# "FEATURES OF A SESTONTEIN DIALECT OF KHOEKHOEGOWAB" 

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## I. INTRODUCTION:

The area around Sesfontein comprises a culturally diversed people. It is also home to linguisitc diversity, including a group of Khoekhoegowab language varieties which are classified by Haacke, et al (1997) as "Sesfontein dialects". This paper has selected a corpus based on one of these varieties which it analysed in relation to standard Khoekhoegowab.

1. About Khoekhoegowab

- National language, spoken in Namibia
- Roughly 120000 speakers (Güldemann \& Vossen 2000 estimates)
- Area stretches from northwestern South Africa to Northwestern Namibia

2. Classification: (Güldemann and Vossen, in Bernd and Heine (eds.) 2000)

Khoe ('Central Khoisan') - Kwadi
i. Khoekhoe
a. North: Nama/Damara, Hai\|'om, \#Aakhoe (DC) (=Khoekhoegowab)
i. Sesfontein Dialects (>A Sesfontein dialect)
b. South: !Ora; Cape Khoekhoe varieties (DC)
ii. Kalahari Khoe

## 3. Definition of terms

Sesfontein - a settlement situated in the north-western area of Namibia close to the Hoanib river, on the border of what was formerly known as Damaraland and Kaokoland, with ca. 500 inhabitants, (Haacke, in Vossen \& Keuthmann (eds), 1986:375).

Standard Khoekhoegowab -
A widely spoken dialect of Khoekhoegowab; selected in Namibia for use in schools, media and literature; basically central Damara and central Nama in Haacke's dialect studies. (Haacke, et al. 1997).

## II. FEATURES OF THE DIALECT

The features of this dialect are discussed under phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. The pattern of its variation from standard Khoekhoegowab is not fully regular.

## 1. PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

Most evident of differences between the two lects, ie. this Sesfontein dialect (S. dialect) and standard Khoekhoegowab (s.KKG) is found under this section.

### 1.1 CHANGE IN EGRESSIVE CONSONANTS

This change is one of the most conspicuous among the phonological variations. The variation, or the alternation among the egressives are predominantly, but not exclusively, confined to the second and the third person singular (2/3FS) person-gender-number (PGN) markers respectively. (Examples):

- $\mathrm{s}>\mathrm{t}$

| 1a. | khoe-s-a person-2/3FS-OBL | > | khoe-t-a (023) ${ }^{1}$ person-2/3FS-OBL | '(the) lady/woman' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 b . | nee-s-e <br> this/here-2/3FS-VOC | > | nee-t-e (024) <br> this/here-2/3FS-VOC | 'you there/hey! (2FS)! Excl. derog. |
| 1c. | $\frac{\mathbf{s i}}{\frac{2}{2} / 3 \mathrm{FS} . \mathrm{OM}}$ | > | $\frac{\mathrm{ti}(024)}{2 / 3 \mathrm{FS} . \mathrm{OM}}$ | '2/3FS object marker' |

Other \ps:

| 1 d . | neesisa ADV | > | $\begin{aligned} & \text { reesita (062) } \\ & \mathrm{ADV}^{-} \end{aligned}$ | 'now' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 e. | sopo V.T | > | $\underset{\mathrm{V}, \mathrm{~T}}{\text { topo }}(106)$ | 'to |

The sound is retained in many other instances, including the following:

| 1 f. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \| gôa-ro-s } \\ & \text { child-DIM-2/3FS } \end{aligned}$ | > | \| gôa-ro-s (025) child-DIM-2/3FS | ) 'little girl' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 g . | nee-so <br> this/here-2FPl. | > | ree-so this/here-2FPl | you there/hey! (2FPl.)! Excl. derog. |
| 1h. | aasi <br> ${ }^{\text {ans }}{ }^{1}$ | > | $\underset{\text { V.T }}{\text { aasi }}$ (013) | 'feed.water.to' |

But see:

1i. $\underline{\mathbf{s} a-s-a} \quad>\quad \underline{s} a-\underline{t}-\mathrm{a}(068) \quad$ 'You.2FS'
INCL-2/3FS-OBL
INCL-2/3FS-OBL

[^0]- $\quad$ ts $>\mathbf{s}$

The second most obvious phonological change (or alternation).
2a. Sa-ts ta ôa (\#̂̂-n)... !auga-ts ta ôa \#̂̂-n,... (088) INCL-2MS PRES.PROG search(eat/food-3CP1.) outside-2MS PRES.PROG search eat/food-3CPl. $>$
Sa-s-a ôa-û... !auga-s-a ôa-û
INCL-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food outside-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food eat/food-3CPl. 'You are gathering (/searching for) the food...The food you are gathering outside (in the wild)'

2b. Nee-tsee-s-a $\quad \mathrm{xu} \quad$ ree-see-t-a $\quad \mathrm{xu}$ (103)
this/here-day-2/3FS-OBL from/after 'From today (lit. this day) onwards'
this/here-day-2/3FS-OBL from/after

2c. O-n sii ra hoo tsi
then-3CPl. arrive.there PRES.PROG find/get $\underline{\text { OM.2MS }}$
$>$
O-n-i sii ra hoo $\underline{\text { si }}$
then-3CPl.-HISTO arrive.there PRES.PROG find/get OM.2MS 'Then (when) they find you...'

