A Study of Dialectal and Inter-linguistic Variations of Khoekhoegowab: Towards the Determination of the Standard Orthography

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Key words

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Abstract

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Nama is a Khoekhoe-language variety spoken in more than three countries namely Namibia, South Africa, Botswana and Angola. The language was previously called the Nama language, however, for pragmatic reasons, to cater for a Damara/Nama union, it is called Khoekhoegowab in Namibia.

As far as I know there has been no comprehensive study on Nama/Damara/Khoekhoegowab. A preliminary study was done by Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb (1997). However, as can be seen from the title of this study, it was 'preliminary' which means the authors are the first to admit that their study was not complete. The aim of this thesis was to undertake an extensive linguistic analysis of Khoekhoegowab as a way to come up with a comprehensive dialectal inventory. The established dialectal inventory will not only help in the linguistic development of Khoekhoegowab, but also in the determination of a standard linguistic code, leading to

development of materials. This is important in grammatical descriptions needed for literacy material development and language policy implementation.

Following Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb (1997) and Guldenmann (2000, 2003, 2008), the study employed a *dialectal difference* or comparative approach. Considering the nature of the study, a mixed research design was used to collect the data. The data was drawn from the few available studies on Nama/Damara or Khoekhoegowab dialects such as those by Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb (1997) and Du Plessis (2009). This was supplemented and complemented by document analysis and the various Khoekhoegowab literature. Interviews of limited key informants and focus groups were undertaken in various regions namely (Hardap, Karas and Kunene). The narratives from these interviews were used to determine the dialects currently in place as well as the differences and similarities.

The collected data was then treated to a linguistic and dialectal analysis (cf. Guldenmann 2000, 2003, 2008; Du Plessis, 2009) as a way to discover similarities and differences, which will in turn inform the proposal on a possible standard form and composite orthography.

The phonological differences of the three dialects under discussion were identified where the vowel system was discussed. With regard to the plain vowels, an argument was made that the Central Nama and Central Damara are in fact similar in terms of vowel inventory compared to Central Nama and the Bondelswarts dialects. The phonetic aspects of the consonant system of the identified dialects were also discussed. A discussion on clicks and click consonants was also made where a distinction was drawn between plain clicks and complex clicks. The morphosyntax

of Khoehoegowab was also discussed where it was obvious that there were mainly more similarities than differences between the dialects. The phonetic inventories identified in chapters 4 and 5 were assessed using data from different sources such as the Bible, the Social Security booklet, the grade 9 school textbook, Facebook (a social media page), Google maps, Khoekhoegowab orthography (2003), and the Ministry of Health booklet. The aim of this was to account for differences and similarities between various materials in terms of symbols used for writing Khoekhoegowab. There were differences observed which were because of the influence of modern technology (especially the electronic keyboard) on the writing practices of Khoekhoegowab speakers. The proposed orthography takes technological developments into account.

As a contribution, this study provides new insight into the issues of voicing, and voiced and voiceless consonants. In terms of theory the handling of tone and length was discussed in detail where it was established that tone is phonemic and **not** vowel length. The issue of whether or not complex clicks should be treated as units or clicks plus an accompaniment was discussed where I argued that the sounds are co-articulated and should be treated as one. Regarding the orthography, although there is orthography, the existing orthography is clearly not adequate as some of the sounds were not correctly captured. This has an implication on teaching the language in the schools. It will help in the revitalizing of Khoekhoegowab compared to more established Bantu languages.

Declaration

I declare that **A Study of Dialectal and Inter-linguistic variations of Khoekhoegowab: Towards the Determination of the Standard Orthography** is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name:……

Date: ……

Signed: ……

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Dedication

I dedicate this Project to four very important people to me.

Lizette Fredericks (wife)

Lizelle and Luzelle Fredericks (Daughters)

Luciano Fredericks (Son)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Background

Namibia got its independence in 1990 after decades of a war of liberation led by Black Namibians. Since the country was put under the administration of South Africa by the League of Nations, it was subsequently run like a colony of South Africa. The apartheid laws promulgated in South Africa were also applied in Namibia (then South West-Africa). The minute white population was the only one catered for in development. Afrikaans was regarded as the official language of Namibia. The majority of the black population were confined to rural communities where they were regarded as a source of cheap labour for the white farming communities. Work on Black Namibian languages was essentially the concern of missionaries who were busy converting the Black population to Christianity. Most of these African languages were not developed, that is, they did not have orthography and literacy materials for them to be introduced in primary schools. Those that were developed, such as Nama-Damara and OshiWambo and OtjiHerero, were only strictly used in primary schools. Progression into secondary and higher education levels was done in Afrikaans. This education also limited Black Namibians in their interaction with the region, as their world of communication in Afrikaans stopped within South Africa and Namibia. This language use issue favoured the development of Afrikaans as the lingua franca in Namibia. For the liberation movement, this was not an acceptable situation. This is the reason that at independence, when Namibia adopted English as an official language, it had the lowest knowledge of English among the official cadres.

The problematic situation of the Namibian language use policy is therefore socio-political and policy related. Namibia is a young nation, and faces socio-economic challenges in its development needs, including the need to also critically consider its priorities in social development. This chapter will look into the various policy related issues that explain the challenges that African languages encounter in their development in Namibia. It will attempt to identify the nature of these challenges and the response that the government of the day gives to remedy them.

1.1 Overview on Namibia language policy

At independence in 1990 Namibia presented one of the most progressive constitutions in Africa. The Namibian constitution recognizes all the African languages and the right for them to be used by their speakers in all social domains. The constitution also recognizes the right for speakers to learn in their mother tongue. However, in practice this liberal dispensation is of little effect since not all African languages in Namibia have been developed to be introduced in schools and in modern communication domains. Only those languages (*Khoekhoegowab*, Oshiwambo, Otjiherero, Silozi) that interested missionary activities have real functional uses in their communities. These are also the only languages that are currently catered for at the University of Namibia. The Government of Namibia has established the National Institute of Educational Development (NIED), which looks into issues of implementation of the language policy. However, the NIED focuses on curriculum issues and does not have adequate resources to tackle

issues of language research and development. There is no other language body that looks specifically to this problem of lack of language development.

This situation presents some challenges, firstly because missionary developments are limited to missionary work such as publication of religious material and their dissemination. Secondly, those languages that are not used by missionaries also do not seem to be considered for use in education. Thirdly, NIED officers are not themselves trained linguists, but are educational specialists so their interventions in language development are limited to curriculum issues. Thirdly, the missionary legacy has divided mutually intelligible languages (Oshikwanyama/Oshindonga), and this means that the development of African languages in education is still hampered by conflicting interests in orthography preferences and in school material publications. Fourthly, the University of Namibia has not fundamentally transformed the language development legacy of the missionary societies. Except for the reconceptualisation of the Nama-Damara as *Khoekhoegowab*, all other African languages are still construed on the basis of what missionaries conceptualized. Thus the university cannot meaningfully train linguists who can objectively describe and develop these languages. NIED thus remains the only language development agency. However, for these issues NIED cannot on its own competently tackle them without a national language development agenda.

The problems cited above clearly indicate that in Namibia there is a lack of language use planification policy which can guide language development and language promotion. In the absence of these policy instruments, it will mean that for Namibia, African languages cannot meaningfully compete with English and Afrikaans in official and administrative contexts. The language policy, which on paper looks to be the best one can hope for, has little to provide for

the many African languages that Namibia has. The paucity of the language policy is also challenged as in post-independent Namibia, English is used as the sole official language. Article 3(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (1990) as set out by the Namibian Government states:

> That the official language shall be English (1990:3)

It also permits "the use of languages other than English for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in regions or areas where such other language or languages are spoken by a substantial component of the population" (The Constitution 1990:3). Once English takes all these important national institutional communication domains, it means that the Government cannot allocate resources for any other language which may compete with English. These accumulated short-comings mean that for African languages, there is not much that they can hope to benefit from the current policy.

1.2 Some of the challenges facing the development of Namibian languages.

Development of languages with such low functional status is a serious challenge, as we have seen from the preceding section. It is clear that African languages in Namibia have been neglected by policy from the colonial and in the post-independence eras. The modern constitution of Namibia has no programmes that can ensure that languages are developed and empowered to intervene in modern communication domains and thus uplift the socio-developmental status of the speakers. English was introduced for the expediencies of

globalisation, but such choices result in the neglect of African languages. These languages still continue in the limited social domains which were defined by colonialism, and their orthographies are still characterized by competing preferences of missionary societies. To critically discuss these issues, I suggest the following sub-sections:

1.3 The symbolic language policy

On paper the Namibian Constitution is one of the most progressive in Africa as it accords all Namibian languages national status and the right to development and promotion. However, as already indicated, the Constitution has turned out to be a symbolic dispensation in matters of language use and language rights. Batibo (2005) argues that although the Namibian government has instituted a supportive language policy that purports to promote all indigenous languages to national status, the policy has not materially affected the maintenance of these languages as it is merely symbolic. No measure has been implemented to give such languages the utilitarian value that might be expected. Davids (2010), also comments about the lack of implementation of the national language policy when he said:

> The greatest problem experienced is the lack of implementation of the provision of this noble policy.

For the country to effectively implement the constitutional dispensation, it has to establish appropriate and effective institutions which will break with past practices and usher in objective programmes of language development. Education is only a consumer of such development, and

cannot meaningfully be the champion of them. Therefore, NIED is hamstrung by lack of language use planification. This is also a major setback in language development. The policy of the constitution cannot afford any institution the means to develop Namibian languages. This lack of implementation means that the government will continue in its complacent position that the constitution accords all languages rights to development and to be used in schools, while in actual fact, there is no way that languages can be empowered to accede to the constitutional stipulations. The country does not make the Constitution do what it says it can do for the Namibian languages communities.

Consider article 19 of the constitution as cited by Maho (1998) which says that 'every person shall be entitled to enjoy, practice, maintain and promote any culture, language, tradition, or religion'. The question is: How successful has the constitution been in doing this? People are still not able to use their languages in functional social communication domains, especially within government institutions. The net effect of this situation is explained in Fredericks (2010:71) where language choice data of grade 10 learners were arranged into an implicational scale. What is clear from this scale is that with interlocutors; teachers, police, doctors etc, those known to be representative of government institutions, mostly used Afrikaans and not Nama, the dominant language in the Karas region. Twenty years of independence have not yet provided Namibian African languages speakers with confidence and courage to use their languages.

It is our conviction that the national language policy is only symbolic and has not been afforded mechanisms to be effectively implemented. Without these institutional mechanisms there is no engine for dedicated African languages development in Namibia. It is also evident that the

language policies at some schools are also suffering because of non-implementation. When parents and learners know that their languages are not going beyond primary school, they cannot apply their hearts and energies in acquiring them for use in higher functional social domains. Those languages such as English and Afrikaans then become priorities in teaching and learning, and all the national language learning resources will then go to those languages that are highly subscribed. It is important that if the constitution proposes a policy, for it to be successfully implemented, it has to be accompanied by relevant frameworks and mechanisms.

1.4 The Work of Non-Governmental Organisations

The work of non-governmental organizations has been associated with the advocacy for San communities (Khwe dan, Ju|'hoan, !Xoon, etc). The Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa has been actively leading the development and promotion of these neglected languages. Lack of appropriate linguistic work means that such groups are limited in their language development interventions. Without subject officers at the NIED who could work with them, it also means that their advocacy cannot meaningfully engage any educational development for these communities. The reliance on foreign expertise in articulation of community mobilization and cultural revival means that these communities do not themselves engage in effective participation and implementation of developments that other language groups are enjoying.

The only non-governmental organization that has effectively addressed issues of language development is the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS). CASAS has

worked with linguists to develop orthographies for Khoe and San and Bantu languages in Namibia (cf Namaseb et al, 2008; Wakumelo-Nkolola et al, 2008). The importance of this development of CASAS is that it is engaged with the Ministry of Education and NIED and the orthographies can now be implemented in the development of hitherto neglected languages in Namibia. However, linguists will be critical in the implementation of these orthographies because NIED has only the capacity to design syllabuses and plan the curriculum.

Khoekhoegowab, a language name that is used to designate what has been historically construed as Nama-Damara, has been written and used in literacy in Namibia for close to a century now (cf. Haacke, 1999). It is a Khoisan language, and one of the most developed, literally and linguistically, and is currently taught in primary and high schools and the University of Namibia (UNAM). Numerous archival materials exist, where it is described as Nama, Nama-Damara, or Khoekhoegowab (Haacke & Eiseb, 2002; Haacke, 2008; Hagman, 1977).

Recent statistics from (Central Intelligence Agency 2013) gives a rough approximation of the number of Khoekhoe speakers in Namibia. Assuming Khoekhoe speakers still constitute 11.5% of the population out of a current population of 2,108,665 the number of Khoekhoe speakers in Namibia should be over 200 000 speakers.

The language under discussion is known by various names like Khoekhoe, Khoekhoegowab or Nama/Damara. Such a variety of names is owed to the fact that Khoekhoegowab is spoken by at least two ethnic groups: the Nama and the Damara. What makes the issue particularly sensitive is

the assumption that the Negroid Damara shifted to the Khoisan Nama language while they were slaves of the Nama. This claim is not only confined to popular and non-scientific literature, but was expressed as recently as 1981 by the famous Africanist Oswin Köhler:

> Les Bergtama ont adopté la langue Nama. (Köhler, 1981: 469)
>
> (The Bertama adopted the language of the Nama)

To cater for the union of the two groups, the term *Nama/Damara* was introduced for official purposes and is presently used by the radio station known as Damara/Nama radio station. In the education sector it is called *Khoekhoegowab* (or *Khoekhoe* for short). Throughout this dissertation I prefer to use *Khoekhoegowab* when referring to the language and Nama or Damara for the respective dialects. As will be seen in the data analysis chapters these two varieties should be labelled as dialects of the same language.

The term *Hottentot* was coined by 17th century Dutch settlers to refer to the pastoralist culture they found upon their arrival at the Cape. These people called themselves *Khoekhoe*, a reduplicated form of the root for 'person' that means something like '*human* human being' or 'proper human being' (Haacke, 2002). The word Khoekhoe was used in the formation of the name *Khoekhoegowab* which translates into the *Khoekhoe language*. The name *Khoekhoegowab* is strange because ordinary people on the street still refer to themselves as either Damara or Nama but not as Khoekhoe as some would perceive. There has been a difference in the spelling of the name itself as some spell it Khoekhoe (Fredericks, 2010) while some spell it as Khoikhoi (Nienaber, 1990). However, this problem seemed to be properly dealt with when the harmonised

orthography was developed for the Southern African Khoe and San languages where the spelling was confirmed to be Khoe and not Khoi. The term *Hottentot* is widely considered pejorative, and speakers of Khoekhoe are usually referred to with the ethnonyms *Nama*, *Damara* and *Hai‖om*. Early linguistic descriptions often referred to the language as *Nama*, because the missionaries who had traveled north from the Cape worked among the Nama before encountering the more northerly Damara and Hai‖om (Haacke, 2002). Since the earliest texts and grammars of the language were produced by these missionaries, the name of this one ethnic group came to apply to the entire language, to the extent that Hagman (1977), who worked exclusively with Damara speakers (Maho 1998), titled his dissertation *Nama Hottentot Grammar*. Even today, sources like *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005) give *Nama* as the language's primary name, despite the fact that it is probably spoken by more ethnic Damara than Nama. In Namibia, the official name of the language is now *Khoekhoegowab*, meaning 'Khoekhoe language', though Namibians themselves still frequently call it *Nama/Damara* or *Damara/Nama*.

The languages feature as either Nama, Damara, Nama/Damara or *Khoekhoegowab* in many publications such as the Bible and numerous other Christian publications, grammars (linguistic descriptions, lexical surveys), dictionaries (lexicographical works, glossaries, word lists), and literacy and literary materials for schools and universities (Haacke & Eiseb, 2002; Hagman, 1977; Meinhof, et al., 1909, Goraseb, 2011). Missionary publications have been the most significant in the dissemination of *Khoekhoegowab* literature (Hagman, 1977). However, most of these have tended to be inconsistent with regard to the formal (linguistic) properties of the various dialects.

Khoekhoegowab is spoken as a mother tongue over large parts of Namibia and as a second or third language by other ethnic groups, even those that are not Khoisan (Fredericks, 2010). Other regional countries such as South Africa and Botswana have Nama speaking communities. It is therefore a cross-border language even though small populations are concerned, especially in South Africa and Botswana (Schapera, 1930).

1.5 Statement of the problem

Although there have been over a hundred years of codification through orthography and grammatical description, these have not been based on a sound comparative linguistic grounding. It is therefore important to examine the question of *Khoekhoegowab* dialects; *Khoekhoegowab* regionalism and inter-*Khoekhoegowab* linguistic (phonological, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic) variations. Granted that there is circulation of older missionary materials in the form of Bibles and other literature, users of these publications have an understanding and appreciation of *Khoekhoegowab* dialects that is not necessarily reflected in the current literature. Hence there is a strong need for (re)codification and (re)standardization of the various dialects. It is also on the basis of these needs that the question of a standard *Khoekhoegowab* should be tackled.

The existing research or publications on *Khoekhoegowab* assume a union form that has a complete codification at the grammatical, lexicographical and orthographic levels (see for example, Haacke & Eiseb, 2002). However, it is not clear on what basis this determination has been reached by linguists and publishers of *Nama* school materials as there is as yet no source of information on the linguistic variations observable in the written forms. There are also competing

developmental interests in the domain of material production, where religious societies, newspapers etc maintain written forms that are not used by linguists and curriculum developers which in turn results in confusion for the ordinary user. These linguistic situations present problems that impact the language at the level of its functional use in significant language use domains.

1.6 Objectives of the thesis

The thesis proposes to undertake an extensive review of *Nama* and *Damara* dialects also known as *Khoekhoegowab*. It also examines material, missionary work and other publications on the dialects under discussion. The phonology and morphology of the two main dialects namely Nama and Damara will be discussed. It will also review modern grammatical and lexicographical works which either assumes a Nama-Dama Union form or a *Khoekhoegowab* Standard form.

The relevance of this research is that it will help focus the linguistic development of *Khoekhoegowab* and the determination of its standard linguistic code through the orthography and other normative materials. This is important in literacy material development, grammatical description, and language policy implementation. The following specific objectives will guide the research:

- To study the dialectal and inter-linguistic *Khoekhoegowab* variations which will inform the determination of the standard form of *Khoekhoegowab*;

- To review some material written in Nama/Damara or *Khoekhoegowab* in order to determine if there are any variations in terms of writing.
- Discussion of issues of codification, orthography and standardization within *Khoekhoegowab*;
- To propose a (composite) standard *Khoekhoegowab* orthography.

1.7 Research Questions

It is evident that a research of this magnitude will raise many questions. Some of the guiding research questions are as follows:

- What are the linguistic and sociolinguistic bases of *Khoekhoegowab*?
- What are the major linguistic and interlinguistic similarities and differences between the dialects?
- What are the major linguistic similarities and differences between the various *Khoekhoegowab* written materials?
- What are the reasons for why there are still variations in written material? What linguistic and sociolinguistic factors are critical to determining a standard *Khoekhoegowab*?
- What form should a standard *Khoekhoegowab* orthography take?

1.8 Assumptions and working hypothesis

The thesis was guided by two assumptions which are:

- *Khoekhoegowab*, like many African languages, has regionalism, linguistic variations, and possible dialects, as it is spoken in three countries (Namibia, South Africa, and Botswana). It is also closely related to other languages such as Hai||om, Naro, Buga, G||ana, and the Shua languages of Botswana (Haacke & Elderkin, 1997).

- The linguistic label *Khoekhoegowab* assumes a standardized or standardizable language. As noted above, the problem is that some of the features of the codified forms are not reflected or are not presented in the literacy and written forms. If it is reflected it often varies from what is known to be the standard form.

1.9 Structuring of the thesis

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter briefly introduces the study. The overall aims, objectives, and research questions are discussed here. In addition to that the Namibian language policy situation is also discussed with various non-governmental organisations involved in African language development.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter briefs the reader on the literature around Khoesan linguistics. Literature dealt with exclusively states the relevant features of Khoesan languages. In short, literature relevant to the

study is discussed and evaluated like *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003), Brenzinger (2012), Tindall (1856) and Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb, 1997). It ends with a discussion on the dialectology theory.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter the methodological approach of the study is presented. The linguistic approach used for data collection as well as data analysis is discussed. Firstly, I give a general description of the research methods used. Secondly, I describe the process of development of my methodological tools and the administration of the data. I conclude this chapter with discussion of some ethical considerations and limitations.

Chapter 4: Determining regional variations of the three dialects: Vowels

The aim of this chapter is to determine the phonological aspects of what is now referred to as *Namibian Khoekhoe* or *Khoekhoegowab*. This chapter focuses on the vowel phonemes of the dialects identified.

Chapter 5: Consonant system of the three dialects

The chapter continues with the determination of the phonological aspects of *Namibian Khoekhoe* or *Khoekhoegowab*. This chapter looked at the consonant system of the identified dialects. The particular focus is on voicing and treatment of clicks. Here I distinguish between plain and complex clicks, and whether complex clicks should be treated as a sequence or a unitary entity.

Chapter 6: The Morphosyntax of the three dialects

This chapter looks at the internal structure of the three dialects. The chapter demonstrates why *Khoekhoegowab* is suited for use in both conjunctive and disjunctive writing. The issue of whether *Khoekhoegowab* should be regarded as SOV or SVO is dealt with in this chapter.

Chapter 7: Current writing in Khoekhoegowab

This chapter focuses on how the phonetic inventory is represented in the different sources such as the Bible, the Social Security booklet, the grade 9 school textbook, facebook social media page, Google maps, *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003), and the Ministry of Health booklet. The aim of this chapter is thus to account for writing practices in place as a way towards an inclusive and people driven orthography design.

Chapter 8: Towards a standard Khoekhoegowab

In this chapter a discussion of possible standard *Khoekhoegowab* and its orthography is proposed. In the previous chapters I have made an inventory for vowels and consonants found in *Khoekhoegowab* respectively. Through the inventory discussed, the chapter proposes a possible orthography for *Khoekhoegowab*.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and recommendations

In this chapter a summary of the investigation on *Khoekhoegowab* inter-linguistic variations and the need for a standard code is discussed.

1.10 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has presented the general overview of this study. It started by giving a general background of the language and dialects under discussion. An overview was given of the Namibian language policy followed by a discussion on some of the organizations involved in language development of African languages. The problem of the study was discussed followed by the objective of the thesis. The chapter ends by giving the outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2

Literature review and theoretical framework

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the literature on the problem investigated in this study together with the theoretical framework used to inform and guide the investigation. The chapter starts by giving the linguistic situation in Africa, followed by a review of literature on Khoisan languages, especially *Khoekhoegowab* and variationist theory.

2.1 The Linguistic Situation in Africa

According to Grenoble and Whaley (1998), the African continent has been described as linguistically 'distinct' because of its highly complex language situation. Apart from the multitude and high concentration of languages, the patterns of language choice and use are remarkably complex, as most people are multilingual- that is, they speak several languages - and select the language or variety of language they use according to the context. In Africa, about 2 000 languages are spoken as first languages by more than 480 million people (Crystal, 1997). Crystal estimates that seventy-two of these languages have more than 1 million speakers each and sixteen are spoken by 5 million or more people. The eleven most extensively spoken languages are Arabic (180 million speakers worldwide, with the exact figures for Africa not provided; spoken mainly in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt); Kiswahili over 140 million (Kenya, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo), Hausa (25 million, Nigeria); Yoruba

(20 million Nigeria); Amharic (14 Million, Ethiopia); Igbo (12 Million, Nigeria); Oromo or Galla, a Cushitic language (10.6 million, Ethiopia and Kenya); Malagasy (10 million, Madagascar); Lingala (8.4 million, Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo, and Central African Republic); isiZulu (8 million, South Africa); and, in joint tenth position, isiXhosa (7 million, South Africa) and Chishona (7 million, Zimbabwe and adjoining regions). Following these are Luba-Kasai (6.3 million, Democratic Republic of Congo); Kinyarwanda (6.2 million, Rwanda); and Afrikaans (6 million, South Africa).

Joseph Greenberg heads the list of African language classification with his famous work first published in 1948 according to Miti (2006). Doke and Cole (1968) also see the principles used by Greenberg in his classification as the major contribution to classification of African languages. Miti (2006) states that Greenberg developed his hypothesis about the classification of African languages in a series of papers. The first paper entitled 'The Classification of African languages' was published in 1948 in the *American Anthropologist* (Miti, 2006). He followed this paper with other articles which resulted in what has now become a classic publication in 1966 called *The Languages of Africa.* Using three principles: regular morpho-semantic relationships, mass comparison and linguistic criteria, Greenberg (1966) determined that languages in Africa can be grouped into four language families; namely the Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, Khoisan, and Niger-Congo. The last family is in turn divided into two sub-families, here called Niger-Congo A and Niger-Congo B (Bantu). The Niger-Congo languages form the largest language family in sub Saharan Africa. It consists of more than a thousand languages, which are spoken by 260 million people in western, central, eastern, and southern Africa. Miti (2006) notes that the Afro-Asiatic languages include the Semitic languages, the Cushitic languages, Berber, and the

Chadic languages. The major Semitic language is Arabic, which is the language of Islam, studied and used throughout the Islamic world. Amharic, an official language of Ethiopia, is also a Semitic language. The Cushitic family includes Oromo and Somali (spoken in Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, and northern Tanzania). The best known Chadic language is Hausa, which is spoken in West Africa, particularly Nigeria.

The Nilo-Saharan languages are spoken, as the name of the family suggests, along the higher reaches of the Nile River, and are found in Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, and northern Tanzania. They include Turkana, Samburu, Kipsigis, Nandi (spoken in Kenya); Dholuo and Maasai (spoken in Kenya and Tanzania); Padhola and Acholi (spoken in Uganda); and Dinka, Pari and Nuer (spoken in Sudan).

Although there is a lot of literature on Bantu languages, literature on Khoisan languages is restricted to very few scholars. One of the earliest literatures in Khoisan is by Tindall (1856). At this point Tindall did not attempt to classify Khoisan languages but opted for a descriptive analysis of the languages. One of the earliest scholars to try to classify Khoisan languages was Greenberg. Greenberg (1966) divided the Khoisan into three main groups: South African Khoisan, Sandawe and Hatsa. In the latest work by Brenzinger (2012), the Khoisan languages have even moved up to five branches. These are northern Khoisan (e.g.!Xun), Southern Khoisan (e.g. Taa), central Khoisan (e.g. Khoekhoe) and two isolates, Sandawe and Hadza. No known African language outside the Khoisan language is as rich with clicks as the Khoisan languages (Brenzinger, 2012). This is not surprising as the click sounds found in some Bantu languages such as isiXhosa are due to language contact with Khoisan speakers (Traill 2002).

It can be established at this point in time that there is no general agreement among scholars on the number of Khoisan languages still spoken, nor on how they are related and grouped (Katzner, 1986; Guldenmann & Vossen, 2000; Brenzinger, 2012). According to Brenzinger (2012), there is not even agreement on how the name, Khoisan, should be spelt, with some scholars preferring Khoesan or Khoe-saan. The name is a compound of two words from the Khoe languages: Khoe is the term for 'person' and saan refers to 'hunter-gatherer'. The term Khoisan was, according to Brenzinger (2012), coined by a German linguist Leonard Schultze, in 1928 as a cover term to refer to speakers of these languages. However, there is a general agreement among scholars today that the term Khoisan refers to the non-Bantu languages of southern Africa which are characterised by a click system (Brenzinger, 2012). Geographically, the majority of the Khoisan languages are spoken in Namibia and Botswana. In addition, there are some speakers in western Zimbabwe, southern Angola, and Zambia, Tanzania and northern South Africa. In South Africa, the Khoisan languages are represented today by speakers of a Nama dialect and by a handful of speakers of /'Auni and ǂKhomani in the Northern Cape Province (Traill, 2002).

However, how one spells the names of the languages is immaterial as a linguistic description. It does not tell us much about the structure of the language itself. Throughout the discussion I use the term Khoekhoe or *Khoekhoegowab* to refer to the language in discussion following recent practice (e.g., Traill 1995, Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb, 1997). Previous work has applied a range of names, including *Hottentot* (e.g., Beach 1938), *Nama Hottentot* (e.g., von Essen 1962, Hagman 1977), *Nama* (e.g., Ladefoged and Traill 1984, Fredericks 2010, Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996, Witzlack- Makarevich 2006), *Dama* (Cruttenden 1992) and *Damara* (Klein 1976, Haacke 1986). It should be noted that in most cases where Nama or Damara is used it

refers to the dialect. However, as can be seen in chapters 4, 5 and 6, linguistically the dialects are very close to each other permitting the application of findings from one dialect to the other.

The Khoesan languages of the Khoekhoe (called Hottentots in colonial times) and the San (also called Bushmen), number about fifty, each spoken by 1 000 people on average. They are regarded as the 'first languages' of southern Africa, having been spoken there for 8 000 years. Today they are used mainly in Namibia, Botswana, and Angola, but are also found in Tanzania. Since this language family consists of such distinctive and rather rare (in fact, almost endangered) languages, and as the language in focus here belongs to this grouping I will provide more detail later. No doubt Greenberg's classification sparked interest in the study of African languages. For more detailed discussion of classifications and linguistic descriptions of African languages, the reader is directed to Miti (2006), Guthrie (1967) and Doke and Cole (1968). Suffice it however to note that Miti (2006: 37) determines that the Khoesan languages are the least studied of African languages.

Currently, the Khoesan languages under which *Nama/Damara* or *Khoekhoegowab* fall are spoken in four countries; namely, Namibia, Angola, South Africa and Botswana. In Namibia *Khoekhoegowab* is spoken by the *Nama, Damara,* and *Hai‖om*. The *Nama* and the *Damara* are found in all regions of Namibia except the Kavango and Caprivi. In Botswana *Khoekhoegowab* is spoken by the Naro in the Ghanzi area, and in South Africa by the Namas of the Richtersveld in Northwest Cape and Riemvasmakers in Riemvasmaak in Northern Cape (Fredericks, 2010).

The sociolinguistic story of the Southern African Khoesan languages is one of language death (Dorian 1998) and finds its place in the discussion of death in Africa (Dimmendaal 1989). *Khoekhoegowab* is the language whose dialects are under investigation but seem not to be bothered by language death, (Fredericks, 2010).

Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb (1997) identified ten dialect areas for *Khoekhoegowab*, given below in table 2.1 with Central Nama and Central Damara being the two dialect centres. The Central Nama dialect centre stretches from the '!Garib River' to roughly up to Rehoboth and extends into the Gobabis area. The Central Damara dialect centre is the area north of Windhoek and extends to the north western and north-eastern areas of Namibia.

***Table 2.1: Dialect areas of* Khoekhoegowab**

Dialect	**Geographical area**
1. ¶khoe	Around the Otyolo area
2. Hai‖om	Mainly around the Etosha Pan (regarded as San by some and as Damara by others)
3. Gaub Damara	Live in the triangle between Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Otavi
4. Sesfontein	Found over a wide area from Grootberg in the north-west to around Leonardville, includes the 'central-east' and includes the

	Nama and Damara dialects
5. Namidama	It extends from the area south of Sesfontein to the Brandberg and Spitzkoppe
6. Central Damara	Includes the Damara south of Outjo to central Namibia
7. Topnaar	Walvis Bay and the lower Kuiseb River
8. Central Nama	Stretches from Windhoek and Rehoboth to the south up to Karasburg and the north-east as well as the area around the Nossob River
9. Gobabis	Gobabis and Witvlei areas
10. Bondelswarts	The area around Karasburg and Warmbad and Heirachabis

Source: Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb, 1997:134

As noted earlier this study was not comprehensive. *Khoekhoegowab* is (one of) the most advanced in terms of literature development among the Khoe and San languages. An orthography of *Khoekhoegowab* was published in 1970, the second version as Orthography No. 2 in 1977 and the third revised version in 2003 called *Khoekhoegowab* Orthography. The problem is that the first two orthographies were written in English and Afrikaans. In essence, they appear to have been written for English and Afrikaans first language speakers rather than *Khoekhoegowab* mother tongue speakers. The third version is written in

Khoekhoegowab, but is not based on a comprehensive study; hence, it is merely a translation of the work of the previous two orthographies.

There is certainly a dearth in literature on Khoisan languages which has been noted in a number of publications (see Miti, 2006 and Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb, 1997). There is no doubt that there has been fascination with the tone (i.e. Haacke, 1999) and grammar of various Khoisan languages (e.g. Güldemann, 2001). The Khoisan 'clicks' have also been a subject of scrutiny (e.g. Güldemann & Stoneking, 2008); while other studies have been purely academic in the sense that authors have sought to prove or disprove certain theoretical linguistic positions (e.g. Du Plessis, 2009). Du Plessis (2009) applies the *Unity hypothesis* to Khoe, Ju and !Ui-TAA groups to prove the unity of Southern African Khoesan languages. She finds that there are repeated cross Southern African Khoesan resemblances in the morphology of those verbs most frequently enlisted for grammatical purposes in the context of multi-verb constructions; and that these languages furthermore display multiple similarities 'horizontally' across their specifier systems, where the resemblances are often also visible 'vertically', i.e. down the lists of possible exponents. Taking a sociolinguistic perspective, Fredericks (2010) tackles the issue of language shift and revitalization among Nama speakers in Keetmanshoop (Namibia). Contrary to his original hypothesis, he finds that the language is not in danger of death and that it is widely spoken.

All the above studies were not designed to give a comprehensive inventory of *Khoekhegowab*, which would lead to determination of a standard code and hence a comprehensive orthography. It is not surprising that there is confusion about the use of the

term *Khoekhoegowab* itself, even though the Bible has been written in the language, and in terms of media, the language is used on radio and television in Namibia. According to Namaseb (2010), in the educational sector the language is officially called *Khoekhoegowab*. The national radio service calls itself Radio Damara/Nama. The politicians and the men on the street refer to their languages randomly as Damara or Nama. This introduces the issue of language and dialect, as linguistically there has not been a study to support arguments that Damara and Nama are dialects of the same language which the present study will show based on linguistics grounds.

I would also like to argue that using a geographical area as a marker of boundaries as most of the studies have done is problematic owing to a massive migration of people in late modern Africa. Like other linguistic groups, the *Khoekhoegowab* also live a diasporic lifestyle made easier by developments in mass media, which offer internet and social networks through which people can still remain in touch even though they are geographically apart.

2.1.1 Language vs. dialects

Determining and differentiating languages from dialects could prove to be a challenging aspect. There is a general belief that Nama and Damara are languages and not dialects, as shown by Namaseb (2010) where speakers of these particular varieties would respond by saying "I speak the Nama language". Even the national radio station is called Damara/Nama Radio Station, treating the two varieties differently. According to Heine and Nurse (2000: 1), a language can typically be described as:

- Having national status, that is, being recognised as a national language of a country
- Being written (codified)
- Being the standard form of a range of speech varieties
- Not being intelligible to speakers of other 'languages'
- Having a relatively large number of native speakers

They further state that a dialect by contrast can be described as:

- Local
- Not usually written
- Not the standard form
- Mutually intelligible with other dialects of that language
- Spoken by fewer people than languages

With mutual intelligibility they refer to the ability of speakers of one variety to understand speakers of another variety, even when they are speaking different dialects or language. This was particularly interesting during the field visits for this particular study where respondents maintained that they either speak Nama or Damara but not *Khoekhoegowab*. They refer to their variety as Nama language or Damara language respectively. Speakers of the Damara and Nama dialects understand each other with minor lexical variations. According to Mheta

(2013), given definitions of language and dialects sometimes fail because there are cases where what are generally considered varieties of the same language are not mutually intelligible. He further argues conversely, that there are instances where certain varieties are considered to be different languages in spite of very high Mutual Intelligibility. In the case of Nama and the Damara dialects it was established that they are mutually intelligible as even a small child in a predominantly Nama area will understand a Damara speaker.

2.1.1.1 The development of dialects

According to Mheta (2013), when groups become separated from each other they begin to develop different dialects. The barriers that separate groups may be physical and geographical, like an ocean or a mountain range, or a desert. Such dialects are called regional dialects, because people who speak them live in different geographical regions. At this point in time, based on the given explanation of regional dialects, it is safe to label the dialects in discussion as regional dialects.

2.1.1.2 Accent and dialect

The more isolated speech communities are from each other, the greater will be the differences that occur in the dialects over time. These differences appear systematically and can be noticed in the grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation of the various groups. Yule (2006: 195) states that the term *accent* is used to describe 'aspects of pronunciation which identify where an individual speaker is from regionally'. Thus, the term *accent* refers only to

pronunciation, while dialect includes the other two aspects of language variation, namely grammar and vocabulary.

The preceding section briefed the reader about the linguistic situation and gives a general overview of the Nama/Damara or *Khoekhoegowab* as it is known today. The issue of language versus dialects were discussed in detail. In the following section linguistic characteristics of Khoisan and *Khoekhoegowab* are discussed in detail.

2.2 Characteristics of Khoesan languages

Khoesan languages (of which *Khoekhoegowab* is part) can be characterized by their tonal structure, vowel features, aspects of non-click consonants, click aspects and its constituent patterns. I will start the discussion with the tonal structure.

2.2.1 Tones

According to Mheta (2013), pitch refers to the frequency at which the vocal folds vibrate during the pronunciation of a sound. Pitch can also distinguish between the denotational meanings of words; such languages are called tone languages. The major problem in the reconstruction of Khoisan languages is the widespread phonological variation within individual modern languages. Variation in written sources as well as modern spoken languages centres primarily on diphthongs and click consonants. Central Khoisan languages in general appear to have four level tones which have additional rising and falling tones

between these levels. According to Haacke and Eiseb (2002), *Khoekhoegowab* voiced and voiceless consonant distinctions are tonally conditioned. Yet, written sources for the language do not ordinarily mark tone with the exception of the dictionary by Haacke and Eiseb (2002) which marked tone. The fourfold level tone system cannot be determined from binary voiced/voiceless distinction. Instead of binary one requires a quadrilupo analysis in which one accounts for high-high, high, low and low-low tone melodies.

According to Namaseb (2010), *Khoekhoegowab* is a tone language and the differences in the dialects are more about tone than other linguistic features. Namaseb (2010) gives an example: the word for 'dog' is /arib/ in both main dialects (north and south) but differs in that the former uses a high tone while the latter uses the low tone on the first vowel. The other distinguishing feature is at lexical level where a word like scorpion is |hub in Nama and ǁarubeb in the Central Damara dialect. Assuming a shared orthography between the north and the south, in the written form the word can be written the same way but speakers themselves can place the appropriate tone according to the dialect. The issue is that if tone was used it would make it difficult to have a common orthography. Indeed the *Khoekhoegowab* language committee was well aware of this problem and do not use tone marking in the orthography.

Moreover, Haacke (1998) argues that tonal marking is more important for the non-Khoekhoe user, who needs information on tonal pronunciation, rather than the Khoekhoe user herself/himself. *Khoekhoegowab* mother tongue users are guided by the context to determine the pronunciation and meaning, for example English speakers easily determine 'read'

(present) and 'read' (past). He further points out that the absence of tonal distinctions has led the compilers of previous material like Rust (1960) in the Namaquo Dictionary to confuse catchwords and hence miss semantic distinctions as they were non-speakers. It can be argued that tonal marking should be in specialised books like the dictionary. However, in everyday writing tone should not be marked. Marking tone is like writing *Khoekhoegowab* in transcribing form which is not the case with other languages. Consider the following *Khoekhoegowab* words.

ǁGûb Springbok

ǁGûb Tooth

ǁGûb Father

As can be seen it is spelled the same way but have some tonal differences. However, the speakers are guided by the context knowing e.g. "I need to see a dentist, my tooth aches" ǁGûn ǀaedi-aoba ta ge ni si mû, ti ǁgûb ge ra tsû. The *Khoekhoegowab* example of the word 'ǁgûb' can only mean one thing in that particular context. Any speaker knows which tone level to use depending on the context.

Khoekhoegowab makes use of distinctive tones. For Haacke and Eiseb (2002) voicing is no longer distinctive which allows for an orthographic use of the letters /**b**/**,** /**d**/ and /**g**/ to signify words with lower tone melodies, while the letters /**p**/, /**t**/ and /**k**/ are used to indicate words with higher melodies' (Haacke and Eiseb, 2002:iv) This can be illustrated in these examples: *Bā* [ba:] (to dye), *pā* [pa:] (to make porridge), *dā* [da:] (to step on), *tā* [ta:] (don't), *gā* [ga:]

(fool), *kā* [ka:] (get lost). This is confusing as it seems that for the two authors there is no voicing in *Khoekhoegowab*. Contrary to their argument I deem voicing as phonemic and speakers distinguish between for example, the sounds [g] and [k]. An account on this particular argument is given in chapter 4 of this thesis.

2.2.2 Vowel system

The second distinguishing factor of Khoisan languages is the vowel system and this section was guided by the work of Baucom (1972), Tindall (1856), and Haacke & Eiseb (2002). According to these scholars, vowels can be described in terms of short or long vowels, nasalised vowels and diphthongs. Consider the following table by Baucom (1972), giving the plain vowels.

Five oral vowels have been identified by Baucom (1972:iv) which are given below.

i u

e o

a

According to Brugman (2009), one parameter in the classification of vowels is tongue height. This refers to how much space there is between the tongue and the roof of the mouth. In the production of vowels the tongue can be raised very high, less high or not at all. There are thus three primary height distinctions among vowels: high, mid and low which I also

employed for this study in chapter 4. The high vowels in *Khoekhoegowab* include [u:] and [i:]. As these vowels are being produced, there is little space between the tongue and the roof of the mouth. Mid vowels in *Khoekhoegowab* include /e/ and /o/. These speech sounds are produced when the tongue is in between high and low. Low vowel includes /a/, which is produced with the space between the tongue and the roof of the mouth being fairly large.

The quality of the vowels is also the result of which part of the tongue is raised. Front vowels are made with the front of the tongue moved in the direction of the hard palate. Examples of front vowels in *Khoekhoegowab* include /i/ and /e/. Back vowels are produced with the back of the tongue raised in the direction of the soft palate or velum. Examples of these in *Khoekhoegowab* are /u/ and /o/ respectively. In chapter 4 I have discussed plain vowels presently used in *Khoekhoegowab*.

2.2.2.1 Lengthened vowels

Vowel length is one of the contested issues in *Khoekhoegowab*. Researchers such as Tindall (1856) and Haacke (1989) including the current *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003), Khoekhoegowab is described as having short and long vowels as shown below. Tindall (1856) represented short vowels as /a/, /e/, /o/, /u/, /i/; while long vowels were represented as /ā/, /ē/, /ō/, /ū/, and /ī/ respectively. Current *Khoekhoegowab* writing follows the same representation by Tindall to marks long vowels with a macron.

During this literature survey it became evident that various researchers seem not to agree on how to represent long vowels. Chebanne (2000) suggests instead of using a macron, doubling of vowels should indicate vowel length as in /aa/, /ee/, /oo/, etc: Thus, the word for 'milk' should be */bii/* and not */bī/*.

Others have continued with the tradition of putting the macron on the long vowel e.g. /ā/, /ē/, /ō/, etc. The length-mark usually leads to heated debates, as it is inferred as changing from the /ā/ (macron on the vowel) to the double vowel /***aa/***.

My view, as I shall make evident in chapter 4, is that tonal differences make vowels present as long in length. This matter is discussed in chapter 4 under vowel length and is also touched on in chapter 7 under current practices.

2.2.2.2 Nasalization

According to Vossen (1997), modern day *Khoekhoegowab*, apart from oral vowels and "diphthongs", also has three nasal vowels, /î/, /â/, and /û/ respectively. In the earlier work by Tindall (1856), nasalisation of vowels was also established where it was marked by a circumflex on top of the vowel and if it is a diphthong, over the first vowel, as, -qkâi, qôa. The convention in modern standard Namibian Khoekhoe orthography is to represent nasalized vowels by means of the circumflex i.e /â/. This is also supported by Davids (2010) shown by the examples below.

ǂgâ [ǂgâ] (to enter), ǂgî [ǂgî] (to strike), ǂû [ǂˀû] (to eat)

While working with *Khoekhoegowab*, JuÅ'hoansi, !Kung and Khwedam, Davids (2010) noted that in the case of nasalisation and its representation, there are differences in the Khoesan languages. Some languages use the circumflex (^) to indicate nasalisation, whereas others use the consonant 'n' following the vowel. It is evident that these languages all have nasal vowels but the only difference is that of representation as shown in the table below extracted from Davids (2010).

