

**San languages for education:
a linguistic short survey and proposal**

on behalf of the

**Molteno Early Literacy and Language Development (MELLD)
Project in Namibia**

Tom Güldemann

1998

Okahandja

**National Institute of Educational Development
Ministry of Basic Education and Culture**

National Institute for Educational Development (NIED)
Ministry of Basic Education and Culture
Private Bag 2034
Okahandja
Namibia

© Copyright NIED, Ministry of Basic Education and Culture, 1996

ISBN 99916-48-39-9

Printed by NIED

Publication date: March 1998

Contents

1	Introduction	2
2	Short surveys of the individual languages	4
2.1	Namibian Khoekhoe, i.e. Nama, Damara, Hai om, and †ǀAkhoe	7
2.2	Kxoe (Khoe)	9
2.3	Naro	11
2.4	Ju 'hoan (Ju hoan)	12
2.5	!Xūu (!Xuun)	12
2.6	!'O!Xūu (!'Oo!xuun)	12
2.7	!Xōo (!Xoon)	16
2.8	!'Auni	18
3	Proposed sequence of the development of Namibian San languages into literacy and general proposals for San language development	19
4	Preliminaries for a standardized orthography of non-Bantu click languages in southern Africa	22
4.1	Introductory remarks	22
4.2	A discussion of basic orthographic principles	23
4.3	Proposals for a standardized orthographic representation of phonemes in non-Bantu click languages	26
4.3.1	The consonant system	26
4.3.2	Vowels and vowel features	30
4.3.3	Proposed norm of orthographic symbols for non-Bantu click languages	31
5	References	32
6	Appendix: Currently used orthographies of San languages treated	35
6.1	Namibian Khoekhoe (Native ... 1977)	35
6.2	Kxoe (University ... 1997)	36
6.3	Naro (Visser 1994, 1997)	37
6.4	Ju 'hoan (Dickens 1991)	38
6.5	!Xōo (Traill 1994)	39

1 Introduction

This report is an attempt to gather the relevant and currently available information on a group of Namibian languages that has heretofore hardly received attention with regard to educational and official purposes and language planning. Thus the peoples speaking these languages, that is various ethnic groups commonly subsumed under the term San,¹ are the socially and educationally most marginalized communities in Namibia.²

The widespread indifference on the part of the non-San population towards the complexity of social problems encountered by San communities stands in contradiction to the position they themselves have repeatedly expressed in public documents³ or to individuals working in close cooperation with them. With regard to the domain of language and education it should be recognized that they do demand mother tongue education, have ideas about the implementation of their languages into school curricula and expect efforts to develop their languages toward means of communication with equal rights within their respective national context accompanied by appropriate measures toward language standardization and planning.

The languages of the target groups are currently subsumed under the cover term *Khoesan*. The academic question whether Khoesan is a set of languages which are genetically related to each other or represents a non-genetic group of languages sharing certain linguistic features such as click consonants is irrelevant for the following discussion. In this context it is important to note that many of these languages against common layman assumption differ from each other enormously and this to a far higher degree than e.g. Finnish differs from Hungarian or English from Afrikaans. That one is not just dealing with several *Bushman dialects*, as many people are used to referring to these languages, will become apparent from a short look at the necessary number of standardization units proposed in the following section.

Due to the still prevailing lack of insight into the complex linguistic situation that exists among the ethnic and linguistic groups subsumed under the umbrella category *San*, public sources usually do not bother about distinguishing between individual units. Accordingly, the most recent population census from 1991 (Central ... 1994) gives only a general number of approximately 27000 speakers of San languages (listed there under the term *Bushman*) in Namibia, which is all what one can gather today from official statistics.

Overviews about the past linguistic research, language classification and publications on Khoesan can be found in Westphal (1971), Köhler (1981a), Winter (1981), and Traill (1995). The information and findings of this report are predominantly based firstly on published material and secondly on the expertise of specialists working on individual languages.⁴ Thus, the survey hardly contains genuinely new empirical data.

¹ In spite of a revival of the term *Bushman* in academic writing I will use the term *San*. I consider the latter in various respects more neutral for the use in any European language. Its original meaning was nothing but *gatherers* derived from the stem *sā* 'to collect veldkos' and is now first of all a cover term for various non-Khoekhoe groups. A derogatory connotation, if at all salient - many mother tongue speakers deny it, could only be perceived in Khoekhoe - a still very unlikely language of academic discourse.

² Cf. i.a. Mendelsohn/Swarts/Avenstrup (1995).

³ Cf., i.a., Brörmann (1997), Crawhall (1997), Ngakaeaja & al. (1997), Thoma (1996).

⁴ The help of the following individuals in providing information and sharing their experiences and views on individual languages or the overall problem is herewith gratefully acknowledged: Magdalena Brörmann, Edward D. Elderkin, Wilfrid H. G. Haacke, Ulla Kann, Mathias Schladt, Jan W. Snyman,

In comparison with academic achievements in the linguistic analysis of other language groups, the field of Khoesan research is still less advanced. Thus, many questions, some of them very basic, can only be answered in a tentative fashion and may be subject to changes in the future, after more extensive research will have been accomplished.

Due to the limited objectives of this consultancy work and its time limits for assembling the data, it can only present a basic and fairly superficial overview on the topic and thus does not provide space to lay out the pros and cons of the sometimes controversial academic discussion on certain points. Thus, further reading in the given references is advised.

Some analyses and observations necessarily reflect my personal viewpoint. However, they usually take up one or another already existing tradition of thought within Khoesan research. Only section 4 dealing with the possibility of a standardized orthography is in this form a novelty in so far as the proposed representation of consonants does not only consider the practically oriented side of basic orthographic principles, but conforms to a form of language-inherent phonological systematicity that can be shown to hold throughout all languages of the Khoesan group as far as they are presently known.⁵

Anthony Traill, Thomas Widlok. Without their help much of the information could not have been gathered.

⁵ This claim is based on the results of ongoing research by the present author. In discussions with leading scholars in the phonetic and phonological analysis of Khoesan languages like E. D. Elderkin, W. H. G. Haacke, J. W. Snyman and A. Traill, this research has met first encouraging responses.

2 Short surveys of the individual languages

The information on each individual language will be presented according to the following schema:

Heading with presently most appropriate language name⁶ (form in proposed standard orthography in brackets, if different from former)

- a) Naming group and language
- b) Research and publication survey (bold: directly suitable for practical purposes)
- c) Community organizations, language specialists, and other parties to be involved in future activities of language planning (in alphabetical order)
- d) Linguistic and sociolinguistic status
- e) State of corpus planning and standardization
- f) Current use for educational purposes
- g) Proposed measures to be taken in the near future, indication of desirable cross-border cooperation

The order of treatment conforms to the one used in the left column of the following table. The numbering is also used in the map which shows a very rough geographic distribution of the Namibian San languages.

⁶ Language names will be given generally without the respective element referring to *language*, as this will unnecessarily inflate the terms which are in their bare form linguistically precise and often already complex (thus *Khoekhoe* instead of *Khoekhoegowab* or *Ju''hoan* instead of *Ju''hoan kokxui* etc.).

African non-Bantu languages in Namibia

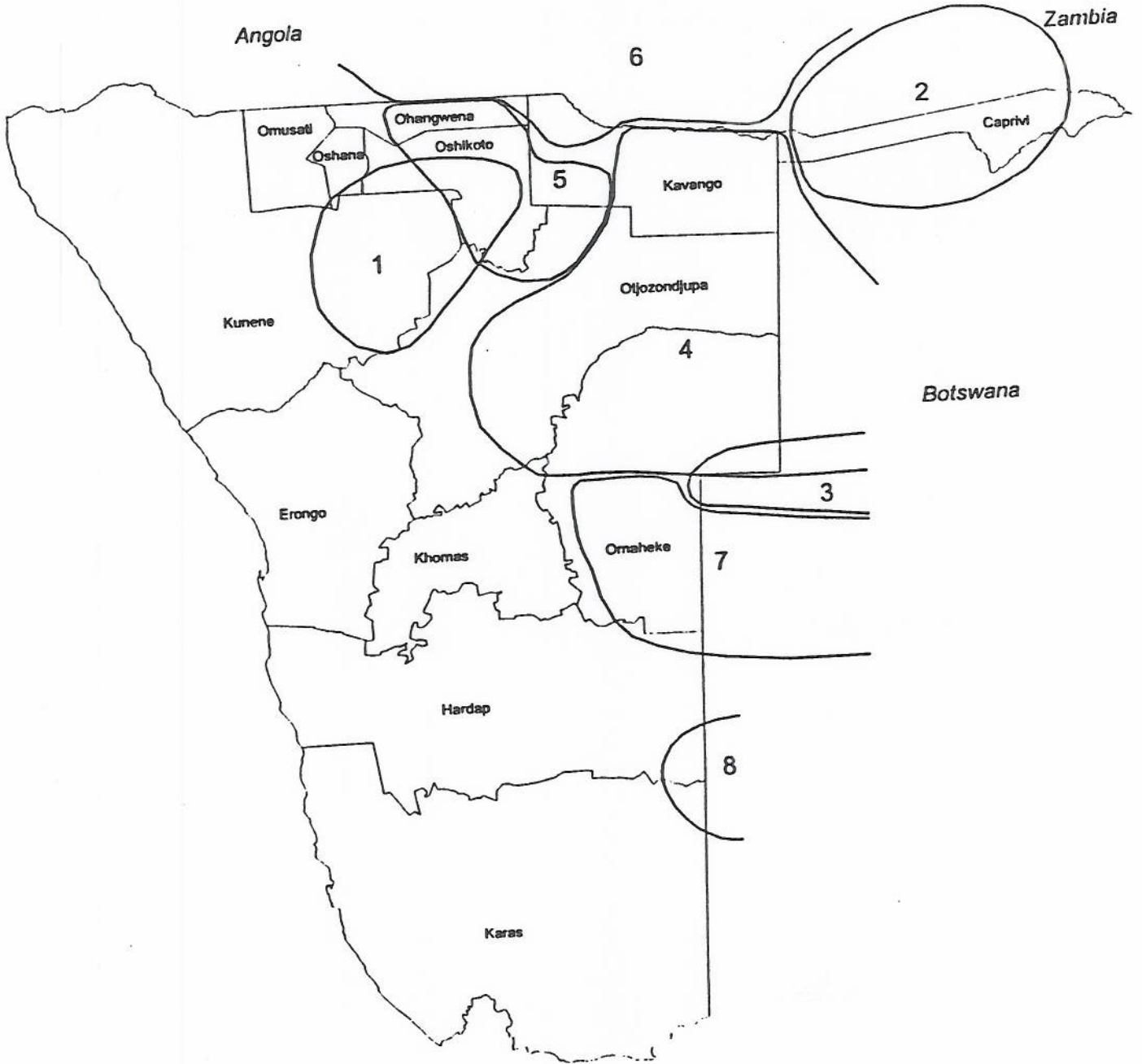
No	Family	Subfamily	Name of language or dialect cluster	Other common denomination	Approximate location in Namibia (Region: further specification)	Orthographically normed name
1	Khoe	Khoekhoe	Khoekhoe(gowab)	a) Nama and Damara b) Hai om and #Akhoe	a) all regions: except Okavango and Caprivi b) Kunene, Oshana, Oshikoto, Okavango, and Otjozondjupa: around and east of Etosha pan	Khoekhoe(gowab)
2	Khoe	non-Khoekhoe	Kxoe	Mbarakwengo, Zama	Caprivi	Khoe
3	Khoe	non-Khoekhoe	Naro	N oakwe	eastern Omaheke: from around Rietfontein to the south along the national border with Botswana	Naro
4	Ju	-	Ju 'hoan	a) also !Xūu b) #Au en	a) eastern Otjozondjupa and eastern Okavango: from Omatako Omuramba east to the national border b) northeastern Omaheke: Eiseb, Epukiro, and Sandfontein Omuramba	Ju hoan
5	Ju	-	!Xūu	-	Ohangwena, Oshikoto, western Okavango, and north-western Otjozondjupa: from the Sandveld around Grootfontein north to the national border	!Xuun
6	Ju	-	!'O!Xūu	Sekele, Kwankala	northeastern regions: mostly immigrated from Angola	!'Oo!xuun
7	Taa	-	!Xōo	Nu en, Namani	southern Omaheke and northeastern Hardap: esp. in the Corridor; also on the Intu-Afrika game farm	!Xoon
8	!Ui	-	!Auni	Nuhci	southeastern Hardap and northeastern Karas	!Auni

Column 1: At the current state of knowledge the total of 8 languages is the maximum one has to reckon with (cf. below).

Column 2-4: The genetic classification approximately reflects the linguistic distance between different varieties. The language is the unit relevant for standardization and education purposes. For some groups concerned, the linguistic and sociolinguistic data is still insufficient. It may turn out after a more reliable evaluation that the number of languages may drop; that is, if some varieties of No^s 4-6 could be provided for by one unit of standardization. Language No 8 might be extinct.

Column 4/5: The lists are not exhaustive. The alternatives are first of all given in order to enable the reader to associate a respective group with other common denominations; they are not necessarily acceptable. They also show that ethnic groups need not coincide with linguistic units. For less studied groups like No^s 6-8, even the given language name will possibly have to be revised in the future.

Column 7: The first results of still ongoing research seem to indicate that it is possible to design a practical orthography for click languages that would to a considerable extent be standardized and thus could facilitate cohesion of and communication between the different groups concerned. The names given are designed according to preliminary findings.



