"FEATURES OF A SESTONTEIN DIALECT OF KHOEKHOEGOWAB"

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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-š-a  
      person-2/3FS-OBL  >  khoe-t-a  
      person-2/3FS-OBL  
      '(the) lady/woman'

  1b. nee-s-e  
      this/here-2/3FS-VOC  >  nee-t-e  
      this/here-2/3FS-VOC  
      'you there/hey! (2FS)! Excl. derog.'

  1c. ści  
      2/3FS.OM  >  ti  
      2/3FS.OM  
      '2/3FS object marker'

  Other ‾s:

  1d. neešiša  
      ADV  >  reesīta  
      ADV  
      'now'

  1e. sopo  
      V.T  >  topo  
      V.T  
      'to smear(sth.on/over.sth)'

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

  1f. gôa-ro-š  
      child-DIM-2/3FS  >  gôa-ro-š  
      child-DIM-2/3FS  
      'little girl'

  1g. nee-šo  
      this/here-2FPl.  >  ree-šo  
      this/here-2FPl.  
      'you there/hey! (2FPl)! Excl. derog.'

  1h. aasî  
      V.T  >  aasî  
      V.T  
      'feed.water.to'

  But see:

  1i. șa-s-a  
      İNCL-2/3FS-OBL  >  șa-t-a  
      İNCL-2/3FS-OBL  
      'You.2FS'

1 Numbers in brackets refer to the sentences in the corpus and should be ignored for this presentation.
The second most obvious phonological change (or alternation).

2a. Sa-\textit{ts} ta ãà (\textit{\text prime}û-n)... \textit{!auga-\textit{ts}} ta ãà \textit{\text prime}û-n,... (088)  
INCL-2MS PREP.PROG search(eat/food-3CPl.) outside-2MS PREP.PROG search eat/food-3CPl.  
\textit{Sa-\textit{s}}-\textit{a} ãà-û... \textit{!auga-\textit{s-a}} ãà-û \textit{\text prime}û-n  
INCL-2MS-PREP.PROG search-eat/food outside-2MS-PREP.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-\textit{ts}-\textit{s-a} xu > ree-\textit{shee-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 ts\textit{i} (005)  
then-3CPl. arrive.there PREP.PROG find/get OM.2MS  
\textit{O-n-i} sii ra hoo si  
then-3CPl.-HISTO arrive.there PREP.PROG find/get OM.2MS  
'Then (when) they find you...'

\textbf{kh > x/k}

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

\textit{kh > x}

3a. kai-\textit{khoe}  
big-person  
\textit{kai-xoe} (079)  'elder person/elders'

3b. \textit{khao-\textbar gaa}  
dig-put.in  
\textit{xao-\textbar gaa} (016)  'bury in the ground'

3c. \textit{khoe-b-i} (\textbar xa)  
person-3MS-AGNT  
\textit{xoe-b-i} (088)  'by the man/guy'

3d. uu-\textit{khäi}  
take/pick-up  
\textit{uu-xäi} (013)  'pickup'

3e. \textit{\textbar au-khoo-b}  
simple-skin-3MS  
\textit{au-xoo-b} (109)  'simple/insignificant skin/hide'

\textit{kh > k}

3f. \textit{khoe-n-a}  
person-3CPl.-OBL  
\textit{koe-n-a} (004)  'persons/people'

3g. (O)\textit{ka!}  
INTR  
\textit{ka!} (023)  'Phatic (how then!)'

\textbar
\(kh = kh\) (retained)

3h. \(\text{khâi} = \text{khâi}\) (028) 'stand up'

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

- \(n > r/h\)

The nasal \(n\) 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. \(nee > ree\) (086) 'this'
4b. \(nee > hee\) (086) 'this'
4c. \(nees\) > \(hees\) (094) 'now'
4d. \(nees\) > \(reet\) (096) 'now'
4e. \(nees\) > \(rees\) (087) 'now'
4f. \(neeti\) > \(heeti\) (107) 'like this'
4g. \(nî \geq ri\) (021) 'Future tense particle' (will)

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

- \(l > n/d/r\)

5a. \(\text{labi-b-a}\) \\
\(\text{cloth-3MS-OBL}\) > \(\text{nabi-b-a}\) (019) 'cloth'
\(\text{cloth-3MS-OBL}\)