Table 2.2: The rule on nasalisation in some of the Khoesan languages

Khoekhoegowab	**JuÅ'hoan**	**Khwedam**	**!Kung**
Nasalised vowels are marked by a circumflex (^): â, î, ô, û	A morpheme-final n shows that the preceding vowel or vowel-sequence is nasalised, e.g. an, uin.	Nasalisation is indicated by a circumflex (^) on the appropriate vowel: â, î, ô, û	When the symbol n follows the vowel, it indicates that the vowel is nasalised ǁxunǁgo (vowel preceding the n is nasalized)
Nasalised diphthongs are indicated with a	For diphthongs the dipthongs are ended with n	For diphthongs both vowels are marked as nasals,	In diphthongs (vowel combinations) the

circumflex (^) on the first of the two vowels, e.g. âu.	indicating the preceding diphthong is nasalized. JuÅ'hoan	e.g. ûû, âî.	symbol n follows the vowels, e.g. g!aun (tree)
Use the circumflex, e.g. !gôa (count)	Use 'n', e.g. JuÅ'hoan	Use circumflex, e.g. Ââ (NO, interjection)	Use 'n', e.g. tcoahn (lung)

It is evident from the various scholars of Khoisan languages that vowel nasalization is one of the key distinctive aspects when it comes to the vowel in the modern standard orthography (Haacke and Eiseb 2002, and Curriculum Committee for *Khoekhoegowab* 2003).

2.2.2.3 Diphthongs

In terms of the vowel system what also distinguishes Khoisan languages from other languages and from each other is the vowel combinations also known as diphthongs. According to Tindall (1856) Namaqua (modern day *Khoekhoegowab*) has the following list of diphthongs, - /ae/, /ai/, /au/, /ei/, /oi/, /ou/, /ui/. The example below gives Tindal's (1856) explanation with *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) spelling given in the brackets. The data below shows exactly why there are two variations in diphthongs as discussed under current practices in chapter 7.

ae (ai) as a in bay;	qae-aup as spy.
ai (ae) as in my;	xnai to sing.
au (ao) as ou in thou;	qau to fear
ei (ai) as ey in they;	vkei to call.
oi (oe) as oy in boy;	khoip a man
ou (au) as ow in sow;	qou to shout.
ui (ui) as ui in twin (Dutch)	ckui on

Diphthongs in *Khoekhoegowab* could be challenging as the second sound in the vowel combination may be perceptually incomprehensible. According to Haacke (1998) *Khoekhoegowab* has a further drawback which is orthographic inconsistency, which-particularly in the case of so-called 'diphthongs', juxtaposed vowels, could be confusing when trying to pronounce certain words. In this regard, he is critical of Rust's (1960) spelling of the vowel combinations [ae] and [ai] respectively:

[!ae]	!gae	(calm down)
[!ai]	!gai	(bind)
[taip]	daib	(milk)
[ǁ'aixa]	ǁ'eixa	(angry)

Haacke felt that the words [!ae] meaning 'calm down' and [!ai] meaning 'bind' were wrongly spelled by Rust (1960). They should have been spelled as [!ae] 'calm down' and [!ae] 'bind'.

In addition to the plain diphthongs Tindall (1856) identified at least four nasal "diphthongs" which are /âi/, /âu/, /ôa/, and /ûi/.

2.2.3 Non-click consonants

In the preceding section the vowel system of some of the Khoisan languages were discussed as one of the distinguishing elements of Khoisan languages. This section will identify the consonants identified by the various scholars. In this section again works by Baucom (1972), Vossen (1997) and Tindall (1856) were used to guide the study.

2.2.3.1 Segments in contrast

Although there is a suggestion by Khoekhoegowab Orthography (2003) and Haacke (1999) that voicing is not phonemic, it is evident letters b and p are both needed to meet both spoken and written requirements of the Khoisan languages. Consider the following examples:

Berip [berip] (bread)	Pirip [pirib] (a goat).
Pa [pa] (to prepare porridge)	ba [ba:] (to dye something)
Purukhoeb [purukhoeb) (trouser)	Burukhoeb [burukhoeb] (wonder man)
Pekheb [pekheb] (pick)	Bekheb [bekheb] (week)

In the first instance, the [b] found in Berip (bread) is a voiced sound. [p] found in the initial position of **p**irip (a goat) is a voiceless sound. However, the *Khoekhoegowab* orthography

(2003) listed both sounds [b] and [p] as voiceless bilabial stops as they do not have voicing contrast.

Beach (1938) argues that the labial initials /p/, /b/ and /m/ are of very rare occurrence and must be regarded as irregular. Bleek (1956) made a similar observation when she stated that the sound [b] in word initial position is rare and only found in borrowed words. However, this should not mean these consonants should be discarded. This simply represents a natural growth of the language. At least in modern Khoekhogowab the sounds are regular and not irregular as was observed by Beach (1938) and Bleek (1956).

On the contrary as can be seen in Namaseb (2010) it is evident that other Khoisan varieties suggest that [b] and [p] are minimal pairs as illustrated below.

<p> pa [pa] (to bite); po [po](bull – Iti_shua);

<b> be [be] (Neg.); bara [bara] (father); aba [aba] (dog); ibi [ibi] (egg); shubu [ǀubu] (fast); be [be] (cow – Han_shua);

Source: Namaseb (2010)

In addition Vossen (1997) in his inventory of consonants identified the following contrastive segments.

Voiced stop	b	d	g
Voiceless stop	p	t	k

In fact in the 1800's Tindall (1856) had already determined that Namaqua (*Khoekhoegowab*) has both [t] and [d] shown in the examples below.

Danis [danis] (honey)	Tani [tani] (to carry)
Di [di] (to do).	Tê [tî] (to ask)
Da [da] (win)	ta [ta] (don't)

In addition, Tindall (1856) listed [g], [k], [h], [kh] as palatals. This is clearly incorrect representation as [g], [k], and [kh] should fall under velar sounds. The [h] sound is a glottal sound. The realization of some alveolar segments (e.g. t and ts) may have a dental character e.g in Nama according to Beach (1938: 55, 65). There is some question as to whether the segment transcribed [kx] should be analysed as an affricate, an aspirated stop or even an aspirated affricate. Beach (1938:66) describes it as a strongly aspirated affricate, but conceded that some speakers use [kh] in roots and that all speakers use [kh] in particles and suffices, at least some of the time. This is not the case with velar fricative, in which production can range from [x] to [χ], but which is always clearly distinguished from [h]. The dental pulmonic affricate [ts] also tends to be aspirated, but is consistently affricated as well.

Moreover, Tindall (1856) also distinguished between [z] and [s] which is not the case with some more recent researchers such as Haacke (2002) and the authors of *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003). At present the sound [z] is not recognised in the *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) which is the official document of government. As will be shown in due course this study recognises voicing as an important factor in the morpho-phonological

determination of *Khoekhoegowab*. Secondly the [z] has become part of the *Khoekhoegowab* phonetic system. See chapter 4 for more detail.

2.2.4 Inventory of click consonants

In the previous section I have reviewed literature on the consonants found in *Khoekhoegowab*. The following section will look at literature on the click consonants. Vossen (1997) comes up with the following click consonant chart found in present day *Khoekhoegowab:*

The clicks of Proto-Khoe reconstructed with a range of accompaniments (Vossen, 1997: 319)

	Dental	palatal-alveolar	post-alveolar	lateral alveolar
Basic	ǀ	ǂ	ǃ	ǁ

The analysis of segments in this dissertation follows Miller et al. (2007), who argue that clicks can and should be described with the same basic parameters that are used for pulmonic and glottalic consonants, namely airstream, place, manner and phonation. By definition, clicks are produced with the lingual airstream, though Miller et al. (2007) show that airstream contours, in which the click's posterior constriction has a pulmonic or glottalic release, are also possible. According to Miller et al (2007) clicks are complex stops with two places of articulation, but unlike labial-velars and other complex segments transcribed with digraphs, the two places of articulation in clicks are inherent in symbols used to represent them. The

nature of the lingual airstream requires that clicks always have a stop component, so possible manners include stops, nasals and affricates. Nasal airflow in nasal clicks extends into the beginning of the following vowel, indicating that these are fully nasal segments and not prenasalized stops.

Whereas I agree with some of the arguments made by Miller et al. (2007), in chapter 4, I argue that basic clicks or what I call 'plain' clicks should not be analysed under the same parameters as the complex clicks. For instance, my argument is that plain clicks have no voicing and can only be analysed by place of articulation. I elaborate on this in chapter 5.

2.2.4.1 Clicks

Miller et al (2007) take a neuralinguistic approach and argue that most *Khoekhoegowab* consonants are pulmonic. This means that they are produced by modifying the airstream as it is coming out of the lungs. The direction of the airflow is egressive, i.e. the air is going outwards. Now some sounds are made in an entirely different way, namely with a velaric ingressive airstream. These sounds are called clicks. Clicks are produced when the back of the tongue is brought against the soft palate or velum so that a complete closure is made at that point. At the same time another closure is made at some other point in the mouth, such as the teeth or alveolar ridge. Now when the tongue is suddenly moved backwards and down while at the same time the front closure is released, the air is sucked in. This means that the air is used for the production of the resulting sound, which is like a loud popping noise, velaric (not pulmonic) and ingressive (sucked in, not egressive). Today clicks are represented

by IPA symbols i.e. [ǀ] for the dental click, [ǂ] for palatal click (*Khoekhoegowab* orthography 2003), however, in the earlier work by Tindall (1856) the four clicks found in Namaqua (modern day *Khoekhoegowab*) were denoted by the characters: c for the dental click, v for the palatal click, q for the alveolar click, and x for the lateral click.

According to Miller et al. (2007) a click is a special type of double articulation where an occlusion momentarily seals off part of the space between the two constrictions as the release of the occlusion induces a transient vacuum – or rather a low pressure air pocket. There is ingress of air and an acoustic effect through the suction-breaking 'click'. Traill (1985:102) defines clicks as " rare faction of a pocket of air trapped between an anterior closure at the lips or teeth or behind the teeth and a posterior closure on the velum results in a click being produced on release of the anterior closure". During their discussion on clicks these researchers did not clearly distinguish between the plain click and what I term the complex click. Once you mention double articulation you refer to the complex click sound and not the plain click which I argue in chapter 5 to be just a 'click' sound.

Roman letters are also used to represent clicks in writing systems for some Khoesan languages spoken in Botswana (e.g Naro), where Bantu orthographies predominated, but the practice has been debated. Roman letters were used to represent clicks in some early work on Khoekhoe (e.g Tindall 1856). However, with the standard alphabet by missionary societies meant that Lepsius (1855, 1863) were integrated into the Khoekhoe orthography soon after their introduction. Brugman (2009) points out that only the dental [ǀ], lateral [ǁ] and alveolar [!] click symbols actually originated with Lepsius. The current symbol for the palatal click [ǂ] was proposed by the

Rhenish Mission Conference in 1856 as an alternative to Lepsius' slash with an acute accent mark (Bleek, 1858; Haacke, 1989). The conventions established by the Rhenish Mission remained the de facto standard for written Khoekhoe until the Nama/Damara Language Committee of the Department of Bantu Education under which Nama/Damara introduced the first official orthography in 1970 (Haacke 1989, 2005). Today, orthographic conventions are laid out in a revised version of the orthography (Curriculum Committee for *Khoekhoegowab* 2003) and used in both educational material and a large Khoekhoe-English dictionary (Haacke and Eiseb 2002).

According to Brugman (2009), linguistic descriptions of Khoekhoe clicks since mid-1800s have relied almost exclusively on the Lepsius symbols. The most notable exception according to her is Beach (1938). Though Beach continued with the use of the Lepsius symbols in orthography, his linguistic description relied on what were then the IPA symbols for the clicks. The IPA symbols had been developed by Daniel Jones during World War I (Breckwoldt 1972) and are as follows.

Consonants

ǀ	dental click
ǁ	lateral click
ǂ	palatal click
!	alveolar click (palate-alveolar/ (pre-)palatal in Nguni)
ˊ	glottal stop (khoesan)
ʔ	glottal stop (English)
x	voiceless velar fricative (Khoesan)

x	lateral click (Bantu, spelling form)
kx	voiceless velar fricative
c	palatal stop (khoesan)
c	dental click (Bantu, spelling form)
q	palatal click (Bantu, spelling form)
ŋ	velar nasal

Diacritics

¨	centralised vowel (e.g. ï)
¯	long vowel (spelling form, ū)
:	long vowel (e.g. u:)
~	nasalised vowel (e.g. ĩ)
´	high tone (e.g. ú)
`	low tone (e.g. ù)

The use of Lepsius symbols solved the problem of representing different click types in both orthography and transcription.

Table 2.3 below shows four different representations of Khoekhoegowab

Miller, et al. (2007)	**Orthography (2003)**	**Tindall (1856)**	**Hagman (1977)**	**Namaseb et al (2008)**
ǀ ǁ ǃ ǂ	ǀg ǁg ǃg ǂg	C v q x	ǀ ǁ ǃ ǂ	ǀ’ ǁ’ ǃ’ ǂ’
ŋǀʔ ŋǁʔ ŋǃʔ ŋǂʔ	ǀ ǁ ǃ ǂ		ǀ’ ǁ’ ǃ’ ǂ’	ǀg ǁg ǃg ǂg

ǀχ ǁχ !χ ǂχ	ǀkh ǁkh !kh ǂkh	Ckh vkh qkh xkh	ǀx ǁx !x ǂx	ǀx ǁx !x ǂx
ŋǀʱ ŋǁʱ ŋ!ʱ ŋǂʱ	ǀh ǁh !h ǂh	Ch vh qh xh	ǀh ǁh !h ǂh	ǀh ǁh !h ǂh
ŋǀ ŋǁ ŋ! ŋǂ	ǀn ǁn !n ǂn	Cn vn qn xn	ǀn ǁn !n ǂn	ǀn ǁn !n ǂn

Brugman (2009) pointed out some potentially confusing features of the table especially *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003). Brugman (2009) says that the orthographic representations seem to imply the existence of voicing contrast, for instance between [!] and [!g]. In this regard the [g] in click digraphs indicates a voiceless, unaspirated segment, while orthographically "plain" clicks actually have glottal phonation. For this reason the harmonised orthography (2008) even suggested that the glottal stop be indicated in writing. However, I want to argue that phonetically one never hears the glottal stop just by listening and thus in terms of phonetic description the glottal stop even if it is acknowledged and shown, in writing there is no need to write it. If the glottal stop is a phonetic feature it is supposed to be heard. This is one argument that was critically discussed in chapter 4 under clicks and complex clicks.

2.2.4.2 Accompaniment

According to Namaseb et al (2008), and Trail (1985), clicks can be accompanied by other consonants. The term 'accompaniment' have its roots since 1985 as a replacement for older terms such as 'efflux' or secondary articulation. Trail (1985:99) explains that:

> As preferable because it is phonetically neutral in that it is applicable to any consonantal material surrounding the click

This definition however has recently been dismissed by Miller et al (2007) as

> A phonetically empty category that has been used as a catchall for every type of modification to click closures and releases ever reported in a click language.

The term 'accompaniment' seems to be confusing because it clearly gives the notion of click + something whereas the sounds are co-articulated. The moment we separate the two articulated sounds, this results in them being treated as segments which cannot be done. The segmentation of this particular articulation often leads to the issue of whether the nasal or voicing comes before the click as it will be treated as a unit.

Clicks may additionally be associated with a type of non-distinctive nasalization, first identified in Nama and Korana by Beach (1938:85-87) who states:

> 'When clicks are immediately precedes in the same breath group by a vowel (terminating the preceding root), a very short voiced nasal stop is often (but not always) heard during the occlusion before the influx occurs. This nasal stop, together with its accompanying vibration of the vocal cords, ceases just before the influx is made. The slight nasal stop which sometimes preceded the influx of clicks containing either of the two glottal types of efflux should be contrasted with definitely a nasal type of efflux and it should also be noted that this slight nasal stop which sometimes

accompanies the glottal effluxes is never used in conjunction with the two velar types of efflux.

The preceding section gave an overview on some of the orthographical conventions for Khoesan languages and *Khoekhoegowab*. In the following section I will look at the so-called accompaniments in terms of voicing and nasality of clicks, aspiration of clicks, and velar aspiration of clicks.

2.2.4.3 Click voicing and nasality

According to Baucom (1972) a long tradition has developed in relation to the Khoisan languages of writing plain clicks without release with a [g] or [k] following the click. The present study dealt with this particular problem in chapter 5 under *Khoekhoegowab* clicks. This is an orthographical device used to distinguish plain clicks from clicks with a glottal release. As can be seen in chapter 5 a plain click is just a click and draws on other characteristics from the sounds it is co-articulated with. Therefore, I argue that glottal release is not present fundamentally as this would have made all clicks voiceless, for example.

One of the ways that *Khoekhoegowab* differs from other southern African Khoesan languages is in its lack of a voicing contrast, which is part of the reason for its smaller inventory. The most significant variability is found in clicks with a voiceless nasal closure. Though closures in voiceless unaspirated (e.g., [!]) is always voiceless, and voiceless nasal e.g., [ŋ!], clicks always have some period of nasal voicing, closure voicing in ’voiceless’

nasal clicks varies. Studies reveal that clicks exhibit an “intrusive nasal” during the click closure. Ladefoged and Traill (1985) regard this as a categorical phonological process, so that [tii] ‘my’ before [ŋǀʔuip] ‘brother-in-law’ becomes [tii ŋǀʔuip], where “the click becomes fully nasal, and the preceding vowel is nasalized” (p.6). Brugman (2009) disagrees with this view by stating that closer examination reveals that nasalization in this environment is really a matter of intervocalic voicing, and is less categorical than the description implies. It does not, for instance, neutralize the oral/nasal contrast on the preceding long vowel, because only the end of the vowel is nasalised, and the “intrusive nasal” is not fully equivalent to the nasalization found in voiced nasal clicks. Affricated clicks have no closure voicing in either environment, while the nasal click is voice in both, though the duration and intensity of voicing is greater intervocally. The two “voiceless” nasal clicks, on the other hand, are phonetically voiceless after [p], but somewhat voiced intervocally. She further argues the closure periods of clicks can have an audible voiceless nasal airflow, showing that they are still nasal clicks, even in the absence of vocal cord vibration. This has been confirmed by a quantitative study of nasal airflow in different prosodic positions (Spencer, 2004). Moreover, the degree of intervocalic voicing is significantly less than with the phonologically voiced click.

The “voiceless” nasals associated with clicks seem, therefore, intermediately placed between voiced e.g., [ŋǃ] and voiceless e.g., [ǃ] segments. It has been proposed that voiceless pulmonic sonorants should be regarded phonologically as [spread glottis], rather than [-voiced]. Lingual nasals differ from pulmonic nasals in that they are obstruents, and their releases can be associated with phonation contrasts.

2.2.4.4 Aspiration of clicks

Aspirated clicks are shown as ǀh, ǁh, !h, and ǂh. This is common in Namaqua (modern day *Khoekhoegowab*) according to Tindall (1856). As was seen in the orthography convention table, this is one of the sounds that all conventions seem to agree on. However, the same cannot be said with regard to the velar aspirated click

2.2.4.5 Velar aspirated click

The following table (4) is an extract from the convention table given above.

Table 2.4 Conventions of velar aspirated click

ǀχ ǁχ !χ ǂχ	ǀkh ǁkh !kh ǂkh	Ckh vkh qkh xkh	ǀx ǁx !x ǂx	ǀx ǁx !x ǂx

This particular click seems to be posing problems to the various researchers. I have shown in chapter 4 that the sounds are different where I used the example by the Korana language which in fact does have the [ǀx] [ǁx] [!x] [ǂx] click. I have argued that *Khoekhoegowab* takes the velar aspiration phonemically transcribed as [ǀkʱ] and not [ǀx] as perceived by some researchers.

In the previous section I have reviewed some of the phonological issues facing Khoisan languages and *Khoekhoegowab*. Under the issues to be considered when dealing with Khoisan languages and *Khoekhoegowab* I have identified tonal structure, vowel features, consonants and click consonants as characteristics. Next I will look at the morphological structure as a distinguishing factor of *Khoekhoegowab*.

2.3 Khoekhoe patterns of constituent structure

According to Haacke (2003) the typical Khoesan stem appears to have an underlying pattern of the basic form CVCV. Thus, in Khoekhoe all roots are based on the canonical disyllabic structure CVCV, both syllables being short. In original Khoekhoe roots **m** or **n** serve as tone-bearing units for the second syllable. This then leads to the disyllabic structure CVN. The synchronic evidence that this is systematic comes from lexical tonology, as a tonal melody typically is bimoraic and consists of two register tones, one per syllable (Haacke, 2003). Diachronic evidence is provided by instantiations where the original root has survived next to the truncated root, e.g.:

ǁgare	ǁgae	(ape, mime)	CV
Toma.s	toa.s	(Wild cucumber)	CV
ǀkhana	ǀkhan	(Crack)	CVN

I have also discussed this particular assumption in chapter 4 about the importance of ‘r’ and ‘m’ which according to Haacke & Eiseb (2002), fell away. My argument as shown in chapter 4 is that the word arrived at is not always the same.

Khoekhoegowab is seen to be a SVO language by Haacke (2003). However, the present researcher argues that it is SOV as it is assumed traditionally. It is traditionally assumed that Khoekhoe is an SOV language e.g.

Tara.s	ge	ao.ba	ra	mû
Woman	Indicative	Man	Pres.inchoat	see
Noun		*noun*	*verb*	

‘The/a woman is seeing the/a man’

Haacke (1977) presented arguments for a hypothesis that surface nouns, consisting of a stem and a PGN-“suffix”, are derived from a sentence in which the PGN-“suffix (spelling?)” is a postclitic pronoun serving as a subject, and the stem is the predicate head. This hypothesis implies that the PGN-marker of the subject “s” belongs to the matrix sentence (*s g era mû ‘She is seeing’), while the lexical specification (i.e., stem) of that subject, ‘tara’, is part of an embedded sentence (*s a tara = tara a s She is a woman). This stem or lexical specification, alias predicate head, occupies the initial slot, which is the focus position of the matrix sentence. If another constituent occupies the initial slot, this subject specification is displaced and resurfaces in the oblique NP form (with the stative aspect marker **a** as grammaticalised suffix **–a**., e.g.:

Ao.ba-s ge tara.sa ra mû

‘And she –that is, the woman – is seeing a man.’

In essence this displaced/’deposed’ subject is a parenthetical sentence. The object (ao.ba) has the same oblique form as the deposed subject for an apparently obscure reason, for in Khoekhoe there is no solitary PGN-marker. The version with a postclitic object-marker (bi) is only found as an alternative without a lexically specified object, e.g.:

O-s ge tara.sa ao.ba ra mû

‘And a/the woman is seeing a/the man.’

Or

O-s ge tara.sa ra mû-bi

'And a/the woman is seeing him.'

This means that in these languages the matrix sentence overtly refers to the subject as well as the object only by means of a postclitic pro-form, which then can be elaborated on by embedded sentences grammaticalized to the oblique NP. According to Guldenmann (1999), Khoe languages favour the 'head final' pattern. Within the main clause the verb appears in the final slot (SOV). I have followed the argument by Guldenmann (1999) that with the examples of transitive verbs which take a subject and an object noun using a simple sentence, the position of the verb was always at the end. This will be dealt with in due course in chapter 6.

This literature survey was aimed at giving an overview on Khoisan languages and *Khoekhoegowab* in particular. The phonological and morphological aspects were discussed in order to correctly position the present study. In the following section I have given a brief overview of the theoretical approach.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical approaches to dialectology have included the following: Traditional Dialectology, Structural Dialectology and Generative Dialectology. Non-linear models of phonology have been used in analysing variations in tone, acent and syllable. Each of the models of dialectology are not suitable because they were item-centred and system centred respectively. Generative Dialectology is considered better than the former two models

because it is rule-centred (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004). Generative Dialectology is thus useful in the analysis of phonological variations where given sounds undergo change under specific environments. In such instances, the analysis involves recourse to phonological rules to account for various phonological processes. In this study, however, the variations identified are all lexical and not phonological in that the sounds that vary do not do so in all contexts nor do they do so under any specific conditions. For this reason, none of the three theories of dialectology briefly described above is appropriate in the analysis of the variation between the dialects of Khoehoegowab considered in this work. What is appropriate in this instance is Variation Theory as pioneered by William Labov (1972 & 1979). Variation can be geographical. More interestingly, variation may exist even in an individual's speech who may choose the variety depending on a number of parameters. The variations identified and discussed in this study are mainly geographical but could also be social or even idiosyncratic as some individuals are familiar with two more dialectical usages.

2.5 Summary of Chapter

In this chapter the aim was to discuss the linguistic characteristics of *Khoekhoegowab*. Amongst other things, the issue of voiced and voiceless, tonal distinction and the characteristics of clicks were dealt with. Some unresolved issues in the literature are discussed in the following chapters, for example in chapter 4 the issue of tone vs length is outlined clearly, while in chapter 5, I have expanded on the notion of plain vs complex clicks.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the research design and the methodological approach used in this study. The following aspects of the research methodology are discussed:

- Scope of research
- Study Area
- Description of Participants
- Design of Instruments
- Administration of Instruments
- Transcription and Data analysis
- Ethical Consideration
- Limitations

3.1 Scope of research

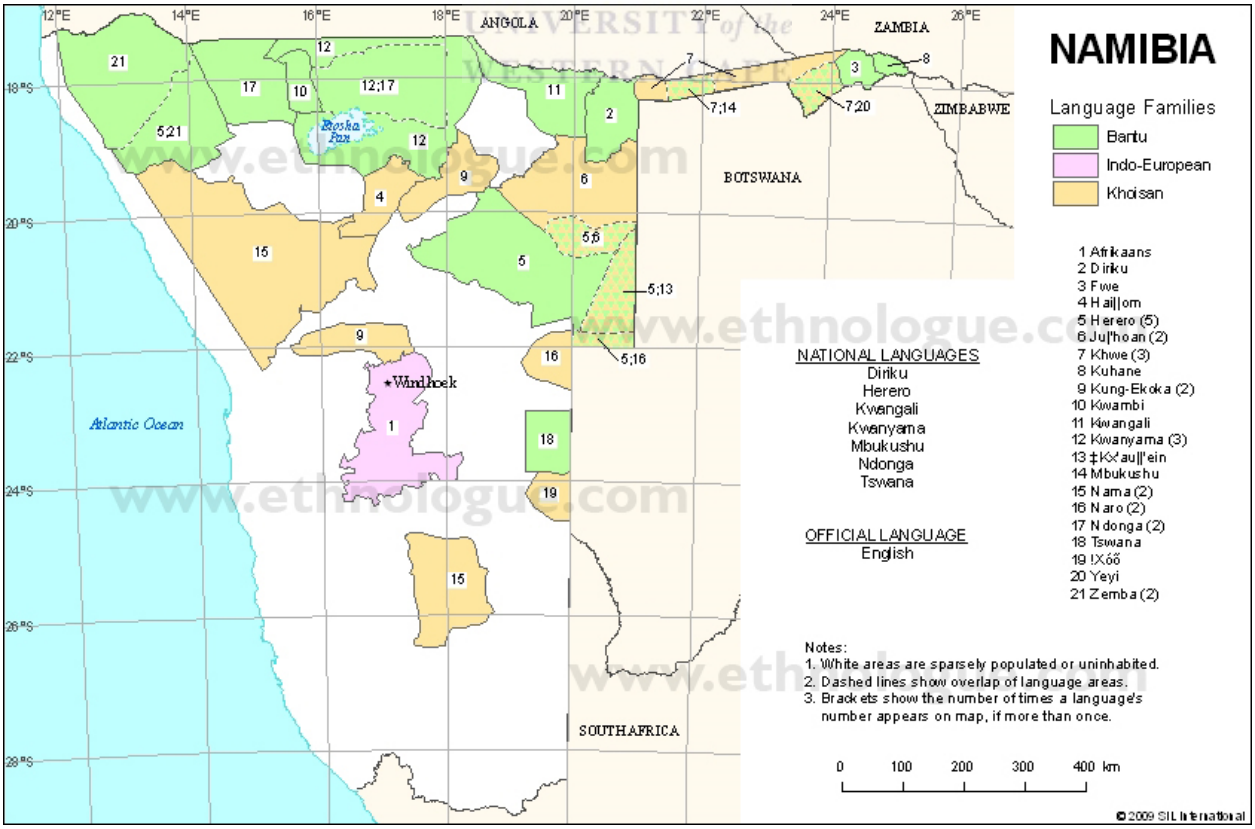
The thesis proposes to undertake an extensive review of Nama and Damara dialects also known as *Khoekhoegowab*. It also examines material, missionary work and other publications on the

dialects under discussion. The phonology and morphology of the the two main dialects, namely central Nama and central Damara dialects, will be discussed.

3.2 Study area

The study was conducted in Namibia in the Hardap, Karas, and Kunene regions respectively. The towns and villages included Gibeon in the Hardap region, Grunau and Aroab in the Karas region and Khorixas in the Kunene region. On the map 1 given below the dialects identified are numbered 15 and coloured orange on the map. As can be seen the Central Damara and Central Nama dialects are far apart geographically and it was interesting to investigate them linguistically to see if they are different or not.

Map 3.1 Language families of Namibia



3.3 Description of participants

The selection of my informants was based on *theoretical sampling*. Theoretical sampling is the selection of individuals within a naturalistic research study based on emerging findings as the study progresses to ensure that key issues are adequately represented. I purposefully selected my informants on the basis of age, gender and educational background as I believed that elderly, mixed (Male/female), and less educated members of the community would be in a better position to provide answers for my research questions. In this sampling technique the "researcher uses knowledge of the population to locate the best informants" (Kane, 2004:133).

Furthermore, once I entered the given communities I embarked on what is termed snowball sampling whereby informants referred the researcher to people whom they knew could assist (Patton, 1990, 1987). Hence, as the researcher I identified key informants and asked them to identify other informants who were interviewed and asked them to identify others and so on (*Cf.* Schutt and Engel, 2005). This technique was very useful in identifying informants as the communities concerned are rural communities and members of smaller communities know each other very well. In the three study areas one focus group was identified.

In addition to the above sampling techniques, opportunistic sampling was also used. This involved on-the-spot sampling taking advantage of the new opportunities in the field long after fieldwork had begun (*Cf.* Patton, 1990). Opportunistic sampling allowed the researcher to follow new leads during fieldwork, taking advantage of the unexpected, and unforeseen opportunities, thus being flexible even after fieldwork had begun. This technique was especially useful when as the researcher I met members of a community operating in groups like a choir or football team about to go for training.

3.4 Design of instruments

The study employed qualitative methods of data collection with ethnographic design. Qualitative methods focus on the complex dynamics underlying a phenomenon and seek in-depth understanding (Bryman, 1988). The focus is on gathering an extensive amount of data and on the representivity of their results. The merit of these methods is to enable a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon by giving a broad overview of its occurrence. Moreover, Strauss

and Corbin (1990) argue that qualitative research is concerned with understanding the context in which behaviour occurs. The researcher in qualitative research does not focus on one theme only but on the interaction of multiple variables which occur in real life situations. Qualitative enquiry accepts that the world is complex and dynamic. This research method can be used to understand better any phenomenon about which little is yet known and also to gain a new perspective on what is already known in order to gain more in-depth information that may be difficult to convey quantitatively (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

The study followed an ethnographic design due to the nature of research that needed to be done. Ethnography is a theoretical model constructed through detailed systematic observation, recording and analysing of human behaviour in specified spaces and interactions (Heath & Street, 2008). The notion of ethnography originated from the discipline of anthropology which directly or partly involves the investigation of the present study. Ethnography concerns itself with issues of human choice and meaning, and thus promises to provide insights most relevant for educational research (Ericksson, 1980). It was important to tackle the issue of standard language using this approach because it accounts for meaning and choice at human level.

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:2) interesting thing about the ethnographic method is that it does not work with formal data collection protocols, instead it adopts whatever is considered suitable and useful: “the ethnographic researcher participates, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned’. However, it comes to be noted that the authors used

the term “extended period of time” in the field. This can thus rule out studies that took less time in the field than what traditionally would have been described as an extended stay (Shumbusho, 2009). According to Blommaert (2001), ethnography is not just a method of data collection; instead it is “ a theoretical perspective on human behaviour”. In saying that I want to point out that it is not the length of time one spends on the site alone that matters, rather what is important is for the ethnographer to think and develop methods in response to features of the object of enquiry. As noted above, ethnography is a theoretical position, not one single method (Blommaert, 2001).

The present study qualifies to be an ethnographic study as missionary and normative materials were analysed for description and interpretations. Also, as a researcher I did spend a few months in the field collecting data at different sites. The reason being, the material analysed had traces of context of their productions as asserted by Blommaert (2001).

As Blommaert (2001) asserts there are ‘context-less’ texts: every text displays features of a unique context-of-production as well as the potential it has to move across contexts. Thus, even a text of which we have no contextual information will be analytically contextualised. Often in Khoesan linguistics some material are available where we don’t know its authors; its original function and audience, that does mean the text has no context as one can contextualise through ethnographic interpretation. Thus, it does not necessarily confine a researcher to be in the field for an extended period of time to qualify as an ethnographic study.

Putting the ethnographic theoretical framework into perspective, the determination of the dialectal, regionalism, and the standard *Khoekhoegowab* was done looking at the existing published research sources and the current oral forms produced by speakers. Data collection procedures therefore combined archival, field work recordings (of interviews, natural speech narratives), and researcher's notes. Narrative recordings were considered to elicit spontaneous language production and to assess the current varieties of *Khoekhoegowab*. The following summarizes the methodological approaches that were used:

- Secondary sources – archival linguistic and historical research on Nama-Damara/ *Khoekhoegowab*; (Library and archival material)
- Primary research: Interviews and focus groups

3.4.1 Administration of instruments

3.4.1.1 Interviews

One of the instruments used in this study was the *interview* where key informants were interviewed. Three key informants were identified and interviewed. According to Cohen (2000) interviews are a means of accessing what a person knows. On the other hand, Lofland and Lofland (1984), say an interview is a list of questions or topics that the interviewer wants to explore during the interview. Questions help the interviewer to make use of limited time, make the interview more systematic, and help to keep interaction focused. During the period of conducting interviews, the interviewer can modify the interview by focusing attention on areas of

interest and exclude the questions which the researcher has found to be unproductive for the goals of the research.

Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) describe an interview as ‘a face-to-face interpersonal role situation in which an interviewer asks respondents questions designed to elicit answers pertinent to the research hypothesis’. Care was taken to phrase interview questions in such a way that the interviewee felt culturally commensurate with the interviewer (Briggs 1983). Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) argue that the personal interview is a much more flexible tool and gives the researcher much more control over the research than the questionnaire. The disadvantages of interviews are that the analysis of the data is usually more complicated than for questionnaires, and they cannot guarantee anonymity. The gender and race of the interviewer can also generate assumptions regarding his or her expectations. Respondents might then try to fulfil these expectations.

3.4.1.2 Key Informant Interviews

This study extensively used key informant interviews as a second data collection tool for gathering data on insights and people's experiences of what they know about their language or dialect. The interview schedule mainly consisted of open-ended questions that allowed the interviewee to talk freely without constant interruptions. Open ended design of the interview helped in making the interviews as spontaneous as possible as most respondents felt they were not obliged and confined. However, this does not mean the interviewees had a free hand in the sessions. They were guided to specific areas of thematic concerns and special interest to the

study and where a new perception arose it was pursued on the spot (*Cf.* Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). All interview sessions, were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder and later transcribed and translated into English.

3.4.1.3 Focus Group Discussions

Key Informant Interviews allow respondents to have open talks, especially where one felt like justifying his perception (Macnaghten and Myers, 2004). Focus Group Discussions provide a forum for discussing topics that one would like to talk about, but rarely get the chance to do so. In this study, Focus Group Discussions were very useful in ascertaining the regional variations of *Khoekhoegowab* and to tackle the issue of standard *Khoekhoegowab* as proposed by the National Curriculum committee.

The groups were allowed to discuss issues around the Damara and the Nama dialects which ultimately took the discussion to *Khoekhoegowab*. Three focused groups were identified, one group per dialect which meant there was a group for central Nama (village Gibeon), Bontelswarts Nama (village Grunau) and central Damara (Town Khorixas). The respondents for these focus group discussions were mainly people who functioned already in a group like a choir or a football team. The idea was to discuss the matter in an environment where all members present are comfortable. During the course of the discussion the researcher guided (chaired) the proceedings and if needed had to rephrase some questions to keep the discussions flowing. This platform was especially interesting because it gave speakers of the given communities the opportunity to participate in their language development as most of them will never get a chance to make decisions about their language or variety. People were free to prompt each other, thus gauging information from a setting they least expected as useful.

As a researcher it was important to find balanced groups in the society in terms of age and gender.

3.4.1.4 Document Analysis

This study made use of document analysis as a data collection instrument extensively. Any literature or material which contained *Nama, Damara or Khoekhoegowab* was reviewed and used in analysis. I came across the following documents; The grade 9 school textbook, facebook media page called Naman ǁKhoab, Social Security Commision booklet, Ministry of health booklet, google maps data etc. This data was used in Chapter 8 under current written practices of *Khoekhoegowab*.

3.5 Transcripts and Data Analysis

Silverman (2000) argues that tapes and transcripts are beneficial for qualitative research as their public nature makes them readily available for inspections by other members of the scientific community as well as permitting multiple revisiting of the data on behalf of the analyst.

The interviews were recorded on a digital recorder. The recorded data was transcribed after wards and this helped me in revisiting the materials and answering some of the ambiguities that arose in interpreting the data. Tapes and transcripts which are employed in this study, therefore, are beneficial in that they are public records, can be replayed and re-consulted, and are also available for future researchers to analyze in whichever manner they may choose. Key Informant

Interviews and Focus group discussions were recorded and transcribed and are readily available to be revisited if need be.

Following Bagdan and Biklen (1992) the data was analysed following the criteria that involves working with data, organizing it into manageable chunks, synthesising it, searching for patterns and discovering what is important. Qualitative researchers use inductive analysis which means that critical themes emerge out of data (Patton, 1990). These themes are constructs which the investigator identified before, during and after data collection. These themes came from reviewing literature (Maxwell, 1996 and Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Themes are identified by sorting the examples into piles of similar meaning according to the speaker and context (Brown, 1996).

Seliger and Shohamy (1989) also state that data analysis is the sifting, organizing, summarizing and synthesizing of the data so as to arrive at the results and conclusions of the research (Owino, 2002). The descriptive analysis of dialectal variation followed the linguistic methods from researchers like Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb (1997), Sands (1998), Guldenmann (2000, 2003, & 2008), and Du Plessis (2009). I have used a linguistic tool called Praat to analyse the voice data. The reason for employing Praat is because it is easy to monitor the rising and falling of tone and also length. It helped me in distinguishing voiced from voiceless sounds as can be seen in chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Neumann (2000) states that ethics define what is or is not legitimate, what a "moral" research procedure involves, and remarks that can cause social research to harm a research subject in several ways: physical harm, psychological harm, legal harm, and harm to a person's career or income. Different types of harm are more likely in different types of research. Researchers are therefore urged to be aware of all types of harm in order to minimize them at all times.

A straightforward research ethical principle is that researchers should not cause physical harm. An ethical researcher anticipates risk before beginning research, including basic safety concerns. The risk of physical harm is rare, but researchers may place people in stressful, embarrassing, anxiety producing, or unpleasant situations. A researcher is responsible for protecting subjects from increased risk of arrest. If participation in research increases the risk of arrest, subjects will distrust researchers and may be unwilling to participate in future research.

To conform to research ethics principles, before I started with the Interviews or Focus Group Discussions, I informed the respondents that if they were not ready to participate in the research they were not obliged. Furthermore, respondents identities will be withheld unless the respondent gave permission. In most cases permission was granted as respondents felt they needed to be heard. I also made it clear to the respondents what my plans were with regards to the study so they had an idea of what my intentions were with the information. A fundamental ethical principle of social research is: never force anyone into participating; participation must be voluntary. Informants have the right not to participate in the study if they are not willing to and to terminate the interaction if they wish to. Most of the respondents agreed to be part of the study

voluntary. Some in fact were looking for me in order to be selected for the interviews after they heard from others that I was doing a study in the community.

Informants for this study were guaranteed anonymity, and only identified as a letter and a number e.g Subject A. Anonymity protects the identity of a specific individual from being known while confidentiality means that information may have names attached to it but the researcher holds it in confidence or keeps it secret from the public.

3.7 Limitations

Like any research, the present study does have its fair share of limitations. Initially the plan was to undertake the study in three different countries which are: Namibia, South Africa and Botswana where varieties similar to *Khoekhoegowab* are spoken, in order to come up with a comprehensive dialectal inventory. Limited financial resources forced the study to be narrowed down to three dialects of *Khoekhoegowab*. Furthermore, there could be more reliable tools to analyse phonetic data but because of the same financial constraint, I had to settle with only the Praat.

Chapter 4

Determining regional variations of *Khoekhoegowab*: Vowels

4.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine the phonological aspects of what is now referred to as *Namibian Khoekhoe* or *Khoekhoegowab*. A preliminary survey of Namibian Khoekhoe carried out by Haacke, Eiseb and Namaseb (1997) and Haacke (1999) investigated a spectrum of approximately ten dialects, and came to the conclusion that there are two main dialect groups namely Central Damara /Namidama, and Central Nama/Bondelswarts Nama. However, the study focused mainly on lexical aspects of the language. In this chapter I focus on the phonetic aspects of these two groups. With regard to the plain vowels, I shall argue that the Central Nama and Central Damara and Bontelswarts are in fact similar in terms of vowel inventory as all three dialects still uses the same vowels. I shall also show that rather than a definite case of long vowels as depicted in the literature, the high and low tone on some vowels forces them to be perceieved as long vowels. I mostly rely on my own interview data in the analysis. For the central Damara/Namidama dialects data was collected in the town of Khorixas, whereas for Central Nama, after careful consideration, Nama spoken in the Gibeon village was selected. As for the Bondelswarts I purposefully selected a village in the deep south of Namibia called Grunau. The overall purpose of this chapter is to comprehensively outline the vowel system as a way to ascertain the inter-linguistic and dialectal variations among the identified dialects.

4.1 The Phonology of the dialects identified

4.1.1 Vowel Inventory

The literature suggests that in *Khoekhoegowab* there are 5 short vowels, 5 long vowels, and 3 nasalised vowels (Tindall 1856, Haacke 2002, and Brugman 2009).The vowel phonemes can be said to contrast in height, backness, rounding, and nasalisation. Brugman (2009) states that short vowels occur in roots with two syllables (e.g., [kǎɾap] 'bead') and in monosyllables with a root-final nasal (e.g., [tàǹ] 'to win'), while long vowels occur in roots with one syllable (e.g. [tsäap] 'slobber'). It seems from these examples that length is predictable, and for the sake of orthography design the question is whether long and short vowels form minimal pairs. In this thesis, however, I propose that rather focusing on the short and long vowel; the phonemic and distinguishing factor is in fact tone. I shall return to this argument in due course. In the following discussion I present the vowel features of the two main dialects (namely the central Nama/Bondelswarts and Damara/Namidamara) with the exception of the (Bondelswarts dialect) which is part of the Nama dialect obtained during my data collection. In this chapter, I shall argue that rather than a definite case of long vowels as depicted in the literature, the high and low tone on some vowels forces them to present as long vowels. It is interesting at this juncture to note that Haacke and Eiseb (2002) do not use the lengthening mark in their dictionary.

I shall first describe the five basic vowels found in the three dialects. According to the literature, these are: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/.

However, I would like to note that geographically, Central Nama and Bondelswarts Nama are closer to each other as the Bondelswarts dialect is believed to be a variety of Central Nama and

one expects similarities in terms of the sound inventory. In reality, as shown below, the Central Nama is closer to the Damara dialect in terms of some lexical items, which is further away. What is also interesting is that between these two groups one finds other ethnic and language groups such as the otjiHerero and oshiWambo. However, one characteristic of the Bondelswarts dialect is the lowering of the vowel /o/ to /a/ in some instances, which is not found in the other dialects. For instance, the word for 'cow' is 'gomas'[gomas] in both central Nama and central Damara, but 'gamas' [gamas] in the Bondelswarts dialect which suggest a lexical variation. It should be noted that these are lexical variations and not phonological ones. They can therefore not be explained in terms of phonological rules.

The second lexical difference about the Bondelswarts dialect from the central Nama and central Damara dialects is the alternation observed between vowel /o/ (mid-back vowel) and /e/ (mid-front vowel). This phenomenon was also observed by Hoken (1988) and is evident in the data I collected as seen in the examples below where once again the Central Nama dialect and the Damara dialects are the same with the Bondelswarts dialect being different.

The word is pronounced as 'ǀkhon' [ǀkhon] or 'ǀkhen'[ǀkhen] by the Nama spoken in Gibeon, while Nama spoken in the Grunau area say 'ǀkhen' and the northern dialect which is the Damara dialect say 'ǀkhon'. However, the *Khoekhoegowab* (2003) orthography prescribes that even people in Southern Namibia, namely the Grunau area, who pronounce the word as ǀkhen [ǀkhen] (itch), should write it as ǀkhon. The problem is that the speakers of these particular varieties see sounds /e/ and /o/ as different and therefore treat them differently. The best that could be done in

such a scenario is to accept both forms and depict them as variations in the linguistic inventory. Note that the |khon and |khen pair is also a lexical variation.