2.1 Namibian Khoekhoe, i.e. Nama, Damara, Hai||om, and †ǀAkhoe⁷

a)

The above four terms can be used for the ethnic groups. The linguistic varieties of Namibian Khoekhoe do not totally coincide with these ethnic divisions (cf. the survey of Haacke/Eiseb/Namaseb 1997). However, with regard to the Hai||om and †ǀAkhoe, the ethnic denominations are also convenient as linguistic terms.

b)

- linguistic research on †ǀAkhoe by the late T. Heikkinen, resulting in a grammar and a vocabulary (Widlok (ed.) in prep.), religious texts, and teaching material (**Heikkinen & al. 1976, 1977**)
- most recent Khoekhoe dialect survey by Haacke/Eiseb/Namaseb (1997)
- ongoing research by T. Widlok (cf. Widlok 1997) - major source for the following unpublished information

c)

1. Prof. W. H. G. Haacke, Department of African Languages, University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia
Tel: +61-206-3845, Fax: +61-206-3806
e-mail: whaacke@unam.na
2. Hai||om Development Trust, contact possible via WIMSA
3. Dr. Thomas Widlok, Institut für Völkerkunde, Universität zu Köln, D-50923, Köln, Germany
Tel: +49-221-470-2278, Fax: +49-221-470-5117
e-mail: thomas.widlok@uni-koeln.de or alv32@rs1.rrz.uni-koeln.de

d)

Namibian Khoekhoe is the only surviving member of the Khoekhoe subgroup of the Khoe family. It is itself characterized by internal dialectal diversification.

The Hai||om and †ǀAkhoe are ethnic groups, which may be more or less conveniently defined by geographical, anthropological, social, and linguistic criteria. However, this does not necessitate a separate treatment of their language varieties for standardization purposes. Up to now a non-treatment has been the practice, largely motivated by the widespread discrimination of various Southern African peoples for their traditional lifestyle as *Bushmen* by all non-San groups.

The data in Haacke/Eiseb/Namaseb (1997) show close relations between all language varieties spoken by the Nama, Damara, Hai||om and †ǀAkhoe, although this study does not allow a conclusive distinction between language and dialect. According to T. Widlok (p.c.), the above mentioned linguistic closeness allows to treat both Hai||om and †ǀAkhoe as dialects of the Khoekhoe language of Namibia. This renders the development of a separate standard form for these minority groups unnecessary.

It must be stressed however that such a solution rests on the provision that they are treated as *equal* varieties of Khoekhoe. Their sometimes considerable differences to Standard Khoekhoe in phonology, lexicon, grammar, and usage are not 'wrong' or

⁷ For reasons to be given in e) below no form is provided according to the proposed orthographic standard. The terms conform instead with the official Khoekhoe orthography. The Khoekhoe varieties of the Nama and Damara will not be discussed here, as they have a long history of standardization and thus do not belong to the linguistic varieties of the relevant target groups.

'inferior' Khoekhoe, but typical characteristics of varieties pertaining to two subgroups of a larger language community.⁸ Up to now the low social status of the two groups led also to linguistic discrimination and inferiorization of their language use. Thus, there exists an urgent necessity of raising the prestige and status of the two language varieties discussed.

e)

In the 1970's T. Heikkinen started an attempt to develop †Ākhoe, the most divergent variety, toward a written language separately from Standard Khoekhoe - without much success though. The practically oriented materials produced in this effort (cf. b) above) were hardly ever used. After consultations with the communities involved, a final decision should be made as to the incorporation of Hai||om and †Ākhoe in the standardization unit *Khoekhoe*.

If the response will be positive toward Standard Khoekhoe, existing teaching materials should be adapted to the specific needs of these communities, possibly using i.a. the material developed by Heikkinen.⁹

Regarding a generally standardized orthography for non-Bantu click languages, it must be said that the chance to incorporate Khoekhoe in such an overall scheme seems to be rather small. Although its official orthography (Native ... 1977) certainly has a number of deficiencies, which should and could be changed for the better, it is meanwhile fairly well established and, as Elderkin (1996:144) writes, "Orthographies become sacred". Nonetheless, it would be worth the effort to approach the relevant bodies responsible for Khoekhoe language planning with the proposal of making orthographic amendments in line with standardized writing conventions for Khoesan languages to be established in the future.

f)

Until now, most San children if at all attending a school with Khoekhoe instruction medium are taught by teachers with a Damara background, who will hardly recognize existing speech differences and treat them on equal terms. Hence, it is desirable to train and employ Hai||om and †Ākhoe speakers as teachers and encourage them to incorporate dialect variation. Apart from uplifting the prestige of the discriminated language varieties, this would have the important advantage of bridging the existing linguistic differences between Standard Khoekhoe and the dialect forms via education through the respective home dialect.

g)

- representation of Hai||om and †Ākhoe in the Khoekhoe language planning bodies and thus giving official recognition to the fact that these dialects are ways of linguistic expression with equal rights within the standardization unit Khoekhoe
- adaptation of Khoekhoe teaching material to local needs
- training and employment of Hai||om and †Ākhoe speakers as teachers

⁸ This also applies to language varieties of various Damara groups.

⁹ A necessary step would be the transcription of these materials into Standard Khoekhoe orthography, as Heikkinen's deviates considerably from the latter (cf. Widlok (ed.) in prep.).

2.2 Kxoe (Khoe)

a)

The above term simply means 'person'. It can be used for both the ethnic group and their language. Incidentally, it is etymologically the same as the one used for naming the whole language family. However, this does not present a major problem, as it will usually become clear from the context, whether the individual ethnic group, its language, or the purely linguistic term denoting a family of languages is intended.

There remains the problem of orthography: The bracketed version would be the correct one if the name is to conform with a phonologically consistent orthography of the language. In fact, it would be awkward, when the very term for the language (and group) itself deviates from its practical orthography to be designed in the not so far future. However, the older, linguistically less appropriate form *Kxoe* has recently become used increasingly in the public (i.a. in media reporting) and is now felt to provide an easy reference for the group. The ultimate decision on this issue has to be found by the speakers of the language themselves, after there has been appropriate information about the pros and cons of the two alternatives.

The terms *Mbarakwengo* and *Zama* are exonyms given to the Kxoe by their Bantu neighbors and should be avoided.

b)

- linguistic research by the late O. Köhler, resulting in a grammar (Köhler 1981b), a manuscript dictionary (Köhler Ts.) and various other publications (i.a. Köhler 1989, 1991, 1997)
- latest information on population figures and distribution by Brenzinger (1997)
- general overview of non-Khoekhoe languages and dialects by Voßen (1997)
- ongoing research at the Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln - major source for the following unpublished information

c)

1. Prof. Dr. Bernd Heine, Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, D-50923, Köln, Germany,
Tel: +49-221-470-4801, Fax: +49-221-470-5158,
e-mail: bernd.heine@uni-koeln.de
2. Dr. Mathias Schladt, Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, D-50923, Köln, Germany,
Tel: +49-221-470-4803, Fax: +49-221-470-5158,
e-mail: mathias.schladt@uni-koeln.de
3. West Caprivi Development Trust, contact possible via WIMSA
4. !Xu and Khwe Communal Property Association (South Africa), contact possible via WIMSA
5. †Govexa school, c/o Father Kapp, Omega
Tel: +67-256419

d)

Kxoe belongs to a subgroup of closely related languages within the Khoe family, which is mainly distributed in the area east of the lower Okavango river and within the latter's delta. Kxoe-internal dialect differences do not appear to hamper mutual intelligibility.¹⁰ According to Brenzinger (1997:16), the largest portion of Kxoe speakers, i.e. about 4000, resides today in Namibia, esp. in the western Caprivi. Other speech communities

¹⁰ It even appears to be worthwhile to test, whether such closely related language varieties in Botswana like Buga or ||Ani could be included in future standardization efforts.

are found in Botswana, Zambia, and Angola. The latter used to be historically an important distribution center, but is now largely deserted by the Kxoe due to the political upheavals in the recent past. These historical events are also responsible for the movement of a considerable number of Kxoe to South Africa in connection with the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the South African Defense Force.

In the recent past the Kxoe have experienced a process of an increasing ethnic self-awareness, which is shaped to a considerable extent through frequent conflicts with the traditional Mbukushu leadership, which since long ago used to consider the Kxoe to be their clients.

Language and its status in official domains like education apparently plays an important role in this development. The urgent need to reduce the language to writing is not only felt by the Kxoe in Namibia, but according to Crawhall (1997:11f) also by the group living in Schmidtsdrift (South Africa).

e)

At present, neither Kxoe nor any other close linguistic relative has an established standard form with respective reference material and an orthography. However, the linguistic documentation of Kxoe (cf. i.a. Köhler 1981b, Ts.), though admittedly still incomplete, is so far advanced, that with reinforced efforts the available material could be molded relatively fast into an officially recognized standard form.

A first step toward designing a practical orthography has been taken with the workshop jointly carried out in March 1997 by representatives of the Kxoe community and linguists from Cologne, which resulted in a first orthography draft (University ... 1997). It shows several differences to the standardized orthographic conventions for San languages to be proposed below. For the sake of such a desirable standard, the Cologne researchers would, according to M. Schladt - one of the main persons responsible for the above activities and the ongoing academic research on Kxoe, consider changes of their practical conventions after further consultations both among the involved linguists and between them and the Kxoe community.¹¹

f)

The language is not used for educational purposes. First efforts of teaching in Kxoe have been made at a school in †Qovexa, ca. 120 km east of Divundu, supported by father Kapp.

g)

- further research to complete the linguistic documentation
- final decision on orthography
- preparation of reference material such as a grammar, a dictionary, and text books
- preparation of school material and teacher training
- possibility of providing material to Kxoe and other closely related groups in Botswana and South Africa

¹¹ A meeting between the Cologne group and the present author will with all probability take place in March 1998.

2.3 Naro

a)

The term can be used for both the ethnic group and the language. The term *N/oakwe* meaning 'Red people' in Naro was recently coined as an autonym that would be free of all negative connotations tied to terms like *Bushman* or *San*. It is not clear whether it will become popular among the Naro. It is sometimes used for San in general. However, because of its very recent and local origin, it does not seem suitable as a higher order linguistic and/or ethnic denomination.

b)

- first anthropological and linguistic research by Bleek (1928)
- linguistic research by R. Kagaya, resulting in a phonetic sketch (Kagaya 1978)
- anthropological research by A. Barnard, resulting in a dictionary (Barnard 1985)
- linguistic research by H. and C. Visser, resulting in a dictionary (**Visser 1994**) and didactic material (**Visser/Visser 1993**)
- general overview of non-Khoekhoe languages and dialects by Voßen (1997)

c)

1. D'Kar Village organization, contact possible via WIMSA
2. Dr. Hessel Visser & Coby Visser, Kuru Development Trust, PO Box 219, Ghanzi, Botswana
Tel: +267-596103, Fax: ?
e-mail: hessel.visser@sil.org

d)

Naro belongs to another subgroup of languages within the Khoe family to be found mainly in west-central Botswana. A minor portion of the Naro speech community lives also in Namibia in an area stretching from around Sandfontein down south into the northern parts of the corridor. The exact number and distribution of speakers are unclear. Although they do not seem to form a large group in Namibia, a recent field trip to Aminuis and the corridor surprisingly revealed that their language may have some importance among other Namibian San as a second language.

e)

The Naro language became the subject of academic research relatively early. In line with the increasing self-awareness of San groups in Botswana and the Naro community in particular, this research is now combined with successful efforts to develop and promulgate a written form of the language and assemble appropriate reference and teaching material.

These activities resulted also in a practical orthography (cf. i.a. Visser 1994, Tsonope/Batibo 1997). Unfortunately, this is based on the use of Roman symbols for clicks which deviates from all previously recognized Khoesan orthographies and represents also a major difference to the standardized San orthography to be proposed below.¹²

f)

none (in Namibia)

g)

- approach all responsible parties in Botswana as to a revision of the current Naro orthography, esp. regarding the click symbols
- possibility of taking over school material developed in Botswana by the Kuru Development Trust for the use in mother tongue education of Namibian Naro

¹² A discussion of the pros and cons of the alternatives for click symbols will be given in section 4 below.

2.4 Ju|'hoan (Ju|hoan)

2.5 !Xūu (!Xuun)

2.6 !'O!Xūu (!'Oo!xuun)

a)

The naming of the various ethnic (sub)units and language varieties must still be partly left open. First of all, it seems advisable here to distinguish between the name of an individual language and its higher order classification unit, i.e. the language family.

For the latter, it is proposed to use the term *Ju* (a stem supposedly found in all varieties usually with the meaning 'person'). Such a usage (ultimately going back to E. O. J. Westphal) conforms to a common practice in linguistic classification both generally and in the particular geographic area and is already established with various linguists.

