

Apperception and Linguistic Contact between German and Afrikaans

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Abstract

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Speakers of German and Afrikaans have been interacting with one another in Southern Africa for over three hundred and fifty years. In this study, the linguistic results of this intra-Germanic contact are addressed and divided into two sections: 1) the influence of German (both Low and High German) on Cape Dutch/Afrikaans in the years 1652–1810; and 2) the influence of Afrikaans on Namibian German in the years 1840–present. The focus here has been on the lexicon, since lexemes are the first items to be borrowed in contact situations, though other grammatical borrowings come under scrutiny as well.

The guiding principle of this line of inquiry is how the cognitive phenomenon of Herbartian *apperception*, or, Peircean *abduction*, has driven the bulk of the borrowings between the languages. Apperception is, simply put, the act of identifying a new perception as analogous to a previously existing one. The following central example to this dissertation will serve to illustrate this. When Dutch, Low German, and Malay speakers were all in contact in Capetown in the 1600 and 1700s, there were three mostly homophonous and synonymous words they were using. The Dutch knew *banjer* 'very', the Low Germans knew *banni(g)* 'very, tremendous, extraordinary', and the Malays knew *banja(k)* 'many, a lot, often, very'. All of these words can be considered the source for the modern Afrikaans hybrid word *baie* 'many, much, often, very', based on earlier *banja* or *banje*. These two forms are very close in sound and meaning to *banjer*, *banni(g)*, and *banja(k)*, and consequently when, for example, a Malay speaker heard a Low German say *banni(g)*, he apperceived it as Malay *banja(k)*. Likewise when a Low German speaker heard the Dutch word *banjer*, he apperceived it as *banni(g)*, and so on with all potential interlocutors. The ultimate form of the word is a compromise hybrid between them all, namely *banje*, which was motivated by the ease with which these three source words were apperceived by the respective speakers, as well as by their semantic similarity, which was also easily apperceived.

Bearing in mind the workings of apperception, Cape Dutch/Afrikaans and Namibian German are perfect case studies for intra-Germanic linguistic contact. Parallel developments, whether arrived at independently or by shared genesis, will reinforce one another in contact, a situation which must have played itself out all throughout the history of contact between Germanic languages. Whether it was Burgundian influence on Franconian, Old Frisian on Old English, Danish on Faroese, the role of apperception must have been great in these cases of linguistic contact. In the case of German and Afrikaans in Southern Africa, the well-documented archival and printed texts put the linguist in a favorable position to examine and elucidate the nature of this linguistic contact, as one will note in the study at hand.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Speakers of German and Dutch have been interacting with one another in the Southern African theater since 1652. In that year, Jan van Riebeeck established a victualing station on the Cape of Good Hope by the orders of the Dutch East India Company. Germans working for the East India Company were there from the start, working and settling on the Cape throughout the entire period of Dutch rule in South Africa, which lasted until 1806. During this whole period German speakers contributed to the dialect of aptly-named Dutch that was evolving on the Cape, i.e. Cape Dutch. This dialect in turn developed into the Afrikaans language, which came into a recognizable form in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Social commerce between German and Dutch speakers did not end there. By the year 1840, German missionaries were active in Namibia, and Afrikaans had been established as one of the languages of the land. Germans were obliged to learn it if they were to work amongst the Namas and Oorlams, the two main users of Afrikaans in Namibia at the time. The two groups were related but different. While the Namas were an ethnic unity, the Oorlams were a mixed-race group, descending from both Nama and Cape Coloured ancestry. The Namas used Afrikaans only as a lingua franca, while the Oorlams also used it amongst themselves. More and more Germans poured into Namibia as the 1800s progressed, as did Afrikaans-speaking Boers from the Southern African Republic and Cape Afrikaners from the Cape Colony. Whereas it had been German that influenced Afrikaans in the 1600 and 1700s, this time it was Afrikaans that would influence Namibian German in the 1800 and 1900s. It is this important intra-Germanic linguistic contact, first German influencing Afrikaans and then Afrikaans influencing German, that is the subject of the study at hand.

There are two aspects of this contact situation that make it valuable. The first has to do with a cognitive phenomenon called either *apperception* or, in the semiotic nomenclature of Charles Sanders Peirce, *abduction*. It is, simply put, the act of identifying a new perception as analogous to a previously existing one. It can be as fleeting and subconscious as when one hears a foreign word and construes it as a native one, as often happens in folk etymology. In this act, the listener is apperceiving the unknown as the known; e.g. Afrikaans *baiesukkel* (lit. *baie* 'much', *sukkel* 'to struggle') for *bicycle*. Apperception can give rise to more substantive words than this jocular creation. When, for example, Dutch, Low German, and Malay speakers were all in contact in Capetown in the 1600 and 1700s, there were three mostly homophonous and synonymous words they were using. The Dutch knew *banjer* 'very', the Low Germans knew *banni(g)* 'very, tremendous, extraordinary', and the Malays knew *banja(k)* 'many, a lot, often, very'. All of these words can be considered the source for the modern Afrikaans hybrid word *baie* 'many, much, often, very', based on earlier *banja* or *banje*. These two forms are very close in sound and meaning to *banjer*, *banni(g)*, and *banja(k)*, and consequently when, for example, a Malay speaker heard a Low German say *banni(g)*, he apperceived it as Malay *banja(k)*. Likewise when a Low German speaker heard the Dutch word *banjer*, he apperceived it as *banni(g)*, and so on with all potential interlocutors.

That the understanding of semiotic apperception could fuel the evolution of such a profound lexical element in the Afrikaans language speaks to its efficacy in refining linguistic concepts in language contact. It is especially efficacious when two languages that are closely related are in contact, because they will have a certain number of shared grammatical, phonological or lexical items. One of the key issues surrounding such contact is how to label it. Scholars have variously called it language contact or dialect contact. The problem with the former is that the term can apply to languages that are unrelated, e.g., the contact between Finnish and English speakers in Minnesota, or those that are so closely related as to be considered dialects, e.g. the contact between Middle Dutch speakers and Middle English speakers in Kent in the 1200s. The term dialect contact has the drawback of being limited to dialects of the same language, for if one were to discuss the contact between, for example, German and Flemish speakers in eastern Belgium as dialect contact, both groups would take umbrage at being categorized as a speaker of the other's language, despite their great linguistic affinity. For these reasons, I have chosen two different terms to deal with these situations. Instead of having to decide between language and dialect contact, I have chosen the term *linguistic contact*, which can be applied to any situation. I also chose to speak of Einar Haugen's concept of *language differential* when discussing the degree of relatedness between these languages, which is the usual criterion for determining whether they are dialects or not. Closely-related languages have a low differential, as do dialects of the same language. However, interestingly, two dialects can have a greater differential than two languages do: e.g. the languages Low German and Dutch have a lower differential than do the dialects Low German and Walserdeutsch, a very conservative dialect spoken in Switzerland.

The intra-Germanic contact under investigation here is exemplary as regards the role of apperception and its outcomes. Because of the affinity between German (High and Low) and Cape Dutch, a great amount of German linguistic material has made its way into Afrikaans. That same high degree of affinity eased the entrance of a whole range of Afrikaans material into Namibian German. Accordingly, this study is divided into two parts, each covering roughly a century and a half. The first is that of German and Cape Dutch/Afrikaans, ca. 1650-1810. The second is that of Afrikaans and Namibian German, ca. 1840-present. In order to better delineate the various dialects and ethnic groups concerned here, a word must be said on the question of terminology.

In this study, I make use of the following terms:

Cape Dutch: refers to the ancestors and language of the Afrikaners on the Cape in the years 1650-1775;

Afrikaans: the language of the Afrikaners everywhere from the year 1775 to the present;

Cape Afrikaner: an Afrikaans-speaking white from the Cape, ca. 1775-1925;

Boer: refers to an Afrikaans-speaking white from the former provinces of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State from ca. 1830 to 1925;

Afrikaner: a word that has multiple uses: 1) post-1925 Afrikaans-speaking white from the Union or Republic of South Africa; 2) a member of the Oorlam Afrikaner tribe; 3) used when it is unclear whether the personality in question is either a Boer or a Cape Afrikaner;

Namibian Afrikaner: refers to descendents of Cape Afrikaners, Boers, or Afrikaners who grew up in Namibia;

Namibian German: Germans who live in Namibia and speak Namibian German;

Namibia: this country had no name before the Germans laid claim to it, calling it Deutsch-Südwestafrika (German South West Africa) from 1884-1915, the South Africans called it

South West Africa from 1915-1990, and now it is called Namibia, that it is easiest to call it Namibia at all times.

It will become clear throughout the course of this study how the linguistic back-and-forth between German (High German, Low German, Namibian German) and Netherlandic (Dutch, Cape Dutch, Afrikaans) has shaped both Afrikaans and Namibian German. The results of this contact belong to all categories of linguistics, the syntax, phonology, morphology, and lexicon have all been affected, though none more profoundly so than the lexicon has. It is a truism that words are the first items to be borrowed in contact situations, and the cases of Afrikaans and Namibian German bear this out. In all of the case studies presented here, the focus is on the apperceptive quality of the borrowings as the essential mode of cognition.

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND ABDUCTION

2.1 THE PROBLEM OF NOMENCLATURE: MIXTURE, BORROWING, INTERFERENCE AND TRANSFER

The results of language contact have been given many names. Hermann Paul called it *Mischung* 'mixture' (Paul 1898:365), a term which Whitney (1881) and Hugo Schuchardt both took up. The problem with describing language contact as mixture is that the metaphor implies that two or more languages can be poured into a bowl, mixed around, and out of this mixture one gets a new language. For this reason, both Leonard Bloomfield (1933) and Edward Sapir (1921) chose to speak about borrowing, though Sapir titled the chapter that deals with this "How Languages Influence Each Other". Borrowing is itself problematic, because it implies something being temporarily taken away with the consent of the lender, though in language, nothing is lost by the lender nor is the lender's consent given. Haugen (1969:362) admitted the imperfection of this term, but thought its shortcomings not sufficient enough to abandon it. Uriel Weinreich did not approve of mixture or borrowing, and instead made the case for "interference" (1974:1) He reasoned that when a new item is taken up into a language, it perforce reorganizes some part of the language's old system of oppositions, though he admitted with reservations that sometimes syntactic or lexical items could be transferred with such little effect on the language that they could be called borrowings. Despite Weinreich's influence on the field of linguistic contact, the term borrowing has continued to be used. Appel & Muysken (1987), Romaine (1995) and Myers-Scotton (2002) use it throughout their books. Thomason (2001) prefers transfer. Despite its imperfection, borrowing is used throughout this study, in part because of its universality, in part because Haugen preferred it, and his works are still the high water mark of language contact studies.

2.2 THE ACT OF BORROWING

Words are usually the first and easiest items to be borrowed. Then comes morphology and syntax, and finally phonology. Phonology is rarely borrowed, but in cases of heavy and long contact between languages, sounds do indeed move between languages. The difficulty of borrowing phones or allophones points to the importance of the setting in which languages borrow. There are many, indeed potentially infinite scenarios in which languages will borrow from one another. That said, there are three that are so common, that a discussion of them will cover the majority of cases.

The first is when the speech of a prestige group influences that of a non-prestige group. This happened in Canada, where the English rulers of Quebec enjoyed a prestige status for two hundred years; they owned the businesses, ran the government, and owned much land.

Québécois is consequently peppered with English words and phrases that are unknown in France. The opposite cannot be said of the Québécois influence on Canadian English.

The second is when two languages are of comparable prestige and co-exist for a long time. This sustained contact leads to borrowing, such as is the case with the famous Balkan *Sprachbund* of Romanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian Greek and Macedonian, all of which share certain linguistic features, the diffusion of which is attributed to the long-term contact between these languages in the southern Balkan peninsula. A colonial Germanic example of this would be the contact between Swedish and Dutch settlers in the Delaware River valley in the early years of English rule, ca. 1660-1740. In these years the Swedes and Dutch were the predominant settler communities, and because English was the prestige variety, neither language had superiority over the other. It stands to reason that there was borrowing between the groups, though because we have no linguistic evidence, this will remain a point of speculation until such time as we come across a manuscript attesting to it.

The third is when two languages are of such linguistic similarity that speakers are able to construe new linguistic items as their own, the cognitive process of which is called apperception. This is predominantly the case with languages that have, as Haugen puts it, a low language differential, such as between Danish and Faroese, or Finnish and Estonian. Here the duration and intensity of contact is less important than the affinities between the languages, and it is precisely this category of contact that is the object of this study.

These categories are umbrella concepts that describe three main impetuses in language contact, but the instances themselves are always a combination of these factors. Sometimes prestige plays a greater role for a period of time, sometimes it is the relatively egalitarian sustained contact that is most important. All contact situations show varying amounts of these linguistic ingredients at varying times. In order to better contextualize this, I have chosen a quartet of Germanic language contact situations in Southern Africa that best describe the reality of language contact.

2.2.1 AN OLD-ESTABLISHED LANGUAGE COMES IN CONTACT WITH A NEW ONE: AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH

The first Dutch speakers came to South Africa in 1652, and from then onward, the Dutch language, later becoming Afrikaans, has been spoken in Africa. The colony in the first fifty years of its settlement was ethnically diverse and multilingual, so much so that by the early eighteenth century one no longer speaks of Dutch, but rather Cape Dutch, for it had changed dramatically in the mouths of so many different peoples. Cape Dutch was spoken until it had changed so much from the then-standardizing Dutch that it had become Afrikaans. The date by which this change seems to have largely happened is 1775. By 1820, the year in which the first English settlers arrived, Afrikaans was the common language of South Africa, and it had 170 years of history behind it. But the Cape Colony was under British control, and English was the sole language of the courts, the administration, and the schools. All of the capital coming into the country was held by English speakers, and the Afrikaner colonial aristocracy knew which way the wind was blowing. English was the prestige variety, but equally important, it was very similar to early Afrikaans, so much so that heavy borrowing ended up taking place. What is more, in colonial terms, the two languages ended up being in contact for a long time, almost two hundred years at the present time,

which is comparatively long when one considers that, for example, the colony of Australia was first colonized just over 230 years ago.

