquire Oshiwambo, Afrikaans and Khwedam, as discussed in the section above. Additionally, they acquired two new languages that were not in their repertoire during the time that they lived in Angola, namely Herero and Hai||om (see Figure 5.1).

Only one male !Xun participant acquired Herero during the time that he lived in Namibia in 1981. However, in 1990 when he moved to South Africa he stopped speaking the language as he was no longer in contact with any Herero speakers.

Similarly, only one male !Xun mother tongue speaker born in Angola acquired Hai||om during the time that he lived in Namibia in 1982. Today, the use of Hai||om by !Xun mother tongue speakers born in Angola is uncommon as they are seldom in contact with other Hai||om speakers.

5.3.1.1.3 Languages acquired in South Africa

The !Xun born in Angola have lived in South Africa from 1990 to present and moved there after the South African Border war (1966-1990). During this time, they continued to acquire Afrikaans, as discussed in section *5.3.2.1.1 Languages acquired in Angola*, above. Additionally, they acquired two languages that were not in their repertoire during the time that they lived in Angola or Namibia, namely English and IsiXhosa (see Figure 5.1).

Three of the nine participants acquired English from 1990 (two participants, one male and one female) and 1995 (one male participant) to 2001, thereafter the use of English petered out. Similarly, only one female !Xun mother tongue speaker born in Angola acquired IsiXhosa in South Africa in 1998 until 2001 and then the language was no longer used due to lack in contact with IsiXhosa speakers. In the case of both English and IsiXhosa, these languages were acquired by !Xun mother tongue speakers born in Angola during temporary contract employment in

South Africa. When the employment contracts came to an end, contact with English and IsiXhosa speakers ceased for the most part and therefore both languages were not used or acquired much further. !Xun participants came into contact with English speakers occasionally in Platfontein, such as researchers or aid workers. However, due to their limited knowledge of the English language, translators are used to facilitate communication in !Xun.

5.3.1.1.4 Summary of languages acquired by !Xun descendants born in Angola

The nine participants born in Angola (1925-1964) who currently live in Platfontein from the selected !Xun family, mentioned having the following languages in their repertoire during a time period spanning from 1925 to 2013: !Xun, Chokwe/Luchazi, Nyemba/Ngangelala, Oshiwambo, Portuguese, Afrikaans, Khwedam, Herero, Hai||om, English and isiXhosa. Figure 5.2 below provides a summary of the languages acquired in Angola, Namibia and South Africa.

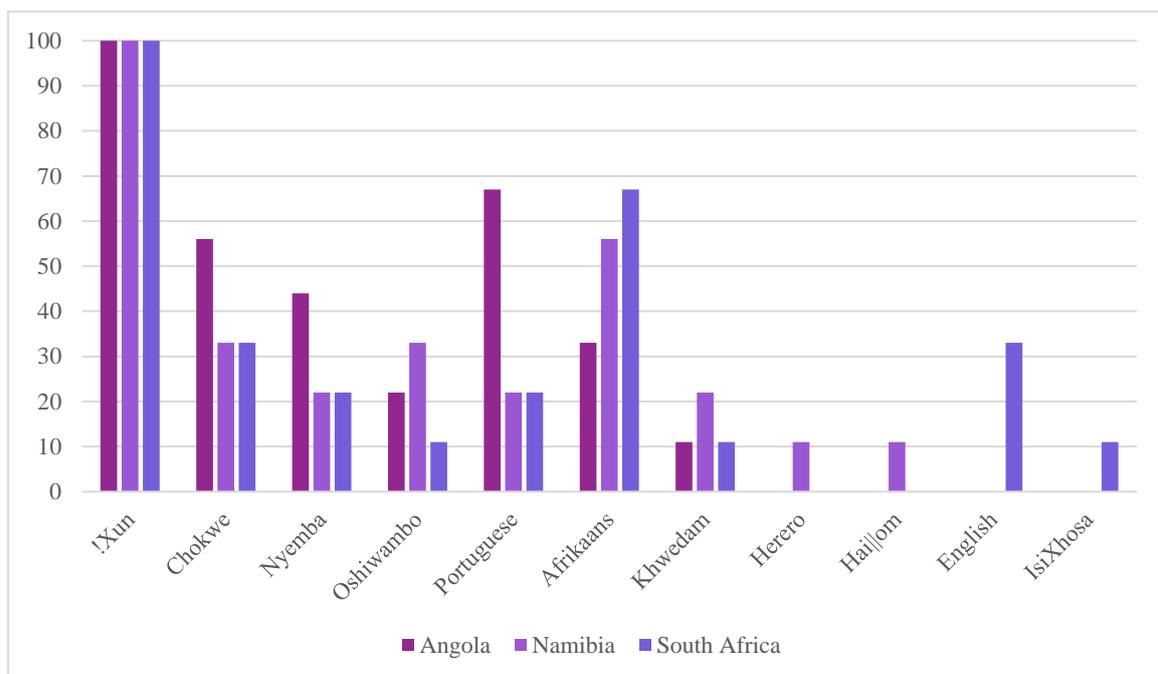


Figure 5.2: Summary of the language repertoires of selected !Xun mother tongue speakers born in Angola, according to number of speakers in Angola, Namibia and South Africa, represented as percentages.

!Xun is maintained as the mother tongue and is still used as the most dominant language in the participants' repertoires irrespective of gender. Languages acquired in Angola such as: Chokwe, Nyemba, Oshiwambo and Portuguese were reduced in use by mother tongue !Xun speakers due to lack of contact with speakers of these languages. Specifically, in the case of Portuguese, !Xun speakers were no longer in contact with many speakers of Portuguese nor were they in an education system that used Portuguese as the language of instruction, as was

the case in Angola. Once the !Xun moved to Namibia and South Africa they were in an education and employment system that primarily incorporated Afrikaans and not Portuguese as the language of instruction. In this way, the use of Afrikaans has continuously increased from a minimal use in Angola (1970), to a moderate use in Namibia (1974-1990) where it was primarily employed in the workplace and formal education. Increased use and further learning of Afrikaans continued in South Africa with seasonal employment and adult education prospects in Afrikaans. Chokwe and Nyemba are still used today in Platfontein, mostly by female participants in the context of singing and in conjunction with traditional dance performances. The use of Portuguese names are still common among this !Xun family today.

The use of Khwedam began in 1973 and increased in Namibia due to a shared living and employment environment with Khwe. However, from 1990 onwards Khwedam was used less by mother tongue speakers of !Xun born in Angola as many people were forced to retire and therefore regular contact with Khwedam speakers was reduced. Although !Xun and Khwe speakers both live in Platfontein, they live on opposite sides of the village with the local school and other amenities found in the centre for shared use. Contact between the two groups of people, especially the !Xun elders born in Angola and the Khwe elders born in Namibia, seldom occurs other than when they are sharing the same facilities, due to historical animosity that exists between the two groups (see Chapter 2 for further detail).

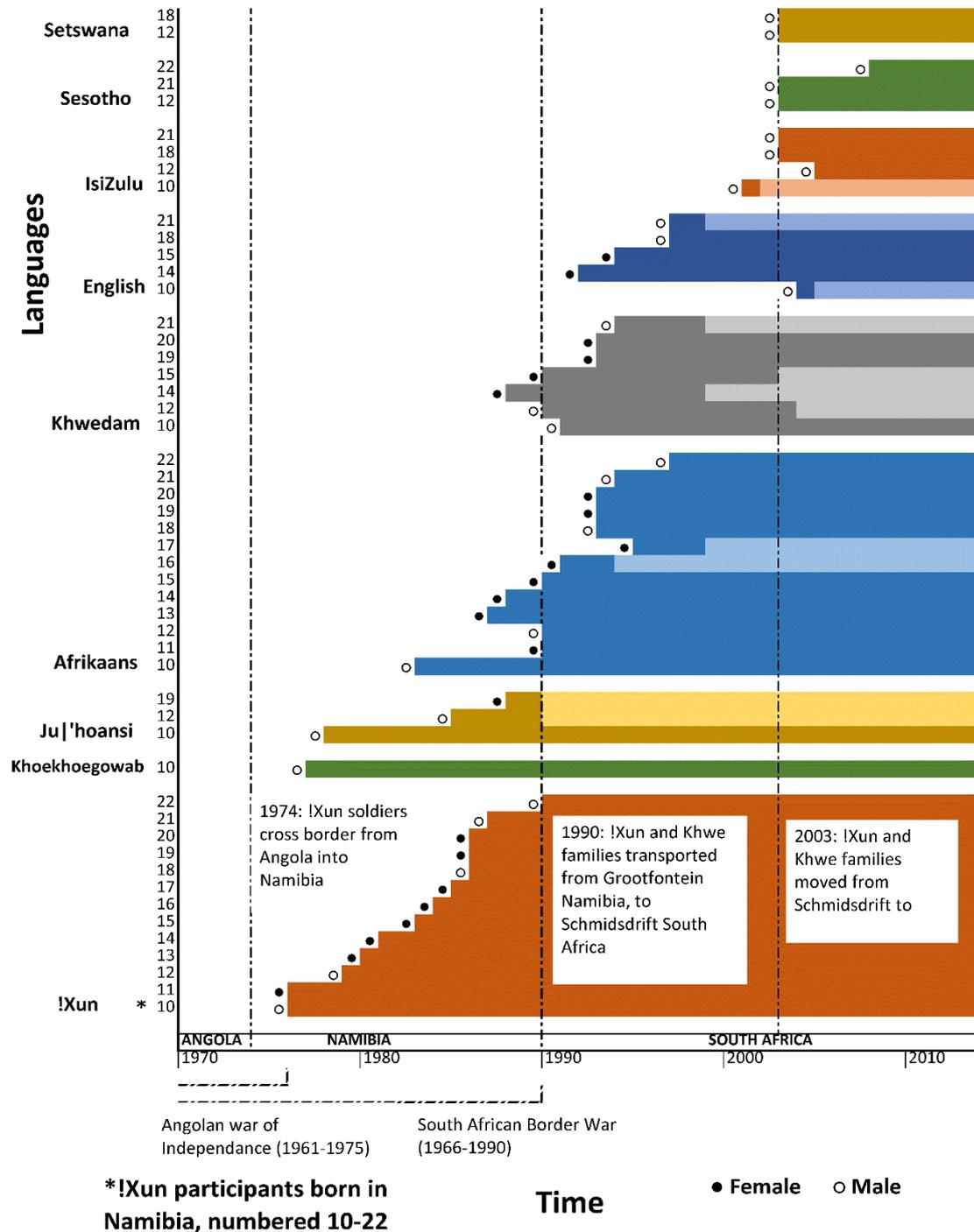
Herero was acquired by a male participant in Namibia in 1981. However, after the move to South Africa in 1990 he was no longer in contact with Herero speakers and therefore the use of Herero decreased. Hai||om was also acquired in Namibia (1982) by a male participant and its use in South Africa has declined due to lack of contact with other Hai||om speakers. Finally, once in South Africa, !Xun descendants born in Angola acquired English and isiXhosa between 1990 and 2001 due to employment prospects at that time; however, when these prospects expired these languages were reduced in use. Languages that are still spoken and understood by !Xun participants born in Angola, currently living in Platfontein South Africa are: !Xun, Chokwe, Nyemba, Oshiwambo, Portuguese, Afrikaans and Khwedam.

5.3.1.2 !Xun participants born in Namibia

Of the 41 !Xun participants interviewed in this study, thirteen were born in Namibia, see Figure 5.3 *Language repertoires of !Xun participants born in Namibia (1965-March 1990)*. The given figure is a timeline that illustrates which languages were acquired by these thirteen participants

and in which country. Furthermore, Figure 5.3 shows which of the languages acquired continued to be used over time by these participants and which languages were reduced in use, or no longer used at all. As with Figure 5.1, Figure 5.3 shows the use of a language indicated by a bold colour and reduced use of a language by a lighter version of the same colour. Female participants are represented by a black circle, ●, whereas male participants are represented by a white circle, ○.

Figure 5.3: Language repertoires of !Xun participants born in Namibia (1965-March 1990)



5.3.1.2.1 Languages acquired in Namibia

The dates of birth of the given thirteen participants born in Namibia ranged from 1965 to March 1990 (i.e. their ages were 23-48 at the time of data collection, in 2013). The youngest participant was born in 1990 prior to the move to South Africa and therefore was prelinguistic, meaning that he was in the developmental phase before children say their first meaningful sentences therefore his language repertoire will only be analysed once he is in the linguistic phase of his life (Keen et al., 2016:3), i.e. after he moved to South Africa. Collectively twelve of these thirteen participants mentioned acquiring the following languages during the time that they lived in Namibia: !Xun, Khoekhoegowab, Ju|'hoansi, Afrikaans and Khwedam (see Figure 5.3). All of the twelve participants mentioned being able to speak two or more of the above mentioned languages.

As with those born in Angola, all thirteen participants identified with !Xun as their mother tongue, the language that they are most proficient in and use most often irrespective of gender. Acquisition of !Xun took place in Namibia for twelve participants and in South Africa for the youngest of these participants and was learnt in all cases from parents and family members. The languages that they have in common with their elders who were born in Angola were !Xun as their mother tongue and Afrikaans and Khwedam as second or additional languages.

All !Xun participants who were born in Namibia and were beyond the prelinguistic phase used !Xun as their mother tongue in Namibia and continued to do so when they moved to South Africa in 1990 due to the South African Border War (1966-1990). Participant 22, acquired !Xun in South Africa as his mother tongue. Therefore, all !Xun participants born in Namibia have !Xun as their mother tongue. As with their elders from Angola, despite being multilingual, their mother tongue has remained their primary language across two countries and through a war. None of the thirteen participants mentioned the practice of traditional dance or healing nor any language that would accompany such practices.

One male participant mentioned acquiring Khoekhoegowab, as a second language while living in Namibia. Khoekhoegowab belongs to the central Khoesan language family and is mostly spoken in Erongo, Kunene and Otjozondjupa regions of Namibia (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). This participant mentioned that he began to learn Khoekhoegowab as a second language in 1977 (see Figure 5.3), that his mother spoke it fluently and that he learnt it from her. Today he works in a local shop in Platfontein where he must engage with !Xun mother

tongue speakers and Khwedam mother tongue speakers who frequent the shop as customers. He uses Khoekhoegowab as a lingua franca with Khwedam mother tongue speakers as the two languages belong to the same language group, namely central Khoesan and are therefore mutually intelligible to an extent (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). The use of Khoekhoegowab in this context suffices for the basic communication needed in the local shop for purchases to be made and other basic conversation between the speaker and Khwedam mother tongue speakers.

Three of the thirteen participants (two male and one female) mentioned acquiring Ju|'hoansi, as a second or additional language while living in Namibia. Ju|'hoansi belongs to the Khoesan language family and is mostly spoken in the Otjozondjupa, Omaheke and the Kavango East and West regions of Namibia as well as Botswana (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). Individual participants mentioned that they began to learn Ju|'hoansi as a second or additional language between 1978 and 1988, see Figure 5.3. Language acquisition of Ju|'hoansi took place due to language contact in the Bushmanland area of Namibia. From the time that the participants moved from Namibia to South Africa (1990) their use of Ju|'hoansi reduced due to lack of contact with other Ju|'hoan speakers. Only one male !Xun participant born in Namibia mentioned being able to still speak and understand Ju|'hoansi, whereas the other two speakers (one male and one female) say they can no longer speak it but can understand a little here and there.

All thirteen participants mentioned acquiring Afrikaans as a second or additional language irrespective of gender. Three participants started learning Afrikaans while still living in Namibia (i.e. from 1983 onward) while the other ten participants only learned Afrikaans once they were in South Africa (see Figure 5.3).³

From the time that the participants moved from Namibia to South Africa (1990), the use of Afrikaans increased due to increased contact with speakers of Afrikaans, as well as operating under a predominately Afrikaans education and employment system. As a result, Afrikaans was acquired by all of the !Xun mother tongue speakers born in Namibia as they attended formal schooling in Namibia and South Africa, primarily in Afrikaans. Participants 16 and 17 dropped out of school and only attained a sub B (grade 2) at nine years of age and a std. 1 (grade 3) at

³ For more information on the Afrikaans language and its status in Namibia and South Africa, see section 5.3.2.1.1. *Languages acquired in Angola.*

13 years of age respectively. During this time, they lived in Schmidtsdrift (April 1990 – 2003), which is approximately 80km from Kimberley, see Figure 5.3. As children, they did not travel into Kimberley often as it was far and expensive to do so, therefore they did not gain much contact with Afrikaans speakers in town. With a lack of input of the Afrikaans language from the schooling environment, their use of Afrikaans decreased after dropping out of school and today they can understand the language here and there but can hardly speak it. Neither participant was able to conduct any of their interviews in Afrikaans, only in !Xun.

Lastly, seven of the thirteen participants mentioned acquiring Khwedam as a second or additional language while living in Namibia (one female participant) and South Africa (three male and three female participants). Khwedam belongs to the Khoesan language family and is spoken in Angola, Botswana, South Africa and Zambia (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). Individual participants mentioned that they began to learn Khwedam as a second or additional language between 1988 and 1994, (see Figure 5.3). Language acquisition of Khwedam took place due to language contact in the context of mutual places of employment or education with mother tongue Khwedam speakers. In this instance, employment with the South African Defence Force (SADF) in Namibia and formal education, where mother tongue !Xun and mother tongue Khwedam speakers were educated at the same schools and thereby learnt each other's languages through daily interaction at school. From the time that the participants moved from Namibia to South Africa (1990), for those that were still school going age, their use of Khwedam increased due to more formalised and permanent education offered to both the !Xun and the Khwe in Schmidtsdrift and Platfontein. As with those participants that formally acquired Afrikaans in the schooling environment, so was Khwedam acquired although not as a language of instruction but as a language used socially in the context of formal schooling. Therefore, those participants who dropped out of school also stopped acquiring Khwedam and their daily interaction with Khwedam speakers was reduced. Three (one male and two female) of the !Xun participants continue to use Khwedam today and can speak and understand the language. The remaining four participants (two male and two female) dropped out of school and no longer use Khwedam in their daily lives and therefore understand some Khwedam here and there but can no longer speak it.

5.3.1.2.2 Languages acquired in South Africa

The !Xun born in Namibia have lived in South Africa from 1990 to present and moved there after the South African Border war (1966-1990), together with their parents who were born in

Angola. During this time, they continued to acquire !Xun, Afrikaans, and Khwedam as discussed in section 5.3.2.2.1 *Languages acquired in Namibia*, above (including the youngest participant who progressed past the prelinguistic phase). Additionally, they acquired four languages that were not in their repertoire during the time that they lived in Namibia, namely English, IsiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana, see Figure 5.3. All four of these languages are national languages of South Africa. At this point all thirteen participants used !Xun as their mother tongue, as the youngest participant, participant 22, entered the linguistic phase of his life when they moved to South Africa from 1990 onwards.

Five of the thirteen participants (three male and two female) mentioned acquiring English as an additional language. English belongs to the Indo-European language family and is a dominant language locally as well as internationally in trade, science, media and education (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). Two male speakers acquired English in the workplace or at school. However, their employment was typically seasonal and they dropped out of school and therefore can understand a little of the language but not speak it. The remaining three female speakers acquired English at !Xunkhwesa school in Platfontein as an additional language and continue to use it today, especially when interacting with popular media.

Finally, IsiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana were all acquired in the workplace during seasonal labour work outside of Platfontein by male participants only. Four of the thirteen participants mentioned acquiring isiZulu. One participant only used IsiZulu for a year and then lost their seasonal work and today seldom uses the language. The remaining three participants acquired IsiZulu in the informal work sector from the time that they moved from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein (2003) and continue to use it in this setting. Similarly, with Sesotho and Setswana, three of the thirteen participants acquired Sesotho and two participants acquired Setswana from 2003 onwards and continue to use these languages in the informal work sector. Therefore among the !Xun participants of the second generation, Bantu languages were only acquired by male participants due to the gender specific work opportunities available to them.

5.3.1.2.3 Summary of languages acquired by !Xun descendants born in Namibia

The thirteen participants born in Namibia (1965-March 1990) who currently live in Platfontein from the selected !Xun family mentioned having the following languages in their repertoire spanning from 1965 to 2013: !Xun, Khoekhoegowab, Ju|'hoansi, Afrikaans, Khwedam,

English, IsiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana. Figure 5.4 below provides a summary of the languages acquired in Namibia and South Africa.

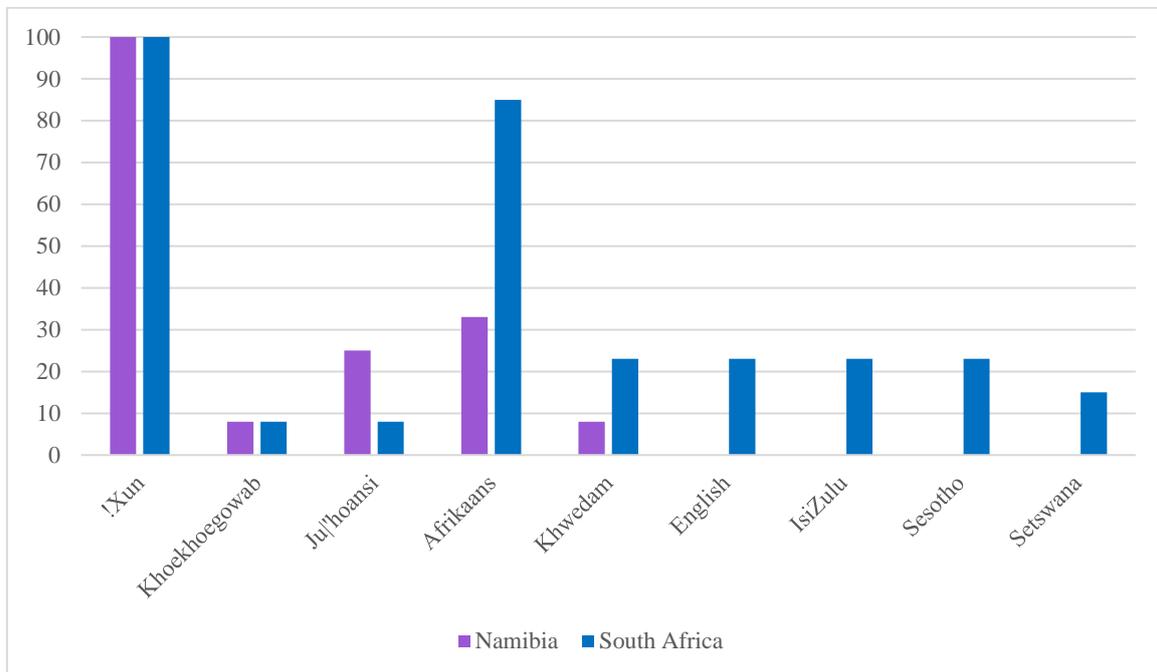


Figure 5.4: Summary of the language repertoires of selected !Xun mother tongue speakers born in Namibia, according to number of speakers in Namibia and South Africa, represented in percentages.

Like the !Xun born in Angola, !Xun is maintained as the mother tongue and is still used as the most dominant language in the participants' repertoires. Additional languages that appeared in the repertoire of those !Xun born in Angola as well as those born in Namibia are Afrikaans, English and Khwedam. These languages continue to be used today. Chokwe, Nyemba, Oshiwambo, Portuguese, Herero, Hai||om and isiXhosa were not mentioned by the !Xun born in Namibia as being part of their repertoire.

From Namibia, the use of Khoekhoegowab continued to be used in South Africa as a lingua franca between the !Xun and the Khwe, in the specific context of the local trading store. The use of Ju|'hoansi was reduced in use by mother tongue !Xun speakers as they were no longer in contact with Ju|'hoan speakers once they moved from Namibia to South Africa in 1990. The acquisition of Afrikaans and Khwedam began in Namibia, however, the use of both languages increased when the !Xun moved to South Africa. The acquisition of Afrikaans began in 1983 and by 1997 all thirteen participants could understand Afrikaans and the majority could speak it too. This increase in the acquisition of Afrikaans was due to Afrikaans being the language of instruction in formal education and in the employment sector. Additionally, in Platfontein and

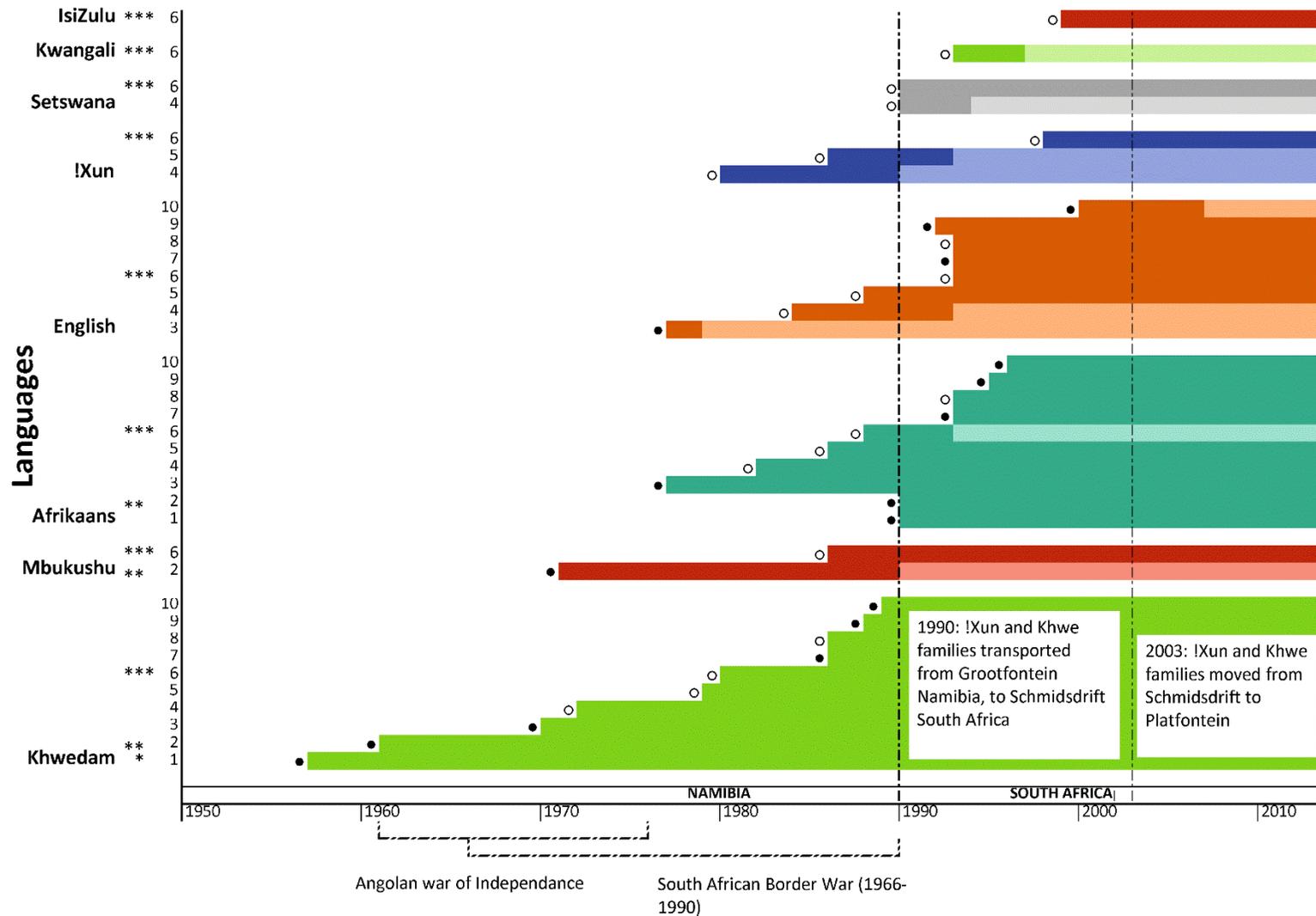
surrounds, Afrikaans is the most dominant language in environments such as local shops, the municipal office and medical services should a translator not be available. The acquisition of Khwedam by !Xun born in Namibia began in 1988 and increased from 1990 onwards when they moved to South Africa. This increase was due to larger schooling facilities available in South Africa which brought more !Xun and Khwe children into contact at the same place every day. The result of regular interaction between !Xun speaking and Khwedam speaking children in a formal schooling environment is that they are learning each other's languages socially at school.

The acquisition of English, IsiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana began after the participants moved to South Africa. Participants acquired English as an additional language in the formal schooling environment as well as the workplace from 1992 onwards. IsiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana were all acquired in the informal work sector outside of Platfontein by male participants only. Employment in this setting increased from 2003 onwards when the participants moved from Schmidtsdrift in South Africa to Platfontein in South Africa, which is closer to Kimberley, the capital of the province and an economic hub. Languages that are still spoken and understood by !Xun participants born in Namibia, currently living in Platfontein South Africa are: !Xun, Khoekhoegowab, Jul'hoansi, Afrikaans, Khwedam, English, IsiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana.

5.3.1.3 Khwe participants born in Namibia

Of the 26 Khwe participants interviewed in this study, ten were born in Namibia (see Figure 5.5) *Language repertoires of Khwe participants born in Namibia (1957-March 1990)*. Figure 5.5 presents a timeline that illustrates which languages were acquired by these ten participants and in which country. Furthermore, Figure 5.5 shows which of the languages acquired continued to be used over time by these participants and which languages were reduced in use, or are no longer used at all. As with Figure 5.1 and 5.3, Figure 5.5 shows the use of a language indicated by a bold colour and reduced use of a language by a lighter version of the same colour. Female participants are represented by a black circle, ●, whereas male participants are represented by a white circle, ○.

Figure 5.5: Language repertoires of Khwe participants born in Namibia (1957-1990)



*Khwe participants born in Namibia, numbered 1-10 (**Participant no.2 was born in Angola but later moved to Namibia. ***Participant no.6 lived in Namibia, moved to Bostwana in 1990 and South Africa in 1998)

Time

● Female ○ Male

5.3.1.3.1 Languages acquired in Namibia

The dates of birth of the given ten participants ranged from 1957 to 1989 (i.e. their ages ranged from 22-56 at the time of data collection in 2013). The youngest participant was born in 1989, prior to the move to South Africa and therefore was prelinguistic at this time (Keen et al., 2016:3). The nine participants who were past the prelinguistic stage while they lived in Namibia collectively mentioned, that they acquired the following languages during the time that they lived in Namibia: Khwedam, Mbukushu, Afrikaans, English and !Xun. All ten participants mentioned being able to speak two or more of the above mentioned languages.

All ten participants identified with Khwedam as their mother tongue, the language that they are most proficient in and use most often irrespective of gender. All Khwe participants continued to use Khwedam when they moved to South Africa in 1990 due to the South African Border War (1966-1990). Acquisition of Khwedam took place in Namibia for nine participants and in South Africa for the youngest participant in this group; it was learnt from their parents and family members.

Therefore, for all those participants who were born in Namibia, Khwedam is their mother tongue. Similar to the !Xun, despite being multilingual, their mother tongue has remained their primary language across two countries and through one war. None of the older nine participants mentioned the practice of traditional dance or healing nor any language that would accompany such practices.

Two of the ten participants (one female and one male) mentioned acquiring Mbukushu, as a second or additional language while living in Namibia. Mbukushu belongs to the Niger-Congo, Narrow Bantu language family and is spoken in Namibia, Angola, Botswana and Zambia (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). It was mentioned by participants that they acquired Mbukushu while attending school in Namibia with Mbukushu speaking children. When the participants moved to South Africa they had less contact with Mbukushu speakers and therefore use the language less. At the time of the study in 2013, one male Khwe participant could still speak and understand Mbukushu by keeping in regular contact with a childhood Mbukushu speaking friend via telephone. The other participant no longer remembered how to speak Mbukushu but could understand it.

All ten participants mentioned acquiring Afrikaans as a second or additional language. Four of the participants (one female, three male) acquired Afrikaans while living in Namibia the remaining six (five female and one male) acquired Afrikaans while living in South Africa. The acquisition of Afrikaans began in 1977 and by 1996 all ten participants could understand Afrikaans and the majority could speak it too. This increase in the acquisition of Afrikaans was due to Afrikaans being the language of instruction in formal education and in the employment sector. One male Khwe participant, participant 6, attended the junior primary school in Omega, Namibia for his first six years of schooling, where the medium of instruction was Afrikaans. Thereafter, he moved to an English medium school in northern Namibia up to grade 10 where he no longer used Afrikaans. Today he says he has a limited understanding of Afrikaans and prefers to use English.

Eight of the ten participants (four male and four female) acquired English as an additional language. Three of the participants (one female, two male) acquired English while living in Namibia and the remaining five (three female, one male) acquired English while living in South Africa. As with Afrikaans, the acquisition of English began in 1977 in the context of formal education. One by one participants began to acquire English and by the year 2000 all eight participants had begun acquiring English as an additional language.

Lastly, three participants, all male, mentioned acquiring !Xun as an additional language. Two participants acquired !Xun while living in Namibia and serving in the South African Border War (1966-1990) together and one participant acquired !Xun while living in South Africa and working closely with many !Xun speakers. !Xun belongs to the Khoesan language family and is spoken in South Africa, Namibia, Angola and Botswana (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). The two participants who acquired !Xun in Namibia during the war use it much less now that they are at peace and living in South Africa, whereas the participant who acquired !Xun in South Africa continues to use it today as he works together with !Xun mother tongue speakers in the private security industry. Therefore, among the Khwe participants in the second generation, !Xun was only acquired by males due to their gender specific work opportunities.

5.3.1.3.2 Languages acquired in South Africa

The Khwe born in Namibia have lived in South Africa from 1990 to present and moved there after the South African Border war (1966-1990). During this time, they continued to acquire Khwedam, Afrikaans, English and !Xun as discussed in section *5.3.2.3.1 Languages acquired*

in Namibia, above (including the youngest participant who progressed past the prelinguistic phase). Additionally, they acquired three languages that were not in their repertoire during the time that they lived in Namibia, namely Setswana, Kwangali and IsiZulu (see Figure 5.5).

Like Khwedam among the !Xun family, both Setswana and IsiZulu were acquired in the workplace during seasonal labour work outside of Platfontein by male participants only. Two of the ten participants mentioned acquiring Setswana. One participant only used Setswana for four years (1990-1993) and then lost their seasonal work and today seldom uses the language. The other participant acquired Setswana in 1990 in the informal work sector and continues to use it in this setting today. Similarly, with IsiZulu one of the ten participants acquired IsiZulu in 1999 in the informal work sector and continues to use it today. Therefore, among the Khwe participants in the second generation, Setswana and isiZulu was only acquired by males due to their gender specific work opportunities.

Kwangali belongs to the Niger-Congo, Narrow Bantu language family and is spoken in Namibia, Angola and Botswana (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). In the context of Khoesan languages, Kwangali is most notably used by Hai||om speakers as a second language (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). It was mentioned by one male participant that he acquired Kwangali while living in Botswana from 1993-1996 but no longer uses it as he is not in contact with other Kwangali speakers.

5.3.1.3.3 Summary of languages acquired by Khwe descendants born in Namibia

The ten participants born in Namibia (1957-March 1990) who currently live in Platfontein from the selected Khwe family mentioned having the following languages in their repertoire spanning from 1957 to 2013: Khwedam, Mbukushu, Afrikaans, English, !Xun, Setswana, Kwangali and IsiZulu. Figure 5.6 below provides a summary of the languages acquired in Namibia and South Africa.

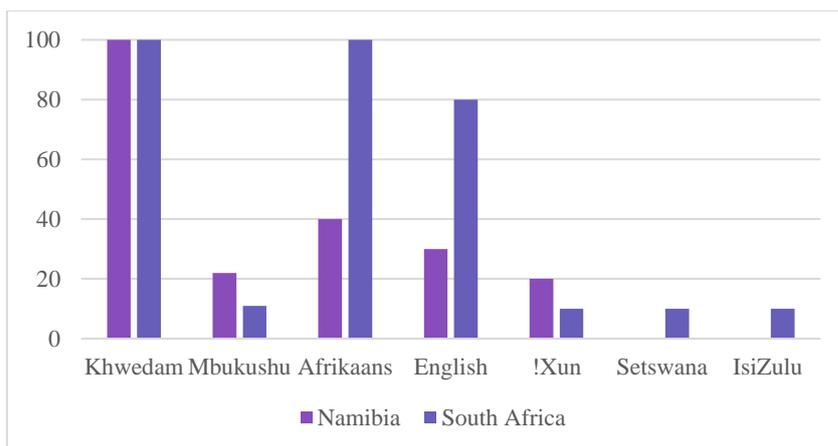


Figure 5.6: Summary of the language repertoires of selected Khwedam mother tongue speakers born in Namibia, according to number of speakers in Namibia and South Africa, represented in percentages.

Like !Xun among the !Xun family, Khwedam is maintained as the mother tongue by the selected Khwe family and is still used as the most dominant language in the participants' repertoires irrespective of gender. Mbukushu was no longer used regularly by the mother tongue Khwedam speakers as they were no longer in contact with Mbukushu speakers once they moved from Namibia to South Africa in March 1990. The acquisition of Afrikaans and English began in Namibia; the use of both of these languages increased after the Khwe moved to South Africa, again irrespective of gender.

The acquisition of Afrikaans began in 1977. By 1996 all ten participants could understand Afrikaans and the majority could speak it too. As was noted with Afrikaans among the !Xun family, this increase in the acquisition of Afrikaans was due to Afrikaans being the language of instruction in formal education and in the employment sector. Similarly, the use of English as an additional language in formal education began in 1977 and increased due to larger schooling facilities available in South Africa from 1993 onwards. !Xun was also acquired by Khwedam speakers while they lived in Namibia. However, when they moved to South Africa the use of !Xun decreased among the older participants, and contact and interaction with !Xun speakers was dependant on a shared work environment. Although the !Xun and Khwe attended the same school, !Xunkhwesa, Khwe participants hardly mentioned acquiring !Xun in this context whereas the !Xun speaking children mentioned acquiring Khwedam socially at school. This could be evidence to suggest that Khwedam is a stronger language socially than !Xun in the schooling environment.

As was noted with Setswana and IsiZulu among the !Xun family, the acquisition of Setswana and IsiZulu began after the participants moved to South Africa in 1990 by male participants only. Setswana was acquired in 1990 and IsiZulu in 1999 in the informal work sector outside of Platfontein. The use of either of these languages is dependent on participants having seasonal work with speakers of either Setswana or IsiZulu. Kwangali was acquired by one male participant while living in Botswana from 1993-1996, but he no longer uses it as he is not in contact with other Kwangali speakers. Languages that are still spoken and understood by Khwe participants born in Namibia, currently living in Platfontein, South Africa are: Khwedam, Mbukushu, Afrikaans, English, !Xun, Setswana and IsiZulu.

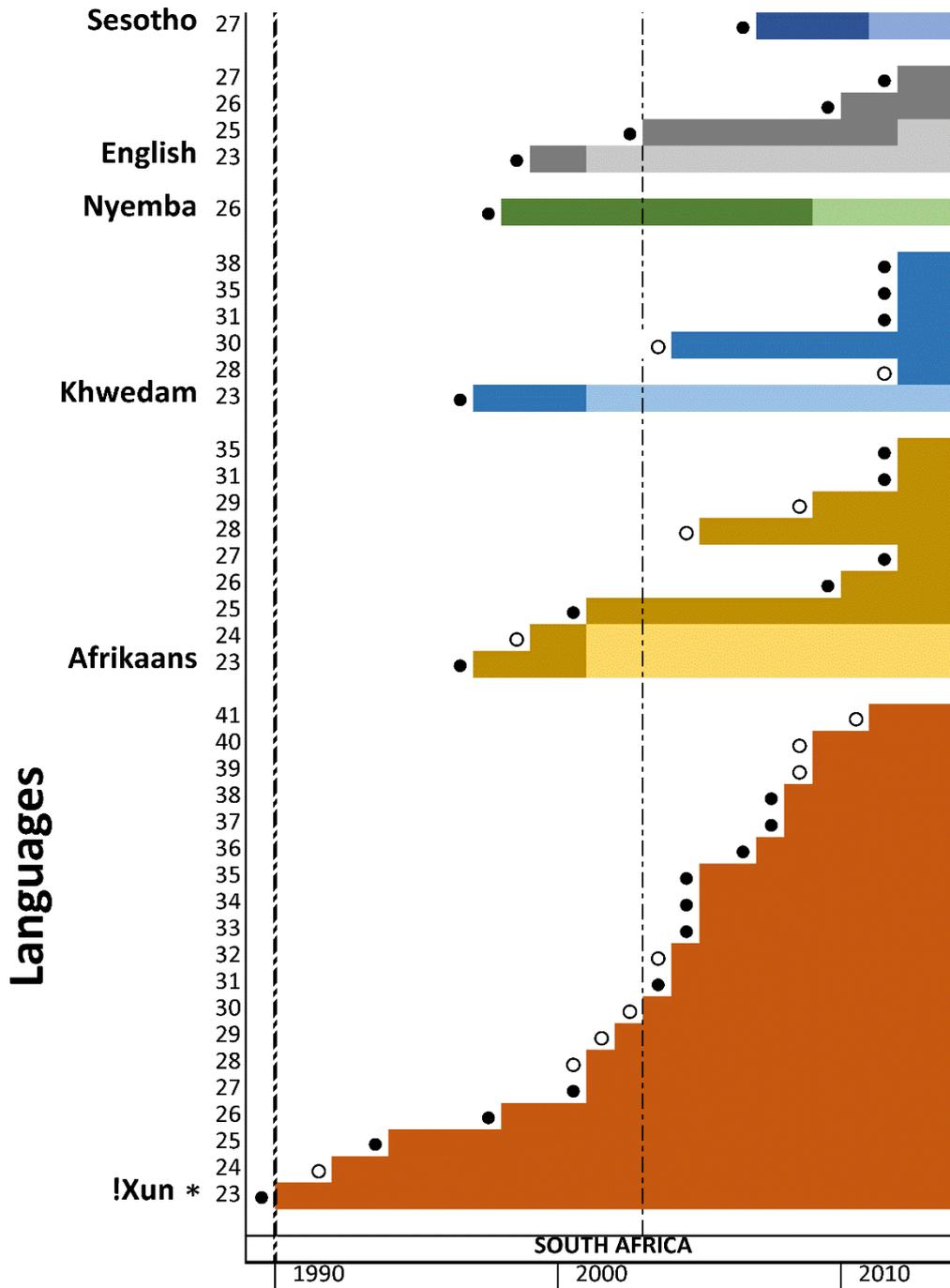
5.3.1.4 Participants born in South Africa

Of the 41 !Xun participants interviewed in this study, 19 were born in South Africa see Figure 5.7 *Language repertoires of !Xun participants born in South Africa (April 1990-2013)*. Of the 26 Khwe participants interviewed in this study, 16 were born in South Africa see Figure 5.9 *Language repertoires of Khwe participants born in South Africa (April 1990 - 2013)*. Those participants who were under the age of two at the time of data collection in 2013, were excluded from the study as they were considered prelinguistic (Keen et al., 2016:3). Figure 5.7 and 5.9 are timelines that illustrate which languages were acquired by the above mentioned participants born in South Africa. As with the previous figures, Figure 5.7 and 5.9 show which of the languages acquired continue to be used today by these participants and which languages were reduced in use, or are no longer used at all. On both figures, the use of a language is indicated by a bold colour and reduced use of a language by a lighter version of the same colour. Female participants are represented by a black circle, ●, whereas male participants are represented by a white circle, ○.

5.3.1.4.1 Languages acquired in South Africa by !Xun descendants

The 19 !Xun participants who were born and live in South Africa collectively mentioned acquiring the following languages: !Xun, Afrikaans, Khwedam, Nyemba, English and Sesotho (see Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: Language repertoires of !Xun participants born in South Africa (April 1990-2013)



1990: !Xun and Khwe families transported from Grootfontein Namibia, to Schmidtsdrift South Africa. After the South African Border war (1966-

2003: !Xun and Khwe families moved from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein

Time

*!Xun participants born in South Africa, numbered 23-41

● Female ○ Male

Every participant identified with !Xun as their mother tongue, the language that they are most proficient in and use most often, irrespective of gender. Acquisition of !Xun took place in South Africa for all 19 participants and was learnt from their parents and family members. The dates of birth of the given 19 participants ranged from April 1990 to 2011 (ages 2-23 at the time of data collection, in 2013). Like the previous !Xun generations mentioned in this study, !Xun speakers born in South Africa have retained their mother tongue as their primary language of communication, despite being multilingual.

Nine of the 19 participants mentioned acquiring Afrikaans as a second language at school, again this was not gender dependant. Those who did not acquire Afrikaans had not attended school. Those who attended school for a few years and then dropped out, only acquired Afrikaans over that period of time and thereafter used it much less than before when they were learning Afrikaans at school. This can be seen with participants 23 and 24 in Figure 5.7. Neither participant was able to conduct any of their interviews in Afrikaans and needed a translator to participate in the study. This could have been because these participants were born in Schmidtsdrift where they were more isolated from Afrikaans speakers than those who grew up in Platfontein. This isolation from other Afrikaans speakers in conjunction with dropping out of school at a young age could account for their lack of acquisition of Afrikaans. Similarly, English is taught as an additional language at school from grade 4 onwards. Those participants who stayed in school and progressed further than grade 4 acquired some English, namely, four of the 19 participants. Those participants who did not attend school or dropped out before grade 4 did not acquire English. There were some participants who acquired English at school for a few years but then dropped out of school and no longer used the language, namely participants 23 and 25 on Figure 5.7.

In a formal schooling context Afrikaans is acquired as the language of instruction and English as a formally taught additional language however Khwedam was also acquired by some !Xun participants as a language acquired socially at school through contact with mother tongue Khwedam speakers. Six (four female and two male) of the 19 participants stated that they acquired Khwedam while attending !Xunhwesa school. One of those six, a female, participant 23, dropped out of school (see Figure 5.7) and now uses the language much less; however, the remaining five participants continue to use Khwedam socially at school.

One female participant of the 19 participants mentioned that she practises traditional dance with her grandmother. and that they sing !Xun songs as well as Nyemba/Ngangela songs during this practise. She said that she used Nyemba/Ngangela most from 1998 to 2008 but now they do not use it as much as they used to. She remarked that she can sing songs in the language and could understand some words here and there but cannot speak the language fluently. She made no mention of traditional healing practices often associated with traditional dancing, though.

Lastly, one female participant of the 19 mentioned that she acquired Sesotho from 2007 to 2010 (see Figure 5.7) while living with her parents on a farm outside of Platfontein. Sesotho belongs to the Niger-Congo, Narrow Bantu language family and is a national language of South Africa and Lesotho (Lewis et al. 2016: accessed 01/08/2016). However, after the participant and her family completed their seasonal farm work they returned to Platfontein; therefore, she no longer had anyone to speak to in the language and no longer used it. Languages that were still spoken and understood by !Xun participants born in South Africa, living in Platfontein South Africa at the time of the study were: !Xun, Afrikaans, Khwedam and English. A summary of these languages in relation to their use by !Xun participants born in South Africa, living in Platfontein can be seen below in Figure 5.8.

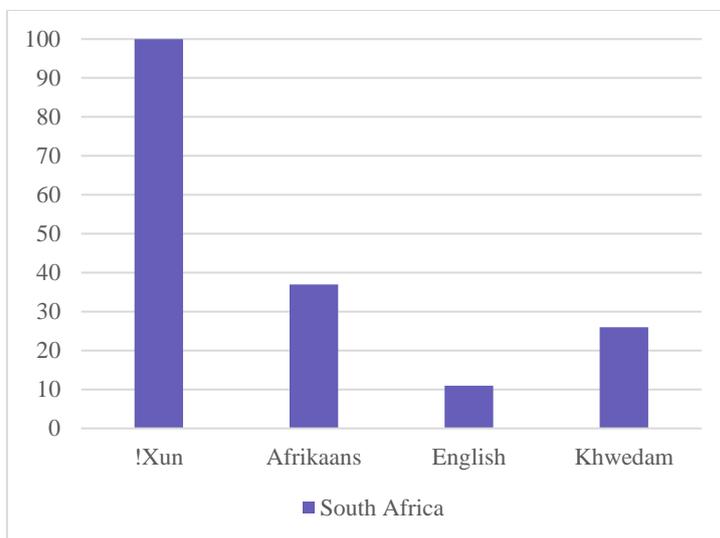
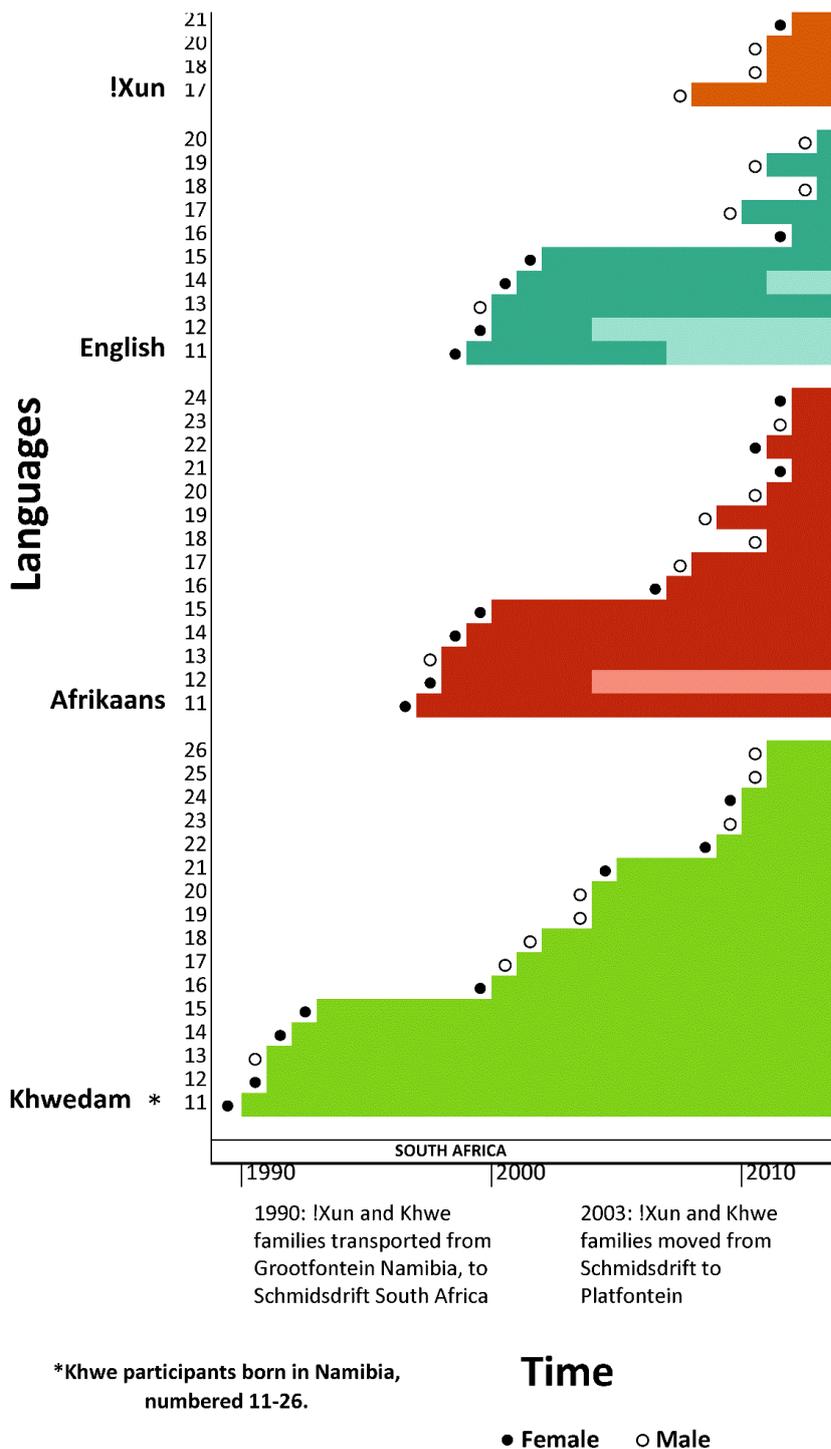


Figure 5.8: Summary of the language repertoires of selected !Xun mother tongue speakers born in South Africa, according to number of speakers in South Africa, represented in percentages

5.3.1.4.2 Languages acquired in South Africa by Khwe descendants

The 16 Khwe participants who were born and live in South Africa collectively mentioned acquiring the following languages: Khwedam, Afrikaans, English and !Xun, (see Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9: Language repertoires of Khwe participants born in South Africa (1990-2013)



Like !Xun among the !Xun family, every Khwe participant identified with Khwedam as their mother tongue, the language that they are most proficient in and use most often, irrespective of gender. The acquisition of Khwedam took place in South Africa for all 16 participants and was learnt from their parents and family members. The dates of birth of the given 16 participants ranged from April 1990 to 2011 (ages 2-23 at the time of data collection, in 2013). Like the previous !Xun generations and Khwe generations mentioned in this study, Khwe speakers born in South Africa have retained their mother tongue as their primary language of communication, despite being multilingual.