With regard to naming individual Ju languages, the major precondition of determining what is a language and what is a dialect has still to be resolved conclusively. Whatever languages will have to be recognized in the future, using the plain term *Ju* for the language family has the following advantage: it allows to reserve the term *!Xūu* for language names and thus would remove considerable confusion heretofore associated with this term, when used once for an individual variety, once for the whole language family. Even without the present availability of a totally reliable Ju language classification such a usage receives support on the following grounds:

The term *Ju/'hoan* is meanwhile an established language term¹³ for a major portion of the most extensively studied southern dialect cluster and is also officially recognized as such. Furthermore, Heikkinen (1987:3) writes: "The well-established name '!Xū' has been used in the text [i.e. her grammar] for both that population group in Ovamboland and Kavango who are the source of the material and for their language [i.e. central Ju]. ... Most publications have used '!Xū' for this language family [i.e. the Ju family]. The !Xū language informants from different !Xū-speaking areas in Namibia at the !Xū conference in Windhoek in 1981 all said they would call their language !Xū. Snyman (1975) has a different term, Žu|hōasi. Among the !Xū people of the areas I know, the word 'zùú|xòà', 'people', does also occur but not specifically as a term for themselves as different from other language groups." These remarks would stipulate the use of the term *!Xūu* for the central cluster (and possibly also for the northern one, cf. d) below).

The lack of information is most severe for the northern dialect cluster from Angola. With regard to naming I have used here in a very preliminary fashion a term established by D. Bleek (i.a. 1929) and repeatedly used by other scholars.¹⁴ The terms *Sekele* and *Kwankala* are exonyms given to the Angolan !Xūu by their Bantu neighbors and should be avoided.

b)

- linguistic research on variety 4 by the Bible Society in Namibia, resulting in religious texts (Bible Society 1974) and a first orthography (Department of Education 1969), followed by a second orthography (Zimmermann & al. 1987)

¹³ It may not be equally acceptable as a general term for all *ethnic* groups falling under the linguistically determined southern dialect cluster (cf. d) below).

¹⁴ The initial *!'o* stem refers to the different ecological conditions in southern Angola and the whole term could be rendered in English as 'Forest !Xūu'.

- linguistic research on variety 4 by J. Snyman, resulting in a grammar (Snyman 1970) and a phonetic-phonological study and dictionary (Snyman 1975)
- linguistic research on variety 4 by the late O. Köhler, resulting in a grammar (Köhler 1981c)
- linguistic research on variety 5 by the late T. Heikkinen, resulting in a phonological sketch (Heikkinen 1986) and a grammar (Heikkinen 1987)
- linguistic research on variety 4 with a predominantly practical orientation by the late P. Dickens, resulting in an officially recognized practical **orthography** (cf. Dickens 1991), a dictionary (**Dickens 1994**), a grammar (**Dickens Ms.**), and in cooperation with Megan Biesele, Joachim Pfaffe, the 'student teachers' and the Nyae Nyae community also various **teaching materials** (cf. Biesele 1995:61ff)
- most recent dialect survey of the Ju family by Snyman (1997)

c)

1. Prof. Megan Biesele, 4811-B Shoalwood Avenue, Austin, Texas, 78756, U.S.A.
Tel: +512-453-8935, Fax: +512-459-0589
e-mail: meganbie@io.com
2. Gqaina School (Johanna Labuschagne), contact possible via WIMSA
Tel: +568070
3. M.A. Amanda Miller-Ockhuizen, Dept. of Linguistics, Ohio State University, 222 Oxley Hall, 1712 Neil Avenue, Columbus, Ohio, 43210-1298, U.S.A.
e-mail: amiller@ling.ohio-state.edu
4. Nyae Nyae Farmer's Cooperative, contact possible via WIMSA
5. Omatako Valley Rest Camp Committee, contact possible via WIMSA
6. Prof. Jan W. Snyman, Department of African Languages, University of South Africa, PO Box 392, Pretoria 0001, South Africa
Tel: +27-12-429-8375, Fax: +27-12-429-3355
e-mail: snymajw@alpha.unisa.ac.za
7. Sonneblom/Donkerbos Committee, contact possible via WIMSA
8. Dom. Ferdinand Weich, Bible society, 8 Independence Avenue, PO Box 1926, Windhoek
Tel: +61-235090, Fax: +61-228663
9. !Xu and Khwe Communal Property Association (South Africa), contact possible via WIMSA

d)

The different territorial groups speaking varieties of the Ju language family were historically spread throughout a vast area of southern Angola, northern Namibia and northwestern Botswana. Accordingly, there always existed different auto- and exonyms of the various subgroups. Linguistically, the language varieties are fairly close. However, no totally conclusive linguistic evaluation regarding the notorious language-dialect distinction exists as yet. A major step forward was made with the recent and most extensive dialect survey by Snyman (1997). He distinguishes three dialect clusters, i.e. a southern (4), a central (5) and a northern (6) one. This classification conforms to various earlier accounts.

Köhler (1971, 1973/4, cited in Snyman 1980:25f), on account of inter-intelligibility, had drawn a major distinction between western and eastern Ju, which in Snyman's terms corresponds to a distinction *northern+central* vs. *southern* (cf. also the remark by Elderkin 1996:133). That is, Köhler considered the linguistic differences between northern and central Ju to be generally smaller.

Heikkinen (1987:1) who worked on varieties of the central cluster writes in a parallel fashion: "When I went to stay among the !Xū ... people in Ovamboland in the early 1970's and tried to write down their language, I had the foundation of Snyman's work (1969) and his proposal for an official orthography for the !Xū language available to build on. ... it turned out that the northwestern dialect [i.e. central Ju] differed considerably from the one on which his work was based [i.e. southern Ju]."

The southern cluster crosses the border with Botswana, spreading as far east as the Kavango delta. Regarding its internal make-up, a long standing ethnographic notion, which repeatedly interfered with linguistic classifications, must be mentioned: The Ju groups centered in former Bushmanland and to the east of it call themselves *Ju'hoan*, but those groups spread further south from the Omaheke sand veld into the Ghanzi area are commonly known in the literature as *ǀAu||en*. Although this seems to reflect an old ethnic division, linguistic analysis (cf. Snyman 1997) and information by insiders of the respective varieties (J. Labuschagne, p.c.) seem to indicate a relatively homogeneous southern dialect cluster comprising the ethnic groups *Ju'hoan*, the *ǀAu||en* and also the Ju speaking groups along the Omuramba Omatako.¹⁵

If all the above information proved to be basically correct, the distinction of *northern+central* vs. *southern* would be the major division within Ju and one possibly had to reckon with at least two standardization units. Such a basic division would be conveniently matched by naming the main language units as proposed in a) above, i.e. *!Xūu* vs. *Ju'hoan*, respectively.

Although no exact data is available, it is safe to say that the Ju represent the largest San population in Namibia in terms of both number of speakers and geographical distribution. Speakers of the northern Ju cluster were historically mainly confined to the southern parts of Angola. To date their original territory seems to be largely deserted due to the political upheavals in this region. Some of the Angolan !Xūu have found refuge in various locations in northern Namibia. The possibly biggest portion lives at Schmidtsdrift (South Africa).

e)

A variety of the southern dialect cluster, i.e. *Ju'hoan* from the Tsumkwe area, has exceptionally been subject to efforts of standardization since the late 1960's. Two previous orthographies, which were never taught though, were replaced in the late 1980's by a new orthography designed after extensive, practically oriented linguistic work by the late P. Dickens. It is characterized by Dickens (1991:100) as "a simplification of Snyman's" academically oriented writing system. Elderkin (1996:136ff) gives some fruitful comments on its possible improvement. The orthography was used in various subsequent publications suitable as first reference material (Dickens 1994, Ms.).

As the Ju varieties are quite close to each other, it can safely be assumed that Dickens' orthographic principles will be generally suitable for the whole family, irrespective of the question whether some other variety needs to be standardized separately from *Ju'hoan*. This is explicitly stated in Dickens (1994:9): "Standardization ... must ultimately be 'decided' by native-speakers themselves. On the other hand, the standard use of this

¹⁵ However, this evaluation needs additional confirmation through tests in more locations within the respective area. E.g., Hasselbring (1996:11, cited in Andersson/Janson 1997:124f) assumes for the Ju groups around Ghanzi in Botswana, that is, a portion of the *ǀAu||en*, that written *Ju'hoan* material could probably not be used by them.

orthography ..., as opposed to lexicon, grammar and usage, would not be out of place, since it would allow speakers easy access to materials written in other dialects. The orthography presented here is well-suited to other varieties of Ju."

Dickens' Ju|'hoan orthography served as the basis of the standard orthography for San languages to be proposed in section 4 below. Due to the much wider scope of the latter, there necessarily exist differences. Provided the consent of the involved communities, the Ju|'hoan orthography could easily be adapted to these changes.

f)

Meanwhile, a variety of teaching material based on the above orthography exists and is used at the Nyae Nyae village schools, a complete bibliography of which can be found in Biesele (1995:61ff). Although the whole process of implementing and developing the language for education still stands on a weak basis, it has proved to be the first successful attempt for a San language in this direction (cf. Biesele 1995, Heckler 1995). A short report on the present situation at the Nyae Nyae schools roughly five years after implementing Ju|'hoan teaching and problems to be addressed in the future can be found in Elderkin (1996).

Furthermore, there exist schools in other parts of the Ju speaking area, often initiated through private efforts, where the language is used for educational purposes, an example of which is Gqaina school in the Omaheke region where even a reader in Ju|'hoan was developed (cf. Brörmann 1997:16).

However, these comparatively encouraging situation should not distract from the fact that the great majority of children speaking a Ju variety as mother tongue do not benefit from mother tongue education.

g)

Variety 4:

- approach the Ju|'hoan communities as to their preparedness for orthographic changes in line with standard conventions for San languages
- extending the teaching in Ju|'hoan with existing material to all other areas of the southern cluster, that is, the Omaheke region, if necessary, after proper amendments
- elaboration of Ju|'hoan school material and teacher training
- possibility of providing material to the Ju speaking groups in Botswana

Varieties 5/6:

- linguistic study as to the degree of suitability of Ju|'hoan material for teaching children in the !Xūu areas
- > if basically suitable, extending the use of Ju|'hoan material to the !Xūu speaking region after making the necessary amendments
- > if not suitable, starting intensified linguistic research and preparing parallel reference material for !Xūu and subsequent implementation into schools
- possibility of providing material to the Ju speaking group in South Africa

2.7 !Xǎo (!Xoon)

a)

The problems encountered when trying to find names for the many varieties of this large dialect cluster is extensively discussed in Traill (1974). The above term usable for both the ethnic group and their language is an autonym found with various groups (i.a. the main one found in Namibia), but not with all of them.

The language family to which the !Xǎo dialect cluster genetically belongs is conveniently called *Taa* - a usage also going back to E. O. J. Westphal. However, no living relative of !Xǎo within this group remains.

b)

- geographical survey of the whole dialect cluster in Traill (1974)
- ongoing research on an eastern variety by A. Traill, i.a. resulting in a phonetic-phonological study (Traill 1985), a dictionary (Traill 1994), and texts (Traill in prep.)

c)

1. Dr. Tom Güldemann,¹⁶ Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig, Augustusplatz 9, Leipzig, D-04109, Germany
Tel: +49-341-9737034, Fax: +49-341-9737036
e-mail: gueldema@rz.uni-leipzig.de
2. Traditional leaders, contact possible via WIMSA
3. Prof. Anthony Traill, Department of Linguistics, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa
Tel: +27-11-716-2500, Fax: +27-11-716-4199
e-mail: 104anth@muse.arts.wits.ac.za
4. †Oenie School (Bets Daiber), Intu Afrika, PO Box 785, Mariental
Tel: +63-240652, Fax: +63-240663

d)

The speakers of this dialect cluster are spread over a large area in southwestern Botswana crossing the border into Namibia. Traill (1974:23, Map 4) distinguishes a western and an eastern sub-region within the whole dialect area and later provides some relevant linguistic data (ibid.:29f,37). Commenting on the most western groups he encountered in Namibia, that is, those within and in the vicinity of the former Aminuis reserve, Traill (p.c.) states that their language "is very different from the !Xǎo further east." This is not too surprising given the geographical distance between the Namibian variety in the west and the one at Lone Tree at the eastern end of the dialect chain, which he has been studying extensively. Information collected on a recent field trip to Aminuis and the Corridor point to the existence of dialectal differences even within Namibia, correlating with distinct autonoms of the subgroups, that is the !Xǎo proper and the |Hǎa. All this indicates that the Namibian variety may have to be standardized separately. Of course, a necessary precondition for this is its linguistic documentation.

The ethnic group (and its language) has until recently received no official recognition whatsoever in Namibia. Historically, the Namibian !Xǎo inhabited a much larger territory up to as far west as the Nossop river (cf. Bleek 1929:2). First inquiries lead to a picture where the !Xǎo proper originate in the Aminuis region, while the |Hǎa seem to have resided in the past more to the south up to Aranos. A. Traill still encountered groups in the 1970's in and around the southern part of the former Aminuis reserve (cf. Traill 1974). The recent field trip into the area showed a different situation. For reasons not yet

¹⁶ A research project to document the Namibian !Xǎo variety is planned for the future. However, its realization will largely depend on the availability of time and funding.

established, the Aminuis area seems to be largely abandoned by those who still uphold their identity. The main portion of the Namibian !Xõo resides today at various locations in the Corridor (from post 14 all the way down to post 22). The above two subgroups are, if ever in the past, no longer separated geographically. According to various sources, some !Xõo also still live and work on private farms of the wider area. Approximately 50 !Xõo from the Corridor are now employed and live rather permanently in the Intu Afrika Kalahari Game Reserve near Mariental (Hardap region) (cf. Thoma 1996:8f). The estimated number of !Xõo in Namibia is according to Axel Thoma (WIMSA) 1000. This would be certainly surprising, given Traill's current estimate of an overall total of not more than 4000 !Xõo, but their much larger territory in Botswana.

e)

none

f)

As is the case for almost all San children, those attending school are forced to learn in a medium different from their mother tongue (e.g. Khoekhoe in Hoachanas or Tswana in Erka and Corridor 13) and accordingly their results are reported to be poor.

