

"FEATURES OF A SESTONTEIN DIALECT OF KHOEKHOEGOWAB"

- I. Introduction
- II. Features of the Dialect
 - 1) Phonological features
 - 2) Morphological Features
 - 3) Lexical
 - 4) Syntax
- III. Conclusion

I. INTRODUCTION:

The area around Sesfontein comprises a culturally diversified people. It is also home to linguistic 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 120 000 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):

▪ s > t

- 1a. khoe-s-a > khoe-t-a (023)¹ '(the) lady/woman'
person-2/3FS-OBL person-2/3FS-OBL
- 1b. nee-s-e > nee-t-e (024) 'you there/hey! (2FS)! *Excl. derog.*
this/here-2/3FS-VOC this/here-2/3FS-VOC
- 1c. si > ti (024) '2/3FS object marker'
2/3FS.OM 2/3FS.OM

Other \ps:

- 1d. neesia > reetia (062) 'now'
ADV ADV
- 1e. sopo > topo (106) 'to smear(sth.on/over.sth)
V.T V.T

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

- 1f. | gôa-ro-s > | gôa-ro-s (025) 'little girl'
child-DIM-2/3FS child-DIM-2/3FS
- 1g. nee-so > ree-so 'you there/hey! (2FPl.)! *Excl. derog.*
this/here-2FPl. this/here-2FPl.
- 1h. aasi > aasi (013) 'feed.water.to'
V.T V.T

But see:

- 1i. sa-s-a > sa-t-a (068) 'You.2FS'
INCL-2/3FS-OBL INCL-2/3FS-OBL

¹ Numbers in brackets refer to the sentences in the corpus and should be ignored for this presentation.

▪ **ts > s**

The second most obvious phonological change (or alternation).

- 2a. Sa-**ts** ta ôa (≠û-n)... !auga-**ts** ta ôa ≠û-n,... (088)
 INCL-2MS PRES.PROG search(eat/food-3CPL.) outside-2MS PRES.PROG search eat/food-3CPL.
 >
 Sa-**s**-a ôa-û... !auga-**s**-a ôa-û ≠û-n
 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 xu > ree-**see**-t-a xu (103)
 this/here-day-2/3FS-OBL from/after this/here-day-2/3FS-OBL from/after
 'From today (lit. this day) onwards'
- 2c. O-n sii ra hoo **tsi** (005)
 then-3CPL. arrive.there PRES.PROG find/get OM.2MS
 >
 O-n-i sii ra hoo **si**
 then-3CPL.-HISTO arrive.there PRES.PROG find/get OM.2MS
 'Then (when) they find you...'

▪ **kh > x/k**

Aspirated stop /kh/ becomes at times fricativised or loses its aspiration (if not retained).

kh > x

- 3a. kai-**khoe** > kai-**xoe** (079) 'elder person/elders'
 big-person big-person
- 3b. **khao**-≠gaa > **xao**-≠gaa (016) 'bury in the ground'
 dig-put.in dig-put.in
- 3c. **khoe**-b-i (/xa) > **xoe**-b-i (088) 'by the man/guy'
 person-3MS-AGNT person-3MS-AGNT
- 3d. uu-**khâi** > uu-**xâi** (013) 'pickup'
 take/pick-up take/pick-up
- 3e. ||au-**khoo**-b > au-**xoo**-b (109) 'simple/insignificant skin/hide'
 simple-skin-3MS simple-skin-3MS

kh > k

- 3f. **khoe**-n-a > **koe**-n-a (004) 'persons/people'
 person-3CPL.-OBL person-3CPL.-OBL
- 3g. (O)**kh**a! > **k**a! (023) 'Phatic (how then!)'
 INTR INTR

1.2. CHANGE IN CLICK CONSONANTS

1.2.1. LOSS OF PRIMARY CLICKS (INFLUXES)

The loss of primary clicks are observed in:

▪ Lateral click (ǁ)

- 6a. ǁnaa-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. ǁî > _î (015) 'Article' (the discussed)
ART ART
- 6c. ǁau-khoe > _au-xoe (051) 'normal/insignificant person'
insignificant-person insignificant-person
- 6d. ǁnaa > _nâ (109) 'that/there'
DEM/ADV DEM/ADV

▪ Dental click (ǀ)

- 7a. ǀkha > _ka (095) 'with'
PP PP
- 7b. !Nani-ǀau-s > ǁNani-_au-t (053) 'Sesfontein'
Six-fountain-2/3FS Six-fountain-2/3FS

▪ Palatal click (ǁ̞)

- 8a. ǁ̞hôa > _hûa (057) 'publicize'
make.public make.public
- 8b. ǁ̞û > _û (065) 'eat/food'
- 8c. ǁ̞û-re ('ǁ̞û-ôa') > ôa-_û (096) 'gather (wild) food'
eat/food-search.for (eat/food-search.for) search.for-eat/food

▪ Alveolar click (!)