Fourteen (eight female and six male) of the 16 participants mentioned acquiring Afrikaans. All fourteen mentioned acquiring Afrikaans as a second language at school. Those who did not acquire Afrikaans had not attended school yet as they are too young at the time of this study in 2013. The dropout rate from school among the Khwe is lower than the !Xun for these two families. In this instance there was only one female Khwe participant, participant 12 (see Figure 5.9) who had dropped out of school and therefore only acquired Afrikaans from 1998 to 2003 and thereafter has not used it as much. Similarly, English is taught as an additional language at school from grade 4 onwards. Those participants who stayed in school and progressed further than grade 4 acquired some English, namely, 10 of the 16 participants. There were some participants who acquired English at school for a few years but then dropped out of school and no longer used the language, namely participants 11, 12 and 14 on Figure 5.9.

In a formal schooling context at !Xunkhwesa school in Platfontein, Afrikaans is acquired as the language of instruction and English as a formally taught additional language. In addition !Xun was also acquired socially by some Khwe participants at school through contact with mother tongue !Xun speakers. Four (three male and one female) of the 16 participants mentioned that they acquired !Xun while attending !Xunkhwesa school. These four participants were aged 14 or younger at the time of this study. Languages that were still spoken and understood by Khwe participants born in South Africa, living in Platfontein, South Africa in 2013 are: Khwedam, Afrikaans, English and !Xun. A summary of these languages in relation to their use by Khwe participants born in South Africa, living in Platfontein can be seen below in Figure 5.10.

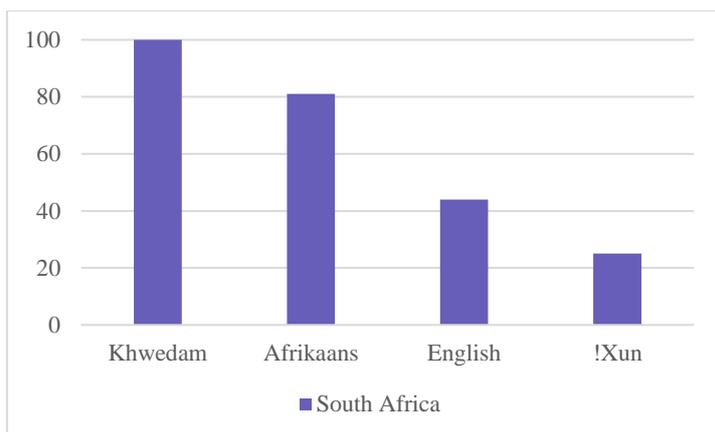


Figure 5.10: Summary of the language repertoires of selected Khwedam mother tongue speakers born in South Africa, according to number of speakers in South Africa, represented in percentages

5.4 Summary

In response to research sub-question i): What is the historical sociolinguistic background of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally? No evidence was found among the !Xun or Khwe participants that multilingualism has ever lead to language shift away from their mother tongue to another language in their repertoire throughout the family history recorded in this research. In other words: Through five generations and major changes in their living environment and many different language contact situations, the mother tongue has remained stable in both families under investigation.

Despite having different multilingual language repertoires between the !Xun and the Khwe, as well as from one generation to the next, it was found that all participants retained their mother tongue. However, from the data one can see that the number of languages in an individual's repertoire has decreased from one generation to the next. In other words, those in the older generations born in Angola and Namibia have more languages in their repertoire than those in the younger generations born in South Africa.

It is possible that the participants in South Africa have acquired fewer languages than their predecessors because they now live a less traditional lifestyle and are no longer as nomadic as they used to be. Therefore, they come into less contact with speakers of other languages and have less opportunity or need to acquire languages outside of those that they are exposed to at school, both socially and formally. Beyond the formal schooling context, !Xun and Khwe

participants who live in Platfontein do acquire additional languages in the workplace but unemployment rates in Platfontein are very high. Those who do find employment, primarily find contract work which is sporadic and varies greatly in location. Therefore, contact with prospective employers and fellow employees, who speak different languages, varies from job to job.

It is evident that there are differences in languages acquired by males versus females among the !Xun and the Khwe due to gendered traditional customs and different life experiences. Nyemba/Ngangela and Chokwe/Luchazi was mentioned to currently only be in use by !Xun female participants, and is used in the home and during traditional dancing. Languages mentioned only by male !Xun participants were: Oshivambo (in the home due to intermarriage in Namibia), Khoekhoegowab (in the home in Namibia and as a lingua franca with Khwedam speakers), Hai||om (in the workplace in Namibia), Herero (in the workplace in Namibia), isiZulu (in the workplace in South Africa), Sesotho (in the workplace in South Africa) and Tswana (in the workplace in South Africa).

The Khwe women did not have any languages in their repertoires that were not shared with the Khwe men. However, languages mentioned by male Khwe participants only were: Tswana (in the workplace in South Africa), Sotho (in the workplace in South Africa) and isiZulu (in the workplace in South Africa). Therefore among the !Xun and the Khwe, Bantu languages were acquired by males participants only, due to gender specific employment opportunities available to them as well as gendered division of labour, i.e. the female stays at home and cares for the children while the male goes to work.

Additionally, it was noted that although the !Xun and Khwe attended the same school, !Xunhwesa, Khwe participants hardly mentioned acquiring !Xun in this context whereas the !Xun speaking children mentioned acquiring Khwedam socially at school. This could be evidence to suggest that Khwedam is a stronger language socially than !Xun in the schooling environment. Lastly, the use of Portuguese first names among the !Xun remains a remnant of their lives in Angola and are still used today in conjunction with a traditional !Xun first name.

In conclusion, the language repertoires of the selected !Xun and selected Khwe family can be traced back as far as 1925 and 1957 respectively. It appears that while these !Xun and Khwe were living in Angola and/or Namibia and leading a more traditional way of life, they acquired

many more languages than when they moved to South Africa and adopted a less nomadic and more 'westernised' existence. Despite having many different languages in their repertoire, !Xun has been retained as the mother tongue throughout the generations for the !Xun descendants for over 88 years. Similarly, Khwedam has been retained as the mother tongue throughout the generations for the Khwe descendants despite having many different languages in their repertoire for over 56 years. Interestingly, the change to a more formally 'western' lifestyle in a new country where the !Xun and the Khwe are ostracised, has resulted in the acquisition of fewer languages when compared to the language repertoire of their forefathers who led a more traditional and nomadic life.

6. Data stream 2: Emotional reactions

6.1 Chapter outline

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse the data pertaining to research sub-question ii. (What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?). As with data stream 1, the family trees were used as a map to each of the families participating in this study in order to conduct structured interviews revolving around emotional reactions to language. These emotional reactions were then analysed according to domain, paying attention to patterns that emerged from generation to generation and between the !Xun and the Khwe.

6.1.1 Brief overview

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are three data streams in this study: data stream 1 (Language Life Stories), data stream 2 (emotional reactions) and data stream 3 (behavioural predispositions). A summary of the data collection and analysis process for data stream 2 can be seen in Table 6.1 below.

Data stream 2 comes from a set of structured interviews and relates to domain specific feelings towards language held by participants. The interviews were recorded and the responses documented onto a spreadsheet. These responses were coded and analysed according to each language domain in order to respond to research sub-question ii. (What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?).

In Chapter 8, data stream 1, 2 and 3 were triangulated to provide information and feedback to address the main research question (What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontein and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?). These language attitudes of !Xun speakers and of Khwe speakers were analysed to provide a unique insight into the case of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers of Platfontein and their attitudes towards their respective mother tongue from an intergenerational perspective.

Table 6.1: Overview of data collection and analysis for data stream 2

	Structured interviews to access emotional reactions
Description of data stream	Participants' valuations of their mother tongue
Method of participant selection	Adult participants approached to participate from previous round of interviews.
Number of participants	14 !Xun and 12 Khwe participants
Tool for data collection	Interview schedule
Outcome of data collection	Short closed answers and Likert scale ratings
Data analysis 1 – data reduction	Responses mapped onto spreadsheet
Data analysis 2 – data coding, grouping and collating	Spreadsheet coded and grouped according to domain
Data analysis 3 – final analysis	Descriptive and categorical analysis

6.2 The emotional reactions of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages of their repertoire

In order to answer research sub-question ii, (What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?) each participant provided their responses to a number of questions relating to the use of their mother tongue as well as other languages, in specific language domains. The mother tongue was initially discussed in general with participants (see sections under 6.2.1) and thereafter in relation to pre-selected language domains (see sections under 6.2.2). The responses were collated from the !Xun and the Khwe according to simple Likert scale scores. Thereafter preference scores were derived from selected Likert scale scores in order to draw a comparison between emotional reactions expressed towards the mother tongue versus Afrikaans. Analysis of the findings can be found in Chapter 8, Discussion, of this thesis.

6.2.1 Conversations about the mother tongue

In investigating participants' emotional reactions towards their mother tongue I obtained both quantitative and qualitative data. I first began with five basic statements that participants were asked to rate on a Likert scale: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree. From these initial responses I then probed further with some open ended questions relating to the mother tongue.

6.2.1.1 What do we think of our mother tongue?

The first statement, *I like the !Xun/Khwe language*, referred to !Xun for !Xun participants and Khwedam for Khwe participants. All participants, both !Xun and Khwe, selected ‘strongly agree’ for this statement. However, from this point onwards some differences between the responses by the !Xun and the Khwe became evident.

The second statement was, *I think it is important for me to know !Xun/Khwedam*. All the !Xun participants were in agreement on this statement as well as the majority of the Khwe, as can be seen in Figure 6.1 below. However, one Khwe participant selected ‘neutral’ for this statement. She is a 22-year-old female born in South Africa. Interestingly, when compared to the third statement, *I think that it is important that my children can speak !Xun/Khwedam*, all !Xun and Khwe participants were in agreement with this statement.

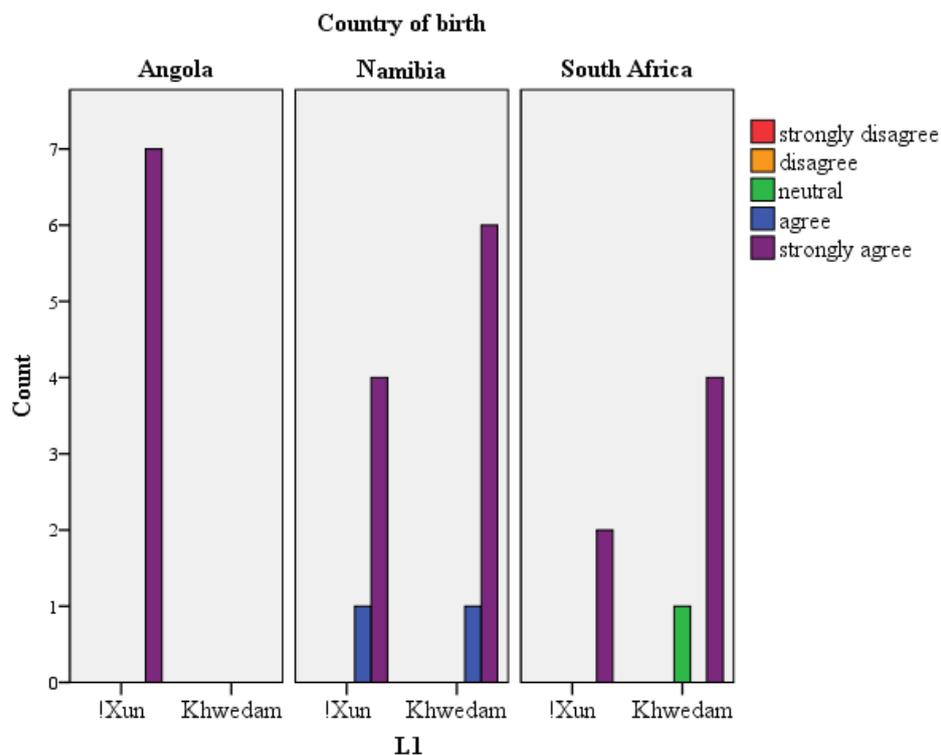


Figure 6.1: Participants’ responses to statement 2: *I think !Xun/Khwedam is important*¹

The ‘neutral’ response above could be referring to the lack of socioeconomic power that Khwedam holds for youth in a South African context. Therefore, even though participants may like their language and want their children to speak it, members of the younger generations born

¹ Note: Empty categories are not plotted on the clustered bar graphs. For example, in this instance none of the participants selected “disagree” or “strongly disagree” and therefore there are no findings represented for these options in Figure 6.1.

in South Africa may not think their mother tongue is important in comparison to other languages. This however was not expressed by !Xun participants. The fourth statement was, *I am happy if my children can only speak Afrikaans and English and NOT !Xun/Khwedam*. Responses to statement 4 were mixed for both the !Xun and the Khwe, as seen in Figure 6.2 below.

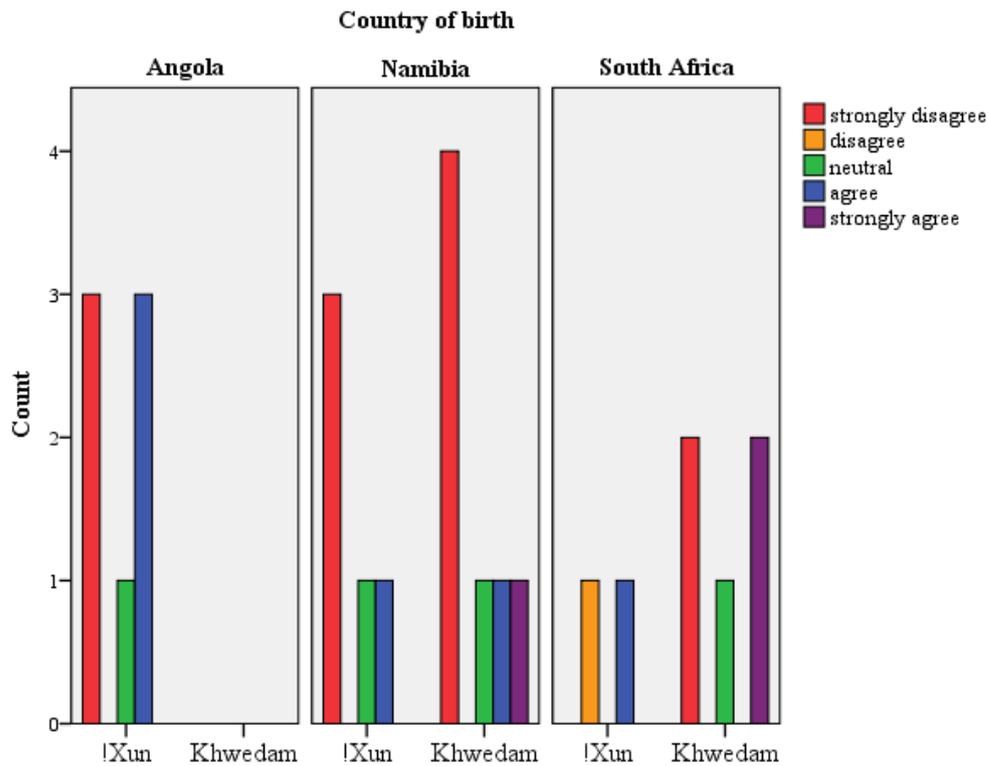


Figure 6.2: Participants' responses to statement 4: *I am happy if my children can only speak Afrikaans and English and NOT !Xun/Khwedam*

The oldest generation of !Xun who were born in Angola were divided between 'strongly disagree' and 'agree', with one case of 'neutral'. The next generation of !Xun, those who were born in Namibia, mostly selected 'strongly disagree' however there was one instance of 'neutral' and 'agree'. Similarly, the Khwe born in Namibia mostly selected 'strongly disagree', along with one case of 'neutral' and 'agree' as well as one case of 'strongly agree'. Lastly, for those born in South Africa, the !Xun selected 'agree' and 'disagree' showing neither a strong reaction in either direction of the scale. In comparison, the Khwe were divided between complete opposites of 'strongly disagree' and 'strongly agree', with one case of 'neutral'. The varied responses to statement 4 may be due to the loaded or complex nature of the question which could have led to misunderstandings among the participants.

Taking such variation into account, I then tried to isolate the loss of the mother tongue without the inclusion or mention of shift to economically more powerful languages in statement 5: *I would be sad if there were no more speakers of !Xun/Khwedam*. In this instance, the overall response was ‘strongly agree’ for those born in Angola, Namibia and South Africa, as can be seen in Figure 6.3 below. However, there were three responses of ‘disagree’ which was unexpected, one for the Khwe born in Namibia, one for the !Xun born in South Africa and one for the Khwe born in South Africa. There were also two cases of ‘neutral’ selected by !Xun born in Angola.

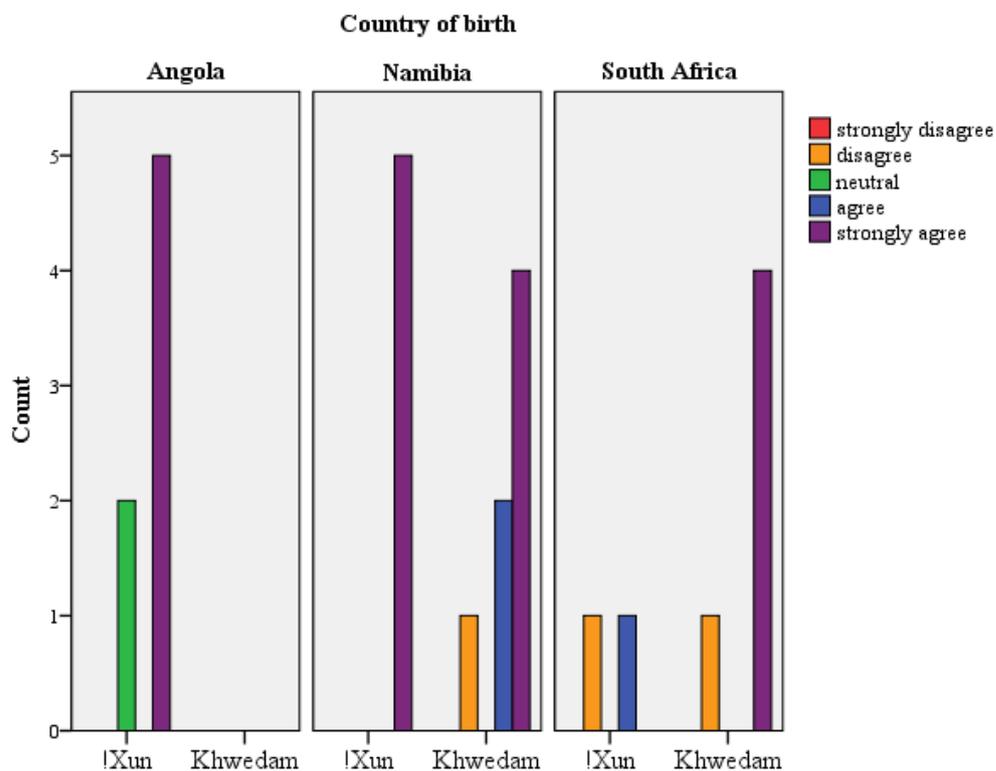


Figure 6.3: Participants’ responses to statement 5: *I would be sad if there were no more speakers of !Xun/Khwedam*

For further explanation, I then turned to open-ended questions about the mother tongue to gain added insight to these emotional reactions to statements about the mother tongue.

6.2.1.2 Who are we without our mother tongue?

In the next round of questions, there were three sets of open ended questions that related to the mother tongue in general. Participants were first asked, *Do you think that all !Xun/Khwe people should be able to speak !Xun/Khwedam? Why or why not?* All but one !Xun and one Khwe participant agreed that all members of their ethnolinguistic group should speak their indigenous language. The !Xun participant who partially disagreed, a 75-year-old male born in Angola

stated that, “*There are three languages here for young people !Xun, Afrikaans and English*”. The Khwe participant who disagreed, a 26-year-old female born in Namibia, also mentioned the inclusion of Afrikaans and English, stating “*If they get work then they must learn English and Afrikaans*”. From these two statements one can gather that Afrikaans and English are acknowledged as languages in competition with the mother tongue, especially socioeconomically. Alternatively, there could have been a misunderstanding of the question to mean that !Xun/Khwe people should only speak their mother tongue and no other languages. The remaining participants all mentioned an affinity to their mother tongue, that they should speak it and gave a number of reasons why, these can be seen in Table 6.2 below:

6.2 Table: Responses to the first set of open-ended questions: *Do you think that all !Xun/Khwe people should be able to speak !Xun/Khwedam? Why or why not?*

Reasons to speak the mother tongue	!Xun Country of birth: Angola (A), Namibia (N), South Africa (SA)	Khwe Country of birth: Namibia (N), South Africa (SA)
From the ancestors	“ <i>Because it comes from our ancestors</i> ”	A --- --
Unity among descendants	“ <i>Because it is my language and I’m happy with it</i> ”	A “ <i>Because there aren’t any Afrikaners in Platfontein</i> ” N
	“ <i>All !Xun speak !Xun that is the way it is</i> ”	A “ <i>Yes, because it’s our language</i> ” N
	“ <i>Yes, all !Xun should speak !Xun because that is the way it is</i> ”	A “ <i>Khwe is our language</i> ” N
	“ <i>Because all the !Xun are here together in Platfontein, not other nations (ethnic groups)</i> ”	A “ <i>Yes, because Khwe is our language</i> ” SA
	“ <i>Because it is important for us to speak our own language because we all live together as one group</i> ”	A “ <i>Yes, because it is our language</i> ” SA
	“ <i>We are only !Xun here so we should speak !Xun</i> ”	N “ <i>Because we should speak our own language at home. With others who can’t speak Khwe they can speak Afrikaans</i> ” SA
	“ <i>It’s important, it’s our language</i> ”	N “ <i>Because we are a Khwe nation and we should speak it</i> ” SA
	“ <i>I must speak my language so that my children can know my language</i> ”	N - -
	“ <i>It’s our language and we must speak</i> ”	N - -
	“ <i>Because if you are !Xun in Platfontein you must speak !Xun</i> ”	N - -
	“ <i>We speak !Xun and Afrikaans because when outsiders come we speak Afrikaans to them otherwise we speak !Xun among ourselves</i> ”	SA - -
“ <i>Because I’m !Xun and that’s why I speak !Xun</i> ”	SA - -	
Preservation of the language	-	- “ <i>All Khwe should speak Khwe so that the language doesn’t die</i> ” N

	-	-	<i>“The language must not die out, all Khwe children must use it”</i>	N
	-	-	<i>“Because we are Khwe and we shouldn’t lose our language”</i>	N
	-	-	<i>“We must protect our language otherwise we will lose it. Language, culture and tradition go together. Language is part of our identity”</i>	N
TOTAL		13		11

The responses for the first set of open-ended questions were grouped thematically into the following categories: from the ancestors, unity among descendants and preservation of the language. !Xun participants born in Angola mentioned that the language came from their ancestors whereas the Khwe did not make mention of this topic. Both !Xun and Khwe participants, born in Angola, Namibia and South Africa mentioned that their mother tongue is part of their identity and unifies each group as an important and unique collective. Both groups mentioned that the mother tongue should be used at home and among their own people and that Afrikaans should be used with outsiders. The older Khwe born in Namibia went on to mention that they should use their language for fear of it dying out. Four of the older Khwe participants mentioned that they did not want to lose their language and were aware that the number of speakers is reducing. The !Xun on the other hand, made no mention of language preservation or language loss in their responses. Further analysis can be found in Chapter 8, Discussion, of this thesis.

The second set of open-ended questions focused on separating language and identity: *Would you say a person is still !Xun/Khwe even if they can’t speak !Xun/Khwedam? Why or why not?* Among the !Xun there was one participant, a 49-year-old female participant born in Angola, who strongly felt that a !Xun person who loses their language is not !Xun. She stated *“No, these people are not in my house! !Xun must speak !Xun”*. Among the Khwe, two participants stated that without Khwedam the person is no longer Khwe: *“No because now that person is with other people”* and *“No because they can’t speak the language”*. There was one !Xun participant who stated *“I don’t know”*. The remaining responses fell into two opposite categories: your ancestry is in your bloodline and not your language, or language and ethnicity are inextricable, to the extent that it would be impossible to conceive of a !Xun or Khwe person losing their language. Examples of these responses can be seen in Table 6.3 below:

Table 6.3: Responses to the first set of open-ended questions: *Would you say a person is still !Xun/Khwe even if they can't speak !Xun/Khwedam? Why or why not?*

Language and identity	!Xun Country of birth: Angola (A), Namibia (N), South Africa (SA)		Khwe Country of birth: Namibia (N), South Africa (SA)	
Your ancestry is in your bloodline not your language	<i>"There are !Xun in Platfontein that can't speak !Xun. The mother had a baby and then moved to live with black people in Angola and now the child can't speak !Xun"</i>	A	<i>"They are still Khwe because their parents are Khwe"</i>	N
	<i>"!Xun because they still have !Xun blood in them"</i>	A	<i>"Yes, because the parents are Khwe"</i>	N
	<i>"Yes, they will still be !Xun but they will speak another language"</i>	A	<i>"Because the parents are Khwe"</i>	N
	<i>"Yes, !Xun blood born from !Xun people"</i>	N	<i>"Yes, it depends on who your parents are"</i>	N
	<i>"Yes, her neighbour grew up with Ovambos and can't speak !Xun but her bloodline is !Xun"</i>	N	<i>"Yes because they came from Khwe"</i>	N
	-	-	<i>"The parents are Khwe"</i>	N
	-	-	<i>"Yes because their parents are Khwe"</i>	SA
	-	-	<i>"Because they come from Khwe people"</i>	SA
	-	-	<i>"Yes because the child comes from Khwe people"</i>	SA
	-	-	<i>"Yes because their culture is still Khwe"</i>	SA
Language and ethnicity are inextricable	<i>"!Xun people will always speak !Xun"</i>	A	-	-
	<i>"That will never happen all !Xun can speak !Xun"</i>	A	-	-
	<i>"All !Xun can speak !Xun, this is what I know"</i>	A	-	-
	<i>"They will always speak !Xun. They can add languages but they will still speak !Xun"</i>	N	-	-
	<i>"No, there is no-one like that in Platfontein. All !Xun speak !Xun"</i>	N	-	-
	<i>"Everyone that is !Xun speaks !Xun"</i>	SA	-	-
	<i>"Only !Xun people speak !Xun"</i>	SA		-
TOTAL		12		10

It is interesting to note that participants from both the !Xun and the Khwe believed that their ancestry is in their bloodline and not their language and therefore they would retain their ethnicity even if they lost their ancestral language. i.e. a Khwe person is still Khwe even if they no longer speak Khwedam. In contrast, only !Xun participants, across all three generations, stated that this is not possible and that one could not separate language and ethnicity. i.e. it is not possible to be !Xun if you cannot speak !Xun. More specifically – it does not happen, it

cannot happen. This may be why none of the !Xun participants mentioned the topic of language loss in any of their responses.

The third set of open-ended questions focussed on the importance of the mother tongue: *Is !Xun/Khwedam important? What is important about !Xun/Khwedam?* All participants both !Xun and Khwe stated that their mother tongue is important and their responses were grouped into the following topics: from our forefathers, a gift from God, ownership, cultural identity, and language loss, as seen in Table 6.4 below:

Table 6.4: Responses to the first set of open-ended questions: *Is !Xun/Khwedam important? What is important about !Xun/Khwedam?*

Why is your mother tongue important?	!Xun Country of birth: Angola (A), Namibia, (N), South Africa (SA)	Khwe Country of birth: Namibia (N) South, Africa (SA)
From our forefathers	<i>"Because it comes from our forefathers and we still speak it today"</i>	A -
	<i>"It is very important because the language comes from our forefathers"</i>	N -
	<i>"Because it's my forefathers' language and my parents' language"</i>	N -
Gift from God	<i>"God gave it to us so it must be important"</i>	A "Because God gave us our language" N
	-	- "God gave us the language" N
Ownership	<i>"It's my mother tongue and we should know it"</i>	A "Because my language makes me happy in my house"
	<i>"Because it is our language"</i>	A "Most of us do not understand Afrikaans or English. Khwe is our home language" N
	<i>"It's my language and it's what I speak"</i>	A "Because it is our own language" N
	<i>"Because my language makes me happy in my house"</i>	A "Because it is my own language" SA
	<i>"Because it is my mother tongue"</i>	A "It's our own language" SA
	<i>"Because it is my language"</i>	N -
	<i>"It is important to speak my own language in my own home"</i>	N -
	<i>"It is very important because I'm !Xun"</i>	SA -
	<i>"Because we are !Xun"</i>	SA -
Cultural identity	<i>"Because it's part of our culture"</i>	N "It is the language of our people" SA
-	-	"Because it is our mother tongue and we are Bushmen. It's our language that we grew up with" SA
-	-	"Because we can't throw away our culture" SA
Language loss	-	- "It is unique. If the language is lost, then I will lose my culture and I don't" N

			<i>know any other culture. Then what will I be?"</i>	
	-	-	<i>"Because we don't want to lose our language"</i>	N
	-	-	<i>"Because it is my own language and I don't want to lose it"</i>	N
TOTAL		14		12

Only !Xun participants born in Angola and Namibia mentioned that their mother tongue is something that comes from their forefathers. This may be because the !Xun have older participants present in Platfontein to learn from. The Khwe do not have older generations present, as these chose to stay in Namibia and not move to Platfontein. Both older !Xun (born in Angola) and Khwe (born in Namibia) mentioned that their mother tongue is a gift from God and therefore it is important. The feeling of ownership of the mother tongue was strong for both the !Xun and the Khwe across all three generations born in Angola, Namibia and South Africa, stating that it is an important language in the home. Three young Khwe born in South Africa drew the correlation between language and cultural identity, whereas this topic was only mentioned by one !Xun born in Namibia. Lastly, only Khwe participants born in Namibia mentioned a fear of losing their mother tongue and thereby their identity. One comment in particular expressed this concern *"It is unique. If the language is lost, then I will lose my culture and I don't know any other culture. Then what will I be?"* This emotional reaction towards the mother tongue is very strongly linked to identity in this statement. The acknowledgement of language loss and the anxiety around adopting an unknown identity is a repeated topic among the Khwe born in Namibia. By contrast this topic is not mentioned by the !Xun at all.

6.2.1.3 Who else should use our mother tongue?

Furthermore, participants were asked if it would be appropriate for outsiders to use !Xun or Khwedam and why or why not? The responses to this question gives a broad overview of participants' emotional reactions to outsiders using their mother tongue. Outsiders are any potential users of the language who are not descendants of !Xun when referring to !Xun, or Khwe when referring to Khwedam. Responses were captured in Table 6.5 and Table 6.6 below. Firstly, participants' responses to Khwe people speaking !Xun or !Xun people speaking Khwedam were captured in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Participants' responses to learning each other's languages

!Xun			Khwe		
Do you think that Khwe people should speak !Xun? Country of birth: Angola (A), Namibia (N), South Africa (SA)			Do you think that !Xun people should speak Khwedam? Country of birth: Namibia (N), South Africa (SA)		
Yes/No	Reason		Yes /No	Reason	
Yes	"Because some !Xun and Khwe are married"	A	Yes	"Because we are friends"	N
	"Yes, but they speak like children"	A		"Because we live together in one place"	N
	"If they can learn it they can use it"	A		"To make communication between the two groups better. To understand each other and work better together"	N
	"If he learns it then he can speak it, but if he doesn't then he can't"	A		"Because I would like it if we understood each other well"	N
	"If we must learn their language then they can also learn our language and we can understand each other well"	N		"We live together so we should learn each other's language so that there aren't any misunderstandings"	N
	"They have the right to if they want"	N		"So that we can understand each other"	N
	"Only a few people know"	N		"Because I would like it if we understood each other well"	N
	"If they learn it then they can speak it but if they don't then they can't"	N		"So that they can understand us when we speak"	N
	"If they learn it then they will speak it but if they don't then they won't"	SA		"If you are friends you should understand each other's languages"	SA
	-	-		"We are together in this world and so we should understand each other's languages"	SA
	-	-		"They should learn Khwe so that they know about our language and our people"	SA
	-	-		"If they want to learn but it's not easy for them"	SA
	-	-		"If they want to learn then they can come and learn"	SA
No	"They must speak their own language"	A		-	-
	"No, because they are another nation (ethnicity)"	A		-	-
	"No because they don't know it"	A		-	-
	"It doesn't fit because they are not !Xun"	N		-	-
	"I don't want them to speak my language they must speak their own language"	SA		-	-
TOTAL		14			12

On the whole, the Khwe were more prepared to share their mother tongue with the !Xun than the !Xun were prepared to share their mother tongue with the Khwe. The Khwe, across all generations, made statements of convergence with the !Xun, as can be seen above. It was mentioned that the two groups of people should be friends as they live in the same place and encouraging comments were made regarding a wish for social cohesion and better understanding between the Platfontein !Xun and Khwe.

The !Xun on the other hand were divided across all generations about the Khwe learning !Xun. Those that did agree, did not agree as convincingly as the Khwe did, providing statements such as *“Yes, but they speak like children”*, *“If he learns it then he can speak it, but if he doesn’t then he can’t”* and *“Only a few people know”*. Only two !Xun participants made more accepting comments about the Khwe learning !Xun, *“Because some !Xun and Khwe are married”* and *“If we must learn their language then they can also learn our language and we can understand each other well”*. It was also suggested that other people have the right to learn !Xun if they are interested in the language and want to learn it. It was expressed that this applied not only for the Khwe of Platfontein but anyone interested in the !Xun language. Those !Xun who disagreed with Khwe people learning the !Xun language made diverging or distancing comments about the Khwe, *“They must speak their own language”*, *“No, because they are another nation (ethnicity)”*, *“It doesn’t fit because they are not !Xun”* and *“I don’t want them to speak my language they must speak their own language”*. Therefore, there were conflicting emotional reactions to the use of !Xun by Platfontein !Xun and overall they were more possessive of their mother tongue than the Khwe.

I then extended the concept of outsiders from outside Platfontein learning either of the endangered languages to note any emotional reactions participants had towards sharing their mother tongue with other groups of people, as can be seen in Table 6.6 below. These responses are grouped according to three categories: yes, outsiders should speak my language; some outsiders should speak my language and others should not; and no, outsiders should not speak my language.

Table 6.6: Participants' responses to outsiders learning their mother tongue

!Xun			Khwe		
Do you think that other people who live outside Platfontein should speak !Xun? Country of birth: Angola (A), Namibia (N), South Africa (SA)			Do you think that other people who live outside Platfontein should speak Khwedam? Country of birth: Namibia (N), South Africa (SA)		
Yes/No	Reason		Yes /No	Reason	
Yes	"Yes, if they can learn it then they can use it"	A	Yes	"Yes, because Afrikaans is not our language but we speak it and we are not white. We should learn each other's languages so that we can understand each other."	N
Yes	"Yes, if he learns it then he can speak it but if he doesn't then he can't"	A	Yes	"Yes, they should learn my language if they come to where we are and want to stay with us. Like farmers with Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu. Our language and Nama are close and we can already understand each other"	N
Yes	"If we must learn their language then they can also learn our language and we can understand each other well"	N	Yes	"Because then we can understand black people and be included. Also respect each other. White people learn for their work but not for the community. They are not culturally sensitive. Coloured people should only know our greetings. We would be happy if Namas also spoke our language because they are very similar"	N
Yes	"If we speak their language then they can speak our language"	N	Yes	"Yes, because I would like it if we understood each other well"	N
Yes	"Yes, if they learn it then they will speak it but if they don't then they won't"	SA	Yes	"So that they can understand us when we speak"	N
			Yes	"Yes, because if we make black friends outside of Platfontein maybe they will want to speak with us. The old people in Platfontein don't understand Afrikaans so white people must learn Khwe to communicate with them. Coloured people should learn to greet us if they work with us. If we meet Namas outside of Platfontein then they will need to learn each other's languages to communicate."	N
	-	-	Yes	"We are together in this world and so we should understand each other's languages"	SA
	-	-	Yes	"If you are friends you should learn each other's languages"	SA
	-	-	Yes	"They should learn Khwe so that they know about our language and our people"	SA
	-	-	Yes	"If they want to learn but it's not easy for them."	SA
	-	-	Yes	"If they want to learn they can come and learn"	SA

Mixed	“There are some black people and some white people that can speak our language. If they want to learn it they can, it’s no problem. Coloureds must speak Afrikaans because that is where they come from, not !Xun. I don’t know where Namas live and why they’d want to speak !Xun”	A	Mixed	“We don’t know black people’s languages so they should not know our language. We came from Namibia with white people, so it’s okay. Coloured people are almost like us so they can. We are almost the same people as the Nama, we even some words that are the same, for example: ʔu (to eat).”	N
Mixed	“It’s too difficult for black and Nama people to speak. White and coloured people can speak it but only if they learn and it’s difficult to learn.”	A		-	-
Mixed	“Black people and Nama people must speak their own language and we speak our language. White and coloured people can learn our language but it is difficult”	A		-	-
Mixed	“No because it is our language not theirs but if white people learn it they can speak it but it is difficult to learn”	A		-	-
Mixed	“Other nations don’t know our language but some white people want to learn”	A		-	-
Mixed	“No, black people have their own language. White people, coloured people and Nama people can learn it then they will speak it but if they don’t then they can’t”	N		-	-
No	“No, it’s not their language they must speak their own language”	N		-	-
No	“They don’t know our language”	N		-	-
No	“I don’t want them to speak my language they must speak their own language”	SA		-	-
TOTAL		14			12

Overall Khwe participants were more prepared to share their mother tongue with outsiders than the !Xun participants. Those !Xun participants that agreed with outsiders learning or acquiring !Xun did so without much conviction, stating that if an outsider were to learn !Xun then they could use it, or if the !Xun learnt the language of another group of people, those people could learn !Xun, i.e. they could exchange languages. This topic for the !Xun stretched across all three generations for those born in Angola, Namibia and South Africa.

The majority of the Khwe on the other hand agreed that outsiders should learn Khwedam and for a variety of reasons: if Khwe people can learn other people’s languages then other people can learn Khwedam; people who live in the same area should learn each other’s languages; to facilitate understanding between outsiders and Khwe when they come into contact with each

other; and lastly, to spread awareness about the Khwe language and culture. It was mentioned by Khwe participants that Khwedam and Nama (Khoekhoegowab) are very similar and so it would be easy for them to learn each other's languages. An example was given for the word "eat" in Khwedam which is the same in Nama, ʘu. Additionally, it is interesting to note one participant's comment about white outsiders learning Khwedam, *"White people learn for their work but not for the community. They are not culturally sensitive."* This comment ties in with the point made in Chapter 2, section 2.5 *Over-researched and under-supported* and the necessity for giving back to the community in a tangible way, to be drawn into the ethical practices of research conducted with minority languages as discussed in section 4.11 *Ethical considerations*, of Chapter 4. It was mentioned by two Khwe participants that coloured outsiders should at least learn Khwe greetings should they be working together. Lastly, one participant commented that outsiders can learn Khwedam should they want to but that it is a difficult language for other people to learn who have not grown up with the language.

There were some participants who gave mixed responses, where they indicated that certain outsiders should learn !Xun or Khwedam and that other outsiders should not. Only one Khwe participant who was born in Namibia gave such a response. This participant stated that Khwedam should be learnt by white people, coloured people and Nama people as they have a history of living together or similarities in their languages, but that Khwe people do not know black people's languages and therefore black people should not know Khwedam.

The majority of the !Xun born in Angola gave mixed responses along with one !Xun participant born in Namibia. These mixed responses were not consistent in expressing who should or could learn !Xun and who should or could not. For example it was mentioned that *"There are some black people and white people that can speak our language"*, *"White and coloured people can speak it but only if they learn and it's difficult"*, *"[...] if white people learn it they can speak it but it is difficult to learn"*, *"Other nations don't know our language but some white people want to learn"* and *"White people, coloured people and Nama people can learn it then they will speak it but if they don't then they can't"*. It was acknowledged that !Xun is a difficult language for outsiders to learn and that there has been particular interest from white people to learn the language. Conversely, it was also mentioned that *"Coloureds should speak Afrikaans because that is where they come from, not !Xun. I don't know where Namas live and why they'd want to speak !Xun"*, *"It's too difficult for black and Nama people to speak"* and *"Black and Nama people must speak their own language and we speak our language"*. It was mentioned

that !Xun is a difficult language for outsiders to learn and that coloured, black and Nama people should not speak !Xun.

Finally, the least popular response to the question, *Do you think that people that live outside Platfontein should speak !Xun/Khwe?* was ‘no’. Only !Xun participants expressed this opinion. These responses came from the youngest participant born in South Africa and from some young participants born in Namibia. These three !Xun participants expressed a sentiment of not wanting to share their mother tongue “[...] *they must speak their own language*”.

6.2.1.4 Summary: Our mother tongue for insiders and outsiders

Emotional reactions were elicited from participants through the collection of quantitative and qualitative data pertaining to !Xun and Khwedam for mother tongue speakers in Platfontein. Analysis of intergenerational differences found in the findings is discussed in Chapter 8, Discussion. From the quantitative data one could note that both the !Xun and the Khwe like their mother tongue, they think that it is important and that their children should speak it. Participants provided mixed responses to the idea of their children losing their mother tongue to English and Afrikaans. This may be due to the socioeconomic power that both Afrikaans and English have in comparison to !Xun and Khwedam in a South African context. As much as the mother tongue is valued for both the !Xun and the Khwe, these groups also live a life of poverty in Platfontein and the ability to speak Afrikaans and/or English increases one’s chance of finding what little employment is available in the area.

There were also mixed responses to the idea of there being no more speakers of !Xun or Khwedam. The majority of participants stated that they ‘strongly agreed’ with being sad if this were to occur. However, there were isolated responses from young !Xun and Khwe born in South Africa and one Khwe born in Namibia who said they would be happy if there were no more speakers of their mother tongue. This potential in differing emotional reactions to the loss of the mother tongue by older participants versus younger participants was then explored further in open questions and discussed in Chapter 8, Discussions.

Overall, !Xun and Khwe participants felt that all !Xun people and all Khwe people should be able to speak !Xun or Khwedam respectively. It was however mentioned that Afrikaans and English have become attractive additional languages as a means of gaining employment. The older !Xun born in Angola feel that all !Xun should speak their mother tongue because it comes

from their ancestors. The remainder of the !Xun feel that !Xun brings unity among !Xun descendants. Mention of traditional practices associated with the ancestors is a topic only mentioned by the elderly !Xun. Perhaps traditional practices no longer play a significant role in modern day life in Platfontein today and are therefore not mentioned by younger participants. The Khwe participants lack the great-grandparent generation in Platfontein which might explain why they did not mention of practices associated with their ancestors. Instead, Khwe participants born in Namibia expressed concern for the loss of their mother tongue and their awareness of the decreasing number of speakers. Younger Khwe participants mentioned that their mother tongue brings unity among Khwe descendants; the same aspect was pointed out by the younger !Xun speakers.

When discussing the concept of language and identity there was a clear difference between the responses from the !Xun and the Khwe. All of the Khwe participants felt that language and ethnicity are not one and the same i.e. a person of Khwe decent is still considered Khwe even if this person can no longer speak Khwedam. By contrast, the !Xun were divided intergenerationally between two opposite poles. There were some !Xun who were in agreement with the Khwe about language and ethnicity, stating that one's ancestry is in one's bloodline and not in one's language. However there were !Xun participants who strongly felt that language and ethnicity are inextricable and that one cannot be !Xun if one cannot speak !Xun i.e. that it is not possible for a person to stop speaking !Xun. This belief of the strong link between language and ethnicity for some !Xun participants may be the reason why the concept of language loss or endangerment is not a concern for them or a possibility that is even considered.

Lastly, when probing further to ask participants what was important about their mother tongue, differences between the !Xun and the Khwe emerged which are similar to previously discussed divergences between the two communities. !Xun participants from the great-grandparent generation were the only group who mentioned that their mother tongue came from their forefathers and that this is the crucial feature that makes it important. This ties in with the previous responses and comments made about the absence of Khwe participants from the great-grandparent generation in Platfontein and that their traditional practices have changed since moving from Angola and Namibia.

In contrast both !Xun and Khwe participants from the grandparent generation mentioned that their mother tongue is important because it is a gift from God. This is a concept that is discussed in church services in Platfontein in Chapter 7 (Data stream 3: Behavioural predispositions). Both !Xun and Khwe from all generations expressed feelings of ownership of their mother tongue and that the mother tongue is important to them as it is unique to their respective people. The Khwe however extended this concept further and went on to express that their mother tongue is part of their cultural identity and that they are therefore concerned about the loss of their mother tongue. This emotional reaction to the loss of the mother tongue for the Khwe and what this loss might mean for their future is a prevalent topic among the Khwe whereas there are some !Xun who do not feel that language loss is a possibility among the !Xun.

Attention then turns from emotional reactions about language use and importance of the mother tongue expressed by mother tongue speakers of !Xun and Khwe, to language use of !Xun or Khwedam by outsiders. In an attempt to better understand speakers' attachment to their mother tongue and emotional reaction to the idea of people from other ethnic backgrounds speaking !Xun or Khwedam, open questions were asked on the topic.

Firstly we explored the topic of the !Xun and Khwe learning each other's languages, as outsiders from each other's cultures. All of the Khwe were happy to share their mother tongue with the !Xun in order to facilitate social cohesion among the two groups. The !Xun on the other hand were less inclined to share their mother tongue with the Khwe. Some participants stated that Khwe people should rather speak their own language. Those !Xun who agreed with the idea of Khwe people learning !Xun did so without much conviction or enthusiasm.

This difference in emotional reaction to the sharing of the mother tongue could stem from the historical background that the !Xun and Khwe share from their time in Namibia during the Namibian War of Independence (1966-1989). As discussed in Chapter 2, there was great animosity and acts of violence between the !Xun and the Khwe during this time. It is likely that the !Xun participants from great-grandparent generation who moved to South Africa from Namibia brought this emotional turmoil along with them and have expressed these feelings to their family members, therefore keeping the distrust and animosity alive between the two groups. Moreover, !Xun participants from the great-grandparent generation were the only group who mentioned that their mother tongue came from their forefathers and that therefore the mother tongue a central feature of defining what it means to be !Xun.

The Khwe on the other hand, whose great-grandparent generation from Namibia is not present in South Africa have less input on the tension that was experienced between the two groups and they do not seem to link Khwedam as closely to their ancestral heritage and ethnic identity as the !Xun. Therefore they seem to be more inclined to share their language and interact with the !Xun.

Finally, I discussed the concept of outsiders, i.e. people from outside of Platfontein acquiring either !Xun or Khwedam, and asked participants what they thought of this idea. Unsurprisingly, the Khwe were much more inclined and open to sharing their mother tongue with outsiders than the !Xun. The Khwe felt that if other people or outsiders learnt Khwedam they would know more about Khwe culture and the Khwe people. They expressed that they would consequently be better understood by others and this would prevent inter-cultural misunderstandings. The Khwe wanted those who interact with them to learn their language and some expressed a preference for reciprocal learning to take place, i.e. outsiders learn Khwedam and Khwe people learn the language of the engaging outsiders. It was especially mentioned that such an exchange would be easy between the Khwe and Nama speakers as the languages are very similar.

The !Xun on the other hand were much more possessive of their mother tongue and were less enthusiastic about the idea of outsiders learning !Xun. Some participants even outrightly disagreed with the idea of any outsiders speaking !Xun at all. Overall, they expressed that !Xun was not an easy language for outsiders to learn but that white people had taken a particular interest. From my experience in the field, these interested white parties predominately come from an academic background and are interested in the language in the context of research or from the church in an effort to translate the Bible and other related teachings into !Xun. Due to the opinion by many !Xun participants that language and identity are inextricable, they may not want to share their language with outsiders as they do not want to lose their identity or have their identity changed with the inclusion of outsiders.

In order to further explore participants' emotional reactions towards their mother tongue from a functional domain approach the following domains were investigated below: family and Platfontein, religious practices, interaction outside of Platfontein, formal language use and language and technology.

6.2.2 Pre-selected language domains

With this information about the mother tongue, I then turned to the pre-selected language domains. These were identified during the pilot stage of this research project which took place in 2010 (discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, section 4.2 *Entré to speech communities in Platfontein*). From spending time working in the Platfontein community, some language domains common to both the !Xun and the Khwe were selected for further investigation in relation to language use and emotional reactions towards language use. The pre-selected language settings were grouped into domains, as can be seen in the Table 6.7. below.

Table: 6.7 Language domains and associated settings investigated in this study

Language domain	Setting	Likert scales	Preference scores
Family and Platfontein	In the home		√
	Platfontein		√
	Sport	√	
Traditional and religious practices	Prayer	√	
	Church	√	√
	Gatherings and ceremonies		√
Education and literacy	Classroom	√	
	Literacy	√	
Media and technology	Radio and television	√	
	Print media	√	
	Cellphone		√
Beyond Platfontein	In Kimberley		√

6.2.3 Information and insights gathered from scores on Likert scales

A detailed analysis of the information pertaining to each pre-selected language setting gave an overall picture to describe the emotional reactions of the !Xun and Khwe families towards the use of their mother tongue. The findings were grouped and analysed according to the following categories: Likert scales, and preference scores derived from Likert scales. The findings that were grouped and analysed according to Likert scales only, were: sport, prayer, classroom, literacy, radio and television, and print media. For these findings a matching comparative question referring to Afrikaans was not asked and therefore preference scores could not be calculated. From these initial five settings, basic feedback could be elicited for each of the five

settings. For the remaining settings (in the home, Platfontein, gatherings and ceremonies, cellphone, in Kimberley) preference scores could be calculated, as a corresponding question relating to the mother tongue and Afrikaans was asked. These preference scores provided rich feedback in relation to emotional reactions towards the mother tongue. For further information on the calculation of the preference scores see section 4.6 of Chapter 4, Methodology.

6.2.3.1 Scores on Likert scales

Feedback regarding participants' emotional reactions towards their mother tongue was collected per language setting. These emotional reactions were investigated through a series of Likert scales. Scores on Likert scales were analysed for the following six settings for the !Xun and the Khwe: sport, prayer, classroom, literacy, radio and television, and print media,. For each question within these five settings participants responded along a Likert scale: strongly agree (5), agree (4), neutral (3), disagree (2), or strongly disagree (1), OR very happy (5), happy (4), neutral (3), sad (2), or very sad (1). There was also one yes/no question. The responses within these five settings can be seen in section 6.2.3.1.1 *Responses to Likert scales by !Xun participants* and 6.2.3.1.2 *Responses to Likert scales by Khwe participants*.

6.2.3.1.1 Responses to Likert scales by !Xun participants

The !Xun had very positive emotional reactions towards their mother tongue. Their responses within the selected six settings (sport, prayer, classroom, literacy, television and radio, and print media) can be seen in Figures 6.4-6.14 below. Note that participants are grouped according to the country of their birth (Angola, Namibia or South Africa) which represents the three key generational cohorts. Intergenerational analysis of the findings can be found in Chapter 8, Discussion, of this thesis.