Recently, a community school serving mainly the !Xõo group residing at Intu Afrika has opened, where an effort is being made to incorporate !Xõo in the teaching process with the help of adult mother tongue speakers (cf. Brörmann 1997:16). This effort is still severely hampered by the lack of !Xõo reference and teaching material and language problems on the part of all parties involved in this project.

g)

- linguistic documentation of Namibian !Xõo in cooperation with A. Traill

2.8 !'Auni

a)

no conclusive information

b)

- grammar notes and short vocabulary by Bleek (1937)

c)

none

d)

Due to the lack of sufficient information about the language, its specific status vis-a-vis other genetically related San languages and thus even the names for both the ethnic group and its language are still unclear. It is classified as a member of the !Ui family of languages.

The language used to be spoken in a still rather undetermined area in the border triangle between Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. With the establishment of the Gemsbok National Park in South Africa a considerable portion of the speech community was forced out of one of its last refuges and dispersed subsequently. Until recently !'Auni was considered among linguists to be on the verge of extinction (cf. i.a. Traill 1974:41ff).

However, a recent search for San speakers in South Africa carried out by SASI in cooperation with A. Traill revealed that there is a handful of speakers left in the Northern Cape of South Africa. Given this information it is not impossible that there also still exist !'Auni speakers on Namibian territory, e.g., on farms opposite the national border with South Africa along the above mentioned National Park.¹⁷

e)

none

f)

none

g)

- urgent sociolinguistic survey in Namibia

> if speakers are found, joined linguistic documentation of the language in South Africa and Namibia as part of the cultural heritage of these two countries (independently from its vitality, future survival and the possibility of implementing it in education and other public domains)

¹⁷ It is remarkable in this respect that the 1991 population census (Central ... 1994) gives 44 and 28 San speakers for the Hardap and Karas region, respectively, although this does not of course give a clue as to the particular language spoken.

3 Proposed sequence of the development of Namibian San languages into literacy and general proposals for San language development

The following sequence for the development of San languages into literacy is proposed on account of the following factors:

- general advancement of linguistic research
- availability of reference materials
- availability of language specialists
- number of speakers and language vitality in Namibia

The specific details of these parameters for each language can be found in the previous section.

- | | |
|------|------------------------|
| I. | Ju!'hoan (4) |
| II. | Kxoe (2) |
| III. | Hai om and †Akhoe (1) |
| IV. | !Xūu (5,6) |
| V. | !Xǎo (7) |
| VI. | Naro (3) |
| VII. | !'Auni (8) |

In addition to the ideas on an initial literacy program for Namibian San speakers given in Crawhall (1998) some further general comments and proposals are in place now.

First, even the languages which are documented to a fairly large extent still require a large amount of linguistic research, especially with a practical orientation. Admittedly, the practical needs of the San communities have only insufficiently been recognized by linguists in their past research. However, the conclusion which is sometimes drawn in a general fashion that linguists are not prepared for such 'extra-work' is certainly incorrect. The history of Ju!'hoan research and language planning demonstrates this clearly. In spite of the important contributions of scholars like J. W. Snyman and P. J. Dickens toward the linguistic documentation and standardization of Ju!'hoan the latter is still a highly marginalized language in Namibian society. It is obvious that the boldest efforts of individuals for any form of advancement of San peoples are likely to stagnate or even fail, as long as a general sociopolitical climate ensuring equal rights and development for them is lacking. A sustained public commitment to San language development will certainly invite and motivate scholars specialized in these languages to provide their indispensable expertise in this process.

This is connected to a general problem: Today, it is often not the lack of effort, but the fragmentation of the work carried out by various parties that hampers an overall progress in San development in general and language issues in particular: A public body may be ignorant of the work done by another institution engaged in the same or a related field, a linguist may develop an orthography in isolation, an organizationally advanced San community may decide to go its own way or acquire a de-facto monopoly on certain decisions, etc. In order to avoid such undesirable events it is advised that some kind of permanent framework ensuring a close cooperation between San communities, public

institutions, support organizations and linguists in language planning is established.¹⁸ The experience of many people involved in past activities shows that only an institutionalized networking procedure will provide the opportunity of coordinating the activities of every party that needs to be involved in San language planning.

When thinking about the possible involvement of people in the overall process of San language development one important potential is often underestimated. Especially in some areas of northern Namibia, where San people live and work on commercial farms, there exists an if small, though potentially important number of farmers and their families who have acquired a remarkable language competence in one or another San language and might be prepared to support future educational objectives.¹⁹ Their experience and skills should be incorporated in the educational and language planning projects concerning San languages.²⁰

In addition to individuals and organizations already mentioned the following institutions are also to be included into the planning of a framework of San language development:

- + Department of African Languages, c/o Prof. Edward D. Elderkin, University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek
Tel: +61-206-3844/-45, Fax: +61-206-3806
e-mail: whaacke@unam.na
- + Intersectoral Task Force on Educationally Marginalised Children, Ministry of Basic Education
- + Ombili Foundation, PO Box 137, Tsumeb, 9000
Tel: +67-230056, Fax: +67-220592
- + South African San Institute (SASI), 5 Long Street, 7700, Mowbray, Cape Town, South Africa
Tel: +27-21-685-4223, Fax: +27-21-685-4223
e-mail: sasi@iafrica.com
- + Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), PO Box 80733, Windhoek
Tel: +61-244909, Fax: +61-272806
e-mail: wimsareg@iafrica.com.na

Another basic problem regarding San language development has to be mentioned and one practical approach how this could be addressed in the future will be proposed. It will have become clear from previous remarks that the available 'man power' to accomplish linguistic documentation of Khoesan languages is to date extremely small - not the least because acquiring the necessary competence in such a language by a non-native speaker is a very difficult and time consuming undertaking. Moreover, this lack

¹⁸ On the part of the San communities, suitable conditions for their joint and integrated participation in this process already exist with the establishment of WIMSA and its support organization SASI (see below) serving as an umbrella institution of the great majority of San organizations in Southern Africa.

¹⁹ A recent survey (Namibia ... 1997), e.g., shows at least three out of 29 commercial farms with San speaking workers where the medium of communication between employer and workers is a San language (in these cases with all probability a Ju variety). As the survey is not exhaustive for Namibia and moreover does not reflect all people with non-native San language competence, their total number is presumably higher.

²⁰ Cf. also Mendelsohn/Swartz/Avenstrup (1995:6) discussing farm schools as one way to address the special educational needs of San children.

of qualified experts possibly carrying out the most urgent research will not change in the near future.

On the other hand, efforts aiming at language documentation and maintenance for minority languages in America and Australia have shown that mother tongue speakers having undergone practically oriented training in linguistic analysis and the use of personal computers can enormously contribute to speeding up the whole process of language development. Such kind of training to be carried out at appropriate university institutions like, e.g., the Department of African Languages - University of Namibia,²¹ would not require a university entrance degree on the part of the chosen San language speakers. A careful choice of individuals in the San community and a special, subject oriented preparatory course, i.a. to teach English language skills, could be sufficient for their further training in linguistic analysis and its application for language development and planning.

Such a procedure could be integrated in and coordinated by the San language planning body as proposed above. The necessary funding for the maintenance of the people undergoing such training and the payment of the expenses of other parties involved could be sought in available²² or still to be established schemes of scholarships.

Last but not least, such a procedure can also serve as the first step toward the desirable formation of a linguistically trained group of San mother tongue speakers who eventually can actively take part in and broaden academic Khoesan research, which for obvious reasons has heretofore been the exclusive field of a very small number of non-San scholars.

Finally, provided that a language is sufficiently developed for being implemented as a medium of instruction in school, another important problem regarding school enrolment by San children will have to be addressed in the future. It is a frequent experience of various individuals who are familiar with the situation of San children regarding language and education (e.g. U. Kann, J. Labuschagne, F. Weich, p.c.) that for various reasons San children attending school are often subjected to discrimination by non-San children and teachers. This is one major reason of the high rate of San children drop-outs.

Even the few schools which explicitly try to meet the specific educational and language needs of San children must observe a process in which children with a non-San language background increasingly attend these schools finally outnumbering the children of the original target group. This must ultimately result in the change of the medium of instruction. Due to the relatively small number of San children even in areas where San communities are concentrated this will remain a constant pattern in the future, if no appropriate affirmative action will be taken.

For this reason it is proposed that in spite of the current constitutional situation special conditions for schools using a San language as medium of instruction will be established in order to ensure their continued availability for San children.²³ Without such special regulations all efforts to develop San languages for implementation in school must be fruitless for this purpose.

²¹ First consultations with its head, Prof. E. D. Elderkin, confirmed that the department would be prepared to participate in such efforts provided that an appropriate scheme and the necessary specialized teaching capacity will be established (for contact see below).

²² Cf., e.g., Brörmann (1997:15) regarding 'The Marjorie Shostak Scholarship Fund'.

²³ After all, a procedure where San-language skills of a child are examined before school admission does not exclude non-San children to attend such a school.

4 Preliminaries for a standardized orthography of non-Bantu click languages in southern Africa

4.1 Introductory remarks

The following presentation is a first proposal for necessary decisions which all the San communities that wish to reduce their language to writing will be confronted with in the future. The decisions themselves must ultimately be taken by each community itself. However, certain objectives laid down by the presently organized San groups on the one hand and the linguistic complexity of their languages on the other hand clearly demand a joint effort by both the speakers of and the specialists working on these languages. Thus, the whole problem has a political and a practical dimension.

That the search for unified orthographic conventions specifically aims at a sub-group of southern African languages using clicks (that is, excluding Bantu languages) should be viewed against the following background:

- a) The major Bantu languages using clicks have a well established tradition of writing with their own orthographic conventions, while San languages do not.
- b) Basic orthographic conventions available for Bantu click languages prove to be unsuitable for the much higher phonemic complexity of an average Khoesan language.
- c) A unified orthography conforming with such a shared linguistic complexity of this sub-group of click languages may have the desirable effect of enhancing and strengthening communication and cohesion among the various San communities, which collectively have been subject to discrimination and marginalization throughout history by all other groups in the region.

That this latter aspect is a strongly felt concern of the people themselves, can be exemplified by remarks found in official documents of San organizations. As Ngakaeaja & al. (1997:3) write: "Different academics with different interests visit different communities with different interests. The findings of such studies which could easily be standardized often bear no uniformity e.g. every linguist introduces his own style of orthography. The effect is often not only confusion between the researchers but also division of communities." WIMSA, representing a wide network of San communities in southern Africa, speaks of an "urgent need to standardize the orthography of the various San languages in the southern African region. Although WIMSA is cognizant of the fact that different schools of thought exist amongst the linguists researching San languages, it hopes for the sake of the San communities that the academics will be able to overcome their different views and agree on a standardized orthography for the region. This would firstly enable San communities to exchange learning and teaching materials across borders and secondly equip them to identify the symbols and thus the phonetics of other San languages than their own mother tongue." (Brörmann 1997:17)

4.2 A discussion of basic orthographic principles

The following standardized San orthography is mainly inspired by the presently established practical orthography of Ju|'hoan as designed by P. Dickens. This is for several reasons. First, it is the only attempt of developing a San language into literacy, that heretofore holds a promise of ultimate success, if reinforced by further public efforts. Secondly, it is up to now also the only one, that received official recognition (though not much more than that). Last but not least, the ideas underlying his orthography factually recognize generally accepted orthographic principles and are based on sound language skills and a long experience in teaching literacy in different Khoesan languages.²⁴

Dickens (1991:99) presented his orthographic guidelines as follows:

- (a) That all phonemes be symbolized differently.
- (b) That the orthography be easy to learn, type and typeset.
- (c) That traditional and internationally recognized click symbols be used.

Principle a) is straightforward and will not receive further comment. Dickens' principle b) addresses mainly the often prolific use of diacritics in writing Khoesan languages. According to his personal experience with teaching two different San languages, many diacritics hamper easy learnability of the orthography and may also offer problems for typing at least with mechanical writing devices.

His principle c), that is the question of whether to use the traditional and linguistically established IPA (International Phonetic Association) symbols or letters from the Roman alphabet (as is the case in some southern African Bantu languages) for the orthographic representation of clicks has to be addressed more extensively.

The whole problem was discussed recently at a Naro orthography workshop held in Ghanzi. For various reasons, the preliminary decision was made in favor of retaining the Roman symbols used since the early 1990's. Tsonope/Batibo (1997:3) give their pros and cons of this controversy, which will serve as a basis for the following discussion.²⁵

I will try to show that the arguments entertained in favor of Roman symbols are not as straightforward as they may seem and argue that IPA symbols should always be chosen for a Khoesan language when a decision has to be made for the first time or an established tradition stands to debate. For this aim, I list schematically the respective parameters and their evaluation vis-a-vis the two options, i.e. IPA vs. Roman, as they are discussed in the above source and will then comment on some of these points:²⁶

²⁴ After all it is a well justified homage to Patrick Dickens that the results of his academically well founded, but practically oriented endeavor, which in this form is heretofore exceptional among linguists, will not be discarded, but find a continuation and be improved in the future.

