

## Some Sociolinguistic Aspects of |Gui Communities

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This paper describes selected aspects of the sociolinguistics of |Gui, a Khoe Family language spoken in Botswana. Topics include new findings about dialectal distinctions, the geographic distribution of |Gui-speaking communities, estimates of the population of |Gui-speakers, and language maintenance in each community.

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### 1. Introduction

|Gui [glũi] is a poorly documented Khoe (Central Khoisan) Family language spoken in Botswana. Since virtually no sociolinguistic information of this language has been reported, we know little about its recent state, such as estimated population of its speakers, the geographic distribution of |Gui-speaking communities and the dialectal variation of the language.

In order to bridge this gap of our knowledge, I carried out a series of extensive surveys of |Gui-speaking communities in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR), Ghanzi District and Kweneng District, Botswana, between 1996 and 1998 (locations are listed in Table 1). The present paper describes selected sociolinguistic and dialectological aspects of |Gui, based on (i) the result of this extensive survey, (ii) information personally provided by other researchers working on |Gui, and (iii) relevant data from the literature. The field investigations for this study were done with the research permits from Botswana Government (REF: OP 46/1 XLII (94) PAO I and OP 46/1 LXXII (43)).

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**Keywords:** Khoisan, |Gui, sociolinguistics, dialect, language shift

**Table 1. Sociolinguistic and dialectological surveys**

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

## 2. Three dialects of |Gui

One of the important findings of the survey concerns the dialectal variation of |Gui. During the survey research I carried out a dialectological investigation into the |Gui varieties spoken in the communities. This investigation has revealed that there are three distinct dialectal varieties. I will call these three (i) the Xade variety, (ii) the Thomelo variety and (iii) the Khute variety. The distribution of these varieties is shown in the map.

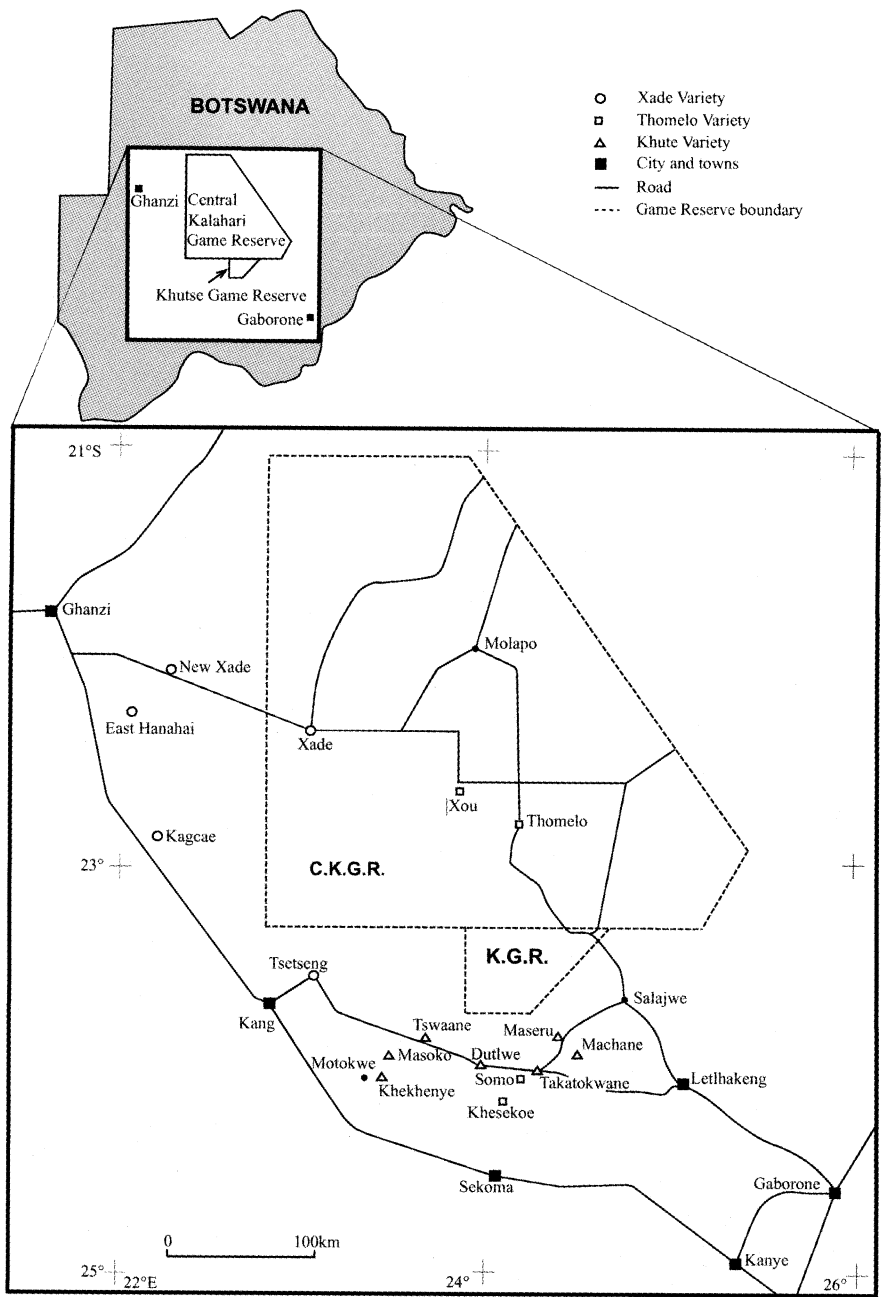
These dialect distinctions are determined in terms of two phonological variables, namely the extension of palatalization in the lexicon and the existence of preglottalized velar nasal click accompaniment. Table 2 illustrates these three dialectal distinctions.