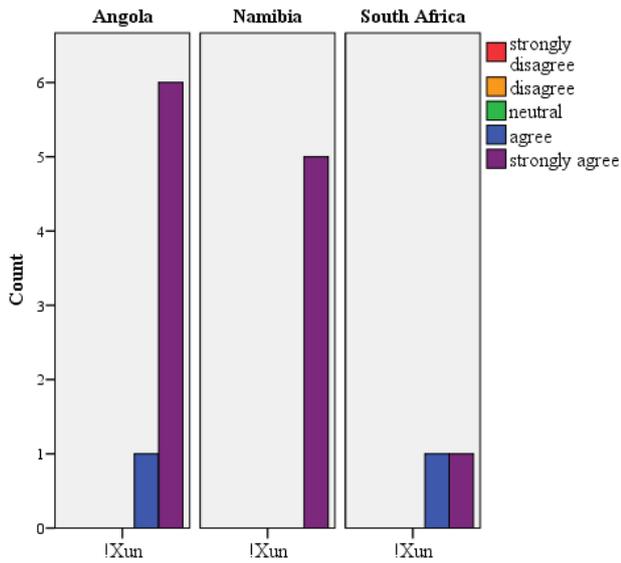


Figure 6.4: Responses by the !Xun to the following statement about sport: *It is important to speak !Xun when you are playing sport*

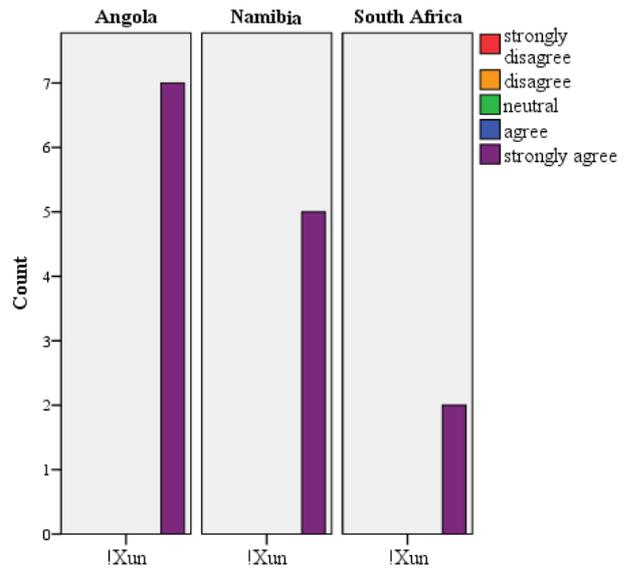


Figure 6.5: Responses by the !Xun to the following statement about prayer: *You like to pray or talk to the ancestors in !Xun*

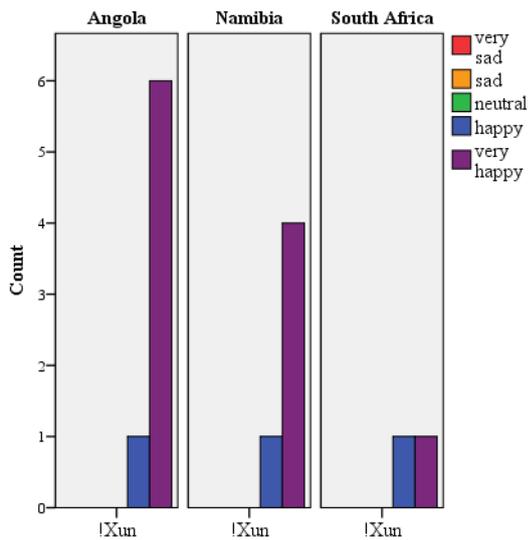


Figure 6.6: Responses by the !Xun to the following question about the classroom: *Are you happy that your children learn in !Xun at school?*

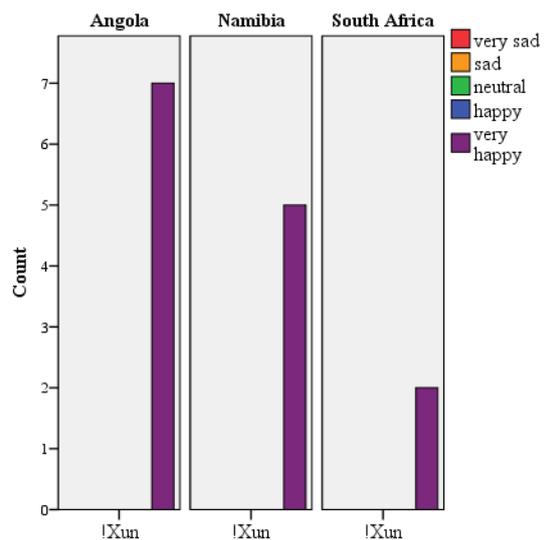


Figure 6.7: Responses by the !Xun to the following question about the classroom: *Are you happy if the teacher in the school speaks to the children in !Xun?*

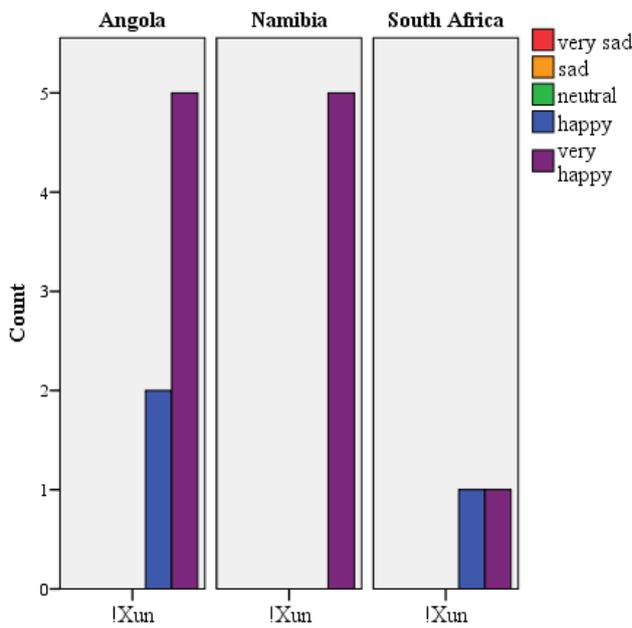


Figure 6.8: Responses by the !Xun to the following question about literacy: *Would you be happy to read and write in !Xun?*

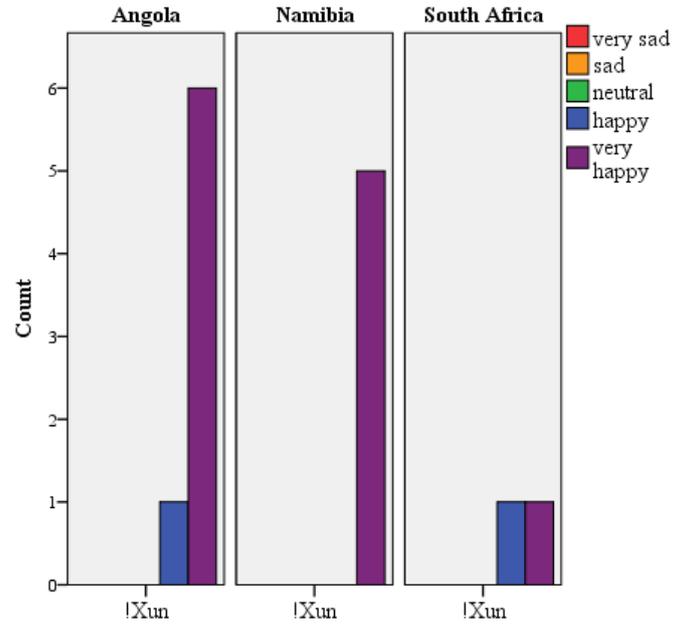


Figure 6.9: Responses by the !Xun to the following question about literacy: *Would you be happy if your children could read and write in !Xun?*

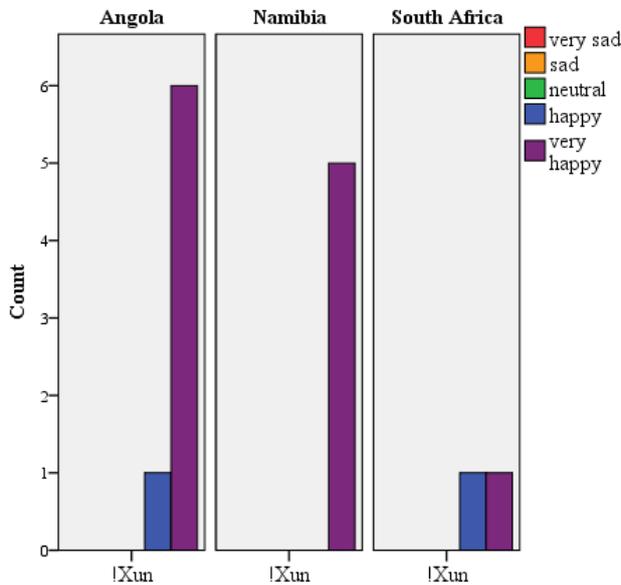


Figure 6.10: Responses by the !Xun to the following question about literacy: *Would you be happy if your children had books in !Xun?*

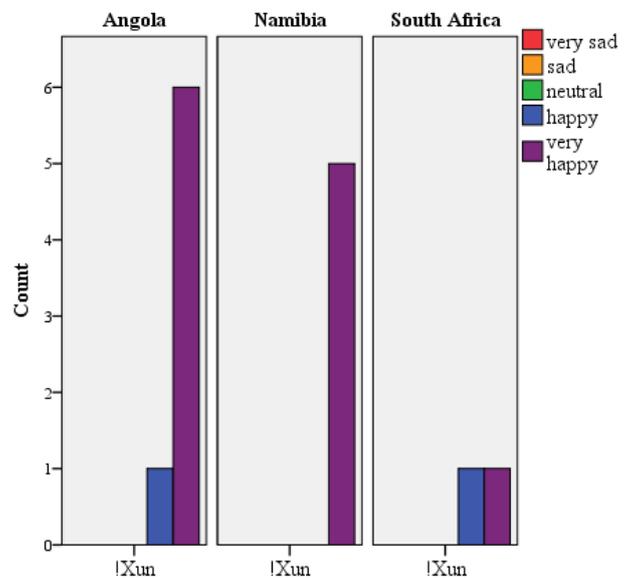


Figure 6.11: Responses by the !Xun to the following question about literacy: *Would you be happy to read books to your children in !Xun?*

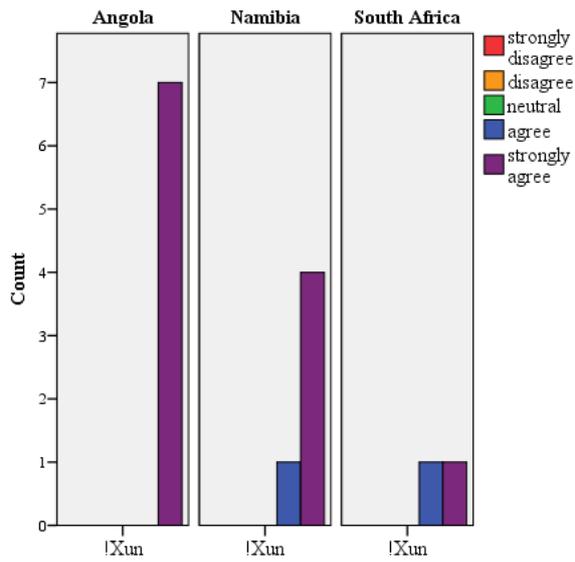


Figure 6.12: Responses by the !Xun to the following statement about radio: *It is important that you listen to the radio in !Xun.*

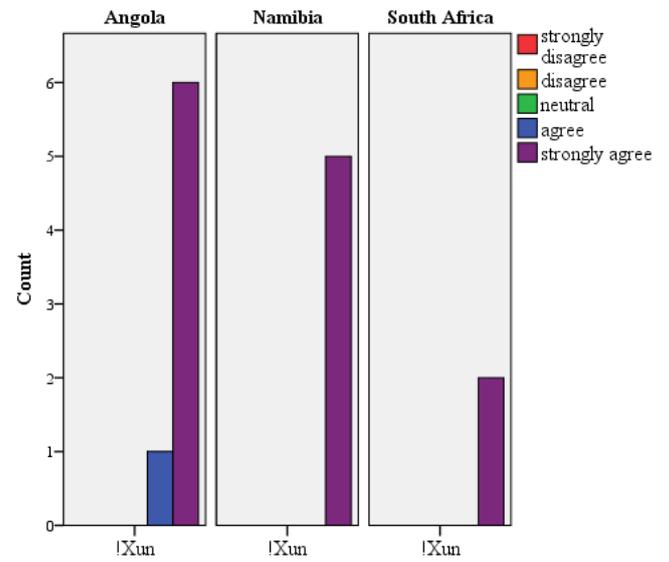


Figure 6.13: Responses by the !Xun to the following statement about television: *You would like to watch TV in !Xun.*

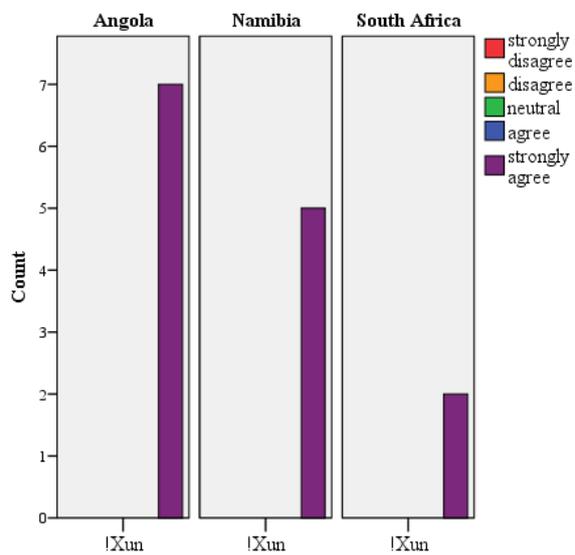


Figure 6.14: Responses by the !Xun to the following statement about print media: *It would be good to have a !Xun newspaper.*

In the domain of family and Platfontein, in the setting of sport, all of the !Xun participants across all three generations agreed that it is important to speak !Xun while playing sport. In the next domain, traditional and religious practices, all !Xun participants strongly agreed that they like to pray to their ancestors in !Xun, across all three generations.

In the domain of education and literacy, and the setting of in the classroom, all of the !Xun participants expressed that they would be happy if their children learnt in !Xun at school and would be very happy if their teacher could speak !Xun. These emotional responses by the !Xun express a strong desire for mother tongue education in formal schooling. This desire for mother tongue education is extended into mother tongue literacy.

In the setting of literacy participants were first asked if they could read or write in !Xun. All participants indicated that they were not literate in their mother tongue. However, they went on to agree that they would be happy or very happy if: they could read and write in !Xun, if their children could read and write in !Xun, if their children had books to read in !Xun, and if they could read !Xun books to their children. Overall these emotional responses to the use of the mother tongue in the setting of literacy shows a strong desire for access to mother tongue education and literacy.

In the domain of media and technology, all of the !Xun participants agreed that listening to the radio in !Xun is important to them. They went on to express that they would like to be able to watch television in !Xun and have a !Xun newspaper however neither of these two products are currently available in Platfontein. Such emotional responses by the !Xun show a strong desire for their mother tongue to be used in media other than the radio, which is the only mother tongue media product currently available to them.

6.2.3.1.2 Responses to Likert scales by Khwe participants

The Khwe also had very positive emotional reactions towards their mother tongue. Their responses within the selected five settings (sport, prayer, classroom, literacy, television and radio, and print media) can be seen in Figures 6.15-6.25 below. Among the Khwe participants there were only two generational cohorts born in Namibia and South Africa. Intergenerational analysis of the findings can be found in Chapter 8, Discussion, of this thesis.

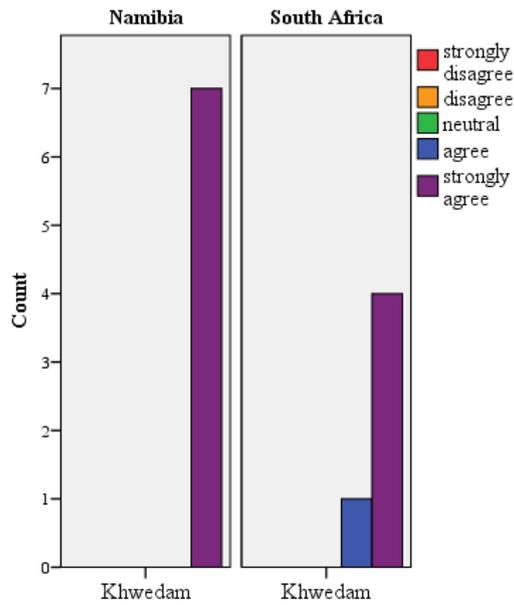


Figure 6.15: Responses by the Khwe to the following statement about sport: *It is important to speak Khwedam when you are playing sport.*

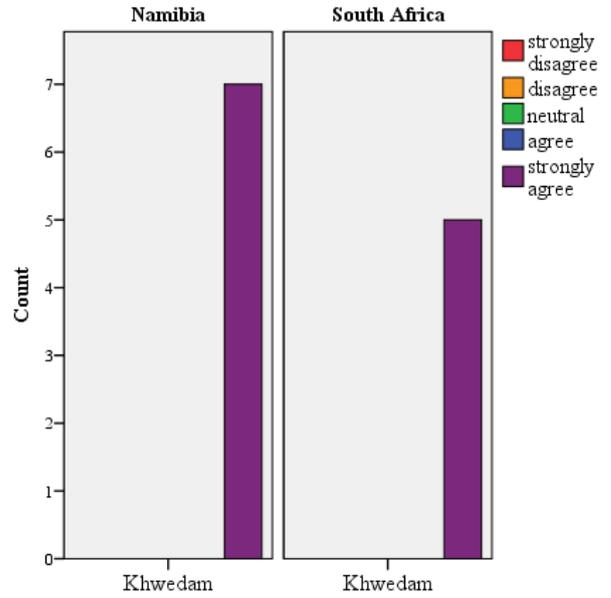


Figure 6.16: Responses by the Khwe to the following statement about prayer: *You like to pray or talk to the ancestors in Khwedam.*

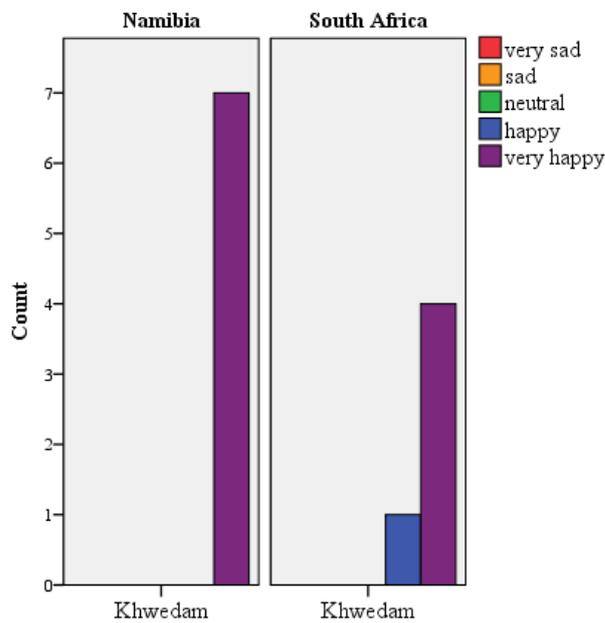


Figure 6.17: Responses by the Khwe to the following question about the classroom: *Are you happy that your children learn in Khwedam at school?*

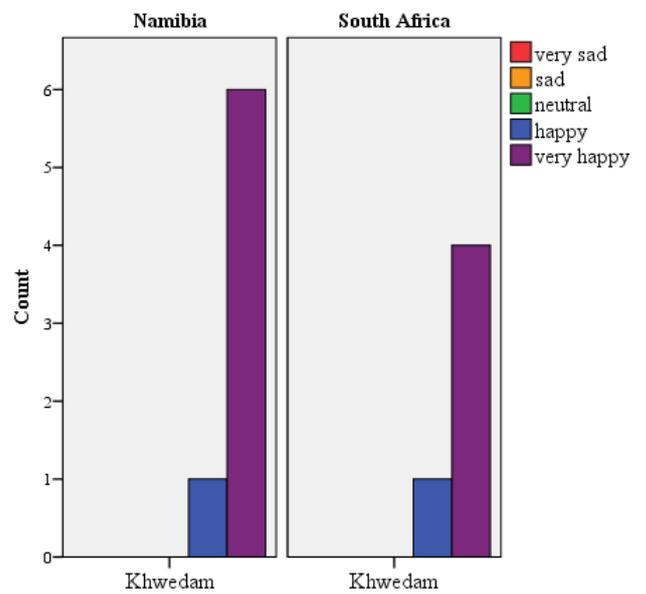


Figure 6.18: Responses by the Khwe to the following question about the classroom: *Are you happy if the teacher in the school speaks to the children in Khwedam?*

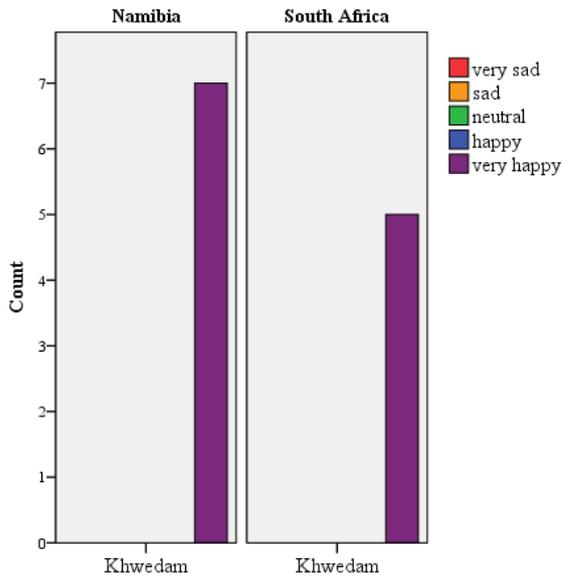


Figure 6.19: Responses by the Khwe to the following question about literacy: *Would you be happy to read and write in Khwedam?*

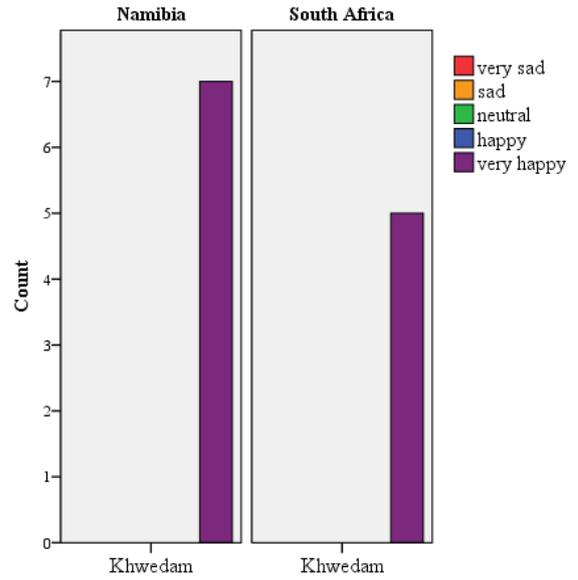


Figure 6.20: Responses by the Khwe to the following question about literacy: *Would you be happy if your children could read and write in Khwedam?*

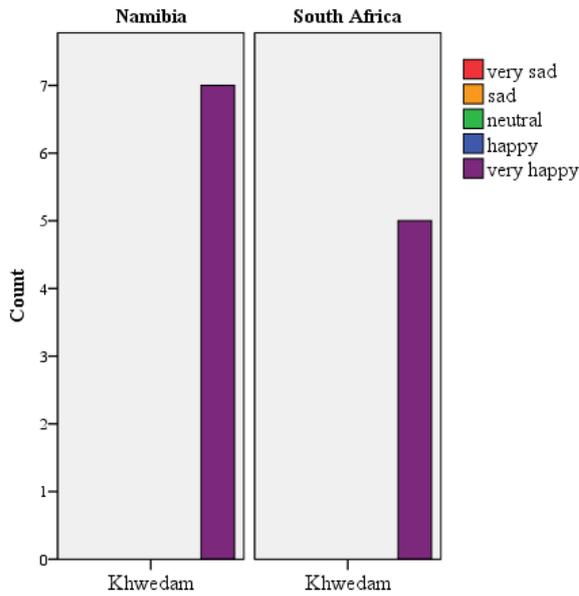


Figure 6.21: Responses by the Khwe to the following question about literacy: *Would you be happy if your children had books in Khwedam?*

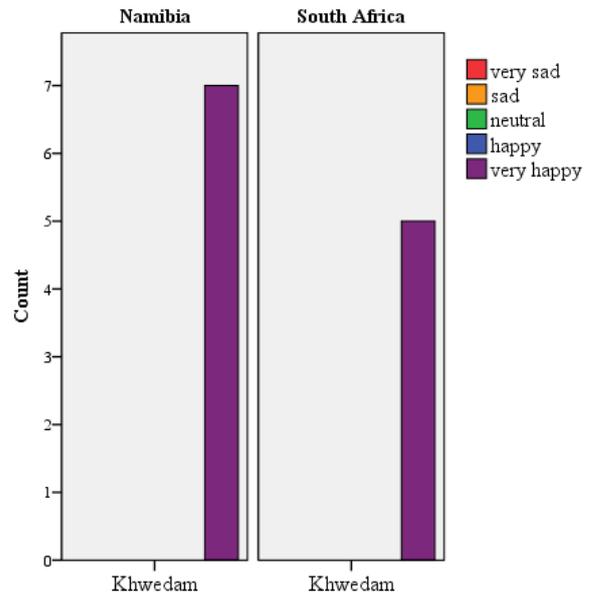


Figure 6.22: Responses by the Khwe to the following question about literacy: *Would you be happy to read books to your children in Khwedam?*

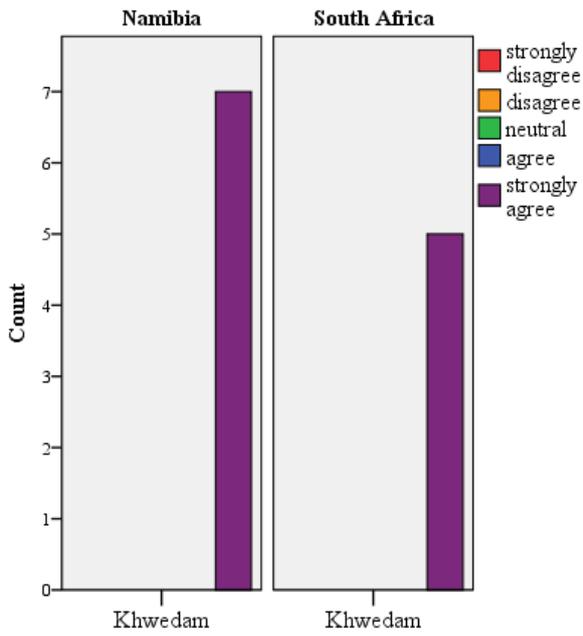


Figure 6.23: Responses by the Khwe to the following statement about radio: *It is important that you listen to the radio in Khwedam.*

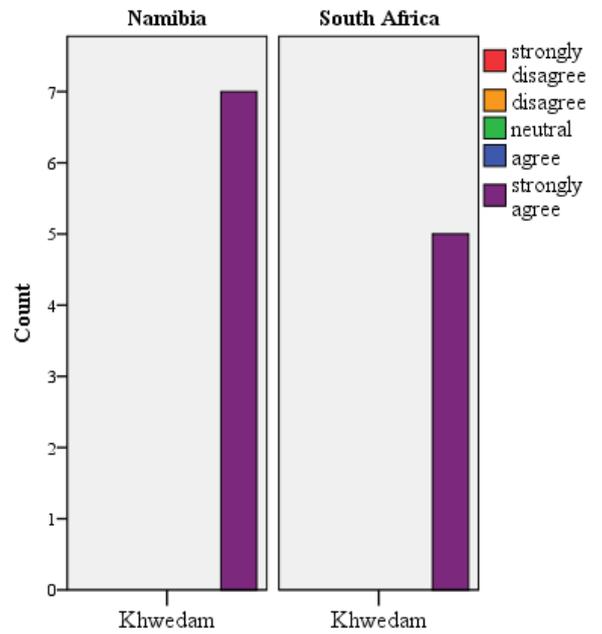


Figure 6.24: Responses by the Khwe to the following statement about television: *You would like to watch TV in Khwedam.*

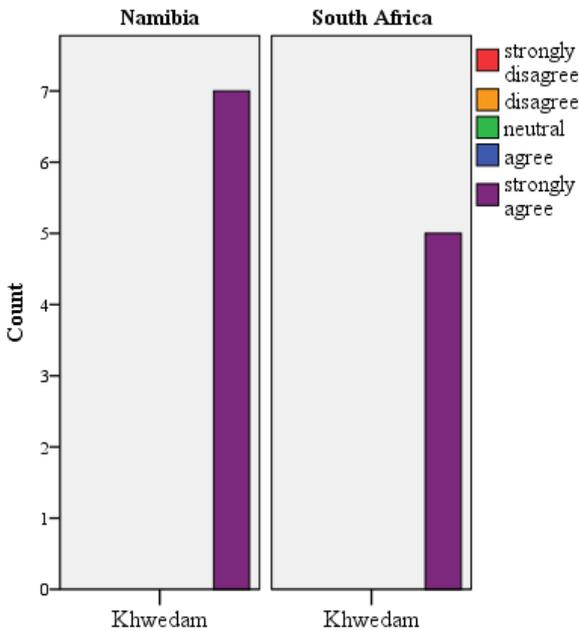


Figure 6.25: Responses by the Khwe to the following statement about print media: *It would be good to have a Khwe newspaper.*

The findings for the !Xun and the Khwe were very similar for the Likert scales, showing almost identical findings. All Khwe participants across both generations strongly agreed that it is important to speak Khwedam while playing sport. The same holds for the next setting, prayer, for which all of the Khwe participants across both generations agreed that they like to pray to their ancestors in Khwedam.

In the domain of education and literacy, in the classroom setting, all of the Khwe participants expressed that they would be happy if their children learnt in Khwedam at school and would be very happy if their teacher could speak Khwedam. These emotional responses by the Khwe express a strong desire for mother tongue education in formal schooling. This desire for mother tongue education is extended into mother tongue literacy.

In the setting of literacy, participants were first asked if they could read or write in Khwedam. Except for one participant born in Namibia, all participants indicated that they were not literate in their mother tongue. Despite such a low mother tongue literacy rate among the Khwe, they went on to express that they would be happy if: they could read and write in Khwedam, if their children could read and write in Khwedam, if their children had books to read in Khwedam, and if they could read Khwedam books to their children. Overall these emotional responses to the use of the mother tongue in the setting of literacy shows a strong desire for access to mother tongue education and literacy.

In the domain of media and technology, all of the Khwe participants strongly agreed that listening to the radio in Khwedam is important to them. They went on to express that they would like to be able to watch television in Khwedam and have a Khwe newspaper. Just like the !Xun, these emotional responses by the Khwe show a strong desire for their mother tongue to be used in media other than the radio, which is the only mother tongue media product they currently have.

6.2.3.2 Preference scores derived from Likert scales

From the findings shown in the selected Likert scales, both the !Xun and the Khwe expressed very strong positive emotional reactions towards their mother tongue. In order to get further information from this data set, I then calculated preference scores from the Likert scales where a comparison was made between the mother tongue and Afrikaans. These preference scores ranged from +4 to -4. A score from 4 to 1 indicated a preference for the mother tongue; 0

indicated no preference between the mother tongue and Afrikaans; and a score from -1 to -4 indicated a preference for Afrikaans. Details on the calculation of the preference scores can be seen in Chapter 4, Methodology. Preference scores were calculated for the !Xun and Khwe in the following settings: in the home, in Platfontein (Platfontein, storytelling, singing), church, gatherings and ceremonies (wedding, funeral), cellphone, and in Kimberley.

6.2.3.2.1 Preference scores on Likert scales by !Xun participants

The preference scores of the above mentioned settings for the !Xun can be seen in Figures 6.26-6.35 below.



Figure 6.26: Key for preference scores

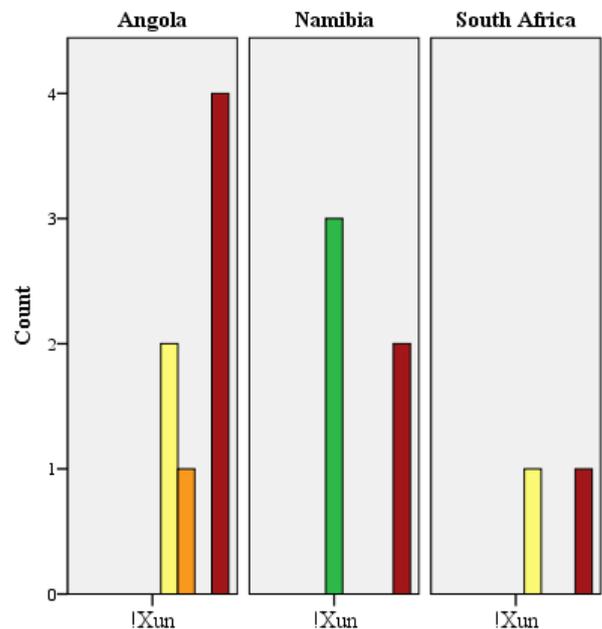


Figure 6.27: Preference scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *It is good to speak !Xun at home* and *It is good to speak Afrikaans at home*.

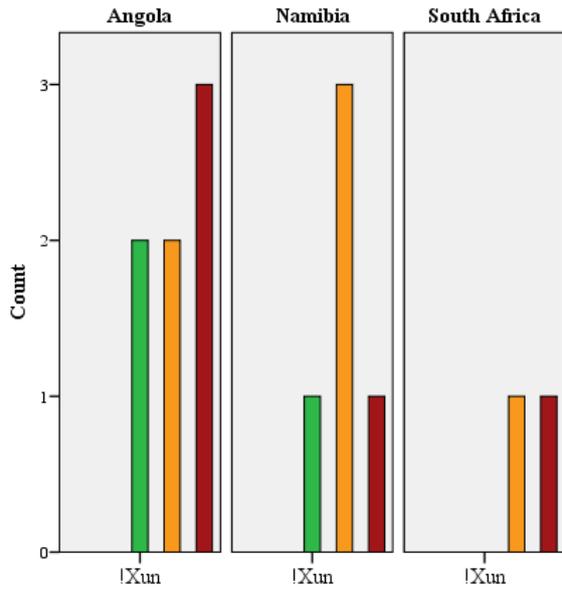


Figure 6.28: Preference scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *You like to speak !Xun in Platfontein* and *You like to speak Afrikaans in Platfontein*.

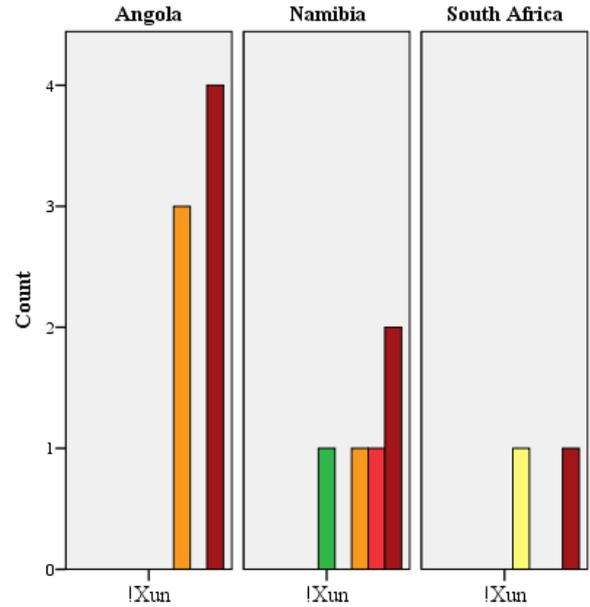


Figure 6.29: Preference scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *You like story telling in !Xun* and *You like story telling in Afrikaans*.

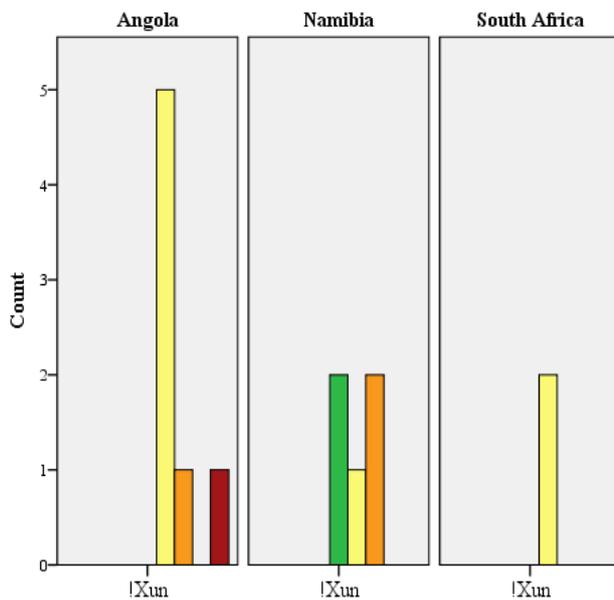


Figure 6.30: Preference scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *It is good to sing in !Xun?* and *It is good to sing in Afrikaans*.

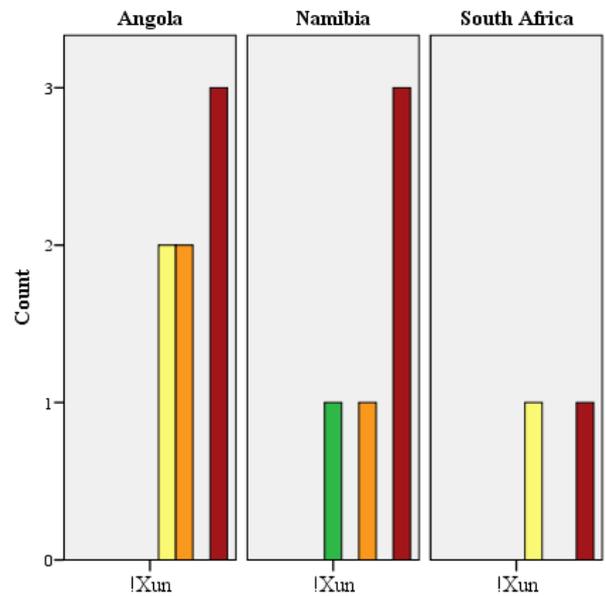


Figure 6.31: Preference scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *You like to go to a church where they speak !Xun* and *You like to go to a church where they speak Afrikaans*.

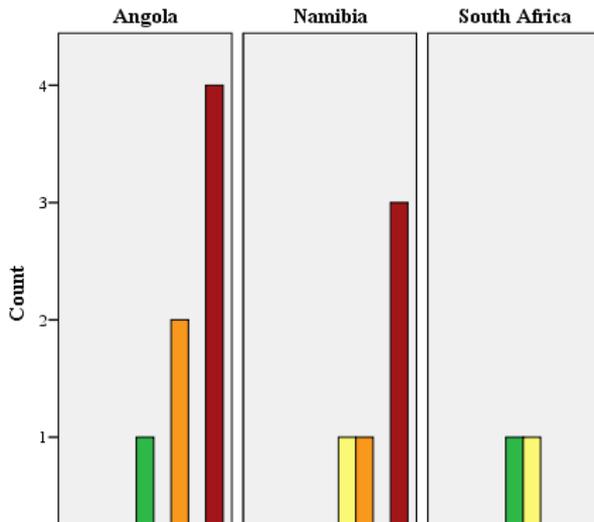


Figure 6.32: Preferences scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *You like to have a wedding ceremony in !Xun* and *You like to have a wedding ceremony in Afrikaans*.

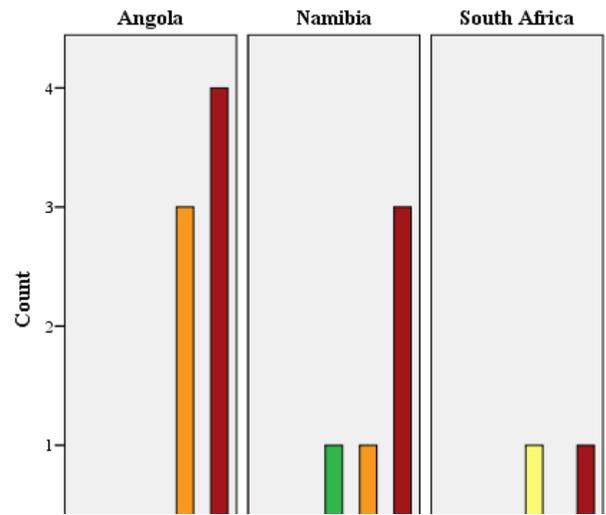


Figure 6.33: Preference scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *You like to have a funeral ceremony in !Xun* and *You like to have a funeral ceremony in Afrikaans*.

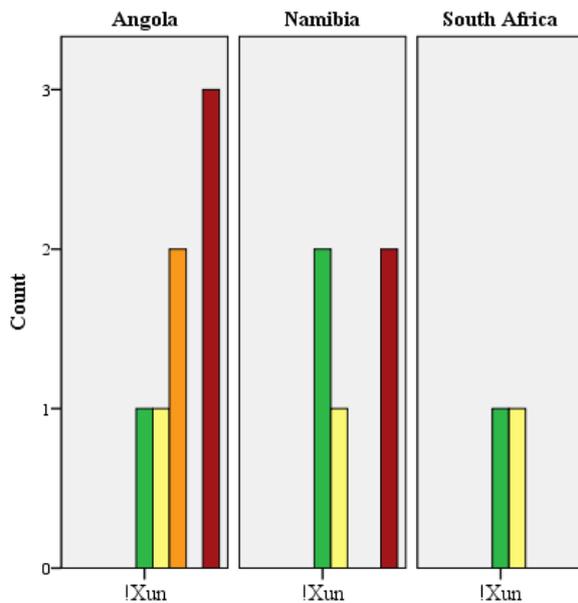


Figure 6.34: Preference scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *You like to talk in !Xun on the phone* and *You like to talk in Afrikaans on the phone*.

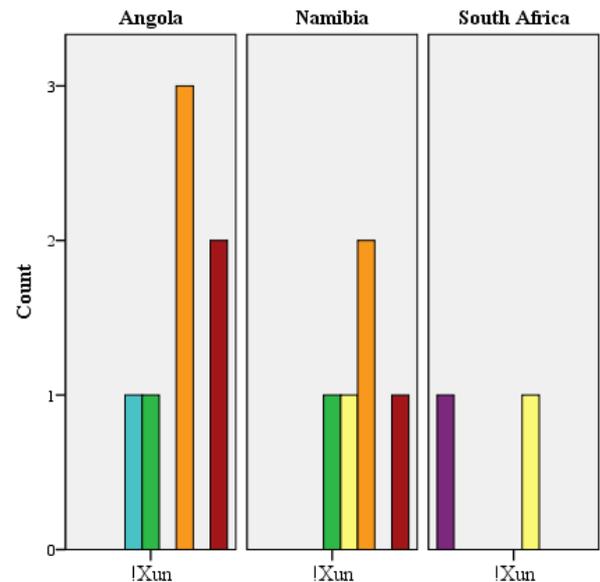


Figure 6.35: Preference scores for the !Xun derived from the following two statements: *You like to speak !Xun when you are in Kimberley* and *You like to speak Afrikaans when you are in Kimberley*.

As one can see in Figure 6.27, the preference for the use of !Xun in the home was strongest among the !Xun born in Angola. Among the !Xun born in Namibia, there was a divide between ‘complete preference for !Xun over Afrikaans (4)’ and ‘no preference between !Xun and Afrikaans (0)’. (All three participants with no preference had equal, strongly positive scores (5) for both !Xun and Afrikaans.) However, !Xun was preferred over Afrikaans by those !Xun

participants born in South Africa. Therefore for three participants born in Namibia, !Xun and Afrikaans were both welcome in the home whereas for the remaining !Xun participants, !Xun was strongly preferred over Afrikaans in the home.

In Figure 6.28 the majority of the !Xun preferred the use of !Xun in Platfontein over Afrikaans. Those who scored a 'no preference' score, scored highly for !Xun (5) and highly for Afrikaans (5) on their Likert scales. Therefore, !Xun was preferred by the majority of !Xun participants, with two participants born in Angola and one in Namibia with no preference for !Xun over Afrikaans in Platfontein.

In Figure 6.29, all but one of the !Xun expressed a preference for !Xun over Afrikaans when storytelling. Storytelling in !Xun culture is a traditional practise that has been passed down from one generation to the next, and is still particularly strong amongst the oldest generation of !Xun in Platfontein. Those !Xun born in Namibia still expressed a positive emotional response towards their mother tongue when storytelling, but not as strong overall as those born in Angola. The same can be said for the !Xun born in South Africa, who still express positive emotional reactions towards storytelling in !Xun but not as strong as the generation before them.

Figure 6.30, represents the preference scores between singing in !Xun versus singing in Afrikaans: *It is good to sing in !Xun?* and *It is good to sing in Afrikaans?* As one can see, across all three generations there was a weak preference for !Xun over Afrikaans when singing. This may be because Afrikaans singing is used in the local !Xun churches, on the local radio and television and therefore participants are exposed to Afrikaans music in different contexts on a regular basis.

Moving to contexts of a religious nature: in church (Figure 6.31), at a wedding (Figure 6.32) and at a funeral (Figure 6.33), all showed very strong preference scores for !Xun over Afrikaans. The preference for !Xun in church is strong across all three generations. The mixing of !Xun and Afrikaans when in church has resulted in some participants indicating a weak preference of the mother tongue in church or no preference for either language. However, the majority still expressed a strong preference for the use of !Xun in church.

The use of !Xun is also strongly preferred when at a wedding for !Xun born in Angola and Namibia. This preference is much weaker for those born in South Africa. This preference

pattern may be due to the observation that traditional weddings are much less frequent than they were in the past (le Roux, 1999: 87). The infrequent practise of wedding ceremonies among the !Xun and the Khwe in South Africa is discussed in Chapter 7 (Data stream 3: Behavioural predispositions).

‘At a funeral’ was the context that scored the highest of all the preference scores for the mother tongue over Afrikaans. This preference was especially strong for those born in Angola and Namibia. There is slight evidence of this becoming weaker in the generation born in South Africa; however the sample size is too small to accurately forecast this. Overall there is a very strong preference for the use of !Xun at !Xun funerals. This is in keeping with old !Xun traditions which are upheld by the presence of the great-grandparent generation of !Xun living in Platfontein.

In Figure 6.34, the preference for !Xun while speaking on the phone is strongest among the !Xun born in Angola; however, this depends on the person with whom the participant is speaking. If the call is to a person who speaks !Xun then they prefer to speak !Xun on the phone, but if the person does not speak !Xun they will speak Afrikaans if they are able. (The proficiency in Afrikaans is stronger for those generations born in Namibia and South Africa. These two counties formally use Afrikaans, whereas there was very little or no use of Afrikaans in Angola.) Among the !Xun born in Namibia, there was a divide between ‘complete preference for !Xun over Afrikaans (4) and ‘no preference between !Xun and Afrikaans (0)’, where the ‘no preference’ score was the result of strong positive response for both languages. For the younger generation born in South Africa, the Likert scales showed a weak preference for !Xun or no preference between !Xun and Afrikaans. In these instances participants chose high Likert scale scores for both !Xun and Afrikaans, therefore showing little or no preference for the mother tongue over Afrikaans.

Lastly, as illustrated in Figure 6.35, the preference for !Xun over Afrikaans when in Kimberley, is strongest for those born in Angola. However, if they are able to communicate in Afrikaans they will do so to facilitate communication with outsiders, but continue to speak !Xun with their family and friends while in Kimberley. The same can be said for the next generation born in Namibia. By contrast, the youngest generation born in South Africa showed a strong preference for the use of Afrikaans over !Xun when in Kimberley. Those preference scores that were in favour of Afrikaans, were where participants scored !Xun poorly and Afrikaans well, on the

simple Likert scale. Those that expressed no preference between !Xun and Afrikaans, scored both languages highly on their simple Likert scales. Therefore, only the two preference scores that were in favour of Afrikaans, is where participants expressed a low score for !Xun on the simple Likert scales. All the other selections made by participants in relation to !Xun scored highly on the simple Likert scales, indicating overall a very positive emotional reaction towards !Xun by all the !Xun participants in all of the selected settings.

6.2.3.2.2 Preference scores for Khwe participants

The preference scores for the Khwe participants can be seen in Figures 6.36-6.45 below.



Figure 6:36: Key for preference scores.

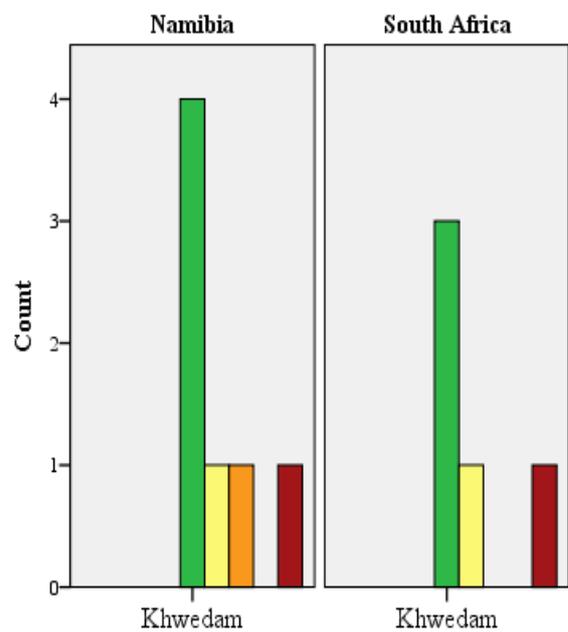


Figure 6.37: Preference scores for the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *It is good to speak Khwedam at home* and *It is good to speak Afrikaans at home*.

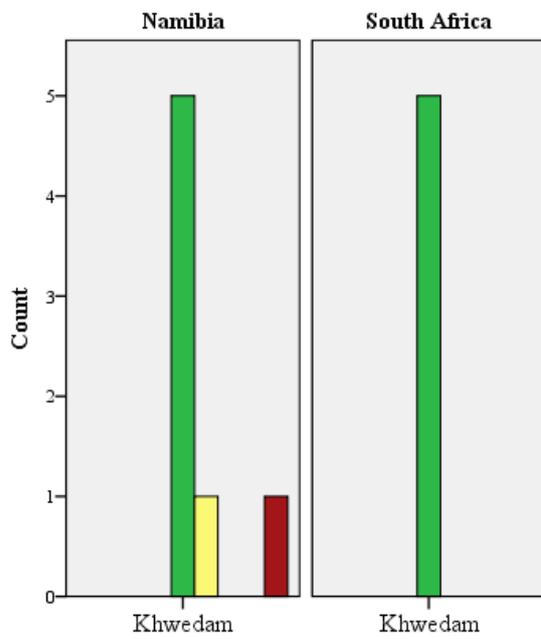


Figure 6.38: Preference scores for the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *You like to speak Khwedam in Platfontein* and *You like to speak Afrikaans in Platfontein*.

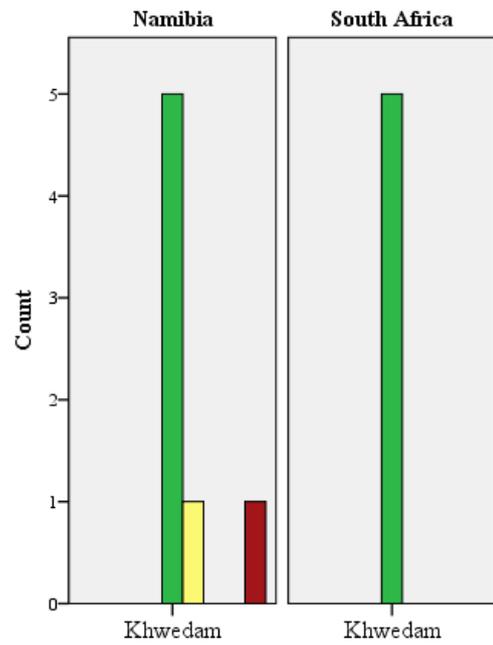


Figure 6.39: Preference scores for the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *You like story telling in Khwedam* and *You like story telling in Afrikaans*.

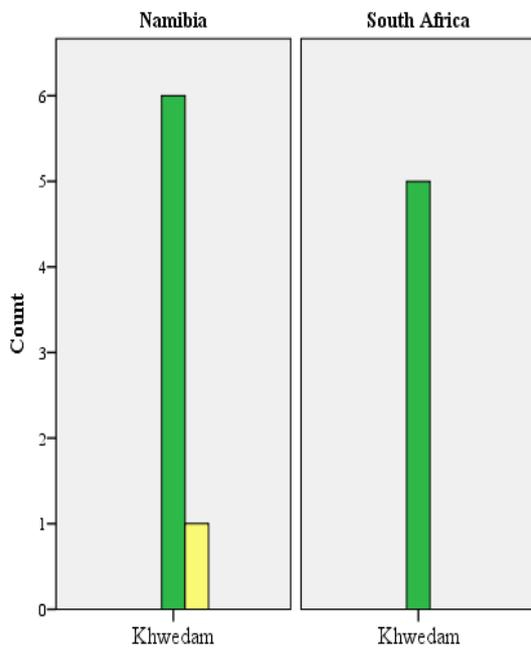


Figure 6.40: Preference score by the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *It is good to sing in Khwedam* and *It is good to sing in Afrikaans*.