As Bruce Donaldson (1991) has meticulously shown, English has left its greatest imprint on the Afrikaans vocabulary. This includes outright borrowings for things never before encountered, such as *boeliebief* (bully beef), *kabelkar* (cable car), and *sokker* (soccer). But there are also borrowings for which Afrikaans words already existed, such as *brekfstis* 'breakfast', *cute*, *kontrêpsie* 'contraption', *obviously*, *storie* 'story', or *worry*. For all of these words, a good Afrikaans word already existed: *cute* - *oulik*; *obviously* - *duidelik*; *worry* - *sorg*; *brekfstis* - *ontbyt/vroegstuk* (itself a sixteenth century Dutch borrowing from German!); *kontrêpsie* - *dinges*; *storie* - *verhaal*. Borrowing from English has been going on for so long, that many Afrikaans speakers today worry about the dilution of their language into a sea of Anglicisms.

The degree to which the borrowings are assimilated to the Afrikaans sound system is a good diagnostic for determining whether the word is an old or a recent borrowing. This is because once bilinguals become fully competent in their second language, sound substitution rarely occurs. Words such as *bloekom* 'blue gum', *juts* 'judge', *sieling* 'shilling' are considered old, because they show a substitution of the English sounds – which Afrikaans speakers were unable to pronounce – with their closest Afrikaans approximations. With *bloekom*, Afrikaans had no intervocalic [g] (except for in some eastern dialects), and so rendered it with its voiceless counterpart. In the case of *juts*, Afrikaans speakers produced the first voiced alveolar affricate with a spelling pronunciation, the glide [j], and the second voiced alveolar affricate by moving it back slightly to the postalveolar position and then devoicing it. A move from alveolar to postalveolar position is again seen in *sieling*. All of these words are pronounced by modern-day speakers like South African English words, given that virtually all Afrikaans speakers are now bilingual.

There are retarding factors to this influx, too, such as the standardization of Afrikaans, which gave native speakers a written prestige form to refer to. The power of nationalistic pride has also proven to help stanch the flood of English. But over the long run, the languages are so close to one another, both being unshifted North Sea Germanic dialects, and speakers borrow with such high frequency that the influence of English will continue to be felt.

2.2.2 A LANGUAGE OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS COMES IN CONTACT WITH THE LANGUAGE OF THE COLONY: GERMAN AND AFRIKAANS

In the 1840s, Natal province in the eastern half of South Africa was being colonized by the British, but it was still wide open as far as colonization was concerned, and a couple of groups from Germany went and settled there. Half came to grow tobacco, and half came to evangelize to the Zulu. They settled amongst British and Afrikaner farmers, and had ample exposure to both languages, but the prestige varieties changed throughout a few periods. The prestige language of the period 1840-1910 was English, for the British were the sole administrators of Natal at this time. From 1910-1948, Natal was governed by the reconciliation government of the Union of South Africa, and consequently both English and Dutch (after 1925, Afrikaans) were prestigious, though English probably a bit more so. In 1948 the National Party won control of parliament and immediately began a strongly pro-Afrikaans agenda which lasted until 1994, when the minority white government was voted

out. During these forty-four years, Afrikaans words entered Natal German faster than they ever had before, though they had been trickling in ever since the Germans arrived.

Stielau (1980) conducted a first-rate study of the German of Natal, and the following forms come from her work. The unassimilated borrowings are most numerous - which would imply that they were borrowed during the third period mentioned above. Among these are words such as *apteek* 'pharmacy', *koppie* 'hillock', and *stoep* 'stoop'. Assimilated words are also to be found, such as *Fleh* (Afr. *vlei*) 'slough', *Kral* (Afr. *kraal*) 'kraal', and *Spruite* (Afr. *spruit*) 'creek'. But many of the borrowings are calques, such as *Aussonderung* (Afr. *uitsondering*) 'exception', *festfragen* (Afr. *vasvra*) 'to quiz', or *umgeven* (Afr. *omgee*) 'to care about'. These are easily spread due to the linguistic affinity between the two languages; as one can see, the morphemes in the calques are etymologically related to the Afrikaans models they copy.

One of the more curious aspects of the speakers of Natal German is that most of the colonists' ancestors were from around Osnabrück, Hannover, and Lüneberg, and were therefore predominantly speakers of Low German. However, as the years passed, they ended up switching to High German, so that almost nothing of their original Low German remains in their Natal German. Clearly, their linguistic identity was strong enough to maintain and alter the German language, but not so strong as to stem the tide of Afrikaans words that flowed in. Social prestige, but also duration of contact and linguistic affinity are all factors at play in this situation.

2.2.3 THE LANGUAGE OF A PRESTIGE GROUP IN CONTACT WITH THAT OF A NON-PRESTIGE ONE: GERMAN AND REHOBOTHER AFRIKAANS

The self-appelled Rehoboth Basters, a community of mixed race (Afrikaner-Khoekhoe-Coloured), Afrikaans-speaking people arrived in present-day Namibia in the 1870s, and settled in Rehoboth, south of the capital, Windhoek. Once established, they quickly sided with the German administration that was in control of the country. They took up arms on behalf of the German administration, fighting against the Bondelswarts and other tribes, for which they were rewarded by the government. Throughout the duration of German rule (1875-1914), the Rehoboth Basters were in good standing with their German overlords, and the relationship was so cozy that quite a few Baster women ended up marrying German men, which surely helped to deepen the linguistic relationship.

And yet, here is a group that, despite its good standing with the German government, was socially subordinate to the ruling groups, Germans and Afrikaners, despite the marriages between Germans and Rehoboth women. The German colonial regime was deeply racist, so much so that it recognized almost none of the marriages. Rademeyer (1938) is one of the few linguists to have studied the language of the Rehoboth Basters, and his work is especially useful, because in 1938 there were still Basters who remembered the German administration and used German words. He was able to interview these people and write down their word usages before they died out.

As with the other groups discussed, the Rehobothers borrowed some German words wholesale, such as *bild* (Ger. *Bild*) 'picture', *hits* (Ger. *Hitze*) 'heat', and *spas* (Ger. *Spaß*) 'joke', Afrikaans *prentjie*, *bitte*, and *grap* would all have done just fine, but as we have already seen, words are sometimes borrowed for which the L₁ (also, Target Language) already has a perfectly good one. There are also some meanings that were borrowed, as in *bekwaam* 'well-off, rich' (Ger. *bequem* 'comfortable', Afr. *bekwaam* 'ripe, able'), *knapp* 'small' (Ger. *knapp* 'tight,

scarce', Afr. *knep* 'clever'), or *stem* 'to accord, agree' as in *dit stem* (Ger. *das stimmt* 'that's true', Afr. *stem* 'to vote'). Some calques occur as well, such as *baanmeester* 'station agent' (Ger. *Bahnmeister*, Afr. *stasiemeester*) and *noemlike* 'the very, namely' (Ger. *nämliche*, Afr. *einste*).

The influence of German on Rehobother Afrikaans today is almost nil, though there is probably still some commerce between the many German farmers who still live in Namibia and the Basters of Rehoboth. But the fact is, there are no Rehoboth Baster Afrikaans loans in Namibian German, and the prestige factor played a dominant role in the social dynamic of borrowing. Had there been more work done on Rehoboth Afrikaans back around Rademeyer's time, the extent of the influence would probably be better known, and the role of language affinity in this situation would be further fleshed out. As it stands, what we have are tantalizing examples of this contact, and they hint at a deeper linguistic relationship than that which we see here.

2.2.4 THE INFLUENCE OF A WRITTEN LANGUAGE ON A SPOKEN ONE: STANDARD DUTCH AND AFRIKAANS

That language influence can occur without there being any speakers of the influencing language, has been known for a long time to German medievalists who have come across countless Latinisms in medieval German. A similar thing happened to Afrikaans during its standardization, which lasted from around 1875 to 1925. During this time, Afrikaners were striving to elevate Afrikaans from the level of a farmer's jargon to that of an international language, capable of dealing with science, politics, philosophy, and literature. The core vocabulary of Afrikaans was small, about five thousand words. An educated speaker of English or Dutch had more than double that. In order to expand the vocabulary, Afrikaans speakers turned to written standard Dutch.

There are many words in Afrikaans which have sounds in them that one does not usually associate with Afrikaans. For example, as a general rule, between a long vowel or diphthong and a schwa, [d] lenites to [j] or is lost, e.g. Du. *poeder* – Afr. *poeier* 'powder', Du. *vergader* – Afr. *vergaar* 'to gather'. So when one comes across Afr. *weer* 'again' (Du. *weder*) and Afr. *wedersyds* 'mutual', it is clear that the latter form is a recent borrowing from standard Dutch, because it does not conform to the sound changes that happened in Afrikaans. In the variation between [i] and [ɛ] (Du. *likken*, Afr. *lek* 'to leak'), Afrikaans has chosen the open-mid front unrounded vowel over the near-close near-front unrounded one. Knowing this, one can clearly tell that the bookish word *herdenk* 'to commemorate' is a borrowing from Dutch because of the everyday word *dink* 'to think'. A final example will suffice. In a few words with [rn] in the coda of a word, Afrikaans velarized the nasal, e.g. Du. *karnen* – Afr. *karring* 'to churn', Du. *toorn* – Afr. *toring* 'tower'. It is then no surprise that the uncommon word *doornig* 'thorny', is a borrowing from Dutch, for which the native Afrikaans word is *doringrig*.

As Scholtz (1951:3-4) has rightly pointed out in his study of the influence of Dutch on Afrikaans, this is no hard and fast criterium for determining whether or not an Afrikaans word is a borrowing from written standard Dutch, for there have always been Afrikaners on the Cape who spoke more or less unadulterated Dutch, and they had plenty of commerce with their monolingual compatriots. Still, it is on balance a fair yardstick to use, and has served other scholars well, see Uys (1983). In the last analysis, though, we see here a combination of all three factors, prestige, duration of contact, and linguistic affinity, even in the absence of living speakers to convey the linguistic material into the recipient language.

2.3 LANGUAGE DIFFERENTIAL VS. DIALECT CONTACT

Every linguist has heard the old adage that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy. The truth of it is clear enough; many languages exist on a continuum of intelligibility and genetic relatedness, just as dialects do. This is easily seen in the case of Dutch, which is closer to Low German than either of the two is to High German, yet Low German is considered a dialect and Dutch a language. This is because the Dutch were able to maintain their political independence during the rise of High German in the fifteenth century, and the Low German speakers were not. An army and a navy were handy indeed.

It is natural enough to point out, though, that sometimes languages are so different, that entertaining such quaint equations as the one above is silly. In the case of Finnish and English, for example, it is so clear that we are dealing with two separate languages that we need not bother invoking martial maxims to figure it out.

So how does one move forward when considering the contact between closely-related languages, such as is the case with all the Germanic languages? One could, as Trudgill (2000) did, try to draw up a series of criteria for determining whether one is faced with language or dialect contact. In doing this he looked at the contact between Middle Low German and Middle Scandinavian. He goes through the various categories of languages that arise in contact situations: pidgin, jargon, creole, creoloid, dual-source creoloid, koiné, and interlanguage and interdialect. He whittles out all but the last two, and says, "Perhaps there is a clue here in the fact that language-contact outcomes are driven by the need to establish a means of communication, while dialect-contact outcomes are driven mainly by accommodation" (82-3). Clever as this drudgery might well be, it does not solve the basic problem. What is at issue is terminology, and as we can see, the relationship between the two terms language and dialect is fraught. Instead of crafting a series of criteria for determining which flawed term to use, we ought to just use the term "linguistic contact". This obviates the entire problem, and allows the researcher to deal with the actual results of contact instead of quibbling over terminology.

Einar Haugen got around this problem by coming up with what he called the "language differential" (Haugen 1969:380-2). He illustrated it in the following way. In American Portuguese, there are two words for *ice*, *gelo* 'natural ice', and *ice* 'artificial ice'. One is a native word, one is a borrowing from English. He explains that the fact that Portuguese speakers picked up the English word for artificial ice shows that it was contact with American business life that brought about the borrowing. Yet, American Norwegian has had the same contact, but only one word, *is* is used for either natural or artificial ice. He states it axiomatically: "if a native word is similar in sound to a desired foreign word, it is often given the meanings of the foreign word; if not, it is more common to borrow the foreign word" (380). Ergo, American Portuguese and American English have a high differential, whereas American Norwegian and American English have a low one. Thus we can call languages that are similar, languages with a low language differential, those that are different, ones with a high language differential. All Germanic languages have low mutual differentials, though there can be instances at the lexical level that show a high differential; e.g. German has no homophonous word for English *farm*, neither *Bauernhof* nor *Landgut* capture the sense of *farm*, so German has borrowed it to mean 'a large plot of agricultural land one which one lives, usually in the new world'.

In the cases of German influence on Cape Dutch/Afrikaans and of Afrikaans on Namibian German, we are dealing with languages with low differentials. This must be borne in mind, as these two case studies unfold.

2.4 TYPES OF LEXICAL BORROWING

There are two categories of lexical borrowing that are not of concern for this study: pre-immigration loans and international words. Pre-immigration loans can be between languages with a low differential, as is the case with German words that were borrowed into Dutch in the sixteenth century (see De Voors 1946). To be sure, one must, as with the case of standardized Dutch loans in Afrikaans, be vigilant about correctly identifying a given word's provenance, lest one misidentify the loan as recent. The same goes for international words, because even though they are continuously absorbed by the recipient language, their introduction into the lexicon is not the result of the contact situations under scrutiny here.

Barring these two items, there are two types of lexical borrowings, loanwords and loanshifts. Loanwords are borrowings that import new morphemes, whether in part or whole. Loanshifts substitute native morphemes. In order for this distinction to make sense, we must first differentiate between importation and substitution. Importation is the reproduction of borrowed material in a form that more or less accords with the material's original form. Substitution, on the other hand, is the reproduction of borrowed material with native sounds. For example, in Texas German, we see two pronunciations for the loanword *pature*: one with [a] and one with [æ] (Boas 2009:132-3). The former is an instance of substitution, whereas the latter is one of importation.

2.4.1 CATEGORIES OF LOANS

Einar Haugen delineated two categories of loanword, and two categories of loanshift (1969:402-3). The loanword is divided into the pure loanword and the loanblend. The loanshift is divided into the creation and the extension. Loanwords import morphemes, either in part or in whole. Loanshifts substitute native morphemes, whether those morphemes already existed or not. Betz (1974) contrived his own terminology for borrowing, and I will provide his terms next to Haugen's in the interest of providing a little perspective on how one can analyze borrowings. Weinreich (1974) came up with his own terms as well, and they will be given along with Betz'. Haugen remains, however, the guiding light in this study.

2.4.2 THE LOANWORD

The pure loanword itself is divided into three sub-categories: 1) unassimilated (no phonemic substitution); 2) partly assimilated (some phonemic substitution); 3) wholly assimilated (complete phonemic substitution). Betz classifies all these under *Lehnwort* 'loanword', while Weinreich sees them as the transfer of simple words.