**Table 2. Two variables involving the distinction of three dialects of |Gui**

	Dialect	Extreme extension of Palatalization	Example “ <i>Rhigozum brevispinosum</i> Kuntze”	Preglottalized nasal accompaniment	Example “twig, offshoot”
1	Xade	–	táã	–	ʔã̀m̀
2	Thomelo	+	cáã	–	ʔã̀m̀
3	Khute	+	cáã	+	?ɲã̀m̀

|Gui has undergone the historical sound shift in which alveolar stops, such as d, t, t<sup>h</sup> and t' were palatalized into j, c, c<sup>h</sup> and c' (see Nakagawa 1998 for detail). The extension of this palatalization in the lexicon varies among the three dialectal varieties. In the Xade variety palatalization is blocked before a pharyngealized vowel, /ǁ/ or /ǃ/, and before /x/ (only the former is exemplified in Table 2), while in the Khute and the Thomelo varieties it is never blocked, and consequently, there are virtually no words with alveolar stops.

In the Khute variety clicks with glottal plosive accompaniment, i.e. |ʔ, !ʔ, #ʔ and ||ʔ are realized as those with preglottalized nasal accompaniment, ʔɲ, ʔɲ!, ʔɲ# and ʔɲ|| if followed by a pharyngealized vowel (Table 2 shows an example with the dental click for



MAP

illustration).

Table 3 summarizes dialectal affiliation and estimated population of the |Gui communities that will be described in section 3. I will make additional comments on the variety of each community in the course of description.

**Table 3. Dialectological affiliation of |Gui communities and population of each community**

|Gui residents in Khesekoe and Somo were immigrants from |Xou and their children

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

### 3. Sociolinguistic conditions of |Gui communities in the pre-relocational stage

This section will describe sociolinguistic conditions of the communities which I surveyed. In the course of survey, I carried out interviews with many |Gui speakers in the communities. In such interviews I used |Gui as a medium language. In interviews with school teachers (referred to as Kgotlana (1996) and Tsenene (1994) ) I used English.