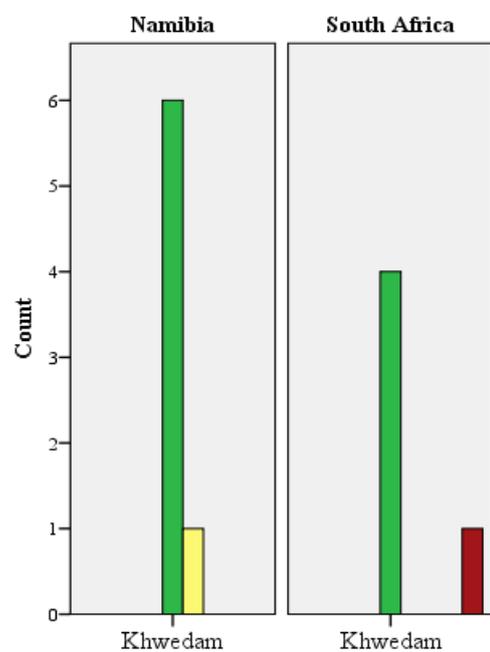


Figure 6.41: Preference scores for the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *You like to go to a church where they speak Khwedam* and *You like to go to a church where they speak Afrikaans*.

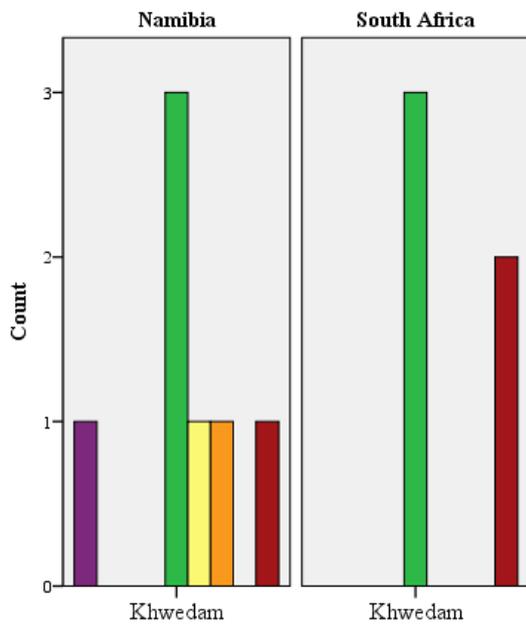


Figure 6.42: Preference scores for the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *You like to have a wedding ceremony in Khwedam* and *You like to have a wedding ceremony in Afrikaans*.

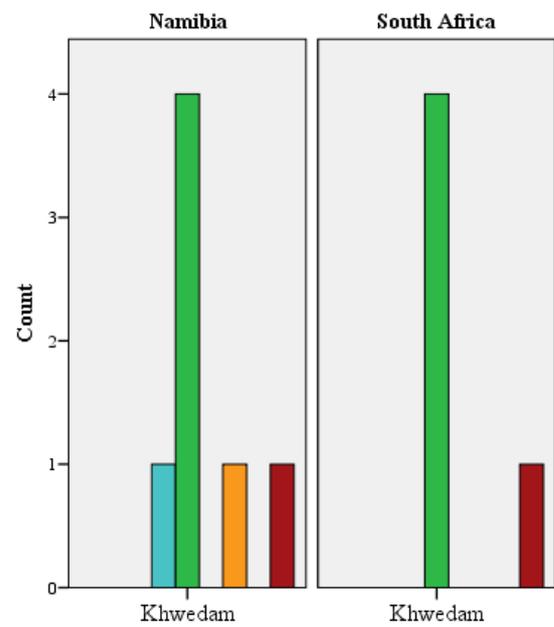


Figure 6.43: Preference score by the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *You like to have a funeral ceremony in Khwedam* and *You like to have a funeral ceremony in Afrikaans*.

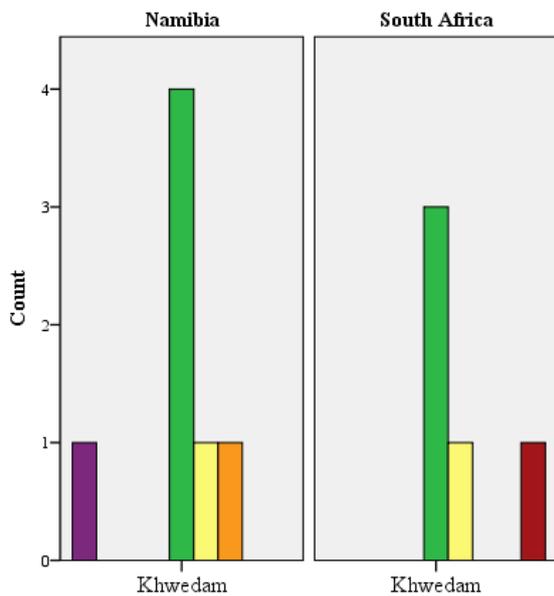


Figure 6.44: Preference scores for the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *You like to talk in Khwedam on the phone* and *You like to talk in Afrikaans on the phone*

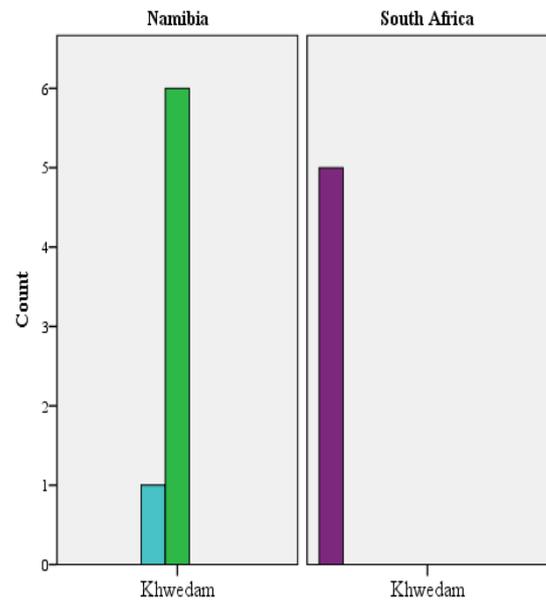


Figure 6.45: Preference scores for the Khwe derived from the following two statements: *You like to speak Khwedam when you are in Kimberley* and *You like to speak Afrikaans when you are in Kimberley*

The figures 6.37-6.45 clearly illustrate that the Khwe either have a relatively weak preference for their mother tongue over Afrikaans or no preference at all. They thus differ from the !Xun in this respect which illustrates that the two communities may not be homogeneous.

In Figure 6.37, the emotional responses towards the use of Khwedam versus Afrikaans in the home showed no preference between these two languages for the majority of participants. On closer inspection of the simple Likert scores, it can be noted that all of the Khwe participants selected 'strongly agree' for the first statement: *It is good to speak Khwedam at home*. However for the second question: *It is good to speak Afrikaans at home*, the majority of the Khwe participants also selected 'strongly agree'. This suggests a very positive emotional response to both languages; i.e. the majority of Khwe participants have no clear preference for the mother tongue in this setting. By contrast, the !Xun strongly preferred their mother tongue in the home over Afrikaans.

Similarly, Figure 6.38 illustrates that the majority of the Khwe showed no preference for Khwedam over Afrikaans when in Platfontein. Those who scored a 'no preference' score did so because they scored highly for both Khwedam (5) and Afrikaans (5) on their Likert scales. By contrast, the !Xun strongly preferred their mother tongue over Afrikaans while visiting Platfontein.

Figure 6.39, was exactly the same as Figure 6.38 where the majority of the Khwe showed no preference over Khwedam and Afrikaans when storytelling. Those who scored a 'no preference' score, scored highly for Khwedam (5) and highly for Afrikaans (5) on their Likert scales. Again, this is very different from the !Xun, who strongly preferred their mother tongue over Afrikaans when storytelling.

Figure 6.40, represents the preference scores between the statements: *It is good to sing in Khwedam* and *It is good to sing in Afrikaans*. Across both generations there was almost no preference for Khwedam over Afrikaans when singing. Scores on the Likert scales show that almost all of the Khwe participants selected 'strongly agree' for both questions, reflecting a strong fondness of both languages by the majority of Khwe participants.

Moving to settings of a religious nature: in church (Figure 6.41), at a wedding (Figure 6.42) and at a funeral (Figure 6.43). The majority of Khwe participants showed no preference for

Khwedam over Afrikaans for any of these. As before, those scoring a ‘no preference’ score, scored highly for Khwedam (5) and highly for Afrikaans (5) on their Likert scales. This differs from the !Xun, who strongly preferred their mother tongue when in church and at a funeral.

In relation to a wedding ceremony, Figure, 6.42, three of the Khwe born in Namibia had no preference for their mother tongue over Afrikaans. There were also three Khwe participants born in Namibia who preferred the use of Khwedam at a wedding ceremony over Afrikaans. Finally, there was one Khwe participant born in Namibia who strongly preferred Afrikaans over Khwedam at a wedding ceremony. In the next generation, those born in South Africa were divided between ‘no preference’ for Khwedam and a strong preference for Khwedam. Of all of the preference scores calculated between Khwedam and Afrikaans for the Khwe, the use of Khwedam at a wedding ceremony scored the highest for the mother tongue, especially among Khwe born in South Africa. This result for the Khwe is opposite to that of the !Xun who showed a decreased preference for the use of their mother tongue at weddings with each generation. The practice of wedding ceremonies in Platfontein is discussed in Chapter 7 (Data stream 3: Behavioural predispositions).

As illustrated in Figure 6.44, the majority of the Khwe participants showed no preference for either Khwedam or Afrikaans when speaking on the phone. Those who scored a ‘no preference’ score, scored highly for Khwedam (5) and highly for Afrikaans (5) on their Likert scales. There was one case of a Khwe participant born in Namibia who had a strong preference for Afrikaans over Khwedam when using the phone, however. Moreover, there were two participants born in Namibia and two participants born in South Africa who preferred to speak Khwedam on the phone rather than Afrikaans; however, this depended on the person with whom the participant was speaking. If the call is to a person who speaks Khwedam then they prefer to speak Khwedam on the phone, but if the person does not speak Khwedam they will speak Afrikaans if they are able. These findings were similar to those obtained with the !Xun, especially for the generation born in South Africa.

Lastly, as Figure 6.45 shows, the majority of Khwe participants born in Namibia do not seem to have any preference for Khwedam over Afrikaans when interacting with people in Kimberley; there was, however, one case of a weak preference for Afrikaans over Khwedam. Those who scored a ‘no preference’ score, scored highly for Khwedam (5) and highly for

Afrikaans (5) on their simple Likert scales. By contrast, the last generation born in South Africa showed a complete preference for the use of Afrikaans over Khwedam when in Kimberley.

6.3 Summary

The emotional responses of the selected !Xun and Khwe participants of Platfontein towards their mother tongue was investigated through qualitative and quantitative methods. Firstly, the mother tongue was investigated as a topic in relation to opinions on the mother tongue, identity and the mother tongue and use of the mother tongue for insiders and outsiders. Thereafter, the mother tongue was studied from a functional domain approach through the use of Likert scales as well as preference scores derived from these Likert scales. The preference scores compared emotional responses to the mother tongue with emotional responses to Afrikaans in order to establish how open participants were to the inclusion of an additional language in their everyday life across a number of settings.

The qualitative data provide evidence that both the !Xun and the Khwe appreciate their mother tongue; they think that it is important, and desire their children to speak it. Overall, !Xun and Khwe participants felt that all !Xun people and all Khwe people should be able to speak !Xun or Khwedam respectively. It was however mentioned that Afrikaans and English have become attractive additional languages for socioeconomic reasons. The !Xun, having an older generation present in Platfontein in comparison to the Khwe, mentioned that they should speak their mother tongue because it comes from their ancestors. Discussions around the ancestors and the mother tongue were not mentioned at all by the Khwe. Among the Khwe, those who were born in Namibia mentioned a fear of losing their language and diminishing numbers of speakers, whereas neither of these concerns were mentioned by the !Xun. Both the !Xun and the Khwe born in South Africa mentioned that their mother tongues bring unity among each of their peoples.

The concept of language and identity was very different between the !Xun and the Khwe. All of the Khwe participants felt that language and ethnicity are not one and the same. By contrast, the !Xun were divided between two opposite poles. There were some younger !Xun who were in agreement with the Khwe about language and ethnicity, stating that one's ancestry is in one's bloodline and not one's language. However the oldest generation of the !Xun participants strongly felt that language and ethnicity are inextricable and that one cannot be !Xun if one

cannot speak !Xun. This generation also linked the language to the ancestors and stated that !Xun came directly from their forefathers and that this feature makes the language so important to them.

Further differences concerning the importance of the mother tongue between the !Xun and the Khwe emerged. Both older !Xun and older Khwe participants mentioned that their mother tongue is important because it is a gift from God. They also expressed feelings of ownership of their mother tongue and therefore this made it significant as it was unique to their people. The Khwe however extended this concept further and expressed a deep concern about a potential loss of their mother tongue which they identified as part of their cultural identity. This emotional reaction to a potential loss of the mother tongue and what such a loss would mean for the future is a prevalent topic among the Khwe, whereas there are some !Xun who do not feel that language loss is even a possibility among the !Xun.

Participants were then asked how they feel about outsiders speaking !Xun or Khwedam in order to better understand speakers' attachment to their mother tongue and their emotional reactions to the idea of people from other ethnic backgrounds (outsiders) speaking !Xun or Khwedam. Firstly the topic of the !Xun and Khwe learning each other's languages was explored, as outsiders from each other's cultures. All of the Khwe were happy to share their mother tongue with the !Xun in order to facilitate social cohesion among the two groups. The !Xun on the other hand were less inclined to share their mother tongue with the Khwe with some participants saying that Khwe people should rather speak their own language. Those !Xun who agreed with the idea of Khwe people learning !Xun did so without much conviction or enthusiasm.

I then opened up the concept of outsiders to people from outside of Platfontein acquiring either !Xun or Khwedam and asked participants what they thought of this. Again, the Khwe were much more inclined and open to sharing their mother tongue with outsiders other than the !Xun. The !Xun seemed to be much more 'guarded' and private about their mother tongue and were thus less enthusiastic about the idea of outsiders learning !Xun.

The emotional reactions of the mother tongue were further investigated from a functional domain approach through the use of simple Likert scales. The following settings were investigated: sport, prayer, classroom, literacy, radio and television and print media. In all of these settings for both the !Xun and the Khwe, participants expressed very strong positive

emotional reactions towards their mother tongue. Particularly noteworthy was the desire to have an increased presence of their mother tongue in the media and education and to develop literacy skills in their mother tongue.

In order to gain further information about the emotional reactions of the !Xun and the Khwe towards their mother tongue from the Likert scales, preference scores were calculated. These preference scores were derived from participants' emotional reactions towards their mother tongue and compared with their emotional reactions towards Afrikaans. Overall, the !Xun and the Khwe both expressed very positive emotional responses towards their mother tongue in the following settings: in the home, in Platfontein, church, gatherings and ceremonies, cellphone, and in Kimberley. However the Khwe were overall much more positive and inclusive of Afrikaans in the above mentioned settings than the !Xun were. This data reinforces the previous finding that the !Xun identify their language as a fundamental aspect of their identity.

7. Data stream 3: Behavioural predispositions

7.1 Chapter outline

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse the data pertaining to research question iii. (What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?). As with data streams 1 and 2, the family trees were used as a guide to each of the families participating in this study, in order to conduct structured interviews revolving around language use. These responses were then analysed according to setting and setting, paying attention to patterns that emerged from generation to generation for both the !Xun and the Khwe.

7.1.1 Brief overview

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are three data streams in this study: data stream 1 (Language Life Stories), data stream 2 (setting specific feelings towards language) and data stream 3 (setting specific language use). A summary of the data collection and analysis process for data stream 3 can be seen in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: Overview of data collection and analysis for data stream 3

	Structured interviews	Participant observations
Description of data stream	Participants' opinions on language use in selected settings and settings	Observed behaviour in pre-selected language settings and settings
Method of participant selection	Adult participants from selected family trees invited to participate.	Permission sought from key informants and family members to be observed.
Number of participants per data collection method	18 Xun and 13 Khwe participants	Observations of individuals and groups of people depending on the setting and setting
Tool for data collection	Interview schedule	Field journal, digital video camera and audio recorder
Outcome of data collection	Short closed answers and Likert scale ratings	Field notes, photographs and digital recordings
Data analysis 1 – data reduction	Responses mapped onto spreadsheet	Data grouped according to setting and setting
Data analysis 2 – data coding, grouping and collating	Spreadsheet coded and grouped according to setting and setting	Data coded for domains
Data analysis 3 –	Descriptive and categorical analysis	Descriptive analysis

Data stream 3 is made up of two data sets: the structured interviews that relate to language use, and participant observations made in selected settings and settings. The interviews were recorded and the responses were mapped onto a detailed spreadsheet and subsequently coded according to setting and setting. Observations were restricted to settings and settings that were available to me, as discussed in Chapter 4. These were documented via a field journal, digital video, and audio recordings depending on the setting, setting and the activity that was taking place. The findings from the structured interviews and the participant observations were compared in order to respond to research sub-question iii) (What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?).

In Chapter 8, the findings from data stream 1, 2 and 3 were compared and analysed in order to address the main research question (What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontein and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?). These language attitudes of !Xun speakers and of Khwe speakers were analysed to provide a unique insight into the case of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers of Platfontein and their attitudes towards their respective mother tongue from an intergenerational perspective.

In order to answer research sub-question iii), each participant provided their responses to a number of questions relating to language use in pre-selected language settings and settings. These responses were collated according to the following settings: cognition, family and Platfontein, traditional and religious practices, beyond Platfontein, the classroom and literacy, and media and digital communication. The participants' claims about their language use were compared, where possible, with observations of their actual language use in the field in order to verify for each setting which languages are used in which setting. Observations took place in 2013 and 2014 for a total of 20 weeks (5 months) over four fieldtrips. Collectively these two sets of data provide a description of language use within a range of social contexts, and the behavioural predispositions of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to their mother tongue.

7.2 Pre-selected language settings and observations

As described in relation to the previous research question, the pre-selected language settings were identified during the pilot stage of this research project which took place in 2010 (discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, section 4.2 *Entré to speech communities in Platfontein*). From spending time working in the Platfontein community, some language settings common

to both the !Xun and the Khwe were selected for further investigation in relation to language use. The pre-selected language settings were grouped according to their observability. These settings, as well as the degree of observability of each setting for this particular study, are shown in Table 7.2 below. Rationale for the degrees of observability for each setting and its associated setting is discussed in section 4.7.2.2 of Chapter 4.

Table: 7.2 Degree of observability in relation to each language setting and associated setting

Language setting	Degree of observability	Setting
Cognition	Not observed	Counting
		Planning
		Dreaming
Beyond Platfontein	Not observed	Visiting outside of Platfontein
		Services outside of Platfontein
		In the workplace
Family and Platfontein	Observed	Home and friends
		Sport
		Facilities and services
Traditional and religious practices	Partially observed	Traditional practices
		Church
The classroom and literacy	Partially observed	Classroom
		Reading
Media and technology	Partially observed	Radio and television
		Cellphone and the internet

7.2.1 Cognition

The setting ‘cognition’, is not an observable setting as we cannot observe an individual’s thoughts or dreams. Therefore, for this setting the information gained from interviews conducted could not be verified by observations in the field. Counting, although possibly observable, in this instance focussed on the act of not counting out aloud but rather, quietly to oneself. Therefore, in the context of this study, counting was not observable. The three settings investigated were: counting, planning and dreaming.

7.2.1.1 Counting

In the setting of counting, a question was presented to participants, *When you count things quietly in your head, (for example money or animals) which language do you use?* The responses to this statement can be seen in Figure 7.1 below.

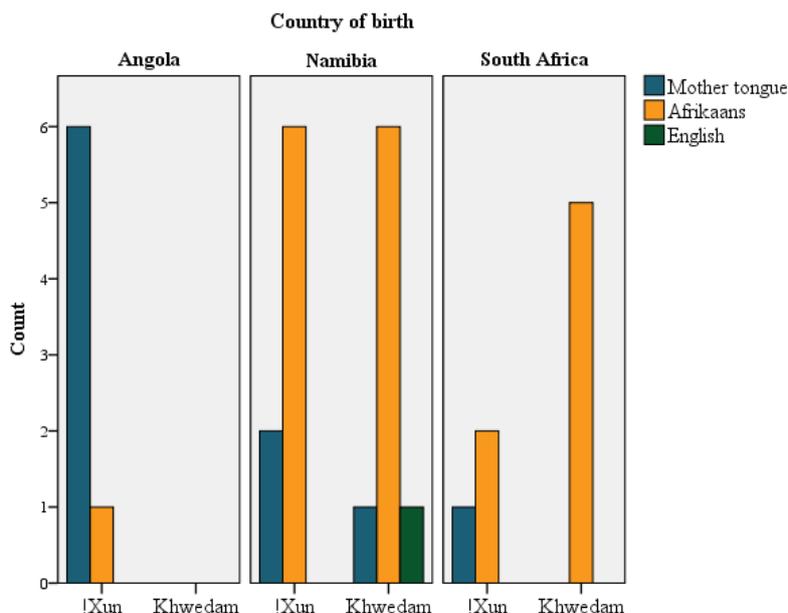


Figure 7.1: Responses to the question: *When you count things quietly in your head, (for example money or animals) which language do you use?*

These responses correlate with age. The older !Xun participants born in Angola count in !Xun. There was only one !Xun participant born in Angola who counts in Afrikaans. The majority of the !Xun and Khwe born in Namibia count in Afrikaans. Only two of the !Xun and one of the Khwe born in Namibia count in their mother tongue. There was also one of the Khwe born in Namibia who counts in English. Finally, all of the Khwe participants born in South Africa and two of the !Xun born in South Africa count in Afrikaans. Only one of the !Xun born in South Africa counts in !Xun; generally it seems that this practice often shifts from !Xun to Afrikaans once participants begin attending school. From these responses it can be noted that both the !Xun and the Khwe, over the generations are losing the practice of counting in their mother tongue, and shifting to counting in Afrikaans.

7.2.1.2 Planning

In the setting of planning, a question was presented to participants, *When you plan what you are going to do the next day, which language do you use?* All but one of the !Xun participants said that they do this in !Xun. (One participant born in Angola said that they mix !Xun and Afrikaans together when planning what they were going to do the next day.) Similarly, all but one of the Khwe participants said that they plan for the next day in Khwedam. (One Khwe participant born in Namibia who stated that he does this in English.) Overall the majority of

both the !Xun and the Khwe plan for the following day in their mother tongue, with minimal occurrences of Afrikaans for the !Xun and English for the Khwe.

7.2.1.3 Dreaming

In the setting of dreaming, a question was presented to participants, *When you have a dream which language do you dream in?* All of the !Xun participants said that they dream in !Xun. The majority of the Khwe born in Namibia, and all of the Khwe born in South Africa, stated that they dream in Khwedam. One Khwe participant born in Namibia said that he dreams in Khwedam, Afrikaans and English, and one Khwe participant born in Namibia said that he dreams in Khwedam and English. Overall the majority of both the !Xun and the Khwe dream in their mother tongue, with minimal occurrences of English and Afrikaans for the Khwe.

7.2.1.4 Cognition summary

The three settings investigated in the domain of ‘cognition’ for behavioural predisposition were: counting, planning and dreaming. Within these domains I found evidence that the practice of counting may be shifting from the mother tongue to Afrikaans for both the !Xun and the Khwe. However, the majority of the participants across all generations seem to plan and dream in their mother tongue.

7.2.2 Beyond Platfontein

The domain ‘beyond Platfontein’ was not an observed domain in the context of this study. The three settings investigated were: visiting outside of Platfontein, services outside of Platfontein, and in the workplace. Places where participants visited family or friends outside of Platfontein were wide spread, from local towns in the Northern Cape, to other provinces in South Africa to Namibia and Angola. It was beyond the scope of this study to make observations in these locations. Services outside of Platfontein, such as shops, or government facilities, such as the Department of Home Affairs are available to the general public; and therefore gaining permission to make observations was logistically a complicated matter due to the vast number of different individuals using the services, the staff working in these locations as well as gaining permission from the managers of each location. Therefore, observations in services outside of Platfontein were not made. Lastly, the majority of !Xun and Khwe who were employed, worked outside of Platfontein, many of them as contract workers on farms spread throughout the country. Therefore, observations were not made in the workplace as travelling to these

disparate locations was beyond the scope of this study. As a result, for this domain, the information gained from interviews conducted was not verified by observations in the field.

7.2.2.1 Visiting outside of Platfontein

In the setting of visiting outside of Platfontein, a question was presented to participants, *When you visit family or friends outside of Platfontein, which language do you use?* All but three !Xun and three Khwe participants said that they do not visit family or friends outside of Platfontein. One !Xun participant born in Angola said that she visited Namibia and Angola once after moving to South Africa and that she spoke !Xun with her home and friends. Two !Xun, one born in Angola and one born in Namibia said that they visit family who are based in the Eastern Cape once a year, and when they do so, they speak !Xun. The three Khwe who visit family or friends outside of Platfontein, were born in Namibia and visit Roodapan, Vryberg and Galashewe. In Roodapan they are visiting family and therefore use Khwedam, in Vryberg they are visiting friends and use English; in Galashewe they are also visiting friends and use Afrikaans. Overall the majority of both the !Xun and the Khwe do not visit family or friends outside of Platfontein. Those !Xun who do, use !Xun with their home and friends whereas the Khwe use Khwedam, English and Afrikaans.

7.2.2.2 Services outside of Platfontein

The first question in relation to language use and services outside of Platfontein was *When you go to the shops outside of Platfontein which language/s do you use?* All but three !Xun participants said that they go to shops outside of Platfontein. The second set of questions were, *Other than going to the shops, where else do you go in Kimberley? When you are there which language/s do you use?* All but two !Xun participants said that they go to Kimberley for things other than shopping, such as: to visit the Department of Home Affairs, the local government hospital, the post office, the bank, the army veterans office, the police station and to look for work. The responses to these questions can be seen in Table 7.3 below.

Table 7.3: Questions and responses to language use in the setting of ‘services outside of Platfontein’

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwe number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
<i>1. When you go to the shops outside of Platfontein which language/s do you use?</i>	Shop keepers, family, friends, other customers	!Xun (3)	-	!Xun (1)	Khwedam (1)	-
		Afrikaans (3)	Afrikaans (7)	Afrikaans (1)	Afrikaans (2)	Afrikaans (3)
		-	-	-	Afrikaans & English (5)	Afrikaans & English (1)
		-	-	-	-	English & Khwe (1)
		Don't go (1)	Don't go (1)	Don't go (1)	-	-
<i>2. Other than going to the shops, where else do you go in Kimberley? When you are there which language/s do you use?</i>		!Xun with a translator (3): Department of Home Affairs, Government hospital	-	-	Khwedam with a translator (1): Department of Home Affairs, Government hospital	-
		Afrikaans (2): Army veterans office, Government hospital	Afrikaans (4): Army veterans, Government hospital	Afrikaans (3): Government hospital	Afrikaans (3): Government hospital	Afrikaans (2): Government hospital, bank
		-	Afrikaans & English (3): Government hospital	-	Afrikaans & English (4): Government hospital	Afrikaans & English (3): Government hospital, bank, police station, post office, to look for work
		I don't go for anything else (2)	I don't go for anything else (1)	-	-	-

As can be seen in the Table 7.3 above, Afrikaans is the dominant language used by the !Xun when shopping outside of Platfontein. Other than Afrikaans, two !Xun participants born in Angola and one born in South Africa said that they used !Xun when shopping outside of Platfontein. On the other hand, the majority of the Khwe mentioned that they use Afrikaans and English when shopping outside of Platfontein with only occasional use of Khwedam.

Overall Afrikaans and English are the most dominant languages used by the !Xun and the Khwe when shopping outside of Platfontein. This is usually with shop keepers or other customers in the shop whereas their mother tongue is used when shopping with family or friends from Platfontein. Similarly, for the other services found outside Platfontein and utilised by the !Xun and Khwe, Afrikaans was most prevalent among the !Xun whereas the Khwe used English and Afrikaans. Three of the older !Xun born in Angola and one Khwe born in Namibia, needed the assistance of a translator when going to the Department of Home Affairs or the local government hospital.

7.2.2.3 In the workplace

In the setting of the workplace, participants were asked, *When you are at work which language/s do you use?* Their responses can be seen in Table 7.4 below:

Table 7.4: Questions and responses to language use in the setting of 'the workplace'

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwe number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
1. When you are at work which language/s do you use?	Employer, fellow employees, other dancers or crafters	!Xun (1): Traditional dancing & crafting	-	-	-	-
		Afrikaans (1): Cleaner	Afrikaans (1): Security	Afrikaans (1): Security	Afrikaans (1): Security	-
		Afrikaans & isiZulu (1): Security	-	-	-	-
		Afrikaans & !Xun (1): Farm labour	Afrikaans & !Xun (2): Farm labour	-	-	Afrikaans & Khwedam (2): Social work
		Afrikaans, isiXhosa & !Xun (1): Cleaner	-	-	-	-
		-	Afrikaans, Khwedam, isiXhosa & !Xun (1): Social work	-	-	-
		-	Afrikaans & Sesotho (1): Security	-	-	-
		-	-	-	Afrikaans & English (1): Security	-
		-	-	-	Khwedam, !Xun, Afrikaans, English (2): Community Property Association, Social work	-
		-	-	-	Khwe, Afrikaans & English (2): Radio presenter, Social work	-
Never worked (2)	Never worked (3)	Never worked (1)	Never worked (2)	Never worked (3)		

As can be seen in Table 7.4, six !Xun and five Khwe participants have never been employed. Of the remaining participants, those who have had some kind of employment, have mostly

experienced contract or seasonal work rather than permanent employment. Only one participant, an elderly female !Xun participant, gained employment by showcasing traditional !Xun dancing and crafts and therefore only needed !Xun in the workplace. All of the other participants, both !Xun and Khwe, adopted additional languages in the workplace. Afrikaans was used by five !Xun born in Angola, Namibia or South Africa working in the private security sector and by one !Xun participant who worked as a cleaner. One !Xun participant born in Angola and one !Xun participant born in Namibia stated that they use Afrikaans and isiZulu, and Afrikaans and Sesotho, respectively, in the security sector. One female !Xun participant born in Angola, said that she uses Afrikaans, isiXhosa and !Xun when working as a maid on a farm in the Eastern Cape. The language that she would use would depend on who she was talking to. If she was talking to her family members she would speak !Xun, to the other employees on the farm she spoke isiXhosa and addressed her employer in Afrikaans. Those who worked as farm labourers used Afrikaans and !Xun in the workplace: !Xun to speak to !Xun family members or !Xun speakers, and Afrikaans to fellow employees as well as employers. There was one female !Xun participant who was employed as a social worker for Love Life, a South African NGO that assists with sexual health and wellbeing. Her job required her to speak !Xun, Khwedam, Afrikaans and isiXhosa depending on who she was assisting.

Among the Khwe, there were two participants born in Namibia who worked in the security sector. Both participants said that they speak Afrikaans at work; and one participant mentioned that he also speaks English at work. There were four participants who worked in the social work sector, two born in Namibia and two born in South Africa. Those born in South Africa stated that they use Khwedam and Afrikaans in the workplace, whereas those born in Namibia said that they used Khwedam, !Xun, Afrikaans and English in the workplace. There was one social worker born in Namibia who said that she uses Khwedam, Afrikaans and English in the workplace. She specifically works with children in Platfontein and with them she speaks Khwedam, with other social workers from the province she speaks Afrikaans and with private international funders who assist with the project she speaks English. There was one Khwe participant who worked for the Communal Property Association (CPA) of Platfontein and in his line of work he needs to communicate with the Platfontein residents as well as outside organisations such as the municipality and the Department of Education. He therefore speaks Khwedam, !Xun, Afrikaans and English in the workplace. Lastly, there was one radio presenter for XK-FM born in Namibia who said that he uses Khwedam, Afrikaans and English in the workplace.

7.2.2.4 Beyond Platfontein summary

In the domain of ‘beyond Platfontein’ I investigated three language settings: visiting friends, services, and the workplace. Overall the majority of both the !Xun and the Khwe do not visit family or friends outside of Platfontein. Those !Xun who do, use !Xun with their family and friends whereas the Khwe use Khwedam, English and Afrikaans. In relation to the use of shops and services outside of Platfontein, Afrikaans was used the most among the !Xun whereas the Khwe used both English and Afrikaans. In instances where older participants had to use services outside of Platfontein and did not speak Afrikaans or English, a translator was used. Permanent employment in Platfontein is scarce; those who did have experience in the workplace mostly experienced contract or seasonal employment. The languages mentioned in relation to work experiences by the !Xun were: !Xun, Afrikaans, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Khwedam and Sesotho. The Khwe mentioned: Khwedam, Afrikaans, English and !Xun.

7.2.3 Family and Platfontein

The domain ‘family and Platfontein’ was an observed domain. The three settings investigated were: home and friends, sport, and facilities and services. Observations were made in and around the homes of !Xun and Khwe participants, during sports games in Platfontein and at local facilities and services such as shops and the clinic. These observations assisted in verifying or adding further detail to the information participants provided during their interviews.

7.2.3.1 Home and friends

In the setting of ‘home and friends’ ten questions were asked in relation to various interactions between family, friends and residents of Platfontein. The questions and responses to these questions, can be seen in Table 7.5 below:

Table 7.5: Questions and responses to language use in and around the home with home and friends

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwedam number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
1. When you eat dinner at home with your family which language/s do you speak?	Family and neighbours	!Xun (7)	!Xun (7)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (7)	Khwedam (5)
		-	!Xun & Afrikaans mixed (1)	-	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English mixed (1)	-
2. When you speak to your grandfather at home which language do you speak?	Grandfather	!Xun (5)	!Xun (3)	!Xun (1)	Khwedam (5)	Khwedam (3)
		Never met him (2)	Never met him (5)	Never met him (2)	Never met him (3)	Never met him (2)
3. When you speak to your grandmother at home which language do you speak?	Grandmother	!Xun (7)	!Xun (8)	!Xun (2)	Khwedam (4)	Khwedam (2)
		-	-	Never met her (1)	Never met her (4)	Never met her (3)
4. When you speak to your father at home which language do you speak?	Father	!Xun (7)	!Xun (8)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (7)	Khwedam (4)
		-	-	-	Never met him (1)	Never met him (1)
5. When you speak to your mother at home which language do you speak?	Mother	!Xun (7)	!Xun (8)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (8)	Khwedam (5)
6. When you speak to your brother at home which language do you speak?	Brother	!Xun (7)	!Xun (8)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (8)	Khwedam (5)
7. When you speak to your sister at home which language do you speak?	Sister	!Xun (7)	!Xun (8)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (8)	Khwedam (5)
8. When you are visiting friends in Platfontein which language do you use?	Friends	!Xun (7)	!Xun (7)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (8)	Khwedam (4)
		-	!Xun, Khwedam & Afrikaans mixed (1)	-	-	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English mixed (1)
9. When you are shouting at someone in Platfontein because you are angry, which language do you use?	Platfontein resident	!Xun (7)	!Xun (8)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (8)	Khwedam (5)
		-	(Afrikaans for swearing)	-	(Afrikaans for swearing)	(Afrikaans for swearing)
10. When you are complimenting someone in Platfontein because you are happy, which language do you use?	Platfontein resident	!Xun (7)	!Xun (8)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (8)	Khwedam (5)
		(Afrikaans to say 'thank you')	-	-	(Afrikaans or English to say 'thank you')	(Afrikaans to say 'thank you')

It is evident from Table 7.5 that the mother tongue is the dominant language in the home for both the !Xun and the Khwe. Only one !Xun participant (born in Namibia) mentioned that Afrikaans is mixed with !Xun when eating dinner with the family (question 1). Only one Khwe participant (born in Namibia) mentioned that he mixes Khwedam, Afrikaans and English in the home when eating dinner with his family (question 1). When it comes to visiting friends, one !Xun participant born in Namibia stated that he mixes !Xun, Khwedam and Afrikaans when visiting friends, depending on whom he is visiting (question 8).

Overall, the mother tongue was the most dominant language in the home for both the !Xun and the Khwe. This can be seen when comparing the findings for communication with grandparents (questions 2 and 3), versus parents (questions 4 and 5) versus siblings (questions 6 and 7). There is no difference in language choice in these interactions. It is important to note that many more Khwe participants than !Xun participants indicated that they had never met their grandparents or, in the case of some of the Khwe, their father. Therefore, they lack the input that these older family members would have had in their life should they still be alive or living in Platfontein.

I can confirm from my observations made in the homes of both the !Xun and the Khwe that the mother tongue is the dominant language in this setting across all generations from the oldest participant to the youngest babbling baby. There were instances of Nǀgǀngǀngǀ used by an elderly !Xun female participant with a neighbour visiting from southern Angola. There was also one case of intermarriage between a !Xun woman and a Khwe man where both languages were used in their home. Additionally, there were instances of occasional code-mixing with Afrikaans for particular terms or phrases such as, “nuus” (news), “televisie” (television), “lekkers” (sweets), “dominee” (church minister), “poppie” (doll) by both the !Xun and the Khwe. However, interactions among family and residents of Platfontein were observed as being primarily in the mother tongue for each group.

Questions 9 and 10 from Table 7.5 were included to see if there would be any change in language use when the speaker is very emotional about something i.e. very angry or very happy. Both the !Xun and the Khwe continued to use their mother tongue in these instances. However, they both mentioned that they codeswitch to Afrikaans for swearing when they are angry. They also do not have a direct translation for ‘thank you’ in !Xun or Khwedam, and therefore code switch to Afrikaans “dankie” or English “thank you” when thanking or complimenting

someone. I observed instances of the aforementioned code-switching among the !Xun and the Khwe where participants used the word “dankie” or “thank you” in gratitude, and swore using Afrikaans words such as “fokof” (fuck off), and “kak” (shit).

7.2.3.2 Sport

In the setting of ‘sport’, participants were asked two questions: *When you are playing or watching soccer in Platfontein which language do you use?* and *When you are playing or watching netball in Platfontein which language do you use?* For the first question, all of the participants across all generations for both the !Xun and the Khwe stated that they use their mother tongue when watching or playing soccer. It was however mentioned that setting-specific English words are borrowed for soccer terms such as “keeper” (goal keeper), “dribble”, “pass”, “shoot”, “tackle” and “goal”. In my observations of local soccer games in Platfontein I can confirm that I found nothing contrary or additional to what the participants mentioned in relation to this question.

Netball was far less popular than soccer. All of the !Xun participants born in Angola said that they did not play or watch netball; the same holds for four out of eight of the participants born in Namibia and all of the !Xun participants born in South Africa. Of the Khwe participants five of the eight born in Namibia said that they do not play or watch netball; the same holds for three of the five participants born in South Africa. Of the !Xun who either play or watch netball, three participants born in Namibia said that they speak !Xun while doing this whereas one !Xun participant born in Namibia said that she spoke Afrikaans while playing netball. Of the Khwe who either play or watch netball, two participants born in Namibia said that they speak Afrikaans while playing netball. One Khwe participant born in Namibia and two Khwe participants born in South Africa stated that they speak Khwedam while playing netball.

Overall for both the !Xun and the Khwe, their mother tongue is the most dominant language on the netball court; however this is closely followed by Afrikaans. In my observations netball games are mostly played on the local school grounds where the netball coach is an Afrikaans speaker from the school. Therefore, instruction on how to play and the refereeing of the game take place in Afrikaans. Despite these observations the players speak their mother tongue among themselves. There were no facilities outside of the school for netball to be played at the time of the observations in 2013 and 2014.

7.2.3.3 Facilities and services

In the setting of ‘facilities and services’ four questions were asked in relation to language use in: local shops in Platfontein, community meetings, the local collections office and the local clinic. The questions and responses to these questions can be seen in Table 7.6 below:

Table 7.6: Questions and responses to language use in Platfontein in the setting of ‘facilities and services’

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwe number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
1. When you are at the local shops in Platfontein which language/s do you speak?	Shop keeper	!Xun (4)	!Xun (1)	!Xun (2)	Khwedam (2)	Khwedam (2)
	(!Xun: Ruby’s and the Blue shop)	!Xun & Afrikaans mixed (2)	!Xun & Afrikaans mixed (2)	-	-	-
	(Khwe: Mbamba shop, Sabe, Tuckshop and Destiny)	Afrikaans (1)	Afrikaans (3)	-	Afrikaans (1)	-
	-	-	English (1)	-	English (5)	English (3)
	-	-	None, I just show what I want and pay (1)	None, I just show what I want and pay (1)	-	-
2. When you attend a local municipal meeting which language/s are used?	Municipality and community representatives	!Xun (3)	!Xun (1)	-	Khwedam (2)	Khwedam (1)
		!Xun & Afrikaans mixed (1)	!Xun & Afrikaans mixed (1)	-	Khwedam & Afrikaans mixed (1)	-
		!Xun & Khwedam mixed (1)	-	-	-	Khwedam & !Xun mixed (1)
		!Xun, Khwedam & Afrikaans mixed (1)	-	-	Khwedam, !Xun & Afrikaans mixed (1)	-
		-	-	-	-	Afrikaans & English (1)
		Don’t attend (1)	Don’t attend (6)	Don’t attend (3)	Don’t attend (4)	Don’t attend (2)
3. When you are at the local clinic which language/s do you speak?	Receptionist, translator, nurses and doctors	!Xun with a translator (6)	!Xun with a translator (1)	!Xun with a translator (1)	Khwedam with a translator (1)	-
		Afrikaans (1)	Afrikaans (5)	Afrikaans (2)	Afrikaans (7)	Afrikaans (5)

		-	Afrikaans with the sisters & English with the doctors (2)	-	-	-
4. When you are at the local collections office which language/s do you speak?	Teller	!Xun (5)	!Xun (2)	-	Khwedam with translator (3)	-
		!Xun & Afrikaans (1)	!Xun & Afrikaans (3)	-	-	-
		-	-	-	Afrikaans (1)	Afrikaans (3)
		-	Khwedam (1)	-	-	-
		Don't go (1)	Don't go (8)	Don't go (3)	Don't go (8)	Don't go (2)

With regards to the first question, *When you are at the local shops in Platfontein which language/s do you speak?* there is a clear difference between what is practiced among the !Xun and the Khwe. The !Xun tend to use their mother tongue and a mixture of Afrikaans in their local shops, whereas the Khwe mostly use English with some Khwedam. The shops frequented by the !Xun and the Khwe in Platfontein are different. The !Xun like to shop at Ruby's and The Blue Shop whereas the Khwe like to shop at Mbamba Shop, Sabe, Tuckshop and Destiny. There was only one case of a !Xun participant using English and one case of a Khwe participant using Afrikaans in the local shops. Notably there were differences in the language use across the different generations of the !Xun: The !Xun born in Angola and South Africa used !Xun the most in the local shops whereas the !Xun born in Namibia used more Afrikaans than !Xun in the shops. By contrast, both generations of the Khwe mostly used English in, followed by Khwedam. In my observations made in the local shops all the shop owners were neither mother tongue speakers of !Xun nor of Khwedam. Some of them had acquired a few !Xun or Khwedam phrases in order to interact with their customers. There was only one shop, The Blue Shop, where the shop keeper was Afrikaans and had both a !Xun and a Khwe assistant helping her in the shop. The other local shops were mostly found on the Khwe side of Platfontein and were run by immigrants from Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia and even China. Since none of these shop keepers speak Afrikaans, they use English as a lingua franca between themselves and their customers. Interactions between the shop keeper and the !Xun and Khwe customers are minimal; in some cases there is no talking between them at all. The customer will choose his/her purchases, the shop keeper will tally up the total cost of the purchases and write the final amount on a piece of paper and then the customer pays that amount.

The second question was: *When you attend a local municipal meeting which language/s are used?* It is evident from the participants' mixed responses that there is a variety of languages used during meetings between the local municipality and the Platfontein community. The languages used during these meetings as per participants' responses were: !Xun, Khwedam, Afrikaans and English. It is interesting to note that the majority of the !Xun born in Angola attend these meetings whereas only two of the !Xun born in Namibia or South Africa attend. By contrast half of the Khwe born in Namibia and South Africa do not attend local municipal meetings. In my observations I noted that these meetings were conducted in Afrikaans or English depending on the language of the municipal representative. Thereafter translators were used to communicate between the community members present and the local municipal representatives. Sometimes questions and responses were made directly by community members in Afrikaans or English but these were then translated for the remainder of the audience.

The third question referred to languages spoken at the local clinic. In this context translators were also sometimes used. At the local clinic translations may take place between the patient, the receptionist nurses and doctors. The older participants, i.e. six of the seven !Xun born in Angola and one of the eight Khwe born in Namibia, use translators when at the clinic between themselves and the nurses and doctors. The majority of the younger participants, both !Xun and Khwe, did not need to use a translator when visiting the clinic and could communicate sufficiently in Afrikaans for the purposes of the consultation. It was mentioned by !Xun participants born in Namibia that the nurses or sisters speak Afrikaans but some of the doctors speak English and so the nurses have to translate for them. I can confirm from conversations had with translators who work in Platfontein that the clinic has a system where the patient arrives and first must go to the reception where they are helped by a trilingual receptionist who speaks !Xun, Khwedam and Afrikaans. Once it is established what kind of problem the patient has they are instructed to wait in the appropriate line to see one of the nurses or doctors. Once in the consultation room, the nurse is assisted by a trilingual or multilingual translator who speaks !Xun, Khwedam and Afrikaans, sometimes English too. If the patient feels confident enough to communicate directly with the nurse or doctor, then they do so; however the nurses and doctors will often confer with the translator to confirm some of the communication in the patient's mother tongue. This is especially the case when it comes to medication, dosage and instructions about repeat visits.

The local collections office also made use of translators. The local collections office is a government facility where Platfontein residents can apply for identification documents, birth certificates and death certificates, and collect their pension, child support or disability grants. Of the !Xun participants who use this facility, those born in Angola mostly use !Xun at the collections office, whereas younger participants born in South Africa use a mixture of !Xun and Afrikaans. There was one instance of a !Xun participant who uses Khwedam at the collections office, as she has a Khwe friend who works there and she likes to be served by her. Of the Khwe who use the facility the majority use Afrikaans with the teller. However others would use Khwedam or Khwedam with the help of a translator. From my observations I can confirm that the tellers who work at the collections office include: mother tongue !Xun speakers, mother tongue Khwedam speakers, and outsiders who use Afrikaans as a lingua franca in the work place. Participants will communicate in their mother tongue, Afrikaans, or their mother tongue with the help of a translator, depending on which teller is available at the time that they are being served.

7.2.3.4 Family and Platfontein summary

The three settings investigated in the domain of ‘family and Platfontein’ for behavioural predisposition were: home and friends, sport and facilities and services. For both the !Xun and the Khwe the mother tongue is the most dominant language used in the home and among friends in Platfontein. This was followed by cases of code-switching occasionally to Afrikaans or English. There were also isolated cases of older !Xun females born in Angola speaking in Ngangela to their visiting neighbours.

In the setting of ‘sport’, soccer is very popular in Platfontein where it is played or watched by the majority of the residents. All of the participants mentioned that they played or watched soccer in their mother tongue but borrowed English terms such as “keeper” and “dribble”. Netball was far less popular and was mostly played on the !Xunkhwesa premises with the guidance of the school coach. The mother tongue was therefore used among players for both the !Xun and the Khwe but Afrikaans was used with the coach.

Finally, in the setting of ‘services and facilities’ in Platfontein there is a mixing of the mother tongue with Afrikaans or English, or a translator is used to assist where necessary to facilitate communication. In local Platfontein shops, !Xun participants mix Afrikaans with !Xun to communicate in this setting whereas the Khwe mix English with Khwedam. The shops that the !Xun and the Khwe utilise are different and are run by people of different ethnic and linguistic

backgrounds, and therefore they use whichever language will best facilitate communication in the setting depending on the lingua franca between interlocutors. In government run services and facilities such as municipal meetings, at the clinic and local collections office, translators are provided when necessary to facilitate communication.

7.2.4 Traditional and religious practices

The domain ‘traditional and religious practices’ was a partially observed domain. The two settings investigated were: traditional practices and church. Observations of some traditional practices were not possible as they did not occur in Platfontein during the time that I conducted my fieldwork in 2013 and 2014. However, observations were made at various church services conducted by the !Xun and the Khwe in Platfontein for their own congregation. These observations assisted in verifying or adding further detail to the information participants provided during their interviews.

7.2.4.1 Traditional practices

In the setting of ‘traditional practices’ four questions were asked in relation to language use during: a traditional religious activity, traditional dancing, storytelling, and planning for a wedding. The questions and responses can be seen in Table 7.7 below:

Table 7.7: Questions and responses to language use in Platfontein in the setting of ‘traditional practices’

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwe number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
1. When you are at a traditional religious event which language/s do you speak?	Fellow Platfontein residents	!Xun (6)	!Xun (4)	!Xun (2)	Khwedam (6)	Khwedam (3)
		Don't participate (1)	Don't participate (4)	Don't participate (1)	Don't participate (2)	Don't participate (2)
2. When you are practicing or watching traditional dancing which language/s do you use?	Fellow traditional dancers or observers	!Xun (6)	!Xun (6)	!Xun (3)	Khwedam (8)	Khwedam (5)
		Don't participate (1)	Don't participate (2)	-	-	-
3. When you are telling or listening to a traditional story which language/s do you speak/like to listen to?	Storyteller	!Xun (6)	!Xun (6)	!Xun (1)	Khwedam (8)	Khwedam (4)
		!Xun & Nyemba (1)	-	-	-	-
		-	Doesn't participate (2)	Doesn't participate (2)	-	Doesn't participate (1)
4. When you are planning a local wedding which language/s do you speak?	Family and intended family-in-law	!Xun (5)	!Xun (1)	-	-	Khwedam (1)
		Don't do this (2)	Don't do this (7)	Don't do this (3)	Don't do this (8)	Don't do this (4)

In relation to the first question, *When you are at a traditional religious event which language/s do you speak?* All of the !Xun and Khwe participants that attend such events, said that they use their mother tongue during traditional religious events. There were participants who stated that they do not attend such events: one !Xun born in Angola, four !Xun born in Namibia, one !Xun born in South Africa, two Khwe born in Namibia and two Khwe born in South Africa. Traditional religious events do not happen often in Platfontein and are mostly arranged by the elders. However, as they are passing away this practise is not being adopted by the younger generations. No traditional religious events took place during the five fieldwork sessions that took place between 2013 and 2014.

The second question, *When you are practicing or watching traditional dancing which language/s do you use?* All of the !Xun and Khwe participants said that they use their mother tongue when they attend or dance at such events. Three participants said that they do not participate in traditional dancing events: one !Xun born in Angola and two !Xun born in Namibia. Observations were made at traditional dancing events. During the events, the leaders of the dance groups would speak to the event organisers in Afrikaans but communicate to their

fellow dancers in their mother tongue. Traditional singing that accompanies the traditional dancing was also exclusively sung in the participants' mother tongue.

Traditional storytelling among the !Xun and the Khwe is an age old tradition and is a popular broadcast on XK-FM. The third question asked: *When you are telling or listening to a traditional story which language/s do you speak/like to listen to?* All but one of the !Xun participants stated that they tell or listen to traditional stories in their mother tongue. The additional language mentioned for storytelling was Nyemba, by an elderly female !Xun participant born in Angola. There were participants who stated that they do not like to listen to or to tell traditional stories: two !Xun born in Namibia, two !Xun born in South Africa and one Khwe born in South Africa. Observations of traditional storytelling were made at several events conducted between 2013 and 2014. I also listened to radio broadcasts on XK-FM of traditional stories. All of these sessions were conducted in the speakers' mother tongue, i.e. either in !Xun or in Khwedam.