In all the dialects the high vowels are pronounced the same way. They are constituted by the front i [i] and the back u [u] as in the following examples.

Table 4.1 High vowels in the three dialects of Khoekhoegowab

Central Nama **Spoken in Gibeon**	**Bondelswarts Nama** **Spoken in Grunau and Aroab**	**Damara spoken in Khorixas**
Xuri (scoop water) Tupu (whisper)	Xuri (scoop water) Tupu (whisper)	xuri (scoop water) tupu (whisper)

In the preceding discussion we have observed that there were minor differences observed between the dialects whereby the Bondelswarts dialect was consistently different from the Damara and the Nama dialects. Geographically, one however would expect the Central Nama and the Bondelswarts dialects to be more similar than Central Nama and Central Damara. These differences were only observed in some vowels that is why it makes sense to treat these dialects as one language.

4.1.1.1 Vowel length versus tone in the three dialects

A number of studies (Haacke and Eiseb 2002; *Khoekhoegowab* orthography 2003; and Brugman 2009) suggest that *Khoekhoegowab*, which stands for the three dialects, has phonemic long and

short vowels. Lengthening here should be understood as a phonetic perception in the production of a vowel. Lengthening occurs when a vowel is realised in a continuous manner without the possibility of syllabifying it (Chebanne 2000). In this section I argue that rather than length, tone is the phonemic feature which distinguishes meaning in different words. In other words it is tone that is phonemic rather than vowel lengthening. It is thus my contention that that the high and low tones interfere with perception of vowels so that they appear long. Consider the following when they are pronounced with vowel lengthening only without manipulation of tone, one can observe that there is no change in meaning. They only become minimal pairs when tone is brought in:

Long without tone		**Short without tone**
ǀgōros [ǀgooros]	Small girl	ǀgoros [ǀgoros]
ǀuni [ǀuuni]	Final	ǀuni [ǀuni]
ǀguu [ǀguu]	nearby	ǀgu [ǀgu]

With the examples above in terms of meaning there is no change even if you try to lengthen a normal short vowel. Next I want to demonstrate the fact that the words do not become minimal pairs because of length but rather because of tone. For example the low and the high tone vowels always appear to be long. I am going to argue that what is perceived as long vowels in the literature are due to tonal differences. When a language has many tones this is likely to happen. Brugman (2009) identified four tonemes in *Khoekhoegowab*. The same tonemes were also identified by Haacke and Eiseb (2002). According to these two authors *Khoekhoegowab* employs four tones, which have been sequenced from the lowest to the highest (Here illustrated in a). 1 a̋

2 à 3 á 4 ǎ. As tonal difference already exists within the language I did not use it as a differentiating factor within the dialects but rather used it as a phonological difference within all three dialects.

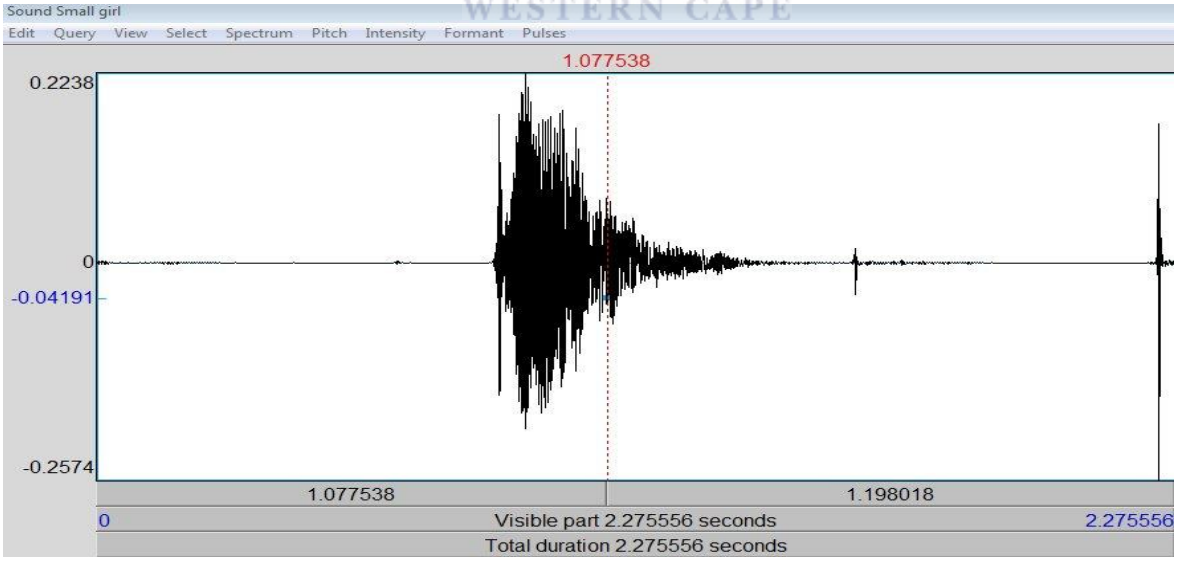
For Brugman (2009), ǀgōros [ǀgo:ros] (meaning little girl) is long as opposed to ǀgoros [ǀgoros] (animal disease). Evidently, the former is pronounced with a higher tone than the latter so the length is immaterial. The *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) further states that the length-mark eliminates possible confusion of monosyllabic roots such as ǀgōs [ǀgo:s] (girl) and disyllabic roots such as ǀgōros [ǀgo:ros] (little girl), and ǀgoros [ǀgoro] (sheep diseases). Vowel length is not as clear cut as researchers argue whereas high and low tones can easily be identified by listening.

The *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) further argues that the long vowels originated through the disappearance of /w/ or /r/ between identical short vowels, e.g. ǂhere [ǂhere] (flat) becomes ǂhē [ǂhē] (to catch something). This explanation could be true if the word derived meant exactly the same thing but the two words in discussion are different words. On the other hand it could be the case that one dialect uses the word ǂhere and the other uses ǂhē, but how does that account for lengthening? The explanation given by *Khoekhoegowab* orthography means that a word like ǂgawa [ǂgawa] (thin) is ǂgā [ǂga:] (to put in). The disappearance of /w/ results in derivation of a different so called lengthened word but the meaning is different. To say the 'w' sound used to be there in the past and with its disappearance come the lengthening mark, is not clearly motivated. There is no evidence provided for the disappearance of /w/ and there is no linguistic reason to explain why the word ǂgā is derived from ǂgawa (thin). The two words are unrelated and appear far apart morpho-phonologically and in terms of meaning. I shall elaborate on this further below.

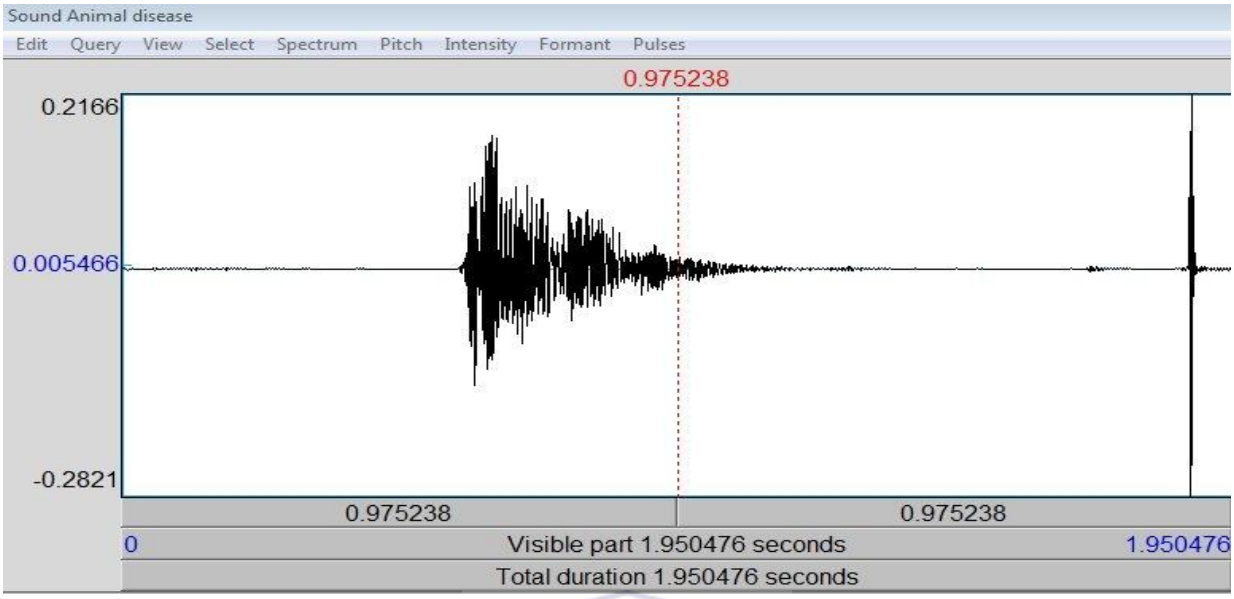
Therefore, the presence of disyllabic roots and monosyllabic roots cannot be used to justify short and long vowels.

Hence my contention is that the difference between high and low tone determines the appearance of either a long or short vowel. The argument I want to bring across is that in some cases, as can be seen in the tables below, calibrated from the phonetic tool, Praat, some sounds believed to be longer are in fact shorter, which further strengthens my argument that in each case it is not the length that is phonemic but rather the tone. I have used Praat in order to determine whether it is length or the tone as this tool shows tone with a higher melody on the vertical axis and shows length of the intended word on the horizontal axis. This can be seen from the example below.

Praat image 4.1 [|go:s] meaning small girl

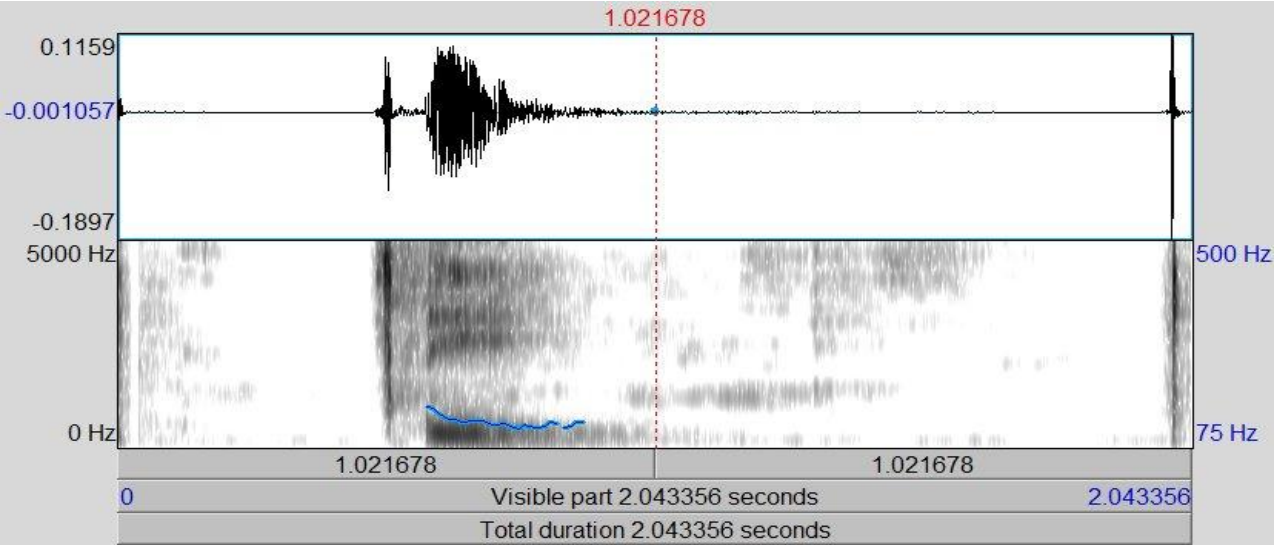


Praat image 4.2. [|goros] Animal disease

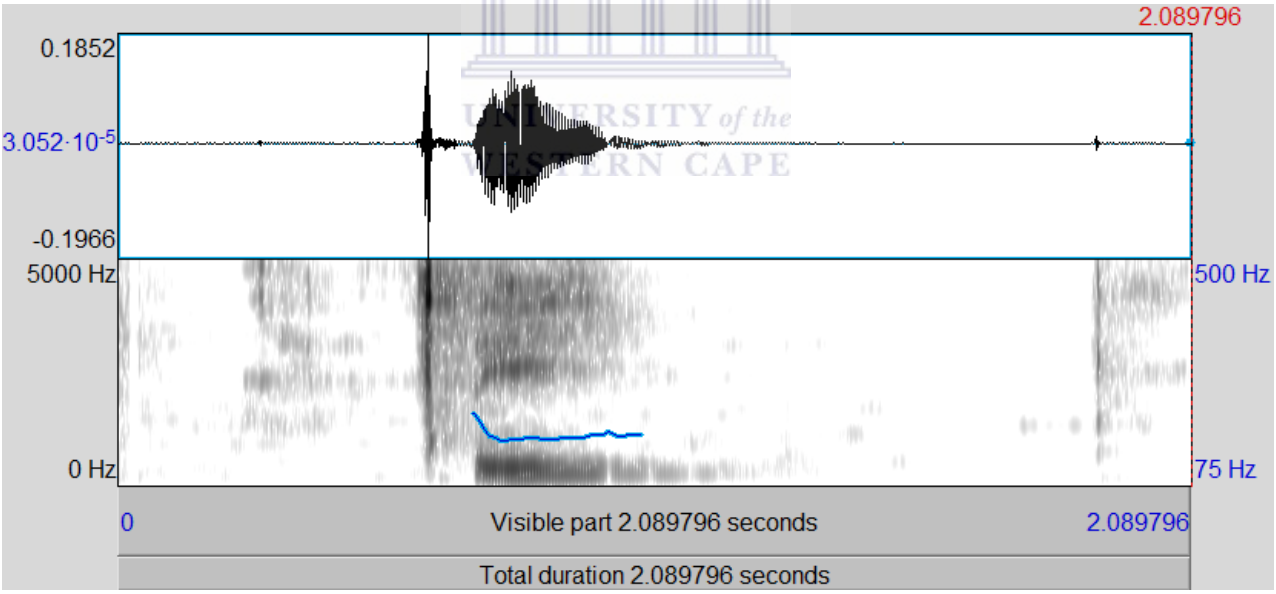


What is evident from the images above is that the first image of the word |gōros meaning small girl which is marked with a lengthening mark (macron) in *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) in fact does have a high tone as it has a higher melody. It appears in this case, the vowel with higher pitch or tone appears lengthened. The following images are of the word [|i] which is only distinguishable by the pitch level. In the first image it means to hobble and in the second it means to remove hair from skin using fire.

Praat image 4.3 Table [|i] Hobble



Praat image 4.4 |i Remove hair



The next question is whether *Khoekhoegowab* has contrastive long and short vowels as depicted in the literature. The present researcher is of the opinion based on the data and his knowledge of the language, that *Khoekhoegowab* does not have long vowels as suggested by most researchers.

The contrastive variations in tone are mistaken for short and long vowels. The high tone appears to trigger slight lengthening of the vowel but this lengthening is illusory as shown by Praat above and is not phonemic. Thus distinguishing vowels as short and long does not make linguistic sense. Even the Namibian curriculum committee appears to have also come to the realisation that it is not vowel length but tonal difference that distinguishes the various *Khoekhoegowab* words. According to Davids (2010) the *Khoekhoegowab* curriculum committee suggested that the length mark in *Khoekhoegowab* be removed. Davids and other mother tongue speakers realised that the differences are tonal rather than one of length. It is still the case as the attitude of Khoekhoe speakers have not changed to date. At the last meeting of the *Khoekhoegowab* Curriculum Committee in July 2007, the suggestion to do away or to rethink the position of the length-mark was rejected out-right. I assume this position will at least remain for the next generation. In this regard, we can say the double- low, low, high and double high tones identified by Brugman (2009) above are tonemes in *Khoekhoegowab* because they can be used to distinguish meaning. The double low and double high tones are mainly confused with length. A person whose ear has not been trained to identify tone may perceive a vowel as long if that vowel bears a high tone.

4.1.1.2 Nasal vowels in the three dialects

Khoekhoegowab vocalism is characterised by a nasal feature. There are 3 nasalised vowels identified in the three dialects. [There are no mid nasalised vowels *ê and *ô respectively] These are /â/ (low central vowel), /î/ (high front vowel), and /û/ (high back vowel). The nasalised vowels are found in words such as */!gâ/* (to listen), */hî/* (to do), and *ǂû [ǂˀû]* (to eat) as shown in

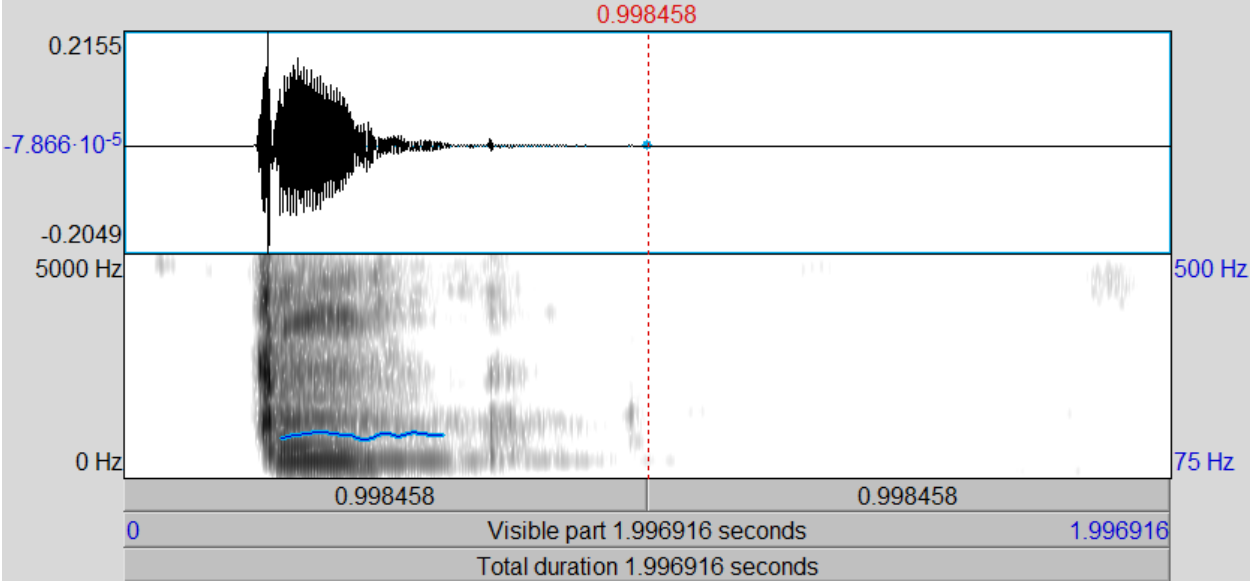
the table below. Note that these nasalised vowels are phonemically different from the plain vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/.

Table 4.2 Nasal vowels found in all three dialects

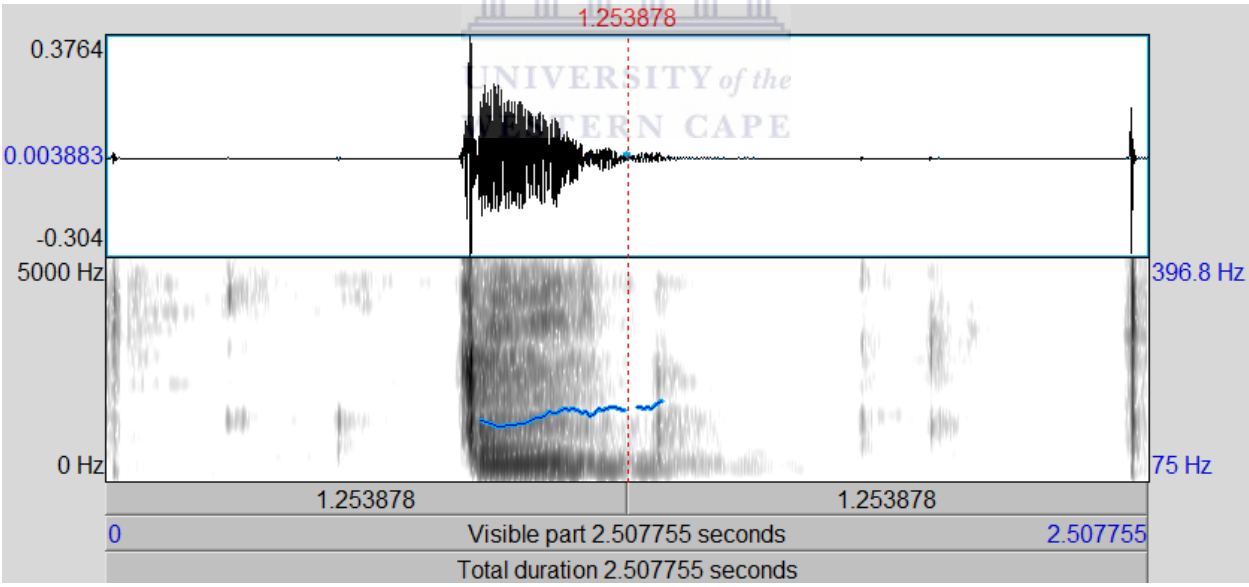
Vowel	Phonemic value	Examples
â	**[ã]**	**!gâ**
î	**[ĩ]**	**Hî**
û	**[ũ]**	**ǂû**

Similar to the tonal issue observed in other vowels some nasalised vowels in *Khoekhoegowab* are highly influenced by tone. For the same reason given in the previous section, high and low tones are mistaken for long vowels in literature such as the *Khoekhoegowab* Orthography (2003). The high and low tone in the following example ǁGûb [ǁgũb] can mean three things in the central Nama, central Damara and Bondelswarts dialects. The Praat software shows three distinct spectrums for the three vowels depending on the tone used. The first image shows that of the 'tooth', the second image shows that of 'father' and image three shows that of 'a springbok ram'. Let us consider the images.

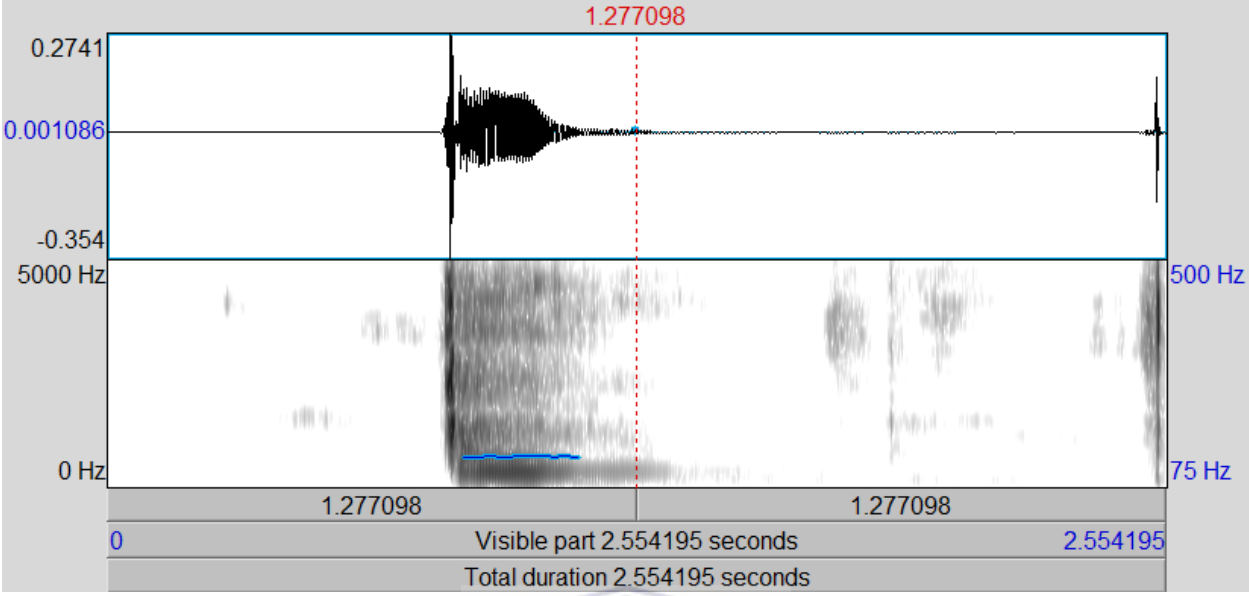
Praat image 4.5 'Tooth' ǁGûb



Praat image 4.6 'Father' ǁGûb



Praat image 4.7 Springbok ǁGûb



The three images clearly demonstrate the impact tone has on auditory perceptions of the tone which, it is argued in this thesis, is the determining factor in the meaning of *Khoekhoegowab* words, rather than vowel lengthening.

4.1.1.3 Vowel combinations in the three dialects

Another important feature of the *Khoekhoegowab* phonetic system relates to the vowel combinations. According to *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) non-nasalised diphthongs originated through the disappearance of /w/ or /r/ between dis-similar vowels, e.g. |howa becomes |hoa. If non-nasalised diphthongs originated through the disappearance of "w" or "r" it means that *Khoekhoegowab* did not have diphthongs at all, but I would like to dispute the fact that words like !khare [!^{h}kare] (half) and !khae [!khae] (dark) are two different words as obtained from the Nama dialect spoken in Gibeon. Therefore, I argue that at least by virtue of the example

that diphthongs did exist in this particular dialect. If it resulted from the disappearance of /r/ in this case I would assume that the dialect then lost one word which is !khare [!kˀare] (half) with the disappearance which resulted in the word !khae which is not the case. It was evident that all three dialects have the following vowel combinations: */ae/, /ai/, /ao/, /au/, /oa/, /oe/, /ui/, /âi/, /âu/, /ôa/, /ûi/,* and */îa/*. Firstly I have discussed the plain diphthongs starting with vowel /a/ followed by the nasalised diphthongs.

Khoekhoegowab has four sets of vowel combinations starting with –a. These are /ae/, /ai/, /ao/, and /au/. Consider the following table. Central Nama (CN), Central Damara CD and Bontelswarts (B).

Example	**dialect/s**	**Vowel combination**	**Phonemic value**
|aesen [|ˀaesen]	CN, CD, B	a combined with mid e	[ae]
!Khao [!$\overset{h}{K}$ao]	CN, CD, B	a combined with mid o	[ao]
Dai [dai]	CN, CD, B	a combined with high vowel i	[ai]
Au [au]	CN, CD, B	a combined with high vowel u	[au]

The examples of vowel combinations from the data starting with vowel /a/ which is a low central vowel shows the *Khoekhoegowab* vowel /a/ is likely to be combined with mid vowel /e/ to form the sound /ae/ and mid vowel /o/ to form sound /ao/, and high vowels /i/ to form sound /ai/ and /u/ to form sound /au/ respectively.

There are two vowel combinations starting with /o/ as shown in the table below. One interesting finding about *Khoekhoegowab* vowel combinations starting with /o/ is that it can only be followed by a mid /e/ or low /a/ vowel but not by a high vowels like /i/ and /u/ as can be seen in the following Examples.

Example	**dialects**	**vowel combination**	**Phonemic value**
Hoaragase [hoaragase]	CN, CD, B	o combined with low vowel a	[oa]
|khoes [|k^{h}oes]	CN, B	o combined with mid vowel e	[oe]

The following combinations starting with vowel /o/ are not permissible. Mid vowel /o/ cannot be combined with high vowels for example *oi or *ou.

There is also one vowel combination starting with u [u] as shown in below. One generalization one can make by looking at the examples below is that the vowel /u/ which is a high vowel only takes the vowel /i/ which is the only high vowel besides it. Therefore, the vowel /u/ will never be followed by mid or low vowels to form permissible combinations as it will result in non permissible combinations like *ue, *uo, and *ua.

Example	**dialects**	**vowel combination**	**Phonemic value**
|Gui [|gui]	CN, CD, B	u combined with high vowel i	[ui]

Therefore, the study concludes that in *Khoekhoegowab* there are restrictions as to which vowel can be combined with which. The data further showed that if a vowel combination starts with a

low vowel, that is, /a/, it is likely to be combined with mid /e/ and /o/, and high vowels /i/ and /u/ respectively to form a permissible combination. When it is a mid-vowel for example vowel /o/, it is likely to take a mid-vowel like /e/ or low vowel like /a/ but never a high vowel like /i/ or /u/. The /u/ only takes another high vowel which is /i/. Based on the data one can say that vowel combinations are not permissible from high to low but is permissible from low to high.

4.1.1.3.1 Nasalised Diphthongs

In the preceding section I have identified and discussed the diphthongs found in three dialects under discussion. I have argued that certain combinations are permissible and others are not. In this section I look at the nasalised diphthongs. I begin with nasalised diphthongs starting with vowel combinations beginning with nasalised vowels â, ô, û and î. I will start my discussion with nasalised vowel combinations starting with vowel a.

I found that there are two nasalised diphthongs starting with â. The nasal vowel â can only be combined with high vowels to form a permissible combination. The rule thus would be vowel â only takes high vowels /i/ and /u/. Therefore, any combination like * âo or * âe will not be permissible as nasalised vowels do not take mid vowels. Consider the following examples:

Example	**Dialects**	**vowel combination**	**Phonemic value**
Âi (laugh)	CN, CD, B	âi	[ãĩ]
ǂâi (to think)	CN, CD, B	âi	[ǂãĩ]
!gâi (nice)	CN,CD, B	âi	[!gãĩ]

Dâu (burn or flow)	CN, CD, B	âu	[ãũ]
ǂgâu (bump)	CN, CD, B	âu	[ǂgãũ]
!âu (wait)	CN, CD, B	âu	[!ãũ]

As was observed earlier in *Khoekhoegowab*, the nasalised vowel ô does not exist but in the data we found a combination starting with ô. Thus, even though there is no nasalised vowel ô, I strongly argue that the resulting combination diphthong gains its nasal properties from the other nasalized vowel; in this case vowel /a/ which as we saw can be nasalised. Nasalised vowel /ô/ only takes a low vowel therefore the following combinations will be meaningless and not permissible *ôi, *ôu, *ôe. The other vowel combination is not possible because according to the rule, nasalised vowel /ô/ can only take a low vowel and not mid or high vowels.

Example	**dialects**	**Vowel combination**	**Phonemic value**
Khôa (break)	CN, CD, B	ôa	[kʰõã]
ǁgôa (get down)	CN, B	ôa	[gǁõã]
ǂkhôa (destroy)	CN, CD, B	ôa	[ǂkʰõã]

There was one nasal vowel combination realised as shown in the example below starting with nasalised vowel **û**. The data shows that û which is a high vowel only takes another high vowel which is /i/. Any other vowel combination will result in a non permissible combination e.g. ***ûe** ***ûo *ûa.**

Example	dialects	Vowel combination	Phonemic value
!ûi (look after)	CN, CD, B	ûi	[!ʔũĩ]
Xûib (brandy)	CN, CD, B	ûi	[xũĩb]
|ûib (net)	CN, CD, B	ûi	[|ʔũĩ]

The following finding with nasalised vowel î overruled my assumption surprisingly that high vowels will only take another high vowel to form a permissible combination. However, this could be the reason that there are not so many words in *Khoekhoegowab* which take this particular combination. The following combinations are not permissible in *Khoekhoegowab* ***î**u; ***î**e ***î**o as there were no words identified as having these sounds.

Table 4.3 Nasal diphthongs in the three dialects of Khoekhoegowab

Vowel combination	Phonemic value	Examples
îa	**[ĩã]**	**hîa (while)**

What is observed from the nasalised diphthongs is that even though there were no mid nasalised vowels found which are ô and ê, there was a vowel combination observed starting with ô like ôa. Nasalisation in this case could be coming from the nasalised vowel â. So as this is the generalisation, this combination is the only permissible combination as there cannot be a combination starting with nasalised ô taking *ôi and ôu even though they can be nasalised as they are high vowels.

In the preceding section *Khoekhoegowab* vowel inventory was discussed. Firstly, the plain or oral vowels were discussed followed by the so called 'lengthy vowels', and then the nasal vowels. The study once again reaffirms that there are 5 plain vowels, and 3 nasal vowels. The present researcher concluded that what has been described as long vowels in the literature are in fact short vowels but accompanied by either a high or a low tone. The study concludes that *Khoekhoegowab* has the following vowel combinations: *ae, ai, ao, au, oa, oe, ui, âi, âu, ôa, ûi*, and *îa*. The vowel combination îa is not common and seems only to appear in one word. The data further showed that if a vowel combination starts with a low vowel, that is, /a/, it is likely to be combined with mid /e/ and /o/, and high vowels /i/ and /u/ respectively to form a meaningful combination. When it is a mid vowel such as o/, it is likely to take a mid vowel like /e/ or low vowel like /a/ but never a high vowel like /i/ or /u/. The same can be said about the vowel combination starting with /u/ as it only takes another high vowel which is /i/. The nasalised vowel starting with â only takes high vowels namely /i/ and /u/ but not mid or low vowels. /Ô/ which is a mid vowel only takes one combination which is with the low vowel /a/. Under plain vowel combinations /oa/ and /oe/ were observed as going with vowel /o/. However, this is not the case for the nasalised vowel /ô/. The reason could be because *Khoekhoegowab* does not have nasalised /e/. With regard to vowel combinations starting with nasalised /û/, the same principle of only taking a high vowel (i in this case), was observed. In concluding this section I am giving a monophthong table without the lengthened vowels. Depending on context, a vowel may bear any of the following tones; high tone, low tone, high-high tone and low-low tone.

Table 4.4 Monophthongs found in Khoekhoegowab roots

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

4.2 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter dealt with *Khoekhoegowab* vowel inventory. The study has established that the dialects discussed distinguished between plain and nasalised vowels. Contrary to what other researchers argue that *Khoekhoegowab* has phonemic long vowels, this study disagrees and rather argues that Khoekhoegowab has tonemes which are phonemic. The study also concluded that the dialects discussed distinguish between plain and nasalised diphthongs. It was established that certain combinations are permissible and others not. The chapter ended by giving a monophthong table of *Khoekhoegowab* where tonemes are included and not the so called lengthened vowels as in the other studies like Brugman (2009). In the following chapter the consonant inventory of *Khoekhoegowab* will be discussed.

Chapter 5

Consonant system of the three dialects

5.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine the phonological aspects of Namibian Khoekhoe or *Khoekhoegowab*. In the preceding chapter I discussed the vowel system and importance of tone in the determination of meaning. In this chapter I focus on the phonetic aspects of the consonant system of identified dialects. This will be done by discussing the voicing of some consonants, and finally the chapter will conclude with a discussion on clicks and click consonants. I will argue that the mentioned dialects distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants contrary to what authors like Haacke and Eiseb (2002) state. With regard to the clicks I have argued that Khoekhogowab clicks should be dealt with as two fold, as plain clicks which other researchers like Miller at al (2007) call click types and what I will call the complex clicks. Distinction should be made between what I term the complex clicks and the plain click. I have argued that what I call plain clicks only have one place of articulation, However, complex clicks have at least two places of articulation or co-articualtion as stated in Traill (1956) and the properties of voiced, velarised, aspirated and nasalised clicks come from other consonants. The section starts with a discussion of the consonants starting with non-click consonants. In the next section I give an inventory of consonants found in *Khoekhoegowab*, starting with what I term non-click consonants.

5.1 The Consonant inventory of Khoekhoegowab

The consonant inventory of *Khoekhoegowab* is presented in the following section with 17 pulmanic consonants. The inventory is less than what most Khoesan languages are known to have. N|u has 73 in total and Traill indentified 35 for *Khoekhoegowab* which are phonemic. In this section only non-click consonants will be discussed.

5.1.1 Non-click consonants

In this section contrary to what previous scholars like Haacke and Eiseb (2002) state, I argue that *Khoekhoegowab* does in fact distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants. Firstly, I examine contrasting pairs of consonants starting with bilabial sounds /b/ and /p/ followed by alveolar sounds /d/ and /t/, followed by velar sounds /g/ and /k/, and conclude with alveolar fricative sounds /s/ and /z/. After critically discussing the above mentioned sounds I look at the other consonants identified in the three dialects namely Central Nama (CN), Central Damara (CD) and Bontelswarts (B).

5.1.1.1 Segments in contrast

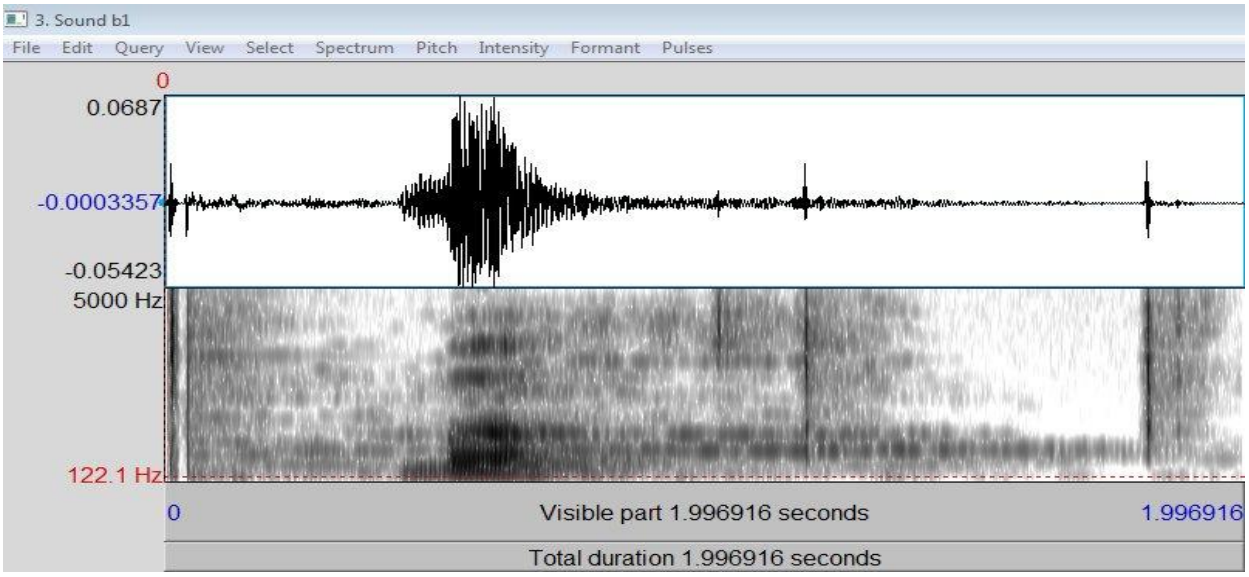
Some scholars such as Haacke and Eiseb (2002) argue that *Khoekhoegowab* does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless plosive consonants. They argue that all plosives are devoiced, but with rather a 'soft plosion' (Haacke and Eiseb 2002: iv). The implication of Haacke and Eiseb's (2002) assertion is that there is no difference in the pronunciation of the letters b and p; nor is there any difference in the pronunciation of the pairs d and t or of g and k. They further argue

that by convention the letters b, d, and g are used for words with one of the lower tone melodies; while p, t, and k are used for words with one of the higher melodies. Thus, the implication is that the resulting sounds from the pairs are the same, but only distinguishable by the melody used. My argument is that the fact that certain consonants are associated with a particular melody does not change the fact that tonal differences lead either to high tone (voiceless) or low tone (voiced) consonants. Thus, I believe that there is a distinction between sounds [b] and [p]. Consider the following minimal pairs:

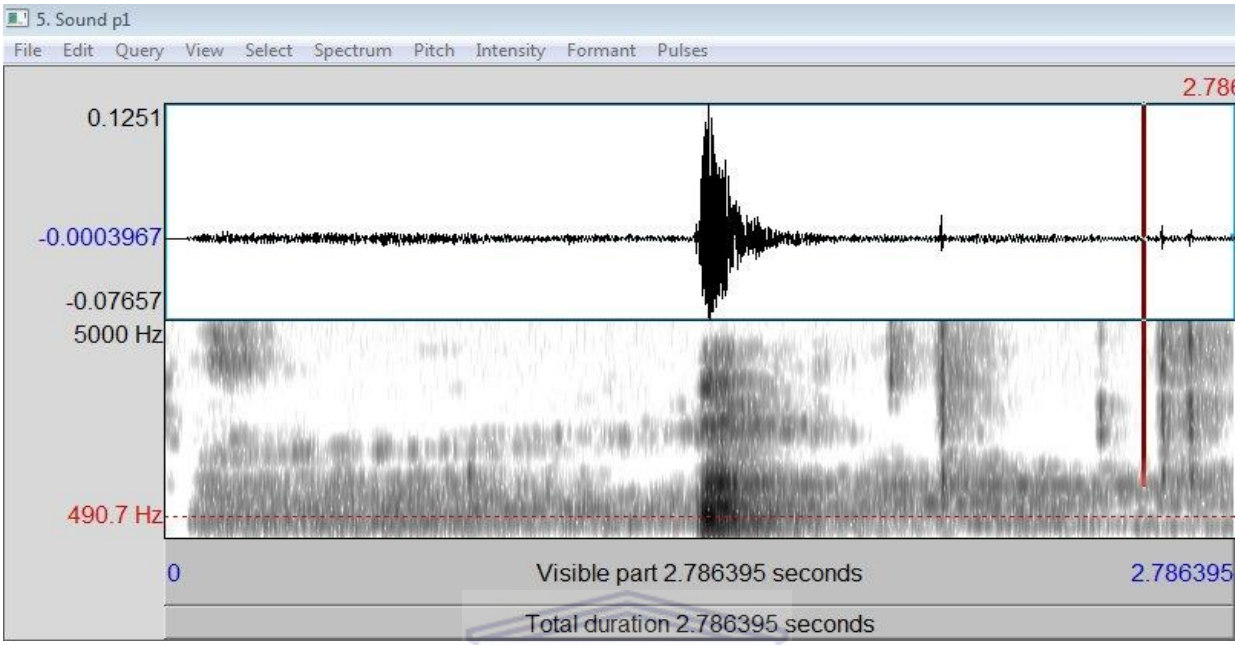
Buruxa [buruxa] (amasing) CN, CD, B	puru [puru] (flip) (CN, CD, B
Bē [be] (gone) CN, CD, B	pē [pe] (sound) CN, CD, B
Ba [ba] (to dye)	pa [pa] (prepare porridge)

Moreover, the Praat images below show that the articulation of b and p is different.

Praat image 5.1 of voiced bilabial stop sound /b/



Praat image 5.2 of voiceless bilabial stop sound /p/



As can be seen in the images, b takes vowels with lower melody than the p. The image of the sound /b/ was measured at 0.087 while the image of p was measured higher at 0.1251. Instead of assuming that both [b] and [p] are voiceless one can instead argue based on the evidence provided by the images shows that the syllable starting in p take a high tone, while that starting with b takes a lower tone.

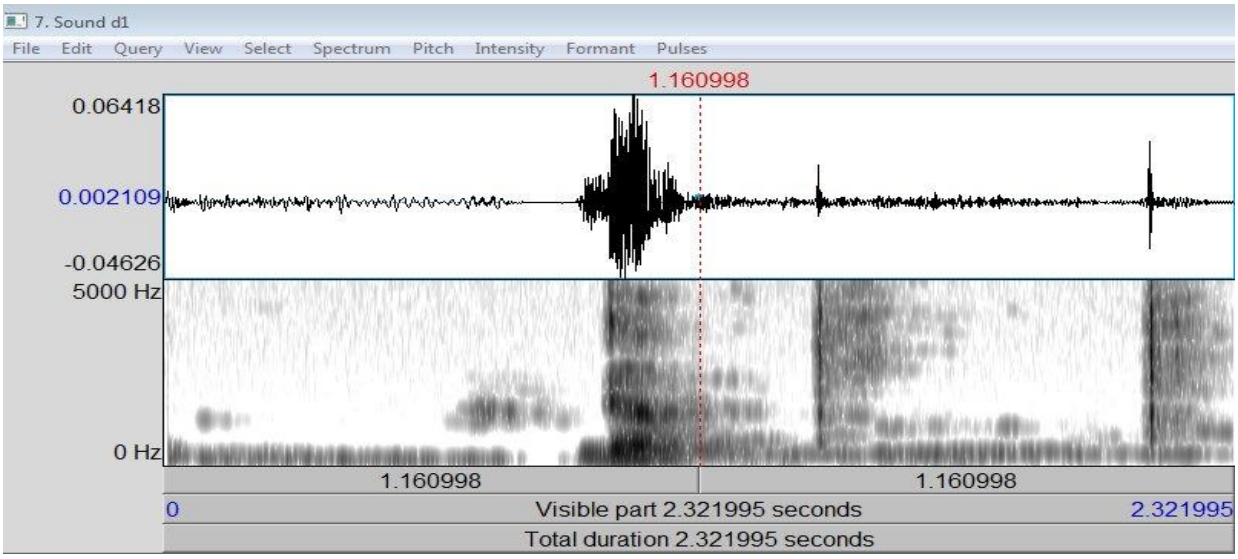
The same can be said regarding the alveolar sounds [t] and [d] which are both labelled as voiceless (*Khoekhoegowab* Orthography 2003; Haacke and Eiseb 2002). From my visits to the various research sites and from my own experience as a mother tongue speaker, the two sounds are pronounced differently by mother tongue speakers of *Khoekhoegowab*. It is therefore not clear why even the *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) depicts the two consonants as voiceless. My research shows that the sound /d/ is voiced and /t/ is voiceless. Consider some of the minimal

pairs below before we discuss the images: Note the minimal pairs mean the same in all three dialects which are Central Nama, Central Damara and Bontelswarts dialects respectively.