## - $\mathbf{k h}>\mathbf{x} / \mathbf{k}$

Aspirated stop $/ \mathrm{kh} /$ becomes at times fricativised or loses its aspiration (if not retained).
$k h>x$
3a. kai-khoe $>$ kai-xoe (079) 'elder person/elders'
big-person big-person
3b. khao-キgaa $\quad>\quad$ xao-Fgaa (016) 'bury in the ground' dig-put.in dig-put.in

3c. khoe-b-i (/xa) $>\quad$ xoe-b-i (088) 'by the man/guy'
person-3MS-AGNT
person-3MS-AGNT
3d. uu-khâi $>$ uu-xâi (013) 'pickup'
take/pick-up
3e. || au-khoo-b $>$ au-xoo-b (109) 'simple/insignificant skin/hide'
simple-skin-3MS
simple-skin-3MS

$$
\underline{k} h>k
$$

| 3f. |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| khoe-n-a <br> person-3CPl.-OBL$>\quad \underline{\text { koe-n-a (004) }} \quad$ | person-3CPl.-OBL |$\quad$ 'persons/people'


| 3g. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $(\mathrm{O}) \underline{\mathbf{k h a}}!$ <br> INTR | $>$ | $\underline{\mathbf{k a}!(023)} \quad$ INTR |$\quad$ 'Phatic (how then!)'

3h. $\underset{\text { up }}{\text { kha }} \quad=\quad \underset{\text { up }}{\text { kha }}(028) \quad$ '(stand) up'

The change discussed above ( $k h>x / k$ ) has a broader distribution. The influence of the phonological environment on these changes could not be established reliably.

## - $\quad \underline{n}>\mathbf{r} / \mathrm{h}$

The nasal $\boldsymbol{n}$ alternates mainly with the alveolar trill (or tap) /r/, well as with /h/. The examples are largely, but not entirely, confined to the demostrative nee ('this').

| 4a. | $\underline{\text { nee }}$ | $>$ | $\underline{\text { ree }(086)}$ | 'this' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 4 b. | $\underline{\text { nee }}$ | $>$ | $\underline{\text { hee }(086)}$ | 'this' |
| 4c. | $\underline{\text { neesi }}$ | $>$ | $\underline{\text { heesi }(094)}$ | 'now' |
| 4d. | $\underline{\text { neesi }}$ | $>$ | $\underline{\text { reeti }(096)}$ | 'now' |
| 4e. | $\underline{\text { neesisa }}$ | $>$ | $\underline{\text { reesita }(087)}$ | 'now' |
| 4f. | $\underline{\text { neeti }}$ | $>$ | $\underline{\text { heeti }(107)}$ | 'like this' |

4g. $\underline{\mathbf{n} i ̂} \quad>\quad \underline{\mathbf{r}}$ (021) $\quad$ 'Future tense particle' (will)

Strikingly, $/ \mathrm{n} /$ and $/ \mathrm{r} /$ together with $/ \mathrm{d} /$ alternate with $/ 1 /$. However, restricted to the examples below. The Lateral ( / / / ) itself is not naturally of s.KKG phonemic stock according to Haacke (1999:155 in Finlayson (ed.)). This may explain the distribution of $/ 1 /$ which is almost restricted in the entire corpus (with more than 115 sentences) to the examples below. The choice between $/ \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{and} / \mathrm{d} /$ in the first two examples (below) seems to be totally free for the speaker.

- $\mathbf{l}>\mathbf{n} / \mathbf{d} / \mathbf{r}$

5a. labi-b-a $\quad>\quad$ nabi-b-a (019) 'cloth
cloth-3MS-OBL
cloth-3MS-OBL
5b. labi-b-a $>$ dabi-b-a (020) 'cloth'
cloth-3MS-OBL
cloth-3MS-OBL
5c. Elo-b-mî-s $>$ Ero-mît-i (030) 'Bible' lit. 'Word of God'
God-3MS-say-2/3FS
God-3MS-say-2/3FS-HISTO
Although observed, the deletion of the second consonant $\left(\mathrm{C}_{2}\right)$, has not been exemplified here, since $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ deletion is supposed to be a Khoekhoegowab phenomenon generally according to Haacke (1986:383), and is thus responsible for the juxtaposition of like ('long') and unlike ('diphthong') vowels in Khoekhoegowab.

### 1.2. CHANGE IN CLICK CONSONANTS

### 1.2.1. LOSS OF PRIMARY CLICKS (INFLUXES)

The loss of primary clicks are observed in:

## - Lateral click (\|)

| 6 a . | $\\|$ naa-ts | ra | mû...> | ngâ-s-a | mû... (018) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | that/there-2MS PRES.PROG see that/there-2MS-PRES.PROG see |  |  |  |  |
|  | 'You are seeing there...' |  |  |  |  |

6b. \|î
ART
6c. \|au-khoe
insignificant-person
6d.
6d. ||naa
DEM/ADV
$>\quad$ _î $(015)$ ART
$>\quad$ _au-xoe (051) 'normal/insignificant person' insignificant-person
> _nâ (109) 'that/there' DEM/ADV

- Dental click (|)

| 7 a. | \| kha | > | _ka (095) | 'with' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | PP |  | PP |  |
| 7b. | !Nani- $\mid$ au-s <br> Six-fountain-2/3FS | > | \||Nani-_au-t (053) <br> Six-fountain-2/3FS | 'Sesfontein' |

## - Palatal click ( $\ddagger$ )

| 8 a . | \#hôa <br> make.public | > | _hûa (057) | 'publicize' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 b . | \#û | > | _û (065) | 'eat/food' |
| 8 c . | \#̄̂-re ('\#̄̂-ôa') eat/food-search.for | $>$ | ôa-_û (096) <br> search.for-eat/ | 'gather (wild) food' |

- Alveolar click (!)

| 9a. !nâ |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PP | $>$ | _nâ $^{\text {PP }}$ | (013) | 'in' |
|  |  |  |  |  |

9b. $\underset{\text { place-2/3FS }}{\text { !khai-s }}$| ai |
| :--- |
| PP |$>\quad \underset{\text { - xai-t }}{\text { place-2/3FS PP }} \quad$ ai $(052) \quad$ 'at (that) place'.