The unassimilated loanword is one that sounds "correct" in the loaning language, as when English speakers say [eˈzats] instead of [ɪzʌts] for *Ersatz*. This is a common occurrence in linguistic contact situations of long standing, and, as was pointed out above, the greater the familiarity with the L₂ (also, Source Language), the more importation one sees. Take, for example, American Swedish *understand*: "vi kan tacka Gud att vi har ett språk som vi understand" 'we can thank God that we have a language that we understand' (Ureland 1984:292). Unassimilated loanwords can co-exist with the native word for the same item, as can be seen in the case of a Pella Dutch speaker talking about the paperboy who "brengt hier de paper". His wife corrected him, saying "krant", after which he said without skipping a beat "brengt hier de krant 's morgens" 'brings the paper in the morning' (Webber 1988:93).

The partly assimilated loanword shows some phonemic substitution, and would sound to non-linguists like someone who speaks with a pretty good accent, though the speech is still accented. Such is the case of the Namibian Afrikaans loanword *Haupsach* for *Hauptsache* from Namibian German (NG) (Schlengemann 1928-9:61). Afrikaans does not allow [pt] word-finally, and so the cluster is reduced to [p], cf. Afr. *stip* (Du. *stipt*) 'prompt'. Just as the [t] is lost, so the non-morphemic word-final [ə] is apocoped, in accordance with both Afrikaans and Dutch phonotactics. Partial assimilation can also be seen in American Swedish *graduejta* 'to graduate': "di kōm från Bethany, Ni ser, College, di graduejta" 'they came from Bethany College, you see, they graduate' (Ureland 1984:293). Here there is a substitution of American English [ei] with American Swedish [ej].

The wholly assimilated loanword sounds like a "heavy accent" in the loaning language. Sometimes when the two languages in contact have a high language differential, the assimilated word can depart strikingly from the model in the loaning language. Take, for example, American Finnish *sabti* for American English *shaft* (Virtaranta 1981:305). Surely the former, though it looks not too dissimilar on paper, would be almost unintelligible to an English speaker, since replacing the voiceless postalveolar fricative and the alveolar one are not allophones in English, just as the fricatives [h] and [f] are not in allophonic variation in American English. But languages need not have a high differential in order to have unassimilated loanwords. We can look again at the treatment of American English *pasture* in Texas German, where sixty percent of speakers say [pastə] (Boas 2009:160).

Loanblends are borrowings that consist of both loan phonemes and native morphemes, and are divided into three subcategories: 1) stem (meaningless suffix substitution); 2) derivative (meaningful suffix substitution); 3) compound (independent morpheme substitution).

The stem loanblend, or blended stem, is characterized by the substitution of a morpheme that means nothing, and is clearly an attempt by the borrower to make sense of the word instead of just reproducing it on a phonetic basis. Its primary quality is having a suffix that is meaningless and does not reflect an attempt to reproduce the sound of the word in the loaning language. It is a comparatively rare kind of borrowing between Germanic languages. I am yet to come across any in the languages I have looked at.

The derivative loanblend, or blended derivative, occurs when a suffix has been substituted with a meaningful native morpheme. The dialectal American English word *logy* (pronounced with [g]) 'heavy, dull' is a blended derivative of New Netherland Dutch (NND) *log* 'heavy, dull' and the native adjectival suffix *-y* (Carpenter 1908:12). Looking to North Germanic, we can take American Swedish *countryt* 'the country', with the imported morpheme *country* and the Swedish suffixed neuter definite article *-t* (Ureland 1984:305).

The compound loanblend, or blended compound has two forms: nuclear and marginal. A nuclear compound loanblend consists of an imported nucleus. There is an old nuclear

compound loanblend in American English, *coleslaw* from New Netherland Dutch *koolsla* (*kool* 'cabbage', *sla* 'salad'), which consists of the meaningful morpheme *cole* 'cabbage, brassica', and the borrowed *slaw*. While *cole* is no longer in use in standard American English, it was at one time a common word used for cabbage, brassicas, or certain native North American plants that resembled cabbage, see Leighton (1970:262-3). The first element, the nucleus, is a native morpheme, hence the term nuclear loanblend. A marginal loanblend is the Rehobother Afrikaans borrowing *resiermes* 'shaving razor' from NG *Rasiermesser* (Afr. *skeermes*), where the marginal element is the native morpheme *mes* 'knife'. Another marginal loanblend is Afrikaans *die nimlike* 'the very' from German *der/die/das nämliche* 'the very' (Scholtz 1979). The loanblend is on the border between loanwords and loan-meanings (loanshifts), because part of the word is a translation of the model word in the L₂ and is therefore, in part, a loanshift.

2.4.3 THE LOANSHIFT

The creation involves the arrangement of native morphemes on the model of the borrowing. This is sometimes called a calque, and is itself divided into literal and approximate. The loanshift is far and away the most popular type of borrowing between the Germanic languages, and it is the type of borrowing for which Betz devised the most terms.

The literal creation is a word-for-word translation which, although not already existing in the borrowing language, makes sense to the bilingual. Betz calls this the *Lehnübersetzung* 'loan-translation'; Weinreich uses loan-translation. There are numerous examples, but a few will suffice. We can look to Texas German [foiərplɑts] modeled on English *fireplace* (Gilbert 1965:111). As far as I know, *Feuerplatz* is a recent innovation in German that refers only to the pit in which one has a campfire. The Texas German word is used for *Herd* 'fireplace'. American Swedish *rätt här* 'right here' is also a literal creation (Sw. *precis här*), as is *allt över* 'all over (the place)' (Sw. *överallt*) (Ureland 1984:299). The influence of New Netherland Dutch on American English was mentioned above, but the influence goes in the other direction in the New Netherland Dutch word *ghisterdag* (Du. *gisteren*) rendered on the model of English *yesterday* (Noordegraaf 2008:18), or *njuespampîr* for *newspaper* (Du. *nieuwsblad*, *krant*) (Prince 1910:477).

The approximate creation, or, as Betz puts it, the *Lehnübertragung* 'loan-transfer' is a borrowing that is clearly inspired by the model in the loaning language, but which uses different morphemes in a different arrangement. Weinreich prefers to call this a loan-rendition. It is not a common type of borrowing between Germanic languages. Still, it does happen sometimes. Take Texas German *Welschkorn* 'maize, corn' (Gilbert 1965:106). This is probably modeled on the now obsolete *Indian corn*, where *welsch* replaces *Indian*, meaning as it does 'outsider, foreigner', cf. the name for the Austrian wine *Welschriesling* 'riesling from Italy', where Italy is the closest land of foreigners in viticulture.

Homophonous extension, or *Lehnbedeutung* 'loan-meaning', is when there is only a sound correspondence that facilitates the borrowing. In the case of Pella Dutch *lijk* for the English adverb *like* and *lijken* for the verb *to like* (Webber 1988:97), as well as NND *lāike* 'to like' (Prince 1910:476), there is some foothold for the borrower in that *gelijk* 'similar to' is analogous to English *like* 'similar to', but that is where the correspondence ends. The borrowed meanings are dissimilar enough that this should be regarded as a homophonous extension. Sometimes the original meaning of the word can be very different from that of the semantic borrowing, e.g. NND *keeren* 'to want' (Prince 1910:483). This was probably first

borrowed from 'to care', which became 'to want', cf. *kére* 'care' (470). Prince (483) believes this to come from Dutch *zich aan niets keren* 'to care for nothing', but surely the Dutch phrase has more to do with turning, as in 'to turn one's attention to'. This represents a bigger departure than that of the Pella Dutch *lijk* and *lijken*. Interesting among these, and compelling evidence that linguistic affinity is a key motivator in borrowing, are the following: Pella Dutch *graad* 'grade, level (in school)' (Webber 1988:96), Texas German *Grad* 'grade, level (in school)' (Gilbert 1965:111), Natal German *Grad* 'grade, level (in school)' (Stielau 1980:73). In all of these instances, the original meaning was 'degree', which, being semantically unlike the borrowed meaning, makes these homophonous, based on sound only.

Haugen differentiates the homophonous loanshifts from the homologous. As we just saw, homophonous shifts occur strictly by virtue of their sound. Homologous shifts, on the other hand, are a product of similarity between sound and meaning. Recently, the Israeli linguist Ghil'ad Zuckermann (2004:283) introduced the terms "multisourced neologization" or "camouflaged borrowing" to describe the subconscious act of simultaneous importation and substitution, an idea that is essentially the same as Haugen's category of homologous extension. This would seem to be the case with NND *hóxbāit* 'height' (Prince 1910:474), which in standard Dutch means 'highness'. Another Germanic dialect in the northeast of the United States is Pennsylvania Dutch, which has many loanshifts. An example of a homologous loanshift is the word *schlappig* [ʃlapɪç] (Schach 1951:263), which means 'flabby, slovenly' in standard German, but has acquired the English meaning 'sloppy'. One more example will do. Australian Dutch has the word *speciaal*, which has acquired the English sense of 'especially, particularly', as in "speciaal toen we in de hills kwamen" 'especially when we came in the hills' (Clyne 2003:77). Standard Dutch *speciaal* only means 'specially', as in "specially designed", etc. That Australian English uses *especially* where American English uses *especially*, and *especial* where American English uses *special* probably contributed to this development.

Synonymous extensions are based solely on semantic affinity. Betz classifies these under *Lehnbedeutung* while Weinreich puts them under polysemy. Thus NND *dwās* 'across, over' (Prince 1910:468) has acquired the new sense of American English *across* as in "across the road" (Ger. *gegenüber*), which does not exist in standard Dutch *dwars* 'across, diagonal from'. Sometimes previous distinctions are lost in synonymous extensions, as is the case of Pennsylvania Dutch *bitte* 'ask, request' and *fraage* 'ask, inquire' syncretizing to just *fraage* 'ask, request, inquire' (Costello 1997). Likewise the old opposition *Dorf*: *Stadt* 'village': 'town/city' was lost in Texas German, where only *Stadt* 'town (small or large)' remains (Gilbert 1965:111). Because of the way in which agricultural land was settled in nineteenth-century America, no villages arose, but neither did proper cities, so that the only term that made sense to American English speakers was *town*, which is duly reflected in Texas German.

Haugen's terminology is not always perfect, and we should not expect it to be, which is why Betz and Weinreich are helpful, for more, see Betz (1974), Wells (1984:276). Still, something ought to be said about homology and analogy in light of Haugen. In biology, one speaks of analogous and homologous morphology. Analogous refers to morphological structures shared by different life-forms but of different origins. For example, both birds and bats have wings. The bird's wing evolved in the Jurassic period, far after the first mammals had evolved out of proto-reptiles in the Carboniferous period, and the bat's wing evolved relatively recently. Clearly, the only thing they share is the use of their "arms", but the developments are convergent, that is, they came to the same conclusion along different ways.

This is most similar to the synonymous extension, where the words are not etymologically related, but their functions (meanings) are. Of course, the analogy between words is of semantic fields, not of individual semantemes, as with American Portuguese *frio* 'a cold (infection)'. English *cold* can be either a noun 'illness' or an adjective 'low temperature', and Portuguese *frio* means 'a cold spell'. The three senses are all related – *cold* 'illness' comes from the sense of being cold and then becoming sick – and yet none of them is perfectly synonymous. So it is with bird and bat wings: they are both for flying, but the individual flights are different.

Homologous structures share the same origin, but serve different functions. For example, the fingers of bats have become long and grown more cartilage and skin between them. They are used for flight. Our fingers, on the other hand, have shortened over time, and are bony and prehensile. They are used for wielding tools. These two structures diverged from the same source, and are thus related, but their functions are totally different. This would seem to be the same problem with homophonous extensions. Of course, bats and hominids have both kept their hands ever since diverging from the same ancestor, while words need not follow such a path. Take American Finnish *majuri* 'mayor' (Virtaranta 1981:308), which in Finnish only means 'major (mil.)'. Both *mayor* and *majuri* have the same source, Latin *major*, but did not enter English and Finnish at precisely the same time, unlike the situation with bats' and our fingers. Despite this lack of parallelism, the fact that they share a common ancestor (are cognate), is enough to argue for homology. Of course, homophonous items might not be homologous, as with American Finnish *parkata* 'to strip bark' gaining the meaning 'to park (a car)' from American English *park*. This comes up more often with genetically unrelated languages, but between Germanic ones, homology is more common.

Of course, synonymous and homophonous are linguistic terms and there are advantages to using them. Haugen runs into a little trouble, though, when he talks of homologous extensions as ones that are both homophonous and synonymous, because his definition of homology is idiosyncratic. Why he chose homologous to refer to extensions that share synonymy and homophony is unclear, but in the interests of keeping the terminology in this study consistent, I will follow Haugen's nomenclature. The point here is, however, that the question of homology and analogy remains pertinent to the Germanic languages and their mutual interactions.

The loanshift is important in intra-Germanic contact, because the majority of borrowings in such contact are themselves loanshifts. Haugen (1969:401) puts it perfectly, writing: "The popularity of such loanshifts as these in AmN makes it clear that the similarity of E and N is a definite factor in promoting linguistic confusion. It is tempting to pour new wine into the old bottles when the old bottles are scarcely distinguishable from the new. More precisely one may say: a partial overlapping of sound or meaning can be the starting point of a complete identification". And what is that identification? It is apperception as described by Herbart, abduction as described by Peirce.

2.5 ABDUCTION/APPERCEPTION

Oftentimes when people encounter new things, they bring the novelty in line with what they already know. For example, when the English first settled in North America, they saw the bird *turdus migratorius* (American robin), and noticed the redness of its breast. This they

associated with its analogously red-breasted fellow avian *erithacus rubecula* (European robin), and, logically enough, they called it by the same name, robin. Likewise, when the Dutch settled in the Cape of Good Hope, they encountered *proteles cristata* (hyena) and not having seen anything like it, called it by the name of the most similar animal they could conjure, i.e. *wolf*. While this is halfway an act of ignorance - having never seen these animals before is ignorance, but having associated them with a known quantity is not - it is not an act of stupidity, rather it is a basic function of cognition. Consider what happens when one has never seen a certain tree before; it is not approached as some incomprehensible unit, rather the perceiver brings it in line with other trees because it shares certain characteristics: a plant that is tall, bark-covered, brachiating, and stiff. The details might differ; the bark might be flaky, grooved, or smooth, the leaves might be smooth-edged, serrated, pronged, but it is recognizable as a tree. This fundamental aspect of perception and learning inspired a wealth of scholarship by nineteenth-century pedagogs. The name they gave it is apperception.