Lastly, the fourth question was: *When you are planning a local wedding which language/s do you speak?* The majority of the participants, both !Xun and Khwe, stated that they very seldom have traditional or western wedding ceremonies. Traditional wedding ceremonies appear to be in conflict with the interests of the local church and therefore frowned upon. In contrast, western wedding ceremonies conducted at the church are too expensive for most families to afford and therefore wedding ceremonies are seldom practised in Platfontein. Traditional wedding ceremonies were conducted in the past, mostly prior to moving to South Africa, and were most prevalent among the !Xun born in Angola. Traditional weddings require blessings from the elders. Because families living in Platfontein have been fragmented and lack the presence of elders, traditional weddings no longer take place. The lack of either traditional or western weddings in the community has resulted in the existence of disjointed family structures where children are considered illegitimate, especially by some of their elders. Only one !Xun born in Namibia stated that they attended a traditional wedding whereas none of the !Xun born in South Africa had attended a traditional wedding. None of the Khwe born in Namibia had attended a traditional wedding, and only one Khwe born in South Africa had attended a traditional wedding. Those who had attended a traditional wedding stated that the ceremony was conducted in the mother tongue for both the !Xun and the Khwe.

Although there were no weddings to observe during my fieldwork trips between 2013 and 2014 I did attend one !Xun funeral of one of the !Xun participants' family members. From my

observations I can report that preparations for the funeral services with the family were all done in !Xun. During the funeral service itself, the majority of the service was conducted in !Xun. However, there were codeswitches to Portuguese to refer to certain hymns, and to Afrikaans to refer to certain scriptures. After the service in the church the procession moved to the grave site where songs were sung in !Xun, Afrikaans and English. The majority of the songs were sung in !Xun and those that were sung in Afrikaans or English were very basic with very few lyrics. As the service at the grave site was drawing to an end, a Khwe procession from the Khwe side of Platfontein joined the graveyard with a Khwe funeral. Both parties joined efforts and sang songs to their departed loved ones in !Xun, Khwedam, Afrikaans and English.

7.2.4.2 Church

In the setting of ‘church’ one question was asked in relation to language use during a church sermon. The question and responses can be seen in Table 7.8 below:

Table 7.8: Questions and responses to language use in Platfontein in the setting of ‘church’

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwe number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
<i>1. At the church that you attend, which language/s are used during the sermon?</i>	Church congregation	!Xun for the sermon & Afrikaans for the Bible (5)	!Xun for the sermon & Afrikaans for the Bible (4)	!Xun for the sermon & Afrikaans for the Bible (1)	Khwedam for the sermon & Afrikaans for the Bible (5)	Khwedam for the sermon & Afrikaans for the Bible (4)
		-	-	-	Afrikaans & English (2)	-
		-	-	-	-	Khwedam & English (1)
		Don't go to church (2)	Don't go to church (4)	Don't go to church (1)	-	-

As can be seen in Table 7.8, for the majority of the participants who attend church, the sermon is conducted in their mother tongue and readings from the Bible are done in Afrikaans. There were two Khwe participants born in Namibia who attended a church where Afrikaans and English are used, and one Khwe born in South Africa attends a church where Khwedam and English are used. All of the Khwe participants stated that they went to church, whereas two !Xun born in Angola, four !Xun born in Namibia and one !Xun born in South Africa stated that they do not go to church.

I observed at the !Xun Nederduitse Gereformeerde (NG) Kerk, that there were songs in !Xun, Afrikaans and English sung by the choir and by the congregation. The sermons were conducted in !Xun but readings from the Bible were done in Afrikaans and then translated into !Xun. Most of the prayers said over the congregation were in !Xun; however, there were some Afrikaans prayers that were referred to in an Afrikaans prayer book. During the service the pastor occasionally borrowed Portuguese phrases such as ‘espírito’ and Afrikaans phrases such as, ‘hele wereld’ (whole world), ‘oorlog’ (war) and ‘ongelukkig as jy’ (as unfortunate as you). Before and after the service, members of the !Xun congregation spoke in !Xun to each other.

In comparison, all singing at the Khwe church before the service was in Khwedam. Signage in the church requesting the congregation to turn off their cellphones and other notices, were exclusively in Afrikaans. The service was bilingual Khwedam and Afrikaans throughout and readings from the Bible as well as the sermon were conducted in Afrikaans and translated into Khwedam every few phrases throughout the service. Hymns during the service as well as prayers were in Khwedam and Afrikaans. Occasional codemixing with Afrikaans (e.g ‘Bybel klas’ (Bible class) and ‘kerk mense’ (church people)) and English (e.g. ‘not your best work’ and ‘accept the grace of God’) occurred during Khwe translations.

7.2.4.3 Traditional and religious practices summary

In the domain of ‘traditional and religious practices’ I investigated two language settings: traditional practices and church. Overall the majority of both the !Xun and the Khwe use their mother tongue at traditional events and religious practices such as: traditional dancing, storytelling, as well as weddings and funerals. Should any of these events include outsiders, then Afrikaans is occasionally used to accommodate the outsiders; otherwise all proceedings are conducted in the mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe. There were instances of the inclusion of Nyemba by elderly !Xun women when storytelling, but this was not mentioned by the subsequent generations. The practice of traditional weddings among the !Xun and the Khwe in Platfontein is very rare, but if they occur they would take place in the mother tongue. Funeral services were observed. During those services the mother tongue was predominately used, however; songs were also sung in Afrikaans and English. For the majority of the !Xun and Khwe who attend church, the services are conducted in their mother tongue with Bible readings and occasional codeswitching to Afrikaans. Additionally, in the !Xun church there was occasional codemixing with Portuguese, whereas the Khwe would sometimes codeswitch to English.

7.2.5 Education and literacy

The domain ‘education and literacy’ was a partially observable domain. The two settings investigated were: in the classroom and reading. Observations were made at the !Xunhwesa school as well as the associated kindergartens in Platfontein. These observations assisted in verifying or adding further detail to the information participants provided during their interviews. There were no adult literacy classes running during the time that I conducted my field work in 2013 and 2014. These are dependent on funding and at the time in question the program was not funded. Private reading done by individuals was not observed as this would be difficult to do without being invasive therefore this setting was not observed and could not be verified by observations in this particular study.

7.2.5.1 In the classroom

In the setting of ‘in the classroom’ one question was asked in relation to language use in a formal learning environment. The question and responses can be seen in Table 7.9 below:

Table 7.9: Questions and responses to language use in Platfontein in the setting of ‘in the classroom’

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwe number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
<i>1. In the classroom which language/s did/do you use?</i>	Teacher and fellow students	Portuguese, !Xun, Nyemba, Oshivambo & Luchazi (2)	-	-	-	-
		Portuguese & Afrikaans (1)	-	-	-	-
		Afrikaans, !Xun & a little Khwedam (2)	Afrikaans, !Xun & a little Khwedam (3)	-	Afrikaans, Khwedam & a little !Xun (2)	Afrikaans, Khwedam & a little !Xun (1)
		-	Afrikaans & !Xun (4)	Afrikaans & !Xun (3)	Afrikaans & Khwedam (3)	Afrikaans & Khwedam (4)
		-	-	-	Afrikaans, Khwedam & English (1)	-
					English (1)	-
					Afrikaans (1)	-
		Never went to school (2)	Never went to school (1)	-	-	-

As one can see from the Table above, there are some differences and similarities between the !Xun and the Khwe and language use in the classroom. The older !Xun born in Angola used Portuguese in the classroom as it was the language of instruction in their country of origin, and spoke to their fellow class mates in !Xun, Nyemba, Oshivambo and Luchazi, as these languages were the mother tongues of the students at the school that the older !Xun attended in Angola. There was one case of a !Xun family member who learnt Portuguese in Angola, and then later moved to Namibia and learnt Afrikaans in the classroom, and therefore has the experience of using both languages (Portuguese and Afrikaans) in the classroom environment. In Namibia !Xun and Khwe learners were taught in the same school and therefore started learning each others' languages socially. They also spoke to friends of the same ethnic group in their mother tongue, and spoke Afrikaans to the teacher. This was the case for two !Xun born in Angola, three !Xun born in Namibia, two Khwe born in Namibia and one Khwe born in South Africa. Those !Xun and Khwe who did not stay in formal schooling for very long (three years or less) used their mother tongue in the classroom with their friends of the same ethnic group and Afrikaans with the teacher. The !Xun and Khwe children are taught separately in kindergarten, grade R and grade 1; thereafter they are taught together. This was the case for four !Xun born in Namibia, three !Xun born in South Africa, three Khwe born in Namibia and four Khwe born in South Africa. None of the !Xun mentioned using English in the classroom as they did not progress past grade 3. English is taught as an additional language from grade 4 onwards at !Xunkhwesa school. One Khwe participant born in Namibia mentioned that she uses Afrikaans, Khwedam and English at school. Another Khwe participant born in Namibia stated that he attended an English school in Namibia where they only used English. Lastly, one Khwe participant born in Namibia stated that he attended an Afrikaans only school in Namibia. Of all the participants, there were two !Xun born in Angola and one !Xun born in Namibia that had no experience with formal schooling whatsoever.

My observations in Platfontein in relation to language and formal education took place in three places: the !Xun Early Childhood Development (ECD), the Khwe Early Childhood Development (ECD), and the !Xunkhwesa school. At the !Xun ECD !Xun is used as the medium of instruction with occasional songs, prayers and basic instructions in Afrikaans and English. In their classroom there were Afrikaans reading materials and English and Afrikaans posters on the walls. However, there was no written material in !Xun at all. In stark contrast to this fact the children only spoke !Xun during free play and lunch time. In the !Xun ECD the children used their traditional !Xun names, whereas at the !Xunkhwesa school the children had

to use the names on their birth certificates which are Afrikaans names, Indian names or Tswana names. In grade R, !Xun is used for the first 6 months and then Afrikaans is introduced. No written form of !Xun is used in the classroom at all. The children learn to sing, pray and work on sentence completion exercises in Afrikaans. Activities like learning the days of the week, numbers and the alphabet are repeated every day in Afrikaans. In grade 1 to grade 12 the !Xun children use !Xun among themselves. They predominantly use Afrikaans in the classroom with the teacher, as well as English as an additional language in the classroom from grade 4 onwards.

Similarly, at the Khwe ECD, Khwedam and Afrikaans are used. The classroom for the Khwe ECD is too small for the number of children they have attending, therefore lessons take place in the church hall and the classroom is used as a storeroom. As with the !Xun, in grade R, Khwedam is used for the first 6 months and then Afrikaans is introduced. No written form of Khwedam is used. In grades 1 to grade 12 the Khwe children use Khwedam among themselves. Afrikaans is mostly used in the classroom with the teacher; English appears as an additional language from grade 4 onwards. There is also no written form of Khwedam used in the Khwe ECD or the !Xunhwesa school. Overall the Khwe incorporated more English in their lessons than the !Xun, who used more Afrikaans.

7.2.5.2 Reading

In the setting of ‘reading’ two questions were asked in relation to language use when reading. The questions and responses can be seen in Table 7.10 below:

Table 7.10: Questions and responses to language use in Platfontein in the setting of ‘reading’

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwe number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
1. Can you read? 2. If so in which languages can you read?	None (Written text)	Can't read (5)	Can't read (5)	Can't read (2)	Can't read (1)	-
		Portuguese (1)	-	-	-	-
		Afrikaans (1)	Afrikaans (3)	Afrikaans (1)	Afrikaans (2)	Afrikaans (1)
		-	-	-	Afrikaans & English (4)	Afrikaans & English (4)
		-	-	-	Afrikaans, English & Khwedam (1)	-

As can be seen in Table 7.10, illiteracy rates among the !Xun are much higher than among the Khwe. Five !Xun born in Angola, five !Xun born in Namibia and two !Xun born in South

Africa cannot read, compared to only one Khwe born in Namibia who cannot read. The !Xun stated that they could read in two languages, Portuguese and Afrikaans: one !Xun born in Angola who can read Portuguese, one !Xun born in Angola who can read Afrikaans, three !Xun born in Namibia who can read Afrikaans and one !Xun born in South Africa who can read Afrikaans. In comparison, the Khwe stated that they could read in Afrikaans, English and Khwedam: two Khwe born in Namibia could read in Afrikaans, one Khwe born in South Africa could read in Afrikaans, four Khwe born in Namibia and South African could read in Afrikaans and English and one Khwe born in Namibia could read in Afrikaans, English and Khwedam.

7.2.5.3 Education and literacy summary

In the domain of ‘education and literacy’ I investigated two language settings: in the classroom and reading. Historically !Xun participants born in Angola used Portuguese, Nyemba, Oshivambo, Luchazi and !Xun in the classroom. Today !Xun, Afrikaans, English and a little Khwedam are used in the formal education setting in Platfontein. In contrast, historically the Khwe born in Namibia were educated in English and Afrikaans (Brock-Utne, 1997:243). These languages of instruction in education continue to be used in South Africa today with some !Xun used socially in the formal education setting in Platfontein. Attendance at school in Platfontein is not commonplace beyond four years of formal education among the two families that participated in this study. Poor school attendance appears to be more prevalent among the !Xun than the Khwe. Evidence of this is apparent in the low literacy rates among the !Xun. If the !Xun are literate at all, they are literate in Afrikaans only and did not progress far enough in the education system to acquire English as an additional language. Only one !Xun participant can read in Portuguese. Most of the Khwe on the other hand are literate in Afrikaans and English, with those who dropped out of school only literate in Afrikaans. There was one case of a Khwe participant literate in Khwedam. He is a member of the Khwe Research and Development Organisation (KRADO).

7.2.6 Media and technology

The domain ‘media and technology’ was a partially observable domain. The two settings investigated were: radio and television, as well as cellphone and the internet. Observations were made by listening to local radio stations and watching local television to confirm what was said by participants during their interviews about these forms of media, in particular, which languages were used during which programs. These observations assisted in verifying or

adding further detail to the information participants provided during their interviews. Private cellphone and internet use could not be observed as this would be an invasion of privacy of participants. Therefore, the setting of cellphone and internet was not observed and could not be verified by observations.

7.2.6.1 Radio and television

In the setting of ‘radio and television’ two sets of questions were asked in relation to language preference when watching television and listening to the radio. There are no television programs available in !Xun or Khwedam and therefore there is no available mother tongue option when choosing a television program. However, some participants did comment further on the topic and mentioned that if there were any, they would like to watch television programs in their mother tongue.

Of the languages available on local television, the most prevalent languages for watching television by the !Xun and the Khwe are Afrikaans and English. Two !Xun born in Angola and one !Xun born in Namibia mentioned that they also like watching television programs that are aired in isiZulu, isiXhosa and Sesotho. All of the Khwe participants mentioned that they enjoy watching television programs or movies in Afrikaans or English only. I can confirm from my observations in !Xun and Khwe households that the programs mentioned were aired in the corresponding mentioned languages and that the above mentioned television programs are watched in !Xun and Khwe households. Adult females especially enjoyed watching local soap operas whereas adult males especially liked watching soccer matches and wrestling. I observed children in Platfontein watching the above mentioned children’s programs as well as Cool Catz, Dragon Ball Z, Ben 10 and children’s cooking shows which were all aired in English.

The next set of questions in the domain of media and technology revolved around listening to the radio. The questions and responses, can be seen in Table 7.11 below.

Table 7.11: Questions and responses to language preference in Platfontein when listening to the radio

Question	Interlocutor/s	!Xun number of participants			Khwe number of participants	
		Angola (7)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (3)	Namibia (8)	South Africa (5)
1. Do you like to listen to the radio? 2. What do you like to listen to on the radio? 3. In which language/s are these things aired?	None (radio programs, interviews and songs)	No (3)	-	-	-	-
		XK-FM, !Xun (4)	XK-FM, !Xun (6)	XK-FM, !Xun (3)	XK-FM, Khwedam (7)	XK-FM, Khwedam (4)
		-	XK-FM & RSG: !Xun & Afrikaans (2)	-	XK-FM & RSG: Khwedam & Afrikaans (1)	-
		-	-	-	-	XK-FM & Motsweding FM: Khwedam & Setswana (1)

In contrast to television, the second form of media, the radio, has a local radio station XK-FM that broadcasts in !Xun and Khwedam. The majority of the participants both !Xun and Khwe mentioned that they like to listen to XK-FM. The second most popular radio station among the !Xun and the Khwe is Radio Sonder Grense ((RSG), Radio Without Borders), an Afrikaans radio station. Lastly one Khwe participant born in South Africa mentioned that he liked to listen to Motsweding FM which is a Setswana radio station. I can confirm from my observations in households in Platfontein that XK-FM is a very popular radio station in Platfontein. I very seldom heard languages other than !Xun or Khwedam being spoken on the radio.

7.2.6.2 Cellphone and the internet

The use of cellphones and internet in Platfontein is subject to income and literacy levels. To own a cellphone and to afford being connected is expensive; moreover, to be connected to the internet requires a smartphone or a computer and finances for data. Due to the low income levels in Platfontein as well as the low literacy rates cellphones are primarily used for short phone calls in Platfontein. When asked, *When you speak on your cellphone, which language/s do you speak?* all of the !Xun participants stated that they speak !Xun on the cellphone. All of the Khwe participants stated that they speak Khwedam on the cellphone except for one participant born in Namibia who stated that he speaks Khwedam, Afrikaans and English depending on who he is speaking to. Participants mentioned that they would make brief phone calls about the health of sick family members, or to request financial support from a working family member. Questions were asked about language use when sending SMSs or WhatsApp messages. However, due to low literacy rates there were very few responses to these questions.

Similarly, participants were asked about their online activity, for example, language use when emailing or using Facebook. However, the majority of participants did not have email or Facebook accounts due to their illiteracy and/or financial situation.

7.2.6.3 Media and technology summary

In the domain of ‘media and technology’ I investigated two language settings: radio and television, and cellphone and the internet. There are no television programs available in !Xun or Khwedam in Platfontein; however, participants expressed a desire to have such programs in the future. Due to the existing limited linguistic variety in television programs, the !Xun and the Khwe predominantly watched programmes aired in Afrikaans and English. The !Xun also showed interest in programs aired in isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho and Tsotsitaal.

There is however a radio station, XK-FM, that broadcasts in !Xun and Khwedam and this station is the most popular among the participants. Other radio stations mentioned were RSG which broadcasts in Afrikaans, and Motsweding FM which broadcasts in Setswana.

Access to the internet is limited to residents of Platfontein due to low literacy rates and income. Cellphones are often shared and are typically used for very short phone calls. The majority of participants make calls in their mother tongue. However, they will use Afrikaans or English depending on who is calling and if they are proficient in either of these two languages.

7.3 Summary

The findings from the structured interviews and the participant observations were brought together to respond to research sub-question iii) *What are the behavioural predispositions of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?*. A summary of the findings can be seen in Table 7.12 below.

Table 7.12: Summary of findings for language use in Platfontein according to language setting

Domain	Degree of observability	Language setting	Findings !Xun	Findings Khwe
Cognition	Not observed	Counting	!Xun shifting to Afrikaans	Khwedam shifting to Afrikaans
		Planning	!Xun	Khwedam
		Dreaming	!Xun	Khwedam
Beyond Platfontein	Not observed	Visiting outside of Platfontein	!Xun	Khwedam, English & Afrikaans
		Services outside of Platfontein	Afrikaans (!Xun with Afrikaans translator)	English & Afrikaans (Khwedam with Afrikaans translator)
		In the workplace	Afrikaans, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Khwedam, !Xun & Sesotho	Afrikaans, English, Khwedam & !Xun
Family and Platfontein	Observed	Home and friends	!Xun, Afrikaans & Ngangela	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English
		Sport	!Xun, Afrikaans & English codeswitching	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English codeswitching
		Facilities and services	!Xun, Afrikaans & English	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English
Traditional and religious practices	Partially observed	Traditional practices	!Xun, Afrikaans, Nyemba & English	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English
		Church	!Xun, Afrikaans & Portuguese	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English
Education and literacy	Partially observed	Classroom	Historically (Portuguese, Nyemba, Oshivambo, Luchazi & !Xun) Currently (Afrikaans, !Xun, English & a little Khwedam)	Historically (English & Afrikaans) Currently (Afrikaans, Khwedam, English & a little !Xun)
		Reading	Afrikaans & Portuguese	Afrikaans, English & Khwedam
Media and technology	Partially observed	Radio and television	Afrikaans, English, !Xun, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho & Tsotsitaal	Afrikaans, English, Khwedam & Setswana
		Cellphone and the internet	!Xun & Afrikaans	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English

From Table 7.12, the behavioural predispositions of the !Xun and the Khwe can be seen in relation to their mother tongue from pre-selected language settings. The first two domains, 'cognition' and 'beyond Platfontein' were not observed in the context of this study, therefore the data collected in relation to these two domains was not verified by observations. In the domain 'cognition', dreaming and planning were done in the mother tongue of the !Xun and Khwe respectively. In relation to the language setting 'counting' it can be noted that members of the older generations count in their mother tongue whereas the younger generations of both the !Xun and the Khwe have shifted to Afrikaans and do not know how to count in their mother tongue. Children who attend kindergarten are taught to count in Afrikaans rather than their mother tongue despite being taught by mother tongue speakers of !Xun and Khwedam, respectively.

In the domain 'beyond Platfontein' there were three settings that were investigated: 'visiting outside of Platfontein', 'services outside of Platfontein', and 'in the workplace'. Visiting family or friends outside of Platfontein is a rare and expensive occurrence. The !Xun stated that if they did visit anyone outside of Platfontein, it was to visit other !Xun and therefore they would speak !Xun. The Khwe on the other hand would visit speakers of Khwedam, Afrikaans or English outside of Platfontein and would use any of these three languages depending on who they were visiting. Services outside of Platfontein such as shops, the bank, the post office or the Department of Home Affairs are places where !Xun and Khwedam are not used, as they are not understood or catered for in these contexts. Therefore, older participants need translators (who are not formally appointed but are usually a younger family member or friend) in these contexts in order for them to be understood and utilise the service on offer. The younger participants use Afrikaans in the context of services outside of Platfontein. Additionally, some Khwe also use English. In the workplace, Afrikaans is the most dominant language for both the !Xun and the Khwe. The !Xun have also mentioned using isiZulu, isiXhosa, !Xun, Khwedam and Sesotho in the context of work. The Khwe on the other hand mentioned using English, Khwedam and !Xun in the context of work.

The domain 'Family and Platfontein' was observed in the context of this study. The observations were compared against the responses from participants during interviews, thereby verifying the information provided in the interviews. In this domain three language settings were investigated: 'home and friends', 'sport', and 'facilities and services'. Among home and friends in Platfontein the most popular language used by the !Xun and the Khwe is their mother tongue. In some cases Afrikaans was used in the homes of the !Xun and the Khwe. Ngangela

was used in the home of older !Xun participants and English was used in the home of younger Khwe participants. The mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe was also the most popular language used during sporting activities in Platfontein. In some cases, to communicate to the coach or the opposition Afrikaans was used. Codemixing with English took place during soccer games for specific soccer terms such as ‘pass’, ‘keeper’, or ‘dribble’. In facilities and services offered in Platfontein participants mostly used their mother tongue; however they would use Afrikaans or English if the interlocutor did not speak !Xun or Khwedam. In some cases a translator was necessary, especially for older !Xun participants. Overall the mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe was the most popular language used in Platfontein .

Lastly, there were three domains that were partially observed in the context of this study: ‘traditional and religious practices’, ‘education and literacy’ and ‘media and technology’. In the domain ‘traditional and religious practices’ the mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe is the language that is most popular in this language setting. Among the !Xun, Afrikaans, Nyemba and English are also used during traditional practices, whereas among the Khwe there are only Afrikaans and English as additional languages in the given context. In church the mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe is most popular, followed by Afrikaans. In some instances the !Xun use Portuguese too, whereas the Khwe sometimes use English when at church.

In the next domain, ‘education and literacy’, Portuguese was historically used by the !Xun in the classroom as it was the language of instruction. Socially learners would use !Xun, Nyemba, Oshivambo and Luchazi. In comparison the Khwe only used English and Afrikaans in the classroom when they lived in Namibia. In a South African classroom context Afrikaans is the medium of instruction, English the additional language and !Xun and Khwedam are used socially. In the language setting of ‘reading’ only one elderly !Xun participant is literate in Portuguese whereas the remainder of the !Xun participants, if they are literate, are literate in Afrikaans (five out of eighteen participants). The !Xun overall have a low literacy rate (six of the eighteen participants). The Khwe on the other hand are literate in Afrikaans and English with one Khwe participant literate in Khwedam and only one illiterate adult participant.

Finally, in the domain ‘media and technology’ two language settings were investigated: ‘radio and television’ and ‘cellphone and the internet’. On the radio the mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe was most popular and listened to on XK-FM. There are no other forms of media available to the !Xun and the Khwe in their mother tongue. Therefore the !Xun watch television and listen to the radio in Afrikaans, English, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho and Tsotsitaal. The

Khwe watch television and listen to the radio in Afrikaans, English and Setswana. The use of the internet is unaffordable for most residents of Platfontein. Cellphone use is mostly restricted to phone calls, especially among the !Xun, due to low literacy rates in Platfontein. The !Xun mostly make phone calls in !Xun, or Afrikaans when speaking to a non-!Xun speaker. The Khwe mostly make phone calls in Khwedam but will also speak Afrikaans or English on the phone depending on whom they are speaking to.

Overall the mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe is the language used most of the time by the participants of this study. Additional languages are used in order to facilitate communication with speakers of other languages. Participants expressed that they would like to have access to mother tongue literacy materials and education, and for this to be available at their local schools for both adults and children. They also expressed that they would like their mother tongue to be available in other forms of media in addition to the radio. Until such time as their mother tongues become available in ‘the classroom and literacy’ and in ‘media and technology’, additional languages dominate these associated settings.

8. Discussion

8.1 Chapter outline

In this chapter I combine what was presented in Chapter 2 (historical background) and Chapter 3 (literature review) with the results reported in Chapters 5 (knowledge: data stream 1), 6 (emotion: data stream 2), and 7 (behaviour: data stream 3) in order to determine the language attitudes of selected !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein. These language attitudes are then discussed with regard to their effect on language vitality from an intergenerational perspective.

8.2 Language attitudes

According to McKenzie (2010:22), as discussed in Chapter 3, language attitudes can be analysed according to a tripartite model consisting of knowledge, emotion and behaviour. Each research sub-question in this thesis relates to one of these components. The main research question relates to language attitudes and how they affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective. In this chapter, sections 8.2.1, 8.2.2 and 8.2.3., refer to each of the research sub questions and are discussed individually in relation to the theory. Thereafter these three sections are synthesised in section 8.2.4, in order to establish the language attitudes of the !Xun and Khwe participants of this study.

8.2.1 Knowledge: Data stream 1

The research sub-question that relates to the knowledge component of language attitudes is: *What is the historical sociolinguistic background of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?* From the data presented in Chapter 5: Data stream 1: Contextual knowledge, the key points to note are firstly that both the !Xun and the Khwe have retained their mother tongue; and secondly, that they were traditionally multilingual.

The historical sociolinguistic background discussed in Chapter 2: Khoesan languages, and the data presented in Chapter 5: Data stream 1: Contextual knowledge, show that both the !Xun and the Khwe have suffered through war, dispossession, immigration and a change from a nomadic existence to a settler or state-reliant way of life. Despite these changes and disruptions, the mother tongues of the !Xun and the Khwe have shown great resilience and have been maintained over the last five generations. However, there have been notable changes in the

function of these languages. These changes were mentioned by the oldest !Xun participants who stated that certain traditions are no longer practiced in Platfontein and therefore these social contexts for using the respective mother tongue are lost. For example, neither traditional healing nor traditional wedding ceremonies are practiced any longer in Platfontein and therefore neither !Xun nor Khwedam are currently used for these purposes. The loss of traditional practices, which according to the information provided in the Language Life stories, began when war broke out in Angola (1961-1974) and Namibia (1966-1989). A 'westernised', non-nomadic lifestyle was then adopted by the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein which involves both a basic formal education and the aspiration to formal employment. Many residents in Platfontein are members of a Christian church (Robbins, 2006:12). Additionally, they have become established consumers who no longer live solely off of the land (Robbins, 2006:12). The media are furthermore an influential factor in the daily lives of my participants, especially, local radio and television. As previously outlined, 90% of participants listen to the local radio on a daily basis and 100% have access to television.

Despite the loss of traditional ceremonies and practices !Xun is still the mother tongue of the !Xun and the language they use most frequently; correspondingly, Khwedam is still the mother tongue of the Khwe and the language used most frequently as the data from the Life Stories component of the research clearly indicates.

Turning to the additional languages in the language repertoires of the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontien, one can note that both speech communities have traditionally been multilingual. However, overall, the number of additional languages spoken by the !Xun and the Khwe has decreased through the generations under consideration in this thesis. In other words, the older family members born in Angola and Namibia have more languages in their repertoires than the younger family members born in South Africa. It is possible that the South African participants acquired fewer languages than their predecessors did because they no longer lead a nomadic way of life. Therefore, they come into less contact with speakers of other languages and have less opportunity or need to acquire additional languages.

As in the past, the two communities primarily maintain languages which yield economic advantages; i.e. which are useful for the purposes of employment (Afrikaans, English, IsiZulu, Sesotho, IsiXhosa and Setswana) and formal education available in the area (Afrikaans and English). Similarly, in the past, additional languages were learnt for trade purposes and negotiation of how resources may be shared (Chokwe, Nyemba, Oshiwambo, Herero, Hai||om,

Khoekhoegowab, Ju|’hoansi and Mbukushu). Portuguese was learnt by the !Xun who lived in Angola as it was the language of instruction in formal schooling and in the work sector. Since the !Xun and the Khwe have been living in close proximity for over 50 years, they have also learnt each other’s language in some cases, as one would expect. A summary of the language repertoires can be seen in Table 8.1 for the !Xun and in Table 8.2 for the Khwe, below:

Table 8.1: Summary of the change in language repertoires of !Xun participants from 1925-2013.
(Key: ↓ decreased, ↑ increased, = stayed the same)

	Languages used in Angola (1925-1964)	Languages used in Namibia (1965- March 1990)	Languages used in South Africa (April 1990-2013)
Born in Angola (1925-1964), Ages	!Xun Chokwe Nyemba Oshiwambo Portuguese Afrikaans Khwedam	!Xun = Chokwe ↓ Nyemba ↓ Oshiwambo ↑ Portuguese ↓ Afrikaans ↑ Khwedam ↑ Herero Hai om	!Xun = Chokwe = Nyemba = Oshiwambo ↓ Portuguese = Afrikaans ↑ Khwedam ↓ - - English IsiXhosa
Born in Namibia (1965- March 1990)	-	!Xun Khoekhoegowab Ju ’hoansi Afrikaans Khwedam	!Xun = Khoekhoegowab = Ju ’hoansi ↓ Afrikaans ↑ Khwedam ↑ English IsiZulu Sesotho Setswana
Born in South Africa (April – 1990-2013)	-	-	!Xun Afrikaans English Khwedam

Table 8.2: Summary of the change in language repertoires of Khwe participants from 1957-2013.
(Key: ↓ decreased, ↑ increased, = stayed the same)

	Languages used in Namibia (1957- March 1990)	Languages used in South Africa (April – 1990-2013)
Born in Namibia (1957- March 1990)	Khwedam Mbukushu Afrikaans English !Xun	Khwedam = Mbukushu ↓ Afrikaans ↑ English ↑ !Xun ↓ Setswana IsiZulu
Born in South Africa (April – 1990-2013)	-	Khwedam Afrikaans English !Xun

As discussed in Chapter 3, sociolinguistics defines ‘language shift’ as the “change from the habitual use of one language to that of another” (Weinreich, 1968: 68). The information gathered from the Language Life Stories provided in Chapter 5 and summarised in Tables 8.1 and 8.2 above, shows that the mother tongue is not undergoing language shift for either the !Xun or the Khwe. According to Krauss’ potential scenarios of intergenerational language degradation, as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.2.2 *The cultural context of the immigrant and intergenerational language transmission*, and the data presented above, !Xun and Khwe would both be categorised as ‘a, the language is spoken by all generations, including all, or nearly all of the children’. Therefore, both !Xun and Khwedam are in a healthy state according to the intergenerational language transfer among the families under consideration.

The data furthermore indicates that the !Xun and the Khwe were traditionally multilingual as hypothesised in Chapter 3, section 3.3.1.3 *Multilingualism and power*, just like other indigenous minority groups (e.g. Aboriginal Australians (Dixon, 1980:32) and Amazonian Indians (Sorensen, 1967: 670)). Historically the language repertoires of the !Xun and the Khwe in Platfontein were not identical. However, since the two groups have a shared history – from 1974 in Namibia and 1990 in South Africa – their socio-historical backgrounds eventually overlapped. Hence, while there are marked differences among the older participants in the two speech communities the experiences and thus the language repertoires converge for the younger generations.

The differing histories of the groups are reflected in the additional languages they acquired over time. The additional languages acquired varied according to the participants’ contact with other speakers of these languages. Language contact in these instances was dependant on country of residence, especially during war time where free movement was restricted, e.g. Chokwe, Nyemba and Portuguese were only acquired in Angola; Khoekhoegowab, Ju|’hoansi, Herero and Hai||om were only acquired in Namibia; while English, IsiZulu, Sesotho, Setswana and IsiXhosa were only acquired in South Africa by the !Xun. Mbukushu was only acquired by the Khwe in Namibia whereas they acquired Setswana and IsiZulu in South Africa.

Moreover, the additional languages that have been constant across each generation and country of residence differ between the !Xun and the Khwe: While some of the !Xun acquired Khwedam, the Khwe added English and !Xun to their repertoire. Although the !Xun and Khwe born in South Africa attend the same school, !Xunkhwesa, Khwe participants hardly mentioned acquiring !Xun in the context of school, whereas the !Xun speaking children mentioned that

they acquired Khwedam socially at school. This affirms the finding of an openness of the Khwe towards outsiders who want to learn their language in comparison to the !Xun who were not open to sharing their mother tongue with their Khwe neighbours, nor were they openly willing for outsiders to learn !Xun. According to the Khwe participants, those Khwe who attended formal schooling in Namibia attended schools where English and Afrikaans was the medium of instruction and therefore English has remained a dominant language among the Khwe whereas the !Xun attended schools in Namibia where the language of instruction was Afrikaans and therefore they have very limited exposure and proficiency in English.

A similarity between the two groups is the acquisition of Afrikaans as an additional language across all the generations of the !Xun and the Khwe who participated in this study. Afrikaans has remained a very strong additional language of the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein. This is most likely due to the socio-political dominance Afrikaans has had both in Namibia (previously, South-West Africa and part of South African territory) during European colonisation and in South Africa during the Apartheid regime. Afrikaans has historically been used as a second language by both speech communities in formal education, the workplace, the media and in the church. Moreover, Afrikaans has a higher percentage of first language speakers in the Northern Cape than in any other South African province and remains to be the dominant local language in Kimberley and the surrounding municipality where Platfontein is located.

The use of additional languages has varied according to the amount of contact that occurred with speakers of other languages. Thus, for example, !Xun living in Namibia acquired Herero and Hai||om, but they lost these languages when they moved to South Africa due to lack of contact with speakers of either language. Reduction in use can also be noted with Oshiwambo and Ju|'hoansi among the !Xun, and Mbukushu among the Khwe, as these languages are primarily spoken in Namibia and not in South Africa. The older generations who were born in Angola or Namibia often served in the same battalions and thus used each other's languages regularly as additional languages. However, since their relocation to South Africa they do not normally share the same employment environment any longer and hence the usage of each other's language has greatly diminished.

Finally, in the South African context there is a difference between the repertoires of male participants compared to that of the female participants. !Xun and Khwe men sometimes gain employment in the private security sector and, as a result acquired Bantu languages such as

IsiZulu, Sesotho, Setswana and IsiXhosa. Women typically do not do this type of work and were thus not exposed to these languages. One !Xun woman had learnt IsiXhosa while working on a farm in the Eastern Cape for a few years; however, today she does not speak it, and says she can only understand a few things here and there. This finding tallies with similar findings by Yagmur, (1997:19) who stated that in a cultural context where men are more likely than women to seek work outside of the home or outside of their own community, it would be expected that women maintain their mother tongue whereas men acquire additional languages found in the work place.

Therefore, in response to research sub-question 1: *What is the historical sociolinguistic background of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?* the following answer can be provided:

The language repertoires of the selected !Xun and Khwe families can be traced back as far as 1925 and 1957 respectively. It appears that while these !Xun and Khwe were living in Angola and/or Namibia and leading a more traditional way of life, they acquired many more languages than when they moved to South Africa and adopted a less nomadic and more westernised existence. Despite having many different languages in their repertoire, !Xun can be traced for over 88 years as the mother tongue throughout the generations for the !Xun descendants. Similarly, for over 56 years Khwedam can be traced as the mother tongue throughout the generations for the Khwe descendants despite having many different languages in their repertoire. Historically the !Xun and the Khwe had different socio-historical backgrounds and therefore the majority of the additional languages that they acquired were not identical; i.e. their repertoires were distinctly different. It was also noted that there are differences in the additional languages acquired by male participants versus female participants in Platfontein. Male participants have acquired Bantu languages in the workplace whereas female participants have not. Female !Xun participants have retained Nyemba/Ngangela, a language from Angola, and use it during traditional dancing or storytelling whereas the male participants no longer use this language.

8.2.2 Emotion: Data stream 2

The research sub-question that relates to the emotion component of language attitudes is: *What are the emotional reactions of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?* The affective component of language attitudes (McKenzie, 2010: 22) and the emotional value assigned to language (Ravindranath,

2009:9) were discussed in Chapter 3. The analysis of the emotional responses described in Chapter 6 *Data stream 2: Emotional reactions*, are then juxtaposed against this theory in order to emphasise their relevance to language vitality and intergenerational language transmission of !Xun and Khwedam.

The emotional responses of the selected !Xun and Khwe participants of Platfontein towards their mother tongue were investigated through qualitative and quantitative methods. The findings from the qualitative method that were reported in Chapter 6 are summarised in Table 8.3 below for ease of reference. The key topics covered were: opinions towards the mother tongue, identity and the mother tongue, and use of the mother tongue by outsiders. A functional domain approach revealed, how open participants were to the inclusion of an additional language in their everyday life across a number of settings. These findings will be discussed in relation to the literature provided in Chapter 3, section 3.3.2.3 *Attitudes, motivations and identities*.

Table 8.3: Summary to show the similarities and differences between the emotional responses of the !Xun and the Khwe towards their mother tongue

	Shared emotional reactions by the !Xun and the Khwe	Unique emotional reactions of the !Xun	Unique emotional reactions of the Khwe
Opinions towards the mother tongue	!Xun people should speak !Xun and Khwe people should speak Khwedam (Afrikaans and English are attractive L2s for socioeconomic reasons).	Older !Xun people believe they should speak their mother tongue because it comes directly from their ancestors	Khwe born in Namibia fear losing their language and worry about their diminishing numbers of speakers
	The !Xun and the Khwe born in South Africa believe that their mother tongues bring unity among each of their peoples.	-	-
Identity and the mother tongue	Older !Xun and older Khwe participants believe that their mother tongue is an important gift from God.	The oldest generation of the !Xun participants strongly felt that language and ethnicity are inextricable and that one cannot be !Xun if one cannot speak !Xun.	The older Khwe expressed deep concern about the potential loss of their mother tongue which they identified as part of their cultural identity.
	Older !Xun and older Khwe participants expressed feelings of ownership of their mother tongue and that it was unique to their people.	There are some !Xun who do not feel that language loss is even a possibility among the !Xun.	-
	The younger !Xun and all the Khwe believed that one's ancestry is in one's bloodline and not one's language.	-	-
The use of the mother tongue by outsiders	-	The !Xun did not readily want share their mother tongue with the Khwe.	All of the Khwe were happy to share their mother tongue with the !Xun in order to facilitate social cohesion among the two groups.
	-	The !Xun were 'guarded' and private about their mother tongue and thus not enthusiastic about the idea of outsiders learning !Xun.	The Khwe were open to sharing their mother tongue with outsiders.

The emotional responses of the !Xun and the Khwe towards their mother tongue can be discussed in relation to identity and group membership, a connection mentioned by Schmid and de Bot, (2004: 223). Being immigrants in South Africa, the !Xun and the Khwe have not assimilated to Afrikaans or another dominant South African language (Yagmur, 1997: 31). Instead, they maintain a strong connection to their ethnic identity through the continued use of their mother tongue. This behaviour is consistent with the behaviour of other speakers of minority languages around the world who base their sense of ethnic identity on language (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 91).

According to the summary of the findings presented above in Table 8.3 it is evident that both the !Xun and the Khwe feel that their mother tongue is strongly related to their identity. However, upon further investigation it is noted that the Khwe in this study expressed a more detached association between their mother tongue and identity than the !Xun of this study.

It was noted that Afrikaans and English are attractive additional languages for socioeconomic gain. However, their mother tongue does serve as a vehicle for unity among their peoples. Older !Xun and Khwe participants believe that their mother tongue is a gift from God and that they are owners or custodians of their mother tongue, which is unique to their people. This belief is significant to the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein as it affirms the strong link between language and ethnicity as mentioned by Edwards (1985:6), Fishman (1989:5), and Giles et al., (1977: 331). The older !Xun also expressed that their mother tongue is linked to their ancestors, whereas the Khwe made no mention of their ancestors.

The older Khwe, however, mentioned that they are aware of the decline in the number of speakers of Khwedam and that they are worried about losing their culture and identity through language loss. This discrepancy in beliefs between the !Xun and the Khwe is most likely due to the lack of Khwe participants present in Platfontein who are older than 60 years of age. Therefore, the Khwe lack the input that older Khwe family members could provide on the origins and the significance of their mother tongue. The lack of input from elders about indigenous traditional belief systems which has consequences socially and linguistically could be a significant contributing factor to the differences in the emotional responses between the Khwe and the !Xun and ultimately the differences in their language attitudes towards their mother tongue.

In relation to minority languages, speakers often base their sense of ethnic identity on language, (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006:91). In this respect, a stark difference emerged between the !Xun

and the Khwe in their emotional responses towards language and identity. The !Xun born in Angola and Namibia believe that language and ethnicity are inextricable: One cannot be !Xun if one cannot speak !Xun. By contrast, the younger !Xun born in South Africa and all of the Khwe participants mentioned that language and ethnicity are not one and the same, and that one could still maintain one's identity even if one were to lose one's mother tongue. Therefore, among the !Xun the younger family members are adopting a more disconnected emotional response to language and identity in comparison to their elders. Such a response by the !Xun youth could be accounted for by the more acute change in lifestyle that the !Xun experienced once they moved from Namibia to South Africa. This was when the abandonment of a traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle for state-reliant way of life was at its height.

In comparison, all the Khwe participants in this study expressed a more detached emotional response between ethnic identity and their mother tongue in comparison to the !Xun. While the abandonment of a traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle for state-reliant way of life is a common trait between the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein, such a difference could possibly be accounted for by the lack of a much older Khwe generation in Platfontein.¹ This can be understood in terms of Sperber and Hirschfeld's (2007) argument that culture emerges from Social Cognitive Causal Chains (SCCC) which include linguistic and pragmatic input or norms (cf. Smith & van Buren, 1991). The Khwe in Platfontein are cut off from family members who are over 60 years old as these family members chose to remain in Namibia. The community therefore lacks elders to teach the younger generations about traditional customs and beliefs, and the role of their mother tongue in such practices. Köpke (2007: 24) also notes that "immigrants are cut off from the SCCCs of the L1 community and no longer have any support in stabilizing their L1 representations and practise". In terms of SCCCs (Sperber & Hirschfeld, 2007) the Khwe are therefore missing important links to their culture.

The difference of SCCC input by an older generation between the !Xun and the Khwe could also potentially account for the different emotional reactions to the idea of sharing their mother tongue with others. The !Xun were neither open to sharing their mother tongue with their Khwe neighbours, nor were they openly willing for outsiders to learn !Xun. The Khwe, by contrast, were receptive to the idea of sharing their mother tongue with the !Xun; in fact they suggested

¹ The !Xun and the Khwe in Platfontein are immigrants to South Africa from Angola and Namibia. Therefore, in both cases (as discussed in chapter 2, Khoesan languages) a large contingency of the population of !Xun and Khwedam speakers remained in their home country.

that this would facilitate social cohesion between the two groups. The Khwe were also accepting of the idea of sharing their mother tongue with outsiders, especially if there could be an exchange of languages. For example, it was suggested that Afrikaans speakers can learn Khwedam if Khwedam speakers can learn Afrikaans. Therefore the idea that language is a core cultural value and a key component to group identity (Smolicz, 1981: 105) is stronger among the !Xun of Platfontein than among the Khwe.

A functional domain approach to the emotional reactions towards the mother tongue generated further quantitative data. The findings provided evidence that both the !Xun and the Khwe appreciate their mother tongue; they think that it is important, and desire their children to speak it. Despite individual differences between participants, there are similarities found when analysing one setting and domain in comparison to another, for both the !Xun and the Khwe.

Firstly, participants provided their emotional reaction to the use of their mother tongue in the following settings: prayer, sport, literacy, radio, television and print media. In all of these settings for both the !Xun and the Khwe, participants expressed very strong positive emotional reactions towards their mother tongue. Particularly noteworthy was the desire to have an increased presence of their mother tongue in the media and education, and to develop literacy skills in their mother tongue. Therefore, there is an overall positive emotional reaction towards the use of the mother tongue across all domains. However, there is insufficient institutional support for the development of literacy and media materials. Institutional support that provides assistance in the use of a minority language in education or in the media may enhance the vitality of a language (Mesthrie & Leap, 2009:250). Recommendations in this regard can be found in Chapter 9.

Additionally, I compared the participant's emotional responses towards the use of the mother tongue and the use of Afrikaans for selected settings: in the home, in Platfontein, at gatherings and ceremonies, at church, in Kimberley, when using a cell phone and the internet. The comparison entailed the calculation of preference scores (i.e. subtracting one's liking for Afrikaans from one's liking for the mother tongue). These scores revealed that overall the !Xun and the Khwe both expressed a preference for their mother tongue over Afrikaans across the majority of the domains investigated. It was also found that the Khwe were generally more positive towards and inclusive of Afrikaans in the above mentioned settings than the !Xun were. This data reinforces the previous finding that the !Xun identify their language as a fundamental aspect of their identity. The Khwe, who lack an older generation present in

Platfontein, are more susceptible to the inclusion of Afrikaans in their daily repertoire and therefore may be more likely to shift to Afrikaans than the !Xun. To determine whether language shift towards Afrikaans may be occurring among the Khwe, I discuss their language behaviour from a functional domain approach below.

8.2.3 Behaviour: Data stream 3

Language behaviour is said to be one of the most important markers of identity (Edwards, 1985: 96; Giles et al., 1977: 325). The research sub-question that relates to the behaviour component of language attitudes is: *What are the behavioural predispositions of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?* The conative or behavioural component of language attitudes (McKenzie, 2010: 22) discussed from a functional domain perspective (Adebija 1993:167; Myers-Scotton 1993:36; Romaine, 2000:44; Holmes, 2013:21) in Chapter 3 section 3.3.2.1 *Language use and functional language domains* and the analysis of the behavioural predispositions described in Chapter 7 *Data stream 3: Behavioural predispositions*, will now be brought together in order to emphasise their relevance to language vitality and intergenerational language transmission of !Xun and Khwedam.

A summary of the findings from Chapter 7 as well as the associated language vitality ranking for the !Xun and the Khwe can be seen in Table 8.4 below. The ranking categories are simplified versions of those discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3 *Language vitality assessment* and are based on the data findings as follows: safe (only the mother tongue is used in this setting; vulnerable (the mother tongue is most dominant in this setting but additional languages are also used); unsafe (an additional language is most dominant in this setting but the mother tongue is also used); absent (only an additional language is used in this setting).

Table 8.4: Summary of findings for language use in Platfontein according to language setting and associated language vitality ranking

Domain	Degree of observability	Language setting	Findings !Xun	Language vitality ranking	Findings Khwe	Language vitality ranking
Cognition	Not observed	Counting	!Xun shifting to Afrikaans	Unsafe	Khwedam shifting to Afrikaans	Unsafe
		Planning	!Xun	Safe	Khwedam	Safe
		Dreaming	!Xun	Safe	Khwedam	Safe
Beyond Platfontein	Not observed	Visiting outside of Platfontein	!Xun	Safe	Khwedam, English & Afrikaans	Vulnerable
		Services outside of Platfontein	Afrikaans (!Xun with Afrikaans translator)	Absent	English & Afrikaans (Khwedam with Afrikaans translator)	Absent
		In the workplace	Afrikaans, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Khwedam, !Xun & Sesotho	Unsafe	Afrikaans, English, Khwedam & !Xun	Unsafe
Family and Platfontein	Observed	Home and friends	!Xun, Afrikaans & Ngangela	Vulnerable	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English	Vulnerable
		Sport	!Xun, Afrikaans & English codeswitching	Vulnerable	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English codeswitching	Vulnerable
		Facilities and services	!Xun, Afrikaans & English	Vulnerable	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English	Vulnerable
Traditional and religious practices	Partially observed	Traditional practices	!Xun, Afrikaans, Nyemba & English	Vulnerable	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English	Vulnerable
		Church	!Xun, Afrikaans & Portuguese	Vulnerable	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English	Vulnerable
Education and literacy	Partially observed	Classroom	Historically (Portuguese, Nyemba, Oshivambo, Luchazi & !Xun) Currently (Afrikaans, !Xun, English & a little Khwedam)	Unsafe	Historically (English & Afrikaans) Currently (Afrikaans, Khwedam, English & a little !Xun)	Unsafe
		Reading	Afrikaans & Portuguese	Absent	Afrikaans, English & Khwedam	*Absent
Media and technology	Partially observed	Radio and television	Afrikaans, English, !Xun	Radio (vulnerable)	Afrikaans, English,	Radio (vulnerable)

			isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho & Tsotsitaal	Television (absent)	Khwedam & Setswana	Television (absent)
		Cell phone and the internet	!Xun & Afrikaans	Cell phone (vulnerable) internet (absent)	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English	Cell phone (vulnerable) internet (absent)

*Only one participant could read Khwedam. Mother tongue literacy in Platfontein is rare and therefore this was an unusual case.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, language use is a predicting factor for language attrition (Köpke, 2007: 23). Logically, speakers who frequently use their mother tongue are less likely to lose it than speakers who make little use of their mother tongue. In this study, language use was assessed by using a functional domain approach, which employed structured interviews and participant observations.²

According to several linguists (Adegbija 1993:167; Holmes, 2013:21; Romaine, 2000:44, Myers-Scotton 1993:36-7), the assessment of language use from a functional domain perspective assists in addressing why a language is or is not transferred from one generation to the next. Language shift is expected as a result of intergenerational language loss when languages compete for functional allocations or domains (Bokamba, 2008:119). As is evident in Table 8.4 above, the mother tongue has competition from other languages in most settings investigated. The exceptions are the domains of planning (for the !Xun and the Khwe), dreaming (for the !Xun and the Khwe), and visiting friends outside of Platfontein (for the !Xun only). These particular contexts could be seen as settings where there is low pressure for language shift among the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein.

Vulnerable settings are those, where the mother tongue is currently the most dominant language but other languages are also used. These are: visiting friends outside of Platfontein (for the Khwe only), at home and in the company of friends (for the !Xun and the Khwe), sport (for the !Xun and the Khwe), at facilities and service in Platfontein (for the !Xun and the Khwe), while engaged in traditional practices (for the !Xun and the Khwe), at church (for the !Xun and the Khwe), radio (for the !Xun and the Khwe) and cell phone (for the !Xun and the Khwe). Therefore these settings currently have a low risk of language shift among the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein.

² It was not possible to make observations in all the domains under investigation, as discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.2 *Pre-selected language settings and observations*.

Settings that are ‘unsafe’, in that they are currently dominated by additional languages are (for the !Xun and the Khwe): counting, in the workplace and in the classroom. Obviously the formal workplace and the classroom are relatively new settings for speakers of !Xun and Khwedam. According to the Language Life stories, westernised practices approximately began among participants when war broke out in Angola (1961-1974) and Namibia (1966-1989). These domains were not previously and are not currently accessible via the mother tongue. Rather, there has been a change in lifestyle, which resulted in the introduction of these new settings where the mother tongue might be included in the future but is currently not available.