²⁵ I do not know the circumstances that in the first place led to the establishment of the use of Roman symbols for clicks in Naro. Although I consider this a very unfortunate situation, it is clear that this meanwhile 6-year old tradition can only be changed by the community itself after it has been well-informed on all aspects of the problem. In this sense, my following remarks do not specifically address the Naro case and its current handling of the parties involved, but aim at a general evaluation of the pros and cons of the two available options. Regarding the general problem, cf. also Westhuizen (1979) presenting a previous Ju|'hoan orthography using Roman click symbols and Westphal/Weich (1979) commenting on it and revealing the shortcomings that resulted from this solution.

²⁶ The symbols mean: + 'positive for' and - 'negative for' the respective solution.

No	Parameter	IPA	Roman
1	International and academic recognition	+	-
2	Use in already officially recognized orthographies	+	-
3	Uniqueness of phoneme systems in non-Bantu click languages	+	-
4	Identity of Khoesan peoples	+	-
5	Ambiguity with symbols used for other phonemes	+	-
6	Ambiguity with non-phoneme symbols like ! or /	-	+
7	Typing	-	+
8	Capitalization of words	-	+
9	Conformity to Bantu orthographies	-	+
10	Attitudes of non-San speakers	-	+

I do not have much to add on the five first parameters, as the advantages of IPA symbols are apparent and are also recognized by the above authors. The only point I have to add concerns parameter 1: The problem of Roman symbols does not only lie in the question of their lack of external recognition. A very crucial factor is the future correspondence of academically and practically oriented writing on and in San languages. IPA symbols have been, presently are and almost certainly will be the standard in the great majority of academic writing. It is clear that an option for Roman symbols in the practical domain alienates one strain of engagement with San languages from the other. For one reason, this is an even more crucial problem in the future: Apparently, the only way to ensure sustained linguistic research and practical development of San languages will be the active participation on the part of the San speakers themselves. For these mother tongue speakers, Roman orthographic symbols implicitly deny and practically hamper the access to almost all academic writing on their languages.

In the following, those points will be discussed which are mentioned in Tsonope/Batibo (1997) to speak against IPA click symbols, but in favor of Roman ones.

ad 6 - *Ambiguity with non-phoneme symbols*: Due to the enormous proliferation of phonological distinctions in Khoesan languages it is not surprising that some ambiguities with certain writing symbols are unavoidable. However, if one has to choose between the ambiguity of a click symbol with a letter normally used and almost certainly needed for another phoneme of the language (cf. parameter 5) or its ambiguity with a punctuation or arithmetic sign, there is only one possible decision, that is circumventing ambiguities with phonemes in favor of ambiguities with non-phonemes.

Note furthermore that the ambiguities of IPA click symbols with punctuation and arithmetic signs hardly ever arise in practice. Clicks can occur only initially and medially, but never finally in a word. That is, click symbols are always followed by some other letter that also pertains to the orthographic word. Thus, the symbols /, !, and =, when representing a click consonant, can almost never be confused with their standard uses outside the context of a word.

ad 7 - *Typing*: Dickens (1991:100) has clearly shown that the IPA symbols of the four most common clicks, i.e. |, ||, !, and † can easily be typed on even the most traditional devices like typewriters. His solutions, which are all well in use among linguists too, are /, //, !, and =, respectively.

A solution has still to be found for a typable symbol of the labial click ⊙, which is found among the languages to be standardized at least in !Xḁo. In line with the general option to use non-Roman symbols, it is proposed here to use the question mark ? for the labial click, when the available typing device cannot provide for the standard symbol ⊙. Apart

from my view that there are even optical similarities between the two signs ? and ⊙, the fact that the question mark belongs to the same set of symbols commonly used for punctuation etc. will make it perceptually easier to associate its use as a phoneme with the other click symbols. A solution using another Roman letter or even a letter combination is only bound to increase the already existing ambiguities in this framework.²⁷

ad 8 - *Capitalization of words*: As the officially established orthographies of Khoekhoe and Ju|'hoan show, there has in fact never existed a *practical* problem with transparently capitalizing a word with an initial IPA click symbol - the first Roman symbol is used for this purpose. The resulting effect that the first letter of an orthographic word is not always the one capitalized is even accepted in Bantu languages.²⁸ That IPA click symbols cannot be capitalized themselves certainly distinguishes them from other letters; however, this does not affect their general orthographic feasibility in capitalized words.

ad 9 - *Conformity to Bantu orthographies*: After decades of neglect and marginalization of San peoples and their languages it is hardly conceivable that a sufficiently large portion of non-San are going to learn a San language in the near future. In this respect, a high orthographic conformity between Bantu and San languages on the cost of orthographic practicability in the latter is not justifiable. The priority clearly has to be put on mother tongue literacy in order to halt the sometimes rapid processes of decay and final extinction of San languages.

Furthermore, Elderkin (1996:137) writes: "If an orthography is consonant with the innate linguistic competence of the speakers of that language, the learning process is facilitated." I would like to add that a good orthography will certainly respond not only to 'innate linguistic competence' but as well to linguistic competence achieved in second language acquisition, that is, it will certainly benefit the interested non-San too.

Finally, this argument also ignores the fact that words containing clicks are in fact very rare in the Bantu languages with official status in Botswana and Namibia - after all they have their most probable origin in a San language. It was the very absence of the extremely elaborate inventory of click and non-click consonants so typical for San languages that allowed to represent clicks in Bantu by way of Roman symbols. As already indicated, the great majority of Khoesan phoneme systems does not render themselves to such a treatment.

ad 10 - *Attitudes of non-San speakers*: The hope that Roman click symbols could help to "destigmatize the Khoesan languages and their speakers" (ibid.:3), must unfortunately stand to question. Attitudes between different ethnic groups which often also result in linguistic discrimination are certainly not shaped by orthographies nor will they ultimately be changed by alphabetic 'assimilation'. Such an objective apparently requires first of all political and social measures. In fact, only the very acceptance of the uniqueness of different cultures (and their linguistic expressions) would reflect a real atmosphere of non-discrimination within a society. In this sense, accepting the enormous complexity of sound in Khoesan languages and taking this into account in practical orthographies, which after all are first of all designed to serve the native speaker and not to please other people's eyes, can help to position these languages and their speakers at a place they deserve within a wider spectrum of cultural and linguistic diversity.

²⁷ Cf. e.g. the replacement of the IPA click symbol ꞥ by Roman symbols in Naro. There, an undesirable digraph *tc* is currently used. Both single symbols have other standard uses in orthographies. In the orthography proposed below, even the digraph is reserved for another sound, that is the palatal affricate.

²⁸ Cf., e.g., a word like *chiShona* 'Shona language'.

4.3 Proposals for a standardized orthographic representation of phonemes in non-Bantu click languages

4.3.1 The consonant system

As mentioned above, the orthography to be proposed here is very much inspired by the current practical Ju|'hoan orthography as designed by P. Dickens. However, it will become apparent that

- a) not all of Dickens' solutions are feasible from an overall comparative viewpoint,
- b) additional regulations have to be found for phenomena that do not exist in Ju|'hoan.

This is for the following reasons: Firstly, some of Dickens' orthographic solutions are deficient from within the Ju|'hoan system itself and have partly already been commented upon by Elderkin (1996:139ff) and Snyman (forthc. b). Secondly, standardized orthographic conventions for the whole group of San languages necessarily have to consider more than just the features of the phoneme system of one language.

The following chart of consonants and their systematic interrelations is based on results of a cross-Khoesan survey of phoneme systems and their phonetic and phonological interpretation. The whole linguistic argumentation cannot be laid out here. Suffice it to say that two crucial assumptions can be shown to conform to the increased amount of empirical data about Khoesan sound systems. They have been previously entertained in Khoesan research, first of all by A. Traill (1985), and can be summarized as follows:

- a) Ingressive consonants (i.e. clicks) are entirely integrated with the rest of the egressive consonant system and appear in this respect to be quite ordinary speech sounds.²⁹
- b) Many ingressive (and some egressive) phonemes have to be analyzed as consonant clusters, the structure of which is defined by strict co-occurrence restrictions.³⁰

Another frequently observed phonological phenomenon has been taken into account in the choice of orthographic symbols for certain complex consonants: Normal voicing and the so-called *voice lead* occurring with consonants that are usually incompatible with voicing work systematically in an identical manner so that these two features need not be distinguished in their orthographic representation.

A final point only concerns the ingressive consonants. It can be observed in the appendix below, that nasalization and voicing of clicks receive across all orthographies a unitary treatment in terms of the symbol (i.e. /n/ and /g/ resp.), but not in terms of the latter's position (i.e. before or after the click). From the available phonetic analyses on Khoesan languages it becomes clear that these two features, when phonologically relevant, are markedly distinct from the other recognized click accompaniments in two respects. First, they are the only ones, that can co-occur with other accompaniments and thus represent together with the plain click the most basic ingressives. Secondly, they consistently have their phonetic onset before the articulation of the click. Therefore, their representation *before* the click symbol is the most suitable solution for orthographic reasons (esp. when cooccurring with additional sound features) and also phonetically more appropriate.

²⁹ Most presentations of Khoesan phoneme systems treat egressive (non-click) and ingressive (click) consonants separately in two subsystems. However, a cross-Khoesan survey shows that the basic phonological distinctions for egressive and ingressive stops and nasals are identical, which renders their separate analysis unnecessary.

³⁰ Roughly speaking, the only possible cluster in Khoesan is in terms of place of articulations a sequence: anterior consonant + posterior consonant. This can be explained with the help of the below table. The first constituent of a cluster (conveniently called the *cluster onset*) can only be recruited from the series of simple stops up to column IX (that is including all ingressives). The second constituent of a cluster (conveniently called the *cluster offset*) can only be some voiceless stop or fricative of the velar or uvular place of articulation. The latter appear in bold script in the following consonant chart.

Note that the apparent orthographic symmetry rests on the phonologically motivated possibility to relate all complex consonants and clusters to plain consonants. That is, the latter potentially undergo as a whole set a particular phonetic elaboration (e.g. adding a glottal gesture as in line S2). Given this high degree of phonological systematicity and assuming that its recognition in the orthographic design will facilitate the acquisition of the orthography by the learner, an additional principle will be established here, that is **that phonological systematicity should be reflected in the orthography**.³¹

I have slightly deviated from the latter principle only in one case: In most Khoesian languages the systematic ejective counterpart of the velar plosive is not a plosive /k'/ but an affricate /kx'/. Moreover, most languages do not have a phonemic distinction between /k'/ and /kx'/.³² Therefore, the salient fricative feature of the velar ejective as a plain stop (cf. S2-X) or as a cluster offset (cf. S5) can be preferably represented orthographically in most cases.

Snyman (forthc. a) is the most recent and comprehensive attempt to standardize writing conventions for Khoesian consonants. Note that a comparison of his work with this proposal will reveal that many of the solutions for egressives and also partly for ingressives³³ are identical, but receive now with the phonological approach pursued here a stronger linguistic foundation.³⁴

The consonant chart in its present form contains only phonemes which are actually attested in the following Khoesian languages (language family in brackets): !Xoǝ (Taa), †Khomani (!Ui), Ju!'hoan (Ju), G|ui (Khoe), Kxoe (Khoe), Naro (Khoe), and Khoekhoe (Khoe). However, newly attested phonemes fitting in this system can be easily incorporated in an orthographically consistent manner.³⁵ Some consonants like prenasalized or palatal stops which are rare and untypical for Khoesian, but do occur in some languages are not considered. However, they also find a solution consistent with the framework presented here.³⁶

It will become apparent that the multiplicity of sounds in Khoesian completely exhausts the inventory of Roman orthographic symbols and this even if they do not serve to represent clicks. Thus, increasing the symbolic load of Roman letters by using them for clicks is bound to produce orthographic solutions which are highly idiosyncratic from

³¹ Apart from a different analysis of some ingressives, this principle is mainly responsible for the changes that Dicken's orthography had to undergo in order to serve as a cross-Khoesian orthography. It will become apparent in the Ju!'hoan table (cf. S2 and S5) given in the appendix below that Dickens' orthographic solutions blur the systematic relations between ejective egressives (/t'/, /k'/ etc.), glottalized ingressives (/!'/ etc.) and clusters with an ejective as cluster off-set (/!x'/ etc.). Cf. also Snyman (forthc. b, 1.1.2) for the same argument.

³² Until now, only G|ui and very marginally !Xǝo have been found to possess such a distinction.

³³ Cf., e.g., the largely unnecessary representation of a velar closure or writing the voice and nasal click feature consistently before the click.

³⁴ With regard to the possibility of a future acceptance of this proposal (or at least parts thereof) in the linguistic community, it should be mentioned that it has already been discussed with E. D. Elderkin, W. H. G. Haacke, J. Snyman and A. Traill and has met first positive reactions. A. Traill is prepared to apply this consonant orthography to Namibian !Xǝo - belonging to the phonologically most complex Khoesian language group. It is planned to further discuss this approach with other scholars involved in Khoesian studies in general and Namibian languages in particular.

³⁵ Cf., e.g., the gaps in the lines S2-5.