### 1.2.2. ALTERNATION OF A PRIMARY CLICK

- ! > ||

| 10a. | !Nani-lau-s <br> six-fountain-2/3FS | > | \||Nani-au-t six-fountain-2 | 'Sesfontein |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10.b | !nae <br> be.born | > | $\underset{\text { be.born }}{\\| \text { nae }(079)}$ | 'be born' |

### 1.2.3. ALTERNATION IN THE SECONDARY ARTICULATION OF CLICKS

This seems to result mainly due to lenition, the weakening of a sound (Campbell 1998:41). However, cases to the contrary were also found. Generally from $k h$ to $\quad h$. (change highly predictable) The frequency hereof remains relatively high when compared to the sound changes discussed hitherto.

- $\|k h>\| h$

- $\quad$ kh $>$ lh

| 12a. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \| khara-pa } \\ & \text { other-ADV.S.place } \end{aligned}$ | > | \| hara-pa (025) other-ADV.S.place | '(at a) different place' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 12b | \| khai | > | hai (067) | 'not there' |
|  | not.be.present |  | not.be.present |  |



| 13a. | \#khari | > | \#hari (006) | 'little/small' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | A |  | A |  |
| 13 b . | $\ddagger \mathbf{k h o o}$ | > | \#hoo (049) | 'bone' |
|  | NN |  | NN |  |

- ! kh > ! $h$

| 14.2 | !khûi | $>$ | ! hûi (071) | 'pregnant(animal)' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | V.T.ST |  | V.T.ST |  |
| 14b. | !khau | > | ! hau (091) | 'insane' |
|  | V.I |  | V.I |  |
| 14c. | ! ${ }^{\text {kharaga }}$ | > | ! haraga (095) | 'differ' |

## Contrary occurence:

- ! $h>!k h$

15. ||naa !huu-b-a xuu > \|nâ !khuu-b-a xuu (083)
that/there soil/land-3MS-OBL from/after that/there soil/land-3MS-OBL from/after
'From that country/land.'

### 1.3. CHANGE IN VOWELS

### 1.3.1. VOWEL RAISING

The vowel $\boldsymbol{o}$ is raised to $\boldsymbol{u}$ in the dialect and $\boldsymbol{a}$ to $\boldsymbol{o}$. The former raising has a relatively good distribution in very different phonological environments, whereas the latter is almost restricted to the example below.

| 16a. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { xore (/ore) } \\ & \text { VT } \end{aligned}$ | > | $\begin{aligned} & \text { xure (020) } \\ & \text { VT } \end{aligned}$ | 'untie' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16 b. | $\\|$ khom-s belly/stomach-2/3FS | > | $\\|$ khum-t-i (061) <br> belly/stomach-2/3FS-HISTO | 'belly/stomach' |
| 16c. | $\begin{aligned} & \underline{\hat{\mathbf{o}} \mathrm{a}} \\ & \text { V.T } \end{aligned}$ | > | $\underset{\text { V.T }}{\underline{\text { una }}(041)}$ | 'look/search for' |
| 16d. | \#hôa make.public | > | hûa (057) <br> make.public | 'publicize' |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { And } \\ & 16 \mathrm{e} . \end{aligned}$ | khama <br> PP | > | khoma, (023) or xoma, (109) PP | 'like' |

### 1.3.2. VOWEL LOWERING

$\boldsymbol{u}>\boldsymbol{o}$, and $\boldsymbol{i}>\boldsymbol{a}$

| 17a. | \#nûi | > | \#nôai (039) | 'put down' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | V.T |  | V.T |  |
| 17b. | xuu-n | > | xoo-n-a (104) | 'things' |
|  | thing-3CP1. |  | thing-3CP1.-OBL |  |
| 17c. | ti-mî | > | ta-mai (024) | 'so (it (is) said)' |
|  | so-say |  | so-say |  |

### 1.3.3. DE-NASALIZATION OF (s.KKG) NASAL VOWELS $\hat{\imath}$

The de-nasalization of vowels confines itself to the high front vowel $\boldsymbol{i}$ and has an morphophonological effect.

|  | tsî | $>$ | si | $(049,095)$ | 'and' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18 b . | nị | > | --i | $(079,098,113)$ | 'Future tense (will)' |
| 18c. | hîa | > | ia | $(061,075)$ | 'while' |

However retention is not uncommon, especially for $18 b$. of the examples above:

19a. nî $>$ nî (007, also 043, 050, etc.) 'Future tense (will)'
Converse case in which the vowel which is generally taken as oral in standard Khoekhoegowab appear as nasal in the S . dialect has also been observed - i.e. the s.KKG demostrative \|naa 'that'.

19b. \|náa $>\|$ nâ $(005$, also 007,009 , etc. $) \quad$ 'that'

Coupled with clickloss this change may call for prudence for speakers of these two lects in a discourse. See the following examples above: 6 d vs. 9 a .