- 9a. !nâ > _nâ (013) 'in'
PP PP
- 9b. !khai-s ai > _xai-t ai (052) 'at (that) place'.
place-2/3FS PP place-2/3FS PP

1.2.2. ALTERNATION OF A PRIMARY CLICK

▪ !>ǁ

- 10a. !Nani-lau-s > ǁNani-au-t (017, also 053) 'Sesfontein'
six-fountain-2/3FS six-fountain-2/3FS
- 10.b !nae > ǁnae (079) 'be born'
be.born 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 *_kh* to *_h*. (change highly predictable) The frequency hereof remains relatively high when compared to the sound changes discussed hitherto.

▪ ||kh > ||h

- | | | | | |
|------|---|---|--|----------------------|
| 11a. | <u> kh</u> â-b-a
month-3MS-OBL | > | <u> h</u> â-b-a (019)
month-3MS-OBL | 'the month' |
| 11b. | <u> kh</u> om-m-a
stomach/belly-3MS-OBL | > | <u> h</u> om-m-a (018)
stomach/belly-3MS-OBL | '(big)stomach/belly' |
| 11c. | <u> kh</u> aa
A | > | <u> h</u> aa (052)
A | 'same' |

▪ |kh > |h

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------|
| 12a. | <u>kh</u> ara-pa
other-ADV.S.place | > | <u>h</u> ara-pa (025)
other-ADV.S.place | '(at a) different place' |
| 12b. | <u>kh</u> ai
not.be.present | > | <u>h</u> ai (067)
not.be.present | 'not there' |

▪ #kh > #h

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| 13a. | <u>#kh</u> ari
A | > | <u>#h</u> ari (006)
A | 'little/small' |
| 13b. | <u>#kh</u> oo
NN | > | <u>#h</u> oo (049)
NN | 'bone' |

▪ !kh > !h

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|---|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 14.a. | <u>!kh</u> ûi
V.T.ST | > | <u>!h</u> ûi (071)
V.T.ST | 'pregnant(animal)' |
| 14b. | <u>!kh</u> au
V.I | > | <u>!h</u> au (091)
V.I | 'insane' |
| 14c. | <u>!kh</u> araga
A | > | <u>!h</u> araga (095)
A | 'differ' |

Contrary occurrence:

▪ !h > !kh

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|--|
| 15. | naa <u>!h</u> uu-b-a xuu
that/there soil/land-3MS-OBL from/after | > | nâ <u>!kh</u> uu-b-a xuu (083)
that/there soil/land-3MS-OBL from/after | |
|-----|---|---|---|--|
- 'From that country/land.'

1.3. CHANGE IN VOWELS

1.3.1. VOWEL RAISING

The vowel *o* is raised to *u* in the dialect and *a* to *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.	x <u>o</u> re (/ore) VT	>	x <u>u</u> re (020) VT	'untie'
16b.	kh <u>o</u> m-s belly/stomach-2/3FS	>	kh <u>u</u> m-t-i (061) belly/stomach-2/3FS-HISTO	'belly/stomach'
16c.	<u>o</u> a V.T	>	<u>u</u> a (041) V.T	'look/search for'
16d.	≠h <u>o</u> a make.public	>	h <u>u</u> a (057) make.public	'publicize'
<i>And</i>				
16e.	kh <u>a</u> ma PP	>	kh <u>o</u> ma, (023) or x <u>o</u> ma, (109) PP	'like'

1.3.2. VOWEL LOWERING

u > *o*, and *i* > *a*

17a.	≠n <u>u</u> i V.T	>	≠n <u>o</u> ai (039) V.T	'put down'
17b.	x <u>u</u> -n thing-3CPL.	>	x <u>o</u> -n-a (104) thing-3CPL.-OBL	'things'
17c.	t <u>i</u> -mî so-say	>	t <u>a</u> -mai (024) so-say	'so (it (is) said)'

1.3.3. DE-NASALIZATION OF (s.KKG) NASAL VOWELS î

The de-nasalization of vowels confines itself to the high front vowel *i* and has an morphophonological effect.