³⁶ Prenasalized stops, e.g., can be presented by the stop preceded by its homorganic nasal. Thus: /mb/, /nd/, and /ngg/.

both a cross-linguistic and a Khoesan perspective and are also less economic due to the numerical increase of di- and trigraphs.³⁷

The table below as those of the appendix make use of various abbreviations. These are as follows: Af affricate, Al alveolar, asp. aspiration, Dt dental, Egr. egressive, Gl glottal, glott. glottalization, Ingr. ingressive, Lb labial, Lt lateral, P. plain, Pl palatal, Uv uvular, V. voice(d), Vl velar. Moreover, the columns and lines are numbered to facilitate easy reference to certain consonant types and to make easy comparison between the various consonant charts given in this report.

³⁷ Cf. in this respect the currently used Naro orthography as given in the appendix: The use of /x/ for the lateral click (column V) causes the replacement of /x/ for /g/ as the velar fricative (F-X). This again has repercussions in the representation of the voiced velar plosive (S1-X), the velar ejective affricate (S2-X) and all stop clusters with a velar fricative (S4) or ejective (S5) as a cluster offset. Furthermore, all palatal clicks (column VIII) have to be presented with an additional letter, as the plain click is a digraph.

Normed consonant representation for non-Bantu click languages

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	Egr.	Egr.	Egr.	Egr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Egr.	Egr.	Egr.
	Lb	Al	Al-Af	Pl-Af	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	Lb	Vl	Uv	Gl
Resonants (R)												
	w	l/r		y								
Fricatives (F)												
Plain	f	s		c						x		h
Voiced	v	z		j								
Stops (S)												
1 Plain	p	t	ts	tc			!	‡	⊙	k	q	'
Voiced	b	d	dz	dj	g	g	g!	g‡	g⊙	g	gq	
Complex stops												
2 P.+glott.		t'	ts'	tc'	'	'	!'	‡'	⊙'	k(x)'	q'	
V.+glott.			dz'	dj'						g(x)'		
3 P.+asp.	ph	th	tsh	tch	h	h	!h	‡h	⊙h	kh	qh	
V.+asp.	bh	dh	dzh	djh	g h	g h	g!h	g‡h	g⊙h	gh	gqh	
Stop clusters												
4 P.+/x/		tx	tsx	tcx	x	x	!x	‡x	⊙x			
V.+/x/		dx	dzx	djx	g x	g x	g!x	g‡x	g⊙x			
5 P.+/k(x)'/	px'	tx'	tsx'		x'	x'	!x'	‡x'	⊙x'			
V.+/k(x)'/		dx'	dzx'		g x'	g x'	g!x'	g‡x'	g⊙x'			
6 P.+/kh/					kh	kh	!kh	‡kh	⊙kh			
V.+/kh/					g kh	g kh	g!kh	g‡kh	g⊙kh			
7 P.+/k'/					k'	k'	!k'	‡k'	⊙k'			
8 P.+/q/					q	q	!q	‡q	⊙q			
V.+/q/					g q	g q	g!q	g‡q	g⊙q			
9 P.+/q'/					q'	q'	!q'	‡q'	⊙q'			
10 P.+/qh/					qh	qh	!qh	‡qh	⊙qh			
Nasals (N)												
1 Plain	m	n		ny	n	n	n!	n‡	n⊙	ng		
V.-less					nh	nh	nh!	nh‡	nh⊙			
Complex nasals												
2 P.+glott.	'm	'n			'n	'n	'n!	'n‡	'n⊙			

4.3.2 Vowels and vowel features

The proposal as presented here is far from being an exhaustive treatment of all the orthographic problems encountered in San languages. Questions of word division and punctuation must be ignored completely, as no sufficient data is available to address this issue. The proposal focuses first of all on the multitude of *consonant* phonemes in Khoesan languages.

With regard to vowel distinctions and prosodic features, which are equally complex, I have to confine myself to merely supporting some basic solutions established by Dickens for Ju|'hoan. Research to be still accomplished in the future will show whether these are also suitable for other San languages.

Regarding the inventory of basic vowels, the Roman letters /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/ appear to suffice for all languages known so far, as Khoesan languages generally have a system of five basic vowel phonemes.

Dickens' orthographic options to symbolize suprasegmental vowel features, that is, nasalization with /n/, breathiness with /h/, pharyngealization with /q/, and glottalization with /' (and thus avoiding completely super- and subscript diacritics) are also proposed for a standardized San orthography. Apart from their advantages mentioned by himself like easier orthography acquisition and reduced typing problems two additional points in their favor should be mentioned.³⁸

First, they adequately express another bit of phonological systematicity in Khoesan insofar as most of these phonetic gestures are also relevant for consonants and are symbolized orthographically in the same way. This is in accordance with the above principle favoring a correlation between phonological and orthographic systematicity.

Furthermore, as no super- or subscripts on vowels would have to be used so far, one is saved an important option to represent tonal features by way of appropriate diacritics. This is all the more important for the fact that for hardly any San language it is with the present stage of knowledge decidable as to what extent it will be necessary to orthographically consider such features.³⁹ As the prosodic analysis of Khoesan languages is still one of the least advanced research domains and its advancement will due to the complexity of this field not be a fast one, the application of Dickens' orthographic conventions offers an option that is open to all future eventualities.

Due to the prevailing situation mentioned the treatment of tone itself cannot be addressed here. Apparently, more research is urgently needed in the field of vowels and their suprasegmental features. This will also help to clarify the still unresolved question on a cross-Khoesan feasibility of the conventions proposed here and specify the most suitable order of these symbols when the respective phonetic features cooccur in a stem.

A short note on double vowels and diphthongs will finish this admittedly short section: Taking the present knowledge about the prototypical characteristics of canonic lexical stems in Khoesan languages into account, that is, they have a basic structure CV(C)V, it is advised to write stems lacking the second consonant with a double vowel and to avoid the representation of diphthongs like /ui/ and /oe/ using the symbol /w/.

³⁸ Cf. also Elderkin (1996:141).

³⁹ See Bernard/Ngong Mbeh/Handwerker (1995) and Elderkin (1996:142) for the existing controversy about the general problem.

4.3.3 Proposed norm of orthographic symbols for non-Bantu click languages

On the basis of the above arguments, the following standard use of Roman and IPA symbols in practical San language orthographies is proposed. Note that these conventions do not contain a single technical restriction on the writing device, that is, they are suitable for a conventional typewriter or a simple PC-font, even with the representation of the most complex sound systems found so far in Khoesan.

symbol⁴⁰ as phoneme	as phonetic gesture in complex consonants
a	
b	labial (pre)voiced stop
c	(alveo)palatal v.-less fricative (alveo)palatal voiceless friction with affricates
d	alveolar (pre)voiced stop
e	
f	labial voiceless fricative
g	velar (pre)voiced stop voicing with click stops and uvular egressives
h	glottal voiceless fricative aspiration with stops and breathiness with vowels ⁴¹
i	
j	(alveo)palatal voiced fricative (alveo)palatal voiced friction with affricates
k	velar voiceless stop
l	lateral resonant
m	labial nasal
n	alveolar nasal click nasal or nasalization with vowels
o	
p	labial voiceless stop
q	uvular voiceless stop pharyngealization with vowels
r	alveolar resonant
s	alveolar voiceless fricative alveolar voiceless friction with affricates
t	alveolar voiceless stop
u	
v	labial voiced fricative
w	labial glide
x	velar voiceless fricative velar voiceless friction with affricates
y	(alveo)palatal glide palatalization with egressive stops
z	alveolar voiced fricative alveolar voiced friction with affricates
(//)	lateral click
(/)	dental click
!	alveolar click
‡ (=)	lamino-palatal click
⊙ (?)	bilabial click
'	glottal stop glottalization with stops, nasals and vowels

⁴⁰ The symbols in brackets are proposed for typing.

⁴¹ Voicelessness in click nasals in !Xõo

5 References⁴²

- Andersson, Lars-Gunnar & Tore Janson. 1997. *Languages in Botswana: language ecology in southern Africa*. Longman Botswana: Gaborone.
- Barnard, Alan. 1985. *A Nharo wordlist with notes on grammar*. Occasional Publications 2. Durban: Department of African Studies, University of Natal.
- Bernard, H. Russell, George Ngong Mbeh & Penn Handwerker. 1995. The tone problem. In Traill, Anthony, Rainer Voßen & Megan Biesele (eds.), *The complete linguist: papers in memory of Patrick J. Dickens*, 27-44. Köln: Köppe.
- Bible Society. 1974. *Markusa*. Cape Town.
- Biesele, Megan. 1995. Patrick Dicken's Ju|'hoan linguistics work. In Traill, Anthony, Rainer Voßen & Megan Biesele (eds.), *The complete linguist: papers in memory of Patrick J. Dickens*, 5-68. Köln: Köppe.
- Bleek, Dorothea F. 1928. *The Naron: a Bushman tribe of the central Kalahari*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bleek, Dorothea F. 1929. *Comparative vocabularies of Bushman languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bleek, Dorothea F. 1937. Grammatical notes and texts in the |Auni language and |Auni vocabulary. *Bantu Studies* 11:253-278.
- Brenzinger, Matthias. 1997. *Moving to survive: Kxoe communities in arid lands*. Khoisan Forum, Working Papers 2. Köln: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln.
- Brörmann, Magdalena. 1997. *WIMSA report on activities: April 1996 to March 1997*. Windhoek: WIMSA.
- Central Statistics Office. 1994. *Population and housing census 1991, report B: statistical tables*. Windhoek: National Planning Commission, Republic of Namibia.
- Crawhall, Nigel. 1997. *Results of consultation with #Khomani, !Xu and Khwe communities*. Cape Town: South African San Institute.
- Crawhall, Nigel. 1998. *Preliminary considerations on a first-language initial literacy programme for speakers of San languages in Namibia*. Cape Town: South African San Institute.
- Department of Education. 1969. *!Xū (A Bushman language) orthography No. 1*. Windhoek: Administration of South West Africa.
- Dickens, Patrick J. 1991. Ju|'hoan orthography in practice. *South African Journal of African Languages* 11,1:99-104.
- Dickens, Patrick J. 1994. *English-Ju|'hoan|Jul|'hoan-English dictionary*. Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung 8. Köln: Köppe.
- Dickens, Patrick J. Ms. *Ju|'hoan grammar*. Unpublished. Windhoek: Nyae Nyae Development Foundation.
- Elderkin, Edward D. 1996. Ju|'hoan orthography and its use. In Legère, Karsten (ed.), *African languages in basic education: proceedings of the first workshop on African languages in basic education*, 132-146. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.
- Haacke, Wilfrid, E. Eiseb & Levi Namaseb. Internal and external relations of Khoekhoe dialects: a preliminary survey. In Haacke, Wilfrid H. G. & Edward D. Elderkin (eds.), *Namibian languages: reports and papers*. Namibian African Studies 4:125-209. Köln: Köppe.
- Heckler, Melissa. 1995. The whole village classroom. In Traill, Anthony, Rainer Voßen & Megan Biesele (eds.), *The complete linguist: papers in memory of Patrick J. Dickens*, 69-83. Köln: Köppe.

⁴² Most of the practically oriented literature was produced by or on behalf of San organizations and should be ordered there (see contacts in section 2). Many relevant publications on Khoesan appeared or will appear at the publishing house *Rüdiger Köppe, Köln*. If copies would have to be purchased, one should contact: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag - Köln, Postfach 400305, Köln, D-50833, Germany.

- Heikkinen, Terttu. 1986. Outline of the phonology of the !Xū dialect spoken in Ovamboland and western Kavango. *South African Journal of African Languages* 6,1:18-28.
- Heikkinen, Terttu. 1987. *An outline grammar of the !Xū language spoken in Ovamboland and West Kavango*. South African Journal of African Languages, Suppl. 7,1.
- Heikkinen, Terttu & al. 1976. *!Am//î ʔxanirosi ʔ'akhoekhomsisa* [Second little book in the ʔAkhoe language]. Oniipa: Elok.
- Heikkinen, Terttu & al. 1977. *Ai ʔxanirosa* [First little book]. Oniipa: Elok.
- Heikkinen, Terttu & al. 1977. *Khomai ʔxanirosi !nona//'isa ʔ'akhoekhomsisa* [Third little reading book in the ʔAkhoe language]. Oniipa: Elok.
- Kagaya, Ryohei. 1978. A phonetic sketch of Naron around Ghanzi. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 16:29-63.
- Köhler, Oswin. 1981a. Les langues khoisan, section 1: présentation d'ensemble. In Perrot, Jean (ed.), *Les langues dans le monde anciennes et moderne, première partie: les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne*, 455-482. Paris: CNRS.
- Köhler, Oswin. 1981b. Les langues khoisan, section 2: la langue kxoe. In Perrot, Jean (ed.), *Les langues dans le monde anciennes et moderne, première partie: les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne*, 483-555. Paris: CNRS.
- Köhler, Oswin. 1981c. Les langues khoisan, section 3: la langue !xū. In Perrot, Jean (ed.), *Les langues dans le monde anciennes et moderne, première partie: les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne*, 557-615. Paris: CNRS.
- Köhler, Oswin. 1989. *Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute im südlichen Afrika, vol. 1: Die Kxoé-Buschleute und ihre ethnische Umgebung*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Köhler, Oswin. 1991. *Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute im südlichen Afrika, vol. 2: Grundlagen des Lebens, Wasser, Sammeln und Jagd, Bodenbau und Tierhaltung*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Köhler, Oswin. 1997. *Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute im südlichen Afrika, vol. 3: Materielle Ausrüstung: Werden und Wandel, vol. 4: Wohnplatz und Buschlager*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Köhler, Oswin. Ts. *Wörterbuch der Sprache der Kxoe-Buschmänner*. Unpublished. Köln: Institut für Afrikanistik.
- Mendelsohn, John M., Patti Swarts & Roger Avenstrup. 1995. Marginalisation in education: the case of Bushman-speaking people. *EMIS Bulletin* 3.
- Namibia Agricultural Union. 1997. *Survey for the farm school project*. Unpublished.
- Native Language Bureau. 1977. *Nama/Damara: orthography No.2*. Windhoek: Department of Bantu Education.
- Ngakaeaja, Mathambo & al. 1997. *A San position: research, the San and San organisations*. Windhoek: WIMSA on behalf of its members and support organisations.
- Snyman, Jan W. 1970. *An introduction to the !Xs (!Kung) language*. Communications of the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town 34. Cape Town: A. A. Balkema.
- Snyman, Jan W. 1975. *ǀu//hōasi fonologie & woordeboek*. Communications of the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town 37. Cape Town/ Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema.
- Snyman, Jan W. 1980. The relationship between Angolan !Xs and ǀu//hōasi. In Snyman, Jan W. (ed.), *Bushman and Hottentot linguistic studies (Papers of seminar held on 27 July 1979)*. *Miscellanea Congregalia* 16:1-58. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Snyman, Jan W. 1997. A preliminary classification of the !Xū and ǀu//hōasi dialects. In Haacke, Wilfrid H. G. & Edward D. Elderkin (eds.), *Namibian languages: reports and papers*. *Namibian African Studies* 4:21-106. Köln: Köppe.
- Snyman, Jan W. forthc. a. A proposal for revising consonant orthographic conventions for Bushman and Hottentot languages. In Voßen, Rainer, Edwin Wilmsen & Robert Ross (eds.), *Language, history and identity: papers from the Tutzing conference on Khoisan*. *Quellen zur Khoisanforschung*. Köln: Köppe.