The term has historically had two meanings: 1) conscious perception, metacognition; and 2) the melding of a new perception with a pre-existing one. Descartes was the first to call conscious perception apperception. Knowing that one is perceiving is not new, but calling it apperception was, for Descartes, a novelty. He inspired Leibniz who inspired Kant who inspired the scholars who dealt with the phenomenon described in the second sense given here. Herbart (1825) is, as far back as I can trace, the first scholar to use the term apperception to describe the kind of learning by which a novel concept or percept melds with one already held.¹ His idea was taken up by successive thinkers, foremost among whom are Wilhelm Max Wundt (1862), Moritz Lazarus (1876), Heymann Steinthal (1881), and Wilhelm Volkman Volkmar (1895) and they did so always within the context of psychology and pedagogy, with the exception of Steinthal, who wrote about psychology and linguistics. A recitation of all these views would take us too far afield for the present study; Karl Lange (1895) dealt comprehensively with all of them, and for those interested in matters purely psychological and pedagogical, his work is the authority. Suffice it to say that the idea of apperception slowly fell out of fashion in the early twentieth century, largely because scholars kept broadening its definition until it became so vague as to simply mean 'cognition'. Von Humboldt's *inner sense* underwent a similar fate (Leopold 1929), but in spite of that, apperception meaning 'to perceive a new concept or percept with a similar one already held' is a good term.² Though Herbart was the first European scholar to discover this, an American logician named Charles Sanders Peirce hit upon the same idea independently, and called it abduction.

¹ Herbart (1825:215): "Nämlich bey der äußern Wahrnehmung ist offenbar diese selbst das Appercipirte; und die aus dem Innern hervorkommende, mit ihr verschelzende, Vortstellungsmasse ist das Appercipirende. Die letztere ist die bey weitem mächtigere; sie ist gebildet aus allen frühern Auffassungen; damit kommt die neue Wahrnehmung auch bey der größten Stärke der momentanen Auffassung nicht in Vergleich, zudem wegen der abnehmenden Empfänglichkeit; - und deshalb muß sie sich gefallen lassen, hineingezogen zu werden in die schon vorhandenen Verbindungen und Bewegungen der älteren Vorstellungen." 'Clearly, it is the outer perception that is the apperceived, while that which comes from within, the idea that melds with it, is the apperceiving. The latter is far and away stronger; it is composed of all previous conceptions. Thus the new perception, however strong it might be, pales in comparison to the apperceiving. For this reason it must tolerate being forced into the pre-existing connections and movements of the older conceptions'.

² Apperception is from Latin *adpervipere* 'to perceive to', whereas abduction is from Latin *abducere* 'to lead away'. The sense to perceiving something *to* another thing, in our case perceiving the unknown as the known, is more applicable to this study, because abduction highlights the unknown, whereas apperception highlights the known.

Peirce saw abduction as the first of three steps in logical thought: abduction, induction, deduction. Deduction is the belief that the facts of the premisses (judgments) could not be true without involving the truth of the conclusion. This is basis of the traditional scholarship of observation. Induction, on the other hand, is when one already holds a theory, and believes that if that theory is true, then it will be borne out under certain circumstances. This is the hypothesis part of the scientific method. But abduction is different from these two, because it, unlike induction and deduction, is pre-conscious, not involving any calculation. Peirce describes it best, so I will quote him in full: "*Presumption*, or, more precisely, *abduction* ... furnishes the reasoner with the problematic theory which induction verifies. Upon finding himself confronted with a phenomenon unlike what he would have expected under the circumstances, he looks over its features and notices some remarkable character or relation among them, which he at once recognizes as being characteristic of some conception with which his mind is already stored, so that a theory is suggested which would *explain* (that is, render necessary) that which is surprising in the phenomena." (Peirce 1932:497). Anttila (1977:14) bridges the gap between the pedagogs who espoused the theory of apperception and Peirce when he writes that "any learning or understanding must be by abduction, which stands as the basis for all predictions." Learning is clearly of the highest importance when talking about linguistic contact, for the act of importation, whether of models or forms, is an act of learning. No wonder, then, that Wundt, Lazarus, Steinthal and Volkmar were all concerned with apperception in respect of pedagogy.

Reilly (1970:50) puts it well: "Interpretation occurs in widely differing ways in the perceptual judgment. 'We perceive what we are adjusted for interpreting,' even though it be less perceptible than that for which we are less adjusted (5.185). And conversely, we fail to perceive the more perceptible, because we are not adjusted for interpreting it. We may interpret a drawing now as a serpentine line, now as a stone wall. An optical illusion will be interpreted as steps ascending, and a moment later as steps descending."

2.5.1 APPERCEPTION IN BORROWING

While in the fields of psychology and pedagogy the notion of apperception had been dealt with explicitly, in contact linguistics, and more specifically in the study of loan words, it was arrived at implicitly.

The earliest tacit recognition of apperception in language contact that I have come across is by the American linguist William Dwight Whitney. He hit on apperception in his 1881 article "On Mixture in Language", a long and thoughtful paper inspired by the works of Max Müller. In it he states the following (18-9): "There is nothing in English borrowing to give any support to the doctrine that one tongue can learn from another a grammatical distinction, or a mode of its expression, formerly *unknown*: for instance, the prepositional construction of nouns, period-building with help of conjunctions, formation by affix of comparatives or abstracts or adverbs, or of tenses or numbers or persons." [italics mine] He is followed up by another American linguist, Edward Sapir - who studied in Leipzig with Wundt - who states: "English borrowed an immense number of words from the French of the Norman invaders, later also from the court French of Isle de France, appropriated a certain number of affixed elements of derivational value (e.g., *-ess* of *princess*, *-ard* of *drunkard*, *-ty* of *royalty*), may have been somewhat stimulated in its general analytic drift by contact with French, and even allowed French to modify its phonetic pattern slightly (e.g., initial *v* and *j* in

words like *veal* and *judge*; in words of Anglo-Saxon origin *v* and *j* can only occur after vowels, e.g., *over*, *hedge*). Perhaps the reason for this borrowing lies partly in the fact that OE /cg/ had already become the voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] and was therefore the closest approximation to Norman French *j* [what was this, exactly? the affricate or the fricative?]." (1921:206). And where there is Sapir, there is the other great American linguist of that era, Leonard Bloomfield. Bloomfield discusses many aspects of borrowing, some of which have an apperceptive component. His discussion of loan-translations begins by noting that sometimes speakers who introduce foreign things call them by native terms for equivalent things. Thus, pagan easter, which used to refer to a festival to the goddess of dawn, was transferred into the christian sphere (1933:455). While this is not a comment on linguistics *per se*, it is certainly one on apperception, implicit though it may have been, and highlights how both linguistic and cultural items can be transferred in the same way.

Interestingly enough, there is a South African linguist of the same period who explicitly mentions apperception in word borrowing. S.P.E. Boshoff, who will be handled in depth in chapter three, calls the results of folk etymology "appersepsie", which he defines as "die aanpassing van wat vreemd, onbekend en onverstaanbaar is by die bekende (in klank, betekenis, ens.)" 'the assimilation of that which is foreign, unknown and incomprehensible to the known' (1921:341). Not surprisingly, his book, written as it was in Afrikaans and published in South Africa, had no effect on American linguistics. But he was certainly right, for it is the definition of folk etymology that obscure, unknown terms are rendered in terms that are known.

Einar Haugen describes apperception when he writes: "This behavior is evidence of some kind of subtle reaction in his brain, by means of which he recognized a partial similarity of meaning and form within a complex morpheme. The linguist makes this procedure explicit by saying that the borrowed form shows partial morphemic substitution." (1969:389). And again (401): "The popularity of such loanshifts as these in AmN makes it clear that the similarity of E and N is a definite factor in promoting linguistic confusion. It is tempting to pour new wine into old bottles when the old bottles are scarcely distinguishable from the new."

Henning Andersen sought to apply abduction to linguistics in a thoughtful and innovative article on a phonological peculiarity in an Old Czech dialect (Andersen 1973). In it he discusses the change of sharpened /p/ to /t/, of sharpened /b/ to /d/ and of sharpened /m/ to /n/ in certain words, and attributes the changes to an underlying dental pronunciation of the labials that led to an apperception of them as dentals. That is, [p_s] is somewhere between [p] and [t], and is heard by the listener as [t] instead of [p]. Andersen calls this abduction. David Savan took some issue with Andersen's characterization of abduction here, claiming that it does not strictly correspond to the Peircean model (Savan 1980:261). Rauch agrees with both Andersen and Savan, saying that this change is, in essence, abduction (1999:177).

Reilly (1970:38): "Abduction alone gives us an understanding of things. At first, it is only a weak argument, a mere surmise, but every step in the development of vague ideas into present-day science began as a weak conjecture". Of course, a scientific hypothesis is subject to a greater amount of rigor in its confirmation than a loanword is. Hypotheses must be tested and verified, whereas all a word-borrower need do is use the abducted/apperceived form and receive confirmation from other speakers by their understanding the novel usage. This begs the question of how the other speakers can understand the new speech item, and the answer must be that they apperceive it in the same or a similar way. That said, one should not forget that these are all questions of causality, which, as Rauch points out (1999:171), we have at best a slippery grasp of. Still, while precision in determining causality

might elude us, one thing is clear, that abduction/apperception is the category to which it belongs.

2.5.2 PROFUNDITY OF APPERCEIVED FORMS IN BORROWING

One of the first American linguists, William Dwight Whitney noted rather intuitively, for there was, at the time, no body of literature dedicated to bilingualism or linguistic contact, that those languages which have the most in common will borrow and loan with greater frequency than will be the case between wholly unrelated languages (Whitney 1881:15). For this reason it is important and efficient to recall Haugen's "language differential" in determining how profound linguistic contact can be. With a bit of common linguistic sense, it is fair to make a few assumptions: 1) if the two languages are cognate to one another, the differential will be low, say between Icelandic and German; 2) if those cognate languages belong to the same subdivision, say, between Icelandic and Swedish (North Germanic), then the factor will be even lower; but 3) if the two languages are from genetically distinct families, say, Finnish and Faroese, then the factor will be high.³

If I could offer a short aside, a word or two on art history is more fitting here than one might at first think. The art historian Sir Kenneth Clark once described the Romanesque style as "Persian decorative motives, which were combined with the rhythms of northern ornament." When Europeans returned from the Crusades, they brought bits of Levantine culture back with them, and one that stuck and persisted for centuries was the style of vegetal border ornament in manuscripts, tapestries, and sculpture. The Persian motifs that were so popular in the Levant spread so fast, because they easily accorded with the rhythms of Germanic ornament, which itself was characterized by a similar floral elaboration. This is best exemplified in the Ottonian style, which is now considered an absolute high point of art in the Middle Ages. It set the tone for the Romanesque and eventually that of the High Gothic as well. Had Levantine vegetal ornament, with its analogous forms, not been imported by those returning from the Crusades, perhaps native European vegetal ornament would have had a negligible effect on the art of Europe. As it stands, vegetal ornament had a long and venerable tradition, and it is very likely that this is because artists apperceived Levantine motifs as basically the same as their own, and transferred them with no compunction whatsoever.

So it goes with language as well. For example, German speakers in Namibia had decades of exposure to Afrikaans. This led to importation of some elements of Afrikaans grammar that were easily grasped because they had similar homologs in German. While in German, the *um ... zu* construction is only used to express intent, in Afrikaans *om ... te* is devoid of this meaning and is simply used for infinitival clauses. Germans latched on to this and imported it, so that it is no longer odd to hear a speaker of Namibian or Natalian German say "Es macht Spaß, um krieket zu spielen." This was in part motivated by the fact that the *um ... zu* construction had been spreading for a long while (Curme 1952:488), but apparently also because the sense was not so very different as to cause confusion. Overall, the great

³ While the stability of the theory of genetic relationships between languages has been compromised ever since Trubetzkoy published his paper on the typological problems with Indo-European (Trubetzkoy 2001), it is generally accepted that the languages we are looking at here, that is, German, Cape Dutch, and Afrikaans are all genetically related.

similarity of so many constructions has led to a deep and lasting impact on the German of Namibia. Contrast this against the very few Khoekhoe loans, which stem from a language that is almost totally alien to German and offers virtually no points of convergence.

As should be becoming clear, sometimes apperception in contact can hasten linguistic development. While the case of *um ... zu* and *om ... te* is one of a change of course - German had developed an intentional aspect, while Afrikaans had developed a merely mechanistic one - sometimes changes that are already underway are given a jumpstart. This idea occurred to William Dwight Whitney as well (1881:19): "Or, again, is it conceivable that there may have been a period in the history of Chinese when the borrowing of plainly agglutinated words was able to quicken the Chinese itself into the adoption of agglutinative processes?"

Roman Jakobson, who was a Peirce devotee, wrote an article on the isoglosses of linguistic affinity that touches on this important catalytic aspect of apperception: "A language accepts foreign structural elements only when they correspond to its own developmental tendencies. Consequently, the importation of elements of vocabulary cannot be a driving force for phonological development, but rather, at the most, one of the sources utilized for the needs of this development." (1990:208).

It is clear, then, that when the linguistic researcher seeks the most profound changes in a linguistic contact situation, it is best to first look to the input languages with a low differential to the recipient language. Here the deepest changes are likely to be found.

2.5.3 APPERCEPTION AND WORDS WITH MULTIPLE SOURCES

In examining the results of language contact situations, what strikes one is how often one comes across a word or grammatical form that is traceable to two or more possible sources. Oftentimes a reasonable, probable derivation can be drawn that takes both words into account. For example, in modern standard Dutch, the auxiliary verb comes before the past participle in subordinated clauses: *dat ik de man heb gezien* 'that I have seen the man'. In Afrikaans, the auxiliary comes after the participle: *dat ek die man gesien het*. In seventeenth century Dutch there was a vacillating system in which both *aux. + part.* and *part. + aux.* occurred. In the (southern) chancery and VOC Dutch of this era, there was a preference for *part. + aux.* (Stroops 1977). Now, in German the word order is like that of Afrikaans and the chancery style: *dass ich den Mann gesehen habe*. In looking at Afrikaans, the two options of German influence and continuity from the seventeenth century present themselves. Neither is a slam-dunk; they are equally probable candidates. It therefore stands to reason, especially when one is cognizant of the workings of apperception, that the Afrikaans construction has two origins: German and seventeenth century chancery Dutch.