Counting, however, is an established setting where language shift to Afrikaans has taken place. This may be because the Afrikaans counting system has shorter words for numbers past three than the !Xun or Khwe counting system and is therefore easier to use, as illustrated in Table 8.5 below. According to Comrie (2013) numerical systems are even more endangered than entire languages due to indigenous numeral systems being replaced with borrowed ones from neighbouring politically and economically dominant languages. In other words, a language does not have to be endangered to lose its numerical system to another language.

Table 8.5.: Comparison of cardinal numerals in Afrikaans, !Xun and Khwedam

	Afrikaans	!Xun	Khwedam
1	een	n ee	ui
2	twee	tsa	am
3	drie	!ao	x’oa
4	vier	tsa-ka-oh-a-tsa	’oama ceu x’oa-ko
5	fyf	tsa-ka-oh-a-lao	ui ceu-ko
		(Heine & König, 2013: 310)	(Kilian-Hatz, 2003: 318, 370, 364, 278, 276)

Lastly, settings in which the mother tongue was absent or not available to both the Khwe and the !Xun participants in this study due to economic and educational constraints were: services outside of Platfontein, reading, television and the internet. There was only one Khwe participant who is literate in Khwedam; however, this is an unusual case in Platfontein where there are currently no mother tongue literacy classes available, nor have there been since 2008 (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.1. *Insights gathered from South African San Institute (SASI) annual reviews and community representatives in relation to !Xun and Khwedam*). This participant is one of six people belonging to the Khwedam Research and Development Organisation (KRADO) in Platfontein.

Overall a functional domain approach reveals that both !Xun and Khwedam are frequently used over a wide variety of domains. However, due to lifestyle changes and the associated introduction of new settings and domains, both !Xun and Khwedam need to adapt in order to be included in these new domains and strengthen their vitality in the modern world. Failing this, these settings and domains will most likely continue to be dominated by Afrikaans with the mother tongue primarily used in and around the home. Recommendations for future language maintenance and development based on the language use of !Xun and Khwedam speakers in Platfontein are discussed in Chapter 9.

8.2.4 Synthesis of knowledge, emotion and behaviour

A synthesis of the findings from the three data streams (i.e. data pertaining to knowledge, emotion, and behaviour) together represent the language attitudes of the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein. To synthesise these data, I identified where the streams overlap based on the findings from each data stream as provided in sections 8.2.4.1-8.2.4.3 below.

8.2.4.1 Synthesis of data stream 1 (knowledge) with data streams 2 (emotion) and 3 (behaviour)

Table 8.6 summarises where the findings from data stream 1 (knowledge) were compared with the findings from data stream 2 (emotion) and 3 (behaviour). Similarities and discrepancies between the findings from each data stream are discussed and accounted for where possible. Table 8.6 provides a summary of the findings from the first data stream, knowledge, and indicates whether any data from data stream 2, emotion, or 3, behaviour, can be used for comparison or verification. (A tick mark indicates that there is data relevant for comparison with data from stream 1.)

Table 8.6: Summary of findings from data stream 1, knowledge, with comparisons from data stream 2, emotion, and data stream 3, behaviour.

Findings from data stream 1: knowledge	Description and reference to findings	Comparison possible with data stream 2: emotion	Comparison possible with data stream 3: behaviour
Dominant mother tongue	Mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe is the most dominant language in their language repertoires (<i>Chapter 5, Figure 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, 5.7 and 5.9</i>)	√	√
Loss of traditional language settings	Loss of settings for traditional practices and language use, e.g. traditional healing, traditional weddings and marriage negotiations between families. (<i>Chapter 6, Figure 6.32; Chapter 7, Table, 7.7</i>)	√	√
Acquisition of new language settings	Acquisition of new language settings due to changed lifestyle from nomadic hunter gatherers to a 'westernised' lifestyle. E.g. formal employment, church, formal education, literacy and media. (<i>Chapter 5, discussion related to Figure 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, 5.7 and 5.9; Chapter 7, Table 7.12</i>)	√	√
Differing language repertoires between the !Xun and the Khwe	Historically the !Xun and the Khwe had different language repertoires. (<i>Chapter 5, Figure 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, 5.7 and 5.9; Chapter 7, Table 7.12</i>)	–	√
Common language repertoires between the !Xun and the Khwe	From 1974 onwards the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein had a shared history and therefore acquired common languages due to shared life experiences. (<i>Chapter 5, Figure 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, 5.7 and 5.9; Chapter 7, Table 7.12</i>)	–	√
Variation in the use of additional languages due to migration	Language repertoires changed according to country of residence and language contact. (<i>Chapter 5, Figure 5.1, 5.3 and 5.5; Chapter 7, Table 7.12</i>)	–	√
Constant use of specific additional languages despite migration	!Xun mother tongue speakers spoke Afrikaans and Khwedam as an additional language across all three countries. (<i>Chapter 5, Figure 5.1, 5.3 and 5.7; Chapter 7, Table 7.12</i>) Khwedam mother tongue speakers spoke Afrikaans and !Xun as additional languages across all three countries. (<i>Chapter 5, Figure 5.5 and 5.9; Chapter 7, Table 7.12</i>)	√	√
Smaller language repertoires over time	Reduction in the number of additional languages over the generations. (<i>Chapter 5, Figure 5.1, 5.3, 5.7 and 5.9; Chapter 7, Table 7.12</i>)	–	√
Differing language repertoires between genders	Different repertoires between male and female participants due to different life experiences.	–	√

The following findings described in Table 8.6 above from data stream 1 (knowledge) can be verified or accounted for via data in both data stream 2 (emotion) and data stream 3 (behaviour): the dominance of the mother tongue, the loss of traditional language settings, the acquisition of new language settings, and the constant use of specific additional languages despite migration. Findings described in Table 8.6 from data stream 1 (knowledge) that can be verified or accounted for via data from data stream 3 (behaviour) only are: differences in language repertoires between the !Xun and the Khwe, the reduction in the use of certain additional languages due to migration, the acquisition of additional languages due to migration, smaller language repertoires over time and differing language repertoires between genders.

The first finding is that the mother tongue of the !Xun and the Khwe is the most dominant language in their language repertoires. This connects with the data both on emotional reactions, and on language behaviours within specific domains. Overall the !Xun and the Khwe had very positive emotional reactions towards the use of their mother tongue; they think that it is important and they desire their children to speak it. In terms of actual language use, !Xun and Khwedam are used in Platfontein in 14 of the 18 settings investigated, namely: planning, dreaming, visiting outside Platfontein, in the home and with friends, sport, facilities and services in Platfontein, traditional practices, church, radio, cell phone, counting, in the workplace and classroom. In the remaining four settings participants expressed that they would like to use their mother tongue in these settings but currently this is not available to them as a minority group (services outside of Platfontein, in the workplace and television) or due to financial constraints (access to computers or smartphones and the internet). Therefore, the linguistic behaviour of participants reflects their socio-historical background as well as their positive emotional responses to their mother tongue.

The second finding, with regards to the !Xun, was that there is a loss of settings for traditional practices and language use, e.g. traditional healing and traditional weddings. According to the Language Life stories collected in this study, these practices no longer took place after war broke out in Angola (1961-1974) and Namibia (1966-1989) and participants began to adapt to a westernised way of life. The !Xun did not address traditional healing or dancing, but mentioned traditional weddings and marriage negotiations between families, however these had only been practiced by older !Xun participants in their youth. It was clear that the preference for !Xun over Afrikaans for the purposes of wedding ceremonies is decreasing with each generation: historically, the use of !Xun was strongly preferred when at a wedding for those !Xun born in Angola and Namibia however due to a change in lifestyle, this preference

is much weaker for those born in South Africa. These emotional responses corresponded with the data discussed in Chapter 7 for the !Xun. Here, the majority of the !Xun born in Angola said that they practiced traditional weddings and used !Xun during these ceremonies, compared to only one !Xun participant born in Namibia. None of the !Xun participants born in South Africa practice traditional weddings or marriage negotiations between families. This trend is in line with the observation that traditional weddings are much less frequent than they were in the past (le Roux, 1999: 87).

In data stream 3 participants were asked which language they use at a traditional religious event. Again, the !Xun born in Angola attended traditional religious activities most frequently. Only half of the !Xun born in Namibia and two thirds of those born in South Africa attended traditional religious events (usually with their grandparents). Participants who did attend traditional religious events explained that at those ceremonies they speak !Xun exclusively. However, attendance at such events is dwindling, especially among middle aged !Xun participants. This trend is in line with the same observations made in New Zealand with the Maori people and as a result, they began language programs called *Te Kōhanga Reo* (Language Nest) which accommodate continued interaction between elders and young children in the community in order to further encourage intergenerational language transfer.

Therefore from the three data streams it is evident that traditional language settings are being lost among the !Xun and that there are obviously weak emotional responses to the use of the mother tongue in these settings, particularly among the youth, which seems to be directly related to the observation that there is little or no participation at such events by middle aged !Xun participants. Such behaviour can be interpreted as acculturation i.e. the process of cultural change, where individuals adapt or change from one cultural context to another as a result of migration (Berry & Sam, 1997:293). Despite acculturation, the !Xun expressed a strong emotional tie to their mother tongue and a strong desire to continue using it and adapting it to their current circumstances. For instance all of the participants are attending church; hence they would like to have a !Xun Bible and be able to read this bible (the adoption of new language settings is discussed below).

The Khwe on the other hand expressed opposite emotional reactions to the !Xun. Of all the preference scores calculated between Khwedam and Afrikaans for the Khwe, the use of Khwedam at a wedding ceremony scored the highest for the mother tongue, especially among Khwe born in South Africa. Therefore, there is a strong emotional desire for Khwedam to be

used for traditional wedding ceremonies. However, when compared with data stream 3 (behaviour) there is a discrepancy between the emotional reaction and the actual behaviour because only one Khwe participant reported that they attended a traditional wedding where the ceremony was conducted in Khwedam. The rest of the participants stated that they no longer practice traditional weddings. For other traditional religious events, all Khwe participants stated that they use Khwedam at such events, however, attendance at traditional ceremonies is less prevalent among the younger participants.

Therefore, from the three data streams it is evident that traditional language settings are also being lost among the Khwe. This loss of traditional practices is due to a change in lifestyle from nomadic hunter gatherers to a 'westernised' way of life which began to occur when the Angolan (1961-1974) and Namibian (1966-1989) wars broke out. Along with a change to a westernised way of life came the influence of Christianity on Khwe traditions. Accordingly, social pressure from the local church in favour of a Christian wedding ceremony deters young Khwe couples from conducting a traditional wedding ceremony. Yet, young Khwe residents still exhibit a strong positive emotional reaction towards having a traditional wedding, while there is little opportunity for them to have such a ceremony in Platfontein today. In the case of the Khwe, the decline of traditional wedding ceremonies may thus be at least partially linked to the absence of Khwe elders aged 60 and older in Platfontein resulting in limited Social Cognitive Causal Chains (SCCC) for the continued practice of traditional wedding ceremonies. It seems that social pressure from the local church coupled with the lack of SCCC input from elders has resulted in a cultural shift from traditional practices to westernised practices.

The next finding shows that new language settings have been acquired after a change in lifestyle from nomadic hunter gatherer to a 'westernised' lifestyle. New social contexts include formal employment, church, formal education, and media. Such settings were not part of the traditional lifestyle of the !Xun people of Angola or the Khwe people in northern Namibia (Smith et al. 2004:82). The oldest !Xun participant was born in Angola. She has never had formal schooling or employment in her life and is illiterate. However, today in Platfontein she does attend the local church and likes to listen to traditional music on the local radio.

It can be confirmed from data stream 2 (emotional reactions) that the !Xun and the Khwe participants of this study are familiar with and have preferences with regards to language use

in the following settings: church, formal education, literacy and media. The language use at the formal workplace was not investigated for data stream 2.³

From data stream 3 (behavioural predispositions), it can be confirmed that !Xun and Khwe participants engage in the following settings: the workplace, church, formal education, literacy and media. Hence all three data streams indicate that the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein have incorporated these modern, 'westernised' settings into their current lifestyles and that both the !Xun and the Khwe have a strong desire for their mother tongue to be prevalent in these new settings. However these settings are partially constrained by lack of access to mother tongue orthography. In other words since the !Xun and Khwe are illiterate in their respective L1, neither !Xun nor Khwedam are functional in these new settings. This was evident in the behaviour described in Chapter 7. Examples from each setting would be the following: emailing and written communication in the workplace, bible use at church, engagement in formal education, general everyday reading and writing activities including digital and print media.

The fourth finding is that due to their different socio-historical backgrounds the language repertoires of the !Xun and the Khwe are not identical. In data stream 1, the historical background of these different language repertoires was uncovered through participants' individual perspectives expressed in their Language Life stories. The data in data stream 3 reveal which of these languages are currently being used and for which purposes. According to both data streams 1 (knowledge) and 3 (behaviour), the language repertoires of the !Xun and the Khwe differ in the following ways: the !Xun, but not the Khwe speak Chokwe/Luchazi, Nyemba/Ngangela, Oshiwambo/Kwanjama, Portuguese, isiXhosa, Khoekhoegowab and Sesotho. The following languages were only spoken by the !Xun and not the Khwe, however today they are no longer spoken in Platfontein: Herero, Hai||om, Khoekhoegowab and Ju|'hoansi. The Khwe but not the !Xun, used to speak Mbukushu and Kwangali however today neither of these languages are spoken in Platfontein. Therefore the data from data stream 1 (knowledge) and data stream 3 (behaviour predispositions) confirm that historically the language repertoires of the !Xun and the Khwe were not identical.

The next finding indicates, however, that from 1974 the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein attended the same schools and were working for the same or similar employers in Namibia and

³ The above-mentioned settings are referred to again in section 8.2.4.2 *Synthesis of data stream 2 (emotion) with data stream 3 (behaviour) and 1 (knowledge)* below.

South Africa. Due to their shared life experiences, languages found in the repertoires of both the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein today are: !Xun, Khwedam, Afrikaans, English, isiZulu and Setswana.

The sixth finding was that language repertoires changed according to country of residence and language contact. According to data stream 1 (knowledge) and data stream 3 (behaviour) additional languages that were reduced in use by the !Xun due to lack of contact with other speakers after migrating to South Africa were: Chokwe/Luchazi, Hai||om, Herero, Ju|'hoansi, Khoekhoegowab, Nyemba/Ngangela, Oshiwambo/Kwanjama and Portuguese. The Khwe on the other hand lost contact with speakers of Mbukushu and Kwangali and therefore seldom use these languages anymore. Once in South Africa new additional languages were acquired by the !Xun (English, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho, Setswana and Tsotsitaal⁴) and by the Khwe (Setswana and isiZulu) according to the new language contact situations they found themselves in. Therefore, according to data stream 1 (knowledge) and data stream 3 (behavioural predisposition) it can be confirmed that additional languages acquired by the !Xun and the Khwe in South Africa are used due to continued contact with other speakers, mostly in the setting of informal short-term employment in low income positions.

The seventh finding from data stream 1 (knowledge) which is confirmed in data stream 3 (behavioural predisposition) is that there has been a continuous use of two additional languages despite migration from Angola through Namibia to South Africa for the !Xun, and Namibia to South Africa for the Khwe. Among the !Xun these two additional languages are Afrikaans and Khwedam; for the Khwe, they are Afrikaans and a minimal use of !Xun. Hence Afrikaans has remained the constant additional language for the !Xun and the Khwe across two or three countries of residence. As a socially and politically powerful language in Namibia and South Africa, Afrikaans is useful as a lingua franca. In contexts such as formal employment, education, literacy and media, the !Xun and Khwe continue to use Afrikaans. However, in data stream 2 (emotional reactions) reveals that overall the !Xun and the Khwe both expressed a preference for their mother tongue over Afrikaans across the majority of the investigated domains. It was also found that the Khwe were generally more positive towards and inclusive of Afrikaans than the !Xun. The !Xun and to a lesser extent the Khwe continue to acquire each

⁴ Tsotsitaal is a language variety widely spoken in South Africa that is a mix of Afrikaans, IsiZulu, SeSotho and English (Mesthrie, 2008c: 102).

other's languages due to living in close proximity of each other and sharing facilities such as schools, a local clinic, a radio station, local shops and social welfare facilities in Platfontein.

The eighth finding from data stream 1 (knowledge) is that the number of languages in the repertoires of both the !Xun and the Khwe has decreased from one generation to the next. This could possibly be due to their change in lifestyle from nomadic hunter gatherers were they came into contact with speakers of many other languages from season to season, to a more restrictive lifestyle during the Angolan (1961-1974) and Namibian (1966-1989) war, to a 'westernised' lifestyle in Platfontein, South Africa, with the least amount of movement and interaction with speakers of other languages. It can be confirmed from data stream 1 (knowledge) and data stream 3 (behaviour) that the number of languages appearing in the repertoire of each generation is decreasing with each generation for both the !Xun and the Khwe.

Finally, according to data stream 1 (knowledge) and data stream 3 (behaviour) the language repertoires of male versus female participants differ due to different life experiences and traditional customs. Among the !Xun and the Khwe, the men knew some languages that the women did not know, as a result of working outside the home. Among the !Xun, but not the Khwe, the women still used Nyemba/Ngangela, an Angolan language, in the home and for traditional dancing and storytelling. Nyemba/Ngangela is no longer used by the !Xun men.

Therefore, it can be confirmed that the language repertoires of the male and female !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein are not identical. These findings on language and gender affirm Yagmur's (1997:19) point that in a cultural context where men are more likely than women to seek work outside of the home or their own community, men will acquire additional languages found in the work place.

8.2.4.2 Synthesis of data stream 2 (emotion) and data stream 3 (behaviour)

Data streams 2 and 3 considered the use of !Xun and Khwe (as well as other languages where relevant), within a range of specific, pre-determined domains. A total of six language domains were investigated. However, in data stream 2, the language domain 'cognition' was not included due to its abstract nature in relation to emotional reactions and language use. For the remaining five language domains, comparisons can be made between the findings from data stream 2 (emotional reactions) and 3 (behavioural predispositions). The data collected on knowledge (data stream 1) was not collected or presented from a domain specific approach, and therefore the findings from that data stream are not comparable in this instance.

Table 8.7 below summarises comparisons between findings from data stream 2 (emotion) and findings from data stream 3 (behaviour). As can be seen, this study provided data on each domain from both the perspective of emotions (data stream 2) and behavioural dispositions (data stream 3). Similarities (marked in blue) and discrepancies (marked in red) between the findings from each data stream are discussed and accounted for where possible.

Table 8.7: Summary of findings from data stream 2, emotion with comparisons from data stream 3 (behaviour)

Language domain	Setting	Country of birth	!Xun		Khwe	
			Data stream 2	Data stream 3	Data stream 2	Data stream 3
Beyond Platfontein	In Kimberley	Angola	!Xun	!Xun with an Afrikaans translator	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	Afrikaans or !Xun with an Afrikaans translator	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Afrikaans, English or Khwedam with an Afrikaans translator
		RSA	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans or English
Family & Platfontein	Home	Angola	!Xun	!Xun (Afrikaans codeswitching)	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun & Afrikaans	!Xun (Afrikaans codeswitching)	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam (English or Afrikaans codes-switching)
		RSA	!Xun	!Xun (Afrikaans codeswitching)	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam (English or Afrikaans codes-switching)
	Platfontein	Angola	!Xun	!Xun (some Ngangela by female participants only with neighbours)	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	!Xun (Afrikaans codeswitching)	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam (English or Afrikaans codes-switching)
		RSA	!Xun	!Xun (Afrikaans codeswitching)	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam (English or Afrikaans codes-switching)
	Sport	Angola	!Xun	!Xun (English codes-switching)	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	!Xun (English codes-switching)	Khwedam	Khwedam (English codes-switching)
		RSA	!Xun	!Xun (English codes-switching)	Khwedam	Khwedam (English codes-switching)
Traditional & religious practices	Wedding (rare) & funeral	Angola	!Xun	!Xun (Singing in Afrikaans & English)	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	!Xun (Singing in Afrikaans & English)	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam (Singing in Afrikaans & English)
		RSA	!Xun	!Xun (Singing in Afrikaans & English)	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam (Singing in Afrikaans & English)
	Church	Angola	!Xun	!Xun (Singing in Afrikaans & English. Bible readings in Afrikaans. Portuguese codeswitching.)	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	!Xun (Singing in Afrikaans & English. Bible readings in Afrikaans)	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam (Singing in Afrikaans & English. Bible readings in Afrikaans)

		RSA	!Xun	!Xun (Singing in Afrikaans & English. Bible readings in Afrikaans)	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam (Singing in Afrikaans & English. Bible readings in Afrikaans)
	Prayer	Angola	!Xun	!Xun (Codeswitching to Afrikaans or Portuguese)	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	!Xun (Codeswitching to Afrikaans)	Khwedam	Khwedam (Codeswitching to Afrikaans or English)
		RSA	!Xun	!Xun (Codeswitching to Afrikaans)	Khwedam	Khwedam (Codeswitching to Afrikaans or English)
Education & literacy	Literacy	Angola	!Xun	Portuguese	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	Afrikaans	Khwedam	Afrikaans & English (Khwedam, one participant)
		RSA	!Xun	Afrikaans	Khwedam	Afrikaans & English
Media & technology	Radio & television	Angola	!Xun	!Xun, Afrikaans and Tswana (radio) Afrikaans, English, isiZulu, isiXhosa & Sesotho (TV)	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	!Xun, Afrikaans and Tswana (radio) Afrikaans, English, isiZulu, isiXhosa & Sesotho (TV)	Khwedam	Khwedam, Afrikaans & Tswana (radio) Afrikaans, English, isiZulu, isiXhosa & Sesotho (TV)
		RSA	!Xun	!Xun, Afrikaans and Tswana (radio) Afrikaans, English, isiZulu, isiXhosa & Sesotho (TV)	Khwedam	Khwedam, Afrikaans & Tswana (radio) Afrikaans, English, isiZulu, isiXhosa & Sesotho (TV)
	Cell phone & internet	Angola	!Xun	!Xun	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun & Afrikaans	!Xun & Afrikaans	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English
		RSA	!Xun & Afrikaans	!Xun & Afrikaans	Khwedam & Afrikaans	Khwedam, Afrikaans & English
	Print media	Angola	!Xun	None	-	-
		Namibia	!Xun	None	Khwedam	Afrikaans & English
		RSA	!Xun	None	Khwedam	Afrikaans & English

As indicated in Table 8.7, the data from data stream 3 (participants' language use) verified the data in data stream 2 and provided additional detail thereby enriching the findings. Data stream 2 showed participants' language preferences according to language domain and setting thereby expressing their emotional reaction towards language use. An example of a match between data stream 2 and 3 would be in the language domain 'beyond Platfontein' in the setting 'in Kimberley'. The data in data stream 3 confirmed that !Xun participants born in Angola and Namibia speak !Xun when in Kimberley, they need to use a !Xun/Afrikaans translator to facilitate communication when they need to be understood by an outsider. !Xun born in South Africa learnt Afrikaans at school and therefore prefer to speak Afrikaans when they are in Kimberley.

Examples of where the data from data stream 2 did not match the data from data stream 3 were in the domains 'education and literacy' and 'media and technology'. In these domains the desires of the participants did not match what was available to them. Both the !Xun and the Khwe expressed a strong desire for mother tongue literacy which has not been available to them. Rather !Xun born in Angola were literate in Portuguese, and !Xun born in Namibia and South Africa were literate in Afrikaans. Similarly, Khwe born in Namibia and South Africa were literate in Afrikaans and English.⁵ !Xun and Khwe speakers also expressed a strong desire for access to television programs and print media in their mother tongue.

Therefore, overall it can be seen from data streams 2 and 3 that both the !Xun and the Khwe have a strong positive emotional response towards their mother tongue and use their mother tongue in the majority of the settings and language domains investigated. Settings and language domains where the mother tongue was not used were either domains where the speakers were in contact with interlocutors who do not speak !Xun or Khwe respectively or domains for which mother tongue materials, e.g. reading materials and media products in the mother tongue, and institutional support are not available.

8.3 Language attitudes and their effect on language vitality from an intergenerational perspective

Drawing together the findings from data stream 1 (knowledge), data stream 2 (emotion) and data stream 3 (behaviour) in accordance with the language attitude model discussed in Chapter 4, *Figure 4.1 Social attitudes towards language: An intergenerational perspective of*

⁵ With the exception of one Khwe participant who was literate in Khwedam.

endangered languages I can comment on the collective language attitudes of the !Xun and the Khwe in response to the main research question:

What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?

According to factor 8 of the UNESCO Language Vitality Assessment Factors, language attitudes can be assessed on the following scale.

Table 8.8: UNESCO’s grade scale pertaining to community members’ attitudes towards their own language (Brenzinger et al. 2003:14-15)

Grade	Community Members’ Attitudes towards Language
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	Most members support language maintenance.
3	Many members support language maintenance; many others are indifferent or may even support language shift.
2	Some members support language maintenance; some are indifferent or may even support language shift.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; many are in-different or support language shift.
0	No one cares if the language is given up; all prefer to use a dominant language.

In relation to the above scale and according to the findings discussed above, the members of the extended !Xun family under investigation seem to hold language attitudes on a grade 5 ‘All members value their language and wish to see it promoted’ while the members of the investigated Khwe family seem to hold language attitudes on a grade 4 level towards Khwedam ‘Most members support language maintenance’. Overall the language attitudes of my participants are strongly positive towards their mother tongue; yet the language attitudes of the !Xun participants towards the respective ancestral language seem to be even more positive than those of the Khwe participants. This is most likely due to the presence of five !Xun generations living in Platfontein whereas the Khwe only have three generations. The lack of input from family members of older generations coupled with the change in lifestyle since the Angolan (1961-1974) and Namibian (1966-1989) wars for both the !Xun and the Khwe from a hunter gatherer lifestyle (pre-war), restricted movements during both wars, to a ‘westernised’ lifestyle in South Africa, has resulted in the change in attitudes of participants towards their mother tongue. This outcome is not unusual with speakers of endangered languages, where a change in lifestyle has occurred over the generations, accompanied by socio-economic and political change, resulting in the onset of language shift to a more dominant language (Flipović and Pütz, 2016:i).

The !Xun and the Khwe have experienced a loss of traditional practices (e.g. traditional wedding ceremony, traditional healing practices) and an adoption of new language contexts or settings (e.g. formal schooling, formal employment, literacy, media and church). Despite these changes, they both have a strong desire for the continued use of their mother tongue, especially in the new settings mentioned above; however these domains would only be fully accessible if the speakers had access to mother tongue literacy.

As discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3. *Language vitality assessment*, assessing the vitality of a language is a complex task as there are several interlinked factors that contribute towards the assessment (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 3). It can however be measured according to the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) as suggested by Lewis and Simons (2010). This scale is employed by the Ethnologue to determine the status or degree of endangerment of a language (Simons & Fenning, 2017). Both !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein fall into the same rating level of 6a, ‘the language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.’ According to this EGIDS description !Xun and Khwedam would thus be labelled as ‘vigorous’ and would be considered ‘safe’. This rating however does not take into consideration the underlying reasons for any disruption in intergenerational language transmission, nor does it take into account any contextual information (e.g. demographics, or location) or external pressures (e.g. socioeconomic status, political status). Therefore, I turn to the UNESCO’s evaluative factors for language vitality to provide a deeper analysis.

Language vitality can be described according to the UNESCO’s methodological guideline that was published in 2003 and later revised in 2011, entitled ‘Language vitality and endangerment’ (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003, Minasyan, 2011:2). According to the UNESCO and their ad hoc group of linguists, language vitality and endangerment can be assessed according to 13 factors. Some ratings for the Language Vitality Evaluation (LVE) factors are identical for !Xun and Khwedam largely due to shared histories and a shared living environment of the two communities under investigation.

For factor 1, ‘intergenerational language transmission’, the !Xun and the Khwe families scored the same rating of 4 = ‘unsafe: the language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains’. This rating is in accordance with the data presented above in section 8.2.3 *Behaviour: Data Stream 3*, where it was found that all participating children speak !Xun and Khwedam, respectively, as their mother tongue. However, in newer domains,

like e.g. formal education and media, the children's mother tongues are either not at all or only partially accommodated.

Factor 2 concerns the absolute number of speakers. According to the literature discussed in Chapter 2, *section 2.3 How the !Xun and Khwe came to be in South Africa*, and *2.4 The San and self-representation in South Africa* there are approximately 15 700 mother tongue speakers of !Xun and 7 300 speakers of Khwedam in the world. In South Africa, there are approximately 3 700 !Xun and 1 200 Khwedam speakers. Hence there are less Khwedam speakers than !Xun speakers in the world as well as in South Africa, therefore making Khwedam speakers more vulnerable to potential language shift than !Xun speakers.

In relation to those who live in Platfontein, factor 3, 'the proportion of speakers within the total population' could not be determined definitively as currently there is no data available on the language repertoires of the entire population of Platfontein. However, what I can present as an example from a family from each group is a rating of 5 = 'safe: all speak the language'. This rating is in accordance with the data presented above in *section 8.2.3 Behaviour: Data Stream 3*, where all of the participants from the two families who participated were mother tongue speakers of !Xun or Khwedam, respectively.

Factor 4, 'shifts in domains of language use', has different ratings for the !Xun family versus the Khwe family. The !Xun family have a rating of 4 = 'multilingual parity: two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions; the ancestral language is rare in the public domain'. Whereas the Khwe family have a rating of 3 = 'dwindling domains: the ancestral language is used in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate home domains'. These ratings are in accordance with the data presented above in *section 8.2.3 Behaviour: Data Stream 3*, where it was found that !Xun is stronger among the !Xun family in Platfontein due to the presence of a larger elderly population of !Xun speakers. In contrast, the Khwe do not have elders who are older than the age of 60 in their family. Therefore, the Khwe family are undergoing a shift in domains of language use to socially and economically dominant languages, namely Afrikaans and English. The !Xun on the other hand, receive influence and input from elderly family members in their daily lives, which especially strengthens the use of their mother tongue.

For factor 5, 'response to new domains and media', both the !Xun and the Khwe families scored the same rating of 1 = 'minimal: the language is used in only a few domains'. As mentioned in relation to factor 1, due to lack of institutional and government support a number of newer

domains are not accessible via !Xun or Khwedam. This rating is in accordance with the data presented above in section 8.2.3 *Behaviour: Data Stream 3* where it was found that the following settings can hardly be accessed via !Xun and Khwedam: the workplace, the classroom, services outside of Platfontein, reading, television and the internet.

Factor 6, ‘availability of materials for language education and literacy’, received a rating of 2 = ‘orthography and written materials exist: written materials exist but they may be useful only for some members of the community; for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not part of the school curriculum.’ This rating holds for both communities under investigation and is in accordance with the data presented above in section 8.2.3 *Behaviour: Data Stream 3* as well as Chapter 2, section 2.4.1 *Insights gathered from South African San Institute (SASI) annual reviews and community representatives in relation to !Xun and Khwedam*. The use of the mother tongue in education and literacy is rare or totally absent, despite the existence of an orthography and some written materials for both !Xun and Khwedam. In addition, neither !Xun or Khwedam are part of the national curriculum and currently there are no mother tongue literacy classes taught in Platfontein due to a lack of institutional and governmental support. This leads onto the next factor.

Factor 7, ‘governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use’, also received an overall rating of 4 = ‘differentiated support: non-dominant languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domain. The use of the non-dominant language is prestigious.’ Neither !Xun nor Khwedam are official languages in South Africa, however, as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.2 *Republic of South Africa*, they are recognised in the South African Constitution.

‘Community members’ attitudes toward their own language’ is the 8th factor. Here there is a different rating for the !Xun family and the Khwe family as discussed in detail earlier in this section in relation to Table 8.8. *UNESCO’s grade scale pertaining to community members’ attitudes towards their own language*. The !Xun family hold a grade 5 ‘all members value their language and wish to see it promoted’ and the Khwe family hold a grade 4 ‘most members support language maintenance’.

Factor 9, ‘amount and quality of documentation’, has the same rating for both the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein, 3 = ‘fair: there may be adequate grammar, some dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.’ This rating is in accordance with the data presented above in section 8.2.3

Behaviour: Data Stream 3 3 as well as Chapter 2, section 2.4.1 *Insights gathered from South African San Institute (SASI) annual reviews and community representatives in relation to !Xun and Khwedam*. Both languages have an orthography, dictionaries and documented grammar, however, these are not used in everyday education, literacy or the media products that are used in Platfontein.

‘Status of language programs’, i.e. factor 10, has different ratings for the !Xun and the Khwe. As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4.1 *Insights gathered from South African San Institute (SASI) annual reviews and community representatives in relation to !Xun and Khwedam*. The !Xun in Platfontein, have a language committee, however, they have been inactive for several years due to lack of funding and institutional support. Therefore, the !Xun received a rating of 1 ‘aspiring: no language programs running however there is a desire by local community members to have language programs.’ The Khwe on the other hand have registered a non-government organisation called Khwe Research and Development Organisation (KRADO) in an attempt to apply for their own funding. Unfortunately, to date they have yet to be awarded any funds. Therefore, they were rated, 2 = ‘basic: a program is running involving a small group (<5% of identifiers) irregularly and with few or no outcomes.’

Factor 11, ‘distribution of the language community’, can be rated as either ‘concentrated’ or ‘scattered’ for both the !Xun and the Khwe in southern Africa. If I only refer to the !Xun and Khwe population in South Africa, both these populations are concentrated with the majority of speakers living in Platfontein and a smaller population living nearby in Schmidtsdrift, as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3 *How !Xun and Khwedam came to be in South Africa*. However if I were to refer to all speakers of !Xun and all speakers of Khwedam, then I would rate both populations as ‘scattered’ in accordance to factor 13, below.

‘The degree of internal variation of the language’, factor 12, was discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3 *How !Xun and Khwedam came to be in South Africa*. There are at least two varieties of !Xun spoken in Platfontein whereas there is only one variety of Khwedam.

The final factor, i.e. factor 13, ‘distribution of languages transnationally’, was also discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.1 *Southern Africa* of this thesis. Both languages are found transnationally, !Xun speakers exist in South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, and Angola; Khwedam has first language speakers in South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Angola and Zambia.

8.4 Summary

According to the above discussion which included the historical background of the !Xun and the Khwe and pertinent theory and literature in relation to the results presented in Chapters 5 (knowledge: data stream 1), 6 (emotion: data stream 2), and 7 (behaviour: data stream 3) the language attitudes of selected !Xun and Khwedam speakers could be determined. Overall the Language Vitality Evaluation (LVE) for the selected !Xun in Platfontein yields higher scores than for the selected Khwedam participants is partially due to the larger speaker population size of !Xun speakers (3700) than Khwedam speakers (1200) in Platfontein.⁶ Furthermore, for the families under consideration, the vitality of !Xun is strengthened by the presence of an elderly generation which is missing in the selected Khwe family. In turn, the lack of input from elders has resulted in the weaker language attitude rating of Khwedam for the Khwe family versus !Xun in the !Xun family and thereby an overall weaker LVE for Khwedam.

⁶ As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.1. *The !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein.*

9. Conclusions, recommendations and guidelines

9.1 Chapter outline

The objective of this study was to explore the concept of language attitudes by speakers of Khoesan languages, namely !Xun and Khwedam in a South African context, and how these attitudes affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective. In accordance with McKenzie (2010:22), I have analysed language attitudes as comprising of three components: knowledge, emotion and behaviour and have investigated these concepts in detail in relation to two selected families in Platfontein, one !Xun and one Khwe.

My investigation is partially based on Language Life Stories from each of the target families, which encompass the knowledge that the speakers have of the sociohistorical context of their mother tongue in relation to the other languages which they encountered in their lifetime. Furthermore, following a functional domain approach I assessed both the emotional responses that participants hold towards their mother tongue and other selected languages as well as the behavioural predispositions that participants have in relation to language use of their mother tongue as opposed to other languages in their language repertoire.

I then synthesised this information to gain an understanding of what the language attitudes of !Xun and Khwedam speakers are in Platfontein, from the perspective of two extended families. Literature interpreting the concept of language attitudes in relation to language vitality of endangered languages is not new but has only sparsely been applied in a southern African context with speakers of Khoesan languages. I therefore sought to begin filling this gap in the form of a case study, by specifically investigating two families, one !Xun and one Khwe, in a South African context. My research questions were:

Main research question: What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?

Research sub-questions:

- i) What is the *historical sociolinguistic background* of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?
- ii) What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?

iii) What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?

9.2 Conclusions

The main empirical findings are chapter specific and were summarised within each of the respective chapters: Chapter 5, Data stream 1: Contextual knowledge; Chapter 6, Data stream 2: Emotional responses; Chapter 7, Data stream 3: Behavioural predispositions. These were then synthesised in Chapter 8, Discussion, to respond to the main research question and the three research sub-questions. In sum, I can conclude the following in relation to each research question:

Main research question: What are the *language attitudes* of !Xun speakers and Khwe speakers in Platfontien and how do these affect language vitality from an intergenerational perspective?

9.2.1 Language attitudes of !Xun speakers and Khwedam speakers

According to UNESCO's grade scale pertaining to community members' attitudes towards their own language and according to the findings presented in this study, the !Xun family hold a grade 5 'all members value their language and wish to see it promoted' and the Khwe family hold a grade 4 'most members support language maintenance'. Overall the language attitudes of the !Xun family and the Khwe family in this study are strongly positive towards their mother tongue, however, the !Xun have even stronger positive language attitudes towards their mother tongue than the Khwe.

9.2.2 Effect of language attitudes on language vitality intergenerationally

Language vitality can be measured according to UNESCO's methodological guideline that was published in 2003 and later revised in 2011, entitled 'Language vitality and endangerment' (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003, Minasyan, 2011:2). According to the assessment provided in Chapter 8, Discussion, the Khwe family have a weaker assessment than the !Xun family. It is possible that this is due to their weaker language attitude grade which encompasses knowledge, emotion and behaviour. Language attitude grades are presented in response to each of the research sub-questions below.

Research sub-questions:

- i) What is the *historical sociolinguistic background* of !Xun and Khwedam speakers of Platfontein and how has this affected their language repertoires intergenerationally?

9.2.3 Knowledge: Data stream 1

Despite having many different languages in their repertoire, !Xun has been retained as the mother tongue throughout the generations for the !Xun descendants and Khwedam has been retained as the mother tongue throughout the generations for the Khwe descendants. The historical sociolinguistic background of the !Xun and the Khwe is not identical and therefore they have different languages in their repertoire. The Language Life Stories reveal that when participants were living a more traditional and nomadic way of life in Angola and/or Namibia they acquired many more languages than after they moved to South Africa and adopted a less nomadic and more westernised existence. It was thus found that multilingualism was not necessarily a precursor for language endangerment but that rather the above-mentioned lifestyle change may contribute to language endangerment.

Moreover, I found differences between the language repertoires of female and male family members. This observation may be mainly due to the fact that females are generally being offered less employment opportunities than males. Accordingly, male participants have acquired Bantu languages in the workplace whereas female participants have not. In contrast, the !Xun female participants have retained cultural practises from their previously nomadic way of life, most notably traditional singing and dancing. They still use Nyemba/Ngangela, a language from Angola, during traditional dancing and storytelling whereas the male !Xun participants no longer use this language.

- ii) What are the *emotional reactions* of South African !Xun and Khwe towards the use of their mother tongue and other selected languages in their repertoire?

9.2.4 Emotion: Data stream 2

Even though the !Xun and the Khwe are immigrants in South Africa, they have not assimilated to Afrikaans or another dominant South African language. Even though they generally speak Afrikaans as their L2, they maintain a strong connection to their ethnic identity through the continued use of their mother tongue. This observation was confirmed by both the !Xun and the Khwe family who explicitly stated that their mother tongue is strongly related to their identity. Participants also stated that their mother tongue serves as a vehicle for unity among

their people, that it is a gift from God and that they are owners or custodians of their mother tongue, which is unique to their people. Hence, both families exhibit a strong link between language and ethnicity. !Xun elders expressed that their mother tongue is linked to their ancestors and that it is inextricable from their identity whereas the Khwe made no mention of their ancestors and felt that one could be considered Khwe even if one cannot speak Khwedam. Such a discrepancy in beliefs between the !Xun and the Khwe may be due to the lack of input about indigenous traditional belief systems that older Khwe family members would have been able to provide. Such a lack of input or Social Cognitive Causal Chains (SCCC) has consequences socially and linguistically which is a significant contributing factor to the differences in the emotional responses between the Khwe and the !Xun and ultimately the differences in their language attitudes towards their mother tongue.

However, even among the !Xun, the younger family members are adopting a more disconnected emotional response to language and identity than their elders. The younger !Xun born in South Africa mentioned that language and ethnicity are not one and the same, and that one could still maintain one's identity even if one were to lose one's mother tongue. Such a belief among the !Xun youth in Platfontein could be attributed to the acute change in lifestyle that the !Xun experienced once they moved from Namibia to South Africa. In Namibia there was a sporadic introduction of a settler lifestyle to the !Xun and the Khwe. Whereas, when they moved to South Africa there was an acute change to a state-reliant way of life which led to the abandonment of a traditional hunter gather lifestyle.

The previously observed discrepancy in SCCC input between the !Xun family and the Khwe family could also account for their different emotional reactions towards sharing their mother tongue with others. The !Xun were not open to sharing their mother tongue with their Khwe neighbours, nor were they openly willing for outsiders to learn !Xun. The Khwe, by contrast, were receptive to the idea of sharing their mother tongue with the !Xun; and suggested that this would facilitate social cohesion between the two groups. Therefore the idea that language is a core cultural value and a key component to group identity is stronger among the !Xun family.

From an intergenerational perspective it was found, that both the !Xun and the Khwe appreciate their mother tongue; they think that it is important, and desire their children to speak it. The functional domain approach furthermore revealed, that both the !Xun and the Khwe expressed very strong positive emotional reactions towards the use of their mother tongue in the following settings: prayer, sport, literacy, radio, television and print media. The !Xun identify their

language as a fundamental aspect of their identity. The Khwe, who lack an older generation present in Platfontein, are more susceptible to the inclusion of Afrikaans in their daily repertoire and therefore may be more likely to shift to Afrikaans than the !Xun. I compared the participant's emotional responses towards the use of the mother tongue and the use of Afrikaans for selected settings: in the home, in Platfontein, at gatherings and ceremonies, at church, in Kimberley, when using a cell phone and the internet. These scores revealed that overall the !Xun and the Khwe both expressed a preference for their mother tongue over Afrikaans across the majority of the domains investigated. However, the Khwe were more positive and inclusive towards the use of Afrikaans in the above mentioned settings than the !Xun were. These observations reinforce the previous finding that the !Xun family have an overall stronger attachment to their mother tongue than the Khwe family. The Khwe family, lacking Social Cognitive Causal Chains (SCCC) or input from an older generation, are more susceptible to the inclusion of Afrikaans in their daily routine and therefore may be more likely to shift to Afrikaans than the !Xun family.

iii) What are the *behavioural predispositions* of South African !Xun and Khwe in relation to the use of their mother tongue?

9.2.5 Behaviour: Data stream 3

Overall a functional domain approach reveals that both !Xun and Khwedam are frequently used over a wide variety of language domains. Due to lifestyle changes from a nomadic hunter gatherer to a 'westernised' sedentary way of life, a number of traditional language domains and language settings are no longer available and have therefore been lost, e.g. traditional wedding ceremonies and traditional healing practices. On the other hand, new 'westernised' language settings and language domains have been introduced alongside a 'westernised' lifestyle, where both !Xun and Khwedam need to adapt in order to be functional in these new domains and to retain their vitality. Failing this, these settings and domains will most likely continue to be dominated by Afrikaans. Therefore, as traditional practices fall away and are replaced with westernised practices, so is the use of the mother tongue reduced pending institutional support.

9.3 Theoretical implications

The value of having an initial understanding of the language attitudes of a !Xun family and Khwe family provides a basis from which to work in future language documentation and maintenance endeavours with these particular languages in a South African context. In comparison to other continents, scientific research and language revitalisation endeavours in

Africa are lagging behind (Sands, forthcoming: 1). This case study adds to the scientific body of knowledge from an African perspective thereby assisting with modestly filling the gap in the literature and research. Specifically, it provides an example of an in-depth investigation of language attitudes with relation to two Khoesan languages in a South African context and how these are associated with the vitality of each language. According to the speakers of !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein who participated in this study, they both have strong positive attitudes towards their respective mother tongue.

From a sociohistorical perspective it was established that multilingualism among the !Xun and the Khwe is not uncommon across the generations investigated and that historically both mother tongues have thrived despite the fact that their speakers were traditionally multilingual. However, it must be noted that there has been a significant change in lifestyle which occurred approximately in the 1960s leading up to and with the outbreak of war, and then again in 1990 with the relocation from Namibia to South Africa, from nomadic hunter gatherers to a 'westernised' lifestyle. With this change in lifestyle came the loss of traditional practices such as traditional weddings and healing, a shift to Christianity and the adoption of a modern lifestyle which includes formal education and formal employment, as well as an engagement with media and technology. Therefore, knowledge pertaining to the traditional ways of life is disappearing among the !Xun and the Khwe in Platfontein and should we wish to capture any of this knowledge as a scientific community, we need to act quickly before all indigenous knowledge holders pass away. In this light, I would like to make some recommendations for future research below.

9.4 Recommendations for future research

Based on the preliminary evidence collected in this study, suggestions for possible future research in documenting the language and cultural practices of the !Xun and Khwe and other speakers of Khoesan languages in South Africa are discussed in the section below under the following categories: modern language use of the !Xun and Khwe of South Africa, surviving cultural practices, shifting cultural practices, and mother tongue literacy. These recommendations are primarily aimed at academics.

9.4.1 Modern language use of the !Xun and Khwe of South Africa

During the process of this study I noticed potentially interesting phenomena in the modern language use of the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein. Firstly, I documented that there is gender

specific language use, i.e. differing language repertoires among the !Xun and the Khwe due to gender specific life experiences. Most noteworthy was the use of Ngangela, otherwise known as Nyemba, by the !Xun speaking women of this study. Ngangela was only used by !Xun women during traditional storytelling or dancing and not used by the !Xun men at all. Furthermore, it was documented that male participants, both !Xun and Khwe have Bantu languages in their language repertoire whereas female participants do not, due to different gender specific employment opportunities. Therefore, with this initial information on gender specific language use, we could add to the scientific body of knowledge on this topic by investigating this topic further in order to better understand the role of language and gender among the !Xun and the Khwe.

Secondly I noticed lexical borrowings in modern !Xun and Khwedam. In particular, I observed the change in the use of number and colour terms by speakers of !Xun and Khwedam from an intergenerational perspective. Older participants are using colour and number terms in !Xun and Khwedam respectively whereas younger participants born in Namibia and especially in South Africa use borrowed terms from Afrikaans instead. E.g. older !Xun participants (over the age of 49 at the time of data collection, in 2013) use the term “|ahng khoan de’e go” for the colour “yellow” and younger !Xun participants use the borrowed term “geeli” from the Afrikaans word “geel”. Moreover, I noticed that social media is generally used by the youth in Platfontein for those who can afford it or have access to it. On social media platforms such as Facebook, I noticed codemixing of Afrikaans and English with the mother tongue of the !Xun and Khwe. This use of !Xun and Khwe in social media and codemixing phenomena is thus an exciting area for future research.

9.4.2 Surviving cultural practices

From my findings and observations in this study it was evident that certain cultural practices associated with language of the !Xun and the Khwe are surviving from one generation to the next, however, we do not know much about the detail of these practices. Therefore I suggest further investigation, particularly into the documentation and recording of the following practices by !Xun and Khwedam speakers respectively: traditional songs and traditional stories.

Traditional singing and dancing has been associated with San culture in a number of studies (Marshall, 1962, 1969; Katz, 1982; Keeney & Keeney, 2013; Keeney, Keeney & Boo, 2016). However today we know little about the change in function and purpose of the songs used from generation to generation as well as the associated lyrics, language choice and rhythms.

Therefore, it would be prudent to capture such data from an intergenerational perspective to have a better understanding of which facets of traditional singing and performing are surviving in Platfontein among the !Xun and the Khwe and which are not.

Similarly, storytelling has been associated with San culture in a number of studies (Biesele, 1995; Guenther, 1999; Guenther, 2007; Upton, 2000; Widlock & Wessels, 2012; Keeney & Keeney, 2013; Wessels, 2016). However the documentation and comprehensive collection of !Xun traditional stories and Khwedam traditional stories in the mother tongue in a South African context is yet to come to fruition. Such a collection should include: the history of storytelling among the !Xun and the Khwe including language use, origin of the story, status of storytellers, frequency of storytelling, purpose and significance of storytelling. Such a resource could be an informative teaching resource for disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology, sociology, history, politics and education.

9.4.3 Shifting cultural practices

Furthermore, from my findings and observations in this study it was evident that certain cultural practices associated with language of the !Xun and the Khwe are disappearing from one generation to the next, however, we do not know much about the detail of this process. Therefore I suggest further investigation into the loss of traditional wedding practices as well as coming of age ceremonies among the !Xun and the Khwe in Platfontein. Additionally, I observed a change in behaviour from the use of traditional healing methods to ‘westernised’ forms of treatments and medicine. Lastly, the acknowledgement of language loss and the anxiety around adopting an unknown identity is a repeated topic among the Khwe born in Namibia. By contrast this topic is not mentioned by the !Xun at all. Therefore, further research is needed to explore the topic of language loss and identity among !Xun and Khwe youth.

Traditional wedding practices and coming of age ceremonies have been documented by researchers such as, Marshall (1959), Silberbauer (1963), Barnard (1980), Keeney and Keeney (2013) however, according to my observations these practices have largely fallen away in a Platfontein context among the !Xun and the Khwe. To document this loss of cultural practice as well as the effect that it has on family units among the !Xun and the Khwe could provide further insight into the modern family structure of young !Xun and Khwe families in a South African context.

Additionally, traditional healing practices among the !Xun and the Khwe through the use of traditional ‘bush’ or ‘veld’ medicine and the healing dance have been extensively documented

in San culture (Bleek, 1932; Heinz, 1975; Barnard, 1979; de Rios & Winkelman, 1989; Katz, Biesele and Denis, 1997; Keeney, 2003; Low, 2009; den Hertog, 2013). However, since the !Xun and the Khwe moved to South Africa in 1990, many of these practices have fallen away and state provided health services are now in common use among both ethnic groups. Therefore, with further detailed studies into which facets of these traditional healing practices still remain among the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein, we could add to the scientific body of knowledge on this topic in order to better understand the role of traditional medicine and healing practices among the !Xun and the Khwe in South Africa.

9.4.4 Mother tongue literacy

Finally, it is evident from the observations and results of this study that there is a strong desire for residents of Platfontein to have access to mother tongue literacy. Despite the fact that there are dictionaries and orthographies available in both languages as well as several early childhood learning materials, these are not easily available to community members in Platfontein. There is also no established mother tongue literacy program in Platfontein (as discussed in Chapter 2). The creation of educational and literacy texts appear to be premature without the coexistence of a regular and active literacy program.

To further motivate for access to mother tongue literacy in !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein I suggest further research by academics or interested parties into the following topics:

- A historical account of institutional support of Khoesan languages in a South African context, with particular reference to !Xun and Khwedam.
- The attitudes of adult !Xun and Khwedam speakers versus the attitudes of young !Xun and Khwedam speakers towards mother tongue literacy initiatives.
- The account of mother tongue language learning materials in !Xun and Khwedam versus accessibility of such materials to speakers of !Xun and Khwedam in South Africa in comparison to Namibia.
- A thorough assessment of mother tongue literacy initiatives in Namibia among !Xun and Khwedam speakers and how these could be applied in a South African context.