- Snyman, Jan W. forthcoming. b. An official orthography for Zǔ'hōasi Kokx'oi. In Schladt, Mathias (ed.), *Hunters and gatherers in transition: papers from the Khoisan Conference, St. Augustin 1997*. Quellen zur Khoisanforschung. Köln: Köppe.
- Thoma, Axel. 1996. *WIMSA report on activities: January to March 1996*. Windhoek: WIMSA.
- Traill, Anthony. 1974. *The compleat guide to the Koon*. Communication 1. Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Traill, Anthony. 1985. *Phonetic and phonological studies of !Xóǎ Bushman*. Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung 1. Hamburg: Buske.
- Traill, Anthony. 1994. *A !Xóǎ dictionary*. Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung 9. Köln: Köppe.
- Traill, Anthony. 1995. The Khoisan languages of South Africa. In Mesthrie, Rajend (ed.), *Language and social history: studies in South African sociolinguistics*, 1-18. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Traill, Anthony. in prep. *!Xóǎ texts*.
- Tsonope, Joe & Herman M. Batibo. 1997. *Report on our research trip to Ghanzi*. Gaborone: Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Botswana.
- University of Cologne (Germany) & Kxoe community (Namibia). 1997. *The Kxoe alphabet - a practical orthography*. Unpublished Ms.
- Visser, Hessel. 1994. *Naro dictionary: Naro-English, English-Naro*. Ghanzi: Kuru Development Trust.
- Visser, Hessel. 1997. *The phonological system of Naro*. Paper presented at the Khoisan Conference, St. Augustin, 1997, "Hunters and gatherers in transition".
- Visser, Hessel & Coby Visser. 1993. *Naro in a quarter of an hour: course material*. Ghanzi: Kuru Development Trust.
- Voßen, Rainer. 1997. *Die Khoe-Sprachen: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Sprachgeschichte Afrikas*. Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung 12. Köln: Köppe.
- Westhuizen, P. J. W. S. van der. 1979. *Voorgestelde ortografie vir !Xǔ (Ǫguǎ)*. In Traill, Anthony (ed.), *Khoisan linguistic studies* 5:30-45. Johannesburg: Department of Linguistics, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Westphal, Ernst O. J. 1962. A re-classification of Southern African Non-Bantu languages. *Journal of African Languages* 1:1-8.
- Westphal, Ernst O. J. 1963. The linguistic prehistory of Southern Africa: Bush, Kwadi, Hottentot, and Bantu linguistic relationships. *Africa* 33:237-265.
- Westphal, Ernst O. J. 1965. Linguistic research in S.W.A. and Angola. In *Die ethnischen Gruppen in Südwestafrika*. Wissenschaftliche Forschung in Südwestafrika 3:125-144. Windhoek: S.W.A. Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft.
- Westphal, Ernst O. J. 1971. The click languages of Southern and Eastern Africa. In Sebeok, Thomas A. (ed.), *Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Current Trends in Linguistics 7:367-420. The Hague/ Paris: Mouton.
- Westphal, Ernst O. J. & Ferdinand Weich. 1979. *Comments on the van der Westhuizen proposals*. In Traill, Anthony (ed.), *Khoisan linguistic studies* 5:45-49. Johannesburg: Department of Linguistics, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Widlok, Thomas. 1997. †Ǻkhoe pragmatics, HaiǪom identity and the Khoekhoe language. In Haacke, Wilfrid H. G. & Edward D. Elderkin (eds.), *Namibian languages: reports and papers*. Namibian African Studies 4:117-124. Köln: Köppe.
- Widlok, Thomas (ed.). in prep. *A HaiǪom (†Ǻkhoe) sourcebook: the Terttu Heikkinen papers*. Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung. Köln: Köppe.
- Winter, Jürgen C. 1981. Khoisan. In Heine, Bernd, Thilo C. Schadeberg & Ekkehard Wolff (eds.), *Die Sprachen Afrikas*, 329-374. Hamburg: Buske.
- Zimmermann, W. & al. 1987. *Zǔ'hōa orthography No.2 (Bushman)*. Windhoek: Department of National Education.

6 Appendix: Currently used orthographies of San languages treated

As far as it is applicable, I give the currently used practical or academic orthography for each language considered in this survey. All symbols of a particular orthography that differ from the above standard are given in italics. Phonemes which are marginal and mostly occur in borrowings appear in brackets. As in the above chart, the cluster offsets are in bold script.

6.1 Namibian Khoekhoe (Native ... 1977)

I	II	V	VI	VII	VIII	X	XI
Egr.	Egr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Egr.	Egr.
Lb	Al	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	VI	Gl

Resonants (R)

r

Fricatives (F)

Plain	(f)	s			x	h
-------	-----	---	--	--	---	---

Stops (S)

1 Plain/Voiced ⁴³	p/b	t/d	g	g	!g	‡g	k/g
------------------------------	-----	-----	---	---	----	----	-----

Complex stops

2 P.+glott.			//	/	!	‡	
3 P.+asp. ⁴⁴	ts		h	h	!h	‡h	kh

Stop clusters

6 P.+/kh/			kh	kh	!kh	‡kh
-----------	--	--	----	----	-----	-----

Nasals (N)

1 Plain	m	n	//n	/n	!n	‡n
---------	---	---	-----	----	----	----

⁴³ The alternative symbols for egressive stops are used in Khoekhoe to mark a tone contrast of the following syllable, but not a voice distinction.

⁴⁴ The aspirated counterparts /th/ and /kh/ of the plain plosives /t/ and /k/ have undergone a process of lenition to the affricates /ts/ and /kx/ resp. This becomes evident through a comparison with other Khoekhoe varieties. This change is reflected in the practical orthography only for the alveolar series, hence /ts/.

6.2 Kxoe (University ... 1997)

I ⁴⁵	II	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	X	XI	XII
Egr.	Egr.	Egr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Egr.	Egr.	Egr.
Lb	Al	Al-Pl	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	VI	Uv	Gl

Resonants (R)

w r y

Fricatives (F)

Plain (f) (s) c x h

Stops (S)

1 Plain	p	t	tc			!	‡	k	q	'
Voiced	b/v	d	dj	//g	/g	!g	‡g	g		

Complex stops

2 P.+glott.		t'	tc'	'	'	!'	‡'	qx'	
3 P.+asp.	ph	th		n//	n/	n!	n‡	kh	
V.+prenasal. ⁴⁶	(mb)	(nd)						(ng)	

Stop clusters

4 P.+/x/		tx	tcx	x	x	!x	‡x	
5 P.+/kx'/				x'	x'	!x'	‡x'	
6 P.+/kh/				//h	/h	!h	‡h	
8 P.+/q/				q	q	!q	‡q	

Nasals (N)

1 Plain	m	n	ny	n//g	n/g	n!g	n‡g	ng'
---------	---	---	----	------	-----	-----	-----	-----

⁴⁵ The labial series of egressive consonants is usually given as comprising one fricative and three plosives (cf. Köhler 1981b and Voßen 1997). The present orthography draft has an additional voiced fricative /v/. It is assumed here that this is an allophonic variant of the voiced plosive /b/.

⁴⁶ Cf. section 4.3.1 for the alternative representation of the prenasalized velar plosive, which aims at orthographic systematicity and the avoidance of a diacritic in the velar nasal (N1-X).

6.3 Naro (Visser 1994, 1997)⁴⁷

I	II	III	V	VI	VII	VIII	X	XI	XII
Egr.	Egr.	Egr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Egr.	Egr.	Egr.
Lb	Al	Al-Af	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	Vl	Uv	Gl

Resonants (R)

w r y

Fricatives (F)

Plain	(f)	s					g	h
-------	-----	---	--	--	--	--	----------	---

Stops (S)

1 Plain	(p)	t	ts	x	c	q	tc	k	?
Voiced	b	d	z	dx	dc	dq	dgc	gh	

Complex stops

2 P.+glott.	(ph)	t'	ts'	x'	c'	q'	tc'	kg'
3 P.+asp.		th	tsh	xh	ch	qh	tch	kh

Stop clusters

4 P.+/x/	tg	tsg	xg	cg	qg	tcg	
5 P.+/kx'/			xg'	cg'	qg'	tcg'	
6 P.+/kh/			?	?	?	?	

Nasals (N)

1 Plain	m	n	nx	nc	nq	ntc
---------	---	---	----	----	----	-----

⁴⁷ According to Voßen (1997:105) the phoneme system of Naro comprises more consonants than are considered in the phonological analysis by Visser (1997) and in the present orthography. Vossen lists in addition to the phonemes in Visser's charts the uvular plosive (S1-XI) and another click accompaniment (S6). I have marked these possible orthographic lacunae with a question mark. Note that especially the existence of the uvular plosive will bring additional complications in the search for unambiguous symbols, as its standard symbol /q/ is already used in the present Naro orthography for the alveolar click.

6.4 Ju|'hoan (Dickens 1991)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	X	XII
Egr.	Egr.	Egr.	Egr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Egr.	Egr.
Lb	Al	Al-Af	Pl-Af	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	Vl	Gl

Resonants (R)

w r y

Fricatives (F)

Plain	(f)	s	c					x	h
Voiced	(v)	z	j						

Stops (S)

1 Plain	p	t	ts	tc			!	‡	k
Voiced	b	d		(dj)	g	g	g!	g‡	g

Complex stops

2 P.+glott.			<i>tz</i>	<i>tj</i>	'	'	!'	‡'	kk
V.+glott.			<i>ds</i>	<i>dc</i>					
3 P.+asp.	ph	th	tsh	tch	//h	/h	!h	‡h	kh
V.+asp.	bh	dh	<i>dsh</i>	<i>dch</i>	n//h	n/h	n!h	n‡h	gh

Stop clusters

4 P.+/x/		tx	tsx	tcx	x	x	!x	‡x	
V.+/x/		dx	dzx	djx	g x	g x	g!x	g‡x	
5 P.+/kx'/		<i>tk</i>			//k	/k	!k	‡k	
V.+/kx'/					g//k	g/k	g!k	g‡k	
6 P.+/kh/					//h	/h	!h	‡h	
V.+/kh/					g//h	g/h	g!h	g‡h	

Nasals (N)

1 Plain	m	n			n	n	n!	n‡	
---------	---	---	--	--	---	---	----	----	--

6.5 !Xõo (Traill 1994)

I	II	III	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Egr.	Egr.	Egr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Ingr.	Egr.	Egr.	Egr.
Lb	Al	Al-Af	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	Lb	VI	Uv	Gl

Resonants (R)

l

Fricatives (F)

Plain	(f)	s						x		h
-------	-----	---	--	--	--	--	--	---	--	---

Stops (S)

1 Plain	(p)	t	ts			!	‡	⊙	k	q	'
Voiced	b	d	dz	//g	/g	!g	‡g	⊙g	g	G	

Complex stops

2 P.+glott.		(t')	ts'	'	'	!'	‡'	⊙'	kx'/k' q'	
V.+glott.									<i>gkx'</i>	
3 P.+asp.	(ph)	th	tsh	h	h	!h	‡h	⊙h	kh	qh
V.+asp.		<i>dth</i>	<i>dtsh</i>	<i>g//qh</i>	<i>g/qh</i>	<i>g!qh</i>	<i>g‡qh</i>	<i>g⊙qh</i>	<i>gkh</i>	<i>Gqh</i>