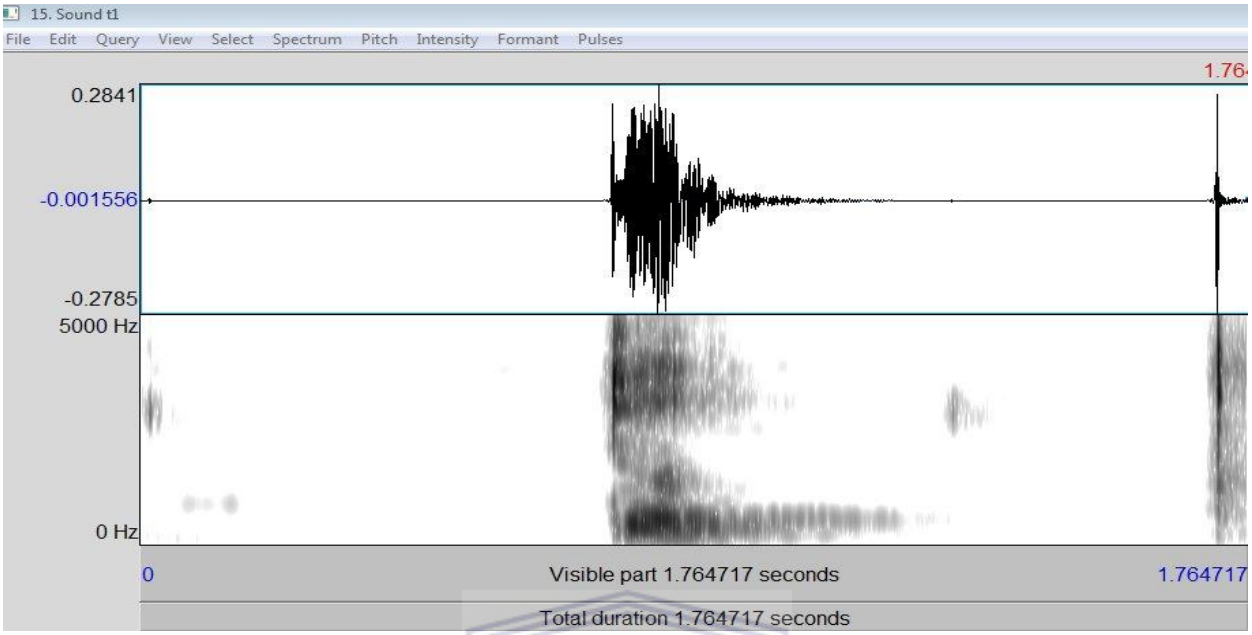
Di [di] (Do)	Ti [ti] (Mine)
Doa [doa] (Tear)	Toa [toa] (Done)
Doro [doro] (To light)	Torob [torob] (War)
Danib [danib] (Honey)	Tanib [tanib] (pregnant)

In addition to the minimal pair test let us consider the images below of articulation for sounds 'd' and 't' by a mother tongue speaker. Informants interviewed in Khorixas, Gibeon, and Grunau insisted that there is a difference between the sounds /d/ and /t/ in *Khoekhoegowab*. To illustrate the difference one informant pronounced the pair as captured in the images below after I tried to convince them otherwise that the sounds were in fact the same.

Praat image 5.3 of voiced alveolar stop sound /d/



Praat image 5.4 of voiceless alveolar stop sound /t/



In addition, the Praat sound spectrum shows that the tone/pitch levels of the two consonants are different as shown in the images above. This can be seen in the pitch level of sound /d/ of 0.06418 compared to that of sound /t/ which is measured at 0.2841. What I term as voiced sounds have a lower tone and voiceless sounds have a higher tonal melody. This clearly supports my argument that these two sounds should be treated differently based on the tonal levels. For verification purposes I showed the four images to someone to see which images look similar between /b/, /p/, and /d/ /t/, where I asked the informant which images look the same and voiced sounds /b/ and /d/ look the same while /p/ and /t/ looked more or less the same.

Sounds /g/ and /k/

Similarly, the voiced and voiceless velar stops /g/ and /k/ are said in the literature to share the same linguistic features. The pair have been characterised as voiceless. It is my considered view that /g/ is voiced and takes a low tone and /k/ is voiceless taking a high tone. This was also shown in Haacke and Eiseb (2002) who gave the following examples.

Low rising: g ǎó (rule)

High rising: k ǎő (be dumbfounded)

The data from the fields also suggested differences. Note examples are from all three dialects.

gara [gara] (attempt)	kara [kara] (cool)
ga [ga] (rob)	ka [ka] (lost)
garo [garo] [bend]	karo [karo] (hardened)

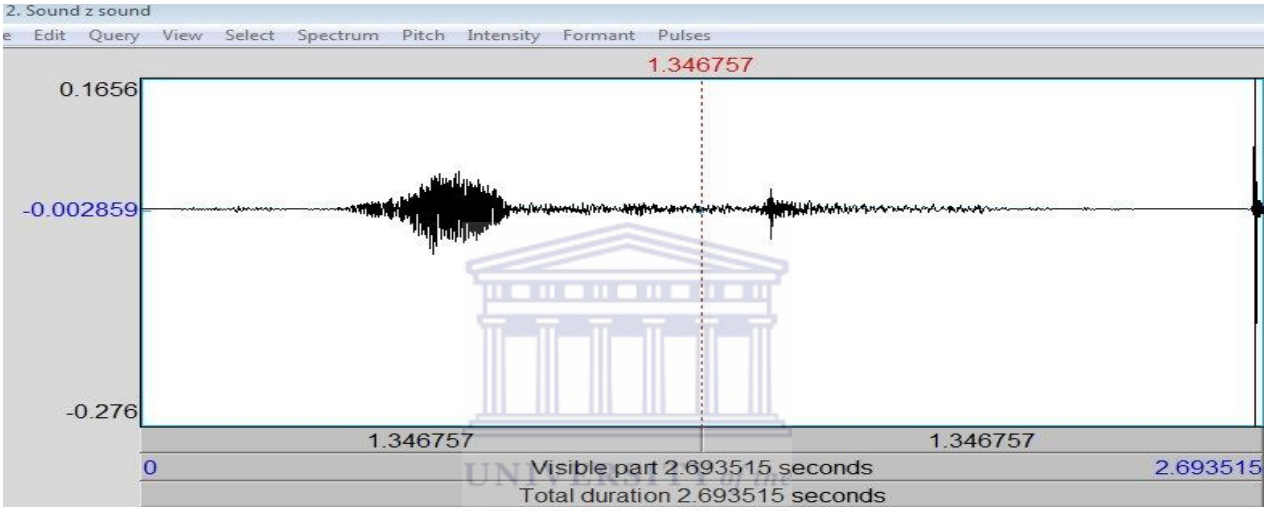
Despite giving examples that show that the two consonants are different, for some reason Haacke and Eiseb (2002) still insist that both are voiceless.

Sounds /s/ and /z/

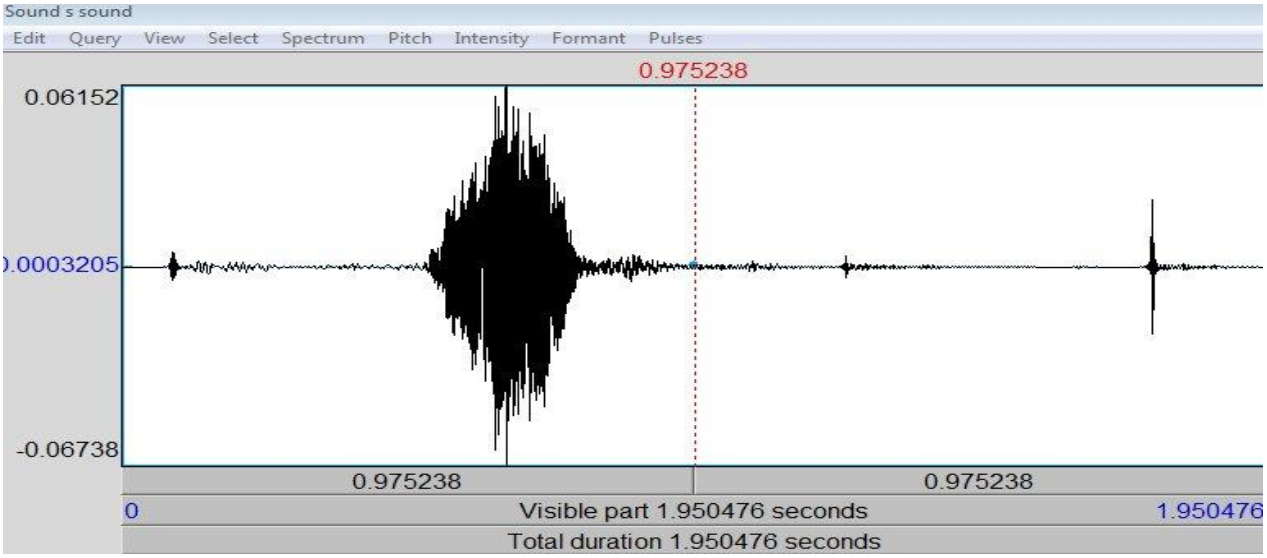
The voiced alveolar fricative sound /z/ which contrasts with the voiceless /s/ has not been discussed in the literature or recent *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003). As shown in my data the sound does exist in words such as zâi (to cook), but which is written sâi. It is worthy to note that the cited literature argues that sounds like /b/ and /p/ are the same but were still included in

the orthography. However, they did not include the sound /z/. As can be seen in the Praat example shown first and minimal pair examples below the three dialects have examples where these sounds are used distinctively. My argument is that even if the sound was not recognised in the past, it is availble and an important component of the future of the language.

Praat image 5.5 of voiced alveolar fricative /z/



Praat image 5.6 of voiceless alveolar fricative /s/



Note examples are from all three dialects.

surib [surib] (jelousy)	zurib [zurib] (gender)
saru [saru](chase)	zaru [zaru] (cigarette)

As in /b/ and /p/, /d/ and /t/, /g/ and /k/ can be dealt with under the same parameter of one taking a low tone and the other taking a high tone. From the images above it was clear that the voiced sounds which are /b/, /d/, and /g/'s images look similar compared to /p/, /t/, and /k/. Therefore, instead of saying *Khoekhoegowab* does not distinguish between /k/ and /g/ it is safe to say *Khoekhoegowab* distinguishes between the two sounds, however, the evidence based on the research tool Praat suggest that one takes a lower tone and the other a higher tone. It is also interesting here that the two make minimal pairs in which one sound cannot replace another without a shift in meaning (Radford et. al 1999). This in turn leads to the same argument like in b and p. The sound g is a voiced velar sound and it carries a low tone, while k on the other hand is voiceless and carries a high tone.

Using relevant tools like PRAAT, I come to the conclusion that *Khoekhoegowab* distinguishes between voiced and voiceless sounds. It comprises two forms or words with distinct meanings that differ by only one sound segment found in the same position in each of the two forms. It became clear that /p/, /t/ and /k/ and /s/ take high a tone while /b/, /d/ and /g/ and /z/ take a low tone which in turn results in them being able to be arranged as minimal pairs. Knowing that *Khoekhoegowab* is a tone language and tones are not marked in writing, it is only fair to treat these sounds as different to avoid confusion. In the preceding section I have discussed those

segments in contrast. In the following section I will discuss other consonants identified in the three dialects.

5.1.1.2 Other non-click consonants

The voiceless glottal fricative sound /h/ is found in the three dialects namely Central Nama (CN), Central Damara (CD) and Bondelswarts (B), Consider the examples below:

CN, CD, and B dialects	**English**
ham [ham]	smell
horen [horen]	friends

The lateral continuant /l/ is very rare and has been predominantly found in borrowed lexical items only. However, it is interesting to note that it is found in the Central Damara dialect as seen in the word 'lammi' meaning tongue. This was verified by other speakers of the Damara dialect who claimed to use the word "lammi" instead of 'nammi', the proposed standard form (*Khoekhoegowab* orthography 2003) and the form used by the Nama dialect in Southern Namibia. It could be that it is a borrowing from one of the Bantu languages, but has no doubt become part of the local dialects.

In terms of nasals, there are two nasal consonants in *Khoekhoegowab* which are the voiced bilabial /m/ and voiced alveolar nasal /n/ found in the following words.

CN, CD and B dialects		English
Mâ	[mâ]	stand
ǂgama	[ǂgama]	brown
Nâ	[nâ]	bite
ǂnani	[ᵑǂani]	whistle
ǂgan	[ǂgan]	to ask

As shown above, these two sounds occur in any position of the word: syllable initial position, middle syllable and final syllable.

The voiced alveolar rolled consonant /r/ is more common than the lateral continuant discussed above. It appears in the following examples.

CN, CD and B dialects		English
ǂkhari	[ǂkʰari]	small
Xo**r**o	[xoro]	Give birth
ǂhara	[ǂara]	dis-own
!khari	[!kʰari]	trace

5.1.1.3 Aspirated sounds found in the three dialects investigated

I will start my discussion with sound [kh] (aspirated velar stop) which has been described in some literature such as Brugman (2009) as problematic. Researchers like Beach (1938)

suggested that this sound should be dealt with as either [kh] or [khxh] with the former apparently rarely observed. My data has revealed that the so called rarely observed pronunciation which is [kh] is in actual fact the only pronunciation used by all *Khoekhoegowab* speakers in this case represented by the Central Nama (CN), Central Damara (CD), and Bondelswarts (B) Nama dialects as can be seen in the following words.

CN, CD and B dialects		**English**
Khakhoeb	[kʰakʰoeb]	-enemy
Khau	[kʰau]	-kindle fire
Khâi	[kʰâi]	get up

Beach's (1938) research could well be pointing to the Korana language which uses the sound [kx]. When I did an unrelated research on the Korana language I found out that the sound [kx] was used in words like kx'âib (liver) or kx'ob (meat) by someone I observed who could be one of the last speakers of the Korana language in Bloemhof, South Africa. The sounds [kh] and [kx] are distinct and should be treated as such. Although Korana is a Khoekhoe language, it is clear that it does not share all the phonetic features with the dialects under study.

The other aspirated sound found in these three dialects is the aspirated voiceless denti-alveolar affricative ts [tsh] shown in the examples below.

CN, CD and B		**English**
Tsau	[tsʰau]	tired

Tsarab [tsarab] dust

In the dialects under study, one also finds the voiceless velar fricative sound x [x] as in the following words:

CN, CD and B	**English**
Axas [axas]	girl
Xuri [xuri]	scoop (water)

In the table below I have summarised the sounds found in the three dialects organised in line with the general principles of the International Phonetic Association (1999). Note that I have included the sounds /l/ and /z/ in my inventory as sounds of *Khoekhoegowab*. Segments are arranged into columns by place of articulation and into rows by manner of articulation. Below is a chart of the non-click consonant sounds found in all three dialects based on the examples provided in the preceding sections.

Table 5.1 Charting the three dialects' consonant sounds

	Bilabial		**Alveolar**		**Velar**		**Glottal**	
	-v	**+v**	**-v**	**+v**	**-v**	**+v**	**-v**	**+v**
Stops	**p**	**b**	**t**	**d**	**k**	**g**		
			ts		**kh**			
Fricatives		**v**	**s**	**z**	**X**		**h**	
Nasals		**m**		**n**				
Liquids			**l**	**r**				

5.1.2 Consonants: the click type

In the preceding section I have discussed the non-click consonants where my main argument was about voiced and voiceless consonants. I have concluded that the three dialects discussed indeed distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants. In the following section I will discuss the click type consonants in more detail and this will be done under what I call plain clicks and complex clicks.

5.1.2.1 Plain clicks versus complex clicks

5.1.2.1.1 Plain clicks

The distinction between 'plain clicks' called 'click types' in Miller et al (2007) and complex clicks is that plain clicks only have one place of articulation and complex clicks are co-articulated. It should be noted at this point that it seems plain clicks and co-articulated clicks are treated in the same way. My view is that plain clicks are describable by place of articulation only and become complex clicks by acquiring other properties from other consonants that they combine with. I will elaborate on this under complex clicks. Thus, whereas I agree with the arguments about the description of complex clicks by Miller et al (2007), as being unitary rather than a sequence, I also differ from them in that I argue that what they call 'click types,' that is, what I call 'plain clicks', can be described by place of articulation only. I have given few examples below to demonstrate that all four clicks are still found in all three dialects.

CN, CD and B	**English**
!am [!ˀam]	Green

ǁa	[ǁʔa]	Wash
ǂab	[ǂʔab]	reed
ǀa	[ǀʔa]	sharp

Thus, plain clicks can only be described as either a dental click [ǀ], alveolar or central alveolar click [!], the lateral click [ǁ], and the palatal click [ǂ]. They take on various consonants to become voiced, velarised, nasalised and aspirated. The analysis in this section is motivated by Miller et al (2007) who argue that clicks can and should be described with the same basic parameters that are used for pulmonic consonants, place of articulation, manner of articulation and phonation. Whereas I agree that click sounds can be described by place of articulation, I do not agree that the (plain) click sound itself has a manner of articulation and phonation. A click on its own in each case is just a 'click' sound. It becomes a click consonant by drawing on and infusing voicing, velarity, aspiration, and nasality properties from respective co-articulated consonants. The question is how do we treat the infused click consonants? Should we treat them as combinations or as a single consonant? My argument is that instead of talking about click + voice, or click + velar aspirated we need to treat it as one segment. Clicks are different from each other as they are fused with co-articulates and thus become dental, palatal, lateral or alveolar or whatever the case.

Kula (2002: 63) gives the following reasons why nasal consonant clusters are often described as unit segments rather than as sequences.

- the nasal and the following stop are always homorganic,

- they have the surface duration of simple segments,
- they are widely attested in languages that have a strictly CV syllable pattern and
- they are psychologically real to native speakers whose syllabification patterns regard them to be unitary.

She further cites Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1994), Clements (1985) and Sagey (1986) whose geometric models provide evidence that the nasal and consonant share a single place node, resulting in a singly articulated single segment with an initial nasal burst. However, it needs to be noted that in *Khoekhoegowab*, nasalization does not take place with ordinary consonants, but with clicks.

In terms of manner of articulation, Miller et al. (2007) describe all clicks as stops. My argument is that this is not always the case in some complex clicks – this is to be discussed in the next section. I have since established that plain clicks do not need to follow the general three point description of place of articulation, manner of articulation and voice (phonation) as they get properties from co-articulated consonants and vowels. Miller et al. (2007) appear determined to describe the click sounds according to the IPA. Although this is desirable, I want to maintain that that the language should determine the kinds of descriptions possible and that rules should not be imposed to fit the International Phonetic Association dictations. The IPA does not always seem to adequately account for certain click sounds. In fact, Miller at al (2007) are aware of this as seen from their argument below:

"We will show below that the posterior constriction is more similar to [q] than [k], and that it is different for the different click types. It is not, however, clear how best to symbolically represent these differences, so the pulmonic portion of all five linguo-pulmonic stops are represented with [q] for the time being"

In the preceding section I have discussed the plain clicks where I argued that they only have one place of articulation. In the following section I will discuss the complex clicks which I argue can be described in terms of place of articulation, manner of articulation and in terms of phonation. In this section I agree with Miller et al (2007) that clicks and their accompaniments should be treated as a unit and not as segments.

5.1.2.1.2 Complex click consonants

The general argument to be made here is that complex clicks are clicks with an accompanying consonant and should not be read as a sequence but as a unit even when there is co-articulation, as mother tongue speakers perceive them as one unit. Thus, the issue of plain versus voiced, velarised, aspirated and nasalised clicks will be discussed with the present researcher's position that clicks and accompaniments should be dealt with as one segment instead of click + accompaniments, that is, as a sequence. Unlike the plain clicks, complex clicks can be described like ordinary non-click consonants by phonation, place and manner of articulation.

Complex clicks can be described in terms of the three descriptions just like the other ordinary consonants found in the IPA charts. I will start with the voiced click, followed by the velar aspirated and aspirated click, and conclude with the nasalised click.

*5.1.2.1.2.1 Voiced click g*ǀ **gǁ** **g!** **gǂ**

According to Haacke and Eiseb (2002) both [ǀʔ] and [ǀg] are voiceless. The *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003), clearly influenced by Haacke and Eiseb (2002), also refers to the click [ǀg] as voiceless. However, most Khoesan languages researchers (Miller et al. 2007; Brugman, 2009) treat a plain click such as [ǀ] as voiceless and the complex click such as [ǀg] as voiced. I tend to agree with the latter and treat the two click sounds as minimal pairs determined by voicing.

CN, CD and B

ǀom	[ǀʔom]	breath	ǀgom	[gǀom]	disjointed
ǁam	[ǁʔam]	strike	ǁgam	[gǁam]	discuss

The addition of the voiced velar phoneme [g] after the click is designed to depict that the resulting complex click is voiced. The voiced velar stop found in words like ǀ**g**om [gǀom], ǀ**g**orasa [gǀom], ǀ**g**ui [gui]ǀ, is equivalent to the English [g] found in **g**oal and **g**ame. Thus, phonetically the plain (voiceless) clicks, that is the [ǀ] dental click, [ǁ] lateral click, [!] alveolar click, and [ǂ] palatal click become voiced complex consonants when combined with the [g] sound. My observation is that the velar voiced sound represented as [g] remains unchanged in terms of phonation and hence facilitates voicing. Thus, the voicing of a click in *Khoekhoegowab* is indicated by means of adding a voicing element to the click, in this instance a [g] which is co-articulated with the click as in the word ǁgam [gǁam] meaning 'to discuss something'.

5.1.2.1.2.2 Velar aspirated and aspirated click **ǀkʱ ǁkʱ !kʱ ǂkʱ**

The velar aspirated complex click consonants are co-articulated, which is the fusion of the click | and velar aspirated sound kh to form a velar aspirated click.

I observed that in the Central Damara dialect the aspirated velar and the aspirated clicks are used interchangeably. Some speakers, especially from the data collected in Khorixas among the Damara dialect said '!ho' (to catch) instead of '!kho' with the aspirated velar release. Even with the word 'ǀkho' (to play music) there was evidence of people saying 'ǀho' instead.

The velar aspirated click sound was observed among all three dialectal groups, which are the Central Damara, Central Nama and the Bondelswarts Nama dialect groups respectively. Literature in chapter two cited this sound ǀkh [ǀx^{h}~ǀ^{x}h] as one of the problematic sounds. There are some questions as to whether the segment transcribed [kx] should be analysed as an affricate, an aspirated stop or even an aspirated affricate. At least Meinhof (1930) used two versions of phonetic transcription for these sounds [ǀxha or ǀkxa]. The data showed that *Khoekhoegowab* takes the strongly aspirated affricate transcript as ǀkh [ǀk^{h}].

5.1.2.1.2.3 Nasalised click **ŋǀ ŋǁ ŋ! ŋǂ**

Finally, the three dialects also have what is called the nasalised click denoted as [ŋǀ] demonstrated with the dental click co-articulated with a nasal element. Assuming that this is co-articulation, the issue of the click being before or after a nasal does not arise.

This section on complex clicks has demonstrated that complex clicks can be described in terms of its place of articulation, manner of articulation, and phonation differences which are (1) a voiced click, that is when a click is co-articulated with a voiced element such as a /g/ as shown in words like [|gam] meaning two; (2) a velar aspirated click, that is a click co-articulated along with a velar aspirated sound to form [!kham] 'to fight', (3) an aspirated click, that is a click co-articulated with an aspirated sound to form aspirated click sounds found in words like !haras (kraal), and (4) a nasalized click, that is a click co-articulated with a nasal sound to form words like [ŋ!as] 'tortoise'. When this particular co-articulation takes place, this qualifies the clicks to be described in terms of the three point description as they behave like other non-click consonants. Below I have charted the plain and complex clicks found in the three dialects.

Chart showing the plain clicks and complex clicks in the three dialects

Plain clicks:	**ǀ**	**ǁ**	**ǃ**	**ǂ**
Voicing of clicks:	**gǀ**	**gǁ**	**gǃ**	**gǂ**
Aspiration of clicks:	**ǀʱ**	**ǁʱ**	**ǃʱ**	**ǂʱ**
Click with aspirated velar release				
	ǀkʱ	**ǁkʱ**	**ǃkʱ**	**ǂkʱ**
Nasalised click	**ŋǀ**	**ŋǁ**	**ŋǃ**	**ŋǂ**

5.2 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the consonant inventory of the three dialects. Consonants were discussed under non-click and click consonants. The main argument for non-click consonants was the voicing of certain sounds which previously were believed to be voiceless. It was proved that there is in fact a difference in voicing. Regarding the click consonants, the conclusion is that clicks only have one place of articulation whereas complex clicks have at least two places of articulation which are co-articulated. It also became evident that often as researchers we rely too much on tools like the IPA which often cannot account for certain sounds as in the case of plain clicks and complex clicks. Therefore, as this chapter dealt with consonants which were discussed after the vowel inventory in chapter 4, the following chapter will look at the morphosyntactics of the three dialects.

Chapter 6

Khoekhoegowab Morphosyntax

6.0 Introduction

In chapters four and five I discussed the phonology of the three dialects which represent *Khoekhoegowab*. The vowel and consonant inventories were discussed in detail. In this chapter, the internal structure of *Khoekhoegowab* will be discussed in terms of morphology and syntax. This will be done by discussing the nouns phrase and verb phrase in *Khoekhoegowab* as the main phrases to see the trend and in order to successfully guide the theses at the end on the conjunctive vs disjunctive writing matter. I am going to demonstrate that *Khoekhoegowab* is suited to use both conjunctive and disjunctive writing.

6.1 Noun Plurals and gender

Gender 6.1.1

Most nouns change their form to indicate number by adding "-b, -s, -ra etc", as illustrated below.

CN	CD	B	English
|nerab [ŋ|erab]	|norab [ŋ|orab]	|nerab [ŋ|erab]	Baboon (male)
|neras [ŋ|eras]	|noras [ŋ|oras]	|neras [ŋ|eras]	Baboon (female)

|nerara [ŋ|erara]	|norara [ŋ|orara]	|nerara [ŋ|erara]	two Baboons (male and female)
sim [sim]	same	same	Me and her
sikhom [sikʰom] Us	same	same	(me and him)
|nerakha [ŋ|erakʰa]	|norakha [ŋ|orakʰa]	|nerakha [ŋ|erakʰa]	two male Baboons
|neran [ŋ|eran]	|noran [ŋ|oran]	|neran [ŋ|eran]	many Baboons (male/female)

Evidently, the three dialects distinguish between masculine, feminine and neutral gender.

Masculine nouns	**feminine nouns**	**Neutral**
Aob (Man)	Tara.s (Woman)	ao-I or tara-I (man or woman gender unspecified)
Axab (Boy)	Axas (Girl)	axa-I (Child gender unspecified)
Khoeb (Human Male)	Khoes (Human female)	khoe-I (Human gender unspecified)

What is clear from the table is that masculine nouns end with suffix –b, feminine with suffix –s and neutral gender is indicated with –i.

This was also observed in non-human nouns where masculine is reflected through suffix –b, feminine with suffix –s and neutral with suffix –i.

Gender assignment to non-human animate nouns is unpredictable. Several generic terms for animals have either masculine or feminine gender, regardless of the sex of the animal.

Goat (ewe) piris goat (ram) ǂKharapirib or ǁGob

What also needs to be clarified is the fact that some non-human nouns are arranged in terms of masculine, and feminine depending on their size and shape. If something is tall, thin, big it is highly likely to be associated with masculine. When something is short, small, round etc it is associated with feminine. One interesting feature of *Khoekhoegowab* is that nouns are marked for gender based on the shapes of the referents. To illustrate this point consider the following examples.

|uib (big/large stone) |uis (small stone)

Tab (long/big desk) Tas (round desk)

Audob (big vehicle) Audos (small vehicle)

6.1.2 Number

In *Khoekhoegowab,* nouns can be singular and plural forms respectively.

Singular		*plural*	
Khoes	Woman	Khoedi	Women
|Gôas/ Axas	Child	|Gôan/ Axan	Children

Khoeb One male human Khoekha (two male human men) Khoegu (More than two male humans)

The third group of human nouns with a number marking contains nouns that describe members of a group or category of humans. See the examples below for illustration. The noun root can also be used as the basis for further number and gender marking.

English	***Khoekhoegowab***
I am (a) Nama	Tita ge a Nama
You are (a) Nama	Sats ge a Nama (referring to a male)
You are (a) Nama	Sas ge a Nama (referring to female)
He is (a) Nama	ǁîb ge a Nama
She is (a) Nama	ǁîs ge a Nama
We are Nama	Sida ge a Nama
We are Nama	Sikhom ge a Nama (Me and him are Nama)
We are Nama	Sim ge a Nama (Me and her)
They are Nama	ǁîra ge a Nama (Him and her)

You (PL) are Nama	sadu ge a Nama
They are Nama	ǁîn ge Nama

6.2 Derivation

A noun can function in a sentence as a subject, a direct object, indirect object, a subject compliment, an object compliment etc. *Khoekhoegowab* nouns can also be compounded to form adjectives. Compounding is the process of putting words together to build a new one that "does not denote two things, but one" and that is pronounced as one unit" (Wisnicwski 2007). According to Tindall (1856) compound nouns may be formed by the combination of two or more simple nouns, an adjective and a noun, a verb and a noun, or a participle and a noun as qhu-khaus (an excavation) from qhup (ground), khaus (digging) qgaru-qhup (a wilderness), from qgaru (waste) and qhup; xkhaxkha-aup (a teacher) from xkhaxkha (to teach) and aup (a man); cumi-aup (an heir); from cumi (to inherit), and aup (a man); hara-xaip (the future); from hara (coming), and xaip (time).

6.3 Collective nouns

Collective human nouns denote groups of people. The meaning of collective nouns focuses on the group of humans and their common features, rather than on the individual members of the group. The examples below (Mean the same in all three dialects) show that the collective marker can be suffixed to noun roots with or without a gender marker, or a plural suffix.

group of teachers ǁGau!nâ-aon

group of young males ǂKham axagu

group of young females ǂKham |Gôadi

group of children |gôan

6.4 Nouns denoting a place and place names

Some nouns denote place names and consist of the root and a suffix as shown in the examples below. Each noun ends with a suffix generally known as a feminist suffix –s. It is clear from the examples that place names do not come in masculine form in all three dialects.

|Aeǁgams

Khorixas

!Namiǂnûs

6.5 Verbs

In order to give a general overview of the verb, verbal tense marking, verb root and extended verb stems are discussed.

6.5.1 Negation

Negation in *Khoekhoegowab* takes two forms which are ‘tama’ and ‘tide’ as shown in the examples below.

He kicked the ball	You will not go	!gûts/s tide
ǁîb ge balsa go ǂna		
He did not kick the ball		
ǁîb ge balsa ǂna tama		

6.5.2 Verbal tense marking

In the three dialects I observed that verbs can be in the present, past, remote past and future tense. There were some variations observed in the three dialects. I will start with the presentation of the present tense using the verb meaning ‘ǁama’ buy in all three dialects.

Table 6.1 Showing tense aspects of the three dialects

Verb	Present	Past	Remote past	Future
Buy 'ǁama'	Buy a ball please Toxopa balsa ǁama **re**.	I bought a ball yesterday. ǁari ta ge balsa **go** ǁama	I bought a ball in May. !Khaitsâb !nâ ta ge balsa **ge** ǁama	I will buy a ball in April 2014. !Hoaǂkhaib 2014ǁî kurib !nâ ta ge balsa **nî** ǁama.
Kick 'ǂna'	Kick the ball to me Balsa tita ǁga ǂna **re**	He kicked the ball to me yesterday. ǁîb ge balsa tita ǁga ǁari **go** ǂna.	He kicked the ball to me last week Friday. ǁîb ge balsa ǂoa go wekheb Frytaxtse tita ǁga **ge** ǂna.	I know he will kick the ball to me. Tit age ǂan, ǁîb ge balsa tita ǁga **nî** ǂna.

With the table above I used two verbs to observe the behavior of certain elements in the sentence when it is present, past, or future tense. What is evident is that the present tense in *Khoekhoegowab* ends with 're', recent past is indicated with 'go' meaning something happened as in yesterday. If it is the distant past it will be indicated with 'ge' just before the verb. The future tense is indicated by 'nî' in front of the verb.

6.5.3 Verb root

According to Haacke (2003) the typical Khoesan stem appears to have an underlying pattern of the basic form CVCV. Thus, in Khoekhoe all roots are based on the canonical disyllabic structure CVCV, both syllables being short. Haacke (2002) states that in the past a word like '|khan' used to be pronounced as '|khana'. This explanation is not good enough because words like '‖gare' imitate and '‖gae' are both used in the Central Nama and Damara dialects. The latter '‖gae' is prominent in the southern dialect whereas the former '‖gare' is used in the Central Damara. What this shows is that *Khoekhoegowab* has retained both forms in some instances.

6.5.4 Extended verb stems

Affixes can be classified into two different ways according to their position in the word and according to their function in a phrase or sentence. According to their position in the word (or the side of the word they are attached to), affixes are classified into prefixes, infixes and suffixes.

In *Khoekhoegowab*, derivational morphemes can be found as suffixes as seen in the example below. |nam which means 'love' in *Khoekhoegowab* is ended with a reciprocal verbal extension -gu to create |namgu meaning love each other.

|nam + gu = |namgu

Inflectional affixes, for their part, are morphemes which serve a purely grammatical function, such as referring to and giving extra linguistic information about the already existing meaning of a word. (E.g. gender shown with b, and s in the following example)

Khoe (Human) + b (masculine) =	Khoeb	man
Khoe (human) + s (feminine) =	Khoes	female

Below I am going to demonstrate that *Khoekhoegowab* is suited to what? Agglutinating from the fact that verbal extensions' applicative, causative and reflexivity are achieved through suffixation as shown below.

6.5.4.1Causatives

A causative extension suffix indicates that someone or something made something happen or caused someone to do something. In *Khoekhoegowab*, causatives are achieved through suffixation. The suffix –kai is attached to the verb as in the following examples:

- Mikai (mikai) 'make tell'
- ǂauǂaukai (ǂauǂaukai) 'make stop for'
- ǂnakai (ǂnakai) 'make kick for'

6.5.4.2 Applicatives

The applicative denotes that an action is being done or applied on behalf of someone or towards some object. It is achieved through the suffix –ba as shown below:

- Miba (mi-ba) 'to tell'
- ǂauǂauba (ǂauǂau-ba) "to stop for'
- ǂnaba (ǂna-ba) 'to kick for'

6.5.4.3 Reciprocal

In English the reciprocal is often denoted by the phrase 'each other.' In *Khoekhoegowab* reciprocals are achieved through the verbal suffix –gu. Consider the following examples:

- Mîbagu (mîbagu) 'tell each other'
- ǂnabagu (ǂnabagu) 'to kick to each other'
- !khâibagu (!khâibagu) 'stop for each other oneself'

Below is a table summarizing the verbal extensions in *Khoekhoegowab*

Table 6.2 *Khoekhoegowab* Verbal Extensions

	Basic verb	**Causative (Make someone do)**	**Applicative (Do for someone)**	**Reciprocal (Do for each other)**
To tell	Mî [mî]	Mîkai [mîkai]	Mîba [mîba]	Mîbagu [mîbagu]
To write	Xoa [xoa]	Xoakai [xoakai]	Xoaba [xoaba]	Xoabagu [xoabagu]
To enter	ǂgâxa [gǂâxa]	ǂgâxakai [gǂâxakai]	ǂgâxaba [gǂâxaba]	ǂgâxabagu [gǂâbagu]
To see	Mû [mû]	Mûkai [mûkai]	Mûba [mûba]	Mûbagu [mûbagu]
To buy	ǁama [ǁʔama]	ǁamakai [ǁʔamkai]	ǁamaba [ǁʔamaba]	ǁamabagu [ǁʔamabagu]

From the table, we see that the causative forms have –kai- in *Khoekhoegowab*. We further see that kai is replaced with –ba in the next column to form the applicative. In the next column to the right we observed that the reciprocal takes the applicative –ba followed by the reciprocal –gu. However, these are not the only affixes found in *Khoekhoegowab*. Below I have developed a table for *Khoekhoegowab* showing a number of suffixes found in *Khoekhoegowab* based on the *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003).

Table 6.3: Extended List of Suffixes in the three dialects

Suffix	**Meaning**	**Example**
-ba	Applicative verbal extension	Mîba (to tell)
-sen	Reflexive verbal extension	!khâisen (stop oneself)
-he	Passive verbal extension	ǂgâuhe (Being bumped)
-gu	Reciprocal verbal extension	ǂnaugu (Beat each other)
-/î	Directive	Mâ/î (where to?)
-se	Adverbial suffix	Raseb
-!â	Adverbial suffix	
-ga	The purposive clause suffix	ǂûga (so that he eats)
-pa	locative	ǂûpa
-ro	Dimmutive participle	ǁîron (They, the small ones)
-sa	Adjectival	ǁîsa? (Is it her?)
-o	Negative adjectival	ǀgôa o (childless)
-b, s, n	Masculine, feminine, and neutral	ǁîb, ǁîs, ǁîn (him, her, them)
-xa	Ventive verbal extension	ǂgâxa (come in)

Evidence from the table above shows that in *Khoekhoegowab* there are some suffixes that cannot function as standalone units and are therefore suited for conjunctive writing.

Conjunctive writing

Form written conjunctively	**Example**
Compound verbs	!gôa|aro (to add)
Dimutive particle ro	ǁîron, suguriron (The small ones) (little sugar)
Adjectival suffix –xa	ǁnaexa (fond of signing)
The adjectival suffix –sa	mûsa (visible)
The passive verbal extension –he	ǂnauhe (being beaten)
The reflexive verbal extension –sen	ǁasen (to wash yourself)

As can be seen in the table above, if you take the reflexive verbal extension –sen and remove it from the verb ǁa (wash) it does not mean anything. Therefore it cannot function in isolation. The same cannot be said about the forms below which can be written disjunctively as they still keep their meaning even without the verb.

However, there are affixes that appear suitable for disjunctive writing as shown below:

Form written disjunctively	**Example**
Nominal designants –i, -e	//i-i, //i-e (That one)
Complementary particle re	Mû re! (See)
postposition xu	Khoeba xu ta ge go //nâu (I heard from the man)

6.5.5 Verb stems resulting from compounding, reduplication and borrowing

6.5.5.1 Compounding

Compounding is the process of putting words together to build a new one that "does not denote two things, but one and that is pronounced as one unit" (Wisnicwski 2007). There are four kinds of compound words that have been identified. Compounding is a very common process in most languages around the world. In *Khoekhoegowab*, words like,

Mu + ǂan = Muǂan

See + to know = recognise

ǁnâu + ǀnam = ǁnâuǀnam

Hear + love = obey

It is important to differentiate between compound verbs and verbs which merely stand next to each other. e.g.

Ha-u	Bring
Si-u	take thither

6.5.5.2 Reduplication

We can count reduplication as a special kind of compounding, and this works through repeating a syllable or the word as a whole (sometimes a vowel is changed) and then putting it together as

in !khoe!khoe (exact reduplication) of the word run, and it means ‘make run’ or tsautsau meaning making soft and the original thereof is tsau meaning ‘soft’.

6.5.5.3 Borrowing

Borrowing is the process of actually borrowing words from foreign languages. Mostly, the borrowed nouns are later changed or made to conform (Finegan 2007:52) to fit the linguistic forms of the language, in speech and in writing. For example the noun ‘audos’ meaning car derived from the word auto. However, it is changed to conform to the linguistic structure of *Khoekhoegowab*. Consider the following extract from the data collected in Khorixas. Tita ge tûiba ra ǂga, ǀhûb tûib ge tsita ge soan !nâ plus ǀkhas tsina ra hui. (I am doing gardening, it is the white mans garden) The word ‘tûib’ in the sentence is a noun meaning garden and is borrowed from Afrikaans where it is ‘tuin’. In Afrikaans the first vowel is not nasalised and it ends with the sound ‘n’, however, in *Khoekhoegowab* the first vowel is nasalised and it ends with a sound ‘b’ conforming to the structure of *Khoekhoegowab*. There was also a verb spotted as a loan word in the sentence ‘plu’ meaning plough in English and ‘ploeg’ in Afrikaans. Lastly, I want to introduce the Khokhoegowab numbering system and how it should be written.

6.6 Numerals

The remainder of this section is devoted to the form and position of numerals in the noun phrase that should be written conjunctively unless it precedes a noun.

One	|Gui
Two	|Gam
Three	!Nona
Four	Haka
Five	Koro
Six	!Nani
Seven	Hû
Eight	ǁKhaisa
Nine	Khoesa
Ten	Disi
Eleven	Disi|gui|a (ten plus one)
Twelve	Disi|gam|a (ten plus two)
nineteen	disikhoesa|a (ten plus nine)
Twenty	|Gamdisi (double ten)
Twenty one	|Gamdisi|gui|a (two ten one)
Thirty	!Nonadisi (three ten)
Fourty	Hakadisi (four ten)

In noun phrases, numerals precede the noun. The numeral receives a gender marker at the end of the noun: for masculine -b, and for feminine –s and neutral – i.

One man	|gui aob
One woman	|gui taras

One bird |gui ani-i

6.7 The sentence structure of the three dialects

In this section I argue contrary to the conclusion made by Haacke (2008) who pointed out that Khoekhoe is underlyingly SVO language and not SOV. To counter argue the conclusion I will use a transitive verb in the three dialects. Using a transitive verb is ideal in the sense that transitive verbs require a subject and an object.

Next consider examples containing a proper noun, a pronoun and a common noun all in the present tense respectively that will explain what the subject is.

Next, the same verb which is '‡na' meaning 'kick' was used to demonstrate the sentence structure of *Khoekhoegowab*. To demonstrate whether *Khoekhoegowab* is SVO or SOV I used the same verb in English to see the position of the verb, subject and object respectively.

Example (constitute all three dialects)

ǁib(Subject) ge ǁisa (Object) ra ‡na (Verb)

Subject Object Verb

English example

He (Subject) is kicking (Verb) her (Object)

The example above shows that both are grammatical sentences in the two languages meaning each word is in the right place in terms of the structure of the language. *Khoekhoegowab* however begins the sentence with the Subject (ǁib) followed by the **O**bject(ǁisa) then by the **V**erb(ǂna) which results in an SOV structure, whereas English starts off with the **S**ubject(he) followed by the **V**erb(kicking) and ends with the **O**bject(her) yielding an SVO structure. This finding suggests that *Khoekhoegowab* maintains **SOV.** Arthur Schwartz cited by Kimball (1972) states that "any element which is to be emphasised may be placed immediately before the verb. This view works positively with Khoekhogowab whereby the object is placed before the verb. He discovered that when he studied Turkish which is also a **SOV** language like *Khoekhoegowab*. In brief, I found out two things about *Khoekhoegowab* in my research:

- That *Khoekhoegowab* is a SOV language

- Transitive verbs take a form different from English which is:

  NP +NP +V

6.8 Conclusion

Morphology of *Khoekhoegowab* was also discussed in terms of the different morphemes found in *Khoekhoegowab*. Nouns and their derivations were discussed in the beginning of the chapter followed by the verbs and their derivations. This was done in order to see if *Khoekhoegowab* is suited for disjunctive writing or conjucntive writing and it was argued that both forms can be used. The chapter ended with the discussion on SVO and SOV where the study concluded that

Khoekhoegowab is SOV language, at least according to the evidence provided. The following chapter looks at the current practices based on documents that were assembled during the data collection.

Chapter 7

Current writing practices in *Khoekhoegowab*

7.0 Introduction

Having outlined the phonetic and morphosyntactic inventory of *Khoekhoegowab* in the previous chapter, it is imperative to look at the current writing practices in different domains and material resources. The purpose is to find out how the phonetic inventory is represented in the different sources such as the Bible, the Social Security booklet, the grade 9 school textbook, facebook social media page, Google maps, *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003), and the Ministry of Health booklet. Omissions and contradictions in the writing practices including the German influences, which could negatively impact learner literacy practices, are highlighted. Furthermore, I also discuss the influence of modern technology (especially the electronic keyboard) on the writing practices of *Khoekhoegowab* speakers. The aim of this chapter is thus to account for writing practices in place as a way towards an inclusive, people driven orthography design. I will start with the long vowels as plain vowels were staright forward and easily accessible on the modern keyboard.