5b. \(\text{labi-b-a}\) \\
\(\text{cloth-3MS-OBL}\) > \(\text{dabi-b-a}\) (020) 'cloth'
\(\text{cloth-3MS-OBL}\)

5c. \(\text{Elo-b-mî-s}\) \\
\(\text{God-3MS-say-2/3FS}\) > \(\text{Erô-mî-t-i}\) (030) 'Bible' lit. 'Word of God'
\(\text{God-3MS-say-2/3FS-HISTO}\)

Although observed, the deletion of the second consonant \((C_2)\), has not been exemplified here, since \(C_2\) 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 (║)**
  6a. ║naa-ts ra mù... > ngâ-s-a mù... (018)
      that/there-2MS PRES.PROG see that/there-2MS-PRES.PROG see
      'You are seeing there...'
  6b. ║î > _î (015)
      ART
      'Article' (the discussed)
  6c. ║au-khoe > _au-xoe (051)
      insignificant-person
      insignificant-person
  6d. ║naa > _nâ (109)
      DEM/ADV
      'that/there'

- **Dental click (│)**
  7a. │kha > _ka (095)
      PP
      'with'
  7b. !Nani-│au-s > Nani- _au-t (053)
      six-fountain-2/3FS six-fountain-2/3FS
      'Sesfontein'

- **Palatal click (╪)**
  8a. ┌hôa > _hûa (057)
      make.public
      make.public
      'publicize'
  8b. ┌û > _û (065)
      'eat/food'
  8c. ┌û-re (╪û-ôa) > ôa- _û (096)
      eat/food-search.for (eat/food-search.for)
      search.for-eat/food
      'gather (wild) food'

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

1.2.2. ALTERNATION OF A PRIMARY CLICK

- ! > ║
  10a. !Nani-lau-s > Nani- _au-t (017, also 053)
       six-fountain-2/3FS six-fountain-2/3FS
       'Sesfontein'
  10b. !nae > _nae (079)
       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. \[khâ-b-a\] > \[hâ-b-a\] (019) 'the month'
      \[month-3MS-OBL\]

  11b. \[khom-m-a\] > \[hom-m-a\] (018) '(big)stomach/belly'
      \[stomach/belly-3MS-OBL\]

  11c. \[khaa\] > \[haa\] (052) 'same'
      \[A\]

- **kh > h**

  12a. \[khara-pa\] > \[hara-pa\] (025) '(at a) different place'
      \[other-ADV.S.place\]

  12b. \[khai\] > \[hai\] (067) 'not there'
      \[not.be.present\]

- **kh > th**

  13a. \[khari\] > \[hari\] (006) 'little/small'
      \[A\]

  13b. \[khoor\] > \[hoor\] (049) 'bone'
      \[NN\]

- **kh > h**

  14a. \[khûi\] > \[hûi\] (071) 'pregnant(animal)'
      \[V.T.ST\]

  14b. \[khau\] > \[hau\] (091) 'insane'
      \[V.I\]

  14c. \[khara\] > \[haraga\] (095) 'differ'
      \[A\]

**Contrary occurence:**

- **h > kh**

  15. \[naa huu-b-a xuu\] > \[nâ khuu-b-a xuu\] (083) 'From that country/land.'
      \[that/there\]
      \[soil/land-3MS-OBL from/after\]
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. \( \text{xore} (/\text{ore}) \) > \( \text{xure} (020) \) 'untie'
     VT           VT
16b. \( \text{khom-s} \) > \( \text{khum-t-i} (061) \) 'belly/stomach'
     belly/stomach-2/3FS   belly/stomach-2/3FS-HISTO
16c. \( \text{ða} \) > \( \text{ða} (041) \) 'look/search for'
     V.T                     V.T
16d. \( \text{hða} \) > \( \text{hða} (057) \) 'publicize'
     make.public             make.public
And
16e. \( \text{khoma} \) > \( \text{khoma, (023) or xoma, (109) 'like'} \)
     PP                      PP

1.3.2. VOWEL LOWERING

\( u > o \), and \( i > a \)

17a. \( \text{ñui} \) > \( \text{ñoai} (039) \) 'put down'
     V.T                     V.T
17b. \( \text{xuu-n} \) > \( \text{xoo-n-a} (104) \) 'things'
     thing-3CPl.             thing-3CPl.-OBL
17c. \( \text{ti-mî} \) > \( \text{ta-mai} (024) \) 'so (it (is) said)'
     so-say                  so-say

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

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

18a. \( \text{tśi} \) > \( \text{sî} (049, 095) \) 'and'
18b. \( \text{nî} \) > \( \text{î} (079, 098, 113) \) 'Future tense (will)'
18c. \( \text{hîa} \) > \( \text{i}a (061, 075) \) 'while'
However retention is not uncommon, especially for 18b. of the examples above:

19a. nī > nī (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 nā 'that'.