18a.	tsî	>	sî (049, 095)	'and'
18b.	nî	>	-î (079, 098, 113)	'Future tense (will)'
18c.	hîa	>	îa (061, 075)	'while'

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

19a. $n\hat{i}$ > $n\hat{i}$ (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 demonstrative $\parallel naa$ 'that'.

19b. $\parallel naa$ > $\parallel n\hat{a}$ (005, also 007, 009, etc.) 'that'

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

2. MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES²

This section entails morphological variations, as well as morphophonological and morphosyntactic features of the dialect. Just to bring the preceding 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.KKG /ts/ to /s/ in this dialect also affects the conjunction, *tsi* 'and', which may subsequently be realized as *sí*. Furthermore with de-nasalization (cf. 1.3.3), this morpheme becomes *si*, and thus similar to the (s.KKG) 2/3FS object marker *si*. (see examples 18a. and 2c.)

Similarly the de-nasalisation affecting the future marker *nî* (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 (2/3FS) marker: S. dialect (almost consistently) *-t*, and s.KKG consistently *-s*. (Example):

21a. $\parallel N\hat{a}-\underline{t}-e$ a !hau, |guri $\hat{h}\hat{a}-\underline{t}-a$. (091) (a Sesfontein dialect)
 that-2/3FS-IND PRES.ST insane, alone be(in/at.place)-2/3FS-OBL
 >
 $\parallel Naa-\underline{s}$ ge a !khau, |guri $\hat{h}\hat{a}-\underline{s}-a$. (standard Khoekhoegowab)
 that-2/3FS IND PRES.ST insane, alone be(in/at.place)-2/3FS-OBL
 'That's insanity of its own (lit. that is insanity, a separate one)'

² Note the change in example sequence, henceforth S. dialect > s.KKG

- 23.b O i ge xoe-**gua** xoma, xoma; xoe**gua** ree
 then 3NS IND person-3MPI.OBL perform.magic.rites, perform.magic.rites; person-3MPI.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 3MPI.IND person-3MPI.OBL perform.magic.rites, perform.magic.rites; person-3MPI.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) 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 preceding 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

- 24a. O ta-**e** sii. (110) > O ta **ge** sii. 'Then I got there/arrived'
 then 1S-REM.PST arrive then 1S REM.PST arrive
- 24b. O ta-**o** koma dâu-ngâ-he... (002)
 then 1S-REC.PST apparently flow-down-PASSV
 >
 O ta **go** koma dâu-||nâ-he...
 then 1S REC.PST apparently flow-down-PASSV
 'Then I, apparently (/supposedly), got washed away (by a stream)....'

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 *nî* instead of aphaeresis may alternate with *r* (see example 4g.). In this case it is difficult to distinguish this future tense marker from the progressive tense marker *ra* (as will be seen later).

- 24c. | Khamasa-se-b-**i** || goe-ga (113) 'So that he could lie firm.'
 firm-MANNER-3MS-FUT lie-PURPOSE
 >
 | Khamasa-se-b **nî** || goe-ga 'So that he could lie firm.'
 firm-MANNER-3MS FUT lie-PURPOSE

- 24d. Ta-mai ge huu-b ai **ri** !guri-e. (023)
 so-say IND thing-3MS on FUT message-PASSV
 >
 Ti-mî i ge xuu-b ai **nî** !guri-he.
 so-say 3NS IND thing-3MS on FUT message-PASSV
 'It will be massaged over the thing (the cloth), like that.'

Progressive aspect marker *ra*

- 24e. Sa-s-**a** ôa-û... !auga-s-**a** ôa-û †û-n... (088)
 INCL-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food outside-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food eat/food-3CPL.
 >
 Sa-ts **ra** ôa (†û-n)... !auga-ts **ra** ôa †û-n,...
 INCL-2MS PRES.PROG search (eat/food-3CPL.) outside-2MS PRES.PROG search eat/food-3CPL.
 'You are gathering (/searching for) the food...The food you are gathering outside (in the wild), ...'