7.1 The use of so-called long vowels

I shall argue that vowel length is not a distinguishing feature in *Khoekhoegowab*. In Chapter 4 I argued that the high and low tones appear to induce length perceptually but it is not the length which is phonemic but rather the tone. Therefore, there is no need to mark vowel length in

writing. Whether someone lengthens or shortens the vowel does not make any difference to the meaning. It is perhaps for this reason that the writing practices in some media such as google maps, ministry of health booklet, the Bible and Facebook page did not indicate vowel length. However, the standard orthography still insists on length which is depicted through the macron on top of the vowels.

For the lengthened vowel ā there were instances observed from google maps, ministry of health booklet, the Bible and facebook page none of which indicated any vowel length on top of any vowel. However, some material such as the Grade 9 textbook and the Social Security Commission Booklet indicated vowel length. For instance, the low centred unrounded vowel sound /**a**/ was written as shown below:

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	Hāb [ha:b] (Horse)
Social Security Commission booklet	ǂgãhe [gǂa:he] (To put in)

Looking at the above examples it is clear that two different conventions were used to represent lengthened vowel /a/, which is /ā/ and /ã/ respectively. The second convention which is (ã) is mainly used to mark nasalised vowel sounds when transcribing nasal vowels. This was not the case though because the Social Security Commission booklet used it to represent length (judging by the context) when they wrote the word ‘ǂgãhe’ (put in).

The mid front unrounded vowel sound /e/ is written in a number of ways in different sources. In the example of a street sign below it is represented as /ë/.

Image 7.1 of lengthened vowel /e:/

Looking at the word '‖Garoëb', which turned out to be a person's surname, 'ë' was used instead of the standard conventional 'ē'. This particular convention was also seen in the Bible shown below. The Grade 9 text book used the standard convention.

Source	**example**
Bible	‖êië [‖ʔî-e:] (These)
Grade 9 text book	bē [be:] (gone)

The same can be said about the /**i**/ (close front unrounded vowel) which was represented in three different ways. Even if we argue that length should be represented, there is no uniformity as the same vowel is represented as ī, ï, and í. For example the Grade 9 textbook uses (ī) ǀkh**ī,** the Bible uses (ï) O**ï** and the Facebook page uses (í) #n**í**sase. It is not clear why there are different representations but this could be related to restrictions imposed by the keyboard. Some

documents like Google maps, and the Social Security Commission booklet did not even attempt to show any lengthening which supports my argument that *Khoekhoegowab* does not have long vowels as even without the indication of the lengthening mark one can read and understand *Khoekhoegowab* because vowel length is not contrastive. The Bible on the other hand used two (2) forms, the proposed standard convention also used **ī** and ï to represent the lengthy **ī** [ii] sound in schools. The Facebook page used the convention mainly used for tonal marking by researchers like Brugman (2009), and Haacke & Eiseb (2002).

Mid back rounded vowel /o/ was also written in a number of ways as can be seen below starting with an extract from the Facebook social page. Consider the word [ǂoro] meaning salt. As shown by the Facebook page example below, the use of '**ï**' was also observed in the lengthened vowel /o/ which was written as #**ö**ro i.

Similarly the close back rounded sound /u/ also has three variations as can be seen in the following examples from the different sources.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	ǀg**ū [g|u:]** (Near)
Facebook page	khaxats**ü**s [kʰaxatsu:s] , X**ú [xu:]** (leave)

7.1.2 The use of so-called long vowels

From the data used for illustration, four different forms emerged which were used to represent the lengthening mark demonstrated with the vowel /a/ as ā, ã, á, ä, but it also emerged in other vowels. The two most prominent representations that appear to be used more often are the standard convention ā and the ä used mainly by the Bible. The however, representation á is not that prominent but seems to appear more regularly lately. Convention /ã/ was only observed in one instance in the Social Security Commission booklet.

7.1.3 The use of nasal vowels

Tone serves as the distinguishing factor in nasal vowels. All nasalised vowels tend to be lengthened hence length is predictable. Next I will look at how nasalised vowels are represented by the different sources consulted. All the sources consulted; namely the Grade 9 text book, the Bible, and the Facebook page, used the standard convention shown with a circumflex on top of the vowel as shown below.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	ǂkh**î** [ǂk^{h}î] (Happy)
The bible	ǁ**êi**ti [ǁʔîti], (Them, referring to female) **ê**n [în] (So that)

Even the nasalised vowels seem to be problematic as in some cases the marking of the nasalised tone is treated as an optional element, for example in Google maps, which could lead to

confusion in terms of meaning. Indeed when I asked one informant whether they understood a place name I extracted from google maps, the response was as follows:

> "Gabis ti ǀonhâ !a-e ta ge a ǀu, ǂgâbes tits ga mî om ge nî ǁnâugu" (I do not know a place called Gabis, if you said ǂGâbes we would understand each other)

Here we see that omitting the nasal marking makes the word meaningless to the speaker therefore the speaker could not relate to the word written as gabis but could relate to ǂGâbes [gǂâbes].

7.2 The use of Diphthongs

The representation of diphthongs in *Khoekhoegowab* could be problematic because as seen in Chapter 2 there are at least two forms, one that was used by Tindall (1856) and what is currently used by *Khoekhoegowab* Orthography (2003). Therefore, one would expect more variations with the diphthongs than one would with other vowels. In chapter 4, we concluded that in *Khoekhoegowab* there are four distinct vowel combinations starting with /a/ which are *ae, ai, ao, au* respectively. The combinations will be dealt with alphabetically starting with the combination /ae/.

In the vowel combination /ae/ there were two variations observed in the data. The Bible and Google maps used ai [ae] while the grade 9 textbook, Ministry of Health booklet and Naman ǁkhoab Facebook page data used ae [ae] for the same sound. The grade 9 textbook, ministry

of health booklet and Naman ǁkhoab facebook page writing is evidently influenced by mother tongue speakers, who wrote the way they pronounced the words. On the other hand, the Bible and Google maps used Tindall's (1856) convention.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	ǁg**ae** [gǁae] (Chew)
The Bible	ǁg**ai** [gǁae] (chew)

The study can thus safely conclude that there were two variations spotted for the diphthong sound /ae/ which are ae and ai.

With regard to the second vowel combination which is [ai], there were also two variations observed. Materials like the old Bible, Google maps, and Facebook all used **ei** to represent this particular sound. As shown below the grade 9 textbook used the /ai/ form.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	k**ai** [kai] (Big)
Bible	h**ei**n [hain] (Trees)
Google maps	**Ei**dsamub [aidsamub], tsaraxa-**ai**bes [tsʰaraxa-aibes] (Place names

Google maps use both forms which show the hybridity of writers. It can be argued that the Bible version is old and that is why they use this old format; however, the same cannot be said about the Facebook page data. This is current data showing exactly what is happening at this point in

time. Viewing Google maps data, it is evident that both forms (combinations) /ai/ and /ei/ were used which shows inconsistent use of the same sound.

Similarly there were two variations in the vowel combination [ao] which are /ao/ and au. Google maps did not have a word for illustration. From the other sources, the grade 9 text book, the Social Security Commission booklet, the Ministry of Health booklet and the Facebook page, all used **ao** [ao] while the Bible used /au/ to represent the same sound.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	**ao**b [aob] (Man)
The Bible	kh**au**!gâ [khaog!â] (after)

Up to this point it is clear that the trend is predictable in *Khoekhoegowab* i.e that diphthongs appear to take two forms in practice. The sound combination **au**, also had two variations, **au** and **ou**. This is the first time that data from Google maps match the other sources and the only explanation one can give is that of inconsistent use. Google maps, the grade 9 textbook, the Social Security booklet, the Ministry of Health booklet, and Facebook page used **au** to represent the sound [au]. The old bible and the facebook page used **ou** to represent the [au] sound.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	T**au** [tau] (Jelous)
The Bible	t**ou** [tau] (Jelous)
Facebook page	//kh**au**basen [ǁ^{h}kaubasen] (defend yourself), **ou**sie [ausi] (aunt)

As seen in the illustrations above, vowel combinations starting with a: seem to be problematic and take two forms each. Also, data from the old Bible is consistently different from the other sources. Data from the Facebook social page on the other hand demonstrated the usage of different forms for the same sound showing hybridity. All of this is owed to the early form of Tindall (1856) as I mentioned earlier.

In chapter 4, I concluded that *Khoekhoegowab* has two vowel combinations starting with o: The first combination /oa/ did not prove to have any variations. However, the same cannot be said about the second combination /oe/ as shown below.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	Khoeb [^{h}koeb] (swear)
The Bible	Kh**oi**b [^{h}koeb] (Man)

There were two variations for this particular diphthong. The Bible used **oi** instead of **oe** to represent the sound /**oe/,** while all other sources alongside the Grade 9 textbook used /oe/. The last vowel combination to be discussed would have been /ui/, however, this combination did not have any variations and qualified as one of the unproblematic sounds. This section dealt with the plain diphthongs; in the next section nasalised diphthongs will be discussed. This also expands to the nasalised diphthongs.

7.2.1 The use of nasalised diphthongs

There are two nasalised diphthong combinations starting with nasalised /a/ written as /â/ with a circumflex on top of the vowels which are âi and âu. Next consider the examples starting with /âi/.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	s**âi** [zâi] (cook)
The Bible	**‡êi [ǂˀâi]** (think)

≠Hanub (Wet van Moses) ge ge ǁou-dihe · Dontergag tses, /Ho-≠gaeb 8

//kha-//kha aob Chrisi

Tsîb ge !huigusa ǁÊib di ǁgans !na ge ǁou-di, ǁna ≠hanub mîmati tsî ≠nûi-≠gati dibab ge ge di-ǁna, ǁna /gamnab nî ǁÊib ≠ûb!na /gui /asa khoese guru ga, ≠khîba di tsî (Efese-ǁêin 2:15).

The conclusion that can be drawn from this particular section on nasalised diphthongs is that if a vowel combination i.e. ai which in some instances in some sources is written /ei/, was identified under plain diphthongs, it was almost a certainty there would be a nasalised diphthong. Therefore the plain diphthongs written as /ai/ or /ei/ would thus be written as âi and êi. In the section above vowels and different vowel combinations were discussed. The data demonstrated that in *Khoekhoegowab* there are variations in how the same sound is written.

7.3 Current practices on Khoekhoegowab consonants

In this section, I argue that in *Khoekhoegowab*, there **are** contrastive voiced and voiceless consonants, contrary to what some authors like Haacke and Eiseb (2002) state that

Khoekhoegowab makes no difference between voiced and voiceless plosive consonants. By drawing on examples from current practices in a Grade 9 textbook, the old Bible, and a Facebook page, speakers perceive these sounds as different and that is why they represent them differently. If both were voiceless, chances are that ordinary people would represent the sounds the same way. But they do not do that in the examples I show in this section.

Tone also plays a very important part in determining voiced and voiceless consonants and this is one thing the standard orthography does not take into account. The consonant sounds concerned are /b/ and /p/. These two sounds are said to be voiceless in the *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003). However, the researcher treats them as voiced and voiceless, /b/ being voiced and /p/ being voiceless. Under the differences with the p [p] sound there was only one found for illustration which is the word piris meaning (goat) extracted from the grade 9 textbook. The sound [p] found in the Khoekoegowab word *piris* does not differ from that in the English word 'pen' for example. Thus [p] is correctly represented as voiceless. If /b/ and /p/ are both voiceless one would expect ordinary writers to make the mistake by using /p/ instead of /b/ or /b/ instead of /p/. Consider the word **b**uru from the grade 9 text book, and tsî**b** from the Bible.

In the previous section we discussed the b [b] and p [p] sounds in terms of their place and manner of articulation and phonation. The researcher concluded that the orthographically listed as voiceless bilabial stop sound b [p'] is in fact a voiced bilabial stop b [b']. According to *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) there is also a sound described as a "voiced denti-labial fricative" which alternates with both p and b. The word ǁhawu-mâ (running around senselessly) could be written as ǁhabu-mâ and it is still correct. However, one cannot write ǁhapu-mâ as this

would be incorrect. A word like ǁhuwi taken from the Facebook page can also be written as ǁhupi but not ǁhubi.

In the following section two sounds in contrast, namely /t/ and /d/ will be discussed. Both sounds /t/, and /d/ are listed as voiceless alveolar stops [t]. The documents reviewed namely the grade 9 textbook, the old Bible, Google maps, Social security booklet, Ministry of Health booklet and Facebook all used the sounds correctly as expected. I have just selected a few sources for demonstration.

Source	**example with sound d**	**example with sound t**
Grade 9 text book	Daob [daob] (road)	tao [tao] (embarace)
Old Bible	disa [disa] (did wrongly)	tita [tita] (I)
Ministry of Health booklet	ôa!nâdi [ôaⁿ!adi] (research)	tama [tama] (negation, not or no)

What the present researcher wants to bring across is the fact that /d/ is a voiced alveolar stop sound and /t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop. If they were both voiceless as stated in *Khoekhoegowab* Orthography (2003) then one would expect writers to make mistakes by using /t/ in place of where /d/ was supposed to be used .i.e. daob written as taob, and disa written as tisa, but this seems not to be the case and this is because /d/ takes a lower tone and /t/ takes a higher tone but this does not change their linguistic features as one being voiced and the other being voiceless.

The same misconception was observed in the velar stop sounds namely /g/ and /k/ which are both seen as voiceless in *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003). As already illustrated, the sound /g/ is a voiced velar stop sound while /k/ is a voiceless velar stop sound. Here are addition examples.

Source	**example with g**	**example with k**
Grade 9 textbook	**G**omab [goman] (Bull)	**k**urib [kurib] (Year)
Facebook page	**g**a [ga] (recent past suffix)	**k**aikhoes [kaikʰoes] (Wife)
Social security commission booklet	Hoara**g**a [hoaraga] (Everything)	

My argument is simple, if the sounds were both voiceless why don't we find instances of a voiceless sound written mistakenly as voiced i.e. kurib written as gurib. This is the case because /g/ is a voiced sound and /k/ is a voiceless sound. One takes a lower tone and the other take a higher tone, thus it becomes easy to predict in writing.

Now that the voicing distinction has been clarified we want to look at what is called the aspirated velar stop with an inclination to velar friction written as kh [**kh].** Examples with this particular sound were extracted from the Google maps data and the grade 9 text book as shown below.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	**kh**au [kʰau] (make fire)
Google Maps	**k**omnarib [kʰomnarib] (place name)

The table above shows that this particular sound has two variations, namely kh [khau] to burn, and komnarib. Only one document used the /k/ version. All other documents used the kh. However, the same document (Google Maps) also used the kh version. To conclude *Khoekhoegowab* consonants, we discuss how what is the called voiceless velar fricative sound x [x] is used in some of the sources.

The data shows two different representations for this sound. Google Maps data had two variations, /x/ as in khoe**x**as and /ch/ as in hoa**ch**anas. The t-shirt image below comes from one of the respondents in the focus group discussions in Gibeon village Namibia.

Image 7.2 of voiceless velar fricative /x/

On the t-shirt print it is written as /x/ but in the newspaper extract below, it is spelt as ch:

> According to Pohamba, "financial resources for housing have been allocated to implement projects in Hoa**ch**anas, Klein Aub, Gibeon, Stampriet, Kalkland, Mariental, Go**ch**as, Aranos and Rehoboth's Block B, with special emphasis on the abolition of the unsanitary bucket-system, as well as the Build-Together projects.

The spelling /ch/ is more prominent in documents like the newspapers and appears to be used mainly in place names, suggesting areas where speakers of *Khoekhoegowab* do not have direct influence. The t-shirt print is a good example illustrating the point.

7.3.1 Summary and conclusion of *Khoekhoegowab* consonants

The study shows that users of *Khoekhoegowab* seem not to have problems dealing with the so called voiceless sounds. When a word is with a lower melody/tone it is written with what I call the voiced sounds i.e. b, g, and d while those with a higher melody/tone are written with i.e. p, k and t.

7.4 Khoekhoegowab clicks and why they are not optional

This section will discuss click sounds found in *Khoekhoegowab*. This was done by arranging the different data types e.g. **Grade 9 prescribed text book, Google Maps, Facebook data** etc for easier analysis. The discussion will start with the presentation of plain clicks followed by voiced, velarised, aspirated and nasalised clicks respectively.

In this section the present researcher aims to look at different variations in click representation from the sources consulted. There is noticeable variability in the way clicks are written. The same click is sometimes written in three different ways and in some instances, the click is not given at all. The first click to be discussed is the voiceless dental click written as [ǀ] in *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003). Let's consider the following representation.

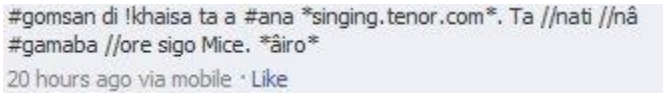
Source	Example
Grade 9 textbook	ǀasa [ǀʔasa] (New)
Social Security commission booklet	/asa [ǀʔasa] (New)
Ministry of Health booklet	/ae-omdi [ǀʔ ae-omdi] (Clinics)
Google Maps (2012)	No clicks used

The data given above shows that the dental click is represented in two different ways [ǀ], and [/] with one source not even attempting to show the click.

Similarly, there is inconsistent use of symbols in the representation of the lateral click sound, which is represented as [ǁ] in the standard orthography by the curriculum committee for *Khoekhoegowab*. The Grade 9 textbook and the Old Bible represent the sound as [ǁ]; the Social security commission booklet and Ministry of Health booklet as [//], while on Facebook it is represented as both [//] and [ǁ]. Google Maps does not use the click sound. As for the alveolar click written as [!], there were no variations noted. This could be because the character used for this particular sound is freely available on computers as it is used as an exclamation mark for other languages as well.

Looking at the palatal click below, there are many variations. The variations included the standard usage [ǂ] by the grade 9 textbook, Ministry of Health booklet, Facebook page, and ‡ by the bible and social security Commission booklet, and # used by the Ministry of Health booklet, ¥ by the Facebook page. As shown by the Facebook extract below, hash # has been used

constantly to represent the palatal click, and this could be because it is hard to find the character [ǂ] easily on the computers.



The data shows that characters used for clicks in *Khoekhoegowab* appear to be problematic because there are too many differences noted for each click except for the alveolar click [!] which I will argue is easily accessible on computers. As for the other clicks, users seem to be using whatever looks the closest to the standard convention to represent the actual sound.

In *Khoekhoegowab* it is important that clicks should be shown where necessary. Consider the image below which is a river name.

Image 7.3 of examples demonstrating click ommision

The first image is that of a road sign indicating a river name. The river is called 'Unib'. I was fortunate enough during the data collection to be able to ask my informants what **Unib** mean. It means 'the river that will take you'.

The argument the present researcher wants to bring is that in the image the word '**Unib'** is correctly written based on the response from respondents. Considering the fact that in other instances clicks are just taken out as in the word '**Kub'** in the Google Maps image, one can assume a click was taken out from the word **Unib** which could mean **!Unib** (elbow), or **ǂUnib** (worm) respectively.

If we consider the place name "*Aroab" as listed on Google maps (2012), we will realize two things. Firstly, it seems the click is highly optional; secondly, it changes the meaning or takes away the meaning. The place name has, for example, been imprinted in people's minds as *Aroab while it is supposed to be ǂAro!ab. The spelling does not indicate a click sound which can be confusing. It also means a vital part of the language can be lost. During my field visit to this particular place I asked one of the two informants what this place name meant. Their answer was:

ǂAro!ab (A river with certain types of trees called ǂaros)

For creators of Google Maps these particular *Khoekhoegowab* clicks are presented as negotiable or optional and these are the sorts of things hampering the development of *Khoekhoegowab*. There are two issues, when you decide to omit the click, you are firstly running the risk of changing the semantic meaning, or secondly, removing the meaning completely.

Next I want to show how one word is written differently on two different images taken in Khorixas. In the first image the surname is written without the click as "King Justus **G**aroeb", while in the image on the right hand side it is written with the click.

Image 7.4 showing variations in click representation

Both these pictures were taken in Khorixas, Namibia. This suggests inconsistent usage and also demonstrates how the *Khoekhoegowab* language rules are being violated. The present researcher is of the opinion that *Khoekhoegowab* clicks have to be shown (represented) whenever needed. I have provided two more images taken in the same town.

Image 7.5 show instances where clicks are shown

Both these images **'ǃGowati', 'Dr. Lischen !Haoses st'**, and the above image **'King Justus Goroeb**', were taken in Khorixas. Of the two images, one click has been shown while on the other image it was omitted. This shows that the language can in fact be used correctly if the user

using it respects its rules. If one blames the accessibility of certain characters on the computer to be the reason why clicks are left out, the data shows that often the language is written badly because of carelessness. In the following section I will look at other examples and emphasise the importance of the clicks' representations.

In the above discussion I have dealt with street and place names as they appear in the data I collected and what the omission of a click could mean. Next I want to discuss the issue of the identity documents (surnames of people) without the click. Firstly I want to discuss the Youtube video image. The person in the video introduced himself as

"I am Gabriel Khoeseb"

However, when he wrote his surname he wrote '|khoeseb'. This is a cause of concern because it can be confusing. There are people with both the '|khoeseb' and 'Khoeseb' surnames so to refer to yourself as Khoeseb while you write |khoeseb is wrong. Consider the following names from identity and driver's licence documents.

The driver's licence document is that of **Mr I Huiseb** and the identity document belongs to Mrs I **Auchas**. When the present researcher asked them what their names were he got the following:

|Huiseb and not **Huiseb** as shown on the driver's licence.

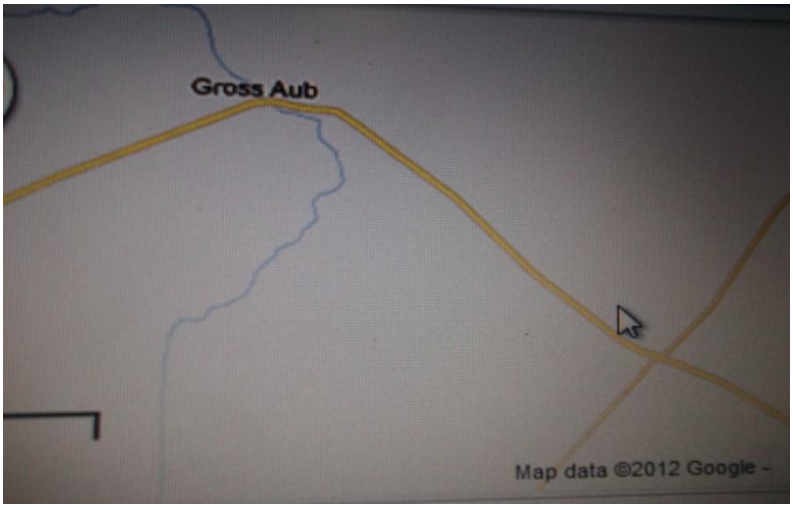
!Auxas and not **Auchas**

As in the previous discussion with the town/place names, clicks had been omitted. What this shows is the fact that clicks are being omitted whenever someone believes its representation is optional. Linguistically I argue that clicks also contribute to the semantic meaning of the word. Omitting the click like in the examples below can lead to taking away the semantic meaning. The following place names were extracted from Google Maps (2012).

Google maps	**Name used by speakers**
Asab (No meaning)	ǀAsab (New)
Eidsamub	Aidtsam!ub
Gochas	!Goxas (Having many trees called !gos)
Hoachanas	!Hoaxa!nas (Having many turns)

The other aspect that might happen when clicks are taken away is that the semantic meaning could change drastically. Consider the following picture.

Google image 7.1



Only the second part of the word (Gross Aub) which represents *Khoekhoegowab* "Aub" interests the present researcher for discussion. The word Aub means bitter (Haacke & Eiseb 2002), and the place is widely called 'ǀAub' by the Khoekhoe speakers living in the area, meaning fountain. *Khoekhoegowab* is complex because removing one sound from the other results in a different word. In the following section I have used the same word 'Aub' adding all the click variations found in *Khoekhoegowab* to the beginning of this word to show the complexity when dealing with *Khoekhoegowab* and the importance of click representation.

Khoekhoegowab	**English Translation**
!aub	Scream
ǂaub	Being slow
ǁaub	The thick one/ or fish

The fact is, clicks should be inserted where they are supposed to be as to avoid issues like the above mentioned cases. Thus '**aub'** shown on Google Maps could mean 'ǀ**aub', '!aub', 'ǂaub'**, or even 'ǁ**aub'**. One will be lost unless you approach a speaker living in that area to find out the exact value carried by that word.

In the previous section I discussed the variations observed in plain click representation and the importance of indicating clicks was also discussed. In the following section variations which were identified while looking at the voiced clicks, voiceless velar aspirated click, nasalised clicks etc will be dealt with in detail.

7.4.1 The use of the voiced click [g|]

Voiced clicks are shown with a voicing element in this case a /g/ after the click. The results show that there were no variations found in showing the voiced clicks. The grade 9 text book and the Bible maintained the same writing system proposed by the orthography i.e. [|], Google Maps data left out the click entirely, the Social Security Commission booklet and the Ministry of Health booklet used a different representation namely /g. Facebook data, on the other hand, used both forms which are /g and |g respectively. It is good to note that the facebook data used both forms used by all other documents. The lateral click situation is also the same. The grade 9 text book and the old bible used the same standard version while the Social Security booklet used a different version i.e. //g. The present researcher is of the view that the clicks are voiceless but once the g [g] is added after the click it becomes voiced and should be dealt with as such. As can be seen the only difference was observed in the way clicks are represented. This can be seen from data obtained from the social Security Commission booklet and the Ministry of Health booklet who both used [//g] instead of the [‖g].

This was also the same finding observed for the voiced palatal click where the voicing element was consistently represented in the same way with only the click representation varying. The Grade 9 text book, the Ministry of Health booklet, and the Facebook page had usage of the correct form ǂg, while the Bible, and the Social Security Commission booklet used ‡g. The Ministry of Education and the Facebook page also used the representation #g. The Facebook page data was the only document which used the Ɣg and ¥g for the same click.

As for the aspirated click written as [ǀh], [ǁh], [!h] or [ǂh], it showed no difference in its representation. This suggests that this particular sound does not pose any problems linguistically and in functional use. The only differences here are the way in which clicks are written which varies, but it was discussed under the plain clicks section earlier. Taking into account the simplicity of the aspirated click sound the discussion thus will move on to the so called voiced nasalised clicks.

7.4.2 The use of the voiceless velar aspirated click [ǀk͡h]

Voiceless velar aspirated clicks are shown with a velar aspiration after the click e.g. ǀkh, ǁkh, !kh, and ǂkh. Consider the following examples.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	ǀ**kh**au [ǀk͡hau] (tear)
The Bible	ǀ**k**adi [ǀk͡hadi] (bodies)

As seen in the examples above two variations were identified namely ǁkh, and ǁka. The Bible is the only document that seems to have followed a different version from the rest of the literature. With regard to the phonetic representation of this particular sound, the present researcher argues that the sound be represented as follows, [ǁk^{h}] as there is an aspiration following the velar sound.

The same difference was unearthed for the palatal click as shown below. The Old Bible was the only document or material which maintained a different spelling system for the same sounds.

Source	**example**
Grade 9 textbook	sîǂkhanis [sîǂkʰanis] (letter)
The Bible	ǂkanis [ǂkʰanis) (book)

In concluding the section on voiceless velar clicks I can safely state that there were two variations present namely [ǀkh] and [ǀk] respectively with the Bible being the only material/document using the latter. Finally I will discuss the voiced nasalised click.

7.4.3 Use of voiced nasalised click ǀn [ŋǀ]

The voiced nasalised click should be one of the challenging sounds for speakers if literature is something to go by which states that researchers seem not to agree whether or not the nasal aspect comes in front of the click or the click in front of the nasal characteristics. For the present researcher this should not be the case though as he believes the nasal click should be dealt with as one unit and not two different segments. For this particular sound there were no traceable variations. As stated in the previous section, only clicks had variations.

Throughout this dissertation I was guided by Yule (2010) who pointed out some of the key aspects of articulatory theory .e.g. to find out if a sound is voiced, do your vocal cords vibrate when the sound is made? Let us consider a word like [ǀnai] (already) as it is used in the grade 9 text book. If a speaker pronounces the word it sounds more like [ŋǀei]. Based on the literature one would expect sources writing nasalised clicks as [nǀ], [nǁ], or [n!] etc. However, all maintained the same writing which is the click first before the nasal element, which speaks volumes. If

speakers also felt the nasal element preceded the click I strongly believe there would be instances of some sources writing the nasal in front of the click.

7.5 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed how *Khoekhoegowab* is written in the sources I consulted. It can be concluded that there is still variation to date as opposed to what the orthography proposes and what is in practice. It became clear that the electronic keyboard in circulation (in Namibia) does not help writing Khoekhogowab correctly as some characters are not freely available. The circumflex used for nasalisation and click characters were the main problems. It was also seen that clicks are often left out owing to accessibility because the alveolar click, which is the same as the exclamation mark, was always used when needed unlike the other clicks with characters which are not available on the keyboard. This chapter thus served the purpose of showing the present researcher as to the way forward for the *Khoekhoegowab* orthography design. In Chapter 8, I will be discussing the way forward for possible orthography and/or a writing system for *Khoekhoegowab*.

Chapter 8

Towards a standard *Khoekhoegowab*

8.0 Introduction

In the previous chapters I made an inventory for vowels and consonants found in *Khoekhoegowab* respectively. In chapters 4 to 6 the phonetic and morphological inventory of *Khoekhoegowab* was discussed. Chapter 7 looked at how the inventories identified were used in practice. In this chapter the aim is to see if the inventory discussed is practical. The chapter starts with a discussion on standardisation. Towards the end of the chapter I suggest characters to be used for some of the sounds which are difficult in practice. In this chapter we will look at solutions to some of the problems identified in Chapter 7 in particular. Amongst other things I will attempt to solve some of the difficulties induced by the keyboard. Before this can be done it is important to discuss the level of standardisation which *Khoekhoegowab* has reached with regard to Central Damara and Central Nama as the two main dialects.

8.1 Standardization of Khoekhoegowab

For *Khoekhoegowab* the first formal attempt at standardisation had already been made at the conference of missionaries of the Rheinish Mission in 1856 (Haacke, 2005). According to Haacke (2005) the central issue of this conference had been the representation of clicks; and it was this conference that led to the eventual acceptance of the modified Lepsius symbols (ǀ, ǁ, !,ǂ)

as now used in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Nama literature was originally produced almost exclusively by the Rheinish Mission, whose orthographic conventions dominated for some 110 years (Haacke, 2005). Haacke (2005) states that the first officially recognised orthography was introduced in 1970, Nama/Damara orthography No.1, to counteract the inconsistencies in the spelling systems of the churches. A slightly revised version, Nama/Damara orthography No. 2, was released in 1977, with the main aim being to present the established rules in a more user friendly and systematic way. A third version, *Khoekhoegowab* Orthography 3, appeared in 2003.

According to Crawley (1989) the term, standard language, is not a new term as it was used in the mid- 19th century to indicate the uniform and commonly accepted national literary language upon which linguistic historians and lexicographers worked. According to Yule (2006), standard variety is the variety used for writing, for example in newspapers and books. Similarly, Holmes (1992) states that standard variety is generally one which is written, and which has undergone some degree of regulation or codification (for example, in grammars and dictionaries); it is recognised as a prestigious variety or code by a community, and it is used for high functions alongside a diversity of low varieties. From the definitions, it can be seen that a standard language is that variety of a language which is most often associated with a specific subgroup (usually educated people or people with high status and authority within society) and with specific functions serving a community that goes beyond that of its speakers (for example writing, education, radio and television) (Mesthree, Swann, Deumert & Leap, 2000:20). In the case of standard *Khoekhoegowab*, this is not the case as both main varieties involved serve as dialects of the main language.

The first step in organised corpus development is to establish a consistent, that is, a standardised orthography for the language concerned. With languages with many varieties or dialect areas like *Khoekhoegowab*, it is imperative to think about a possible standard which all these dialects have to follow. Wardhaugh (2006) defines language standardization as the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of such materials like grammar, spelling books, and dictionaries, and possibly literature. Authors like Duranti (1997) support the claim of writing down a language, also to establish a particular dialect or register among the several in use at any particular time, as the standard language.

Choosing one language or dialect over others results in the creation of a preferred variety that becomes the winner in a struggle for dominance (Wardhaugh 2006). The *Khoekhoegowab* situation is easier to deal with because Central Nama and Central Damara dialects are already using unified *Khoekhoegowab* instead of the Nama language or Damara language respectively. Thus the decision to be made on an orthographical level should be informed linguistically by a study like the current. The only consideration language developers of *Khoekhoegowab* should consider at this point in time is the standardisation of the writing system for all dialects taking into account dialectal variations in terms of phonemes and lexical differences manifested in the different dialects.

8.2 Standardisation of writing systems

Languages and dialects should not be seen as having strict borders. Speakers can draw on the resources including terminology from each other's dialects. Researchers should also remove the borders that are said to be there between the different languages. The term standard seems to be

problematic to deal with because it is used in many different ways by linguists. In addition, the very same use of this term points to a language ideology which Weber and Horner (2012:17) refer to as the standard language ideology. This ideology is based on the belief that languages are internally homogenous entities with strict borders between them, a belief which totally ignores the constant blending and borrowing between different languages by ordinary people, as is the norm in multilingual societies. This ideology allows for certain language varieties to be chosen for standardisation simply because of the socio-political power of their users, not because of any inherent superiority of these varieties over other varieties. All varieties are used as resources which speakers themselves can draw on. One advantage is that the idea that one dialect is superior over the others falls away. As opposed to the standard variety, a non-standard language is defined by Swann, Deumert, Lillis and Mesthrie (2004) as a variety which is used regularly by a particular geographical, ethnic or social group and which is different from the dominant standard variety. With the *Khoekhoegowab* curriculum, developers fell into the trap of trying to divide and label varieties. (Weber & Horner, 2012). This particular ideology allows for language varieties to be divided,- labelled and ranked. For example, language can be divided into standard and non-standard varieties with the former enjoying the higher status. This particular ideology can be said to have influenced the language developers in Namibia when they were standardising the Nama and Damara dialects. What is clear from the data regarding *Khoekhoegowab* curriculum developers is that some varieties perceived to be the non-standard varieties like the Bondelswarts dialect discussed in chapters 4 to 6, could be extinct. This particular dialect uses the following words:

Gengen	to make something move
ǂkhen	sweet
ǀhennes	owl

Sadly, these are the words which the Khoekhoekhogowab orthography (2003) decided to discard completely when they stated: ‘a few words which in the past were sometimes spelt with the vowel /e/ are spelt only with /o/ in the standardised orthography’, e.g.

Gongon	cause to move	instead of gengen
ǀhonnos	owl	instead of ǀhennes
ǂkhon	sweet	instead of ǂkhen

Whereas this orthography prescribes that the foregoing words be spelled with /o/ the argument is that these can be seen as synonyms in order to have an inclusive orthography. People can use this form or the other. In that way it goes back to the argument of building the vocabulary of the speakers. If we look at British and American English, some write labour and others write labor. This language is endangered and by authorising, the government is responsible for killing these languages. Instead of developing the language, language planning in this case seems to be killing one way of speaking instead of retaining both. Orthography is not about terminology and terminology changes as each language/variety can write according to how they pronounce the words drawing on the agreed morphemes.

The present researcher believes that both those variations can be used and labelled as synonyms. This in turn will promote the richness of the language. This then brings us to the argument on standardising the writing system and not the language. The notion of harmonising orthographies can often be misunderstood as some developers went beyond harmonizing orthographic conventions to prescribing what words should be used. For instance, the *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) suggested that some words be used instead of others.

According to Namaseb (2010) the language committee of *Khoekhoegowab* have decided on the southern version (Central Nama) for the words 'at' /tawa/ (not/dawa/ north); 'intestines' /!nab/ (not !nâb north), that /ǁna/ not ǁnâ (north); and 'to play' ǀhuru/ (not ǀkhuru/ north). Furthermore the committee also decided on the northern version 'sweet' /ǂkhon/ (not ǂkhen/ South); 'place' or 'fact' /!khais/ not/ !khaes/ south) 'and' /tsi/ (not /tsî/ south). This is a clear demonstration of harmonising the language instead of the writing system. The solution could be treating differences as synonyms, making the language even richer.

Although these examples show movement from one dialect to the next, the guiding principle has been to first try out scientific reasons for the choice. Whether it is for scientific reasons or for the reasons of uniform orthography, these decisions are against the principles of harmonization as no word should be discarded according to these principles. Harmonization does not oppress one writing system for the other but suggests a system where an orthography can be drawn from the the different dialects the orthography is meant to serve.

Current work undertaken by the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) showed that dialects of the same language are often treated as different languages when they are in fact only dialects. There is a need for a comprehensive study to determine the phonetic inventory of Khoekhegowab dialects, so as to determine common speech sounds across the dialects, and hence this particular study can do just that.

8.3 Khoekhoegowab standard orthography

As stated by Simango (2002:67) a good orthography should be characterized by suitable representation of the language. It must be economical in the use of symbols representing sounds. It must be simple in the relationship between the signs and their values, and it must facilitate the learning of reading and writing. This particular notion guided me when I made the attempt in developing a possible orthography for *Khoekhoegowab*, which is appended in appendix A.

According to Van Dyke and Lojenga (1994:3), the first task in writing a previously unwritten language is to create an alphabet, that is, a set of symbols (letters) to represent the different sounds of the language. In writing the symbols one must take into account the requirements of a practical orthography, that is, the way the words are to be written up, put together with an appropriate punctuation to form sentences, paragraphs, and so forth.

Developing a standardised orthography should clearly be understood by those involved as users or developers (Elderkin, 1995). However orthography comes to be established only if those

responsible for its creation are fully aware of both the phonological system of the language and, in addition, all of those syntactic factors relevant to the definition of a word.It is only then that the orthography can in any way be considered successful. All too often imposed orthographies have been created in ignorance of an adequate and deep linguistic analysis. No wonder the consumers of the orthography rejected what they did not understand (Elderkin, 1995). Furthermore, those behind the development of a particular language are often not users of that language, resulting in ignorance as they are not challenged daily by poor orthography.

Elderkin (1995) further declares that "orthographic geniuses are rare, and it seems that no speaker of a Namibian African language has yet qualified for this status. All orthographies have been imposed." Further to this they "probably never knew the word nor did they know the tone system in depth" and too many children are put off their own language by the difficulties of learning the rules of orthographies which rely on obtuse grammatical analyses and are themselves taught badly because the teachers have never had the linguistic background to justify them nor do they know that some rules are not justifiable. Finding documents where tone is marked for example, makes it hard to work with such a document because tone has been marked to cater for the non-speakers of the language because language speakers are guided by the context.

In this situation we need to make an observation that *Khoekhoegowab* speakers find itself at a very critical point in their development in the context of the new millennium goals of development and modernism. Even though *Khoekhoegowab* is known to be the most developed Khoisan language, it became clear during the present study that there is not much unity

considering the different material analysed. One issue is that like most African languages, *Khoekhoegowab* uses a foreign alphabet, the Latin alphabet, that came with colonialism, whether political or missionary, and this alphabet has not adequately responded to the phonological peculiarities of the language, especially during modern times. In the following section I have looked at some of the issues identified during the study, starting with the vowels.

8.3.1 Vowels

8.3.1.1 Tone

In Chapter 5 we observed variations within the same vowel like the lengthened vowel /a:/ which had 4 different variations i.e. ā, ã, á, ă**.** In Chapter 4 I have argued that *Khoekhoegowab* does not have lengthened vowels but rather the tone is the distinguishing phoneme. However, in Chapter 5 I have realised that writers use the macron to indicate length on high/high or low/low vowels. If length is identified then it is advisable to use double vowel /aa/ instead of the proposed macron as it is not easily accessible on modern keyboards. The macron is difficult to find. If double vowels /aa/ was used to indicate length, the issue of having many variations would not have been observed as modern keyboards would appropriately respond to the demand.

8.3.1.2 Nasal vowels and tone marking

In Chapter 4, we observed that in *Khoekhoegowab* there are also nasal vowels. For the nasal vowels there was one problem identified. As observed in chapter 7 under current practices nasalised vowels are not marked for tone in some sources. Indeed when I asked one informant

about a place name which was spelled without the nasalised vowel tone-marked the response was as follows:

> "Gabis ti ǀonhâ !a-e ta ge a ǀu, ǂgâbes tits ga mî om ge nî ǁnâugu" (I do not know a place called Gabis, if you said ǂGâbes we would understand each other)

Here we see that the omission of the nasal marking makes the word meaningless to the speaker. The reason why nasal marking was left out could be because the circumflex, which is suggested in *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003), is not readily available on the modern keyboards. Therefore, the study suggested /ang/ be used instead of /â/ to mark nasalised vowel tone. Thus the place name will be spelt as ǂGangbes instead of ǂGâbes. This way characters which are readily available on the keyboard are used. Given the difficulty, most of the users do not indicate even when a word is supposed to be nasalised. Words like '!gâ' (to listen) were simply written as '!ga' and it does not mean the same thing if written without the nasal marking. Considering the fact that *Khoekhoegowab* does not have a sound represented with /ŋ/, /ng/ could be used to represent a nasal vowel. E.g. ǂgâxa (meaning to enter) could be written as ǂga**ng**xa, the /ng/ indicating that the preceding vowel is nasalised. Given all this the following should be the basic vowels for *Khoekhoegowab* with provision made for nasalisation and tonal variation.

Table 8.1 basic vowels

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Consider that ‘ǁgûb’ in *Khoekhoegowab* can mean three things: tooth, father, and springbok. I gave an informant the following *Khoekhoegowab* sentences:

ǁGûb xa go audosa ǁamabahe Khoeb komo. His father bought him the car.

ǁGûb ge ti arib xa go nâhe. A springbok was bitten by my dog.

ǁGûb âdab ge ra tsû. My tooth is aching.

Under no circumstance can the speakers of *Khoekhoegowab* fail to hear the tone level of each word in this case ‘ǁgûb’, as when a sentence is given the context guides the reader.

8.3.2 Diphthongs

Diphthongs in *Khoekhoegowab* could be problematic because as seen in chapter 2 there were two forms observed, the one by Tindall (1856) and the current one used by *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003). Therefore, the present study concludes that there are currently two forms of diphthongs in *Khoekhoegowab*, the Tindall (1856) version and the currently prescribed version. *Khoekhoegowab* orthography (2003) prescribed certain diphthongs which the current study also proposes be used because it does not pose any difficulties in representing them on modern keyboards. Therefore the following plain and nasalised diphthongs should be used in *Khoekhoegowab* (the three dialects).

Table 8.2 plain and nasalised diphthongs

Vowel combination	Phonemic value
ae	**[ae]**
ai	**[ai]**
ao	**[ao]**
au	**[au**
oa	**[oa]**
oe	**[oe]**
ui	**[ui]**
âi	**[ãĩ]**
âu	**[ãũ]**
ôa	**[õã]**
ûi	**[ũĩ]**
îa	**[ĩã]**

8.3.3 Consonants

8.3.3.1 Relationship between voice/voiceless and tone

In chapter 5, I argue that in *Khoekhoegowab*, there are contrastive voiced and voiceless consonants. In chapter 7, we observed that speakers perceive voiced and voiceless sounds as different, based on the current practices. The argument here is if both /b/ and /p/, /d/ and /t/, /g/ and /k/ were voiceless, the chances are that ordinary people would represent the sounds the same way, but they do not do that in the examples I used.

Tone does play a significant role in determining voiced and voiceless sounds and this is one thing the standard orthography does not take into account. In Orthography (2003) sounds /b/ and /p/ are seen to be voiceless. However this study argues that /b/, /d/, and /g/ are voiced contrasted by /p/, /t/, and /k/ respectively. The ones mentioned first, which are /b/, /d/, and /g/, are followed by a low tone vowel, therefore one can argue and say that /b/, /d/, and /g/ take low tone vowels to follow them. The same can be said regarding /p/, /t/, and /k/ which are voiceless sounds followed by high tone vowels. Please see chapter 4. In Chapter 5 my sources demonstrated the fact that speakers perceive these sounds as different by the tone used, thus strengthening my argument that /b/ is voiced and /p/ is voiceless.

Besides the voiced versus voiceless distinction there was also a variation noted in the use of the voiced denti-labial fricative /x/. The data showed two variations for this sound which are /x/ as in khoe**x**as and /ch/ as in hoa**ch**anas. For practical reasons spelling /x/ for the denti-labial fricative could remain as /x/ instead of /ch/. On the other hand, if /x/ is permitted to be used as the lateral click as in isiXhosa, this could be an option for the denti-labial fricative sound.

8.3.4 Click consonants

The study has shown that clicks have been problematic to represent. There were variations spotted for the same click and secondly clicks were in some cases seen as optional as it was completely left out. The problem was clear that the clicks are not represented by letters but by other characters. According to Haacke (2005) the present day click representation was accepted at the Rhenish mission conference in 1856 which led to the modified Lepsius symbols (ǀ, ǁ, !,ǂ) as

now used in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). It is clear that *Khoekhoegowab* uses the IPA in writing which is the same like transcribing any other language. This is particularly advantageous for linguists but prove to be a disadvantage for the writers of the language. The IPA is not used for writing in other languages and in *Khoekhoegowab* this is the case. This should be left for specialist writing such as dictionaries.