Before starting the description, it is necessary to comment on the stage of the |Gui

communities which I aim at dealing with. In accordance to Botswana Government policy to relocate all settlements in the CKGR, most of the |Gui residents in the Reserve moved to a new settlement outside the Reserve. The resettlement of residents in Xade started in May 1997 and ended in August 1997 (Sugawara 1998, p.88). The area for resettlement is located on the northern side of the Xade-Ghanzi road about 70 km to the west of Xade (see the map). The new settlement is officially called “New Xade”, and is called in |Gui *kx'ũĩ sà kímĩ* which literally means “seek for life”.

In the course of the relocation and the expansion of New Xade, residents from other settlements, such as Thomelo, Molapo, and farms of Ghanzi and D'kar, migrated to New Xade (Takada 2001, p.91). It is difficult to foresee what sociolinguistic impact the resettlement in New Xade is making on |Gui communities as a whole, and this question is to be explored in future studies. Below I describe the sociolinguistic conditions of |Gui communities in the pre-relocational stage, i.e. the stage immediately before the resettlement to New Xade in 1997.

### 3.1. Xade

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

#### 3.1.1. |Gui population in Xade

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

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

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

### 3.1.2. Language Contacts in Xade.

In Xade |Gui had language contact with ||Gana (Khoe family, Khoisan), Sekgalagadi, Setswana and English. Since |Gui and ||Gana are mutually intelligible, the communication between |Gui and ||Gana speakers was usually done in such a way that a |Gui spoke |Gui and a ||Gana spoke ||Gana in a conversation. In other words, |Gui and ||Gana regularly coexisted in |Gui-||Gana conversations in Xade. In this section I deal with (i) aspects of the language contact with Sekgalagadi, which was relatively important in the past, and (ii) aspects of the language contact with Setswana, which recently became more important. Additionally, I comment on the contact with English.

#### 3.1.2.1. Language Contact with Sekgalagadi

The |Gui people in Xade tended to make their residential units away from the area of Kgalagadi residents. Consequently, their contact with Sekgalagadi speakers in Xade was likely to be limited to such occasions as |Gui people's visit to the Kgalagadi area for temporary jobs or for shopping (to buy sugar, tea, tobacco or alcoholic drink), or rituals which the |Gui ask a Kgalagadi medicine man to perform (Sugawara 1991, p.107).

Below I describe the pattern of language use for communication between |Gui and Kgalagadi on the basis of available data, which are unfortunately unsystematic and sporadic.

#### (1) ||Gana used in the |Gui-Kgalagadi communication

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

**Pattern 1.** Sekgalagadi or Setswana is used as a medium language if the |Gui person can speak Sekgalagadi or Setswana.

**Pattern 2.** A |Gui person who can speak Sekgalagadi or Setswana plays a role of an interpreter.

**Pattern 3.** |Gui people speak |Gui and Kgalagadi people speak ||Gana.

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

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

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

## (2) |Gui people who are bilingual in Sekgalagadi

In Xade the |Gui-Sekgalagadi bilingualism was virtually limited to the generations which did not receive formal education, and was extremely exceptional in younger generation. I gathered information about the proficiency of Sekgalagadi of 57 |Gui speaking adults (31 males and 26 females who did not experience formal education) from my two |Gui informants. These informants knew all these speakers, and had the active command of Setswana and passive command of Sekgalagadi. Among these 57 speakers, eleven (eight males and three females) are considered to have the good command of Sekgalagadi. Their proficiency of Sekgalagadi was hard to measure, but these eleven speakers were said to be good speakers of Sekgalagadi. Here we can tentatively estimate that about 20 percent of |Gui adults can speak Sekgalagadi by assuming these 57 speakers represented the |Gui adults in Xade.