## 2. MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES ${ }^{2}$

This section entails morphological variations, as well as morphophonogical and morphosyntactic features of the dialect. Just to bring the preceeding section into context, and indeed to exemplify, in brief, one of the many effects the phonological variations have on the morphology of the dialect, the following demonstration renders itself suited:
20. The deaffrication of $s . K K G / t s /$ to $/ s /$ in this dialect also affects the conjunction, $t s \hat{\imath}$ ' $a n d$ ', which may subsequently be realized as $s \hat{l}$. Furthermore with de-nasalization (cf. 1.3.3), this morhpeme becomes si, and thus similar to the (s.KKG) $2 / 3 F S$ object marker si. (see examples 18a. and 2c.)

Similarly the de-nasalisation affecting the future marker $n \hat{\imath}$ (18b.) has further implications as will be exemplified later.

### 2.1. CHANGES IN PERSON-GENDER-NUMBER (PGN) FORMATIONS

The most noticeable variances in the PGN system of these lects are seen, firstly, in the second and third person feminine singular ( $2 / 3 \mathrm{FS}$ ) marker: S. dialect (almost consistently) $\boldsymbol{- t}$, and s.KKG consistently -s. (Example):


[^1]

Secondly, for the second person masculine singular (2MS) marker, speakers of this dialect use $-\boldsymbol{s}$, whilst speakers of s.KKG use $-\boldsymbol{t s}$. Thus, very interestingly, the morpheme refering to a male addressee in the Sesfontein dialect is refering to a female addressee in s.KKG.

22a. Tae-e-s-i
what-3NS.OBL-2MS-FUT
$>$
Tare-ets nî !khoohoo?
what-3NS.OBL-2MS FUT !khoo-hit.target
'What will you grip?'

22b. Sa-ş-a ôa-û... !auga-s-a ôa-û $\neq \hat{u}-\mathrm{n} .$. (088)
INCL-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food outside-2MS-PRES.PROG seach-eat/food eat/food-3CP1. $>$

Sa-ts ra ôa (キû-n)... !auga-ts ra ôa $\ddagger$ tu-n,...
INCL-2MS PRES.PROG search (eat/food-3CPl.) outside-2MS PRES.PROG search eat/food-3CPl.
'You are gathering (/searching for) food...The food you are gathering outside (in the wild)'
22c. Hîa-s-e xoe-b-i ri !gam-e.
while-2MS-IND person-3MS-AGNT PRES.PROG kill-PASSV
$>$
Hîa-ts ge khoe-b xa ra !gam-he. (088)
while-2MS IND person-3MS AGNT PRES.PROG kill-PASSV
'While (doing that) you are being killed (bewitched) by somebody.'

Another difference involves the oblique case of the third person masculine plural (3MPl.). Whilst the S . dialect uses -gua, -ga is used in s.KKG.

23a.


```
23.b O i ge xoe-gua xoma, xoma; xoegua ree
then 3NS IND person-3MPl.OBL perform.magic.rites, perform.magic.rites; person-3MPl.OBL this/here
    | gau-t ai ge hî.(085)
    manner/way-2/3FS at/on REM.PST do
    >
    O gu ge khoe-ga xoma, xoma; khoe-ga nee
    then 3MPl. IND person-3MPl.OBL perform.magic.rites, perform.magic.rites; person-3MPl.OBL this/here
    |gau-s ai ge hî.
    manner/way-2/3FS at/on REM.PST do
    'Then the men perform magic rituals...; (and) the men did like this.'
```

These changes in the PGN system feature among the most obvious and thus, the most predictable variations between this dialect and the standard Khoekhoegowab.

### 2.2. APHAERESIS AND SUBSEQUENT CLITICISATION OF (GRAMMATICAL) <br> MORPHEMES

The following grammatical morphemes usually undergo a deletion of the initial sound, i.e. aphaeresis (Campbell, 1998, p.32), in the S . dialect. The residual sound of the morpheme is then cliticised to the preceeding morpheme or onto (usually but not always the PGN of) the preceding word. The similar phenomena is however seen somewhat differently in Haacke (1986:382) - as,

PGNs merging "in one or the other way with the consonant onsets of the subsequent morpheme, which in most cases happens to be the declarative marker ge or the possessive di." (italics added)

## - Tense and Aspect markers



## Future tense particle nî

Besides being subjected to the processes of aphaeresis and cliticisation, this morpheme also loses nasality (as alluded to before). Thus, when cliticised after losing its nasality, it resembles (phonologically) the agentive marker $-i$, and the historic $-i$, which are both very active in the dialect.

Alternatively, the initial sound in $n \hat{\imath}$ instead of aphaeresis may alternate with $r$ (see example 4 g .). In this case it is difficult to distinquish this future tense marker from the progressive tense marker ra (as will be seen later).


| 24d. Ta-mai | ge | huu-b | ai | ri | !guri-e. (023) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| so-say | IND | thing-3MS | on | $\underline{\text { FUT }}$ | massage-PASSV |

## Progressive aspect marker ra



This marker is at times not cliticised, but undergoes, rather, progressive assimilation when preceeded by a syllable with the high front vowel (i). Thus in this environment $r a$ becomes $r i$. This change eventuates ambiguity between the present progressive marker ra (becoming ri), and the future tense marker $n \hat{\imath}$ (also becoming $r i$, see example 24d.).

24f.

'You are busy gathering food there, the food that you are gathering outside, meanwhile someone is killing (/bewitching) you.'

24g. Ree |gau-t ai $\underline{\mathbf{r} \mathbf{i}} \quad$ hî,... (086) > Nee |gau-s ai ra dii,... here/this manner-2/3FS on PRES.PROG do here/this manner-2/3FS on PRES.PROG do '(They) do it (in) this way.'