This marker is at times not cliticised, but undergoes, rather, progressive assimilation when preceded by a syllable with the high front vowel (*i*). Thus in this environment *ra* becomes *ri*. This change eventuates ambiguity between the present progressive marker *ra* (becoming *ri*), and the future tense marker *nî* (also becoming *ri*, see example 24d.).

- 24f. || naa-s-**a** ôa-û, !auga-s-**a** ôa-û †û-n,
 that/there-2MS-PRES.PROG search-food outside-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food eat/food-3CPL.
 hîa-s-e xoe-b-i **ri** !gam-e. (088)
 while-2MS-IND person-3MS-AGNT PRES.PROG kill-PASSV
 >
 || naa-ts **ra** †û-ôa, !auga-ts **ra** †û-ôa (†ûn),
 that/there-2MS PRES.PROG eat/food-search outside-2MS PRES.PROG eat/food-search (eat/food-3CPL.)
 hîa-ts ge khoe-b xa **ra** !gam-he.
 while-2MS IND person-3MS AGNT PRES.PROG kill-PASSV
 'You are busy gathering food there, the food that you are gathering outside, meanwhile someone is killing (/bewitching) you.'

- 24g. Ree | gau-t ai **ri** 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.) *ra* seems to be the better variant, even though it is presented once as a clitic and again as *ri* in the same sentence. However, the same cannot be said about the second example (24g.). In the second example (even after considering the context of this utterance), *ni* appears equally possible. Thus the second example could as well be interpreted in s.KKG as:

24h. Nee |gaus ai **ni** dii,... (086)
'(They) would do it (in) this way.'

Similarly, *ri* in the following example could also be interpreted equally as either *ra* (as progressive aspect) or as *ni* ('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, î ta aipe koo
this/here-2/3FS.VOC take PLEASE thong/strap so.that 1S at.first/in.the.mean.time look
si" timî i ge xuu-b ai **ra (/ni)** !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 **ra** 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. "|| Gû-b-**e**!" ti gere mî-he,... (096)
parent-3MS-IND so REM.PST.PROG say-PASSV
>

"|| Gû-b **ge**!" ti i gere mî-he...
parent-3MS IND so 3NS REM.PST.PROG say-PASSV
'... (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 search 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 [ʔe], 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-**e**-o. (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 *xa*)

- 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 ||gam-m-i-**i**-s-o dâu-naa-e... (007)
big water-3MS-HISTO-AGNT-2MS-REC.PST flow-down-PASSV
>
Kai ||gam-m-i **xats** go dâu-||nâ-he...
big water-3MS-HISTO 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.).

28a. O-n-i sii ra hoo si-n-i ge...
 then-3CPl.-HISTO arrive.there PRES.PROG find 2MS.OM-3CPl.-HISTO IND
 >
 O-n sii ra hoo tsi-o-n ge...
 then-3CPl. arrive.there PRES.PROG find 2MS.OM-when/if-3CPl. IND
 'And (then) when they find you, they...' (005)

28b. Ree || goe dom-ro nâ-b-i nâ... (009)
 this/here lie(down) river-DIM that/there-3MS-HISTO in
 >
 Nee || goe dom-ro-b || naa-b !nâ...
 this/here lie(down) river-DIM-3MS that-3MS in
 'In that little stream (of river) lying (over) here...'

28c. Dabo-b-a kai-i-b-i. > Daro-b ge kai go. (075)
 child-3MS-OBL big-HISTO-3MS-(FUT?) child-3MS-OBL IND big REC.PST
 'The child was grown (up)'

The final *-i* on *kai-ib*̣** (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-ib*̣**' (above), as a shortened form of the future tense particle '*nî*' - 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 *ge* in function, but in the other appearance simply acts as phatic.

29a. || Nâ khoe-t-i a || gâi-e re... (070)
 that/there person-2/3FS-POSS ST meat-3NS ?
 >
 || Naa khoe-s di a || gan-i ge...
 that/there person-2/3FS POSS ST meat-3NS IND(?)
 'It is that woman's meat...'

- 29b. ||Nâ-t-e !hûi-e-s-a xoe-t-a re. (077)
 that/there-2/3FS-IND pregnant-PASSV-2/3FS-OBL person-2/3FS-OBL PHATIC(?)
 >
 ||Naa-s ge !khûi khoe-s-a
 that-2/3FS IND pregnant person-2/3FS-OBL
 'That is a pregnant woman (S. dialect: lit. That is an impregnated woman).'