The IPA symbols which were introduced into the *Khoekhoegowab* writing system are developed into a system that caters for small letters and capital letters. If someone introduces new symbols into this spelling (e.g. a slash), one needs to find a way of either providing capital symbols for click sounds, or finding a way of making words with a capital in the appropriate place. The present solution (in the IPA-based orthographies) of capitalising the letters that follow the click symbol, is not really satisfactory. The reasoning behind this is that it devalues the clicks which according to the present researcher should be treated as any other consonant. Clicks should also be treated like any other alphabet letter; this could be the reason why so many publications or language users often fail to use the clicks appropriately as shown in the data as even the language planners treat them as such.

Modern keyboards do not have these symbols readily available. Different clicks like the palatal click [ǂ], for example, was represented as [ǂ] in the grade 9 textbook, as [‡] in the Bible and Social Security Commission booklet, as [#] in the Ministry of Health booklet, and as [¥] in the Facebook page. It seems to be difficult for the speakers to find the characters and they look for symbols similar to what they are trying to represent. In terms of language practice, people create

symbols they cannot find on the keyboard. It is inconvenient and frustrating for writers to look for symbols which are not readily available on the modern keyboards.

Similarly, there is inconsistent use of symbols in the representation of the lateral click sound, which is represented as [ǁ] in the standard orthography by the curriculum committee for *Khoekhoegowab*. The Grade 9 Textbook and the Old Bible represent the sound as [ǁ]; the Social Security Commission booklet and Ministry of Health booklet as [//], while on Facebook it is represented as both [//] and [ǁ]. Google Maps does not use the click sound. As for the alveolar click written as [!], there were no variations noted. This could be because this particular sound is freely available on computers as it is used as an exclamation mark for other languages.

The data shows that characters used for clicks in *Khoekhoegowab* appear to be problematic because there are too many differences noted for each click except for the alveolar click [!] which I will argue is easily accessible on computers. As for the other clicks, users seem to be using whatever looks the closest to the standard convention to represent the actual sound. The reason for using Roman letters which are not being used currently is two-fold. They are easily accessible on the modern keyboards and also on celphones. Secondly, we will be able to treat clicks with the same parameters like any other consonant. Consonants have capitals and small letters, and so can clicks. In the current writing clicks cannot be capitalised and the vowel or consonant following the click is capitalised which devalues the click in some way. Then, the IPA symbols used for clicks are ambivalent, as they are also used as punctuation marks. The '/' not only stands for the phoneme [/] representing the dental click, but also as a dividing mark between two or more options (e.g. "and/or"), and for phonemic notations (e.g. /b/). And the '!' is used not

only for the phoneme [!] representing the alveolar click, but also to indicate emphasis on a certain phrase or sentence (e.g !gā! onomatopoeia for a falling object). Also, consider using the phoneme [/] representing the dental click, separated from the lateral click denoted as [//] by a slash and it will look like this (/ / //). This is very confusing and looks so untidy.

The use of Roman letters to represent clicks is threefold. Firstly, the letters are easily available on the modern electronic keyboards, secondly as was seen in chapter two under the literature reviewed, Tindall (1856) also used the Roman letters, and thirdly having Roman letters will mean clicks can be written as small letters or capital letters. The solution (not limited) for this particular problem could be to use those Roman letters which are currently not being used in *Khoekhoegowab* like the c, q, v etc to represent clicks. This will also facilitate writing *Khoekhoegowab* on cell phones, computers etc as those letters are easily available and less confusing. According to Simango (2002) a good orthography should be characterised by suitable representation of the language. It must be economical in the use of symbols representing sound.

8.4 Summary

A good orthography should be characterised by suitable representation of the language. It must be economical in the use of symbols representing sounds. The current orthography seems not to qualify as being economical and user-friendly for modern writing. Considering the fact that *Khoekhoegowab* will not easily be able to create a computer keyboard to facilitate the availability of the agreed signs, as developers it will be wise to use the available symbols to our advantage to maximise success. Based on my study, I have developed an orthography which is provided in Appendix A.

Chapter 9

Conclusion and recommendation

9.0 Introduction

In this chapter a summary of the investigation on *Khoekhoegowab* inter-linguistic variations and the need for a standard code was discussed. The chapter is organised in such a manner that the research aim and objectives for this study will be reviewed first followed by a summary of research findings. These will help to see as to what extent the research aim and objectives have been achieved. This will be followed by what this particular study has contributed to the field of Khoesan linguistics and *Khoekhoegowab* in particular. The limitations of the study will be explored towards the end of the chapter followed by suggestions for future research.

9.1 Review of research aim and objectives

The thesis proposed to undertake an extensive review of Nama and Damara dialects also known as *Khoekhoegowab*. It also examined material, missionary work and other publications on the dialects under discussion. The phonology and morphology of the three dialects namely: the Central Nama, the Central Damara and Bontelswarts dialects were discussed.

I conclude that it is tone that is phonemic rather than vowel length, unlike as stated in other studies. In terms of diphthongs, I also conclude that there are certain combinations that are permissible: these are from low vowel to high vowel and not the reverse. I distinguish between

plain clicks and complex clicks. Whereas complex clicks can be analysed according to place, manner and phonotation, I determine that plain clicks can mainly be analysed according to place of articulation. This treatment of click sounds is different from Miller et al. (2007). However, I concur with Miller et al. (2007) that complex clicks should be treated as a segment rather than a sequence. Moreover, whereas other studies believe that there is no voicing, I provide evidence that *Khoekhoegowab* in fact distinguishes between voiced and voiceless sounds.

Lastly, I have determined that the current *Khoekhoegowab* orthography is inadequate, especially in the writing of clicks as it is based on IPA symbols, which are either not found or are difficult to recall on modern keyboards and smartphones. I have therefore suggested an orthography and also how to write those characters which have proved to be problematic in the past.

In the following section I revisit the objectives of the study.

9.1.1 To study the dialectal and inter-*Khoekhoegowab* variations which will inform the determination of the standard form of *Khoekhoegowab*

The phonological differences of the three dialects under discussion were identified where the vowel system was discussed. With regard to the plain vowels, an argument was made that the Central Nama and Central Damara are in fact similar in terms of vowel inventory compared to Central Nama and the Bontelswarts dialects in some instances of lexical words. It was also established under the vowel inventory that vowel length is not phonemic but rather it is tone. With regard to nasal vowels, all three dialects have three nasal vowels which are /î/, /û/, and /â/. It was further shown that the dialects distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants

contrary to what some literature shows. With regard to the plain clicks, all three dialects have four clicks which are [|], [ǁ] [ǂ] and [!]. There was only one difference noted on complex clicks between the dialects in that the Central Damara dialect has the aspirated click [!h] where the Central Nama and Bontelswarts dialects have the velar aspirated click [!kh]. After the phonetic differences and similarities were identified, the study focused on the morphosyntactic aspects of the three dialects. Again there were mainly more similarities than differences between the dialects.

9.1.2 To review some material written in Nama/Damara or *Khoekhoegowab* in order to determine if there are any variations in terms of writing.

The materials consulted did not have any differences regarding the writing of plain vowels which are /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/. However, for what the literature termed long vowels there were differences noted. Four different forms emerged which were used to represent the lengthening mark demonstrated with vowel /a/ as ā, ã, á, ä. The two most prominent representations that appear to be used are the standard convention ā and the ä, mainly found in the Bible. Nasal tone marking was mostly the same across the material, but Google Maps sometimes omitted tone marking. With regard to diphthongs, there are two variations in circulation which are based on the version used by *Khoekhoegowab* orthography and the convention used by Tindall (1856).

In the main, the variations were in the writing of *Khoekhoegowab* clicks where IPA symbols like ǁ, |, ǂ etc are being used to represent clicks. Whenever writers were unable to find a character it was obvious that what is closest to the actual character was used. For example instead of ǂ people would use ¥. As for the complex clicks, there were no differences observed in the co-articulated form e.g. g for voicing, h for aspiration.

9.1.3 To discuss issues of codification, orthography and standardization within *Khoekhoegowab*; to propose a (composite) standard *Khoekhoegowab* orthography.

After coming up with a phonetic inventory of the three dialects, it became clear that the dialects of *Khoekhoegowab* can share an orthography. I scrutinized current writing practices on the internet, school material, the Bible and other sources, including the official orthography and I have made several suggestions about how to write certain characters including the problematic ones. It also became clear that most differences were because of keyboard limitations as people could not find certain characters on the current keyboards. To solve this problem I have suggested some characters that can be used for some of the sounds which are difficult in practice (see appendix A). It should be noted here that the suggested orthography is different from by Namaseb et al (2008).

9.2 Contribution to the Field of Study

There have been very few studies in Khoesan linguistics in the recent past and most of it has been by non-mother tongue speakers. This contribution adds not only to Khoesan linguistics but also puts forward new insights by a mother tongue speaker in the field. In terms of theory, one contribution this study makes is that unlike other studies, I suggest that it is tone that is phonemic rather than vowel length. Secondly, I bring new insight to the treatment of clicks in that I distinguish between a plain click and a complex click which I see as a segment rather than a sequence. Moreover, whereas other studies believe that there is no voicing I provide evidence that *Khoekhoegowab* in fact distinguishes between voiced and voiceless sounds.

Lastly, one of the most contentious issues in *Khoekhoegowab* curriculum development is the inadequacies in the orthography. I suggest an orthography and also how to write those characters which have proved to be problematic in past.

9.3 Suggestions for future research

Firstly, the orthography developed from this study could be tested to see if it can be used in practice. Secondly, we should study the linguistic vitality of Kheokhoegowab in both urban and rural areas of Namibia. Thirdly, we should investigate the viability of teaching *Khoekhoegowab* in urban areas, including Model C schools.

9.4 Limitations of the Study

Like any research, there were limitations in this study. As mentioned in chapter three, data collection was done in Namibia in three different regions, namely the Hardap, Karas and Kunene regions. Even though I targeted *Khoekhoegowab* dominant areas it is difficult to obtain more material to be used for document analysis. Therefore, as was observed in the thesis it was difficult to provide minimal pairs of the sounds when needed. In addition to this drawback, some focused group members expected some form of financial return which I could not provide.

9.5 Summary of Chapter

In conclusion, the study of the dialectal and inter-linguistic variations of *Khoekhoegowab* has yielded a lot of information on the importance of tone and click representation in *Khoekhoegowab*. It has been shown that the *Khoekhoegowab* language users are disadvantaged by the keyboard which does not have certain characters. However, a practical solution was brought to the fore to use characters which are readily available and which are not utilized in traditional *Khoekhoegowab* writing. This will also counteract the issue of one character being used for two distinct sounds.

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Social Security Commission booklet in *Khoekhoegowab*

Ministry of health booklet in *Khoekhoegowab*

Appendices

A

Khoekhoegowab orthography with electronic suggestions

1 Write words disjunctively unless the grammar and phonology dictate otherwise. That is, simple words stand alone as single lexical units, except those words where grammatical rules require them to be written conjunctively.

Click symbols should be used as follows If there are keypad limitations

2

|	C	dental
||	V	lateral
!	Q	alveolar
ǂ	Y	palatal

Knowing that Khoekhoegowab does not use the letters suggested above this could be the way forward. Also you can have capital and small letters. No confusion as to slash '/' or letter 'l' or dental click '|'.

3 Click complexes: These is when click is coarticualted with other sounds.

Voiceless click:	|, ||, !, ǂ,
Voiced clicks:	|g/ Cg, ||g/Vg, !g/Qg, ǂg/Yg,
Aspirated clicks:	|h/Ch, ||h/Vh, !h/Qh, ǂh/Yh,
Velar aspirated click	|kh/ Ckh, ||kh/ Vkh, !kh/Qkh, ǂkh/ Ykh,
Nasalised click	|n/ Cn, ||n/ Vn, !n/Qn, ǂn/Yn,

4 Five (5) vowels symbols as single units or in combination could be used to write Khoekhoegowab.

Simple vowels:	a, e, i, o u
Nasal vowels:	â,î,û /ang, ing, ung

Note that only the first vowel should be marked in diphthongs with nasality

5 To capitalize a click, write the letter following a click in capital letter or if roman letters suggested above are used the letter can have small and big caps. E.g. C and c.

6 Reduplication of identical units: avoid hyphens except when vowels are juxtaposed. Write reduplicated words as one word e.g !gû!gû not !gû-!gû make to walk.

7 Ideophones: Write without punctuation or quotation marks. If repeated limit the repletion to three words. Pe of ba

8 Write words taken from other languages as they are pronounced in the borrowing language.

Write place names and people surnames as they are pronounced by local speakers.

Place name

!Hoaxa!nâs instead of Hoachanas

Person's surname

!Auxas instead of Auxas

ALPHABET SYMBOLS OF Khoekhoegowab

Basic list of alphabetic symbols and their phonetic value

a [a]

â **[ã]**

b [b]

d [d]

e	[e]
f	[f]
g	[g]
h	[ɦ], or shows aspiration or breathiness.
i	[i]
î	**[ĩ]**
j	[ʤ]
k	[k]
kh	[kʱ]
l	[l]
m	[m]
n	[n], or shows preceding nasalization
o	[o]
p	[p]
r	[r]
s	[s]
t	[t]
ts	[tsʱ]
u	[u]
û	[ũ]
w	[w]
x	[x]
z	[z]

VOWELS

Oral Vowels

/a/	**a**rib	‘dog’
/e/	kar**e**	‘to praise’
/i/	|g**iri**b	‘jackal’
/o/	**o**	‘to eat’
/u/	**u**	‘to take’

Nasal Vowels

/â/	[ang]		
	ǁ**ang**	./ ǁ**â**	‘to be satiated’
/î/	[ing]		
	d**ing**	/ d**î**	‘to ask’

/û/ ǂ**ung** / ǂ**û** ‘to eat’

Oral Diphthongs

/ae/ |**ae**sen ‘being sick’

/ai/ D**ai** ‘sulk’

/ao/ !kh**ao** ‘smell’

/au/ **au** ‘bitter’

/oa/ h**oa**raga ‘everything’

/oe/ |kh**oe**s ‘calf’

/ui/ |g**ui** ‘one’

Nasal diphthongs

/âi/ [aing]

A**ing** / **âi** ‘laugh’

/âu/ [aung]

d**aung** / d**âu** ‘flow or burn’

/îa/ [iang]

hiang / h**îa** ‘while’

/ôa/ [oang]

ǂkh**oang** / ǂkh**ôa** ‘destroy’

/ûi/ [uing]

!uing / !**ûi** ‘to look after/ herd’

CONSONANTS

Khoekhoegowab have two types of consonant systems, the non-click and the click. The click consonants can be divided into two, plain licks and complex clicks. Where need arise I will indicate to which dialect a particular form belongs. Central Nama (CN) central Damara (CD) and Bontelswarts as (B).

Non-click consonants

/b/	**b**e	‘gone’
/d/	**d**oa	‘to tear’
/f/	**F**arams	‘Farm’
/g/	**g**au	‘to hide’
/h/	**h**a	‘to come’
/j/	**J**esub	‘Jesus’
/k/	**k**ara	‘cold’
/kh/	**kh**oe	‘person’
/l/	**l**ammi	‘tongue’ CD
/m/	**m**â	‘to stand’
/n/	**n**â	‘to bite’
/p/	!u**p**us	‘egg’

/r/	**r**a	‘present (imperfective) particle’
/s/	**s**aru	‘chase’
/t/	**t**aras	‘wife’
/ts/	**ts**ampereb	‘cake’
/w/	ǁkha**w**a	‘again’
/x/	**x**am	‘lion’
/z/	**Z**arub	‘cigarette’

Clicks and complex clicks

The click symbols should be used as follows.

|	dental
ǁ	lateral
ǂ	palatal
!	alveolar

/|/

	|am	‘accurate shooter’
/|g/	**|g**aru	‘spread’
/|kh/	**|kh**o	‘play music’ CN and B
/|h/	**|h**o	‘play music CD

/|n/ /|**n**o / /|**n**e ‘measure’

/ǂ/ ǂan ‘know’

/ǂg/ ǂ**g**an ‘ask’

/ǂkh/ ǂ**kh**ari ‘small’ CN and B

/ǂh/ ǂ**h**ari ‘small’ CD

/ǂn/ ǂ**n**u ‘black’

/!/ **!**om ‘hornless’

/!g/ **!g**om ‘heavy’

/!kh/ **!kh**o ‘catch’

/!h/ **!h**om ‘slow or can’t run fast’

/!n/ **!n**ona ‘three’

/||/ ||ae ‘worry’

/||g/ ||**g**ae ‘chew’

/||kh// ||**kh**ore ‘to long’

/||h/ ||**h**ore ‘to long for’

/||n/ ||**n**a ‘fall’

Note: Voiceless is indicated with –v

Voiced indicated with +v

Charting the three dialects consonant sounds

	Bilabial	**Alveolar**	**Velar**	**Glottal**

	-v	+v	-v	+v	-v	+v	-v	+v
Stops	**p**	**b**	**t** **ts**	**d**	**k** **kh**	**g**		
Fricatives		**w**	**s**	**z**	**x**		**H**	
Nasals		**M**		**N**				
Liquids			**l**	**r**				

The plain and complex clicks in the three dialects

	Dental	**Lateral**	**alveolar**	**palatal**
Plain clicks:	**ǀ**	**ǁ**	**ǃ**	**ǂ**
Voicing of clicks:	**gǀ**	**gǁ**	**gǃ**	**gǂ**
Aspiration of clicks:	**ǀʱ**	**ǁʱ**	**ǃʱ**	**ǂʱ**
Click with aspirated velar release	**ǀkʱ**	**ǁkʱ**	**ǃkʱ**	**ǂkʱ**
Nasalised click	**ŋǀ**	**ŋǁ**	**ŋǃ**	**ŋǂ**

WORD DIVISION RULES FOR DIFFERENT WORD CLASSES

Grammatical categories such as verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs etc., keep their lexical status as independent syntactic units. Therefore, words that are full lexical units will be written disjunctively unless the grammatical nature indicates the contrary. This rule means that the writing system favours both disjunctive and conjunctive writing.

Stand alone units

verbs

ao ‘to throw’

nouns

gomas ‘cow’

adjectives

kai ‘big’

adverbs

||ari ‘yesterday’

conjunctions

xawe ‘but’

numerals

|gui ‘one’

pronouns

||ĩb ‘he’ (Kkg)

Prepositions

ai ‘on’

6.1.2 **Grammatical morphemes** comprising (PGN, affixes, extensions, Tense aspect markers, etc.)

In Khoekhoegowab grammatical morphemes should be written with word classes they occur with. However, if they can function as full lexical units, they should be written separately.

Compounds are two words, which may be similar, and should be written together, as they have one lexical meaning.

COMPOUNDING AND REDUPLICATION

Compounds are words that when occurring side by side give one complete meaning. Compound words may be made up of the following combinations:

- verb+noun; verb+adverb;
- noun+adjectives; etc.

When these two words that occur side by side are similar or come from the same root (or stem) they are called reduplications. Reduplications are generally made up of the same words that are repeated to make one lexical structure with one meaning:

- verb+verb

  Kaikai ‘to make bigger’

  (i) Write reduplicated words as one word

  (ii) Avoid hyphen unless two juxtaposed vowels create confusion.

7.9 **Serial verbs**

Serial verbs are those that occur in sequence. Note that these verbs are not word compounds, but they follow each other in a sentence as full lexical entities and may translate notions such as: take look at; run catch; walk accompany; carry go; pass go under, etc.

Write serial verbs separately:

Uri ɬoa ‘jump out’

IDEOPHONES

Ideophones are words that imitate sounds made by animals or objects. They have the status of a full word. In many languages, they are introduced by verbs such as, do, say, or any other appropriate introducing verbs. Observe the following rules when writing ideophones.

(1) Write ideophones without punctuation marks.

(2) Limit ideophones to three repetitions.

pee of baa! ‘to utter a sound’

WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN

Words that have been taken from other languages should be written as they are sounded or pronounced in Khoekhoegowab. A foreign word that local speakers use is said to be nativized if they adopt a pronunciation that suits them. Most of such words become part of the active vocabulary of the speakers. Words of this nature may be from European or other African languages.

Names of other ethnic groups

|Hûb ‘Afrikaner’

Pirib ‘Tswana’

Ingilis ‘English’

Nama ‘Nama’

9.2 **Names of objects and amenities**

Founi ‘phone’

kopis ‘cup’

lorib ‘big vehicle’

B

Korana

ǂkxaniga uha tama doesn’t have book

ǀg’aob poffader

ǀg’sen

Body ǀxab

Mouth kx’ama

To seek. Kx’ôana

Kx’omi

Cry kxa

Boy ǀgob

Girl ǀgos

ǂkhara gomab bull

ǀgxasa sharp

Shout !x’au

Grade 9 textbook

4.2 Phonetics

- ***Clicks***

Click	phoneme	example
ǀ	[ǀˀ]	ǀaob
ǁ	[ǁˀ]	ǁama
!	[!ˀ]	**!**anu
ǂ	[ǂˀ]	ǂareb
ǀg	[gǀ]	ǀ**g**om
ǁg	[gǁ]	ǁgamba
!g	[g!]	!gû
ǂg	[gǂ]	ǂgaes
ǀh	[ǀ͡h]	ǀhao
ǁh	[ǁ͡h]	ǁhai
!h	[!͡h]	!hoa
ǂh	[ǂ͡h]	ǂhaweb
ǀn	[ŋǀ]	ǀnai
ǁn	[ŋǁ]	ǁnae
!n	[ŋ!]	!nona
ǂn	[ŋǂ]	ǂnoa
ǀkh	[ʱ]	ǀkhab
ǁkh		ǁkhau
!kh		!khaisa
ǂkh		sîǂkhanis

-

- ***C***

- ***Grade 9 prescribed school book***

In this section the present researcher will discuss the language usage in this particular book. This book recognises the following consonants.

Letter	phoneme	example
b	[b]	**b**uru
d	[d]	**d**aob
g	[g]	**g**omab
h	[h]	**h**ara
k	[k]	**k**urib
kh	[kʰ]	**k**hau

m	[m]	**m**ā
n	[n]	**n**ams
p	[p]	**p**iris
r	[r]	**r**amkib
s	[s]	**s**ores
t	[t]	**t**ao
ts	[tsh]	**ts**aob
w	[v]	**w**ekheb

In the category of foreign sounds the following sounds were acknowledged and used in the discussions.

Letter	phoneme	example
f	[f]	tele**f**oni
j	[j]	**j**ersis
l	[l]	sko**l**i

- ***Vowels***

Letter	phoneme	example
a	[a]	**a**xab
e	[e]	**e**ga
i	[i]	d**i**r**i**b
o	[o]	t**o**r**o**b
u	[u]	**u**ri

lengthy vowels

letter	phoneme	example
ā	[a:]	h**ā**b
ē	[e:]	b**ē**
ī	[i:]	ǀkh**ī**
ō	[o:]	kō
ū	[u:]	ǀgū

nasal vowels

letter	phoneme	example
â	[ã]	m**â**
î	[ĩ]	ǂkh**î**
û	[ũ]	m**û**

Diphthongs

letter	phoneme	example

ae	[ae]	ǁg**ae**
ai	[ai]	k**ai**
ao	[ao]	**ao**b
au	[au]	t**au**
oa	[oa]	xoa
oe	[oe]	ǀg**oe**
ui	[ui]	h**ui**

- ***Nasalised dipthongs***

Letter	phoneme	example
âi	[ãi]	s**âi**
âu	[ãu]	x**âu**
ôa	[õa]	ǂh**ôa**
ûi	[ũi]	ǃ**ûi**
îa	[ĩa]	h**îa**

D.

The old bible

4.2 Phonetics

- ***Clicks***

Click	phoneme	example
ǀ	[gǀ]	ǀgorasa
ǁ	[ǁ]	ǁhaon
ǃ	[ŋǃ]	**ǃ**nub-eib
ǂ	[ǂ]	ǂareb
ǀg	[gǀ]	ǀ**g**uitiib
ǁg	[gǁ]	ǁ**g**oa
ǃg	[gǃ]	**ǃg**âib
ǂg	[gǂ]	ǂ**g**ui
ǀh	[ǀ͡h]	ǀ**h**omi
ǁh	[ǁ͡h]	ǁ**h**aon
ǃh	[ǃ͡h]	**ǃh**ub-ei
ǂh	[ǂ͡h]	ǂ**h**anaben
ǀn	[ɳǀ]	ǀnai
ǁn	[ɳǁ]	ǁ**n**ati
ǃn	[ɳǃ]	**ǃn**ub-eib
ǂn	[ɳǂ]	ǂ**n**ou-ǃan
ǀkh	[ǀk]	u-ǀki
ǁk		ǁkadi

!k	!kainab/!khub
‡k	**‡kanis**

consonants

Letter	phoneme	example
b	[b]	tsî**b**
d	[d]	**d**isa
g	[g]	**g**agab
h	[h]	**h**ana
k	[k]	**k**uschi
kh /k	[kh]	**kh**oiba, ‡**k**ogu, ǁ**kh**âb
m	[m]	**m**î
n	[n]	a**n**i**n**
p	[p]	**-**
r	[r]	‡ka**r**i
s	[s]	ǀgora**s**a
t	[t]	**t**ita
ts	[t^{h}s]	**tsîb**
w	[v]	ǁha**w**u-mâ

In the category of foreign sounds the following sounds were acknowledged and used in the discussions.

Letter	phoneme	example
f	[f]	tele**f**oni
j	[j]	**j**ersis
l	[l]	sko**l**i

- ***Vowels***

Letter	phoneme	example
a	[a]	x**a**we
e	[e]	**e**lob
i	[i]	t**i**
o	[o]	**o**b
u	[u]	!h**u**b-eib

lengthy vowels

letter	phoneme	example
ä/ā	[a:]	h**ā**b, ‡gui-**ā**raâb
ë	[e:]	ǁêi**ë**
ï or ī	[i:]	0**ï,** d**ī**
ö	[o:]	ǀhêi**ö**-!na
ū	[u:]	-

nasal vowels

letter	phoneme	example
â	[ã]	!n**â**b
êi, ê	[ĩ]	ǁ**êi**ti, **ê**n
û	[ũ]	h**û**-!nati

dibpthongs

letter	phoneme	example
ai	[ae]	ǁ**ai**gu /!k**ai**nab
ei/ ai	[ai]	h**ei**n, ǁkh**ai**sa, !kh**ei**sa
au	[ao]	kh**au**!gâ
ou	[au]	!**ou**b
oa	[oa]	di-t**oa**
oi	[oe]	kh**oi**b
ui	[ui]	h**ui**

- ***Nasalised dipthongs***

Letter	phoneme	example
êi	[ãi]	‡**êi**
âu	[ãu]	x**âu**
ôa	[õa]	**ôa**gu
ûi	[ũi]	!**ûi**
îa	[ĩa]	h**îa**

E.

Facebook page Naman ǁkhoab

4.2 Phonetics

- ***Clicks***

Click	phoneme	example
ǀ,/	[ǀ]	/kha
ǁ	[ǁ]	/goe, ǁa
!	[!]	**!**âisen
ǂ, #, ¥	[ǂ]	ǂansa, #ni, **¥**nu**¥**goas, #Nu#goahes
ǀg	[gǀ]	/**g**eibe, /**g**ui-i

ǁg	[gǁ]	**//g**ai
!g	[g!]	ai**!g**ausen
ǂg, #g	[gǂ]	#nu**#g**oahes, **#g**osens
ǀh	[ǀ¯h]	**/h**omsi
ǁh	[ǁ¯h]	**//h**are
!h	[!¯h]	**!h**apurosa
ǂh	[ǂ¯h]	**ǂh**anuse
ǀn	[ɳǀ]	**/n**amsa
ǁn	[ɳǁ]	**//n**â
!n	[ɳ!]	//i**!n**ape
ǂn, ¥n, #n	[ɳǂ]	**¥n**û, **#n**oabi
ǀkh	[ǀ^{h}k]	
//k		**//k**oa o

F.
Parts of focused group discussion data transcribed
Note: English spell check moved certain characters which makes some sentences ungrammatical.

Focused group discussion in Khorixas Namibia

Toxopa ǁgamroba te re taridu a !khais tsi mâ gurib ǂharis !nâ du ra ǁna !khais tsina?
Respondent 1(Male). Tit age a outsob di, xawe ta ge //nawa ta ge !nae xawe neba khorixas !nâ ge kai tsî neba skola ge ǂgâ. Tsîta ge a ǀgamdisi !nonaǀa gurixa.
Respondent 2.(male). Tit age a Moses ǁhohe, Namidama ǀgôab ge, !naniǀausa xu ra ǂkhareba xaeb ge ǁhôab !nâ !nae tsi ge kai. Dadel tûibab ge ǁnapa ra ǂga. ǀhûbab g era hui. ǂhanub di tûiba. Tsîb ge !nani ǁausab xu ǀkhi hâ xawe eerste begins ai rah â. Tit age 1974 ge !nae tsi a 38 gurixa.
Respondent 3 (male). Tit age hermanus tsi a ǁarese. Tit age a !huǁî, tsi a khorixas di.
Interviewer, tsib ge matiko gurixa?
Respondent 3. Tit age 1987 ge !nae tsi a 25 gurixa.
Respondent 4. Tit age ouchob a ge !nae.
Interviewer: Tsîb ge tare-I xa neǀkhab ǁga ge ǀkhi uhe? Damara !hub ge !hub !noras ǀkha ǁkhowa-amhe ota ge neb age doeǀkhi. Xawe ta ge farms air a ǁan. (1934) Daniel Haraeb.
Respondent 5: Tit age a ǀgopani, Gobabes dir a mîhe !as ai ta gege !nae. Tsita ge ne ao o sarimas ǀguisa rah î. Interviewer. Tsib ge matiko gurixa? Tit age ne ta ǂnôa o !nanidisi koroǀa gurixa.
Respondent 6 (female) Tita ge a hotan. Tita ge khorixas di a. neba ta gege !nae. Resevat farm di !nâ. Tsita ge a hakadisi ǀgamla gurixa.
Respondent 7 (female) Tit age toxopa !nomaba ho tama hâ tare I xa ra !hoa e !khaisa. ǂâibasens xu-I !uru ǂâibasens tae I !aroma I a !khaisa.

Interviewer: Kaise !gâi dîs, hukats xu-ets ǀu hîa ǂgâ ǁoa. Tit age Niklaas fredericks tsita ge university of the western cape ti ra mîhe ǀgapi ǁkhaǁkhasen !khaib air a ǁkhaǁkhasen tsita ge ǁna !khaiba xu ôa!nâde ra di se ǀkhi ha. Tsî ne ôa!nâdi ge sada gowab khoekhoegowab, damara/nama ti ǀnîn xa mîhe, damara ti ǀnîn xa mîhe, nama ti ǀnin xa miheb, ǁna gowab ǁîba ta g era ôa!na. Tsî ne ôa!nas gem â !harib aib gowaba ra ǀkhara !khaisa ôa!nas ǂamara !gû, !hoaǀgaub, xoaǀgaub tamas ka I o mapa I ra ǀkhara. !gasa I go,
Intervewee six. Xawe ta ge nes ǀkha ǁkhawa ra ǂanǂgao ǀnisi ǂkhanina du sir a xoa ǂgao?
Interviewer: ǂkhanin tit a tam î, !âis !aroma ra sîsen uhe tesis sat a ge sir a xoa. Tis tsina hî tama, ǀgapi ǁgau!nâ!khaeb xa a ǀhonkhoe aihe.
Respondent 6. ǁnâu!a ta g era nesisa.
Interviewer: Tsidu ge !gâi!gaibasensa uha?
Respondent6: î !â ta ka khama ta g era tsâ.

Interviewer. ǁgau!nâ-aos areas ge skoli !nâ ǀgôana khoekhoegowaba ra ǁkhaǁkha. ǁîsa xu ta g era ǂanǂgao ne ǁnae ai ǂkhanis ǁîs hîa hoaraga namibiab !nâ luders tsi rinse kerkhegu tawa ra sîsen uhesa. ǀgui I a skol ǂkhanin ǀkha?
One respondent: Aisan ta ǁgoe pa ko re.
Respondent: ǀhuiseb without the [ǀ], so on the ID document its written Huiseb.
Respondent: ǂGaribes di ta ge a .tsaoxaub am!gâb di ta ge a.

Focused group discussion Gibeon Namibia
Introduction in which the researcher explained purpose of the study. During these he also explain the ethical consideration and no one is forced to take part in the proceedings against their will. In this regard all the people present did not raise any ethical concerns. They were in fact optimistic to be mentioned in the thesis.
Researcher: Mîba te re sado taridu ase a ǂansa? Tî e du ka khoe I xa o taridu ti du ni mî?
Respondent1 (woman in her mid thirtees). Sid age a tsai.
Researcher: O nau !gâsara a tare, ǁîra tsina a tsai?
Respondent2(Also in a late thirtees) Tit age tsai tama hâ, tit age a kaiǁkhau xawe ta ǁnâi mîǁoa specific van !kharagagu !haora xu tar a ǂoaxas ǀkha.
Researhcer: Tsi ǁnara gem â !haora?
Respondent: ǀkhowese tsi kaiǁkhau
Researhcer: Ok, ǀkhowese tsi kaiǁkhau, tsi nauǀkab ai ǂnôa !gâsas?
Respondent: Tit age a tsai
Researcher: O nesisa da go kaiǁkaun, tsain, tsi ǀkhowesen ti mî soap ai, tare I !aroma du ram î sadu ge a tsai ti?
Respondent1: Tit age ti ǁnaora xa ǁnata ge kai ǂoaxa o, sas ge tsai. Tsita ge ne ta ǂnôa o a tsai aob tsi tarsa xu !hui hâ. Tsita ge tita ǁna ta ge kai ǂoaxa o tsai ta axase ge kai.
Researcher: O tsaina tarebe xu !nôana ra din au khoen di tama tsidu sado tit age tsai ti ra ǂâibana?
Respondent1: tit age mî ǁkha ta ka o sida ra di xun, sida ge kai ǂoaxa o dag ere di xun naukhoen tawa ta ǁnâi mû tama xuna da ge sida sida kaikhoen xa gere ǁgauhe.
Researcher: ǀnîsi du a mîro ǁkha tare xuna !khaisa?
Respondent1 : Huka !garo!a kai da ge tsita ga ǁna xamarihân di !harib ai a mîǁkha o, tsi !hao si ǂu tsi gowab.
Researcher: O gowab tsin g era !kharaga, o matib ra !kharaga. Auǁgausa mâ te re.
Respondent3: Nau khoen ta !hoa o, naukhoen ge gena ti ram î.

Researcher: O ne naukhoena ka a mâ khoe?
Respondent: ǁna tar a mîn ge !gamiǂnûna, ǁnan ge gena ti ram î. Tsita ge sida gere ti ram î.
Researcher: Tsi sadu ge tsai do,
Respondent: î
Researcher: ǀnîsi du ǀnî aiǁgaurona uha?
Respondent: hî i.
Researcher: Ega ta ni noxopa oaǀkhi nausa. To respondent 3. Sado tare I !aroma tsaidu ti ram î. ǂâ-ams tsina du ge hî ǁkha.
Respondent3: (âi).. Tit age !gamse eenige xu e sa mî ǁoa !aruǀî. Khoes hîa ǂans kais ge ǁnâi go nesisa mî.
Researcher: aiǁgause tag a mî os ge ti aumasa gaman ti ra mî ǁis ge grunaus ǀkharib !nâ !nae xui ao tsita ge sida Gibeons ǀkharib !nâ da ge !nae tsi ǀkhowese kais ao da ge sida goman ti ram î. O !nonaǁi !gâsas ǀkhowesen tsi kaiǁkhausis xa.
Respondent2: Hî I ǀgaisa xu e ta mîǁoa xawe is ge ti bab di mâsa kaiǁkhau, xawe ta ge ǁnâi !nasa !gasasi e uha tama ha. Xawe ti mas ge a ǁkhawa a ǀkhowese. ǁnas tsina ta ǀgaisa xu e mîǁoa xawe ta ge kaiǁkhaun ǁaegu kai tama hâ.Gibeons ai ge !nae tsi kai khoeta ao ta ge ǀkhowesen ǁaegu ge kai.
Researcher: Sadu ra mîs ge Gibeons ain ge !nasase ǀkhowesena rah â?
Respondent: Eintlik mati tan î mî, ǀu ta ge a mati I o sax awe I ge ǁna !nasa khoen ge a ǀkhowese.
Researcher: O mati du a ǂan ǀîn a ǀkhowese !khaisa?
Respondent: Tit age kai tawan ge ǀkhowesena rah â.
Researcher: O mû ǁkha du a ǁna garu I ge ǀkhowese I ti, tamas ka I o tae e ra mîba du ǁna I ge ǀkhowese e ti?
Respondent: ǀu ta ge a xawe ta ge ǁnâi ram û om-ari de ta a ǂans ǀkha ta ge ǁnâi mîǁkha ne I ge ǀkhowese nau I ge tari ti.
Researcher: Khoe I neti !gû garu hîa mîǁkhats a ǁna garub ge ǀkhowese, nau hâb ge !gamîǂnûba ba ti?
Respondent: î mû!a ǁkhats ge a. xawe neba Gibeons !nâ I !nasase a ǂansan ge !gamiǂnûn tsi ǀkhowesen tsina a !nasa.
Researcher: Tsits a mûǁkha ǂans ose? Tita ga ne ta go ǀkhi khami ǀkhi tsi dî !amuǂnûba mâi, kaiǁkhauba mâi, ǀkhoweseba mâi tsi dî tsi o !gamiǂnuba ôaba de ti o di hots nî?
Respondents: Tit age san î mû!a
Researcher: Mati?
Respondetn: ǀuta a. khoe I di ǀgau tamapa ka of ǀnisi khoe I di gowa tama pa.
Researcher: o noxopa da ge !hoas tsina hî tama ha. ǁna khoen ge ǂgaoga ǀkhis ǀguisa hî tsi ǁuse ha go mâ. Ai-isiga ta ge go ǁgau du.
Respondents: Isib ais tsinats mû ǁkha.
Researcher: o mî !nôana ǀnisi ha nau ǁaedi xa sisen uhe tama xawe Lo aisa se ǀgui ǁaes xa ra sisen uhe na? ǀnîsin ge ǀgoana ǁgoaga go !gû tsin ga !ui a ǁgôaxa o da ge sida ǂnauǁna ti ram î. !gâuxo, !gâure.
!gamiǂnûn ge !gâuxo ti ram î. Tsain ge ǂnauǁnâ ti ram î.
!garoka !auka
Researcher: o kaiǁkhaun aiǁgaudi.
Respondent: ǁnawasa ta ge tita glad ǀgaisa ǂan e uha tama ha. Huka ta kai !nâ tama khoen.

Researcher: o ǁna I ge khoe e go nabaxa.

Respondent: ǁna I ge khoe e go ǂkhere.
Respondents: haisa xu ǁgôaxa. Hais a !apa. lâb tsin |khai. ǂnuse se ǂnu go. Xawe ta |u mapa xun hâ !khaisa mîn. |guiti|gui i. |gaiti i. (damara)
Researcher: Tarina mâ!as ai ara hâ?
Respondent: Bethanien= !amman, !hoaxas =kaiǁkhaun, berseba=|khauan/ |hai|khaun
Researcher: O mariental hân ai khoena |khai?
Respondents: hân ge ni xawets ge khoetsa a mî ǁoa. Daweb !gaos tsinats ge a mîǁoa. ǁnawas tsinats ge a mîǁoa hâhâ tamats hâs |kha.

Parts of speech from the focus group discussion from Bontelswarts Nama

Researcher: Mati du ka ra |onǂgaihe
Respondent: Tit age Katrina ti |gui a ǂansa. Tita gege Schalk I xawe ta ge Rooib |kha ge !game. Tit age |khoes ai ge !nae. |khoesa xu !auga hâ !aros aim ge ge !nae.
Researcher: Nama |on-e uhâ tama !asa ǁnasa?
Respondents: hî-î
Researcher: O |khoes tsi Grunaus di ǂnamipe du ge !nae o taridu ti du ra ǂgaisen?
Respondents: |uda ge a nausa. !gamiǂnun tis tsina da g era ǂgaihe. Ti mamas ge nausea ge Nama dara-I xawe ta ge klearlink ti ǂkhani !nâ xoa-e hâ. Ti dadab ge a Daitser. Nausam ge !gasa se a mîǁoa mapa dam â !khaisa.
Researhcer: O ne |kharib !nâ |nî khoena ǂan du a |khara |gaub ai Nama gowab ra !hoana?
Respondents: Sid age !gûmâ tama hâ tsita ge a mîǁoa
Researcher: O mina du ǂan tama hâ nau |kharigu !nâ ra sîsen uhe xawe neba sisen uhe tama nâ?
Respondents: hî I sida ge huka Namas tsina rah î tsi |nîǁae Nama gowab !hoa tama hâ.
Researcher: o ne mîde noxopa sîsen u du ra? Aiǁgause Gamas
Respondents: î, sida ge gamas ti |gui ram î. |nî khoen ge gomas ti ram î. Sida ra ǁhob ti mî oas Tsinan ge ǁgarub ti ra mî. Sid age ǁkhati |khen ti ram î nau khoen ta |khon ti mî hîa.
Sid age |guipa dag a |hao o Khoekhoegowaba ra !hoa xawem ge |gôa-I ga |khi o ra Afrikaans. !hoaǂgaom ta xawem g era dawa in khoerona ǁnâu!a. ǁna kurigu ai ta gena Afrikaans gowab |guiba radio hân ai gere ǁnâu.
Researcher: o |garube e ǂan du a ǁna kurigu !nâ gere ǁgam-e he?
Respondents: Ne |gôan ta khoe-I ti ǂâisa ube !nub-ai. Tsu tsi tsu. Axagu ti ǁoreb, nau |gôai ti Tareb |guib tsi ne surudeb. Ok, !gâ taras nauba I ge ǁo-e hâ.
Researcher: o !Gâtaras ti du ram î o du ka tae e ra ǂâibasen?
Respondents: !oats gas a !gâs |kha !hoa ǂgao ots ge sa !gâs ti ram î. ǂgausib
Researcher: o ǂgausib ti hâ mîsa tare-e ra ǂâibasen?
Respondents: Reg uit.
Respondents: Sida ge hoaragase ǂguise ra ǁgam. |khai|khas ga |khi o. Tsi ham-e ka huka gere |khi tsi sam |kha ha gere ǁgam? Au Napi Kido. Hy geseels huka ni veel met ons nie. |Gôan ge ǁna |hoeba ǂgao tamahâ tsib ge |gôan ga hâ o Afrikaansa ra !hoa.
Researcher: O ne Aroab ti ra ǂgaihe !asa ǂan du a.
Respondents: î, ǂAro!ab ge, ǂaro dig e ǂguise mâ ǁna amaga ge ǁnati ǂgaihe ǂAro!ab ti.
Researcher: O gabis sa ǂan du a.
Respondents: hî I ǂGâbes ti du ga mî hâ o dag a |hao hâ.
Researcher: O |nîkhoen hîa ne gowaba ra !hoana mî re.
Respondents: Ti |ui hân ge !hukha |goras tawa hâ.

Researcher: Respondents: Matits ta huka mî
Rest of the discussion was summarized in the tables with specific words taken to be used.

G.

Summarized lexical items from the different dialects

English	**Central Nama** **Spoken in Gibeon**	**Botelswarts Nama** **Spoken in Grunau and Aroab**	**Damara spoken in Khorixas**
Cow	Gomas	Gamas	Gomas
Itch	‘ǀkhon’ or ‘ǀkhen’	ǀkhen	ǀkhon

Central Nama **Spoken in Gibeon**	**Botelswarts Nama** **Spoken in Grunau and Aroab**	**Damara spoken in Khorixas**
nari (This morning) Tupu (whisper)	ǀgirab (jackal) ǂunis (worm)	xuri (scoop water) Hawu (eat up)

Long without tone **Short without tone**

ǀgōros [ǀgooros] ǀgoros [ǀgoros]

ǀuni [ǀuuni] ǀuni [ǀuni]

ǀguu [ǀguu] ǀgu [ǀgu]

In all three dialects

ǂhere [ǂhere] (flat)

ǂhē [ǂhē] (to catch something).

ǂgawa (Thin) is ǂgā (to put in).