In the first example (24f.) $r a$ seems to be the better variant, even though it is presented once as a clitic and again as $r i$ in the same sentence. However, the same cannot be said about the second example ( 24 g. ). In the second example (even after considering the context of this utterance), $n \hat{\imath}$ appears equally possible. Thus the second example could as well be interpreted in s.KKG as:

24h. Nee |gaus ai nî dii,... (086)
'(They) would do it (in) this way.'
Similary, $r i$ in the following example could also be interpreted equally as either $r a$ (as progressive aspect) or as nî ('will be' or 'would', FUT).

24i. "Nee-te, uu re !hâu-b-a, î ta aipe koo this/here-2/3FS.VOC take PLEASE thong/strap-3MS-OBL so.that 1S at.first/in.the.mean.time look ti" ta-mai ge huu-b ai ri !guri-e. (024) 2/3FS.OM so-say IND thing-3MS on PRES.PROG massage-PASSV $>$
"Nee-se, uu re !hâuba, ̂̂ ta aipe koo this/here-2/3FS.VOC take PLEASE thong/strap so.that iS at.first/in.the.mean.time look si" timî i ge xuu-b ai ra (/nî) !gurihe. 2/3FS.OM so-say 1NS IND thing-3MS on PRES.PROG (/FUT) massage-PASSV
"You (here!), take the thong, so that I can have a look at you" (and) so, it was massaged on top of the thing. (/...and so, it would be massaged on top of the thing.)

The progressive aspect marker retained (for example):
24j. |Nâ khoe-b-i sii $\underline{\mathbf{r a} \quad \text { huhura-e (090) }}$
that/there person-3MS-AGNT arrive PRES.PROG treat.(s.o).by.means.of.magic-PASSV $>$
||Naa khoe-b xa sii ra xoma-he(?),
that/there person-3MS AGNT arrive PRES.PROG treat.(s.o).by.means.of.magic-PASSV '(We) are treated (by means of magical rites) by that man.'

## - Declarative sentence type marker ge

25a. Hai-t-e hâ, dada-she, lûba te re. (099) tree/stick-2/3FS-IND COMPL father-2MS.VOC forgive 1S.OM.me PLEASE $>$

| Hais | ge | hâ, | dada-tse, | lûba | te | re. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree/stick-3FS | IND | COMPL | father-2MS.VOC, | forgive | 1S.OM.me | PLEASE | 'Here is the tree (/stick), father, forgive me.'

25b.

'... (And when) it was said: "It is the father!"...'

## Retained

25c. O-n ge koma koe-n-a ôa, ôa, ôa.... ti hî sii
then-3CPl. IND apparently person-3CPl.-OBL seek seek seek... so do arrive.there
ra hoo si. (004)
PRES.PROG find 2MS.OM
$>$
O-n ge koma khoe-n-a ôa, ôa, ôa.... (ti dii) tsî sii
then-3CPl. IND apparently person-3CPl.-OBL search seach search... (so do) and arrive.there ra hoo tsi.
PRES.PROG find 2MS.OM
'Then the people (will) (apparently) search, search, search... and find you (there).'

## - Passive sentence type (V.Ext.) -he

This dialect, as analogous to other Damara dialects, mostly employs the passive marker [ ${ }^{?} \mathrm{e}$ ], as opposed to the Nama dialects which use [he]. However according to Haacke (1986:383), in the S. dialects, the glottal stop is weakened and the remaining vowel is thus also subjected to cliticisation.

```
26a. Ti gere mî-\mathbf{e}-0. (085) > Ti i gere mî-he-o.
    so REM.PST.PROG say-PASSIV-when/if so 3NS REM.PST.PROG say-PASSIV- when/if
    'When that (lit. it) was said.'
```

26b. Nee-pa i ge hî-e tama hâ (093)
here/this-ADV.S.PLACE 3NS IND do-PASSIV NEG COMPL
$>$

| Nee-pa | i | ge | dii-he | tama hâ. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| here/this-ADV.S.PLACE | 3NS | IND | do-PASSIV | NEG | COMPL | 'It is not done here.'

### 2.3. OTHER MORPHEMIC CHANGES AND OBSERVATIONS

### 2.3.1. Frequent forms

The Agentive (the particle $-i$ is used more frequently than $x a$ )
27a. Sa-ts-e khoe-b-i !gam-e hâ,... (087)
INCL-2MS-IND person-3MS-AGNT kill-PASSV COMPL
>
Sa-ts ge khoe-b xa !gam-he hâ,...
INCL.-2MS IND person-3MS AGNT kill-PASSV COMPL
'You have been killed (/bewitched) by somebody (lit. by (some) man)'

| 27b. | Kai <br> big | $\\|$ gam-m-i-i-s-o <br> water-3MS-HISTO-AGNT-2MS-REC.PST | dâu-naa-e... (007) <br> flow-down-PASSV |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Kai | $\\|$ gam-m-i | $\underline{\text { xats }}$ | go | dâu- $\\|$ nâ-he... |
|  | big | water-3MS-HISTO | $\underline{\text { AGNT-2MS }}$ | REC.PST | flow-down-PASSV |

'(If) you are washed away by a big stream (of river).'