In examining a language such as Afrikaans, which has multiple inputs and numerous confounding phenomena, one sees many cases in which there are more than one probable source for a given item. While I came to this conclusion independently, I was not the first to think of it. Frederic Cassidy outlined precisely this phenomenon in an article called "Multiple Etymologies in Jamaican Creole" (Cassidy 1966), and, eerily enough, in almost the same wording in a paper I wrote on this topic. Mühlhäusler (1982:101-8), Wexler (1983:257) and Rickford (1986:269) provide further instantiations of this phenomenon, and one can hardly doubt its validity. If there is any weakness here, it is in Cassidy's nomenclature, because it is not the etymologies that are multiple, but rather the sources that are. Zucker-mann's term "multisourced neologization" is closer to the mark, though far less wieldy.

The type of thinking that will produce something like this is, of course, apperception. This is the case with Afrikaans *baie*, which had the inputs Malay *banjak* 'very, many, often', VOC Dutch *banjer* 'very, many' and Low German *bannig* 'very, great'. The Malay speaker apperceived the Dutch speaker's *banjer* as *banjak*, the German speaker apperceived *banjak* as *bannig*, and the Dutch speaker *bannig* as *banjer*. As Peirce points out in respect of abduction, the process is quick and fresh, pre-conscious. All of these words are largely homophonous and synonymous, which makes these words easily identifiable as one's native word, and thus a result of apperception.

Einar Haugen (1969:386-7) noticed a similar occurrence in American Norwegian, which he called an "interlingual coincidence". His favorite example of this is American Norwegian *korn* 'maize', which in continental Norwegian means 'grain, cereals'. The word has a Norwegian form and pronunciation, but the meaning 'maize' is unknown in Norway. Here we face two options: 1) the Norwegian word gained the meaning of American English *corn* at the expense of continental 'grain, cereals' (semantic extension) or 2) *corn* was borrowed and phonetically adapted by American Norwegian speakers (pure loanword), though in the last analysis, it is impossible to say which language the word comes from. That is to say, if we could go back in time to the moment when *korn* was first used in the sense 'maize', we might be able to ascertain its true provenance. But if it was understood in this sense by speakers of both languages when it was first used - and it very probably was - then the fact of literal priority becomes trivial. Similarly, American English *dumb* 'stupid' could be Pennsylvania Dutch *dumm* or it could be *dumb* 'mute' with the Pennsylvania Dutch meaning 'stupid'. American Swedish has a similar case with *resa* "resa corn, vete", "resa hell" (Hasselmo 1974:191-2). Of course, these examples are from Germanic dialects, which, being closely related, lend themselves to such convergence, but sometimes this type of merger comes about between totally unrelated languages; take, for example, Afrikaans *saam* 'together, with', which, on account of the idiosyncratic way it is used in Afrikaans, (*sny die brood met die mes saam* lit. 'cut the bread together with the knife') must have arisen by convergence with Malay *sama* which means, among other things, 'companionship, along with' - Bosman (1923:116) sees German *mit samt einem Messer* as a contributing factor. These are all interlingual coincidences, because it is pure happenstance that they are both homophonous and synonymous. In Peircean terms, they are tychastic.

As was suggested above, this cognitive process is not limited to language acquisition. As was mentioned above, it can happen in art, which is a sign system too. Another sign system, myth, can evince similar processes and results. Uriel Weinreich (1974:49) notes in discussing American Norwegian *korn* 'maize' and its being an interlingual coincidence, that "An equivalent phenomenon in culture contact is represented by the so-called syncretisms, or unified entities of bi-cultural derivation. Greenberg [1941] has shown that North African Negroes easily accept the belief in the Mohammedan *jinn* because they identify it with their aboriginal *iskoki* spirits, just as Catholic saints have been identified by Latin American Negroes with African deities", see Bloomfield's comments on Easter above.

Because speakers will, in contact situations, gravitate towards that which is familiar, and because these phenomena are easily apperceived, they will by virtue of that predominate. By looking at these phenomena, we can best see the most profound changes in a language. Peirce thought that abduction is "free and brilliant, and not altogether secure" (Reilly 1970:37), but Haugen's categories go a ways in describing its workings. This is all to say that because contact between languages with low differentials can be so profound, we should always look first to them, for, on account of the subconscious nature of apperception, these linguistic items can easily go uncorrected because unnoticed. Once they've been established,

because of their apperceptibility and thus familiarity, they can persist and spread, forming a large class of contact phenomena.

PART ONE

GERMAN AND CAPE DUTCH IN THE CAPE COLONY,
CA. 1650 – 1810

CHAPTER III

AN EXTERNAL HISTORY OF GERMAN AND CAPE DUTCH, CA. 1650 – 1810

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The role and nature of German immigration to the Cape of Good Hope has been the subject of much debate. While its greatest bearing is on the field of genealogy, it is also of value to the linguist. In the following pages, I sketch out both the demography and the history of German immigration, and finally touch on the geographic background of these immigrants and the scholarly opinions that have been offered on the subject. Drawing linguistic conclusions from sociological and historical data is always a spurious undertaking, but so too is the analysis of linguistic data without regard to the social context within which speakers move. The chapter at hand is therefore offered in the interests of giving a clearer picture of German speech on the Cape.

3.1 A DEMOGRAPHY OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO THE CAPE

The German presence at the Cape of Good Hope began in 1652, the year in which Jan van Riebeeck established a victualing station at Table Bay on behalf of the Dutch East India Company (from now on VOC, for *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* 'United East Indian Company'). The VOC was started in 1602 as a trade monopoly sanctioned by the States-General of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. It grew quickly and was hugely profitable. Germans, especially from the north and west of the Holy Roman Empire (modern-day Germany), were drawn by the prospect of working for this lucrative cartel. Their economic motivation was compounded when the 'Thirty Years' War (1618-1648CE) broke out and ruined their economy, sending German emigrants flooding out and going, among other places, to the Netherlands. They usually spent some time there before being shipped out on VOC business, during which they were able to gain a familiarity with the Dutch language, a task which was easier for those who came from the LG-speaking north or the dialectally-related west of the Holy Roman Empire. From the VOC's inception in 1602 to its conclusion in 1795, Germans worked as soldiers, sailors, administrators and all manner of craftsmen in both the Netherlands and abroad, and were an integral component to VOC culture, see Van Gelder (1997).

One of the characteristics of German immigrants to the Cape is that they came as individuals, never as whole communities, as the French Refugees of 1687 had. Virtually all of them came from the ranks of the VOC, though their transitions from VOC employee to colonist could take a few paths. Some were given *vrybriene* 'permits' to live and work as *Vryburgers* 'Free Burghers', others took hiatuses from their VOC service to hire their labor out to settlers. The variety of work they did matched the variety of trades needed by the

VOC: they were soldiers, sailors, joiners, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, coopers, tanners, glassmakers, wainwrights, stablemen, or, as higher officials such as doctors, teachers, military officers and ministers (Hoge 1945:159). While most immigrants were artisans and farmers, some were from more middle class families, and there were even a few from the aristocracy, such as Joachim Nikolaus von Dessin, Johann Konrad von Breitenbach and Christoph Otto von Kampts. The officer class of the VOC military was rife with Germans, far too many to name. Germans were also well represented as lower-level bureaucrats, amongst whom were the descendants of German founding fathers, such as the Neethlings (Nöthlings), Allemanns, Horaks, Trüters, Blettermanns and Wentzels. One can almost speak of bureaucratic dynasties here, as in the cases of the Neethlings and the Horaks (Hoge 1945:160). While Germans were merely numerous in some professions, in others they simply dominated, such as those of soldiers, stablemen or wagoners. As was the case with lower-level bureaucratic positions, they were also sometimes in the numerical majority in a profession, but did not dominate it. For example, many families in the countryside were too far from the main population centers of Capetown, Graaff-Reinet, Stellenbosch, or Swellendam to send their children to a school, and consequently had to hire on tutors for their children. Of the 150 tutors that we know of who worked on the Cape in the years 1692-1792, 66 were German and 59 were Dutch (Ponelis 1993:45). Germans also worked as school headmasters and lecturers, see Franken (1934), Hoge (1945:162-4). The job of minister was an important one in a culture as fervently Calvinistic as that of the Cape Dutch/Afrikaners, and Germans filled these positions as well.

While Germans plied all manner of trades on the Cape, and permeated society as they did, it must be noted, that not all who became *Vryburgers* had a successful go at it, and not all who hired their services out to the local population ended up staying on after the expiration of their contracts. In fact, Hoge determined that, of the roughly 14,000 Germans who made their way to the Cape between 1652 and 1789, about 10,000 did not stay on (Hoge 1946), and the remaining 4,000 did. Of those 4,000, only 842 are counted among the 1593 founding fathers of the Afrikaner nation. While the vast majority of the Germans who came to the Cape were men who married Cape Dutch women and were quickly assimilated into Cape society, some German women did arrive, and some of them even came disguised as men. The total number of German women on the Cape never exceeded 100, and almost no German households were established (Hoge 1945:158; 1946:488-92). As Ponelis (1993:17-8) points out, there are many German last names amongst Afrikaners, which attests to the overwhelmingly male immigration to the Cape. But first names are common too, though their popularity speaks more to the cultural rather than the ethnic impact of Germans on Afrikaner culture, see Combrink (1994).

The first attempt to calculate the percentages of the various nations that contributed to the Afrikaner people was done by the father of South African history, George McCall Theal. Theal (1897b:323-4) based his numbers on C.C. de Villiers' *Geslacht-Registers der Oude Kaapsche Familien* – which he assisted in the production of – and on church registers. He reckoned that the 1526 men listed in said registers who either brought their wives or families with them to the Cape, or married on the Cape and had children, are to be considered the founding fathers of the Afrikaner people. The place of origin for 1391 of them was ascertainable, while the remaining 135 were unidentified. He presumes that the percentages of the Germans and Dutch amongst the unlocalizable 135 is roughly the same as of the other 1391 ancestors. He then divided the years 1657-1806 into six periods and gave the nationalities appearing in the registers in those years in table form (325):

Condition of the Colonists.

	1657 to 1675.	1675 to 1700.	1700 to 1725.	1725 to 1750.	1750 to 1775.	1775 to 1795.
Germans . . .	6	32	83	172	254	198
Netherlanders .	32	48	97	69	82	106
Frenchmen . . .	1	50	10	1	2	8
Swiss		1	7	2	9	15
Danes	1	1	4	2	13	8
Swedes	3		2	3	6	13
Belgians	1	1	6	1	5	9
Norwegians . . .			3	3	1	2
Russians		1		1	4	2
Englishmen . . .			1	1		1
Portuguese . . .			1			1
Austrians				1	1	
Pole						1
Italian						1
Hungarian						1
Unknown	2	20	49	16	23	25
	46	154	263	272	400	391

That is, 745 Germans, 434 Dutch, 72 French, 34 Swiss, 29 Danes, 27 Swedes, 23 Belgians, 9 Norwegians, 8 Russians, 3 English, 2 Portuguese, 2 Austrians, 1 Pole, 1 Italian, and 1 Hungarian. Despite the rather high number of German forefathers, Theal reckoned that their actual contribution to the Afrikaner nation was considerably lower. He figured that, because the majority of Germans arrived late in this period, they would not have had the previous four or five generations behind them, unlike the French and the Dutch had. He goes on (325): "Most of the French had wives of their own nationality, but there is only one instance of a German woman coming to South Africa in the seventeenth century, and not even one in the eighteenth. All the female immigrants, except the Huguenots, were from the Netherlands. Then there is another fact which bears strongly on this matter, which is that the French were much more prolific than the Germans. They came to South Africa in early life, and had never given way to dissipation in any form. Among the Germans were beyond doubt many men of unblemished character, but in general they belonged to the roving class, and did not marry and settle down until the highest vigour of life was gone." With this statement, Theal had made a great impact on the scholarly attitude on the German element of the Afrikaner nation.⁴

⁴ Theal's verbiage changed little in a later edition (1910: 285): "These lists show that the German element was not large before the Dutch and the French expanded. Another fact which bears strongly on this matter is that the French were much more prolific than the Germans. They came to South Africa in early life, and had never given way to dissipation in any form. Among the Germans were beyond doubt many men of unblemished

Before giving his final reckoning, Theal indulges in a bit of unscientific speculation, opining that "climatic causes" favored the French, presumably because some of them had come from Provence. Having considered this, he figures that two-thirds of the population is Dutch, one-sixth French, and one-sixth other including German. He never provides a statement on how he arrived at his ratios.

Colenbrander (1902:9) did not agree with Theal's conclusions. He thought Theal was too favorable to the Dutch and not favorable enough to the Germans. There are other factors that Theal pays lip service to, but which Colenbrander thought that he himself dealt with more accurately. Foremost the treatment of not only founding fathers, but of founding mothers. Whereas Theal counted only one German woman, Colenbrander found ninety-five. Another important point is that of the fecundity of the marriages, which Theal intimated as being very low, given the Germans' effete condition after having led roving lifestyles.

There are a few principles that Colenbrander (1902:108) followed in his reckoning of the percentages of the different elements of the composition of the Afrikaner nation. Firstly, he took it as given that the founding families that came in the seventeenth century would have produced more children than those that came near the end of the eighteenth century. Consequently, he devised the five time periods given above. He found that by multiplying the number of children from each marriage in each time period by a certain number, the result was a population of around 25,000, which agrees with the census count of 1807. Thus the children born in the first time period are multiplied by 16, those in the second by 8, in the third by 4, in the fourth by 2 and in the fifth by 1. For example, if a Dutch man and woman were married in 1677 and had seven children, they had 112 Dutch descendants in the year 1807. If, however, a German man and a Dutch woman were married in the same year and had the same number of children, their children would be counted as 56 German and 56 Dutch descendants. Or, if a German arrived in 1775, married a Cape woman and had six children, that would count as 6 German and 6 Cape descendants. Consequently, Germans who arrived late and married Cape women had very few descendants compared to the Dutch who had been procreating since the beginnings of the colony. That is all assuming, of course, that all of the children lived, which many of them did not. It is a contrived system of estimation, but given the difficulties associated with trying to give an exact account of each family, it is the next best thing. So Colenbrander ended up with a final reckoning of 50% Dutch, 27% German, 17% French, 5% other European, 1% native. These numbers, while speculative, do give a general understanding of the contribution of the Germans to the Afrikaans-speaking peoples of South Africa, which is the best we can hope for given the historical records we have.