19b. nā > nâ (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 FEATURES

This section entails morphological variations, as well as morphophonological 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.KKG /ts/ to /s/ in this dialect also affects the conjunction, tsī 'and', which may subsequently be realized as si. 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 nī (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. Nā-t-e a !hau, guri hâ-t-a. (091) (a Sesfontein dialect)
that-2/3FS-IND PRES.ST insane, alone be(in/at.place)-2/3FS-OBL

> Naa-š ge a !khau, guri hâ-š-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
21b. Tsî-t ge ||gû-t-a ra !guri
    And-2/3FS IND parent-2/3FS-OBL PRES.PROG massage

> Tsî-s ge ||gû-s-a ra !guri (060)
    And-2/3FS IND parent-2/3FS-OBL PRES.PROG massage

'And the mother massages'

Secondly, for the second person masculine singular (2MS) marker, speakers of this dialect use –s, whilst speakers of s.KKG use –ts. Thus, very interestingly, the morpheme referring to a male addressee in the Sesfontein dialect is referring to a female addressee in s.KKG.

22a. Tae-e-s-i !khoo-hoo? (098)
    what-3NS.OBL-2MS-FUT !khoo-hit.target

> Tare-ets nî !khoohoo?
    what-3NS.OBL-2MS FUT !khoo-hit.target

'What will you grip?'

22b. Sa-s-a ôa-û... !auga-s-a ôa-û ꞁû-n... (088)
    INCL-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food outside-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food eat/food-3CPl.

> Sa-ts ra ôa (ירושלים)... !auga-ts ra ôa ꞁû-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. ...Elo-mî-gu di xai khoe-n ra ao-lui-he-gu-a.
    God-word-3MPl. POSS place/position, person-3CPl. PRES.PROG throw-out- PASSV-3MPl.-OBL

> Elo-b-mî-s(–gu) di !khai-gu khoe-n ra
    God-3MS-word-2/3FS(-3MPl.) POSS place/position-3MPl. person-3CPl. PRES.PROG ao-lui-he-gu.
    throw-out-PASSV-3MPl.-OBL

'...Churches from which people are being expelled (lit.thrown out).' (080)
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 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

24a.  O ta-ge sii. (110) > O ta ge sii. 'Then I got there/arrived'

24b.  O ta-o koma dâu-ngâ-he... (002)

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 *ni* 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 | mì | 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 massage-PASSV

>  Ti-mì i ge xuu-b ai mì !guri-he.

so-say 3NS IND thing-3MS on FUT massage-PASSV

'It will be massaged over the thing (the cloth), like that.'

**Progressive aspect marker ra**

24e. Sa-s-a òa-û...!auga-s-a òa-û ū-n... (088)

INCL-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food outside-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food eat/food-3CPl.

>  Sa-ts ra òa (ū-n)...!auga-ts ra òa ū-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 *ni* (also becoming *ri*, see example 24d.).

24f. | naa-s-a | òa-û,...!auga-s-a òa-û ū-n,
    | that/there-2MS-PRES.PROG search-food outside-2MS-PRES.PROG search-eat/food eat/food-3CPl.
    | hìa-s-e xoe-b-i | ri !gam-e. (088)
    | while-2MS-IND person-3MS-AGNT PRES.PROG kill-PASSV

>  | naa-ts ra ū-ôa,...!auga-ts ra ū-ôa (ū-n),
    | that/there-2MS PRES.PROG eat/food-search outside-2MS PRES.PROG eat/food-search (eat/food-3CPl.)
    | hìa-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.  | 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), nî 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.'

Similarly, ri in the following example could also be interpreted equally as either ra (as progressive aspect) or as nî ('will be' or 'would', FUT).