The historic - $i$ (Haacke 1986)
In this dialect the (Historic) $-i$ following on the PGNs is still relatively active in areas where s.KKG no longer has it (see examples: 29a., 29b., 29c.). However it may also precede the pgn (cf. 29d.).


| 28 b . | Ree this/here $>$ | \|| goe lie(down) | dom-ro <br> river-DIM | nâ-b-i <br> that/there-3MS-HISTO | $\begin{aligned} & \text { nâ... (009) } \\ & \text { in } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Nee this/here | \|| goe lie(down) | dom-ro-b <br> river-DIM-3MS | $\\|_{\text {that-3MS }}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { !nâ... } \\ & \text { in } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | 'In that little stream (of river) lying (over) here...' |  |  |  |  |


| 28 c . | Dabo-b-a | kai-i-b-i. $\quad>$ | Daro-b | ge kai |  | (075) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | child-3MS-OBL | big-HISTO-3MS-(FUT?) | child-3MS-OBL IN | IND big |  |  |
|  | 'The child was | grown (up)' |  |  |  |  |

The final -i on kai-ibin (example above) is used also in some northern Khoekhoegowab dialects for instances which have taken place in the recent past. In s.KKG one might easily take this as being a question, because of the oblique case of "Dabob" ie. "Daboba". Guided by this 'case' marker, one may futhermore understand the final $-i$ in 'kai-ibí' (above), as a shortened form of the future tense particle ' $n \hat{\imath}$ ' - thus the whole sentence as a question: Daroba kai-ib nî? 'Will the child grow (up)?' . Although this may seem as a well-guided interpretation, it may not bear the truth provided the context of the utterance. The speaker, who narrates a specific instance of their culture, surely poses no question in the sentence concerned (075).

### 2.3.2. Perculiar Particles

-re
The actual function of this morpheme remains unclear, because, it, in one usage equates to the indicative sentence marker $g e$ in function, but in the other appearance simply acts as phatic.

| 29a. | \||Nâ that/there | khoe-t-i <br> person-2/3FS- |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{a} \\ & \mathrm{cT} \end{aligned}$ | \|| gâi-e meat-3NS | $\begin{aligned} & \underline{\text { re }} . . \\ & \underline{?} \end{aligned}$ | (070) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | > |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | \||Naa | khoe-s | di | a | \||gan-i | ge.. |  |
|  | that/there | person-2/3FS | POSS | ST | meat-3NS | IND (?) |  |
|  | 'It is that | an's meat...' |  |  |  |  |  |

29b.


- -o

There is an additional $-o$ (besides that of then; and when/if). The morpheme seems to have a semantic (and grammatical) role similar to s.KKG \|khaa (able to), but in other cases like the accreditive $-o$ (but without the circumflex kom).

'Agh! Please hunt (you.2MS), so that I could (?) eat (some) meat.'

30b. Nee kai-koe-b-a "\|naru" ti go mî ra-o. (025)
this/here big-person-3MS-OBL PHATIC so REC.PST say PRES.PROG-?
$>$
(Ob kom) nee kai-khoe-b-a "\|naru" ti ra mî-o. (then-3MS ACCR (?)) this/here big-person-3MS-OBL PHATIC so PRES.PROG say-ACCR (?) '(Then) this man says: "Plunk!(?)".'

- $-r i$

This morpheme is found suffixed to an adjective.
31. O i go $\|$ nâ | gôa-ro-e a when/if 3NS REC.PST that/there child-DIM-3NS.OBL PRES.ST person-3NS \#hoo kai-ri ...
bone grow.up/become.a...-?
$>$
O i go \|naa |gôaro-e a khoe (\#khoo) kai_ ...
When/if 3NS REC.PST that child-DIM-3NS.OBL PRES.ST person (bone) grow.up/become.a...
'(And) when that child grew (up)...' (049)

## 3. LEXICAL FEATURES

Although there are some notably distinct lexemes, there is no much variation between this dialect and s.KKG as far as lexicon is concerned. The observable lexical differences seem to be mainly due to certain processes of sound change, for example, epenthesis, syncopé and so on.

### 3.1. LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

- tamî (tamâi, tamai) < timî 'so' (ADV.)

32b. "Heeti xuu-n-a aa-t-a ta-'i xao go-o"
in.this.way thing-3CP1.-OBL hole-2/3FS-OBL 1S-(ACCR.kom?) dig REC.PST-ACCR(?)

 $>$ 位
 'She is stingy, because she is pregnant" so pick up that...' (071)

- $\hat{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{a}-\hat{\boldsymbol{u}}$

This compound lexeme, made up of $\hat{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{a}$ 'to search' and $\neq \hat{\boldsymbol{u}}$ 'food/to eat' is an equivalent of the s.KKG form,

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\ddagger \hat{u}-r e \\
\text { eat/food-search.for }\left(\begin{array}{c}
(\text { or } \boldsymbol{\prime} \neq \hat{u} \text {-ooa' }) \\
\text { eat/food-search.for })
\end{array}\right. & \text { 'to search for food'. }
\end{array}
$$

However, this compound (verb) construction, made up of the noun $\neq \hat{u}$ 'food' ( $\hat{u}$ in the S . dialect (clickloss)) and the verb ôa 'to search for', allows the verb to take precedence over the noun in the construction so that it becomes $\hat{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{a}-\hat{\boldsymbol{u}}$. S.KKG does not allow such precedence for a verb in this construction, thus $\neq \hat{u}$ would always come before $\hat{o} a$. Examples:
33.

while-2MS IND person AGNT PRES.PROG kill-PASSV
'You are busy gathering food there, the food that you are gathering outside, meanwhile someone is killing (/bewitching) you.' (088)

- lgâ < lgôa 'child'

This resulting lexeme (also in the sentence concerned), may easily be misinterpreted with a similar
s.KKG root $\mid g \hat{a}$ 'to become poor', especially when a speaker is not careful with tone.
34.


The meaning of the following compounded lexeme could only be deduced from its context.