• -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*).

- 30a. Ae, !au sigo, î ta ||gan-e û-o... (065)
 EXCLA hunt PRON.VOC.2MS.you so.that 1S meat-3NS.OBL eat-?
 >
 Ae, !au tsigo, î ta ||gan-e ≠û (||khaa).
 EXCLA hunt PRON.VOC.2MS.you so.that 1S meat-3NS.OBL eat (able)(?)
 '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!(?)”.'

• -ri

This morpheme is found suffixed to an adjective.

31. O i go ||nâ |gôa-ro-e a xoe-i
 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, syncope 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-3CPL.-OBL hole-2/3FS-OBL 1S-(ACCR.kom?) dig REC.PST-ACCR(?)
ta-mâi ge gere | goa-e.
 so-say IND REM.PST.PROG pray.to.ancestors-PASSV

>

"Neeti ii xuu-n (di) aa-s-a ta kom go khao-o"
 in.this.way look/appear thing-3CPL. (POSS) hole-2/3FS-OBL 1S ACCR REC.PST dig-ACCR
ti(mî) i ge gere tseekhom-he.
 so(say) 3NS IND REM.PST.PROG pray.to.ancestors-PASSV

"Indeed, I dug a hole for such things" so one prayed (unto the ancestors).'

32c. "!Hûi-ti ao | gâi a koe-t-a" tamî-t-i, uu-xâi re || nâ...
 pregnant-2/3FS-HISTO because stingy ST person-2/3FS-OBL so-say-2/3FS-on take-up PLEASE that

>

"!Khûi-s ao go | gâi khoe-s-a" ti-mî-s (ai), uu-khâi (re) || naa
 pregnant-2/3FS because REC.PST stingy person-2/3FS-OBL so-say-2/3FS (on) take-up (PLEASE) that
 'She is stingy, because she is pregnant" so pick up that...' (071)

- *ôa-û*

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

$\neq\hat{u}$ -re (or $\neq\hat{u}$ -ôa) 'to search for food'.
 eat/food-search.for (eat/food-search.for)

However, this compound (verb) construction, made up of the noun $\neq\hat{u}$ 'food' (*û* 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 *ôa-û*. S.KKG does not allow such precedence for a verb in this construction, thus $\neq\hat{u}$ would always come before *ôa*. Examples:

33. || Naa-s-a ôa-û, !auga-s-a ôa-û $\neq\hat{u}$ -n,
 that/there-2MS-PROG search.for-food/eat, outside-2MS-PROG search-food/eat food/eat-3CPL.
 hîa-s-e xoe-b-i ri !gam-e. (088)
 while-2MS-IND person-AGNT PRES.PROG kill-PASSV

>

|| Naa-ts ta $\neq\hat{u}$ -ôa, !auga-ts ta $\neq\hat{u}$ -ôa ($\neq\hat{u}$ n),
 that/there-2MS PRES.PROG food/eat-search, outside-2MS PROG food/eat-search (food/eat-3CPL.)
 hîa-ts ge khoe-b xa ra !gam-he.

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)

▪ |gâ < |gôa 'child'

This resulting lexeme (also in the sentence concerned), may easily be misinterpreted with a similar s.KKG root |gâ 'to become poor', especially when a speaker is not careful with tone.

34. Ngâ-s-a mû |gâ, nee-s-a mû |gâ-b ||nâ
that/there-2MS-PRES.PROG see child this/here-2MS-PRES.PROG see child-3MS that /there
tsuu-b ge, ree ge om ai ri mû |gâ-b ||nâ-b-e
PHATIC(?) -3MS IND this/here IND house on PRES.PROG see child-3MS that/there-3MS-IND
!nao-he-i ra.
hide/conceal-PASSV-HISTO PRES.PROG

>

||Naa-ts ra mû |gôa-b, nee-ts ra mû |gôa-b ||naa-b
that/there-2MS PRES.PROG see child-3MS this/here-2MS PRES.PROG see child-3MS that/there-3MS
ge, nee-ts om-s ai ra mû |gôa-b ||naa-b ge
IND this/here-2MS house-2/3FS on PROG see child-3MS that-3MS IND
sâu-he-(i)-b ra (!nao-he-(i)-b ra).
hide/conceal-PASSV-(HISTO)-3MS PROG (hide/conceal-PASSV-(HISTO)-3MS PRES.PROG)