9.5 Outlook for !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein

Based on the evidence discussed in this study as well as observations made in the field, it is likely that the following trends will continue in relation to the !Xun and Khwedam speakers who participated in this study:

- The additional languages that were acquired by participants in Angola and Namibia are likely to be lost with the coming generations due to lack of contact with other speakers, for example: Khoekhoegowab, Hai||om, Ju'hoansi, Herero, Luchazi/Chokwe, Portuguese, Kwangali and Kangelana. Therefore, in the coming generations these languages will no longer be included in the repertoire of the two families who participated in this study and are likely to be replaced with Bantu languages.
- There are unique cases where the !Xun and the Khwe continue to learn each other's languages in Platfontein, in particular there are a few cases of intermarriages. Therefore, Platfontein will continue to be a unique environment where two endangered languages are spoken as a mother tongue and as an additional language.
- Those !Xun and Khwe who attend school will continue to acquire Afrikaans and English as these are both languages of instruction at the local school. Afrikaans as the first language of instruction and English as an additional language. Therefore, Afrikaans and English are likely to continue being dominant second or additional languages in the formal education setting. Without institutional support for the mother tongues, this may lead to language attrition in the primary languages over time.
- As an extension from the schooling environment, it is likely that Afrikaans and English will be used in the formal workplace. In addition, mostly the male residents of Platfontein will continue to acquire Bantu languages (Tswana, Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho) in casual labour positions.
- Traditional practices among the !Xun and the Khwe are likely to disappear, most notably traditional healing through trance dancing, the use of traditional medicine and traditional wedding ceremonies. The use of 'western' medication and healing practices is already common practice and has largely replaced traditional healing through trance dancing or traditional medicine. Moreover, the !Xun and the Khwe of Platfontein are more likely to have Christian wedding ceremonies rather than traditional wedding practices, if a family is able to afford a wedding in the first place.
- The mother tongue of both the !Xun and the Khwe families who participated in this study, is likely to continue being primarily used in and around the home; while new language settings, such as formal education, literacy and the media, will most likely continue to be dominated by Afrikaans or English.

9.6 Guidelines for potential language maintenance initiatives

Based on the evidence and observations made in this study recommendations in relation to language revitalisation, maintenance and documentation initiatives for !Xun and Khwedam in Platfontein are mainly focussed on mother tongue literacy development.

Mother tongue literacy is necessary in order for !Xun and Khwe to be actively used in education, formal employment (most specifically those employed at the local radio station providing mother tongue content in !Xun and Khwedam), media and Christian religious practices. A positive desire was expressed by participants for their mother tongue to be used in these settings, all of which include literacy to some extent. In order for mother tongue literacy to develop in Platfontein, institutional support is needed from local government, non-profit organisations, academics and community collaboration. Should mother tongue literacy not be supported in Platfontein it is unlikely that !Xun and Khwedam will be adopted into these new language settings and will hence continue to be displaced by Afrikaans or English. Recommendations in relation to the development of mother tongue literacy development in Platfontein are presented in the following paragraphs under three subheadings: Language learning centre, resources provided at the Language Learning Centre, and services offered at the Language Learning Centre:

9.6.1 Language Learning Centre

A Language Learning Centre for !Xun and Khwedam to be provided in Platfontein as a permanent facility dedicated to language learning, documentation and maintenance would be a hub in Platfontein for mother tongue literacy and support. Such a centre would require infrastructure, funding for operational expenses, suitable staff, community support, learning materials and an affiliation with the local Early Childhood Development Centres, the !Xunhwesa school, and the local radio station, XK-FM. Various programs and support could be provided at such a facility, such as: mother tongue literacy programs, traditional dancing, traditional singing, traditional storytelling and sharing of indigenous knowledge. Inclusion of existing language committees in the running of the Language Learning Centre, namely the !Xun Language Committee and the Khwe Research and Development Organisation (KRADO) would assist with community support and involvement. Furthermore, collaborations between the local Early Childhood Development Centres and the !Xunhwesa school and the proposed Language Learning Centre could assist in mother tongue literacy development by contracting out to these existing facilities and providing mother tongue literacy lessons. As with Naro speakers in

Botswana (Batibo, 2009:33), !Xun and Khwedam speakers in Platfontein could be encouraged to develop their own language learning materials at the Language Learning Centre in the form of short films, workbooks, storybooks, posters, songs, poetry and audio material.

Possible funding for a Language Learning Centre in Platfontein could come from various sources: the newly established university in the Northern Cape, Sol Plaatje University's upcoming Khoe and San Research Centre funded by the department of education; the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB); Northern Cape Education Department; Northern Cape Provincial Language Committee, Department of Sports, Arts and Culture; Centre for Advanced African Studies (CASAS), private funders such as Bernard van Leer Foundation, the Netherlands (Hays, 2006:83), practising NGOs such as the South African San Institute (SASI) and Indigenous Peoples of African Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC).

9.6.2 Resources provided at the Language Learning Centre

Language learning materials that already exist in !Xun and Khwedam in Namibia (Hays, 2006: 31) could be imported and used in Platfontein. To facilitate literacy efforts between the two counties it would be advantageous that they both use the same orthography conventions. These have been standardised in Namibia (Hays, 2006: 45) and are part of the national curriculum (Hays, 2006: 68). An exchange program between Namibian language teachers and South African language teachers of !Xun and Khwedam could facilitate learning and encourage participation between speakers found in both countries.

The Language Learning Centre could also be used as a resource centre for language related materials for community use, e.g.: dictionaries, grammar books, early childhood readers, workbooks, storybooks, audio materials and film.

9.6.3 Services offered at the Language Learning Centre

Mother tongue literacy development programs could be provided at the proposed Language Learning Centre in collaboration with existing structures, such as: each of the Early Childhood Development (ECD) Centres in Platfontein, namely the !Xun ECD Centre and the Khwe ECD Centre, as well as the !Xunkhuesa school from grade R to grade 12 and for adults could be offered.

Additionally, language programs called *Te Kōhanga Reo* (Language Nest) found successfully operating in New Zealand among the Maori people (Harrison, 2005: 57) could be adapted for a South African context and run from the Language Learning Centre. These programs are

established to bridge the gap between elders and young children in a community. For example, elders in the Platfontein community could teach !Xun and Khwedam, and talk about !Xun and Khwe traditional culture to young children approximately age five and below. It would be appropriate to target this age group specifically as young children begin attending the state provided structures, i.e. ECD and !Xunhwesa from age five and above.

Finally, a transcription and translation service at the Language Learning Centre could be developed for !Xun and Khwedam. Such a service could work in cooperation with XK-FM, with translations of radio content as well as assist in the creation of subtitles for film. A translating service could also be offered to researchers, reporters or visitors who wish to communicate with !Xun or Khwedam speakers in their mother tongue while at Platfontein. Such services could be provided in the form of oral translation on site or a more in-depth service of assisting with the creation of interview transcript files with the accompanying translations. The use of open source software is strongly recommended such as ELAN Linguistic Annotator (<http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>), as successfully used by Ju|'hoan transcribers in Namibia (Biesele, 2009:i).

9.7 Limitations of this study

This study has offered a sociolinguistic perspective on the language attitudes of !Xun speakers and of Khwedam speakers of Platfontein from two selected families, one for each language, and provided a language vitality assessment of both languages based on an intergenerational approach. As a direct consequence of this methodology, the study encountered a number of limitations, which need to be considered.

Firstly, only one extended family of !Xun speakers and one extended family of Khwedam speakers were investigated in this study. Therefore the results do not automatically apply to all of !Xun speakers or all of Khwedam speakers in Platfontein let alone of southern Africa. This study was a preliminary investigation into the language attitudes of speakers of Khoesan languages from which potential larger scale studies could emerge encompassing a team of researchers, a longitudinal approach and appointed institutional support. As a researcher operating on my own, with limited time and resources it was not feasible to include a larger population size and conduct an in-depth investigation with each participant.

Secondly, seasonal movement of participants due to casual contract labour work resulted in some fluctuation; therefore, not all participants were available for each round of field work. In some cases, an interview could be postponed until the next field trip and minor adjustments

could be made to accommodate the schedule of the participant as well as my own time restraints. However, there were incidents where a participant could no longer be part of the study due to their persistent unavailability.

Thirdly, due to the limited accessibility of participants, the overall sample size was too small to apply any elaborate statistical analyses to the data. However, a preliminary examination of two families provides a starting point for future investigation.

Fourthly, as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.1 *The Platfontein San as an over-researched group*, the presence of researchers from various fields is a common occurrence for the residents of Platfontein. At one point, in between two of my field trips, researchers from abroad visited the community and paid participants R100 each for an interview. It so happened that three of the !Xun participants from this study also took part in their study. Upon my return to Platfontein these three participants requested to be paid for their continued participation in this study. Despite referring back to our informed consent document and an established long-term relationship with each family in the study, one participant chose to no longer participate without payment. While, my previous experience working in the community was thus critical to the continued engagement of participants in the study, the study was continuously under threat from European and American research teams who are able to operate within different parameters than an unfunded, local PhD candidate.

9.8 A final word

Even though the field of language attitudes and language endangerment is large and is discussed from a variety of perspectives from around the world, theoretically (Fishman 1991; Nettle & Romaine 2000; King 2001; Vigouroux & Mufwene 2008), practically (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003; Romaine 2006; Grenoble & Whaley 2009) and politically (Mufwene, 2008; Mesthrie & Leap, 2009; Biesele & Hitchcock, 2013) the African perspective is not a strong voice in this academic conversation (Sands: forthcoming:1). The inclusion of a case study of two Khoesan languages, !Xun and Khwedam, in South Africa, provides a preliminary insight into the field from one of the oldest language families in Africa.

The link between language attitudes and language vitality was explored in this study from a tripartite perspective and it was confirmed, as was found in previous contexts (Austin & Sallabank, 2013: 313), that there is a correlation between positive language attitudes and healthy language vitality in an African context. However, changes in lifestyle, in the case of the !Xun and the Khwe, from a hunter gather existence to a 'westernised' way of life has had

adverse effects in the continued use of cultural and traditional practices specific to the !Xun and the Khwe in exchange for more westernised practises. Notwithstanding such changes, the !Xun and the Khwe have intergenerationally retained their mother tongue. Nevertheless, without institutional support in the form of mother tongue literacy efforts, !Xun and Khwedam will not be assimilated into new language settings such as formal education, literacy and the media by the families investigated, who may be representative of the larger communities. Thereby the use of the mother tongue will probably be reduced in exchange for an increased use of Afrikaans, which is the socially and politically dominant language of the area. The evidence presented in this study clearly showed that both speakers of !Xun and Khwedam hold positive language attitudes towards their respective mother tongue and thus strongly support the prospect of mother tongue education. Hence, I observed a potential for stronger language vitality ratings should appropriate institutional support be provided in the future. Failing this, the use of !Xun and Khwedam, in the case of the two families investigated, is likely to be limited to private settings in and around the home for the coming generations.

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Members of the !Xun Language Committee (11/04/2014)

Present: Rennie Mishe (Chairperson)

Lofina Moyo (Vice Chairperson, teacher at !Xun ECD)

Pina Victor

Dominga Namiseb

Hantie Guys (guest)

Absent: Tumba Alfino (away working on a farm)

Avalina Chifako (working for the army)

Katiewe Tamie (working for XK-FM)

Gelosi Mungeli (away working on a farm)

Members of the Khwe Research and Development Organisation (KRADO). (15/04/2014)

Present: Billies Pamo (Deputy Chairperson)

Ghumba Katchorro (Member)

Tressel Katembo (Treasurer)

Pastor Petrus William Manu (Deputy Treasurer)

Absent: Tomsen Jutas Nore (Chairperson)

Moshe Kxoegoe Maghundu (Secretary)

Jafta Kapunda (Deputy Secretary)

Field Observations

‡Ae ||Qhoe (Staar na die stere/Gaze at the stars), N|uu language school, Upington. 09/11/2015.

Kalahari Desert Festival, 21-23/03/2014 and 21-23/03/2015.

Platfontein, 2013, 2014 and 2015.

!Xunhwesa school, 2013, 2014 and 2015.

Appendix 1: Examples of research conducted in a number of fields in relation to the !Xun and Khwe of South Africa

Year	Field	Author	Title	Type of text
1993	Military history	I. Uys	Bushman soldiers, their alpha and omega.	Book: Fortress Publishers
1994	Social Anthropology	H.P. Steyn	Role and Position of Elderly !Xu in the Schmidtsdrift Bushman Community	Journal article in: South African Journal of Ethnology
1994	African studies	C. Uys	Schmidtsdrift: Where Next."	Diploma in African Studies, University of Cape Town.
1995	Gender studies	L. Waldman	Women and the Army: 'Bushmen' Women at Schmidtsdrift Military Camp.	Paper presented at the Pan African Association of Anthropologists conference: Nairobi.
1995	Medicine	M. Gaobepe, S. Aspinall and P.Bos	Hepatitis B viral markers in Bushmen at Schmidtsdrift, South Africa: baseline studies for immunisation.	Journal article in: East African medical journal 72.7 (1995): 421-423.
1997	African studies	S. Douglas	Do the Schmidtsdrift 'Bushmen' Belong in Reserves? Reflections on a Recent Event and Accompanying Discourse.	Journal of Contemporary African Studies 15 (1997): 45-66.
1997	Politics	S. Douglas	Reflections on state intervention and the Schmidtsdrift Bushmen	Journal article in: The Politics of Identity: Journal of Contemporary African Studies
2001	Geography	D.E. Philander and C.M. Rogerson	Rural local economic development and land restitution in South Africa: The case of Schmidtsdrift, Northern Cape.	Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography 22.1 (2001): 74-89.
2001	Gender studies	F. Silke and H. Becker	A gender perspective on the status of the San in southern Africa.	Report for the Windhoek Legal Assistance Centre, 2001.
2001	Law, legal assistance	S. Robins, E. Madzudzo, and M. Brenzinger.	An assessment of the status of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe.	Report No. 5. Windhoek Legal Assistance Centre, 2001.
2002	Social development	K. Nthomang	Exploring the indigenous minefield: social policy and the marginalization of the Bushman in southern Africa.	Journal of Social Development in Africa 17.1.
2002	Education	Amanda Siegruh	<i>A scenario for indigenous minority education in South Africa : the case of Schmidtsdrift San Combined School : Many languages in education : issues of implementation</i>	Journal article in: Perspectives in Education: Many Languages in Education: Special Issue 1
2005	Education	Jennifer Hays and Amanda Siegrühn	Education and the san of southern Africa	Journal article in: Indigenous affairs, indigenous peoples and education 01 (2005): 26-34.
2006	Media and Communications	T. Hart	Community Radio as a form of Ethnic Minority Media: A Critical Analysis of Identity,	Honours thesis: University of KwaZulu Natal

			Ethnic Audiences and Community	
2006	History	D. Robbins	A San journey: the story of the! Xun and Khwe of Platfontein.	Sol Plaatje Educational Trust, 2006.
2007	Linguistics	J. Lubbe and E. Truter.	Gevalle van positiewe taalbeplanning soos gerapporteer in die gedrukte media.	Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies 25.4 (2007): 557-574.
2007	Social Anthropology	Talia Soskolne	'Being San' in Platfontein: Poverty, Landscape, Development and Cultural Heritage	MA thesis, University of Cape Town
2007	Social development	R. Sylvain	Structural violence and social suffering among the san in southern Africa.	Indigenous affairs (2007): 16.
2007	Economics	T. Dalton-Greyling and Prof. L. Greyling	The effects of displacement on the economic development of a community with special reference to the! Xun and the Kwe	Research paper: University of Johannesburg, South Africa
2007	Law, Land Rights	Karin Kleinbooi	Schmidtsdrift Community Land Claim	Research Paper: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, School of Government, University of the Western Cape
2007	Contemporary Art	E. Rankin	Memory and magic: contemporary art of the! Xun and Khwe,	Book review: Hella Rabbethge-Schiller (Ed.): book review. De Arte 75 (2007): 76-79.
2008	Archaeology	L. Weiss	The social life of rock art: Materiality, consumption, and power in South Africa	Book chapter in: Archaeologies of materiality
2008	Music	K. Swarts	Studie van die huidige musikale gebruike onder die jeug van die! Xun en Khwe San.	MA thesis: Stellenbosch University, 2008.
2009	Media and Communications	Brilliant Mhlanga	The Community in Community Radio: A Case Study of XK FM, Interrogating Issues of Community Participation, Governance, and Control	Journal article in: Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies <u>Volume 30, Issue 1</u> , 2009
2010	Health Care	GF De Jager MBChB, EAM Prinsloo MBChB, MFamMed, MHPE & G Joubert BA, MSc	Use of traditional medicine versus use of the community-based primary health care clinic by the San community at Platfontein	Journal article in: South African Family Practice
2010	Psychology	Nielsen, M. and Tomaselli, K.	Overimitation in Kalahari Bushman Children and the Origins of Human Cultural Cognition	Journal article in: Psychological Science, April 2010.
2010	Visual Anthropology	Shanade Barnabas	Picking at the Paint: Viewing Contemporary Bushman Art as Art.	Journal article in: Visual Anthropology, Oct-Dec, 23(5): 427-442.

2010	Media and Communications	Brilliant Mhlanga	The Ethnic Imperative: Community Radio as dialogic and participatory and the case study of XK-FM practices in South Africa.	Book chapter in: N. Hyde-Clarke (ed.), <i>The Citizen in Communication: Re-visiting traditional, new and community media</i> JUTA, Claremont, pp. 155-178 .
2010	Education	L. Davids	The dilemma of language of instruction and the provision of mother tongue education to minorities.	International conference on language, education and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) held in Bangkok, Thailand. 2010.
2010	Genetics	C.M. Schlebusch	Genetic variation in Khoisan-speaking populations from southern Africa.	PhD thesis. Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2010.
2011	Arts and Development	Wendy van de Weg and Shanade Barnabas	Painting our portraits: the state of contemporary San art in South Africa and its development potential, using !Xun and Khwe art as a case study	Journal article in: <i>Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies</i> <u>Volume 25, Issue 2</u> , 2011
2011	Education	Billies Pamo ¹	San Language Development for Education in South Africa: The South African San Institute and the San Language Committees	Journal article in: <i>Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education: Studies of Migration, Integration, Equity, and Cultural Survival</i>
2011	Media and communications	Jonathan Dockney	Social power through self-imaging in participatory video amongst the Khwe Bushmen community of Platfontein	MA thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal
2012	Tourism	Nadine Boettcher	!Xun and Khwe cultural villages in Platfontein (South Africa). Recommendations for action for a community based project.	Batchelor's thesis. Polytechnic University of Valencia
2012	Cultural Tourism	K. Finlay and S. Barnabas	Shifting representation of the Bushmen	Book chapter in: K. Tomaselli (ed). <i>Cultural tourism and identity: Rethinking indigeneity</i>
2012	Public Health	M.B. Fredericks	Sexually transmitted infection (STI) and HIV / AIDS related knowledge, attitudes, perceptions and behaviour among San learners in a combined school in Platfontein, Northern Cape	MA Thesis. Faculty of Health Sciences, School of Public Health, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2012.
2013	Evolutionary Biology	C.M. Schlebusch, M. Lombard and H. Soodyall	MtDNA control region variation affirms diversity and deep sub-structure in populations from southern Africa	Journal article in: <i>BMC Evolutionary Biology</i> 2013, 13:56

¹ It must be noted that Billies Pamo was a member of the Khwe community and not a researcher from outside of Platfontein.

2013	African studies	T.N. den Hertog	Diversity behind constructed unity: the resettlement process of the! Xun and Khwe communities in South Africa	Journal of Contemporary African Studies 31.3 (2013): 345-360.
2013	Anthropology	M. Sapignoli and R.K. Hitchcock	Indigenous Peoples in Southern Africa.	The Round Table 102.4 (2013): 355-365.
2014	Child psychology	M. Nielsen and K. Tomaselli	Exploring tool innovation: a comparison of Western and Bushman children.	Journal article in: Journal of experimental child psychology 126 (2014): 384-394.
2014	Archaeology	D. Morris	Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre, South Africa: Controversy and Renown, Successes, and Shortcomings.	Journal article in: Public Archaeology 13.1-3 (2014): 187-199.
2014	Law (Institute for Dispute Resolution in Africa, University of South Africa).	M. Gebregeorgis	Endogenous conflict resolution mechanisms of the San people at Platfontein	Journal article in: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, 10(4) December 2014, Special edition: San dispute resolution, pp. 84-98
2014	Law (Institute for Dispute Resolution in Africa, University of South Africa).	G.T. Bahta	Cultural conflicts, dilemmas and disillusionment among the San communities at Platfontein	Journal article in: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, 10(4) December 2014, Special edition: San dispute resolution, pp. 36-51.
2014	Law (Institute for Dispute Resolution in Africa, University of South Africa).	H. G. Beyene	Socio-economic factors as causes and remedies for conflict of the San community in Platfontein	Journal article in: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, 10(4) December 2014, Special edition: San dispute resolution, pp. 99-119.
2014	Law (Institute for Dispute Resolution in Africa, University of South Africa).	A. Velthuisen	On truth-telling and storytelling: Truth-seeking during research involving communities with an oral culture and a history of violent conflict	Journal article in: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, 10(4) December 2014, Special edition: San dispute resolution, pp. 19-35.
2014	Law (Institute for Dispute Resolution in Africa, University of South Africa).	N. Sewdass	Identifying knowledge management processes and practices used for decision-making and knowledge sharing in the modern San community	Journal article in: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, 10(4) December 2014, Special edition: San dispute resolution, pp. 1-18.
2014	Law (Institute for Dispute Resolution in Africa, University of South Africa).	Tempelhoff, J. W. N	A first generation African community grappling with urbanisation: the views of Platfontein's San on water and sanitation service delivery."	Journal article in: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, 10(4) December 2014, Special edition: San dispute resolution, pp. 52-83.
2015	Visual Anthropology	A. Dicks	Stories from below: Subject-generated comics	Journal article in: Visual Anthropology <u>Volume 28, Issue 2, 2015</u>

2015	Law	A. Velthuisen	Listen to us—we know the solution: mapping the perspectives of African communities for innovative conflict resolution	Journal article in: Conflict, Security & Development <u>Volume 15, Issue 1</u> , 2015
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Appendix 2: Chronological list of research done on !Xun in linguistics, the specific field of contribution, time dedicated in the field, origin of data collected and country of origin/employment

Researcher	Field of linguistics	Time in the field	Origin of data collected	Country of origin or employment
Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek	Notation and orthography	1879-1884	South Africa (however !Xun were brought to the Cape from Namibia)	Employed at the University of Cape Town, South Africa
Dorothea Bleek	Notation and orthography	1880's-1930's	South Africa (however !Xun were brought to the Cape from Namibia), Namibia and Botswana	Cape Town, South Africa. Employed at the University of Cape Town, South Africa
Hermann Heinrich Vedder	!Xun grammar	1910	Namibia	German missionary working in Namibia
Viktor Lebzelter	!Xun wordlist	1937	Namibia	Anthropologist from Vienna, Austria
Terttu Heikkinen	Notation and orthography	1957-2004	Namibia	Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission
Rev. Ferdie Weich	Phonetics, orthography, educational materials and Christian materials	1961-2014	Namibia and South Africa	Dutch reformed church (South Africa)
Jan Synman	Phonetics and orthography	1967-2000	Botswana and Namibia	University of Cape Town, University of South Africa, University of Botswana.
Henry Honken	Phonetics and phonology	1977-2010	Botswana	Worked privately
Patrick Dickens	Language documentation and anthropological linguistics	1991-1992	Namibia	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation, Namibia
Matthias Brenzinger	Applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and	1993 to date	Namibia and South Africa	University of Cologne and University of Cape Town

	language documentation			
Tom Güldemann	Language documentation, description, typology and syntax	1997 to date	South Africa, Namibia and Botswana	Humboldt University, Germany
Akira Takada	Anthropological linguistics	1998 to date	Botswana and Namibia	Kyoto University, Japan
Bernd Heine	Grammaticalisation and orthography development, Dictionary of north-western !Xun	2000 to date	Namibia	University of Cologne, Germany.
Christa König	Grammaticalisation and orthography development, Dictionary of north-western !Xun	2000 to date	Namibia	University of Frankfurt Germany.
Chris Collins	Syntax	2001 to date	Namibia and Botswana	New York University, the United States of America
Amanda Miller	Phonetics and phonology	2009 to date	Namibia	The Ohio State University
Bonny Sands	Phonetics and phonology	2009 to date	Namibia	Northern Arizona University
Florian Lionnet	Language description and documentation, phonetics and historical linguistics	2009 to date	Namibia	University of California, Berkley

Appendix 3: Chronological list of research done on Khwedam in linguistics, the specific field of contribution, time dedicated in the field, origin of data collected and country of origin/employment

Researcher	Field of linguistics	Time in the field	Origin of data collected	Country of origin or employment
Oswin Kohler	Ethnolinguistics, language documentation, anthropological linguistics	1955-1996	Namibia	University of Cologne, Germany
Ernst Westphal	Language documentation and historical linguistics	1962-1984	Namibia and Botswana	University of Cape Town, South Africa
Rainer Vossen	Linguistic typology, dialectology and historical linguistics	1984 to date	Namibia	Goethe University, Frankfurt, Austria
Edward D. Elderkin	Language documentation, description, typology and syntax	1986 to date	Namibia	University of Namibia
Matthias Brenzinger	Ethnolinguistics, language documentation, anthropological linguistics	1996 to date	Namibia	University of Cologne, Germany and University of Cape Town, South Africa
Christa König	Grammaticalisation and description	1997 to date	Namibia	University of Frankfurt, Germany.
Christa Kilian-Hatz	Ethnolinguistics, language documentation, anthropological linguistics	1997 to date	Namibia	Goethe University, Frankfurt, Austria
Mathias Schladt	Typology and grammaticalisation	1998-2012	Namibia	Worked privately
Bernd Heine	Grammaticalisation and description	1999 to date	Namibia	University of Cologne, Germany.
Gertrud Boden	Ethnolinguistics, language	2000 to date	Namibia	Goethe University, Frankfurt, Austria

	documentation, anthropological linguistics			
Tim Beckendorf	Bible translations	2005 to date	Botswana	Lutheran Bible Translators Inc.
Anne Maria Fehn	Documentary and historical linguistics	2010 to date	Namibia and Botswana	University of Cologne, Germany

Appendix 4

Information sheet, over 18

Project title: Bushman Whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality

Researchers	
Primary researcher	Supervisor
Kerry Jones	Heike Tappe
PhD Candidate, University of KwaZulu Natal	Linguistics Professor, University of KwaZulu Natal
Cell: 072 304 1474	Office number: 031 260 1131
Email: jonesleekerry@gmail.com	Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Ethics Administrative Officer at the University of KwaZulu Natal
Ms Phumelele Ximba
Office number: 031 260 3587
Email: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Project information: In this project the researcher, Kerry Jones is interested in working with !Xun and Khwe people to understand more about their different cultures and the languages that they speak, especially their mother tongues !Xun dthali and Khwedam.

Participants' cooperation: By participating in this project you will be asked many questions about your mother tongue and other languages that you might speak. This interview could take a few hours, so it can be broken up into smaller parts and does not need to be completed all in one day. A translator is available, if you would prefer to be interviewed in your mother tongue.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you will not be paid to participate in this project. Recordings of the interview may be done with a video camera or dictaphone for future reference. This information will be used to write the PhD thesis of Ms Kerry Jones, and will only be shared with others with your permission. Ms Jones will not be making money out of this project. This project is for educational purposes only.

All data collected will be archived and preserved as the nature of this information is of great importance culturally and linguistically to the heritage of South Africa.

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 5

Information sheet for parents and children

Project title: Bushman Whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality

Researchers	
Primary researcher	Supervisor
Kerry Jones	Heike Tappe
PhD Candidate, University of KwaZulu Natal	Linguistics Professor, University of KwaZulu Natal
Cell: 072 304 1474	Office number: 031 260 1131
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Ethics Administrative Officer at the University of KwaZulu Natal
Ms Phumelele Ximba
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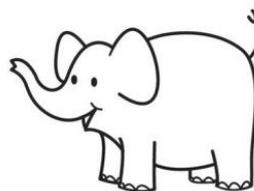
Project information: In this project the researcher, Kerry Jones is interested in working with !Xun and Khwe people to understand more about their different cultures and the languages that they speak, especially their mother tongues !Xun dthali and Khwedam.

Participants' cooperation: In this project your child will be asked many questions about their mother tongue and other languages that they might speak. This interview will be in the form of a game and will be coordinated by Kerry and her translator in !Xun or Khwe.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you or your child will not be paid to participate in this project. Recordings of the interview may be done with a video camera or dictaphone for future reference. This information will be used to write the PhD thesis of Ms Kerry Jones, and will only be shared with others with your permission. Kerry will not be making money out of this project. This project is for educational purposes only.

All data collected will be archived and preserved as the nature of this information is of great importance culturally and linguistically to the heritage of South Africa.

Thank you very much for your time.



Appendix 6

Short semi-structured interview schedule

Date: _____

Time: _____

Part 1 – Language Life Stories – Adults

Note: Discuss nature of research project, handover information sheet, discuss process of informed consent, have informed consent document signed before conducting interview.

Participant's details:

1. Name: _____
2. Surname: _____
3. Sex: Male Female
4. Mother tongue/s: _____
5. Date of Birth: _____ (Age) _____
6. Place of birth/origin: _____

Language Life Stories (to be digitally recorded, translated, transcribed and coded for analysis):

7. Who taught you your mother tongue/s?
8. Can you speak other languages?
(Potential languages that the participant may speak/understand)
9. Who taught you these languages?
10. Why did you learn these languages?
11. How old were you when you learnt these languages?
12. Are there other languages that you can understand a little but you don't speak?
(Answer on table in question 8.)
13. How did you come to know these languages? How old were you?
14. Did/do you go to school?
15. What languages did you use at school?
16. What was it like for you at school learning in those/those language/s?
17. Were you in the military, which languages did you learn in the military?
18. Were you in Namibia or Angola? Which languages did you speak when you were there?
19. When did you move to South Africa? Have you learnt any new languages since you moved to South Africa?
20. Which languages do you use today? (use table below to help capture data)

	Language variety	Speak	Understand	Additional notes
1.	!Xun			
2.	Khwe			
3.	English			
4.	Afrikaans			
5.	Tswana			
6.	Ju 'hoansi			
7.	Portuguese			
8.	Otjiherero			
9.	Mbukushu			
10.	Barakwena (Kwena)			
11.	Tswana			
12.	Chokwe			
13.	Kangela			
14.	Sotho			
15.	Luchasi			
16.	Xhosa			
17.	Zulu			
18.	Kimbundu			
19.	Kayundu			
20.	Kwanjama			
21.	Chiembutu			
22.	Mchavie			

Appendix 7

Short semi-structured interview schedule

Part 1 – Language Life Stories – children

Date: _____

Time: _____

Note: Discuss nature of research project, handover information sheet, discuss process of informed consent, have informed consent document signed before conducting interview.

Participant's details:

1. Name: _____
2. Surname: _____
3. Sex: Male Female
4. Mother tongue/s: _____
5. Date of Birth: _____ (Age) _____
6. Place of birth/origin: _____

Language Life Stories (to be digitally recorded, translated, transcribed and coded for analysis):

7. Who taught you your mother tongue/s?
8. Can you speak other languages?
(Potential languages that the participant may speak/understand)
9. Who taught you these languages?
10. Why did you learn these languages?
11. How old were you when you learnt these languages?
12. Are there other languages that you can understand a little but you don't speak?
(Answer on table in question 8.)
13. How did you come to know these languages? How old were you?
14. Did/do you go to school?
15. What languages did/do you use at school?
16. What was it like for you at school learning in those/those language/s?
17. Do you watch tv? Which programs do you like? Which is your favourite?
18. Do you like to listen to music? Who is your favourite singer/group?
19. Which languages do you use today? (use table below to help capture data)

	Language variety	Speak	Understand	Additional notes
1.	!Xun			
2.	Khwe			
3.	English			
4.	Afrikaans			
5.	Tswana			
6.	Ju 'hoansi			
7.	Portuguese			
8.	Otjiherero			
9.	Mbukushu			
10.	Barakwena (Kwena)			
11.	Tswana			
12.	Chokwe			
13.	Kangela			
14.	Sotho			
15.	Luchasi			
16.	Xhosa			
17.	Zulu			
18.	Kimbundu			
19.	Kayundu			
20.	Kwanjama			
21.	Chiembutu			
22.	Mchavie			

Appendix 8

Structured interview: Participants' opinions on daily usage and valuations of their mother tongue

Platfontein – Northern Cape – South Africa

Researcher: Ms. Kerry Jones

Section 1: Short participant biography (most data from part1 – Language Life Stories)			Section 2: Language repertoire (data from part1 – Language Life Stories)		
			Language variety	Speak	Understand
1	Mother tongue		1		
2	Sex		2		
3	Date of birth		3		
4	(Calculate age)		4		
5	Place of birth/origin:		5		
6	Name		6		
7	Surname		7		
8	Occupation		8		
9	Education level		9		
10	Language of instruction in education		10		
11	Date		11		
12	Time		12		
Additional information:			Additional information:		

Section 3: Participant's opinion of language use (Use response table below to help document responses over and above digitally recording them)	
Context	
1	Domain Domein: HOME TUISTE Action: EATING DINNER AANDETE Frequency: EVERY NIGHT ELKE AAND Do you eat dinner at home in the evening? Eet jy/u snags aandete by die huis? Who do you usually eat dinner with? Met wie eet jy gewoonlik aandete? What language/s do you use? Watter taal/e gebruik jy/u? Why? Hoekom?
2	Domain: SPORT AND RECREATION SPORT EN REKREASIE Action: WATCHING/PLAYING A SOCCER MATCH IN PLATFONTEIN KYK/SPEEL 'N SOKKER WEDSTRYD IN PLATFONTEIN Frequency Hoeveelheid: ____ Do you play soccer in Platfontein? OR Do you watch soccer in Platfontein? Speel jy/u sokker in Platfontein OF Kyk jy/u sokker in Platfontein? Who do you play soccer with? OR Who do you watch soccer with? Met wie speel jy/u sokker? OF Met wie kyk jy/u sokker? What language/s do you use when you play? OR What language/s do you use when you watch? Watter taal/e gebruik jy as jy speel? OF Watter taal/e gebruik jy as jy kyk? Why? Hoekom?
3	Domain: EDUCATION ONDERWYS Action: DURING A LESSON KLASSKAMER TYDENS N LES. Frequency Hoeveelheid: ____ Do you attend adult literacy classes or class at the !Xunkhwesa school? Woon jy/u 'n volwasse geletterdheid klas of klasse by die !Xunkhwesa skool by? Who teaches you? Wie is jou/u onderwyser? Who is in your class? Wie is in jou/u klas? During class which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u tydens 'n klas? Why? Hoekom?
4	Domain: WORK Action: DURING WORK ACTIVITIES WERK, TYDENS WERK AKTIWITEITE. Frequency: ____ Do you have a job? (Look at section 1. question 8. above about occupation) Het jy/u werk? Who do you talk to at work? Met wie praat jy by die werk? When you are at work which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u by die werk? Why? Hoekom?
5	Domain: TRADITIONAL RELIGION TRADISIONELE GELOOF Action: ATTENDING TRADITIONAL GATHERING BYWOON VAN TRADISIONELE BYEENKOMS Frequency: ____ Do you take part in traditional religious activities? Neem jy/u deel in tradisionele geloofsaktiwiteite? During these activities which language/s does the traditional leader use? Watter taal/e praat die leier tydens hierdie tradisionele aktiwiteite? During these activities which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e gebruik jy/u tydens hierdie aktiwiteite? Why? Hoekom?
6	Domain: RELIGION GELOOF Action: ATTENDING CHURCH KERK BYWOON Frequency: ____ Do you go to church? Gaan jy/u kerk toe? During the sermon which language does the pastor/speaker use? Watter taal/e praat die Dominee tydens die preek? At church which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u by die kerk?

	Why? Hoekom?
7	Domain: MEDIA MEDIA Action: WATCHING TV AS JY/U TV KYK Frequency: _____ Do you watch TV? Kyk jy/u tv? What programs do you like to watch on TV? Watse programme kyk jy op tv? What language/s are these programs in? In watter taal/e word kom die programme voor? Why do you like these programs? Hoekom hou jy/u van die programme?
8	Domain: MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS MEDIAKOMUNIKASIE Action: PHONE CALL TELEFOONOPROEP Frequency: ____ Do you use a telephone or cellphone? Gebruik jy/u 'n landlyn telefoon of selfoon? Who do you usually phone? Wie bel jy gewoonlik? What do you talk about? Waaroor praat julle? How long do you usually talk on the phone for? Hoe lank praat julle gewoonlik? When you make a phone call which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e gebruik jy as jy vir iemand bel? Why? Hoekom?
9	Domain: MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS MEDIAKOMUNIKASIE Action: SMS/BBM/WHATSAPP SMS/BBM/WHATSAPP Frequency: _____ Do you use a cellphone? Gebruik jy 'n selfoon? Do you send sms or use instant messages? Stuur jy sms/bbm/whatsapp? Who do you message? Vir wie stuur jy boodskappe? What do you message about? Waaroor praat julle in die boodskappe? How many sms/instant messages do you send a day? Hoeveel sms/bbm/whatsapp stuur jy elke dag? Which language/s do you use when you sms or instant message? Watter taal/e gebruik jy as jy sms/bbm/whatsapp? Why? Hoekom?
10	Domain: MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS MEDIAKOMUNIKASIE Action: EMAIL EPOS HOEVEELHEID Frequency: _____ Do you know how to send an email? Weet jy/u hoe om 'n epos te stuur? Do you use a computer or a phone to send an email? Gebruik jy/u n selfoon of rekenaar om epos te stuur? Who do you send emails to? Vir wie stuur jy/u eposse? What are they usually about? Waaroor gaan die eposse gewoonlik? How many emails do you send a day? Hoeveel eposse stuur jy/u elke dag? Which language/s do you use? Watter taal gebruik jy/u in die eposse? Why? Hoekom?
11	Domain: MEDIA MEDIA Action: RADIO RADIO Frequency: _____ Do you listen to the radio? Luister jy/u na die radio? Which radio station/s do you listen to? Na watter stasie/s luister jy? How often do you listen to the radio? Hoe dikwels luister jy/u na die radio? What kind of things do you like to listen to on the radio, e.g. news, music, storytelling, interviews? Waarvan hou jy/u om op die radio te luister? , e.g. nuus, musiek, stories, onderhoude?) Why? Hoekom? Which language/s are these things aired? In watter taal/e word hierdie programme uitgesaai?
12	Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE SOSIAAL IN DIE DORP Action: VISITING FRIENDS IN PLATFONTEIN AS JY/U MET VRIENDE KUIER IN PLATFONTEIN Frequency: _____

	<p>Do you visit friends in Platfontein? Kuier jy met vriende in Platfontein? How often do you visit friends in Platfontein? Hoe gereeld kuier jy met vriende in Platfontein? When you visit your friends in Platfontien at their house, which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e praat jy as jy/u by jou vriende se huise in Platfontein gaan kuier? Why? Hoekom?</p>
13	<p>Domain: SOCIAL OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE SOSIAAL BUIITE DIE DORP Action: VISITING FRIENDS OUTSIDE OF PLATFONTEIN AS JY MET VRIENDE BUIITE PLATFONTEIN GAAN KUIER Frequency: _____ Do you visit friends outside of Platfontien? Kuier jy met vriende buite Platfontein? Where do they live? Waar woon hulle? How often do you visit friends outside of Platfontien? Hoe gereeld kuier jy met vriende buite Platfontein? What language/s do you use when you visit them? Watter taal/e praat jy as jy met daardie vriende kuier? Why? Hoekom?</p>
14	<p>Domain: CHORES TAKE Action: COLLECTING FIRE WOOD AS JY VUURHOUT VERSAMEL Frequency: _____ Do you collect firewood? Versamel jy vuurhout? Do you collect firewood with your family or friends or do you do this on your own? Versamel jy alleen vuurhout of saammet familie of vriende? How often do you collect wood? Hoe gereeld versamel jy vuurhout? When you are collecting wood with your family/friends, which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e praat jy as met familie/vriende hout versamel? Why? Hoekom?</p>
15	<p>Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: SHOPPING INKOPIES IN PLATFONTEIN Frequency: _____ Do you go to the shops in Platfontein? Doen jy/u jou inkopies in Platfontein se winkels? Which shops do you go to? Na watter winkels gaan jy vir jou/u inkopies? How often do you go to the shops? How dikwels gaan jy winkels toe? Which language/s do you use when you need to buy something from the shop? Watter taal praat jy/u as jy/u jou inkopies doen? Why? Hoekom?</p>
16	<p>Domain: SOCIAL OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE Action: SHOPPING INKOPIES BUIITE PLATFONTEIN Frequency: _____ Do you go to the shops outside Platfontein (e.g. Kimberley or Galeshwe)? Doen jy/u ooit jou inkopies buite Platfontein? Which shops do you go to? Na watter winkels gaan jy/u? How often do you go to those shops? Hoe gereeld sal jy/u na daai winkels toe gaan? When you go to the shop/s outside of Platfontien which language/s do you use? Watter taal praat jy/u as jy/u na die winkels buite Platfontein toe gaan? Why? Hoekom?</p>
17	<p>Domain: SOCIAL OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE Action: GOING TO KIMBERLEY AS JY/U KIMBERLEY TOE GAAN Frequency: _____ Do you go to Kimberley? Gaan jy/u Kimberley toe? What do you go to Kimberley for? Waaroor gaan jy/u Kimberley toe? How often do you go to Kimberley? Hoe gereeld gaan jy/u Kimberley toe? When you go to Kimberley, which language/s do you use in Kimberley? Watter taal gebruik jy/u as jy/u in Kimberley is? Why? Hoekom?</p>
18	<p>Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: TRADITIONAL DANCING TRADISIONELE DAANS Frequency: _____ Do you do/watch traditional dancing? Doen jy/u/ kyk jy/u tradisionele danse?</p>

	<p>How often to you do/watch traditional dancing? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u /kyk jy/u tradisionele danse? Who do you do/watch traditional dancing with? Met wie doen jy/u /kyk ju/u tradisionele danse? When you do traditional dancing which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u tradisinele danse doen/kyk? Why? Hoekom?</p>
19	<p>Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: STORYTELLING VERHALE Frequency: _____ Do you tell/listen to traditional stories? Vertel jy/u of luister jy na tradisionele verhale? How often do you listen/tell traditional stories? Hoe gereeld luister jy/u of vertel jy/u tradisionele verhale? Who do you tell the stories to? OR Who tells the stories? Vir wie vertel jy die verhale? OF Wie vertel die verhale? When you tell/listen to traditional stories which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e gebruik jy/u as jy/u tradisionele verhale vertel of na luister? Why? Hoekom?</p>
20	<p>Domain: SPORT Action: NETBALL NETBAL Frequency: _____ Do you play netball? Speel jy/u netball? How often do you play netball? Hoe gereeld speel jy/u netball? Who do you play netball with? Met wie speel jy/u netball? When you play netball which language/s do you speak? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u netball speel? Why? Hoekom?</p>
21	<p>Domain: CHORES TAKE Action: CRAFTS HANDWERK Frequency: _____ Do you make jewellery/dance outfits/knives/bows/paint? Maak jy/u juweliersware/daansklere/messe/boe of verf? How often do you do this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit? Who do you do this with? Saammet wie doen jy/u dit? When you do this, which language do you use? Watter taal gebruik jy as jy dit doen? Why? Hoekom?</p>
22	<p>Domain: CHORES Action: WASHING CLOTHES KLEREWAS Frequency: _____ Do you wash your own clothes? Was jy/u jou eie klere? How often do you wash your clothes? Hoe gereeld was jy/u jou klere? Who do you wash your clothes with? Met wie was jy/u jou klere? When you do the washing with your friends or family what language/s do you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u met jou vriende/familie klere was? Why? Hoekom?</p>
23	<p>Domain: CHORES Action: ANIMALS DIERE Frequency: _____ Do you have to look after any animals? Sorg jy vir enige diere? How often do you have to look after them? Hoe gereeld sorg jy vir die diere? When you look after the animals what language/s do use? Watter taal/e praat jy as jy vir die diere sorg? Why? Hoekom?</p>
24	<p>Domain: MEDIA Action: MUSIC MUSIEK Frequency: _____ Do you listen to music? Luister jy/u na musiek? What music do you like? Watter sorot musiek hou jy/u van? How often do you listen to music? Hoe gereeld luister jy/u na musiek? Who are your favourite singers? Wie is jou gunsteling sangers? What language/s do they sing in? In watter taal/e sing hulle?</p>

	Why do you like their music? Hoekom hou jy van hul musiek?
25	Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: SHABEEN SHABEEN Frequency: _____ Do you go to a bar or shebeen? Kuier jy/u by n kroeg of by n shabeen? How often do you go? Hoe gereeld gaan jy/u? What do you like to do at the bar or shabeen? Wat doen jy/u by die kroeg of shabeen? Who do you talk to at the bar or shabeen? Met wie praat jy/u by die kroeg of shabeen? When you go to the bar which language/s do you speak to your friends? Watter taal praat jy/u met jou vriende as jy/u kroeg of shabeen toe gaan? Why? Hoekom?
26	Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: LIBRARY BIBLIOTEEK Frequency: _____ Do you go to the local library? Gaan jy/u na die plaaslike biblioteek? How often do you go to the local library? Hoe gereeld gaan jy/u na die plasslike biblioteek? Who do you talk to at the library? Met wie praat jy/u by die biblioteek? When you are at the library which language/s do you speak? Watter taal praat jy/u as jy by die biblioteek is? Why? Hoekom?
27	Domain: MEDIA Action: READING LEES Frequency: _____ Can you read? Kan jy/u lees? What do you like to read? Waarvan hou jy/u om te lees? How often do you read? Hoe gereeld lees jy/u? How much time do you spend reading? Hoeveel tyd spandeer jy/u aan lees? Which language/s can you read in? Watter taal/e kan jy/u lees? Which language can you read the best? Watter taal kan jy/u die beste lees? Why? Hoekom?
28	Domain: COGNITION Action: COUNTING TEL Frequency: _____ Do you count things quietly in your head? (e.g., money or animals) Tel jy/u in jou kop? (e.g. geld of diere) How often do you do this? Hoe gereeld tel jy/u in jou kop? When you do this which language do you use? Watter taal gebruik jy/u as jy/u dit doen? Why? Hoekom?
29	Domain: COGNITION Action: DREAMING DROOM Frequency: _____ Do you remember when you dream? Onthou jy/u wanneer jy droom? How often do you remember your dreams? Hoe gereeld onthou jy/u jou drome? When you have a dream which language do you dream in? In watter taal droom jy/u? Why? Hoekom?
30	Domain: COGNITION Action: PLANNING BEPLANNING Frequency: _____ Do you plan about what you are going to do the next day? Beplan jy/u wat jy doe volgende dag gaan doen? How often do you do this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit? Which language/s do you do this in? In watter taal/e doen jy/u dit? Why? Hoekom?
31	Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: SHOUTING AT SOMEBODY BECAUSE YOU ARE ANGRY AS JY OP IEMAND SKREE OMDAT JY KWAAD IS. Frequency: _____

	<p>Have you had something stolen from you or maybe someone has made you angry? Het iemand al ooit van jou af gesteel of kwaad gemaak?</p> <p>How often do you think this happens? Hoe gereeld gebeur dit?</p> <p>If you are shouting at somebody and you are angry which language do you shout at them in? In watter taal skree jy/u op iemand as jy/u vir hulle kwaad is? Why? Hoekom?</p>
32	<p>Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: PRAISING SOMEBODY AS JY/U IEMAND KOMPLIMENTEER Frequency: _ Has someone done something for you to make you happy? Het iemand al ooit iets vir jou gedoen wat jou gelukking gemaak het?</p> <p>How often does this happen? Hoe gereeld gebeur dit?</p> <p>If you want to tell them how happy you are, which language do you use? Watter taal praat jy/u as jy vir iemand wil se hoe gelukking jy/u is? Why? Hoekom?</p>
33	<p>Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: SINGING TO A BABY AS JY/U VIR N BABA SING Frequency: _____ Have you sung to a baby before? Het jy/u al ooit vir a baba gesing?</p> <p>How often have you done this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit?</p> <p>If you are singing a song to a baby or talking to a small baby which language/s do you use? In watter taal/e sing of praat jy met 'n babatjie? Why? Hoekom?</p>
34	<p>Domain: CHORES Action: WEDDING PREPARATION VOORBEREIDING VIR N TROUE Frequency: _____</p> <p>Have you ever had to prepare for a wedding? Het jy/u al ooit vir n troue voorberei?</p> <p>What did you have to do? Wat moes jy/u doen?</p> <p>Who do you have to communicate with when you prepare for the wedding? Met wie moet jy/u kommunikeer as jy/u vir die trou voorberei?</p> <p>When you are preparing for a wedding which language/s do you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u vir n troue voorberei?</p> <p>How many times have you prepared for a wedding? Hoeveel keer het jy vir a voorberei beplan?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
35	<p>Domain: HOME Action: TALKING TO GRANDMOTHER AS JY/U MET JOU OUMA PRAAT Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do/did you talk to your grandmother at home? Praat jy/u met jou ouma by die huis?/Het jy met jou/u ouma by die huis gepraat?</p> <p>How often did you do this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit?/ Hoe gereeld het jy dit gedoen?</p> <p>When you talk/ed to your grandmother at home about what you did yesterday, what language do/did you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u met jou ouma by die huis praat oor wat jy/u gister gedoen het?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
36	<p>Domain: HOME Action: TALKING TO GRANDFATHER AS JY/U MET JOU OUPA PRAAT Frequency: _____ Do/did you talk to your grandfather at home? Praat jy/u met jou oupa by die huis?/ Het jy met jou/u oupa by die huis gepraat?</p> <p>How often did you do this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit?/ Hoe gereeld het jy dit gedoen?</p> <p>When you talk/ed to your grandfather at home about what you did yesterday, what language do/did you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u met jou oupa by die huis praat oor wat jy/u gister gedoen het?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
37	<p>Domain: HOME Action: TALKING TO FATHER AS JY/U MET JOU PA PRAAT Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do/did you talk to your father at home? Praat jy/u met jou pa by die huis?/ Het jy met jou/u pa by die huis gepraat?</p> <p>How often did you do this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit?/ Hoe gereeld het jy dit gedoen?</p> <p>When you talk/ed to your father at home about what you did yesterday, what language do/did you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u met jou pa by die huis praat oor wat jy/u gister gedoen het?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>

38	<p>Domain: HOME Action: TALKING TO MOTHER AS JY/U MET JOU MA PRAAT Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do/did you talk to your mother at home? Praat jy/u met jou ma by die huis?/ Het jy met jou/u ma by die huis gepraat?</p> <p>How often did you do this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit?/ Hoe gereeld het jy dit gedoen?</p> <p>When you talk/ed to your mother at home about what you did yesterday, what language do/did you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u met jou ma by die huis praat oor wat jy/u gister gedoen het?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
39	<p>Domain: HOME Action: TALKING TO BROTHER AS JY/U MET JOU BROER PRAAT Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do you have a brother? Het jy/u n broer?</p> <p>Do/did you talk to your brother at home? Praat jy/u met jou broer by die huis?/ Het jy met jou/u broer by die huis gepraat?</p> <p>How often did you do this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit?/ Hoe gereeld het jy dit gedoen?</p> <p>When you talk/ed to your brother at home about what you did yesterday, what language do/did you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u met jou broer by die huis praat oor wat jy/u gister gedoen het?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
40	<p>Domain: HOME Action: TALKING TO SISTER AS JY/U MET JOU SUSTER PRAAT Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do you have a sister? Het jy/u n suster?</p> <p>Do/did you talk to your sister at home? Praat jy/u met jou suster by die huis?/ Het jy met jou/u suster by die huis gepraat?</p> <p>How often did you do this? Hoe gereeld doen jy/u dit?/ Hoe gereeld het jy dit gedoen?</p> <p>When you talk/ed to your sister at home about what you did yesterday, what language do/did you use? Watter taal/e praat jy/u as jy/u met jou suster by die huis praat oor wat jy/u gister gedoen het?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
41	<p>Domain: SOCIAL IN THE VILLAGE Action: ATTENDING A LOCAL MEETING AS JY/U N PLAASLIKE VERGADERING BYWOON Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do you attend local meetings in Platfontein? Woon jy/u plaaslike vergaderings in Platfontein by?</p> <p>What are these meetings about? Waarvoor gaan hierdie verharderings?</p> <p>Who goes to the meetings? Wie woon die verharderings by?</p> <p>How often do you attend these community meetings? Hoe gereeld woon jy/u die verharderings by?</p> <p>Which language/s do you use in the community meetings? Watter taal/e praat julle by die verharderings?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
42	<p>Domain: USE OF GOVERNMENT FACILITIES GEBRUIK VAN PLAASLIKE FASILITEITE Action: VISIT TO THE CLINIC BY DIE KLINIEK Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do you go to the clinic in Platfontein? Gaan jy/u na die Platfontein kliniek toe?</p> <p>What do you go there for? Waarvoor gaan jy/u soontoe?</p> <p>How often do you go there? Hoe gereeld gaan jy/u soontoe?</p> <p>Do you see a doctor or a nurse? Sien jy/u n dokter of n suster?</p> <p>Which language/s do you use when you are at the clinic? Watter taal praat jy/u as jy/u by die kliniek is?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
43	<p>Domain: USE OF GOVERNMENT FACILITIES Action: VISIT TO THE HOSPITAL BY DIE HOSPITAAL Frequency: _____ Do you go to the Kimberley hospital? Gaan jy/u na die Kimberley hospitaal toe?</p> <p>What do you go there for? Waarvoor gaan jy/u soontoe?</p>