- | gâi-abato < | gâi(/ | gî)bas go 'to be stingy with something'

35. O-n ge heesisa !gam-m-i go sii \|gâi-e then-3NPI. IND now murder/kill-3MS-HISTO REC.PST arrive.there meat-3NS.OBL ra-o: " ||Nâ khoe-t di a \|gâi-e re, PRES.PROG-when/if that person-2/3FS POSS ST meat-3NS.OBL?
lgâi-a-ba-t-o. (070)
stint(sb.of.s)-ST-APPLIC-2/3FS- REC.PST $>$

| O-n | ge |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| then-3NPl. IND |  |
| IN |  |

"\|Naa khoe-s $\quad$ di | a | $\\|$ gan-i | ge, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and |  |  | that/there person-2/3FS POSS ST meat-3NS IND, |gâi-ba-s (/|gî-ba-s) go-e". stint(sb.of.s)-APPLIC-2/3FS stint(sb.of.s)-APPLIC-2/3FS REC.PST-3NS.OBL 'Then now, when he killed an animal (and brings the meat), they (say): "It is that woman's meat, with (about) which she is stingy (/sparing?)".'

- hapu = toa 'end/finish

Whereas s.KKG restricts its meaning of hapu to eating and drinking (hapu = eat/drink up(finish)), the S . dialect uses the same lexeme to mean something totally different, namely 'the end or the passing of the month'. Even though one might still be able to deduce a semantic relation between the two varying usages, these differing meanings may catch the unexpecting speakers of the two dialects (ie. s.KKG and a Sesfontein Khoekhoegowab dialect) by surprise. In the example below hapu is used to mean 'the end or the passing (by) (of the month)'.
36. $\underset{\text { Nee }}{\text { Nhis/here }} \|$ hâ-b-a $\quad \underset{\text { moon/month-3MS-OBL }}{\text { hapu-he, ree }} \underset{\text { pass-PASSV }}{\| \text { hâ-b-a }} \underset{\text { this/here }}{\text { moon/month-3MS-OBL }} \underset{\text { pass-PASSV }}{\text { hapu-he. }}$
this/here moon/month-3MS-OBL pass-PASSV this/here moon/month-3MS-OBL pass-PASSV
Nee \|khâ-ba !kharu, nee (/nau) \|khâ-b-a !kharu. this/here moon/month-3MS-OBL pass this/here (/yonder) moon/month-3MS-OBL pass 'This month passes, this (/the next) month passes.' (019)

## - |Haohâ

This denotes a '(church) congregation' in s.KKG, but a 'graveyard' or 'graves' in the S. dialect.

### 3.2. DISTINCT LEXEMES

A set of distinct lexemes have been identified for which s.KKG equivalents could not be found reliably. While some of them seem to serve a function of either an interjection or a phatic, others could only hint at some s.KKG lexemes. These distinct forms include: ' $\mid$ huuro' $<s . K K G, \| k h o m$ 'belly' (?), as well as '!noraba' (noun?); 'gope' < s.KKG, \|goe 'to lie (?) and lastly, sôaba (?).

## 4. SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Syntactic variations between standard Khoekhoegowab and this Sesfontein dialect are more obvious from the way the dialect employs the PGN formatives and tense markers in the sentences. Moreover the dialect mainly allows for the frequent ellipsis of its grammatical particles including conjunctions. Both these phenomena hardly, if at all, surface in the s.KKG syntax.

### 4.1. THE APPLICATION OF PGNs

## Omission

37a. Kai si, kai si_ ge reeti sii |gôa-b-a gere
grow.up and grow.up and IND in.this.way arrive.there child-3MS-OBL REM.PST.PROG
kai sii. (059)
grow.up arrive.there
$>$
Kai tsî, kai tsî-l-b ge neeti |gôa-b-a gere sii
grow.up and grow.up and-3MS IND in.this.way child-3MS-OBL REM.PST.PROG arrive.there kai(-mâ).
grow.up(-stand).
'The child grew and grew (in the belly) and stood like this.'
37b. Tae_ di aa-t-a? (105) > Tare-i di aa-s-a? 'What is the hole for?'
what POSS hole-2/3FS-OBL what-3NS POSS hole-2/3FS-OBL


## PGN-Numeral-Agreement

With regard to the distribution of Khoekhoegowab PGNs in the environment of (cardinal) numerals, Haacke (1988:55) has observed that in Khoekhoegowab,
"The distribution of cardinal numerals with nominal designants (PGNs), is closely linked to the category of number; thus, $\mid$ gui (one) may only occur with the singular,... and all other cardinal numerals (ie. !nona (three) and more) only with the plural." (emphasis added).

Notwithstandly, in the example below, the S . dialect seems to behave differently from this general Khoekhoegowab tendency. The example (below) shows the distribution of a cardinal numeral lgui (one) with a plural PGN (nominal designant). As noted in Haacke's observation, s.KKG refrains from this distribution and uses a different form instead. ${ }^{3}$


[^2] 'Some (men) stood at the back, some (men) in front.

### 4.2 INDICATIVE SENTENCE TYPE MARKER

Although the dialect cliticizes the indicative marker, or at times use it in full, there are instances in which particle is left out totally, even if the sentence is declarative.

| 39a. | !Nao-he | i | gere. | (017) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | hide/conceal-PASSV | 3NS | REM.PST.PROG |  |

```
39b. |UU-i-t-i 
    >
    |UU(-xuu)-s ge gere
    don't.know(-let.go/desert)-2/3FS IND REM.PST.PROG
```

    'She would deny.'
    