Vowel	**Phonemic value**	**Examples**
Â	**[ã]**	**!gâ**
Î	**[ĩ]**	**Hî**
Û	**[ũ]**	**ǂû**

Example	**Vowel combination**	**Phonemic value**
ǀaesen	ae combined with mid e	[ae]
!Khao	Ao combined with mid o	[ao]
Dai	Ai combined with high vowel i	[ai]
Au	Au combined with high vowel u	[au]

Example	vowel combination	Phonemic value
Hoaragase	Oa combined with low vowel a	[oa]
ǀkhoes	Oe combines with mid vowel e	[oe]
ǀGui	Ui combined with high vowel i	[ui]
Âi (laugh)	**Âi**	**[ãĩ]**
ǂâi (to think)	**âi**	**[ǂãĩ]**
!gâi (nice)	**âi**	**[!gãĩ]**
Dâu (Burn or flow)	**Âu**	**[ãũ]**
ǂgâu (bump)	**âu**	**[ǂgãũ]**
!âu	**âu**	**[!ãũ]**
Khôa	Ôa	[õã]
ǁgôa (get down)	ôa	[õã]
ǂkhôa	ôa	[õã]
!ûi	**Ûi**	**[ũĩ]**
Xûib (brandy)	**ûi**	**[xũĩ]**
ǀûib (net)	**ûi**	**[ǀũĩ]**
Îa	**Îa**	**[ĩã]**

Words with b and p extracted from the data (note if not indicated then word is in all three dialects.

Buru (amased) puru (flip) (**CD**)

Bē (gone)	pē (sound)
ǁgabob (wing)	!upus (egg)

Sounds d and t

Di (do)	ti (mine)
Doa (tear)	Toa (Done)
Doro (To light)	torob (War)
Danib (Honey)	tani (Carry)

Saru	zarub
Supu	zawu

ham	smell
horen	friends

Mâ	stand
ǂgama	brown
Sakhom	the two of us
Nâ	bite
ǂnani	whistle

ǂgan to ask

ǂkhari small

Xo**r**o Give birth

Khakhoeb [khakhoeb] -enemy

Khau [khau] -kindle fire

Khâi [khaing] Get up

CN, CD and B	**English**
Tsau	tired
Tsarab	dust

Axas girl

Xuri scoop (water)

1. Miba (mi-ba) ’to tell’
2. ǂauǂauba (ǂauǂau-ba) “to stop for’
3. ǂnaba (ǂna-ba) ‘to kick for’
1. Mîbasen (mîba-sen) ‘tell oneself’
2. ǂnasen (ǂna-sen) ‘to kick oneself’

3. !khâisen (!khâi-sen) ‘stop oneself’

Mu + ǂan = Muǂan

See + to know = recognise

ǁnâu + ǀnam = //nau/nam

Hear + love = obey

Ha-u	Bring
Si-u	take thither
!anu!anu	‘to clean’
Kaikai	‘to make bigger’

tûib garden

‘plu’ meaning plough

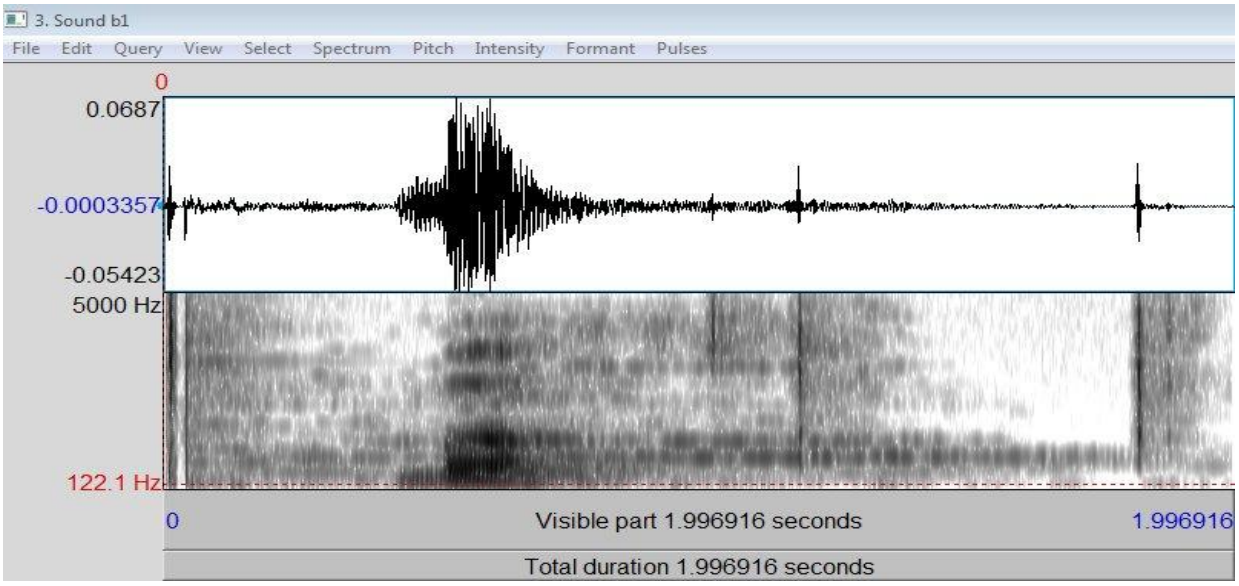
dâu could serve to functions e.g.

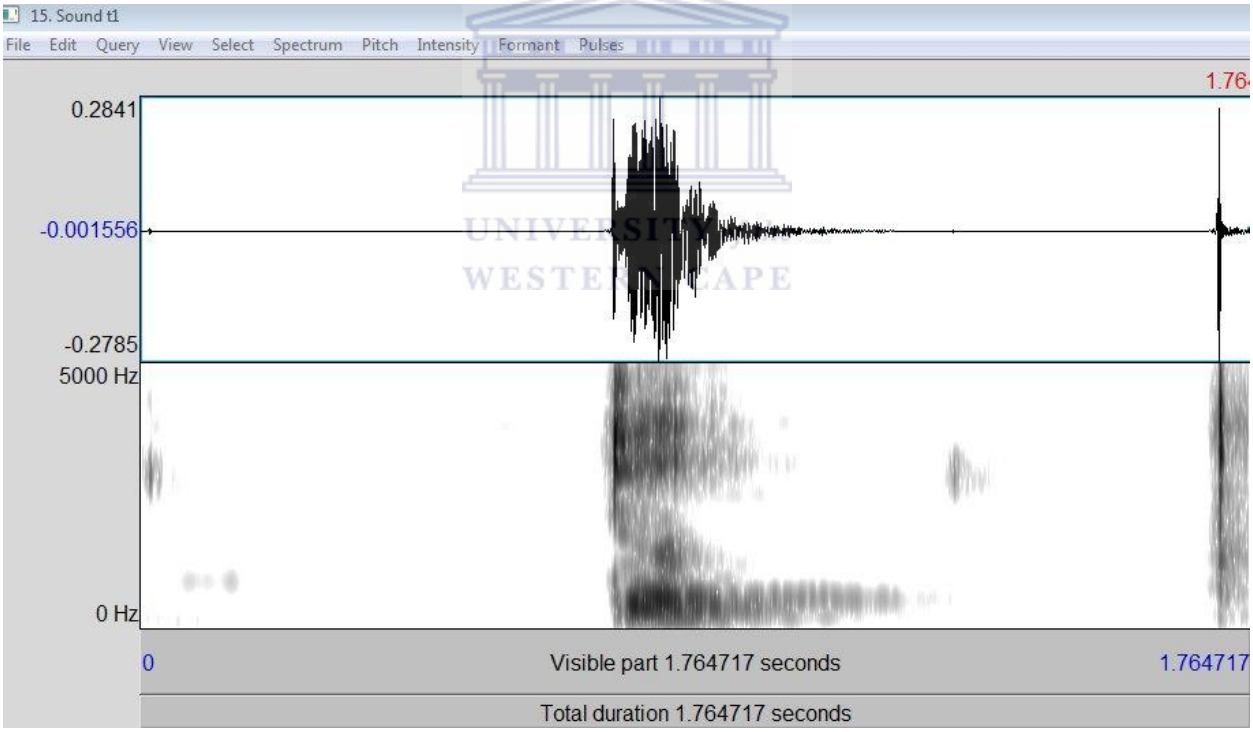
Dâu ra !ab ge. (The river is flowing)

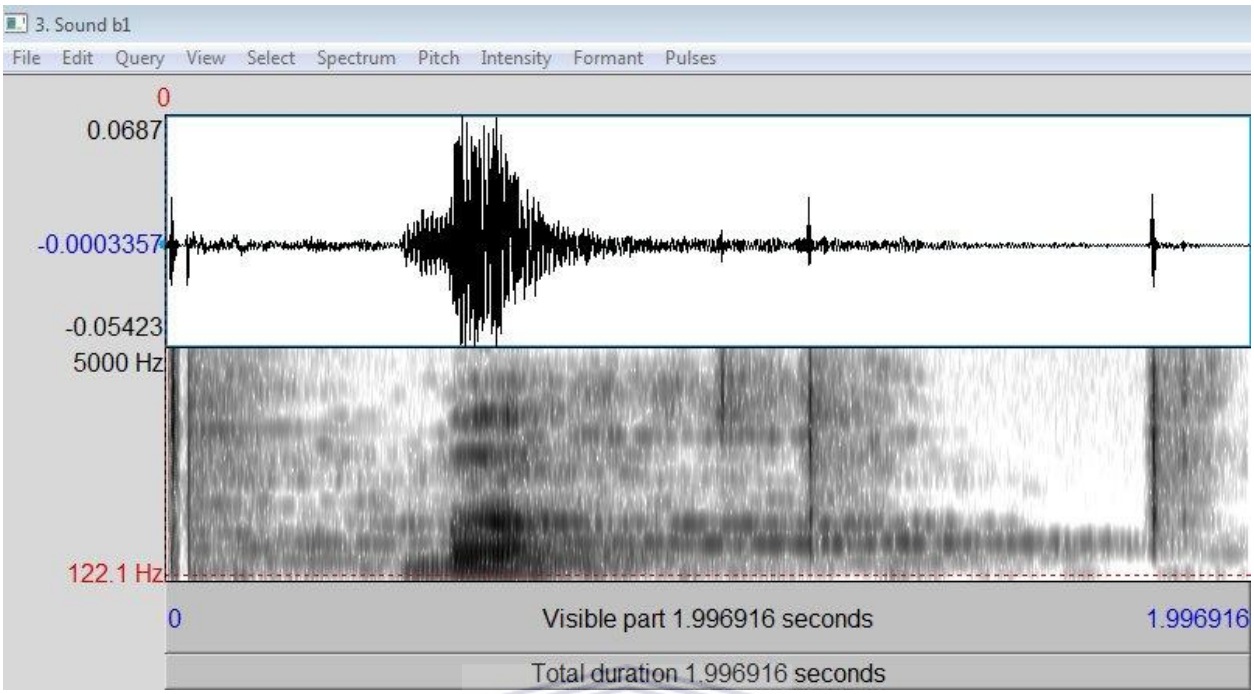
Dâu ta ge ra (I am burning)

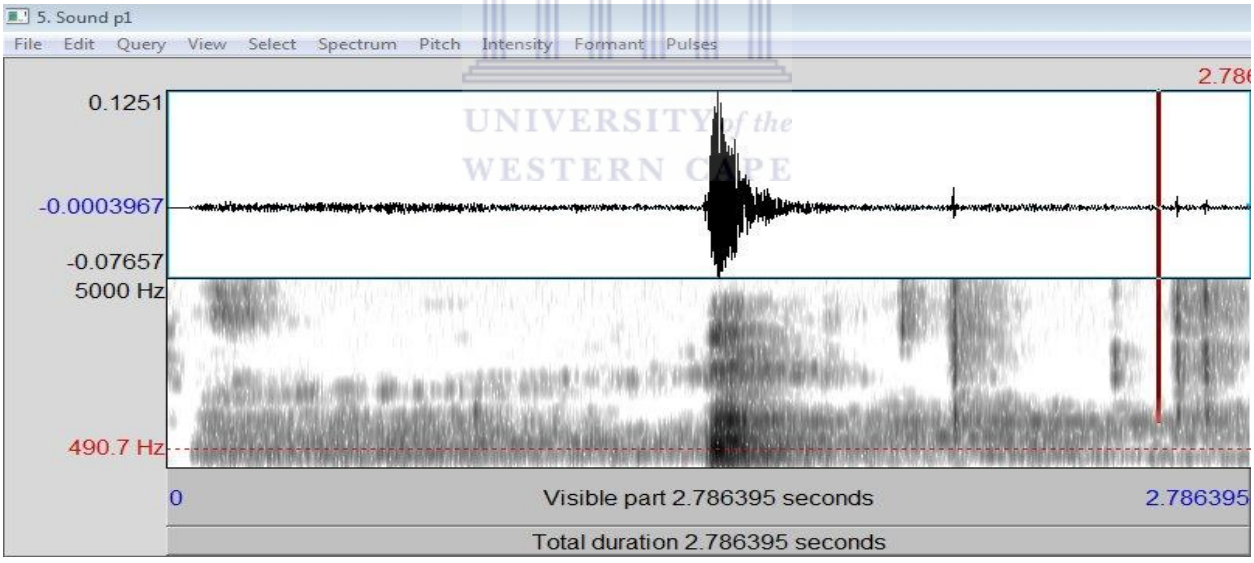
H.

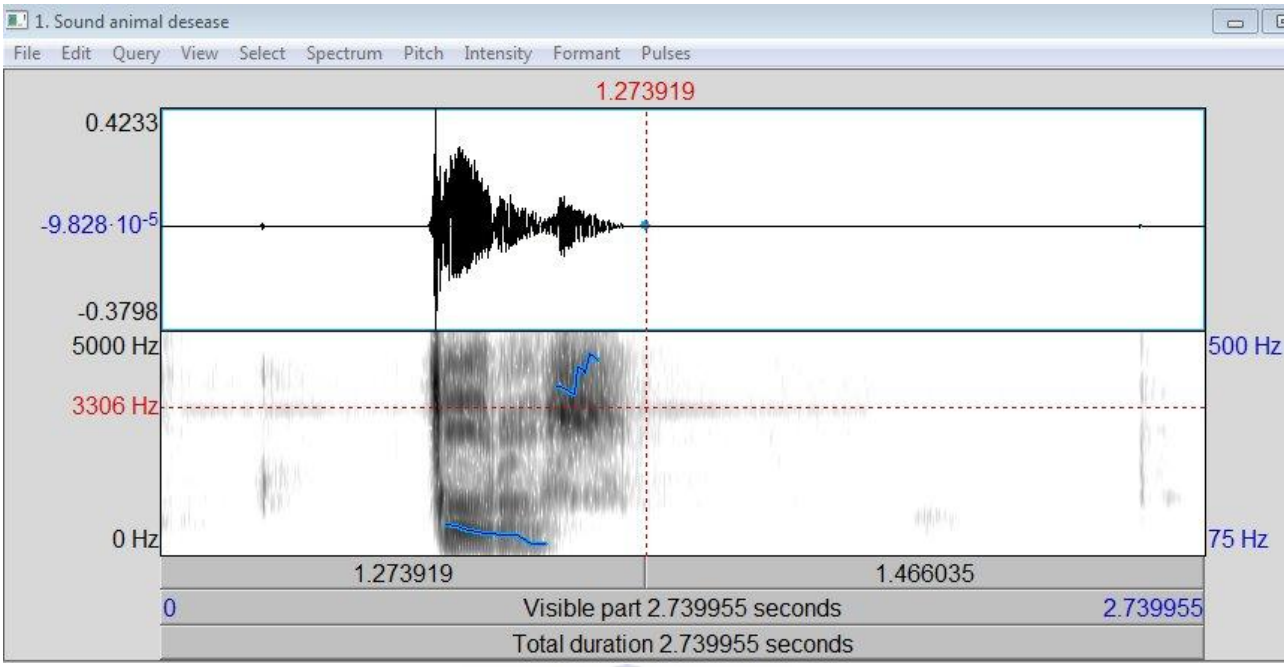
Praat images used in discussion

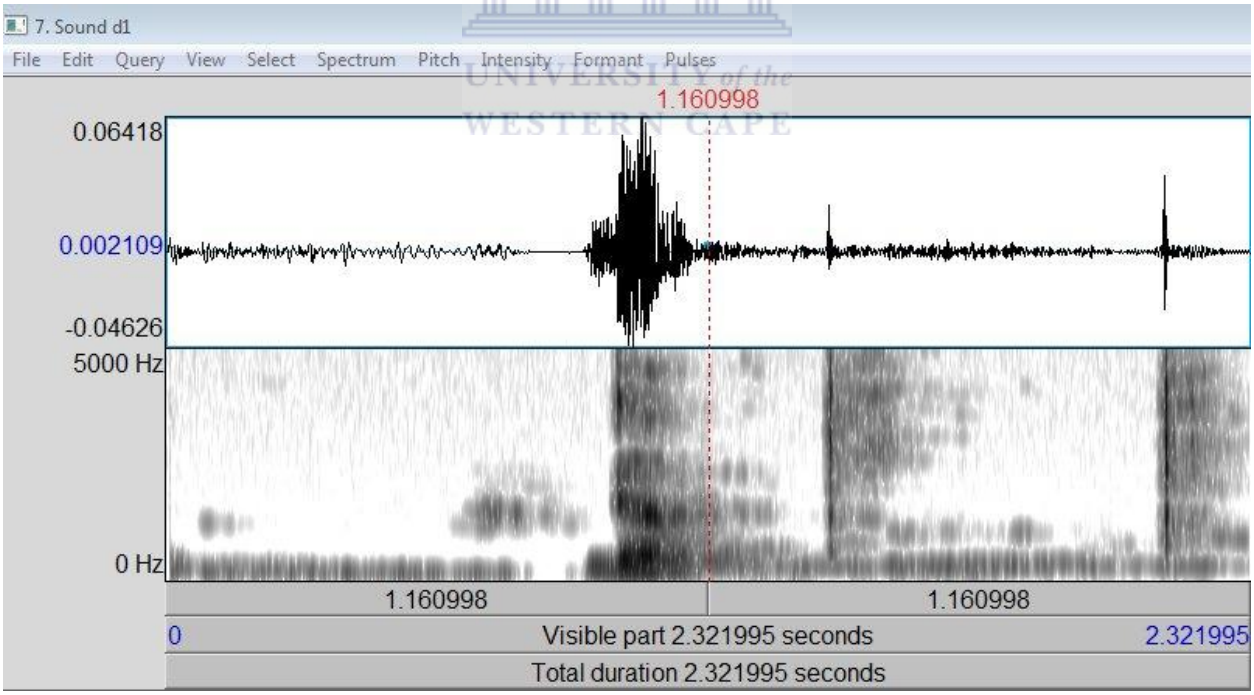


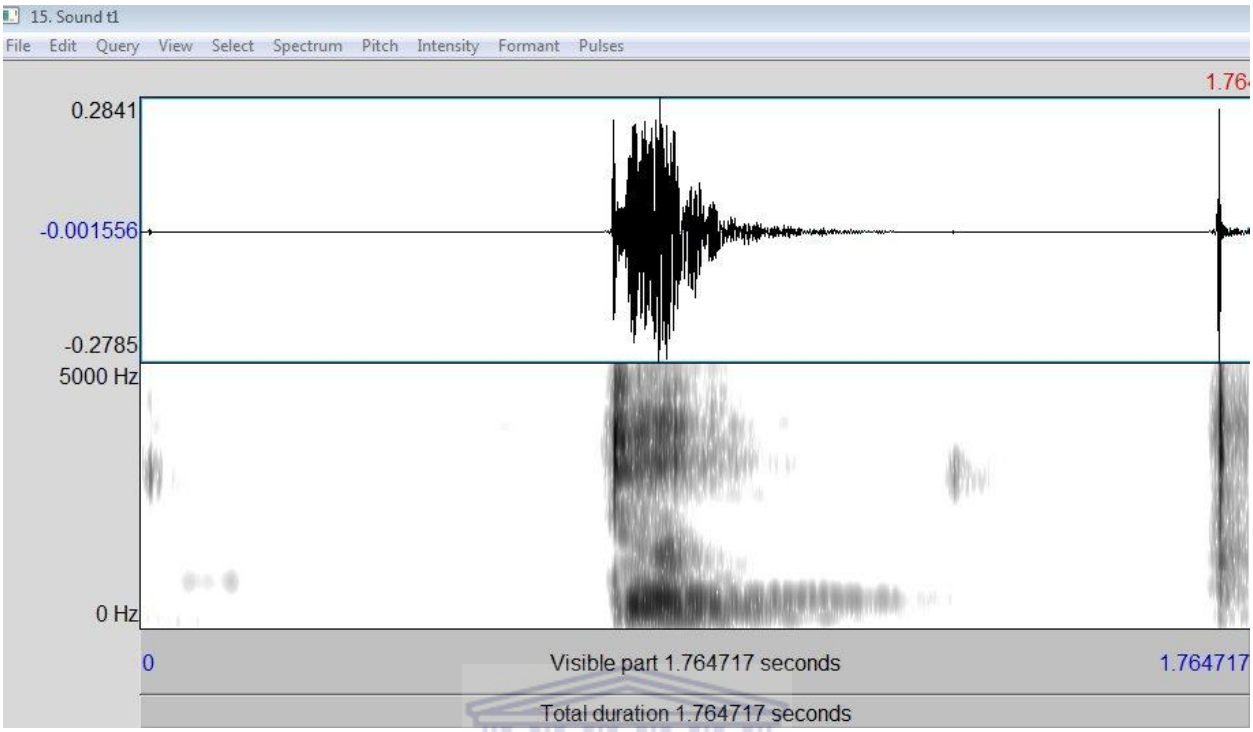


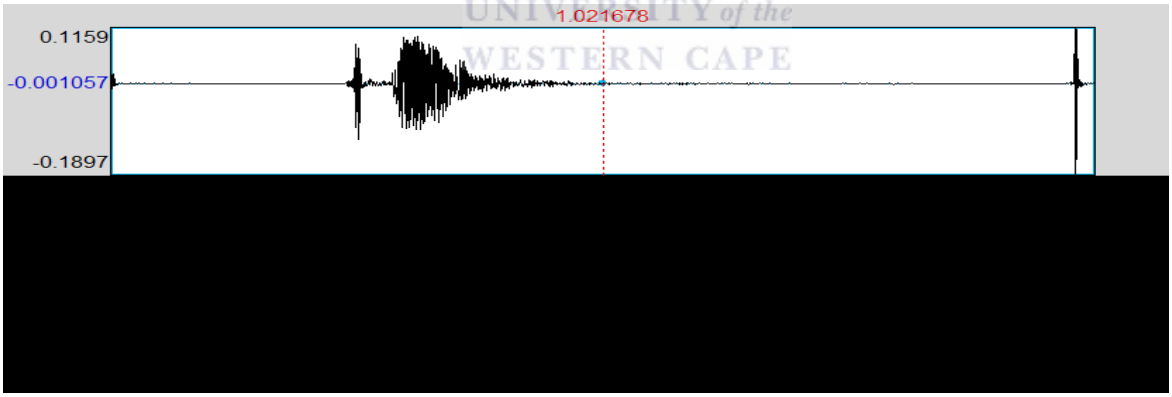


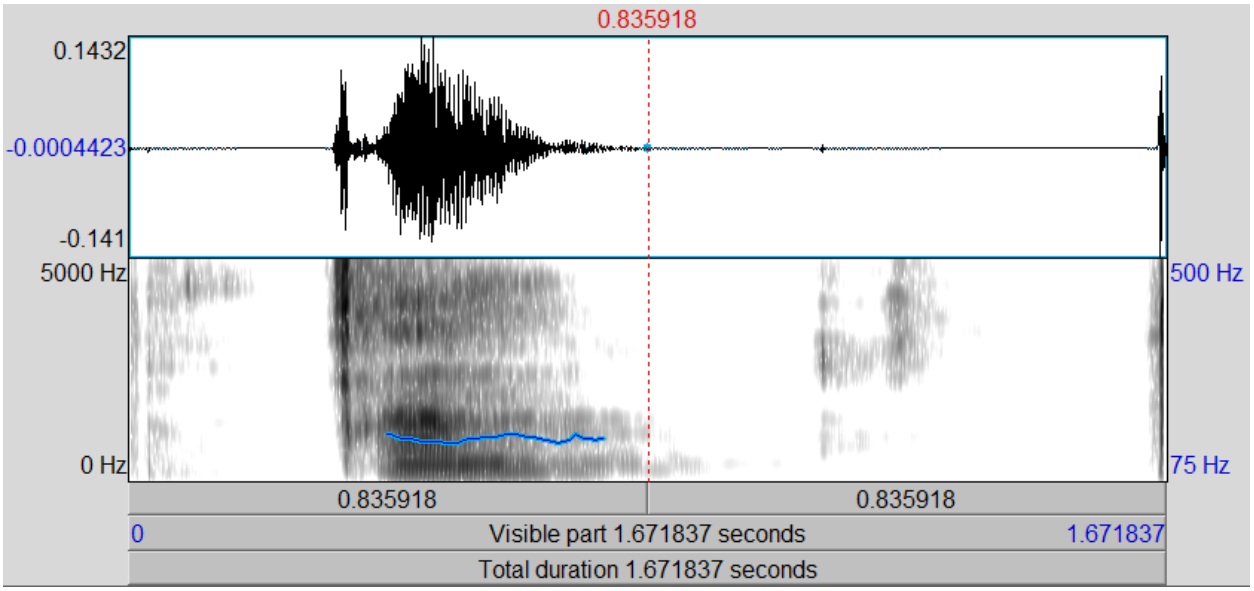








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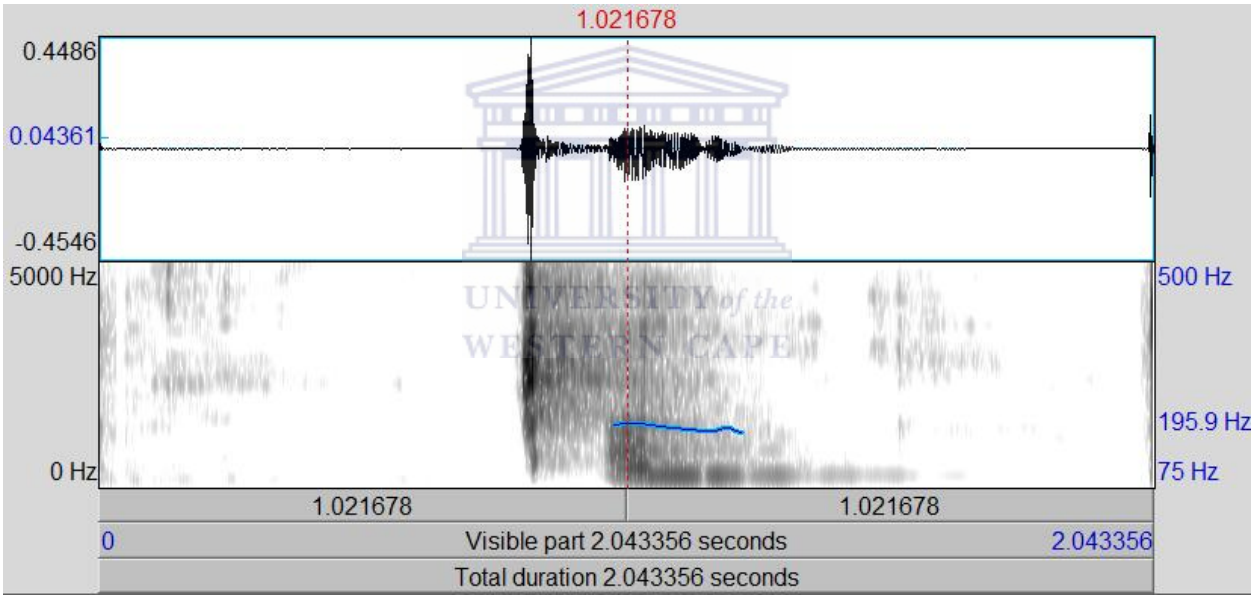
Total duration 1.671837 seconds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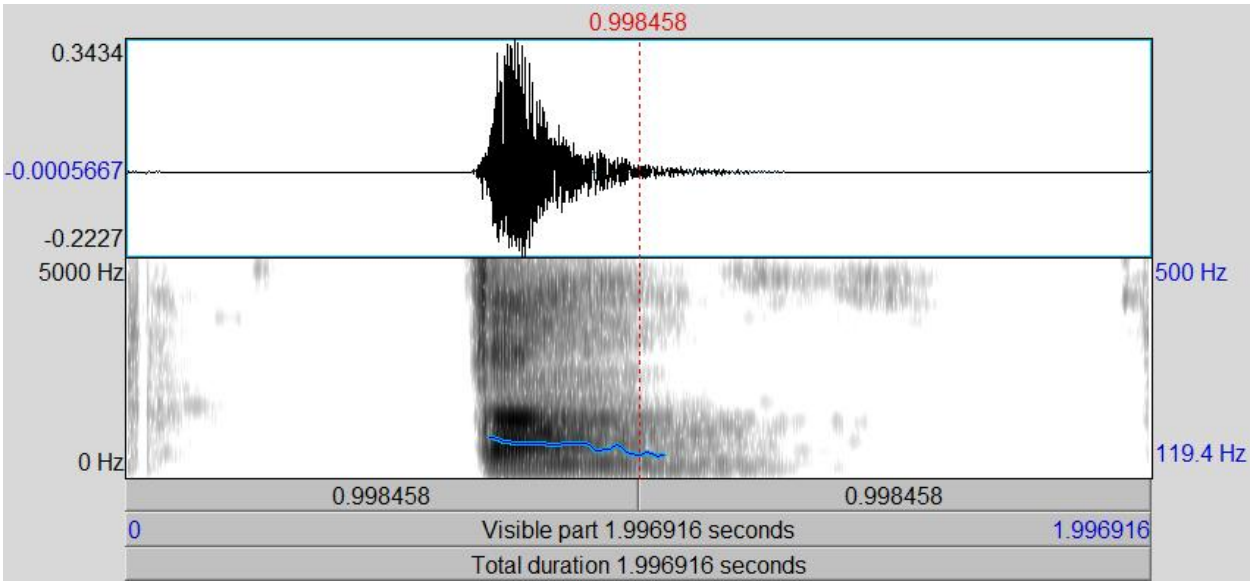

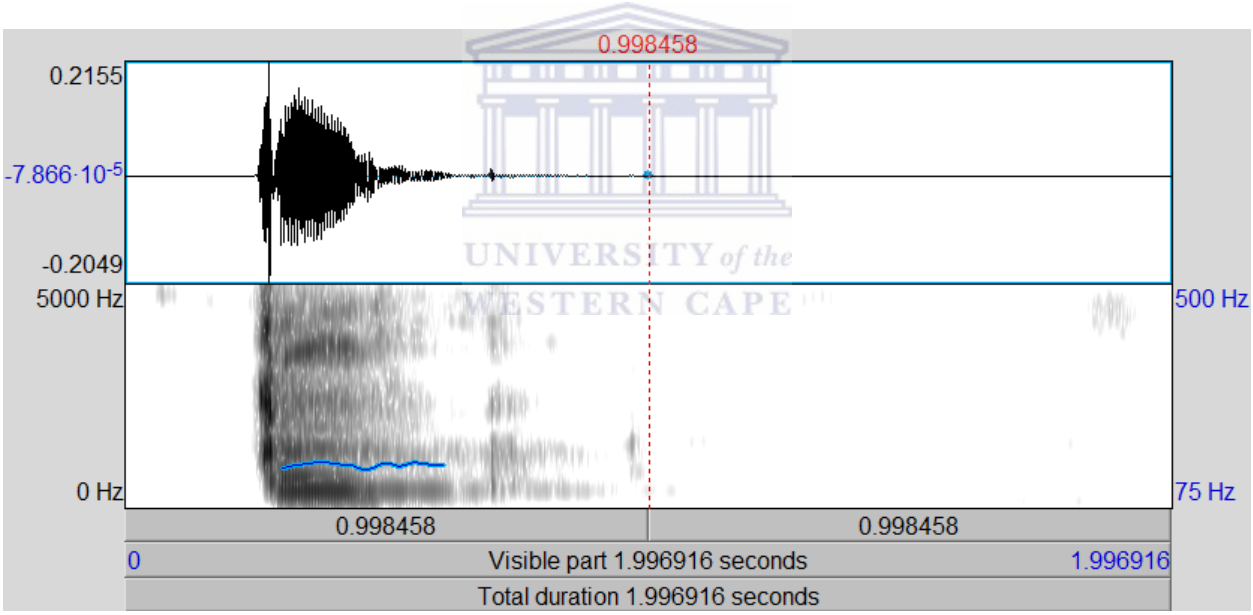

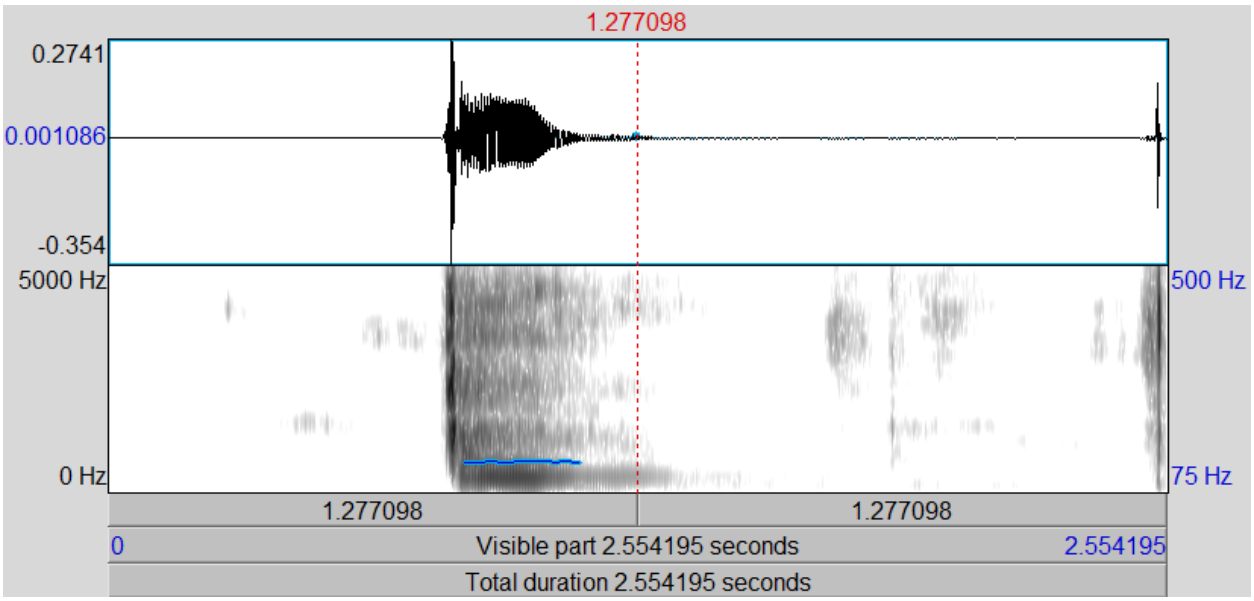

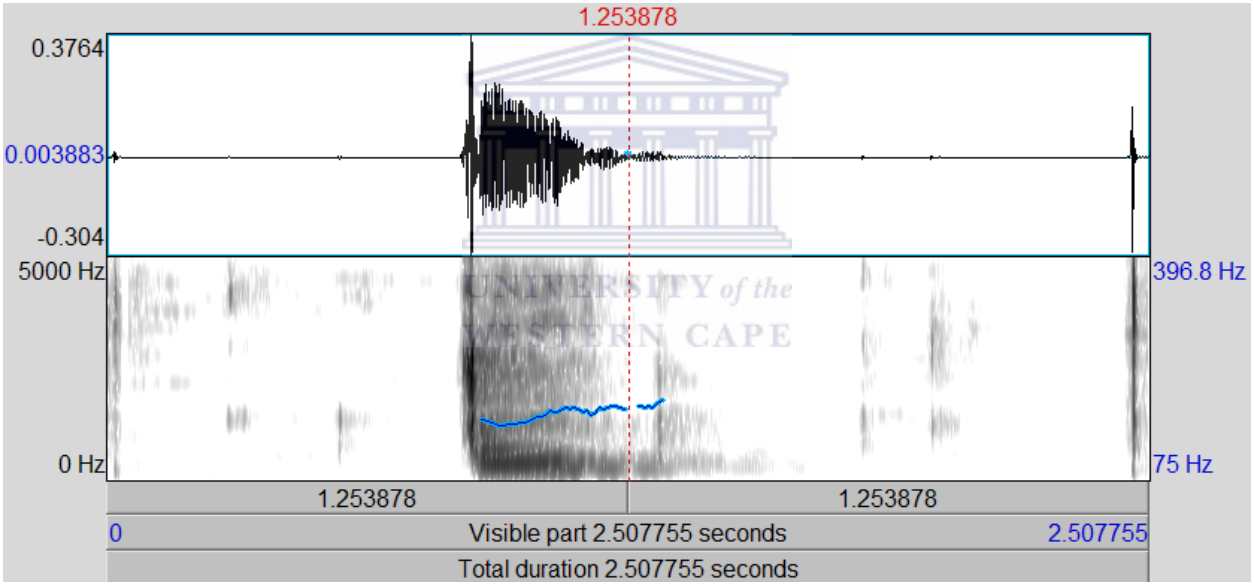

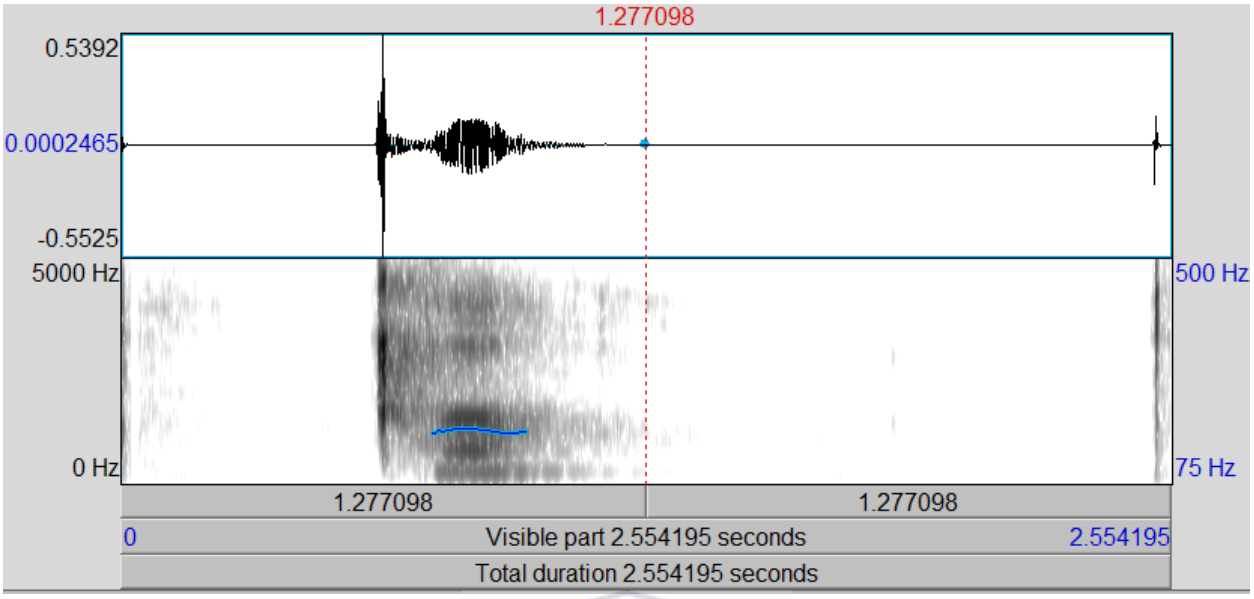

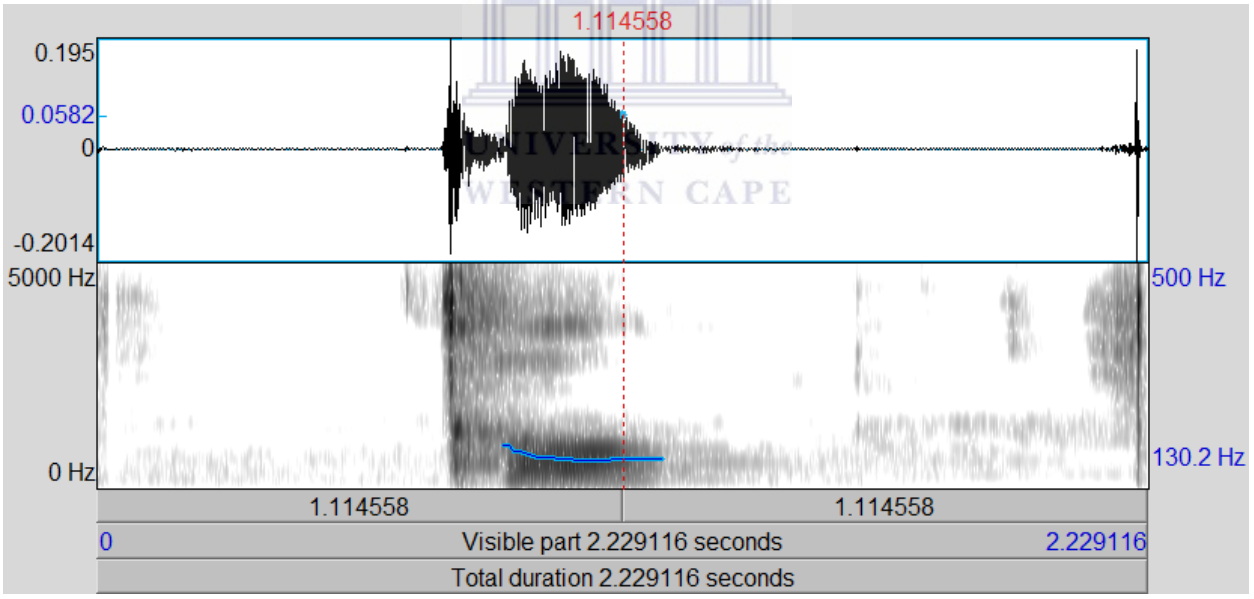

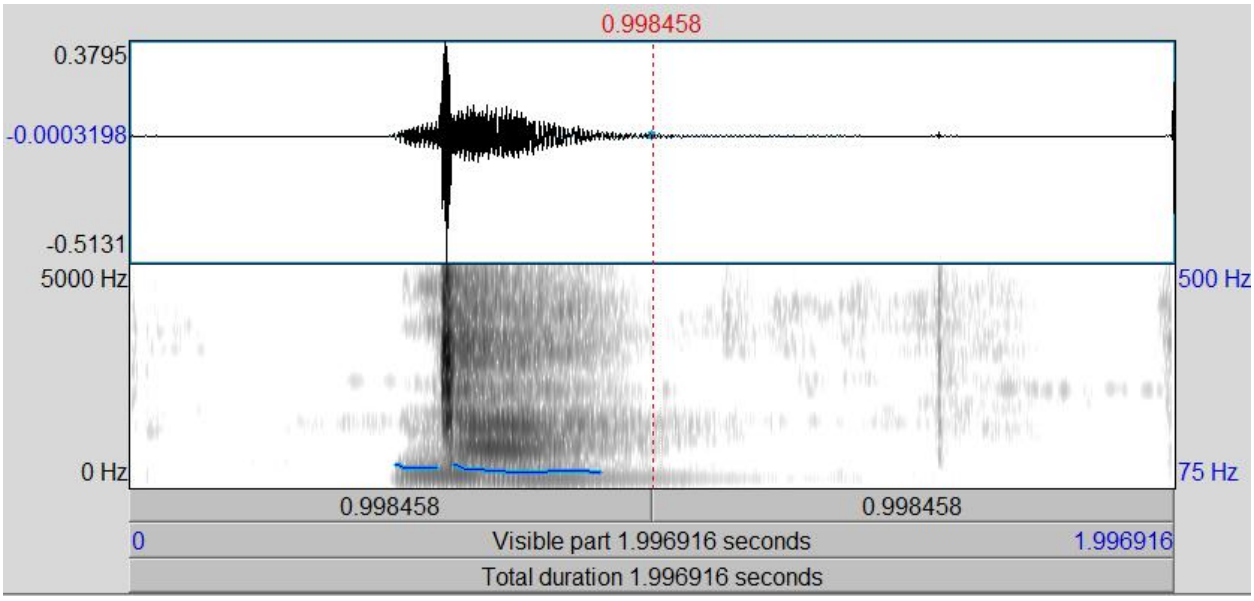

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Pictures / images


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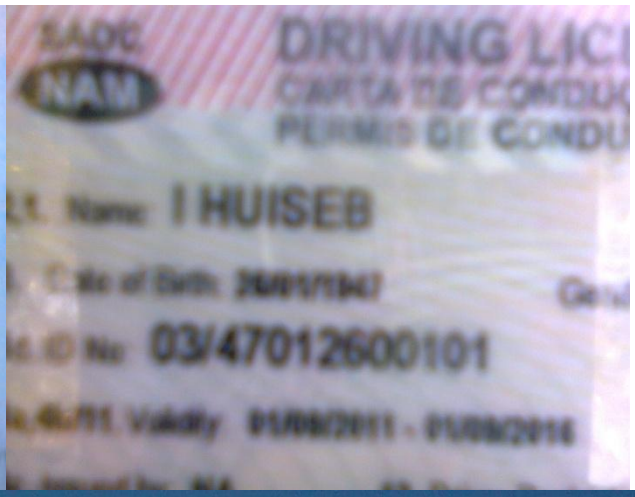
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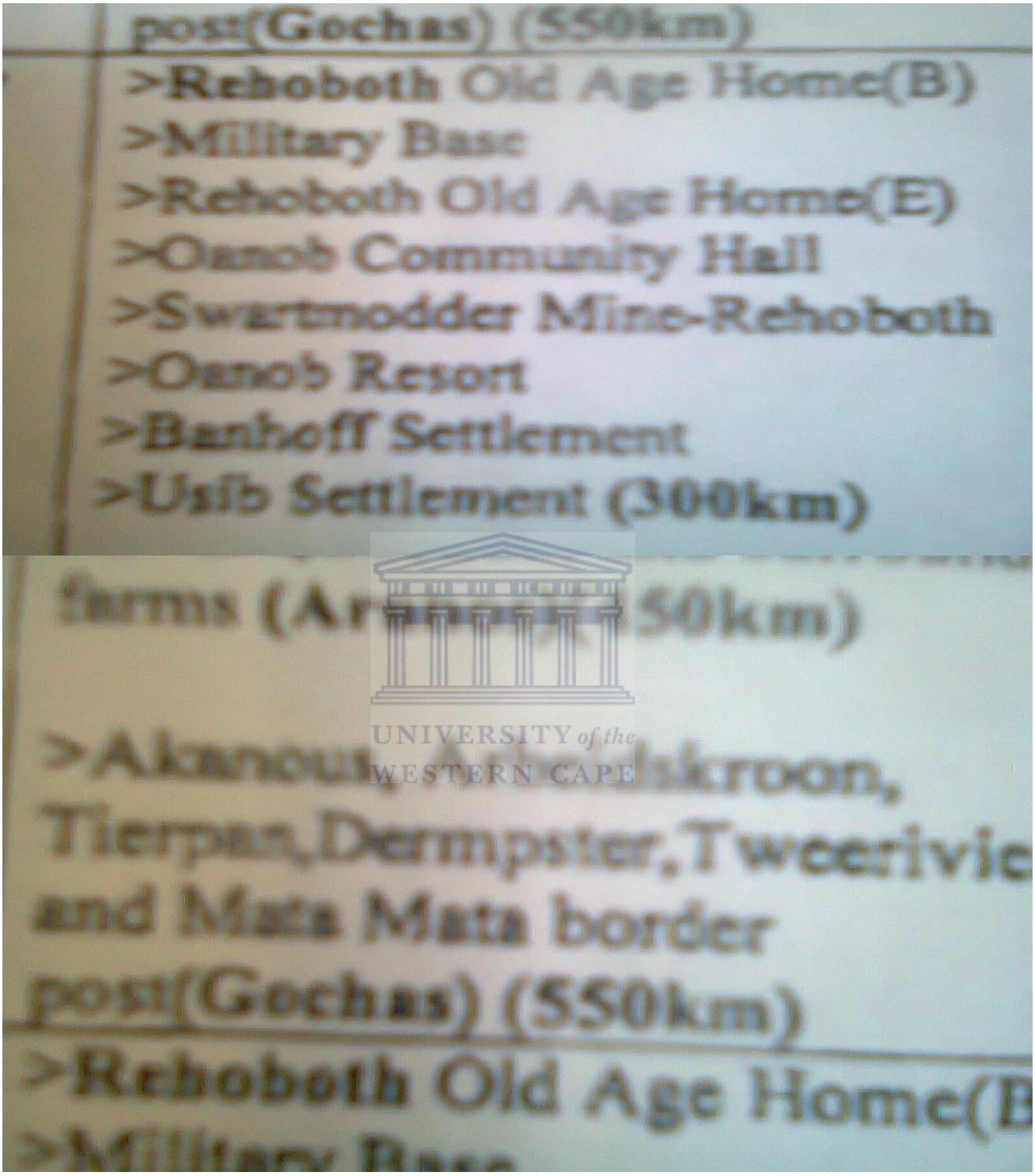