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

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

### 3.1.2.2. Language Contact with Setswana

#### (1) Influence of formal education

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

To begin with, I am going to show how the school successfully gained the attendants since its establishment. Table 4 shows the number of children enrolled in Xade Primary School from 1983 to 1997. The children registered in the school dramatically increased in 1983 and 1984, which suggests that the school was accepted by Xade residents from the initial stage. Then the number kept over 120 until 1997. In the

**Table 4. Number of children registered in Xade Primary School**

The column of S 5-7 presents the number of pupils of Standard 5, 6 and 7. Data of 1983-1995 are collected by Nonaka (1996 P.C.) from incomplete records of Xade Primary School. Data of 1996 and 1997 are suggested by Akiyama (1999 P.C.) The records of 1990, 1991 are not available. The records of the number of graduates are not available.

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



background of this stable enrollment of pupils probably lay a favorable attitude which children's families had toward school. This attitude is contrastive with that of Kagcae residents which I will point out later.

Here it should be worthwhile to attempt a rough estimation of the number of |Gui-Setswana bilingual speakers which this school produced based on the data which are presently available.

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

**Table 5. Languages for Instruction at Xade Primary School. (Suggested by Tsenene 1994)**

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

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

As shown in Table 4, the school had its first Standard 5 pupils in 1987, who were 26. For the following two years, 1988 and 1989, the new Standard 5 pupils are estimated as 15 in 1988 and 16 in 1989. (Due to the lack of record, we can not estimate the increase of Standard 5 pupils after 1989.) If we estimate the annual increase of Standard 5 pupils from 1990 as 15 based on the minimal increase from 1987 to 1989, "satisfactory" Setswana-speaking pupils amount to 177 in 1997. If we apply the proportion of |Gui population to the Xade population, i.e. about 50% according to Ikeya (1989) mentioned above, to the total number of the bilingual pupils of 177, the Setswana-speaking |Gui speakers would be estimated as approximately 88, which is about a quarter of the |Gui population in Xade. This proportion is obviously not negligible.

For secondary school education the children attended boarding school in Ghanzi, a town about 200 km away. In 1994 secondary school graduates started to come back to Xade from Ghanzi. Naturally they were more proficient in Setswana, and less familiar with traditional knowledge, and they tended to seek for a job in road construction

camps or wild fire extinguisher camps around the CKGR, where they needed to maintain or improve the command of Setswana.

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

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

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

## **(2) Generation Lacking Formal Education**

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

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

### **3.1.2.3. Language contact with English**

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

### **3.1.3. Lexical Borrowing**

In ending this section, I note three domains of recent lexical borrowing which took place extensively in Xade, namely numerals, names of the days of the week and personal names.

First, since |Gui has no systematic numerals which can be used for efficient com-

munication concerning numbers, numerals borrowed from English became common. This set of borrowing words is frequently used in daily life especially for counting money and referring to time.

Second, when dates within a week are referred to, they use the words for the seven days of the week borrowed from Setswana. Both numerals and day names are used not only by young generations but also elder generations which lack the formal education.

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

### 3.2. Kagcae

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

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

In August-September 1997 (i.e. immediately after the resettlement in New Xade) I carried out a demographic investigation in Kagcae by interviewing all the |Gui families that I found in Kagcae. At this stage, I did not notice any remarkable influence on the Kagcae |Gui population caused by the resettlement of the residents of the CKGR. Therefore I suppose that the |Gui population in Kagcae at this stage approximately reflected that of the pre-relocational stage. The result of the investigation of the |Gui area is summarized in Table 6. I met 72 |Gui speakers, out of whom 69 people (96%) were monolingual speakers. This table indicates that |Gui monolingualism was predominant among Kagcae |Gui.

**Table 6. Population of the |Gui area of Kagcae in 1997**

	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total (%)
Gui	69	3	72 (88)
!Xóó	2	7	9 (11)
Kgalagadi	1	0	1 (1)
Total (%)	72 (88)	10 (12)	82 (100)

I noticed most |Gui children of school age did not go to school, there being only one exceptional family whose children attended school. This is due to the adults' common unfavorable attitude to school. They claimed that they did not like their children

to attend school, and that they did not dare to encourage children to go to school if children hesitated. Accordingly, formal education in Kagcae did not have a strong influence on the increase of Setswana speaking children. In interviews they often showed unfavorable attitude not only to School, but also to Setswana. The increase of bilingual speakers in Setswana will not be expected in this |Gui community.