'The children you see there, those children you see (around) here, the children you see around the house here, are being concealed (during the initial months of mothers' respective pregnancies)!' (018)

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-3NPL. 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 ?
|gâi-a-ba-t-o. (070)
stint(sb.of.s)-ST-APPLIC-2/3FS- REC.PST

>

O-n ge neesisa !gam-m-i go sii a, ||gan-e-o,
then-3NPL. IND now murder/kill-3MS-HISTO REC.PST arrive.there ST meat-3NS.OBL-when/if
"||Naa khoe-s di a ||gan-i ge,
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 unexpected 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. Nee ||hâ-b-a **hapu**-he, ree ||hâ-b-a **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: '| *huuro*' < s.KKG, || *khom* '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-**h** 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

- 37c. Elo_-mî-e ge a |uu ge i. (082)
 God -say-3NS.OBL REM.PST ST don't.know REM.PST ST
 >
 Elo-**h**-mî-e (da) ge |uu i.
 God-3MS-say-3NS.OBL (1CPL) REM.PST don't.know ST
 (We) didn't know of a word of God (/a bible).

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, |gui (*one*) may only occur with the singular,... and all other cardinal numerals (*ie. Inona (three)* and more) only with the plural.” (emphasis added).

Notwithstanding, 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 |gui (*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

38. Xao-t ai |**gui** **gua** mâ, ai-t ai |**gui** **gua** mâ...(112)
 back/behind-2/3FS on one 3MPL.OBL stand face-2/3FS on one 3MPL.OBL stand
 >
 Khao-s ai |**nî** **ga** mâ, ai-s ai |**nî** **ga** mâ...

³ Note: This distribution is limited (also in the analysed corpus of the dialect) to this single example quoted.

back/behind-2/3FS on other/some 3MPI.OBL stand face-2/3FS on other/some 3MPI.OBL stand

'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
>
!Nao (/sâu)-he i ge gere.
hide/conceal (hide/conceal)-PASSV 3NS IND REM.PST.PROG
'It was being concealed.'

- 39b. |UU-i-t-i gere. (033)
don't.know-HISTO-2/3FS-HISTO REM.PST.PROG
>
|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 |uu ge i. (082)
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 (1CPL.) 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 i...(058)
old time-3MS at/on 1CPL. IND child-3MS-OBL. REM.PST.PROG pregnant REM.PST FUT/PST.ST
>
|Oro ||ae-b ai da ge |gôa-e gere !khûi-o ...
old time-3MS at/on 1CPL. IND child-3MS-OBL. REM.PST.PROG pregnant-when/if
'In olden times, when we were pregnant with a child ...'
- 40c. Nee kai-khoe-b-a "||naru" ti go mî ra-o. (025, 070)
here/this big-person-3MS-OBL IDEO/INTRJ so REC.PST say PRES.PROG-when/if
>

(O-b) **go** nee kai-khoe-b-a "||naru"(?) ti **a** mî-o.
 (then-3MS) REC.PST here/this big-person-3MS-OBL IDEO/INTRJ so PRES.ST say-when/if
 (Then) When this (elderly) man says: "Plunk!(?)"

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. \neq Nuukhoe 'black person') has been moved to the left of the PGN (*da*, 1CPL.) 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. \neq Nuu-khoe **a** da-n-a (095) > \neq Nuu-khoe da
 black-person PRES.ST 1CPL.-3CPL.(?)-OBL(?) black-person 1CPL.
 "(We,) the Damara (lit. 'We, the black people')"

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, serve solely 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. they are not regular), the nature of these variations still warrants the dialect a particular mention in the synchronic analysis of Khoekhoegowab, and perhaps also in the 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 as the most conspicuous variations between the Sesfontein dialect and standard Khoekhoegowab. These variations involve the 2/3FS PGN which is realised as *-s* in s.KKG, but (almost regularly) as *-t* in the dialect. Another PGN, ie. 2MS is rendered as *-ts* in s.KKG, and as *-s* in the S. dialect.

Lastly, the grammatical morphemes of the dialect are frequently subjected to denasalisation, aphaeresis and cliticisation 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		