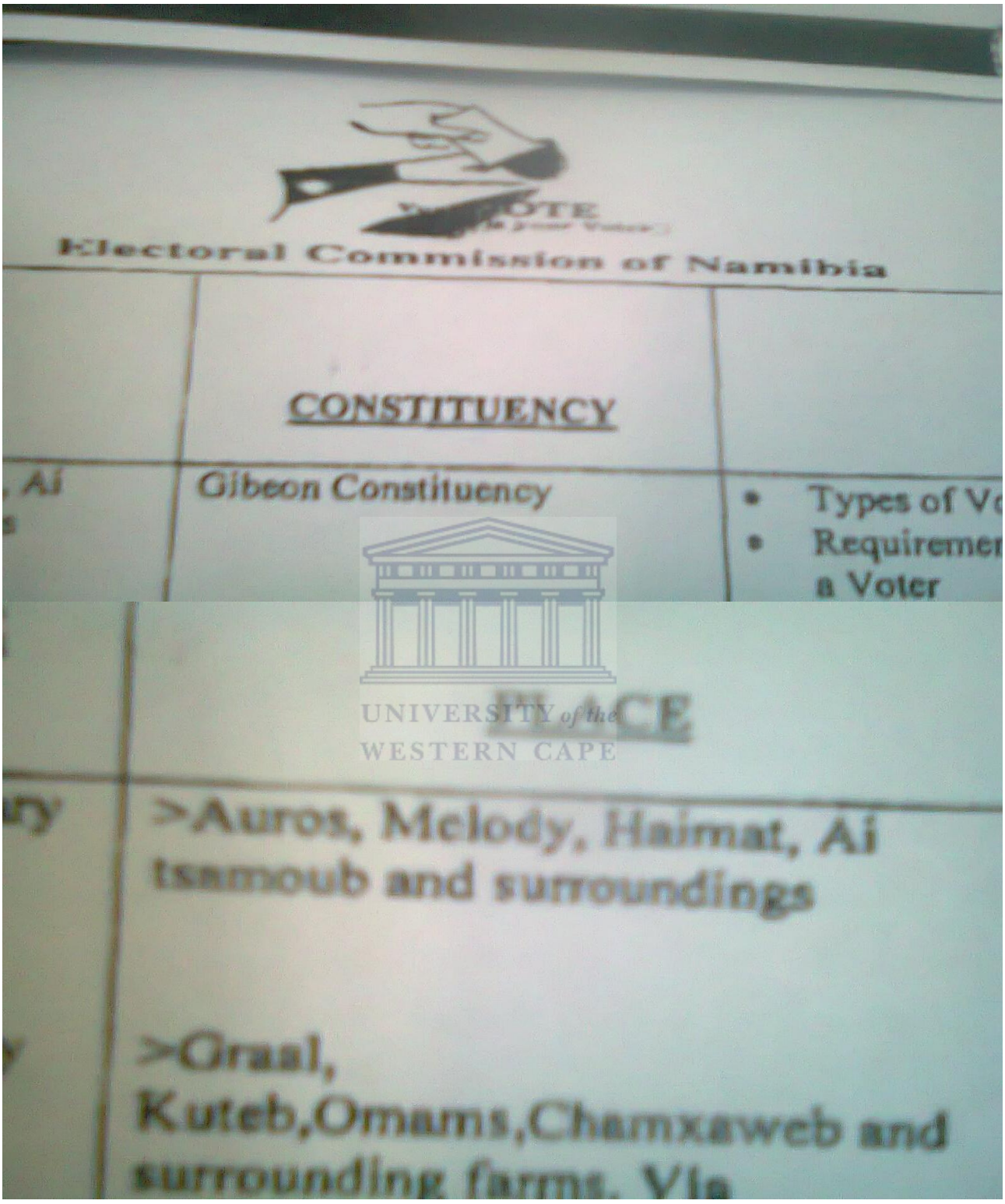

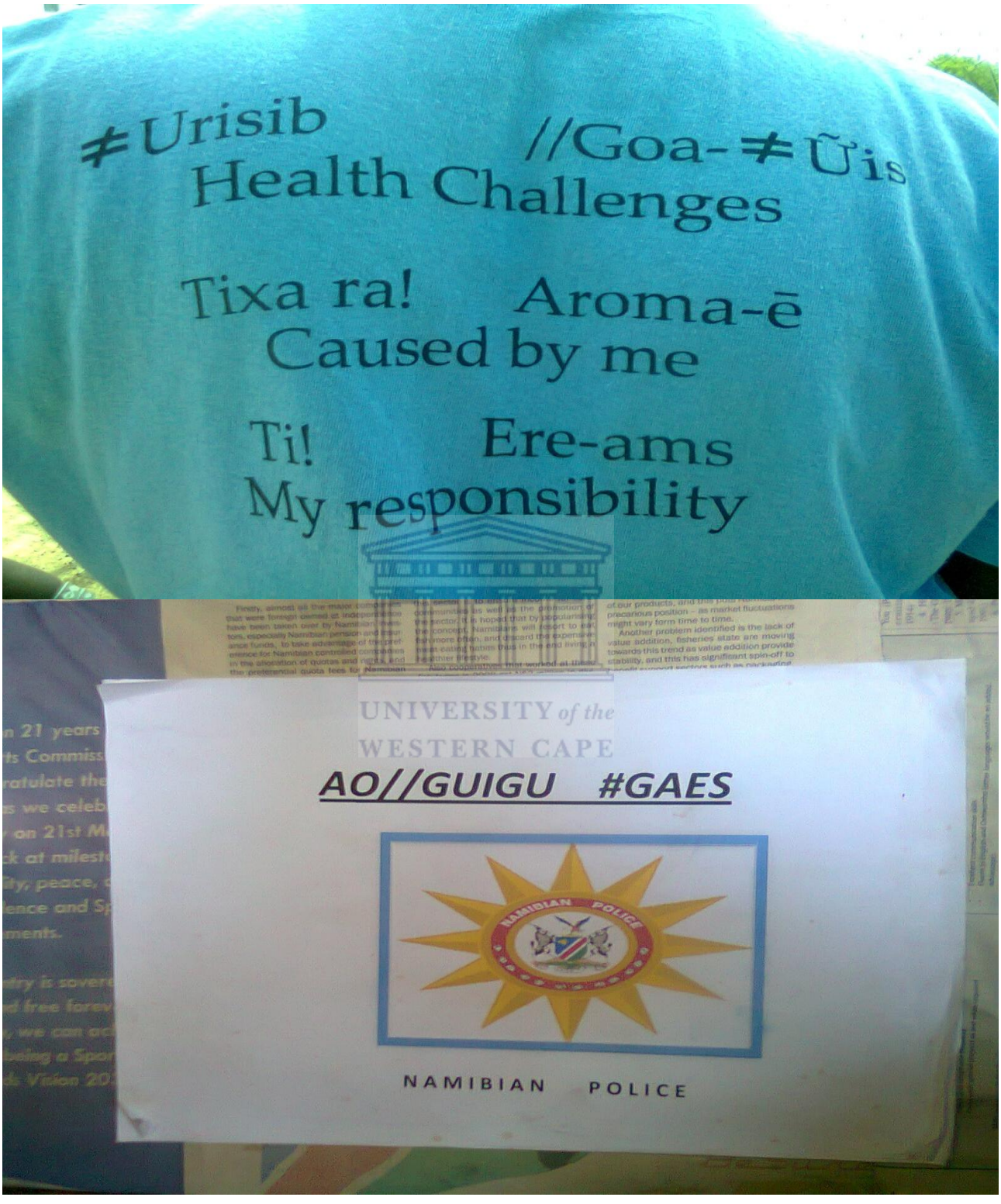
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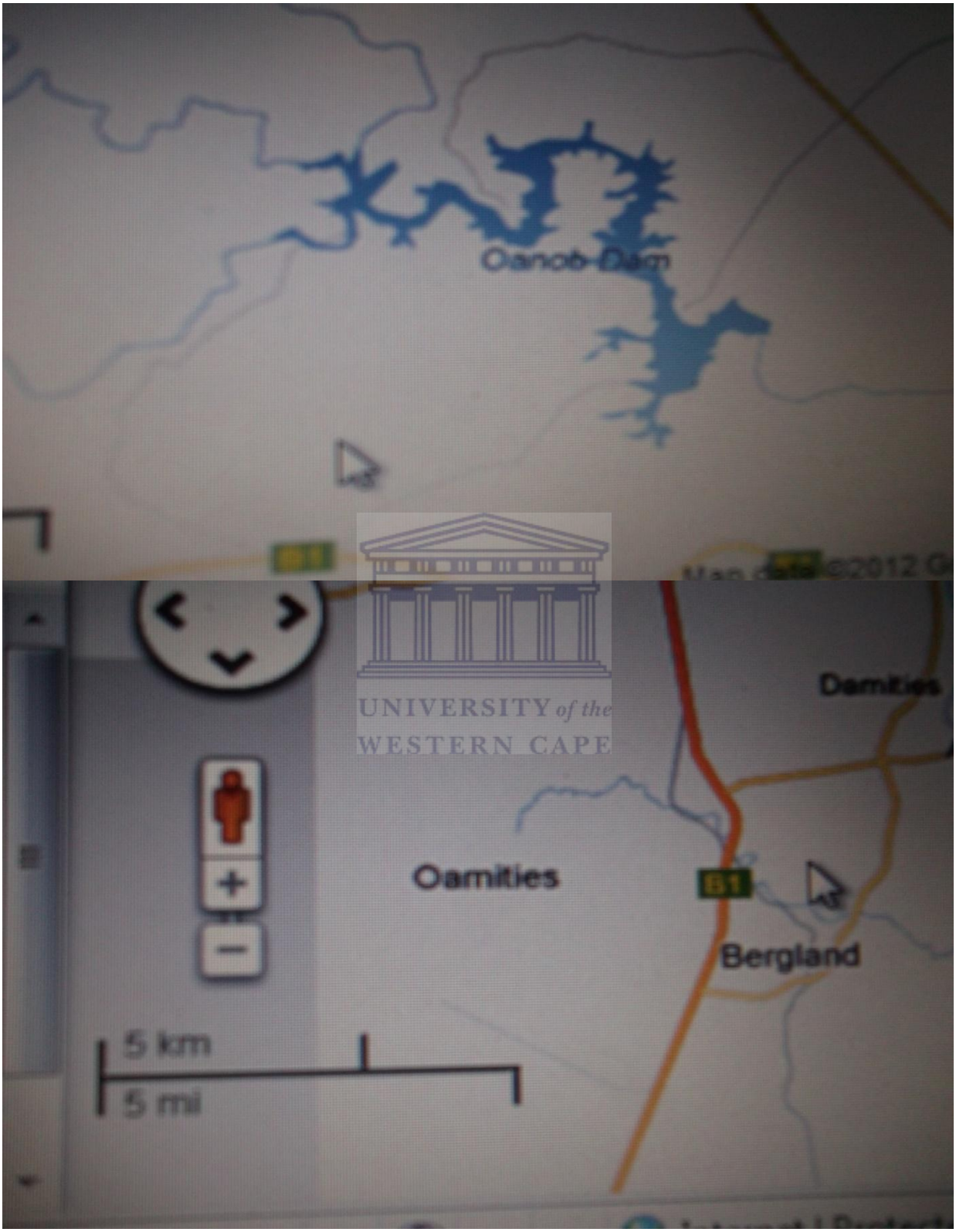

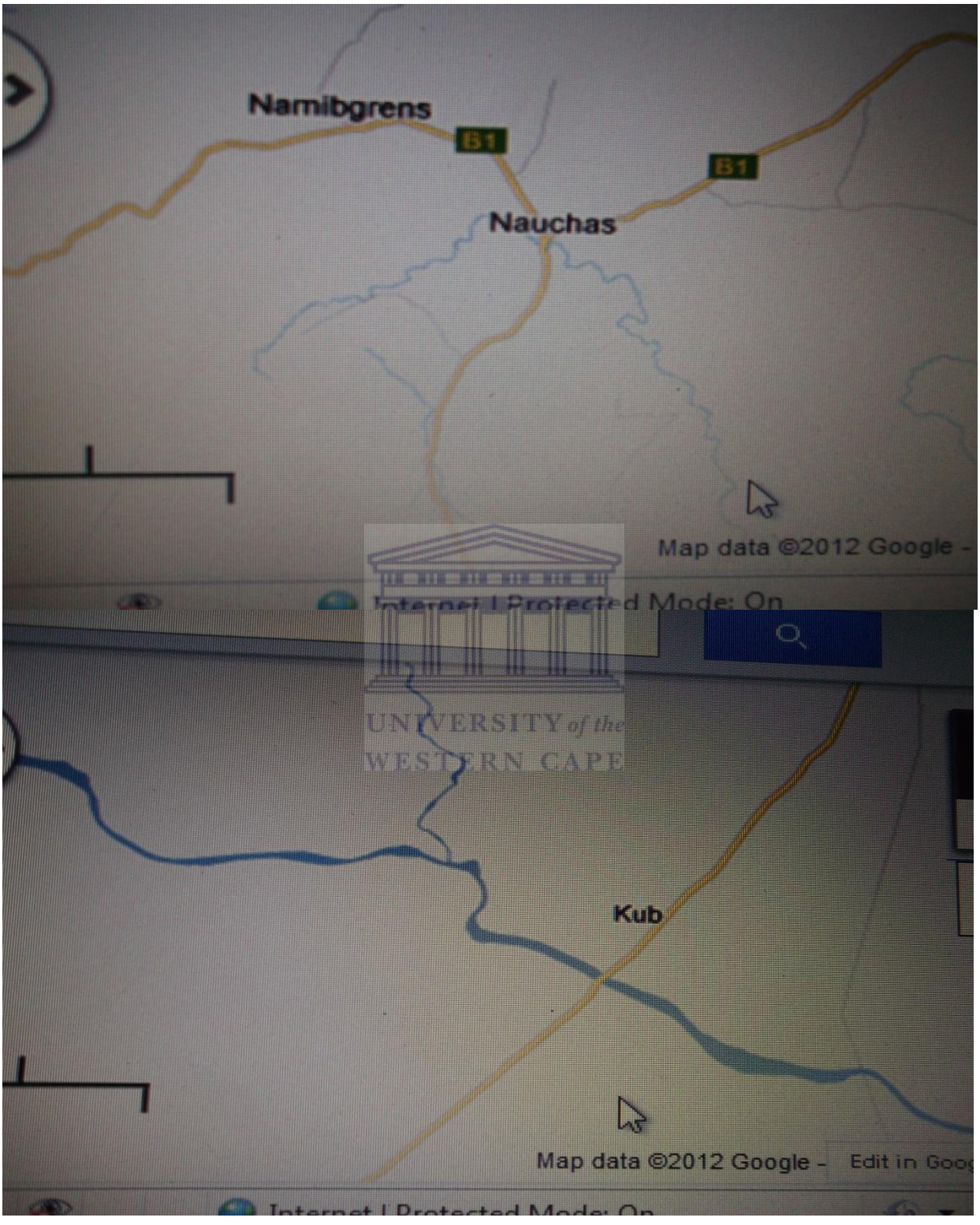

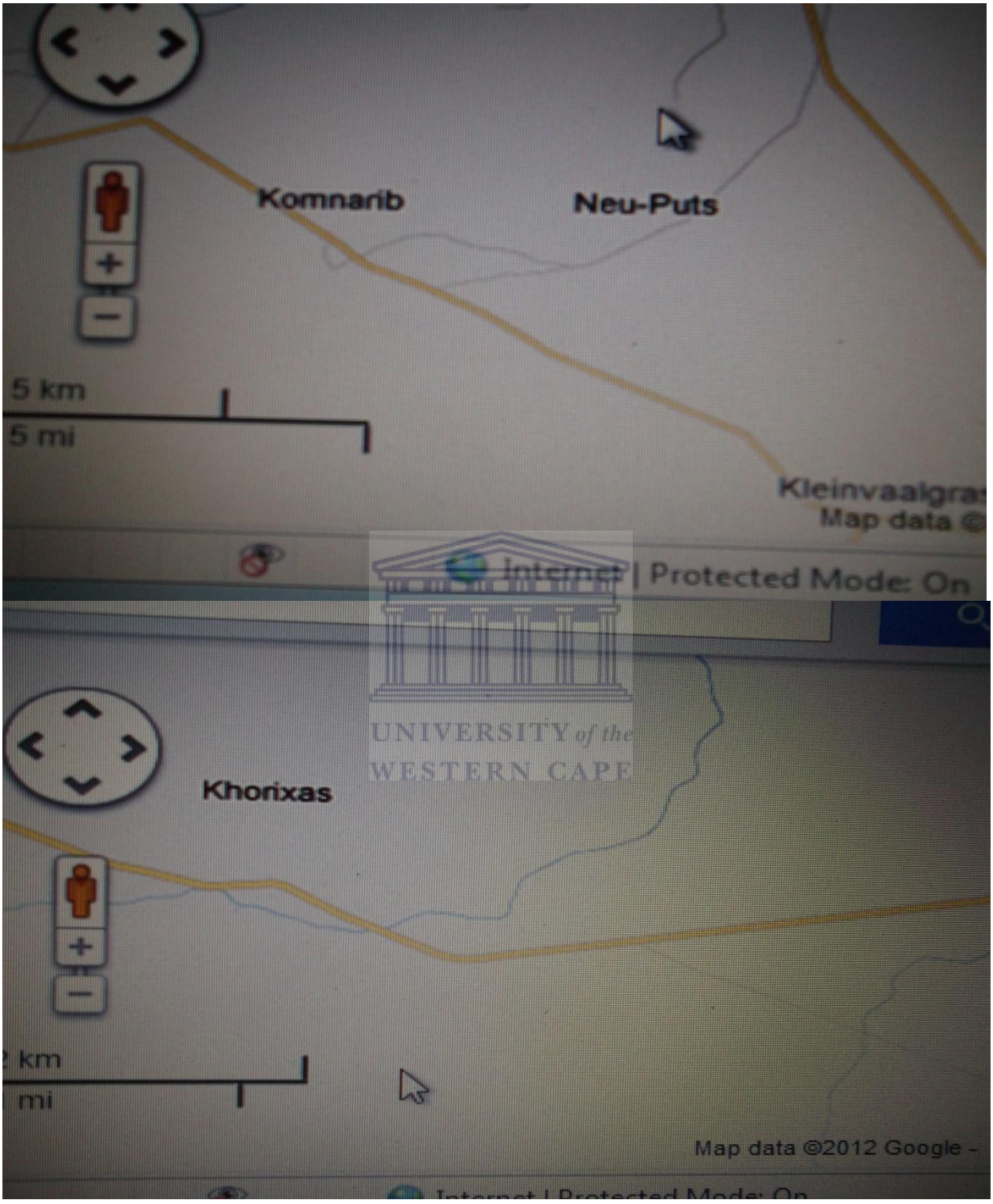

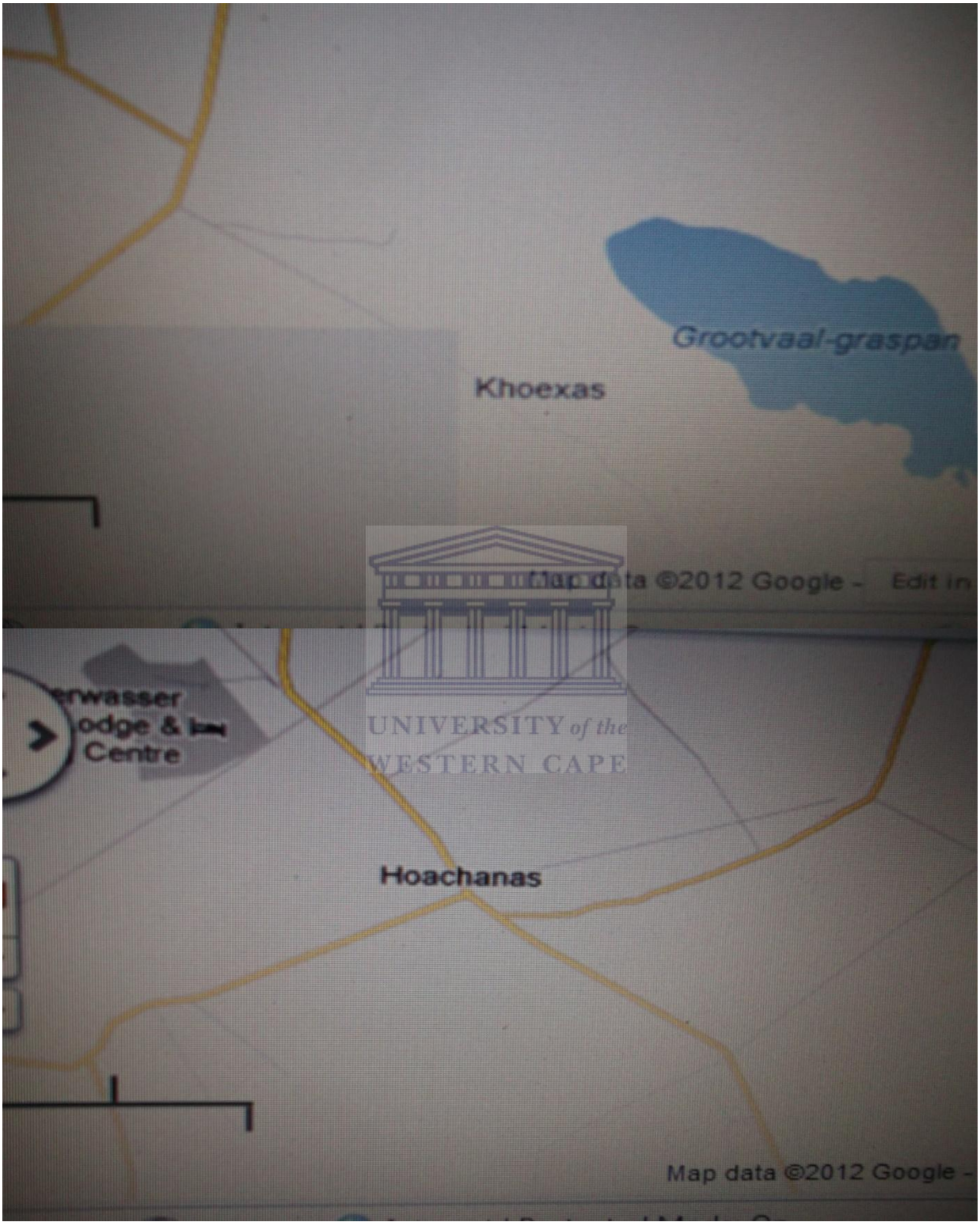

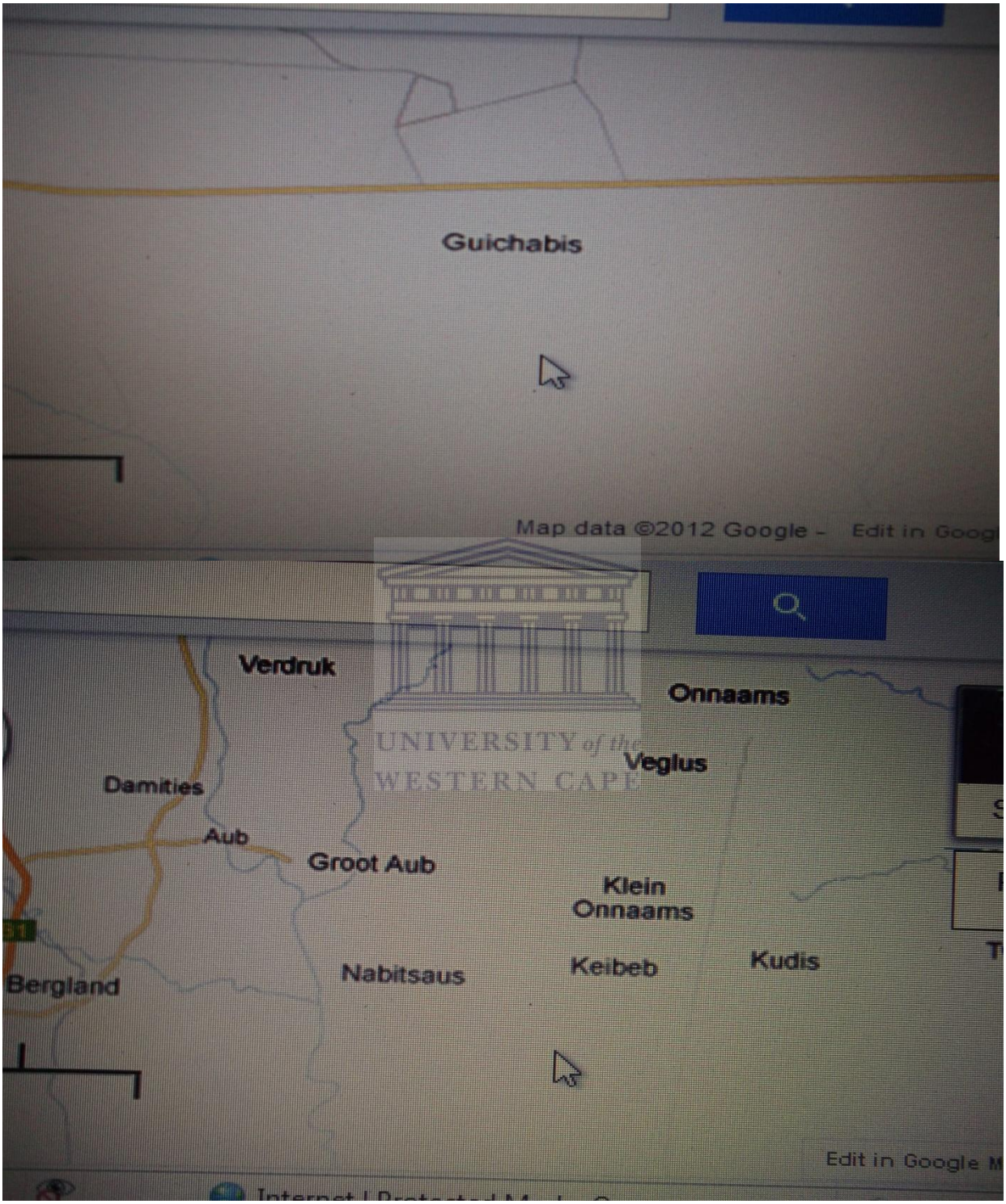

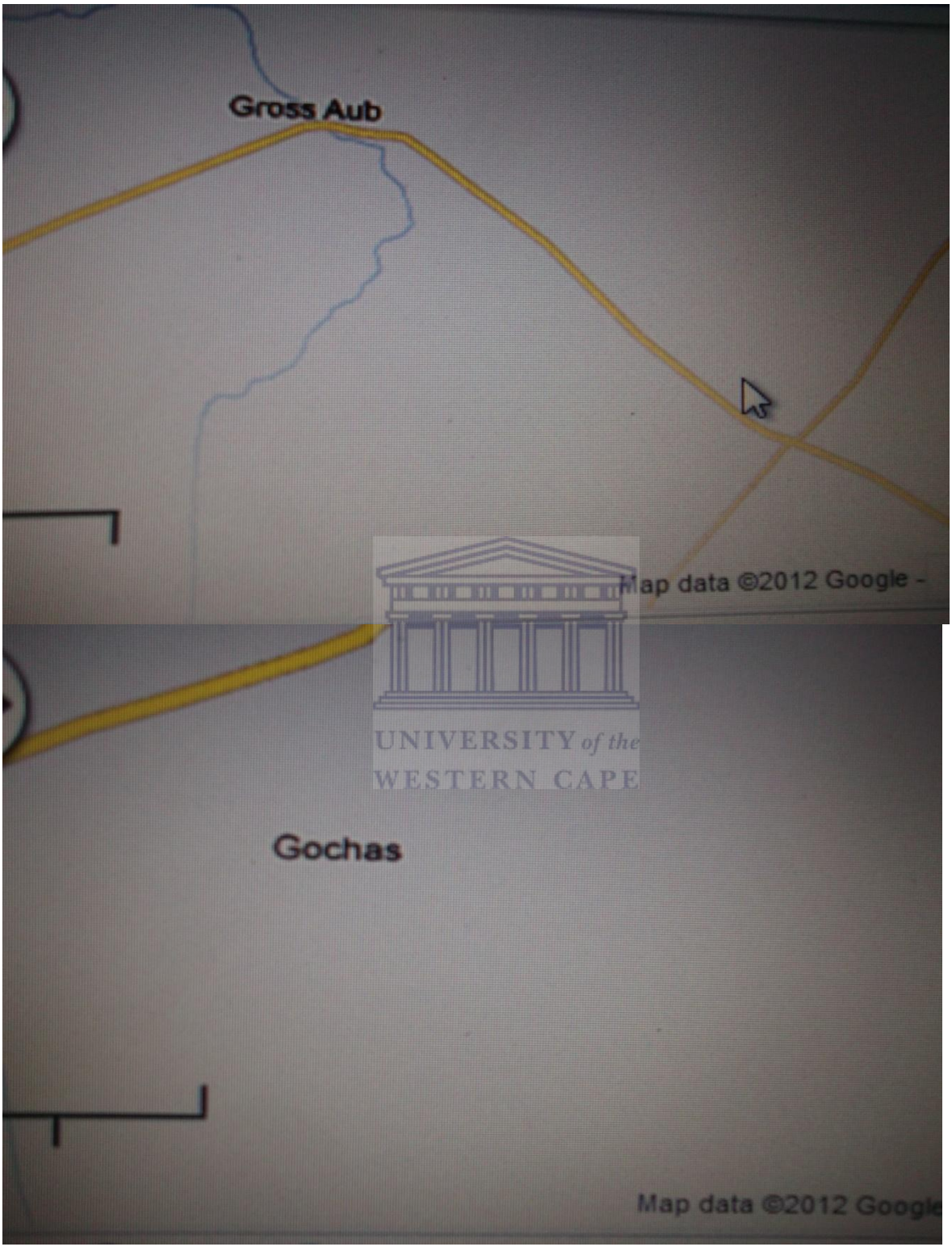

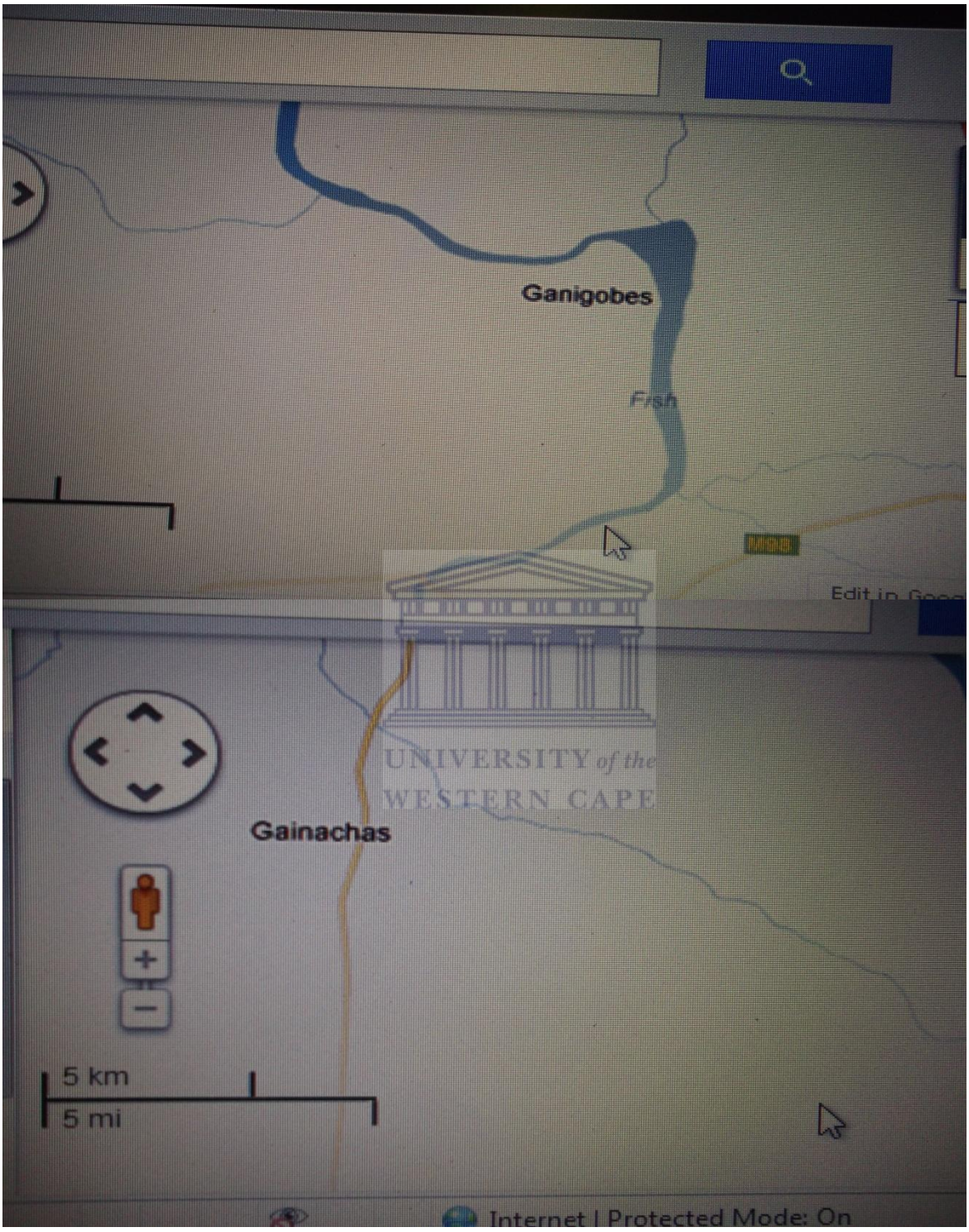
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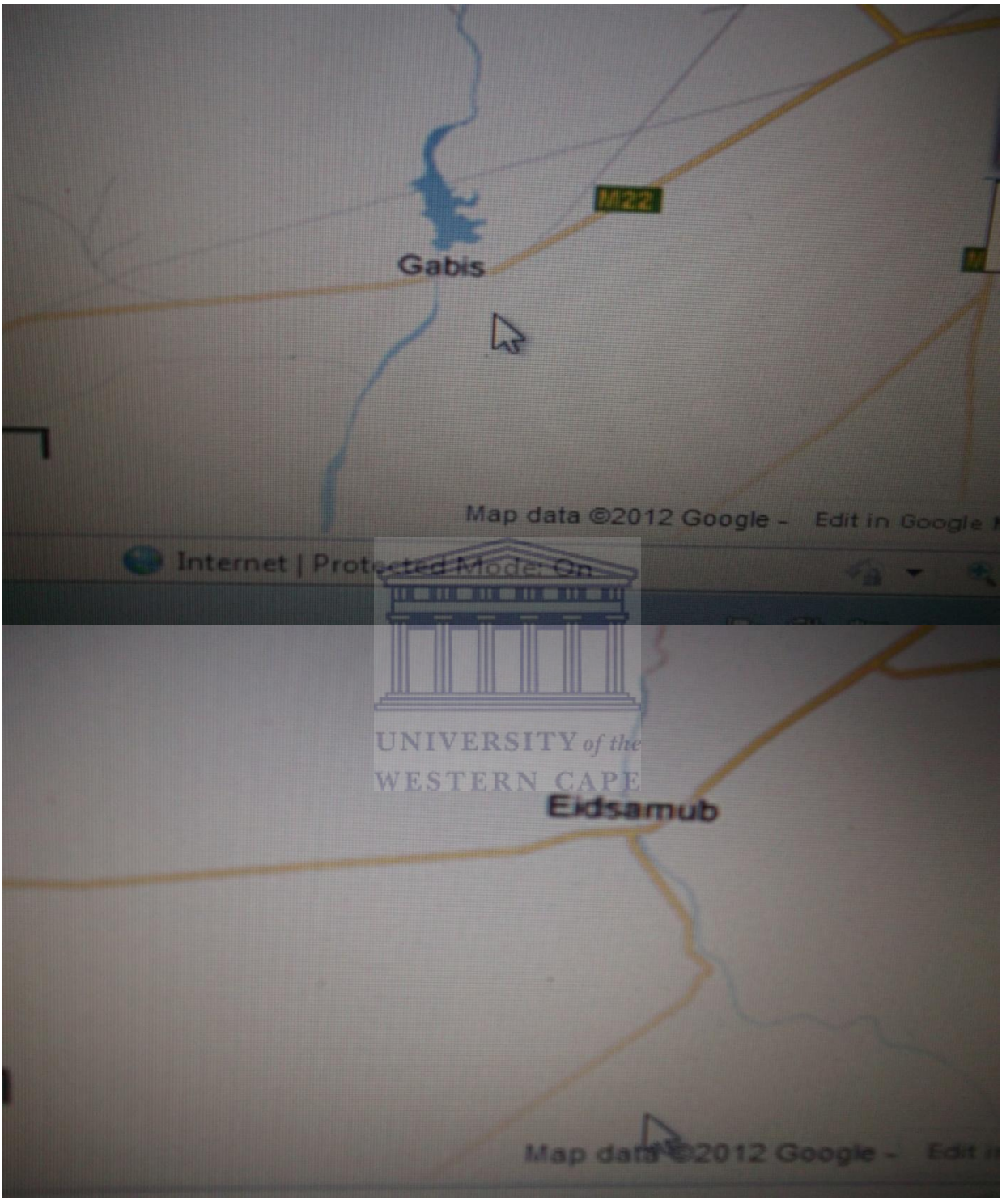
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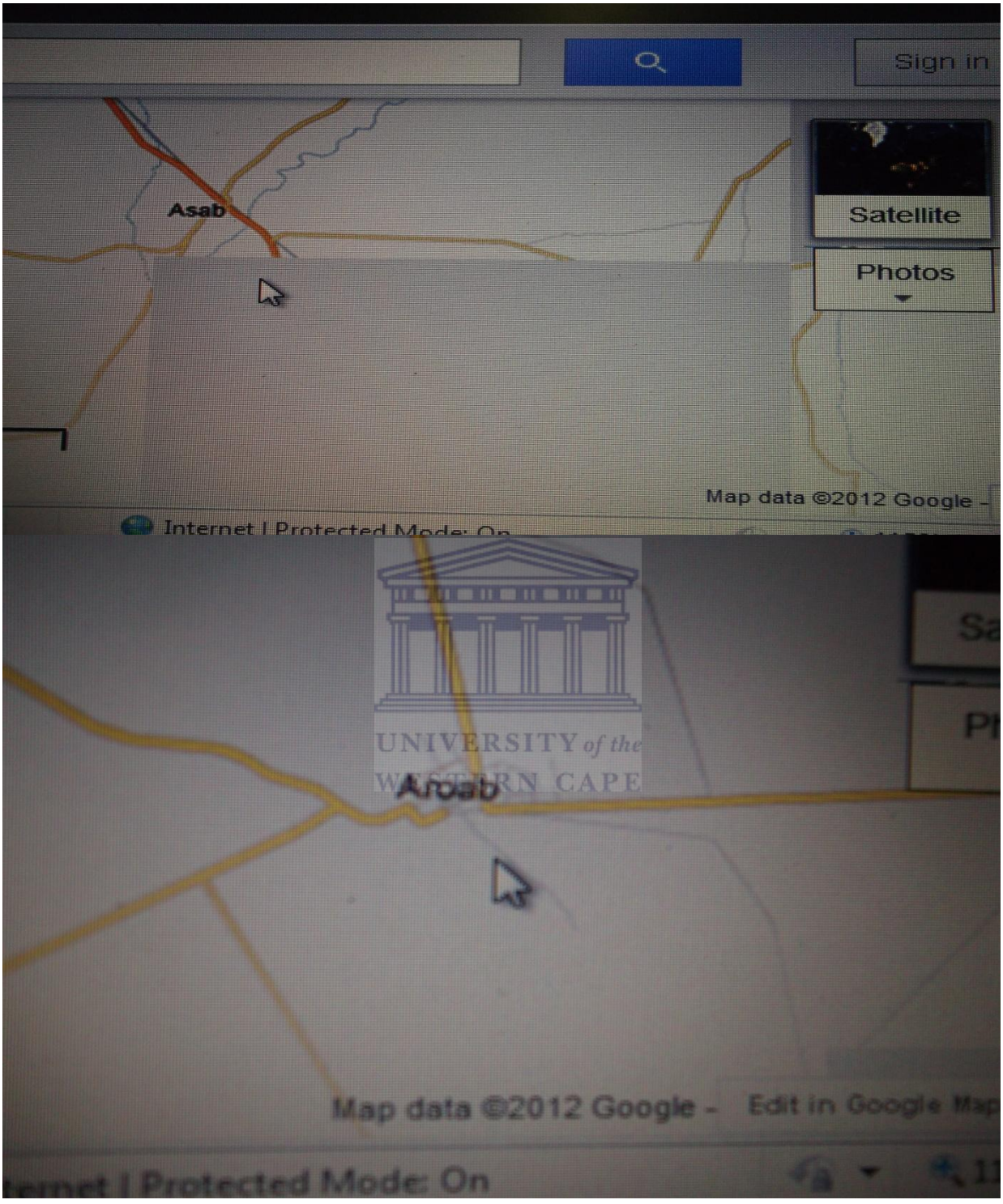
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