Theal (1910:283-5) recalculated his numbers after having read Colenbrander, and his revised sums are: 7/12 Dutch, 1/6 German, 1/6 French, and 1/12 other. Hoge did not give recalculations in either of his authoritative publications on the Germans on the Cape, Hoge (1945; 1946), if he did in his *Bydraes tot die genealogie van die ou Kaapse families*, I cannot ascertain, because I was unable to find a copy of it. Since a complete genealogical recalculation would have taken me too far afield, I therefore cite Colenbrander's numbers below with the understanding that they are flawed, but that they are reliable enough to get a gist of the relationships.

The most recent scholar to work on this issue, Heese (1971:11), double-checked Colenbrander's and Hoge's numbers, and he discovered more ancestors, which brings the

character, but in general they belonged to the roving class, and did not marry and settle down until the highest vigour of life was gone."

total number up from 1391 to 1593. He figured that, of the 1593 founding fathers of the Afrikaner people, 856 were German (including Swiss), 543 Dutch (including Flemish), 86 French, 86 Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian) and 2 English. That is 55% German, 34% Dutch, 5% French, 5% Scandinavian and less than 1% English. These are, however, not the actual relative values of the different ethnic contributions, because German immigrants on the Cape had limited procreative opportunities, as we saw above. They often married local widows who were themselves nearing the end of their healthy reproductive lives. A widow would also usually have children from her previous marriage, thereby limiting the affordability of more mouths to feed. Heese has the last word on the issue; he set the percentage of German blood at 35% (*ibid.*). There are other studies that Heese fully dissects and discards; it will suffice to refer to his summary (1971:1-10). His calculations of the composition of the Afrikaner ethnicity are the most authoritative we have to date (1971:21): 36.8% Dutch, 35% German, 14.6% French, 7.2% non-white (Coloured, Khoekhoe), 2.6% Scandinavian, 3.5% unknown, .3% British.

Before we look more closely at the Germans on the Cape, a word or two must be said about the controversial German scholar Werner Schmidt-Pretoria (1938). Schmidt-Pretoria's research suffers from a desire to attribute every achievement of the Afrikaner nation to the Germans, which should not come as a surprise after one reads the dedication in it: "Meinem Gauleiter, dem Chef der Auslands-Organisation im Auswärtigen Amt, ERNST WILHELM BOHLE, als dem Garanten eines im Dritten Reiche verankerten Auslandsdeutschtums gewidmet." "To my Gauleiter, the Head of the Overseas Organization in the Foreign Ministry, ERNST WILHELM BOHLE, as the guarantor of an Overseas Germania anchored in the 'Third Reich.' Franken (1938b, 1938c) thoroughly criticized Schmidt-Pretoria, and Scholtz (1963:233) dismissed him summarily. His book is long and fraught, and he was moreover no linguist, so the value of his work is negligible. He is a problematic figure at best, but he, as Franken (1938b:163) almost grudgingly notes, did seek to produce serious scholarship, propagandistic though it tended to be. I will leave the reader to consult Franken's review.

We now may turn to the course of German immigration to the Cape, which shows a modest beginning and a robust end. If we, as both Colenbrander (1902:18-9) and Boshoff (1921:30) did, take 1657 (the year in which the first *Vryburgers* were permitted to establish farms and homesteads as independent concerns) as the beginning of the Afrikaner nation, and divide the period 1657-1807 into five thirty-year subperiods, roughly corresponding to each generation since the colony's founding, we see the following trends:

- 1) **1657-1687:** During this time the colony is populated by mostly the Dutch, with some meaningless additional elements; arrival of 70 Dutch and 18 German forefathers;
- 2) **1687-1717:** Dutch immigration remains predominant, German immigration increases slowly, though a large, one-time French contingent is absorbed; arrival of 130 Dutch and 97 German founding fathers;
- 3) **1717-1747:** Dutch and German immigration are at parity; arrival of 105 Dutch and 178 German forefathers;
- 4) **1747-1777:** German immigration is greater than that of the Dutch; arrival of 99 Dutch and 330 German forefathers;
- 5) **1777-1807:** German immigration is far higher than that of the Dutch, but Afrikaner culture has already taken shape by now, so the new immigrants have little effect; arrival of 125 Dutch and 218 German forefathers.

The numbers of children from these time periods is equally insightful. Heese (1971:4-5) double-checked Colenbrander's numbers (1902:110), and finds that they are sound for the first three periods, but wrong for the last two. Therefore the first three are from Colenbrander and the last two are from Heese. The upper number in the table is that of the ancestors and the lower on that of the offspring, thus:

Years	multiplier	Dutch	German
1657-1687	16	266 4,256	53 840
1688-1717	8	626 4,920	233 1,864
1718-1747	4	467 1,868	441 1,764
1748-1777	2	415 830	925 1,850
1778-1807	1	404	593

As we can see, German immigration to the Cape grew throughout and peaked in the latter fifty years of Dutch rule. In the interests of getting a better look at this development, I have followed the time periods and information provided by G.S. Nienaber in his outstanding work, *Oor Afrikaans* (1953). Instead of a breakdown based on genealogy, Nienaber's was entirely sociolinguistic. The first period, 1652-1662, coincides with the years of Jan van Riebeeck's establishment and command of the Cape. This is the period during which the groundwork was laid for many of the Cape's early social institutions, and is accordingly important. The second period, 1662-1708, covers a time of consolidation of social institutions on the Cape, both governmentally and culturally. The third (1708-1750) and fourth (1750-1807) periods can be spoken of in the same breath. The entire eighteenth century is one of increasingly heavy German immigration and expansion of the Cape Colony, and halving the period at the year 1750 is for convenience's sake.

3.2 JAN VAN RIEBEECK'S TIME, 1652-1662

In April of 1652, Jan van Riebeeck arrived in Table Bay in order to establish a victualing station for the VOC. The sailors, soldiers, and other workmen on VOC ships suffered badly from scurvy and other treatable diseases on the long voyages from the Netherlands to the East Indies (modern-day Malaysia, Indonesia, and also Sri Lanka), which an agricultural station at the Cape was meant to help prevent. Until 1657, this enterprise was entirely economic and was no different than the many other outposts of the VOC or VWC (*Vereenigde West-Indische Compagnie* Dutch West Indian Company) all over the world. That is, the leaders of the VOC did not want a colony, they wanted a business. Trying to convince them otherwise was Commander Van Riebeeck, who knew that productivity would increase greatly if people were allowed to settle in the area and become farmers (*Vryburgers* 'Free Burghers'). Van Riebeeck prevailed, and five years after their arrival, members of the Table

Bay victualing station were given permits to begin farming in the Liesbeeck River area, among them were the Germans Jacob Cloete, Heinrich Elbrechts (Osnabrück), Christian Jansen (Husum), Elbert Dirks Diemer (Emmerich), Heinrich Hinrichs (Sürwürden), Hermann Remajenne (Cologne), Hans Ras (Angeln). As one can tell from the places of origin, most of these colonists came from areas that were either Dutch-speaking or unshifted dialectal areas. In 1662, Jan van Riebeeck was recalled from his post, and a German, Zacharias Wagenaer of Dresden, was invested as Commander.

During the first five years of this period, from 1652-1657, the occupants of the Table Bay garrison were all men (save for seven women) who lived as though they were still on board a ship. Of the 133 men there, 103 were Dutch, 19 were German, and 11 were from Scandinavia, France and Belgium, in other words, 15% were German. Two of these men, Paulus Petkau (Danzig) and Wilhelm Müller (Frankfurt am Main), would later become members of the Political Council (*Politieke Raad*). In the years 1657-1662, the population of the garrison ranged from 70 to 170 men, which is all we can say about them, given the lack of information on their composition. The *Vryburgers* were, on the other hand, well accounted for; there were 117 Dutch (including Flemings), 40 Germans, 10 other (including 8 Scandinavians). In percentages, that works out to 70% Dutch, 24% German, 6% other (Colenbrander 1902:126). These number must, however, not be taken at face value, because of these 167 *Vryburgers*, only 39 had stayed on by the year 1662.

One must bear in mind when looking at these numbers, that in this period, the Germans on the Cape were all VOC employees who had already learned Dutch before coming to Africa. Indeed, they identified so strongly with Dutch culture, that they often Dutchified their names; e.g. *König* became *Koning*, *Matzdorf* became *Maasdorp*, and *Wohlgemut* became *Welgemoed* (Nienaber 1953:39). While language and culture in the first decade of the colony were Dutch through and through, it must be assumed that the Germans amongst them spoke Dutch with varying levels of competence. Though it is unlikely that German-colored Dutch had much of an influence on early Cape speech; see Bosman (1922).

3.3 WAGENAER TO VAN DER STEL, 1662-1708

When Jan van Riebeeck left Capetown, he had succeeded in getting the victualing station up and running, in settling colonists in the surrounding environs, and in laying the groundwork for the important colonial projects of this period, foremost among which was the building of a citadel, the *Kasteel*. After he left, there were no other truly charismatic leaders until Simon van der Stel, who ruled from 1679-1699. Willem Adriaan van der Stel, his son, took over in 1699, ran a corrupt and dictatorial regime until 1708, and was subsequently banned from the colony when the VOC came to understand the scope of his malfeasance. Thus the period 1662-1708 spans a formative time in which colony commanders tried to establish the parameters of their power, and which culminated in the grossest abuse of that power. After this period, the VOC reined in its commanders/governors (the colony's administration became recognized as a government, not a command, while Simon van der Stel was in power).

During this time, the German presence on the Cape was largely the same as it had been under Van Riebeeck. Many of the VOC soldiers were Germans, and they continued to make up roughly a quarter of the colony's population. In 1664, there were 82 Germans (68 Low Germans, 14 High Germans) out of a total population of 264, thus 31% were German

(Kloeke 1950:257). This shows a slight uptick in the number of Germans on the Cape, but their high percentage would go down in 1687, when a large group of persecuted Huguenots (called the French Refugees in South African historical parlance) arrived at the Cape, so large in fact that they constituted 40% of the population upon disembarking. In this case, though, demographic percentage does not necessarily mean that the French all of a sudden affected 40% of Cape society, thereby lessening the German contribution. Germans had been participating in Cape society for over thirty years before the arrival of the French Refugees, so the chance for them to affect Cape Dutch was higher than that of the French Refugees, who anyway gave up their native tongue rather quickly, see Scholtz (1965:226-34).

While the German situation in this period is largely the same as it was in the previous one, it was most certainly not a time of demographic stasis, quite the opposite. For example, while Germans still comprised a large portion of the soldiers and workers in the garrison, this population fluctuated greatly in the years 1662-1708, vascillating between 100 and 700 occupants at any one time. With the numbers of sailors, soldiers, and other workers passing through Capetown, this outpost was a hive of social activity. It was also a time of growth for the *Vryburger* population. There were 221 in 1672, 289 in 1679, 612 in 1687, and roughly 1,000 in 1691 (Colenbrander 1902:106). Colenbrander (116) gives breakdowns of the population by nationality, and the two sections that mostly cover this period are for 1657-1675 and 1675-1700, during both of which there were 52 Germans, 220 Dutch and 113 French. The VOC ceased open immigration in 1707. All subsequent settlers come from the ranks of the VOC (Grüner 1982:34). Because this is the case, it is fair to assume that the composition of the garrison and VOC operations on the Cape reflect that of the settlers.

In order to paint a more accurate picture of the time, it is worthwhile to mention a few Germans who distinguished themselves on the Cape. There is, of course, the first commander of this period, Zacharias Wagenaer (Dresden), whose journals give us insights into the life of the colony at this time, see Böeseken (1973). It is, as I discovered upon reading it, unfortunately not very useful for studying the linguistic contact of the time, because Wagenaer had an excellent command of Dutch. Other Germans managed to occupy high-ranking offices in the colony too, such as Heinrich Lacus (Wesel) who was the vice governor (Du. *secunde* 'second') from 1666-1667. Lacus also served as *fiscaal* 'bailiff' (also anglicized *fiscal*), the VOC's attorney-general. Another German served as vice governor, namely Heinrich Crudop (Bremen), who occupied the post from 1676 to 1680. Two garrison commanders were German, Johann Konrad von Breitenbach, 1671-1674, and Hieronimus Cruse, 1684-1687. A position unique to the Cape Colony was that of Landdrost, a sort of magistrate who was in charge of a given jurisdiction. The Stellenbosch Landdrostyd was occupied by both Michael Ditmar of Stettin (1698-1703) and Peter Robberts of Neustadt in Holstein (1703-1705).

Two enterprising colonists were Henning Hüsing (Hamburg), a successful farmer whose vineyard had 100,000 vines, and Thomas Christoffel Müller (Leipzig), who had the honor of being the first officially-sanctioned baker in Capetown in 1664.

3.4 VAN DER STEL TO MIDCENTURY, 1708-1750

As we saw in the previous section, the expulsion in 1708 of the blackguard Willem Adriaan van der Stel serves as the beginning date of this next period. Nienaber (1953:154) points out, that there is much to say for treating the entire eighteenth century as a whole, especially as

regards the colonization and administration of the land, but also because of the early evolution of the trekking, pastoral Afrikaners (*Trekeboere*) and their living conditions. While the period 1708-1750 saw a strong increase in German immigration, the latter half of the 1700s saw an overwhelming increase. It is better to treat these two periods separately.

In the year 1708, the VOC canceled the policy of encouraging immigration to the Cape, after which the vast majority of the colonists came from the ranks of the VOC itself. Many soldiers and sailors were given *vrybriewe* 'permits to become burghers' at the end of their contracts, others were those who had gone A.W.O.L. and bided their time until a clement landdrost would exonerate them. This population was forming in three main geographic areas. The first is Capetown and environs west of the sandy Cape Flats. Capetown itself was dominated by the VOC's presence. It was the headquarters of their African operations, and as such there were officials, soldiers and sailors in large numbers. Whenever ships called in Table Bay, their sailors spent anywhere from a week to a month reprovisioning and recuperating. Many of these sailors were Germans, as were many of the craftsmen in Capetown. Even amongst the higher-ups in the VOC bureaucracy, there were Germans. Take, for example, the Berliner Johannes Tobias Rhenius, who arrived as a soldier in 1708 and steadily climbed through the ranks to become Commander of the Garrison in 1728 (Hoge 1946:334-5). Other German commanders of the Garrison were the Westfalians Rudolph Siegfried Allemann, 1740-46, Isaak Meinertzhagen of Cologne, 1750-68. Possibly the most famous German bureaucrat of this period is Joachim Nikolaus von Dessin, secretary of the Orphan Chamber, 1737-1761. Von Dessin was an aristocrat from Rostock who arrived on the Cape in 1727 as a soldier and quickly rose through the ranks. He is most famous for bequeathing his personal library of 3,856 books to the Cape Church Council, a bequest which constituted the core of the future Capetown Public Library. He married the daughter of a the German baker Christian Ehlers, who set up his bakery in Capetown in the year 1693 (Hoge 1946:71, 87).