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

According to Ikeya (1996), there had been more !Xóǀ in 1989–91 than there were at the time, many of whom have recently moved out. When I undertook my research in 1997, the population of the !Xóǀ area was 77, which was smaller than |Gui population.

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

### 3.3. Tssetseng

Like Kagcae, Tssetseng (Kweneng District) has been relatively well known to researchers as having |Gui residents. When I went to Tssetseng in March 1998, I visited all the |Gui families that I was informed of in the village. I recorded the numbers of members of each family together with their sex and estimated age class, namely old, middle-aged, and young (including infants), and asked about their language. The result is summarized in Table 7. Like Kagcae, the resettlement of residents in the CKGR in 1997 did not have impact on Tssetseng at this stage, judging from interviews. Accordingly, the |Gui population shown here approximately reflects that of the pre-relocational stage in Tssetseng.

**Table 7. |Gui Population in Tssetseng (March 1998)**

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

I interviewed |Gui of old and middle-aged generation. They were all good speakers of |Gui. Probably some of them may have at least a certain command of Kgalagadi because they often had occasions to talk with Kgalagadi people in the village. However, they seemed to maintain |Gui considerably because they asserted that their small chil-

dren spoke |Gui well.

As shown in the map and Table 3, the dialect spoken in this community was the Xade variety. This community is the southern boundary of this dialectal variety.

### 3.4. Thomelo

Thomelo (conventionally spelled as Mothomelo, Mothomela or Mothomelwa), located in mid-southeast of the CKGR, had the second largest |Gui population in the Reserve. The total population of this locality was reported to be 145 in 1988-89 (CHR 1996) and 149 in 1991 (Census 1992). Kazunobu Ikeya (1997 p.c.) observed that the Thomelo residents consisted of mainly three language groups, i.e. |Gui, ||Gana and Tshera, and that |Gui speakers lived gathering in the west side of the borehole. He estimated the |Gui population to be about 100 before the resettlement in New Xade started.

I carried out a dialect investigation in Thomelo in November 1996, and made a complimentary interview with former Thomelo residents in New Xade in 1997. The result of this study has revealed the variety spoken in Thomelo was different from both the Xade variety and the Khute variety spoken in most of the |Gui communities in Kweneng District. This variety was only attested in Thomelo and two small-sized |Gui communities, i.e. Khesekoe and Somo, in Kweneng District. I will describe these two communities in section 3.5.7.

### 3.5. |Gui communities in Kweneng District

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

In November 1996 I made an extensive survey of this region and found four “Ba-Khute” communities in the fringe of Dutlwe village, the Khekhenye (or Khekhenya) locality, Takatokwane village and a small settlement called Machane [màc<sup>h</sup>àànè]. Additionally, I encountered other small-sized |Gui communities in 1997 and 1998, namely Tswane, Maseru, Somo, Khesekoe and Masoko. When I visited these five communities, I heard that their |Gui population had not changed with the relocation of settlements in the CKGR in 1997. Regarding the dialect, the Khute variety was spoken in the communities except Khesekoe and Somo, where the Thomelo variety was used, as already mentioned.

Below I describe observations on sociolinguistic aspects of the |Gui communities in Kweneng District.

### 3.5.1. Dutlwe

In a northeast fringe of Dutlwe village I worked on a group of |Gui speakers consisting of four families with four generations. Table 8 illustrates the patterns of bilingualism of this group. As this table shows, this group involves multilingualism of |Gui, †Hoã and Sekgalagadi.