### 4.3 THE USE OF TENSE AND ASPECT MARKERS

The speakers of the S . dialect, at times, seem to repeat tense and aspect in a sentence. Moreover, more than one aspect may be used for a single predicate and the present stative aspect marker distributed with past tense. These constructions are not common in s.KKG. The latter distribution involving the present stative marker may leave one pondering whether it is a matter of being not employable in s.KKG altogether, or may be just a matter of dropping the particle in this environment.

40a. Elo-mî-e ge a
God-say-3NS.OBL REM.PST PRES.ST don't.know REM.PST FUT/PST.ST
$>$
Elo-b-mî-e (da) ge |uu i.
God-3MS-say-3NS.OBL (1CPI.) REM.PST don't.know FUT/PST.ST
(We) didn't know of a word of God (/ a bible).
40b. Oro \|ae-b ai da ge |gôa-b-a gere !khûi ge í...(058) old time-3MS at/on 1CPI. IND child-3MS-OBL. REM.PST.PROG pregnant REM.PST FUT/PST.ST $>$
 'In olden times, when we were pregnant with a child ...'

40c. Nee kai-khoe-b-a "\|naru" ti go mî ra-o. $\quad \underline{\text { rat }} \quad(025,070)$ here/this big-person-3MS-OBL IDEO/INTRJ so REC.PST say PRES.PROG-when/if


Lastly, among the syntactic changes concerning the tense and aspect marking in this dialect, we see a particular case of retention (below) regarding the present stative aspect maker $a$. This maker is retained in this relative clause even after the predicate of the clause (ie. $=$ Nuukhoe 'black person') has been moved to the left of the PGN ( $d a, 1 \mathrm{CPl}$.) to create a noun phrase in s.KKG. For more on this syntactic construction, see Haacke (1986:389). In a similar syntactic alterations this marker would be dropped in s.KKG.

| 40d. | \#Nuu-khoe | a | da-n-a (095) | $>$ | \#Nuu-khoe da |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| black-person | PRES.ST | 1CPl.-3CPl.(?)-OBL(?) |  |  |  |$\quad$| black-person 1CPl. |
| :---: |
|  |
|  |

## 8. CONCLUSION

Since the analysis of this paper is based on a single dialect of the Sesfontein dialect varieties, the results herein remain tentative and can, on the one hand, only serve as basis for future research, whilst, on the other hand, adding some insights on the existing dialect studies in this region.

Needless to say, although the variations between this particular Sesfontein variety and standard Khoekhoegowab seem to be largely unpredictable (ie. are not regular), the nature of these variations warants the dialect a particular mention in the synchronic analysis of Khoekhoegowab, and perhaps also in its diachronic development of the latter.

The analysis presented by the paper, allows us to conclude, however, that there are certain morphophonological changes which may be understood as distinct and the most conspicuous variations between the Sesfontein dialect and standard Khoekhoegowab. These variations involve the $2 / 3 \mathrm{FS}$ PGN which is realised as $-s$ in $\mathrm{s} . \mathrm{KKG}$, but (almost regularly) as $-t$ in the dialect. Another PGN, ie. 2 MS is rendered as $-t s$ in $s . K K G$, and as $-s$ in the S . dialect.

Lastly, the grammatical morphemes of the dialect are frequently subjected to denasalisation, aphaeresis and cliticisation in especially in sentence constructions. These variations between the two lects have increasing implications on the understanding between a speaker of this dialect and that of s.KKG during a discourse.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRNYMS

| A | adjective | N | neuter |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ABL | ablative | OBL | oblique |
| ACCR | accreditive sentence type marker | OM | object marker |
| ADV | adverb | Pl. | plural |
| ADV.S | adverbial/adverbializing suffix | PASSV | passive sentence marker |
| AGNT | agentive | POSS | possessive particle |
| AM | aspect marker | POSS.PR | possessive pronoun |
| APPLIC | applicative | PP | postposition |
| ART | article | PRES | present |
| AUGM | augmentative suffix | PROG | progressive |
| C | common gender | PRON | pronoun/pronominal |
| CASE | case marker | PST | past |
| CONJ | conjunction | Q | question |
| COMPL | completed aspect | REC. | recent |
| D | dual | RECIP | reciprocal |
| DEM | demonstrative | REM. | remote |
| DIM | diminutive | RESP | response |
| EXCL | exclusive of addressee | RFLX | reflexive |
| EXCLA | exclamation | S | single |
| F | feminine | S. dialect | Sesfontein dialect |
| F.NEG | future negation marker | s.KKG | standard Khoekhoegowab |
| FUT | future tense particle | s.th | something |
| HORT | hortative sentence type marker | S.TYPE | sentence type marker |
| HISTO | historic | ST | stative |
| IDEO | ideophone | SUBJ | subjunctive |
| I.NUM | indefinite numeral | TAM | tense and aspect marker |
| INCL | inclusive of addressee | TENSE | tense |
| IND | indicative sentence type marker | V | verb |
| INT | interrogative | V.EXT | verbal extensions |
| INT.A | interrogative adjective | V.I | intransitive verb |
| INT.ADV | interrogative adverb | V.S | verb(alizing) suffix |
| INTRJ | interjection | V.T | transitive verb |
| M | masculine | V.T.ST | transitive stative verb |
| NN | Noun | \ps | part of speech |
| OBJ | object |  |  |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Numbers in brackets refer to the sentences in the corpus and should be ignored for this presentation.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Note the change in example sequence, henceforth S. dialect $>$ s.KKG

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Note: This distribution is limited (also in the analysed corpus of the dialect) to this single example quoted.