The second geographic area is the modern-day Boland, that is to say, the agricultural crescent east of the Cape Flats, including the farmlands east of the Hottentots-Holland mountain range. This was the breadbasket of the colony, the region in which the planting class had its operations. Some planters lived in Capetown and delegated responsibility to overseers (CD *knechten* < Du. *knecht(en)* 'servant(s)'; Afr. *kneg(te)* 'overseer(s)'), but many moderately wealthy ones lived on their plantations. In addition to these two groups, there were small farmers who did fairly well, and there were the poor farmers on the borderlands of the Colony. Germans were employed all over the colony and with all manner of farmers as farmhands and overseers, as even a brief perusal of Hoge (1946) will quickly show. This agricultural region was populated densely enough that colonists would have had frequent contact with one another, and is therefore an important one when considering the effects of German on Cape Dutch at this time.

The third and final geographic area of the Cape Colony at this time is the expansive veldt of the Northern and Eastern Cape, which correspond to the northern part of the drostdy of Stellenbosch and all of the drostdy of Swellendam respectively. Here poor farmers were trekking in with sheep and forming a drifting class of pastoralists. Germans were to be found in this area, but mostly in the town of Swellendam where they worked in trades. It is of marginal importance for the linguistic contact between German and Cape Dutch speakers.

In this period, German immigration continues to grow. Colenbrander (1902:125) cites a VOC muster-roll from 1716, in which, out of a total of 711, 478 were Dutch (Flemish included), 182 German (Swiss Germans included), 31 Scandinavian (Swedish, Norwegian, Danish), 9 French, 7 Cape Dutch, 2 Dutch born in Batavia (Jakarta), 1 English and 1

Russian. From 1725 onwards, the majority of all incoming colonists are German. According to Colenbrander, from 1701-1725 there were 234 Dutch and 108 German settlers. In the years 1725-1750, there were 136 Dutch and 187 German settlers. From 1725 onwards, the number of German immigrants is higher than that of the Dutch.

3.5 FINAL HALF-CENTURY OF DUTCH RULE, 1750-1806

In this period, the three geographical-linguistic divisions became even more entrenched: a) Capetown and nearby villages; b) the Boland; c) the borderlands. The entire colony remained in VOC hands until 1795, when the English appropriated it in an effort to hamper Napoleon's overseas ambitions, for the latter had just taken over the Netherlands and therewith its overseas possessions. The colony was, however, given back to the Dutch in 1803 as laid out in the Treaty of Amiens, though this time it was the newly-formed Batavian Republic and not the VOC which had dominion over the colony, vassal state to France though it still was. In 1806, the Batavian Republic ceded the colony for good to the British.

In Capetown the German presence grew even higher as the century drew to a close. As had been the case throughout the history of the colony, the proportion of VOC administrators from Germany was still high, though in the last few decades of Dutch rule the number of Germans in important positions reached its zenith. A few examples will do. One prominent immigrant from Bremen was Otto Lüder Hemmy who served as bookkeeper, adjunct-fiscal, fiscal and, finally, vice-governor for the years 1774-7 (Hoge 1946:145-6). Another German, a fellow northerner to boot, Christian Ludolph Neethling was born in the region Ostprignitz-Ruppin in the year 1717. He arrived at the Cape as a soldier in 1741, became secretary of the Political Council in 1756, and was appointed secretary of the Orphan Chamber in 1786 (Hoge 1946:291-2).

The Cape colony was divided into three main drostdies, each run by a landdrost, which was something like a Justice of the Peace in the American system but with additional executive powers. The Cape had its own drostdy, and the remaining three drostdies were Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet, from west to east, until 1804, at which time the northern part of Stellenbosch was made the drostdy of Tulbagh and the southern part of Graaff-Reinet was made the drostdy of Uitenhage. Johann Andreas Horak (Altendamm) was Swellendam landdrost, 1749-1766, as was Joachim Friedrich Mentz (Stendal), 1766-1776. Moritz Hermann Otto Woeke served as Graaff-Reinet landdrost, 1785-1789.

One of the more important elements in this period was the German mercenary contingent on the Cape. The VOC had always hired German soldiers, but in this period the percentage of Germans in the Cape garrison was sometimes as high as 100%. In 1761, out of a total of 422 soldiers, 398 were German. In 1782 and 1787, all but two members of the governor's bodyguard were German, in 1788 and 1789 all were German (Hoge 1945:159).

The most famous of the German military units on the Cape was the Württemberg Regiment, which landed in 1787 and served on the Cape until being shipped out in 1791 to India, though some did stay on until 1795, when England wrested control of the Cape (Theal 1897b:216, 228). This regiment seems to have intermingled with the population with ease, as the words of Lt. Karl von Wolzogen show, as quoted by Nienaber (1953:237-8):

"Die hiesigen Einwohner halten uns für ihre halben Landsleute, und wirklich besteht ein Teil derselben aus ehemaligen Deutschen, die aber freilich nach und nach die

hiesigen Sitten so angenommen haben, dass man sie für Nationalholländer halten sollte." "The local inhabitants regard us as semi-countrymen; in fact, a good portion of them has German ancestors who themselves gradually took on the local customs and eventually became indistinguishable from the Dutch.'

This regiment is well known for having participated heavily in the cultural life of Capetown, staging plays and establishing a reading circle (Trümpelmann 1975). A counterpoint to them would be the 5th Battalion of Waldeck, a mercenary unit that General Janssens, military commander of the Batavian Republic, chose at the beginning of his tenure, and which, seeing the futility of engaging the British, fled in the face of the assault of Blaauwberg, and thereby hastened the end of Dutch rule in South Africa (Theal 1908:95, 142). The German troops were nevertheless an easily assimilated group. De Mist, for example, in trying to root out moral corruption, said that "nooit geene vreemde troupes (Duitschers uitgezonderd) aan de Caabstad, meer in bezetting gelegd worden" 'Capetown should *never* again be occupied by *foreign troops* (German troops excepted.)' (Jeffreys 1920:48).

The demographic breakdown of the military was also largely comparable to that of the local trades, especially so among artisans, horsemen and wagoners. Throughout the eighteenth century the majority of these professions were carried out by Germans. While we should expect that they would sometimes speak German amongst one another, they probably mostly spoke their idiolectally German-colored Dutch, which, at this time, would have been all over the place.⁵ One local at the time put it thusly, as quoted by Nienaber (1953:216): "The better sort [the residents of Capetown and Simon's Town] speak French, some few English. The principal languages are Dutch and German".

The social networks in the Boland were changing sharply in this time from a phase of settlement to one of social conservatism. Lots for farms and plantations were all occupied by the year 1750, so that for the rest of the century, families became more established and population growth was driven by internal growth. Few foreigners were making serious inroads into the growing planter class. Indeed, Nienaber (1953:224-5) believes that the influence of the Dutch or foreigners (mainly Germans), would not have had much influence on the speech of the Bolanders, closed off as they were. It is, however, worth noting that Germans still worked as farmhands and overseers all over the Boland in this time, and were, to whatever degree of influence, part of the social landscape in this part of the country.

As we move away from Capetown into the Boland and then the inland, border areas of the colony, we see the probability of German influence decreasing accordingly. This third

⁵ Nienaber (1953:216) paraphrases Langstedt, saying that Germans spoke High German with one another, but Langstedt (1789:390) goes: "Der geringste Theil der Einwohner am Kap besteht aus geborenen Holländern, sondern von Leuten aus allerlei Nationen, vorzüglich Deutschen, die sich auf Kosten der holländischen Kompagnie zum Theil ein ansehnliches Vermögen versammeln. Man spricht hier Maleiisch, Holländisch und Hochdeutsch, welches letztere sogar Sklaven und Sklavinnen verstehn und sprechen." "The smallest portion of the inhabitants of the Cape consists of native Dutch, but rather of people of all nations, mainly Germans, who have in part become wealthy off of the Company. Malay, Dutch and German are all spoken here, and German itself is even understood and spoken by slaves! Liechtenstein (1811:630-1) gives corroborating testimony: "Dagegen finde ich an ihnen zu tadeln, daß sie ihr Vaterland und die vaterländischen Sitten ganz vergessen, selbst in der Capstadt halten, (einen Kreis liebenswürdiger deutscher Familien ausgenommen,) die Deutschen wenig zusammen, sprechen selbst unter einander holländisch und empfangen einen Landsmann nicht mit mehr Freude und Herzlichkeit, als jeden anderen Ehrenmann." "I do, however, find fault in their abandonment of their homeland and the customs thereof. Even in Capetown the Germans (excepting a very charming circle of German families) do not fraternize with one another. They speak Dutch to each other, and do not receive their fellow countrymen with greater warmth or pleasure than they do any other gentleman.'

main socio-cultural area consisted of the northern part of the drostdy of Stellenbosch, and all of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet. These latter areas grew fast in this time, though the vastness of the territory meant that population densities were low. Be that as it may, Germans worked all over this region, as both farmhands and tutors, and while they did not constitute an important linguistic element here as they did in Capetown and environs, they were still part of the landscape.

Colenbrander (1902:125) cites a muster-roll from 1767, which, out of a total of 1610 employees, records 1046 Germans, 352 Dutch, 114 Scandinavians, 55 Cape Dutch and small numbers of a variety of other nations. According to Heese (1971:5) from 1748-1807, there were 1,517 Germans and 815 Dutch who arrived and had families. This is a period of overwhelming German influx, and though they arrived late as regards the evolution of Afrikaans, their sheer weight of numbers is noteworthy.

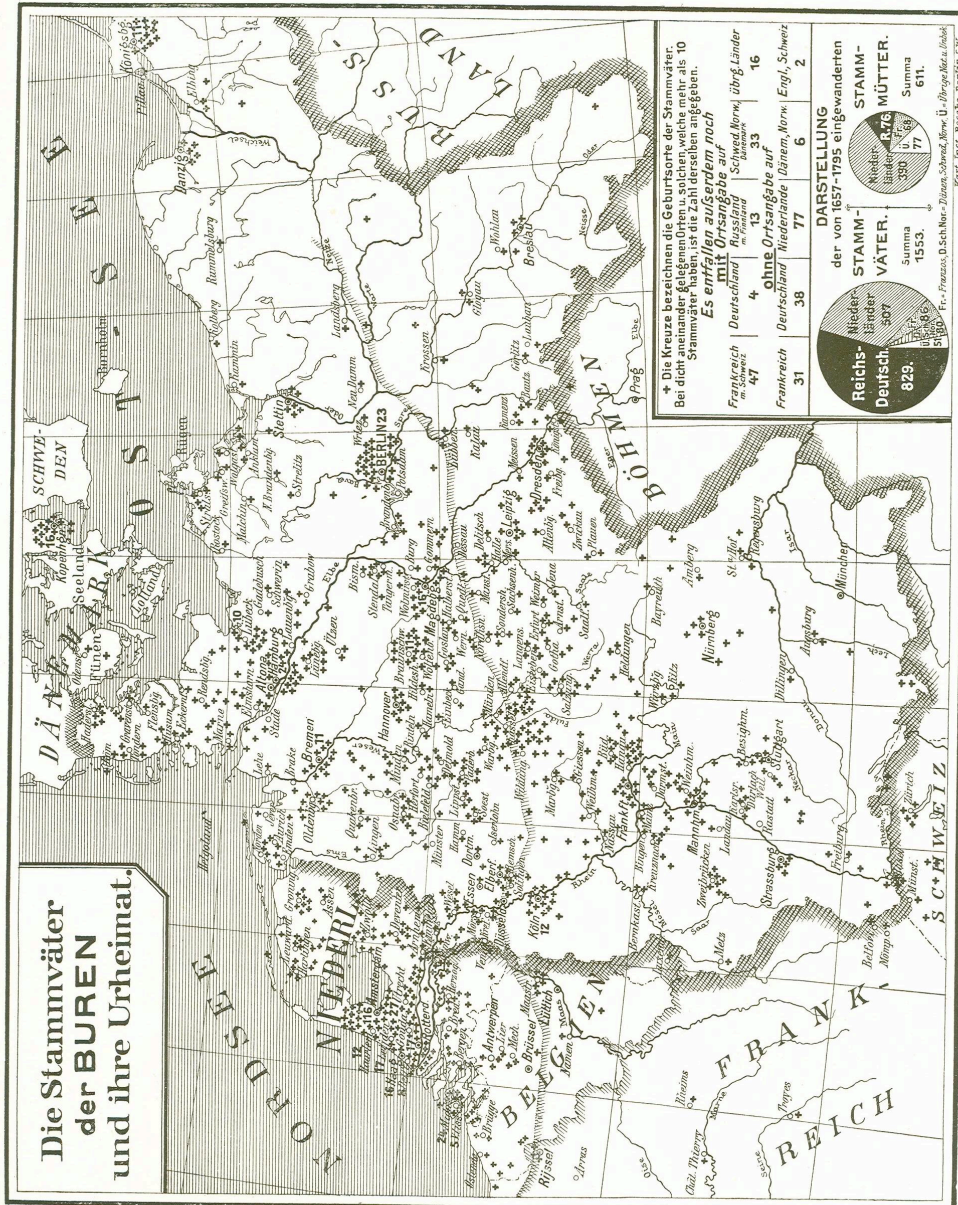
3.6 PLACES OF ORIGIN IN EUROPE

All of the areas of Germany yielded immigrants, but most came from the west and the north than elsewhere. Only a small number came from Bavaria and Austria; there were some Swiss Germans as well (Hoge 1945: 156). This is an undisputed fact, and Boshoff (1921:18) seems to have been the first to point it out. How he got his numbers is unclear, though it is likely that he combed through Colenbrander (1902) or is tacitly repeating Theal (1897a:365) to get them. The geographical distribution of the German colonists' hometowns was put together by Godée-Molsbergen-Visscher (1913:65), which is helpful in seeing where they came from, but it does not show the numbers of colonists from each area, and is therefore only partially insightful, see below. In order to find out the most accurate sum of colonists from either the Low or High German-speaking areas, one must tally them as given in Hoge (1946). Since doing this myself would have taken me too far afield, I will, as Ponelis (1993:17) did, cite the numbers provided by Siegling (1957:35), who relied on Colenbrander (1902). Why she did not use Hoge is a mystery, but despite Colenbrander's inconsistencies, the general picture is reliable: 396 Low German men and women versus 324 High German men and women. That is a ratio of 11 to 9.