24i. "Nee-te, uu re !hâu-b-a, i 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 !hûuba, i 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 (/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 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-ge hâ, dada-she, ļûba te re. (099)
tree/stick-2/3FS-IND COMPL father-2MS.VOC forgive 1S.OM.me PLEASE
>
Hais ge hâ, dada-tse, ļûba 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-ge!" 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!"...'
Passive sentence type (V.Ext.) –he

This dialect, as analogous to other Damara dialects, mostly employs the passive marker [ˀe], 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 mi-ẽ-o. (085) > Ti i gere mi-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 hi-ẽ 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 MORPHEME CHANGES AND OBSERVATIONS

2.3.1. Frequent morphemic changes

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-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 nà-b-i nà... (009)
   this/here lie(down) river-DIM that/there-3MS-HISTO in
   >
   Nee || goe dom-ro-b || nàa-b !nà...
   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 (<i>example above</i>) 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 "Daboh" ie. "Daboba". Guided by this 'case' marker, one may furthermore 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. || Nà khoe-t-i a || gâi-e re...
   that/there person-2/3FS-POSS ST meat-3NS re...
   >
   || Naa khoe-s di a || gan-i ge...
   that/there person-2/3FS POSS ST meat-3NS ge...
   'It is that woman's meat...'

14
29b. \[\text{Nâ-t-ë} \quad \text{ǃhûi-e-s-a} \quad \text{xoe-t-a} \quad \text{re. (077)}\]

\[
\text{that/there-2/3FS-IND} \quad \text{pregnant-PASSV-2/3FS-OBL} \quad \text{person-2/3FS-OBL} \quad \text{PHATIC(?)}
\]

\[>\]

\[\text{Naa-s ge} \quad \text{ǃkhûi} \quad \text{khoe-s-a} .\]

\[\text{that-2/3FS} \quad \text{IND} \quad \text{pregnant} \quad \text{person-2/3FS-OBL}\]

'That is a pregnant woman (S. dialect: lit. That is an impregnated woman).'

• 

\[\text{o}\]

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

30a. \[\text{Ae,} \quad \text{ǃau sigo,} \quad \text{i ta} \quad \text{gan-e} \quad \text{û-}\text{o}... \quad (065)\]

\[\text{EXCLA} \quad \text{hunt} \quad \text{PRON.VOC.2MS.you} \quad \text{so.that} \quad \text{1S meat-3NS.OBL eat-?}\]

\[>\]

\[\text{Ae,} \quad \text{ǃau tsigo,} \quad \text{i ta} \quad \text{gan-e} \quad \text{û (|} \text{khaa)}\]

\[\text{EXCLA} \quad \text{hunt} \quad \text{PRON.VOC.2MS.you} \quad \text{so.that} \quad \text{1S meat-3NS.OBL eat (able) (?)}\]

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

30b. \[\text{Nee} \quad \text{kai-koe-b-a} \quad \text{“lnaru” ti go mî ra-}\text{a. (025)}\]

\[\text{this/here} \quad \text{big-person-3MS-OBL PHATIC} \quad \text{so REC.PST say PRES.PROG-?}\]

\[>\]

\[\text{(Ob} \quad \text{kom) nee} \quad \text{kai-khoe-b-a} \quad \text{“lnaru” ti ra mî-}\text{a.}\]

\[\text{then-3MS ACCR (?)} \quad \text{this/here} \quad \text{big-person-3MS-OBL PHATIC} \quad \text{so PRES.PROG say-ACCR (?)}\]

'(Then) this man says: “Plunk!(?)”!' 

• 

\[\text{ri}\]

This morpheme is found suffixed to an adjective.