	<p>How many times have you been there? Hoeveel keer was jy/u al daar?</p> <p>Do you see a doctor or a nurse? Sien jy/u n dokter of n suster?</p> <p>Which language/s do you use when you are at the hospital? Watter taal praat jy/u as jy/u by die Kimberley hospitaal is?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
44	<p>Domain: USE OF GOVERNMENT FACILITIES Action: VISIT TO THE COLLECTIONS OFFICE GEBRUIK VAN STAATSFASILITEITE/BY DIE TOELAAGSKANTOOR (grant) Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do you go to the Platfontein collections office? Gaan jy/u na die Platfontein se staatsfasiliteite/toelaagskantoor?</p> <p>What do you go there for? Waarvoor gaan jy?</p> <p>How often do you go? Hoe gereeld gaan jy?</p> <p>Who do you have to speak with to get your pay? Met wie moet jy praat om jou geld te kry?</p> <p>Which language/s do you use when you are at the collections office? Watter taal praat jy by die staatsfasiliteite/toelaagskantoor?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
45	<p>Domain: MEDIA Action: USING FACEBOOK AS JY/U FACEBOOK GEBRUIK Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do you have a Facebook account? Het jy/u n Facebook rekening?</p> <p>How often do you check your Facebook profile? Hoe gereeld kyk jy/u na jou Facebook profiel?</p> <p>What do you like to do on Facebook? Wat doen jy/u op Facebook?</p> <p>When you make comments on Facebook which language/s do you use? In watter taal maak jy/u 'comments' op Facebook?</p> <p>Why? Hoekom?</p>
46	<p>Domain: Entertainment (?) VERMAAK Action: SINGING SING Frequency: _____</p> <p>Do you like to sing? Hou jy/u daarvan om te sing?</p> <p>How often do you sing? Hoe gereeld sing jy?</p> <p>What is your favourite song to sing? Wat is jou gunsteling liedjie om te sing?</p> <p>Which language is that song in? In watter taal is daardie liedjie?</p> <p>Why do you like that song? Hoekom hou jy/u van daardie liedjie?</p>

Appendix 9

Structured interview:

Participants' feelings towards the languages in their language repertoire

Section 4: Participant's opinion about their mother tongue						
Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Notes
General						
1	I like the Khwe/!Xun language Ek hou van die Khwe/!Xun taal					
2	I think it is important for me to know Khwe/!Xun Ek dink dit is belangrik vir my om van Khwe/!Xun te weet					
3	I think it is important that my children can speak Khwe/!Xun Ek dink dit is belangrik dat my kinders Khwe/!Xun kan praat					
4	I am happy if my children can only speak Afrikaans and English and NOT Khwe/!Xun Ek sal tevrede wees as my kinders net Afrikaans en Engels kan praat en NIE Khwe/!Xun nie					
5	I would be upset if there were no more speakers of !Xun/Khwe Ek sal teleurgesteld wees as daar geen mense is wat !Xun/Khwe kan praat nie					

Text						
6	Can you read or write in !Xun/Khwe? Kan jy !Xun/Khwe lees of skryf?	YES Ja			NO Nee	
7	Would you be happy to know how to read and write in !Xun/Khwe? Jy sal bly wees as jy in !Xun/Khwe kon skryf en lees					
8	You would be happy if your children could read and write in !Xun/Khwe Jy sal bly wees as jou kinders in !Xun/Khwe kon skryf en lees					
9	You would be happy if your children had books in !Xun/Khwe Jy sal bly wees as jou kinders boeke het wat in !Xun/Khwe geskryf is					
10	You would be happy to read books in !Xun/Khwe to your children Jy sal bly wees om vir jou kinders boeke te lees wat in !Xun/Khwe geskryf is					
Education						
11	You are happy that your children learn in Khwe/!Xun in school Jy sal bly wees as jou kinders in skool in !Xun/Khwe leer					
12	You are happy if the teacher at school speaks to the children in !Xun/Khwe Jy sal bly wees as die onderwysers by die skool met jou kinders in !Xun/Khwe praat					
13	If your children go to school and learn in !Xun/Khwe they will be able to get jobs Jou kinders sal werk kry as hulle net in !Xun/Khwe hul opleiding ontvang					
Work						

14	You can get a good job if you can only speak !Xun/Khwe Jy kan goeie werk kry as jy net !Xun/Khwe praat						
15	You can get a good job if you can speak Afrikaans Jy kan goeie werk kry as jy net Afrikaans praat						
16	You can get a good job if you can speak English Jy kan goeie werk kry as jy net Engels praat						
Sport							
17	It is important to speak !Xun/Khwe when you are playing soccer/netball Dit is belangrik om !Xun/Khwe te praat as jy sokker/netbal speel						
18	You can still play soccer/netball if you can only speak Afrikaans Jy kan nogsteeds sokker/netbal speel as jy net Afrikaans kan praat						
19	It is best to speak !Xun/Khwe if you are playing soccer/netball with your friends Is dit verkieslik om !Xun/Khwe te praat as jy met jou vriende sokker/netbal speel?						
Social							
20	It is good to sing in !Xun/Khwe Dit is goed om in !Xun/Khwe te sing						
21	It is good to sing in Afrikaans Dit is goed om in Afrikaans te sing						
22	It is good to sing in _____						

	Dit is goed om in _____ te sing						
23	It is bad to speak Afrikaans when you visit your friends Dit is sleg om Afrikaans te praat as jy met jou vriende kuier						
Media							
24	It important that you can listen to the radio in Khwe/!Xun Dit is belangrik om in !Xun/Khwe radio te luister						
25	You would like to watch TV in Khwe/!Xun Sal jy graag TV in Khwe/!Xun wil kyk						
26	It would be good to have a Khwe/!Xun newspaper Dit sal goed wees om 'n !Xun/Khwe koerant te hé						
Telecommunication Technology							
27	You like to go on Facebook and chat to your friends in !Xun/Khwe Jy hou daarvan om op Facebook met jou vriende in !Xun/Khwe te gesels						
28	You like to go on Facebook and chat to your friends in Afrikaans Jy hou daarvan om op Facebook met jou vriende in Afrikaans te gesels						
29	You like to write messages in !Xun/Khwe on your friend's Facebook pages Jy hou daarvan om op jou vriende se Facebook bladsye in !Xun/Khwe boodskappe te skryf						
30	You like to write messages in Afrikaans on your friend's Facebook pages						

	Jy hou daarvan om op jou vriende se Facebook bladsye in Afrikaans boodskappe te skryf						
31	You like to email your friends in !Xun/Khwe Jy hou daarvan om jou vriende in !Xun/Khwe te epos						
32	You like to email your friends in Afrikaans Jy hou daarvan om jou vriende in Afrikaans te epos						
33	You like to sms your friends in !Xun/Khwe Jy hou daarvan om jou vriende in !Xun/Khwe te sms						
34	You like to sms your friends in Afrikaans Jy hou daarvan om jou vriende in Afrikaans te sms						
35	You like to talk in !Xun/Khwe on the telephone Jy hou daarvan om in !Xun/Khwe op die telefoon te praat						
36	You like to talk in Afrikaans on the telephone Jy hou daarvan in Afrikaans op die telefoon te praat						
Home							
37	It is good to speak !Xun/Khwe at home Dit is goed om !Xun/Khwe by die huis te praat						
38	It is good to speak Afrikaans at home Dit is goed om Afrikaans by die huis te praat						
39	It is good to speak English at home						

	Dit is goed om Engels by die huis te praat						
40	It is good to speak _____ at home Dit is goed om _____ by die huis te praat						
41	It is good to speak _____ at home Dit is goed om _____ by die huis te praat						
42	It is good to speak _____ as home Dit is goed om _____ by die huis te praat						
Chores							
43	You like to speak !Xun/Khwe when collecting firewood Jy verkies om in !Xun/Khwe te praat as jy vuurhout versamel						
44	You like to speak Afrikaans when collecting firewood Jy verkies om in Afrikaans te praat as jy vuurhout versamel						
45	You like to speak !Xun/Khwe when you are making a necklace/knife Jy verkies om in !Xun/Khwe te praat as jy 'n halsnoer/mes maak						
46	You like to speak Afrikaans when you are making a necklace/knife Jy verkies om in Afrikaans te praat as jy 'n halsnoer/mes maak						
Religion							
47	You like to go to a church where they speak !Xun/Khwe Jy verkies om na 'n !Xun/Khwe kerk toe te gaan						

48	You like to go to a church where they speak Afrikaans Jy verkies om na 'n Afrikaanse kerk toe te gaan						
49	You like to go to a church where they speak English Jy verkies om na 'n Engelse kerk toe te gaan						
Traditional practices							
50	You like to have a wedding ceremony in !Xun/Khwe Jy verkies 'n !Xun/Khwe troue						
51	You like to have a wedding ceremony in Afrikaans Jy verkies 'n Afrikaanse troue						
52	You like to have a funeral ceremony in !Xun/Khwe Jy verkies 'n !Xun/Khwe begrafnis						
53	You like to have a funeral ceremony in Afrikaans Jy verkies 'n Afrikaanse begrafnis						
54	You like story telling in !Xun/Khwe Jy verkies om in !Xun/Khwe stories te vertel						
55	You like story telling in Afrikaans Jy verkies om in Afrikaans stories te vertel						
Cognition							

56	You like to pray or talk to the ancestors in !Xun/Khwe Jy verkies om in !Xun/Khwe te bid of met jou voorvaders te praat						
57	You can pray or talk to the ancestors in another language and they will understand you Jou voorvaders sal vir jou verstaan as jy met hulle in 'n verskillende taal praat						
58	You cannot communicate to the ancestors if you cannot speak !Xun/Khwe Jy kan nogsteeds met jou voorvaders kommunikeer as jy nie !Xun/Khwe kan praat nie						
59	You can count something quicker in your head in !Xun/Khwe rather than Afrikaans Jy kan vinniger in jou kop tel as jy in !Xun/Khwe tel, eerder in Afrikaans						
Platfontein							
60	You prefer to speak !Xun/Khwe when you are in Platfontein Jy verkies om in Platfontein !Xun/Khwe te praat						
61	You prefer to speak Afrikaans when you are in Platfontein Jy verkies om in Platfontein Afrikaans te praat						
62	You prefer to speak English when you are in Platfontein Jy verkies om in Platfontein Engels te praat						
63	You prefer to speak _____ when you are in Platfontein Jy verkies om in Platfontein _____ te praat						
64	You prefer to speak _____ when you are in Platfontein						

	Jy verkies om in Platfontein_____ te praat						
Kimberley							
65	You prefer to speak !Xun/Khwe when you are in Kimberley Jy verkies om in Kimberley !Xun/Khwe te praat						
66	You prefer to speak Afrikaans when you are in Kimberley Jy verkies om in Kimberley Afrikaans te praat						
67	You prefer to speak English when you are in Kimberley Jy verkies om in Kimberley Engels te praat						
68	You prefer to speak _____ in Kimberley Jy verkies om in Kimberley_____ te praat						
69	You prefer to speak _____ in Kimberley Jy verkies om in Kimberley_____ te praat						
70	You prefer to speak _____ in Kimberley Jy verkies om in Kimberley_____ te praat						

Section 5: Ideal use by insiders	
1	Do you think that all !Xun/Khwe people should be able to speak !Xun/Khwe? Why/why not? Dink jy dat al !Xun/Khwe mense, !Xun/Khwe moet praat? Hoekom?/Hoekom nie?
2	Would you say a person is still !Xun/Khwe even if they can't speak !Xun/Khwe? Why/why not? Sou jy se iemand is nog !Xun/Khwe al kan hulle nie meer !Xun/Khwedam praat nie? Hoekom?/Hoekom nie?
3	Is !Xun/Khwe important? Is !Xun/Khwedam belangrik?
4	What is important about !Xun/Khwe? Wat is belangrik van !Xun/Khwedam?

5	Do you think !Xun/Khwe should be used: Dink jy !Xun/Khwe moet gebruik word:	Always Altyd 5	Most of the time Meeste van die tyd 4	Sometimes Soms 3	Very little Baie min 2	Never Nooit 1
	At home By die huis					
	At school By die skool					
	At work By die werk					
	At church By die kerk					
	When a person prays As n mens bid					
	In Platfontein In Platfontein					
	In Kimberley In Kimberley					
	On the radio Op die radio					
	In the newspaper In die korant					
	On the cellphone Oor die selfoon					
	On the computer Op die rekenaar					
	When story telling Wanneer storie vertel word					
	At a wedding By n troue					
	At a funeral By n begrafnis					
	When playing soccer Wanneer daar sokker gespeel word					
	When playing netball Wanneer daar netbal gespeel word					
	When playing the hand clapping game					

	Wanner daar n handeklapspeel gespeel word					
	When eating together with the family Wanneer daar met die familie geet word					
	At the shops in Platfontein By die winkels in Platfontein					
	At the clinic in Platfontein By die kliniek in Platfontein					
	When talking to friends Wanneer daar met vriende gepraat word					
	When talking to family Wanneer daar met familie gepraat word					
	When a person dreams As n mens droom					
	In books In boeke					

Section 6: Ideal use by outsiders

1	Do you think that it would be alright if Black people spoke !Xun/Khwe? Dink jy dit sal reg geweet as Swart mense !Xun/Khwedam praat?
2	Why/why not? Hoekom?/Hoekom nie?
3	Do you think that it would be alright if White people spoke !Xun/Khwe? Dink jy dit sal reg geweet as Wit mense !Xun/Khwedam praat?
4	Why/why not? Hoekom/hoekom nie?

5	Do you think that it would be alright if Coloured people spoke !Xun/Khwe? Dink jy dit sal reg geweet as Kleurlinge mense !Xun/Khwedam praat?
6	Why/why not? Hoekom? Hoekom nie?
7	Do you think that Indian people should speak !Xun/Khwe? Dink jy dit sal reg geweet as Indeërs mense !Xun/Khwedam praat?
8	Why/why not? Hoekom?/Hoekom nie?
9	Do you think that Nama speakers should speak !Xun/Khwe? Dink jy dit sal reg geweet as Nama mense !Xun/Khwedam praat?
10	Why/why not? Hoekom? Hoekom nie?

11	Do you think !Xun/Khwe should speak !Xun/Khwe? Dink jy dit sal reg geweet as !Xun/Khwe mense !Xun/Khwedam praat?					
12	Why/why not? Hoekom? Hoekom nie?					
13	Do you think !Xun/Khwe should be used by other people (outsiders) : Dink jy dat ander mense !Xun/Khwe moet praat:	All the time Altyd 5	Most of the time Meeste van die tyd 4	Sometimes Soms 3	Very little Baie min 2	Never Nooit 1
	At their home By hulle huis					
	At their school By hulle skool					
	At their work By hulle werk					
	At their church By hulle kerk					
	When they pray Wanneer hulle bid					
	In their village In hulle dorpie					
	In their town In hulle stad					
	On their radio Oor hulle radio					
	In their newspaper In hulle korant					
	On their cellphone Oor hulle selfoon					

	On their computer Op hulle rekenar					
	When they tell a story As hulle n storie vertel					
	At their wedding By hulle troue					
	At their funeral By hulle begrafnis					
	When they play soccer As hulle sokker speel					
	When they play netball As hulle netball speel					
	When they play the hand clapping game Wanneer hulle die handklapspeel speel					
	When they eat together with their family Wanneer hulle saam met hulle familie eet					
	At the shops in their village By die winkels in hulle dorpie					
	At their local clinic By hulle plaaslike kliniek					
	When they talk to their friends Wanneer hulle saam met hulle vriende praat					
	When they are talking with their family Wanneer hulle saam met hulle familie praat					
	When they are dreaming Wanneer hulle droom					
	In their books In hulle boeke					
END – THANK YOU						

Appendix 10

Ethical clearance from University of KwaZulu-Natal



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

Research Office (Govan Mbeki Centre)
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12 March 2012

Ms K L Jones (203508819)
School of Languages, Literature and Linguistics

Dear Ms Jones

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/1344/011D
PROJECT TITLE: Bushman whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality

EXPEDITED APPROVAL

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process:

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S. Collings', written over a dotted line.

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

cc Supervisor – Professor Heike Tappe
cc Mrs S van der Westhuizen

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Appendix 11

Informed consent for adults

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM OVER 18's

Bushman whispers – language attitude as a change agent for language vitality

I, (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I have read and understood the information provided by Kerry Jones relating to the study being conducted. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and I am satisfied with the responses provided.

- I am aware that I have the option of having the interview recorded
- I am aware that I may withdraw from participation at any time
- I understand that there is no remuneration for my participation

	YES	NO
I am over 18 years old and eligible to participate in this study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to participate in this study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to have my interview audio/video recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Linguistics Department

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001,
Durban, 4000, South Africa

Appendix 12

Informed consent for participants under the age of 18

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS

Bushman whispers – language attitude as a change agent for language vitality

I, (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I have understood the information provided by Kerry Jones relating to the study being conducted. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and I am satisfied with the responses provided.

- I am aware that I may withdraw my child from participation at any time
- I understand that there will be no payment received for my participation or my child's participation in this project

	YES	NO
I am the parent or legal guardian of the child mentioned	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to allow my child to participate in this study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to allow the interview to be audio/video recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

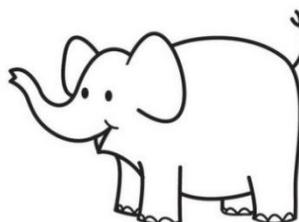
Parent's name: _____

Child's name: _____

Parent's signature _____ Date _____

Linguistics Department

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001,
Durban, 4000, South Africa



Appendix 13

Informed consent for observations of children at !Xunkhwesa School

Project title: Bushman Whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality

Researchers	
Primary researcher	Supervisor
Kerry Jones	Heike Tappe
PhD Candidate, University of KwaZulu-Natal	Linguistics Professor, University of KwaZulu-Natal
Cell: 072 304 1474	Office number: 031 260 1131
Email: jonesleekerry@gmail.com	Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Ethics Administrative Officer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal
Ms Phumelele Ximba
Office number: 031 260 3587
Email: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Project information: In this project the researcher and PhD candidate, Kerry Jones is interested in working with !Xun and Khwe people to understand more about their different cultures and the languages that they speak, especially their mother tongues !Xun and Khwe.

To contribute towards her study she would like to make some basic observations of language use at the !Xunkhwesa school for approximately 2 days.

Ethical clearance for this study has been granted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a research responsibility contract has been signed with the South African San Institute (SASI).

I _____ (name of headmaster or relevant teacher), give Kerry Jones permission to observe students that attend the !Xunkhwesa school for the purposes of her research.

Date: _____

Full name: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix 14

Informed consent for observations of children at !Xun Early Childhood Development (ECD) Centre

Project title: Bushman Whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality

Researchers	
Primary researcher	Supervisor
Kerry Jones	Heike Tappe
PhD Candidate, University of KwaZulu-Natal	Linguistics Professor, University of KwaZulu-Natal
Cell: 072 304 1474	Office number: 031 260 1131
Email: jonesleekerry@gmail.com	Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Ethics Administrative Officer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal
Ms Phumelele Ximba
Office number: 031 260 3587
Email: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Project information: In this project the researcher and PhD candidate, Kerry Jones is interested in working with !Xun and Khwe people to understand more about their different cultures and the languages that they speak, especially their mother tongues !Xun and Khwe.

To contribute towards her study she would like to make some basic observations of language use at the !Xun ECD for approximately 2 days.

Ethical clearance for this study has been granted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a research responsibility contract has been signed with the South African San Institute (SASI).

I _____ (name of headmaster or relevant teacher), give Kerry Jones permission to observe students that attend the !Xun ECD for the purposes of her research.

Date: _____

Full name: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix 15

Informed consent for observations of children at Khwe Early Childhood Development (ECD) Centre

Project title: Bushman Whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality

Researchers	
Primary researcher	Supervisor
Kerry Jones	Heike Tappe
PhD Candidate, University of KwaZulu-Natal	Linguistics Professor, University of KwaZulu-Natal
Cell: 072 304 1474	Office number: 031 260 1131
Email: jonesleekerry@gmail.com	Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Ethics Administrative Officer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal
Ms Phumelele Ximba
Office number: 031 260 3587
Email: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Project information: In this project the researcher and PhD candidate, Kerry Jones is interested in working with !Xun and Khwe people to understand more about their different cultures and the languages that they speak, especially their mother tongues !Xun and Khwe.

To contribute towards her study she would like to make some basic observations of language use at the Khwe ECD for approximately 2 days.

Ethical clearance for this study has been granted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a research responsibility contract has been signed with the South African San Institute (SASI).

I _____ (name of headmaster or relevant teacher), give Kerry Jones permission to observe students that attend the Khwe ECD for the purposes of her research.

Date: _____

Full name: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix 16



Media and Research Contract (general purpose) of the San of Southern Africa

Between

The San Organisation

South African San Institute-SASI
PO Box 366 Kimberley 8300
Cnr of Molyneaux and Aristotle Roads, Cassandra, Kimberley
Northern Cape Province
South Africa

Bank account:

SASI Heks, Account # 071310967, Branch Code: 050002, Type: Current, Swift Code: SBZA ZAJJ

And

Kerry Lee Jones

the Applicant for media or research with the San Organisation

Details: Request for permission to conduct research in Platfontein with the !Xun and Khwe people as part of a PhD thesis in Linguistics at the University of KwaZulu Natal.

In exchange for such an honour it is suggested that mother tongue materials in the form of a children's picture dictionary in !Xuntali and Khwedam be created by the researcher for the community. An example of this has been done by the researcher in conjunction with the Ju|'hoan Transcription Group (JTG) for the Ju|'hoansi speaking children of Tsumkwe, Namibia. A sample of which, will be ready in 2013.

THE PARTIES AGREE AND RECORD AS FOLLOWS:

1. THE PROJECT

The Applicant applies to the San for permission to carry out the following media or research project, which may be described more fully on the attached annexure, described briefly as follows:

Approved by the WIMSA Annual General Assembly on 28 November 2001.

The purpose of this contract is to ensure that all San intellectual property (including images, traditional knowledge, music and other heritage components as recorded in any medium) is controlled and protected. If envisaging a more complex project, the Applicant should hold further discussions with WIMSA.



Project name and details

Project name: *Bushman whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality.

(Please note: This is a working title and is subject to change. Notification to SASI of any such change will be duly communicated in writing.)

Details: This research contributes towards the completion of a PhD in Linguistics at the University of KwaZulu Natal. The aim of this research, is to document the language attitudes of !Xuntali and Khwedam speakers inter-generationally in Platfontein. It is hoped that with the information gathered for this thesis that detailed recommendations can be made for future language preservation initiatives for both !Xuntali and Khwedam.

2. UNDERTAKINGS BY THE APPLICANT

The Applicant undertakes as follows:

- 2.1 That the information provided and recorded herein is correct.
- 2.2 To respect the culture, dignity and wishes of the San throughout the project, and not to publish any facts or portrayals that might be harmful or detrimental to the San.
- 2.3 To provide the San with three copies of the final product or products, free of charge.
- 2.4 Not to utilise any of the materials commercially, or for any purpose not disclosed herein, save with the written permission of the San.

3. UNDERTAKINGS BY THE SAN ORGANISATION

The San Organisation undertakes to do the following:

- 3.1 To cooperate with the Applicant in every possible way regarding the successful completion of the project.

4. OWNERSHIP

Ownership of the material produced during the project, as well as of the final product, shall vest as follows:

Jointly with the Applicant, the San and the University of KwaZulu Natal

5. PAYMENT

The Contractor shall make payment to the San as follows:

Payment is not required for the collection of thesis data. However when it comes to the production of mother tongue education materials, key members of the Platfontein community will be hired at a negotiated rate that both parties are happy with, for roles such as; translation, illustration and work pertaining to the construction of mother tongue educational materials. (A separate contract can be created for this).

**Note: The term "Bushman" otherwise referred to as "Bushmen" is used in the title of this thesis despite being a politically contested term as the San people often refer to themselves as "Bushman" or "Bushmen". This is confirmed in the literature extensively by anthropologists, historians and sociologists. For example, scholars such as Berens, Guenther, Malberbe, and Smith, (2004: 6), Biesele and Hitchcock (2011: 8), Gordon (1992:6) and Watson (2005: 4) refer to the San throughout their publications as "Bushman" or "Bushmen".*

6. GENERAL

Any additions to this contract shall not be valid until duly signed by both parties.

It is agreed that the contract shall only be finally valid and of full legal force when formally approved by WIMSA as the San body authorised to protect the rights of the San peoples.

In the event of a dispute or a breach by either party, the aggrieved party shall provide immediate notice of such breach, and the parties shall attempt to resolve the issue informally. While the rights to resort to litigation remain reserved, the parties commit themselves to utmost good faith in the resolving of any disputes between them by negotiation or mediation.

Signed by the Applicant at University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban
on this 26th day of October
2012

Witnesses
1. BA Pennington
2. [Signature] Applicant

Signed by the San Organisation at Kimberley
on this 14th day of November
2012

Witnesses
1. [Signature]
2. _____ San Organisation

Signed and approved by the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)
WIMSA _____ Date _____

Additional Information Sheet

ANNEXURE TO MEDIA AND RESEARCH CONTRACT

Note: This form records the subject matter to be addressed by a company or individual wishing to engage in a media or research project with or involving the San. If the parties feel that the matter does not warrant the degree of detail specified here, they may agree to provide no more than the bare essentials.

1. APPLICANT / CONTRACTOR DETAILS

Organisation	University of KwaZulu Natal
Contact person	Kerry Jones
Full physical address	4 Hooker Road, Hatton Estates, Pinetown, 3610.
Postal address	4 Hooker Road, Hatton Estates, Pinetown, 3610.
Telephone # (add code)	031 701 8485
Cellphone #	072 304 1474
Email address	jonesleekerry@gmail.com

2. THE PROJECT

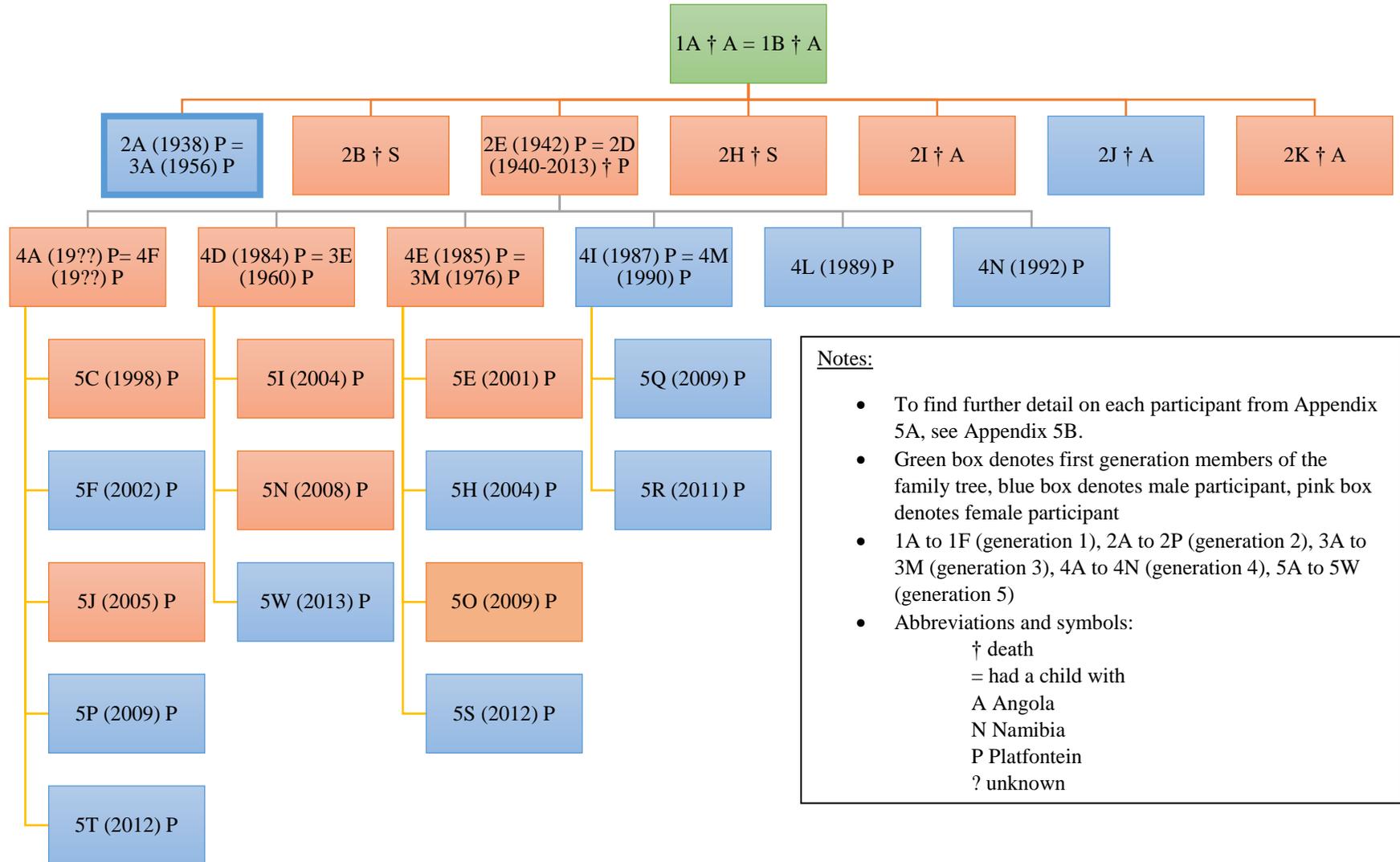
Project name or title	*Bushman whispers – Language attitude as a change agent for language vitality. (Please note: This is a working title and is subject to change. Notification to SASI of any such will be duly communicated in writing.)
Project description	Data collection pertaining to language attitudes of !Xuntali and Khwedam speakers in Platfontein. This data will be used for the purposes of a PhD thesis in Linguistics by the applicant.
Project details	Data collection to take place periodically in 2013 and 2014.

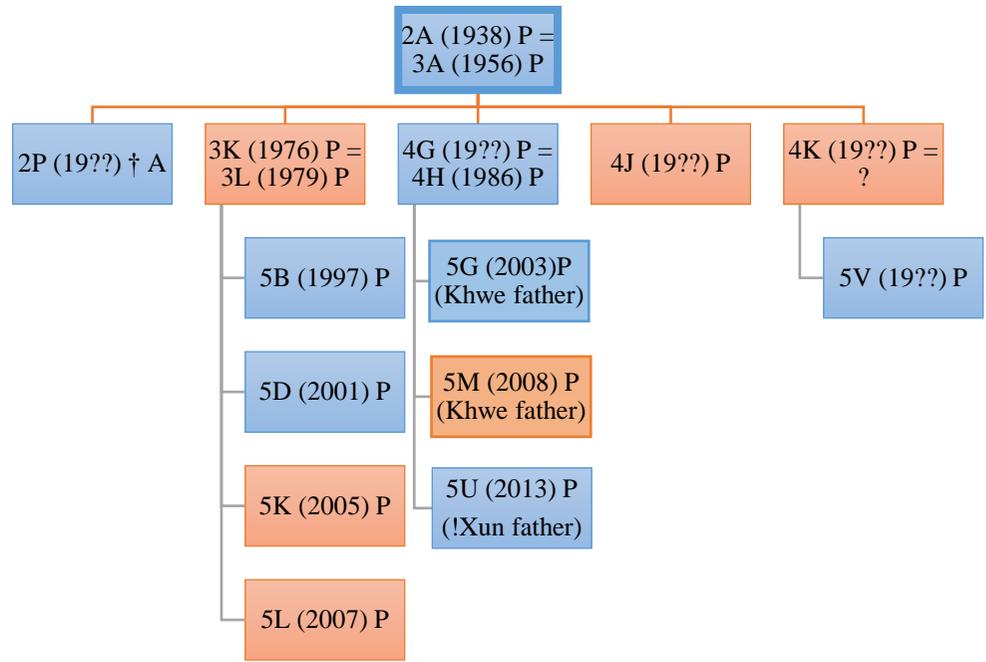
3. SENSITIVITY

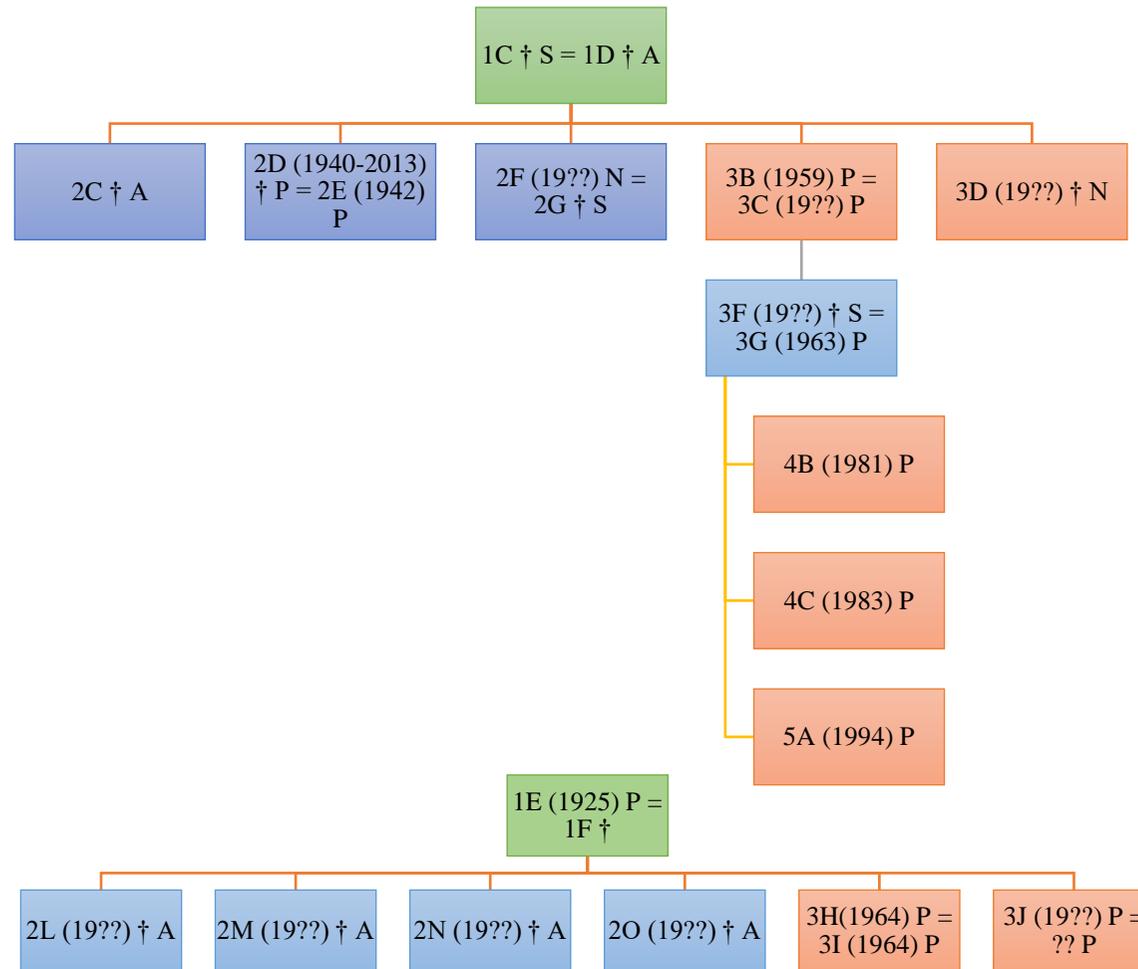
Does the media subject matter or research involve any intellectual property of a form that requires special protection (e.g. rituals, myths, performances, traditional plant or medical knowledge or secrets)?

Details	No. Research participants remain anonymous and any sensitive content will be forwarded to SASI.
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Appendix 17: !Xun family tree







Appendix 18: Description of !Xun family tree with language repertoire
summary

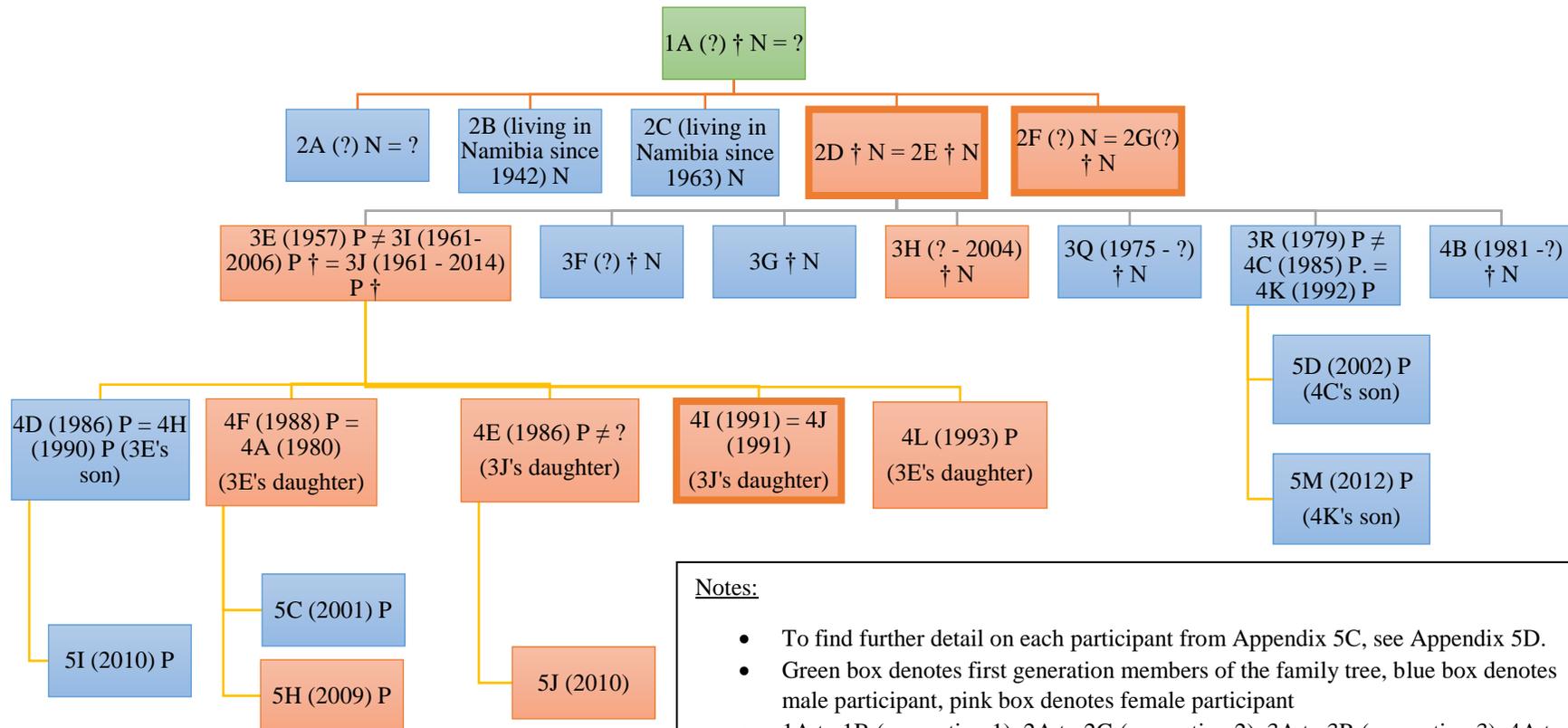
Description of !Xun family tree: 5 generations				
† = passed away				
	Male	Female	Year of birth	Current status and participation in study
1st generation	-	1A	unknown	† between Angola and Namibia during the war (South African boarder war 26 August 1966 – 21 March 1990)
(Unknown - 1925)	1B	-	unknown	† between Angola and Namibia during the war (South African boarder war 26 August 1966 – 21 March 1990)
	-	1C	unknown	† in Schmidtsdrift
	1D	-	unknown	† in Angola
		1E	1925 (however claims that there is a mistake in her ID book and that she is older than that)	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
		1F	unknown	†
2nd generation	2A	-	1938	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
(1929-1956)		2B	somewhere between 1938 and 1942	† in Schmidtsdrift
	2C	-	unknown	† in Angola
	2D	-	1940	† in Bloemfontein hospital in 2013 of cancer and was buried in Platfontein
	-	2E	1942	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
	2F	-	unknown	Last know location is Namibia, the family don't know if he is dead or alive.
	-	2G	unknown	† in Schmidtsdrift
	-	2H	unknown	† in Schmidtsdrift
	-	2I	unknown	† in Angola
	2J	-	unknown	† in Angola
	-	2K	unknown	† in Angola
	2L	-	unknown	† in Masaka Angola as a young child from sickness before reaching teen years
	2M	-	unknown	† in Masaka Angola as a young child from sickness before reaching teen years

	2N	-	unknown	† in Masaka Angola as a young child from sickness before reaching teen years
	2O	-	unknown	† in Masaka Angola as a young child from sickness before reaching teen years
	2P	-	unknown	† in Angola
3rd generation	-	3A	1957	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
(1957 – 1979)	-	3B	1959	Participated briefly but then was excluded due to alcohol abuse.
	3C	-	unknown	Lives in Platfontein. Excluded from study due to alcohol abuse
	-	3D	unknown	† in Namibia
	3E	-	1960	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
Angolan war of independence started: 1961- 1975				
	3F		Unknown	† in Schmidtsdrift
	-	3G	1963	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
	-	3H	1964	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
	3I	-	1964	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then wanted to be paid to continue and therefore was excluded.
South African boarder war started: 26 August 1966 – 21 March 1990				
	-	3J	unknown	Lives in Platfontein. Excluded from study due to alcohol abuse
November 1974 The first groups of !Xun soldiers cross the border into South West Africa/Namibia. They are followed by !Xun refugees who are houses in Alpha and Omega military base camps.				
Angolan war of independence ends: 1961- 1975				
Late 1975: San soldiers of Battalion 31 were involved in the South African incursions into Angola.				
	-	3K	1976	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
	3L	-	1976	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
	3M	-	1976	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then wanted to be paid to continue and therefore was excluded.
4th generation	-	4A	1980	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then was excluded due to spousal abuse.

(1980-1993)	-	4B	1981	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
1982: Second San battalion, number 33 is established at Mangetti Dune, Namibia				
	-	4C	1983	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
	-	4D	1984	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study.
	-	4E	1985	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then wanted to be paid to continue and therefore was excluded.
	4F	-	1986	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then was arrested for murder.
	4G	-	198?	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then had relationship problems and no longer wanted to participate.
	-	4H	1986	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	4I	-	1987	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then took seasonal farm work and had to leave town
	-	4J	198?	Lives in South Africa on a farm outside of Platfontein
	-	4K	198?	Lives in South Africa on a farm outside of Platfontein
	4L	-	1989	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
South African boarder war ended: 26 August 1966 – 21 March 1990 March 1990 San people transported via plane from Grootfontein, Namibia to Schmidtsdrift, South Africa				
	-	4M	1990	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then took seasonal farm work and had to leave town
	4N	-	1992	Lives in Platfontien. Participated in the study for part 1 but then no longer wanted to participate
5th generation	-	5A	1994	Lives in Platfontein. Did not want to participate in study. Very shy.

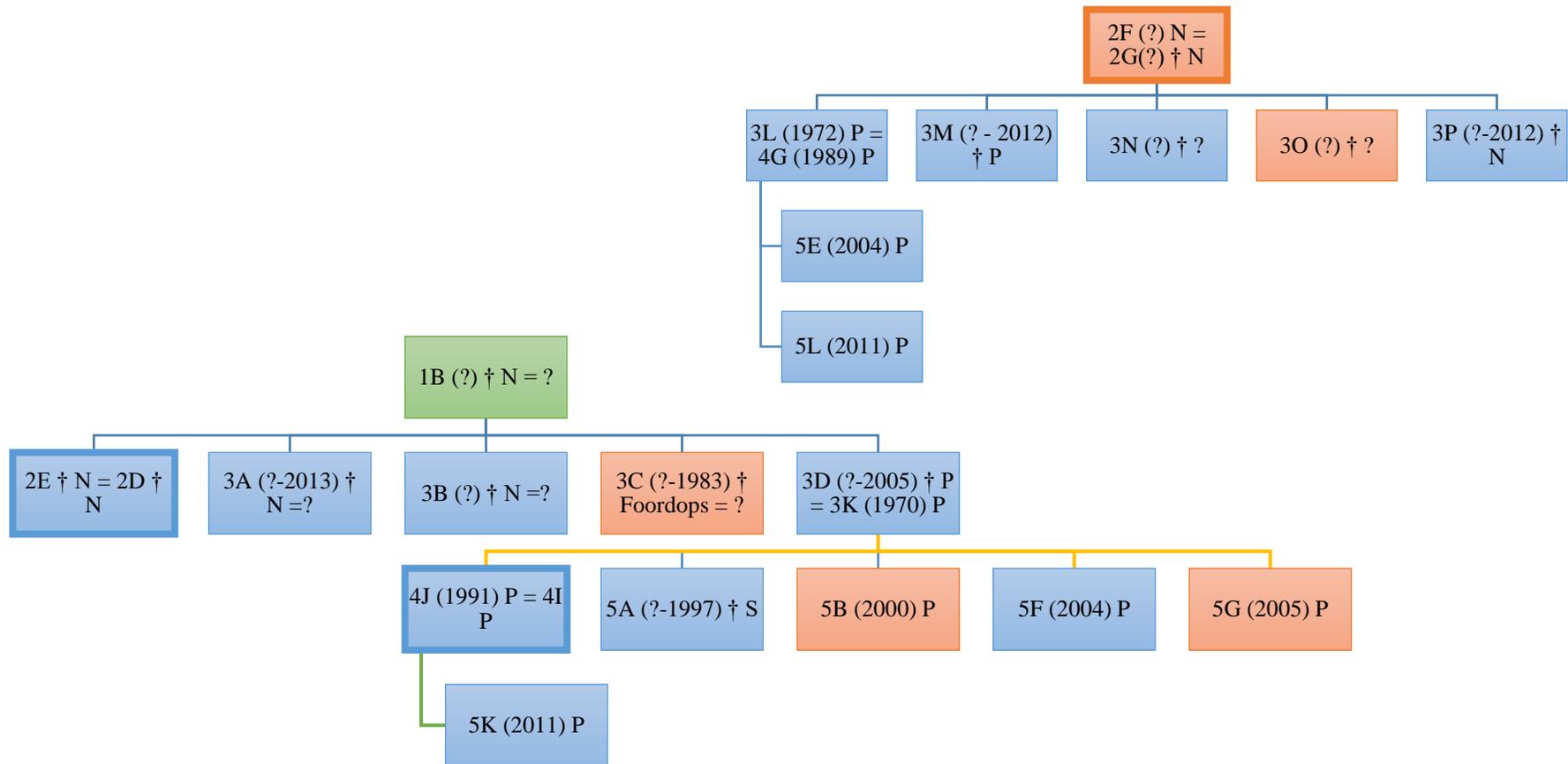
(1994 – 2014)	5B	-	1997	Lives in Platfontein. Did not want to participate in study.
	-	5C	1998	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5D	-	2001	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	-	5E	2001	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5F	-	2002	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5G	-	2003	Lives in Platfontein. Has a Khwe father and lives on the Khwe side with Khwe family. Did not participate in study.
December 2003: !Xun and Khwe families begin to move from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein				
	5H	-	2004	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	-	5I	2004	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	-	5J	2005	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	-	5K	2005	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	-	5L	2007	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	-	5M	2008	Lives in Platfontein. Child very shy, did not want to participate.
	-	5N	2008	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	-	5O	2009	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5P	-	2009	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5Q	-	2009	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5R	-	2011	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5S	-	2012	Lives in Platfontein. Too young to participate
	5T	-	2012	Lives in Platfontein. Too young to participate
	5U	-	2013	Lives in Platfontein. Too young to participate
	5V	-	201?	Lives in Platfontein. Too young to participate
	5W	-	Dec 2013	Lives in Platfontein. Too young to participate

Appendix 19: Khwe family tree



Notes:

- To find further detail on each participant from Appendix 5C, see Appendix 5D.
- Green box denotes first generation members of the family tree, blue box denotes male participant, pink box denotes female participant
- 1A to 1B (generation 1), 2A to 2G (generation 2), 3A to 3R (generation 3), 4A to 4L (generation 4), 5A to 5M (generation 5)
- Abbreviations and symbols:
 - † death
 - = had a child with
 - N Namibia
 - P Platfontein
 - ? unknown



Appendix 20: Description of Khwe family tree with language repertoire summary

Description of Khwe family tree: 5 generations				
† = passed away				
	Male	Female	Year of birth	Current status and participation in study
1st generation	1A	-	unknown	† in Namibia
(Unknown)	-	1B	unknown	† in Namibia
2nd generation	2A	-	unknown	In Namibia. Visits Platfontein, speaks Khwe and another language
(Unknown)	2B	-	Unknown, first official documentation noted: living in Namibia since 1942	In Namibia
	2C	-	Unknown, first official documentation noted: living in Namibia since 1963	In Namibia
	2D	-	unknown	† in Namibia but was originally from Botswana
	-	2E	unknown	† in Omega Namibia
		2F	unknown	Lives in Namibia
	2G	-	unknown	† in Namibia
3rd generation	3A	-	unknown	† 2013 Kangola Namibia
(1957-1979)	3B	-	unknown	† Ovamboland Namibia
	-	3C	unknown	† 1983 Foordops
	3D	-	unknown	† 2005 Platfontein
	-	3E	1957	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	3F	-	unknown	† Kongola Namibia
	3G	-	unknown	† Kongola Namibia
	-	3H	unknown	† 2004 Andara hospital Namibia
Angolan war of independence started: 1961- 1975				
	3I	-	1961	† 2006 in Platfontein
	-	3J	1961	† 2014 in Platfontein of sickness. Conducted her first interview in 2013 and was participating in the project
South African border war started: 26 August 1966 – 21 March 1990				
		3K	1970	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study

	3L	-	1972	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	3M	-	unknown	† 2012 suicide over John's death
	3N	-	unknown	† of sickness
	-	3O	unknown	† suicide, mental problems
	3P	-	unknown	† 2012 Namibia, car accident Trans Kalahari Road
November 1974 The first groups of !Xun soldiers cross the border into South West Africa/Namibia. They are followed by !Xun refugees who are housed in Alpha and Omega military base camps.				
Angolan war of independence ends: 1961- 1975				
Late 1975: San soldiers of Battalion 31 were involved in the South African incursions into Angola.				
	3Q	-	1975	† in Namibia
	3R	-	1979	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
4th generation	4A	-	1980	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
(1980 -1993)	4B	-	unknown	† Kongola Namibia
1982: Second San battalion, number 33 is established at Mangetti Dune, Namibia				
	-	4C	1985	Lives in Platfontein. Did not participate in study due to poor relations between her and Jafta.
	4D		1986	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
		4E	1986	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
		4F	1988	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
		4G	1989	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
South African border war ended: 26 August 1966 – 21 March 1990				
March 1990 San people transported via plane from Grootfontein, Namibia to Schmidtsdrift, South Africa				
		4H	1990	Lives in Platfontein. Excluded from study due to alcohol abuse.
		4I	1991	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	4J		1991	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
		4K	1992	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
		4L	1993	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
5th generation	5A	-	unknown	† 1997 Schmidtsdrift, died as a child
(1994 – 2014)	-	5B	2000	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study

	5C		2001	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5D		2002	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
December 2003: !Xun and Khwe families begin to move from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein				
	5E		2004	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5F		2004	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
		5G	2005	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
		5H	2009	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5I		2010	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
		5J	2010	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5K		2011	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5L		2011	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study
	5M		2012	Lives in Platfontein. Participated in study