Stop clusters

4 P.+/x/		tx	<i>tshx</i>	x	x	!x	‡x	⊙x	
V.+/x/		<i>dtx</i>	<i>dtshx</i>	<i>g x</i>	<i>g x</i>	<i>g!x</i>	<i>g‡x</i>	<i>g⊙x</i>	
5 P.+/kx'/		<i>(p'kx')t'kx'</i>	<i>ts'kx'</i>	<i>//kx'</i>	<i>/kx'</i>	<i>!kx'</i>	<i>‡kx'</i>	<i>⊙kx'</i>	
V.+/kx'/		<i>dt'kx'</i>	<i>dt's'kx'g//kx'</i>	<i>g/kx'</i>	<i>g!kx'</i>	<i>g‡kx'</i>	<i>g⊙kx'</i>		
6 P.+/qh/				qh	qh	!qh	‡qh	⊙qh	
V.+/qh/				<i>G//qh</i>	<i>G/qh</i>	<i>G!qh</i>			
8 P.+/q/				q	q	!q	‡q	⊙q	
V.+/q/				<i>//G</i>	<i>/G</i>	<i>!G</i>	<i>‡G</i>	<i>⊙G</i>	
9 P.+/q'/				q'	q'	!q'	‡q'	⊙q'	

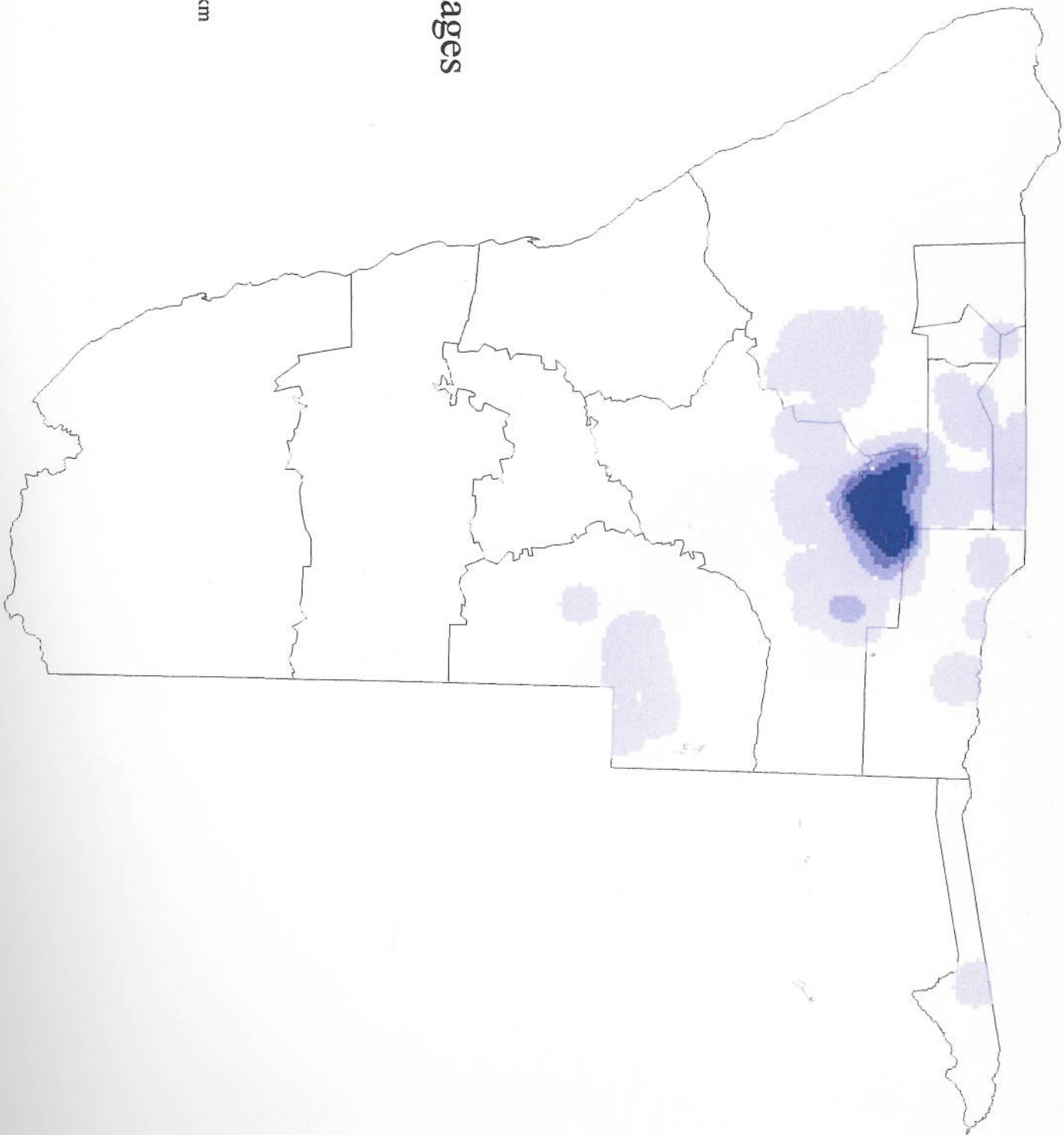
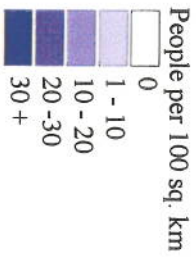
Nasals (N)

1 Plain	m	n	<i>ɲ</i>	//n	/n	!n	‡n	⊙n
V.-less				<i>//ŋ</i>	<i>/ŋ</i>	<i>!ŋ</i>	<i>‡ŋ</i>	<i>⊙ŋ</i>

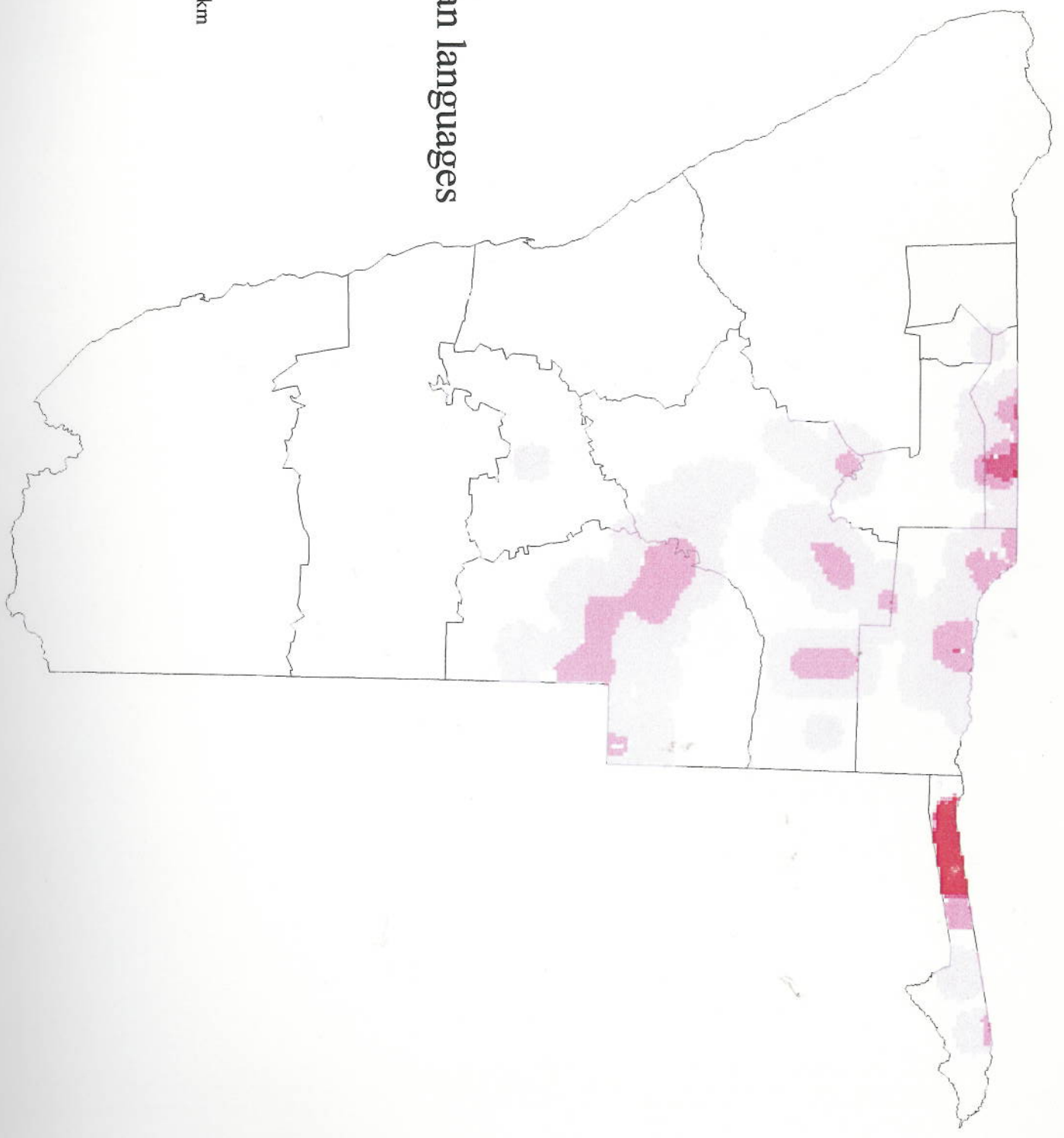
Complex nasals

2 P.+glott.	'm	'n		'//n	'/n	'!n	'‡n	'⊙n
-------------	----	----	--	------	-----	-----	-----	-----

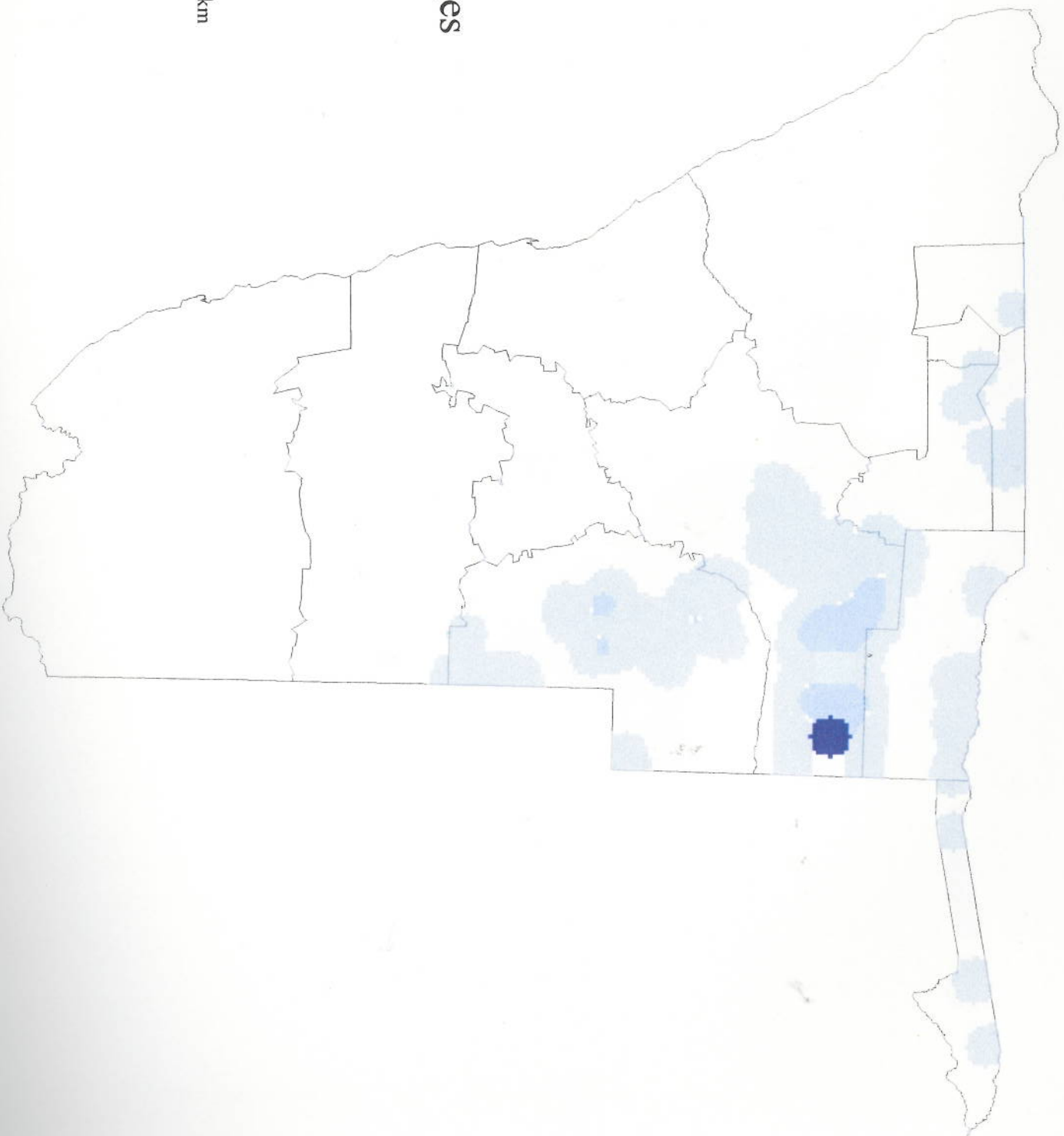
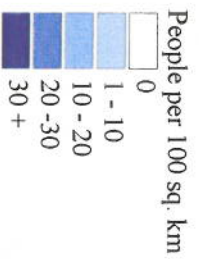
Heikum languages



Other Bushman languages



Kung languages



All Bushman languages