**Table 8. Bilingualism in a group in Dutlwe**

Generation	Age	Language
Generation 1	70	Gui
Generation 2	45–55	Gui-Sekgalagadi,  Gui- †Hoã-Sekgalagadi
Generation 3	15–25	Sekgalagadi- Gui, Sekgalagadi- Gui- †Hoã, Sekgalagadi
Generation 4	–12	Sekgalagadi

There was only one speaker belonging to the first generation that was a female estimated at 70 years old. She asserted that she can speak only |Gui and can speak neither †Hoã nor Sekgalagadi.

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

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

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

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

Table 9 summarizes the languages in which people communicated with those of

**Table 9. Languages for communication between generations in the group in Dutlwe**

|G stands for |Gui, KG for Sekgalagadi and |G / KG for |Gui by females and Sekgalagadi by males.

Generation	1	2	3	4
1	–	G	G / KG	KG
2	–	–	KG	KG
3	–	–	–	KG
4	–	–	–	–

other generations in this community. This shows that this community was in the process of language shift from |Gui to Sekgalagadi, implying that the language death of |Gui was about to be arriving with the death of the second generation in this community.

### 3.5.2. Tswaane

Chris Collins (1997 p.c.) informed me of |Gui speakers living in Tswaane, which is about 30 km west of Dutlwe (see the map). When I visited Tswane in August 1997, I met a small group consisting of four |Gui speakers and some †Hoã speakers.

I interviewed a middle-aged female speaker who fully maintained |Gui. Her husband identified himself as a †Hoã, and I found him speak |Gui proficiently. They said that their children spoke Sekgalagadi and did not speak |Gui, but understood |Gui when spoken to. I could not find other |Gui speakers in the area.

### 3.5.3. Khekhenye

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

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

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

lingual Sekgalagadi speakers.

The population of |Gui speakers in this settlement would roughly be estimated as 50.

#### **3.5.4. Takatokwane**

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

#### **3.5.5. Machane**

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

#### **3.5.6. Maseru**

In March 1998 I went to Maseru and investigated a |Gui community of which Chris Collins (1997 p.c.) informed me. It was located about 20 km to the north-east of Takatokwane. In Maseru there was another small-sized |Gui settlement. Children in this community had lost the active command of |Gui. I estimated the population of |Gui speakers of Maseru as about 20.

#### **3.5.7. Khesekoe and Somo**

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

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

In Khesekoe I found totally eleven adult |Gui speakers, one female ||Gana speaker, together with about 30 children who did not speak |Gui. According to the adults, the children speak only Sekgalagadi. In Somo there were only five middle-aged or old |Gui



speakers. They said their children did not even understand |Gui.

### 3.6. Other minor |Gui Communities

I have described some sociolinguistic respects of the |Gui communities located in Xade, Kagcae, Tsetseng, Thomelo, and the mid-western part of Kweneng District. There were still other |Gui-speaking communities of smaller size which I visited in 1996. In ending this paper, I additionally provide information about these minor communities based on more limited materials.

#### 3.6.1. East Hanahai

In October 1996 I visited East Hanahai, a settlement with Naro population, and met two families with five |Gui speakers. They communicated with Naro speakers possibly by using a broken version of Naro. They said that there were other two |Gui speakers living in East Hanahai, whom I could not meet.

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

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

#### 3.6.2. Salajwe

When I visited Salajwe in 1996, I did not find any |Gui community. However, according to Kazunobu Ikeya (1997 p.c.), who visited Salajwe twice in 1990, in a northern part of the Salajwe village there was a small |Gui community consisting of a few families. He observed that their children were Sekgalagadi speakers losing |Gui, and estimated the number of adult |Gui speakers in this community to be at least ten.

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

#### 3.6.3. Masoko

Masoko was an isolated |Gui camp which I happened to find in March 1998. There lived six middle-aged |Gui. They had a certain relationship with |Gui people in Khekhenye and Dutlwe. Most probably their variety is the same as that of other Kweneng |Gui communities, i.e. the Khute variety.

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