31. \[\text{O i go} \quad \text{nâ} \quad \text{gôa-ro-e} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{xoe-i}\]

\[\text{when/if} \quad \text{3NS REC.PST} \quad \text{that/there} \quad \text{child-DIM-3NS.OBL PRES.ST} \quad \text{person-3NS}\]

\[\hat{\text{hoo}} \quad \text{kai-}\text{ri} \quad \text{...}\]

\[\text{bone} \quad \text{grow.up/become.a...-?}\]

\[>\]

\[\text{O i go} \quad \text{naa} \quad \text{gôaro-e} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{khoe (\hat{\text{hoo}}) kai...}\]

\[\text{When/if} \quad \text{3NS REC.PST} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{child-DIM-3NS.OBL} \quad \text{PRES.ST} \quad \text{person (bone) grow.up/become.a...}\]

'(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, tamaii) < 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 | go-a.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  
   **timî** 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-tî ao | gâi a koe-t-a" **tamî-t-i**, uu-xâi re | nà...  
   pregnant-2/3FS-HISTO because stingy ST person-2/3FS-OBL so-say-2/3FS-on take-up PLEASE that  
   >  
   "!Kûî-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)

- **ûa-û**

This compound lexeme, made up of ûa 'to search' and ûû 'food/to eat' is an equivalent of the s.KKG form,

ûû-re (or 'ûû-ôû') 'to search for food'.

eat/food-search.for ( eat/food-search.for)

However, this compound (verb) construction, made up of the noun ûû 'food' (û in the S. dialect (clickloss)) and the verb ûa 'to search for', allows the verb to take precedence over the noun in the construction so that it becomes ûa-û. S.KKG does not allow such precedence for a verb in this construction, thus ûû would always come before ûa. Examples:

33. || Naa-s-a ûa-û, !aug-s-a ûa-û ûû-n,  
that/there-2MS-PROG search.for-food/eat, outside-2MS-PROG search-food/eat food-eat-3CPl.  
hiä-s-e xoe-b-i ri ãn, (088)  
while-2MS-IND person-AGNT PRES.PROG kill-PASSV  
> || Naa-ts ta ûû-ûa, !aug-ts ta ûû-ûa (ûûn),  
that/there-2MS PRES.PROG food/eat-search, outside-2MS PROG food/eat-search (food/eat-3CPl.)  
hia-ts ge khoe-b xa ra lña-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)

- $|gā| < |gōa| 'child'

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

34. Ngâ-s-a  mú  $|gā|$, nee-s-a  mú  $|gōa|$, nà
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  mú  $|gā|$, nà-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  mü  $|gōa|-b$, nee-ts  ra  mü  $|gōa|-b$  nàa-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  mú  $|gōa|-b$  nàa-b  ge
IND this/here-2MS house-2/3FS on PRES.PROG see child-3MS that-3MS IND
säu-he-(i)-b  ra  (!nao-he-(i)-b  ra).
hide/conceal-PASSV-(HISTO)-3MS PRES.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.

- $|gāi-abato| < |gāi|/ |gī|bas go 'to be stingy with something'

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

> O-n  ge  neesisa  $|gam-m-i|-i$  go  sii  a,  $|gan-e-o$,
then-3NPl. IND now murder/kill-3MS-HISTO REC.PST arrive.there meat-3NS.OBL-when/if
"!Naa  khoe-s  di  a  $|gan-i|-ge$,
that/there person-2/3FS POSS ST meat-3NS IND,
$|gāi-ba-s|/ |gī-ba-s| go-e$.'
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. 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 sì, kai sì-ge reeti sìi | gôa-b-a gere
    grow.up and grow.up and IND in.this.way arrive.there child-3MS-OBL REM.PST.PROG
    kai sìi. (059)
    grow.up arrive.there

> Kai tsì, kai tsi-b гe neeti | gôa-b-a gere sìi
    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-b-mî-e (da) ge | uu i.
    God-3MS-say-3NS.OBL (1CP1.) 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, ǀgui (one) may only occur with the singular,... and all other cardinal numerals (ie. !nona (three) and more) only with the plural." (emphasis added).

Notwithstandingly, 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 ǀgui (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 ǀ gui gua mâ, ai-t ai ǀ gui gua mâ... (112)
    back/behind-2/3FS on one 3MPI.OBL stand face-2/3FS on one 3MPI.OBL stand

> Khao-s ai ǀ nî ga mâ, ai-s ai ǀ 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 3MPl.OBL stand face-2/3FS on other/some 3MPl.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 REM.PST say PRES.PROG-when/if
>
(O-b) go nee kai-khoe-b-a "naru" (?) ti a mi-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 marker a. This marker is retained in this relative clause even after the predicate of the clause (ie. $\uparrow$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. $\uparrow$Nuukhoe a da-n-a (095) > $\uparrow$Nuukhoe 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.
9. REFERENCES:


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