While these immigrants came from modern-day Low German areas, it must be noted that in the 1600 and 1700s, the linguistic boundaries were far different. Many of the immigrants from the lands along the Rhine who are counted as German, were in fact not speakers of German, but rather of Dutch, or at least of German dialects that were both closely related to Dutch and highly influenced by Dutch. The same holds true for the eastern half of the Low German area, namely the modern states of Lower Saxony and Bremen. The Dutch border extended farther into these states, and while the speakers of Low German might not have shifted to speaking Dutch, their speech was heavily influenced by it. These considerations have been amply dealt with by Muller (1921) and Bokhorst (1940).

DE STAMVADERS DER HOLLANDSE AFRIKANERS EN HUN MOEDERLAND □ THE ORIGIN OF THE DUTCH AFRICANDERS

Die Stammväter der BUREN und ihre Urheimat.



Deze kaart, ontleend aan een Duits tijdschrift, is samengesteld naar de gegevens in Dr. Colenbrander's boek: „De afkomst der Boeren“. De grens tussen het „Diets“ (Vlaams, Hollands, of Plat-Duits)-sprekend gebied en Frans- en Hoogduits-sprekende landen is aangegeven door de gestreepte lijn, lopend over Rijssel, Düsseldorf, Dessau enz. naar de Weichsel. In 1806 was de bloedmenging der kolonisten als volgt:
 Nederlands ruim 50 %
 Duits 27 %
 Frans 17 %
 Andere nationaliteiten 5 %
 (Zie „Aanhangsel“.)

This map, reproduced from a German periodical, is drawn from data, given by Dr. Colenbrander in his book *The ancestors of the Boers*. To the north of the line of demarcation, from Ryssel (Lille) over Düsseldorf, Dessau etc. to the Weichsel (Vistula), Dutch, Flemish and Low-German are spoken; to the south French and High-German. In 1806 the blood, which flowed in the veins of the Dutch Colonists, was composed as follows:
 fully 50 per Cent. Dutch,
 27 " " German,
 fully 17 " " French,
 fully 5 " " other nationalities.
 (See „Appendix“.)

[Süd-Afrika, 1904]

3.7 INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ROLE OF THE GERMANS IN CAPE SOCIETY

The literature on this topic spans a few different genres. Foremost among them are four studies dedicated exclusively to the Germans on the Cape: Schmidt-Pretoria (1938; 1955), and Hoge (1945; 1946). One of the problems with producing scholarship on the German section of Cape society – and indeed this applies to the study at hand – is that by focussing on one group exclusively, the impression can be conveyed that said group had a greater influence than it did. That is to say, the broader societal context is lost, so the relative contribution is indiscernible.⁶ In addition to Hoge's and Schmidt-Pretoria's works, there are the speculations of the first linguists to deal with Afrikaans, namely S.P.E. Boshoff (1921), D.B. Bosman (1923), and D.C. Hesseling (1923). George McCall Theal, the father of South African history and the first Cape Archivist also contributed to this discussion.

Lack of opportunity to establish German-speaking households has been a common point of agreement amongst all scholars (Theal 1897b:325; Boshoff 1921:31; Bosman 1923:28; Hesseling 1923:19-20; Schmidt-Pretoria 1938:269-70; Nienaber 1953:102-3, 174, 237; Heese 1971:11-2; Ponelis 1993:19). There are a few reasons why German-speaking households never arose on the Cape during Dutch rule. Foremost among them is that there were effectively no German women to marry once in country. In the 1700 and 1800s, women did all the child-rearing, and the men were not always around, being away on business, hunting, or commando duty. This limited the contact that the children would have had with their fathers. Another militating factor is that the widows oftentimes already had children, so the children the German men sired would have been in the minority within the immediate family. The last important reason why the establishment of German-speaking households would have been difficult is that the Germans already knew Dutch from their service in the VOC.

The Germans were quickly assimilated in respect of both language and culture. This occurred along a few lines. Firstly, German men married into local families and their children were speakers of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. Secondly, they arrived as individuals, not as whole communities, and their dissolution into the population was thereby made easier. It is often mentioned in this context that the Germans never formed a cohesive community on the Cape, and in fact only ever showed community-like behavior in their agitation for permission to build a Lutheran church, which only finally happened in the year 1780 (Hoge 1945:178; Nienaber 1953:238; Grüner 1982:38; Scholtz 1980:36). Thirdly, the similarity of Dutch and German made it easy for the Germans to shift over to Cape Dutch. This was especially true for the Low German speakers (Boshoff 1921:31), for whom picking up Dutch was no stretch. But linguistic accomodation of this kind was also possible for speakers of High

⁶ This caveat is given by both Franken (1938b:168-9) and Hoge (1945:155), though Hoge seems to have fairly copied Franken's wording. Franken goes: "Hier begeef die skrywer hom op die gevaarlikste terrein, want dis die vraag of die moontlik is om die bedrywigheid van een volksgroep van dié van 'n ander in 'n nedersetting waar hulle deurmekaar en min of meer gelyktydig werksaam was, sonder om deur die afsonderlike behandeling die gevaar te loop om 'n eensydige, verdraaide, skewe beeld te gee van die geheel." Hoge's prose is strikingly similar: "Die lyk twyfelagtig of 'n mens die bedrywigheid van een volksgroep kan skei van dié van 'n ander in 'n nedersetting waar hulle gemengd en min of meer gelyktydig werksaam was, sonder om deur 'n dergelike afsonderlike behandeling 'n eensydige en verdraaide beeld te gee van die geheel, d.w.s. die gesamentlike werksaamheid van die onderskeie elemente." Franken was always a pathbreaker, but even here, in a book review, Franken sets the bar for scholars of this field.

German who had a poor command of Dutch. The two languages were still close enough that rudimentary communication was possible upon first encountering one another (Bosman 1923:28).

It is a historical fact that most German immigrants entered Cape society after having served as soldiers or VOC employees. That the majority of Germans arrived in the second half of the eighteenth century has seemed to many to be proof that German could not have exercised much of an affect on Cape Dutch, which ostensibly had gone through its most important evolutionary phase in the first one hundred years of Dutch rule on the Cape, i.e. ca. 1650-1750. Scholtz' rough date of 1775 as being the year by which Cape Dutch had changed enough to be recognized as Afrikaans would seem to confirm this, despite the discrepancy between 1750 and 1775. Bosman (1923:28) agrees with Boshoff that the late arrival of the bulk of the Germans and the lack of opportunities to establish German-speaking households both contributed to the smaller-than-expected role of German in the development of Afrikaans. It is, however, the magnitude of the role of that underperforming German element that they differ on. For Bosman it strains credulity to think that a population as strongly represented as the German one, even when the militating factors just mentioned are taken into account, would have left no traces at all. This he attributes to the close relationship of the two languages, an idea he credits Schuchardt (1885:466) with.

These three main points have been marshaled by more than one scholar in order to prove that the German influence on Cape Dutch language and culture was low. True, it would have been difficult for the Germans who married into Cape Dutch families to have had a profound effect on the speech of the children. But it stands to reason, that the Germans who did have children were likely to have passed on some of their German-colored Dutch to the next generation. And from a broader perspective, even the Germans who had no children could have affected Cape Dutch by virtue of their sheer presence on the Cape. As participants in a larger society, they would have had contact with Cape Dutch speakers in all manner of contexts, for Germans were employed in many capacities (Hoge 1945:180-1).

Hesseling (1923:19-20) agrees that the German influence would seem to be higher if one goes off of the demographic data. He does not see German as having had much influence, though, and he makes explicit what Theal, Boshoff and Bosman imply, that the role of the mother is much greater in the formation of children's speech than that of the father is. Hesseling also concludes that the similarity of both Low and High German would have precluded there having been *taalbotsing* 'language contact'. Presumably he means that the contact would not have been catastrophic, as it was between Dutch and Malay speakers, but rather that it would have been less prone to misunderstanding and pidginization.

Kloeke (1950:13) dismisses all of it, claiming that one can only go off of formally-recognizable items, and that the rest is unscientific speculation. While this is a rather unhelpful contribution, he did point out one problem with genealogies: percentages of Afrikaner ethnicity do not equal percentages of Afrikaner speech (29-40).

What does seem clear from all of the foregoing is the following. Germans were quickly taken up into Cape society. This happened along a few routes: 1) they married Cape women; 2) they did not have much opportunity to speak German; 3) they already knew Dutch when they arrived; 4) they came as individuals. Most scholars have interpreted all these factors to mean that German did not have much of an impact on Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. However, one could just as easily interpret these facts to mean that the Germans had a large impact on Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. They were, by virtue of their intimate relationships with the Dutch, able to influence Cape Dutch speech much more. What is more, the fact that their German,

whether Low or High, was already so close to Dutch, allowed them to transfer similar phenomena into their Cape Dutch, which in turn could have been picked up by the colonists. The high numbers of Germans on the Cape would have given the locals ample exposure to these deviant forms, which would have moreover been easily picked up, apperceivable as they were.

CHAPTER IV

AN INTERNAL HISTORY OF GERMAN AND CAPE DUTCH, 1660 – 1810

4.0 INTRODUCTION

We have seen from chapter three that from the beginnings of its settlement throughout the eighteenth century, the Cape Colony absorbed significant numbers of German speakers. All of them came via the Dutch East India Company, and because they were almost all lone males without kin, they were quickly taken up into Afrikaner society as it was evolving into a distinct community. These Germans underwent language shift. They are distinct from the Germans who arrived in the mid-1800s, who were able to maintain their families and their linguistic coherence. The focus here is the German input into Cape Dutch as it was changing throughout the eighteenth century and the effects it had that are still to be seen in Afrikaans.

The German inheritance in Afrikaans is deep but does not include numerous items. For example, a good case is to be made that the intersonorantic stop [g] in words such as *berge* 'mountains', *gevolge* 'consequences', *hoge* 'high', *rugge* 'backs, ridges' is the result of a Rhenish Dutch dialectalism and a Germanism supporting one another (Ponelis 1993:140). When the Germans arrived and heard some Cape Dutch speakers saying [g] in such positions, it accorded so well with what they knew – Peirce: we perceive what we are adjusted for interpreting (Reilly 1970:50) – that they used it themselves. We know this is a good possibility, because there were many settlers on the Cape who hailed from the Rhineland, and they were recorded as both Dutch and German. This is an instance of a loan phone, and being that it is an allophone of [χ] and Ø (e.g. *negentig* [niəχəntəχ] or [niəntəχ] 'ninety'), it has not displaced any of the phonemes in Afrikaans. It affects a small number of words, but it is nevertheless one of the hallmarks of (dialectal) Afrikaans.

Another characteristic of Afrikaans is the occurrence of [t] in words that in Dutch have no [t]; e.g. Afr. *eintlik*, Du. *eigenlijk* 'actually', Afr. *geleentheid*, Du. *gelegenheid* 'occasion', Afr. *wesentlik*, Du. *wesentlich* 'essential'. The occurrence of this excrescent [t] was common in seventeenth century Dutch, though as Dutch underwent standardization, *t*-less forms were given preference. Had there not been German speakers on the Cape, for whom these forms seemed more natural (Ger. *eigentlich* 'actually', *gelegentlich* 'occasionally', *wesentlich* 'essentially'), these forms would most likely have been extirpated from the language, for the standardization of Dutch affected Afrikaans too (Scholtz 1951).

While some have attributed rampant deflection in the verbal system to German influence (Bosman 1927:70-1), there is little direct evidence of it. There are some errant verb forms in the Cape Dutch writings of Germans (Scholtz 1972:4, 10, 23, 26-8), but most of them are infinitives and past participles. However, there is one verb form in Afrikaans that no one has attributed to German influence: the finite verb *het* 'has, have' – the infinitive 'to have' is *hê*. That *het* already existed in Dutch before South Africa was colonized, has been shown by Kloeke (1956), so it is entirely thinkable that it is a pre-immigration loan, but only in part. As Dutch was being standardized, many newly proper forms were taken up into Cape Dutch, which served to defray the rate of deviation in Cape Dutch. That such a common verb as *het*

would not have been more negatively affected is remarkable, and requires an explanation. I would venture to guess that German played a part here. The third person singular form of German *haben* 'to have' is *hat* 'has', the form that Watkin's Law and Cape Dutch texts show us was the favored one, and is so close in sound and meaning, that it would be astounding if the Germans on the Cape had not gravitated towards this variant and helped secure its perpetuation. The vowels differ, but this can be easily explained. In Afrikaans, schwa tends to change to [a] in weakly-stressed positions: *rivier* > *ravier* 'river', *inventaris* > *invantaris* 'inventory', *magtig* > *magtag* 'powerful', *geen/g'n* > *gan* 'no, none'. The verb *het* stands, like *g'n*, in a weakly-stressed position. If there were a semi-common variant *hat* in Cape Dutch (as there is in Rehoboth Afrikan, see Rademeyer [1938: 42]), it would have been identical with the German word and therefore would have been understood (apperceived) as being the same.

The syntax of Afrikaans was most likely only influenced by German in the placement of the auxiliary in past perfect constructions, as was discussed above. There is, however, a lexical problem that touches on syntax, and which German probably had a role in, namely, the Afrikaans periphrastic possessive. This is formed with the word *se*, regardless of the gender of the possessor; e.g. *die man se huis* 'the man's house', *die vrou se huis* 'the woman's house'. The gender-free aspect of the Afrikaans construction differentiates it from its homologs in Dutch (*de man s'n huis* 'the man's house', *de vrouw d'r huis* 'the woman's house') and in German (*dem Mann sein Haus* 'the man's house', *der Frau ihr Haus* 'the woman's house'). This genderlessness is attributable to Khoekhoe influence (Den Besten 2006), but that itself is a later development. The periphrastic construction had first to become the most common possessive construction in Afrikaans before it could be generalized to natural gender. This first phase of its development is in part attributable to the syncretism of the adjectival ending *-se* and the reduced form of *s'n* 'his', *se*; cf. homophonous *die Kaapse huise* 'the Cape houses' and *die Kaap se huise* 'the Cape's houses' (Roberge 1996). It is surely also attributable to the German speakers on the Cape who apperceived this construction as their own, and in latching on to it, insured its perpetuation.

The pronominal system of Afrikaans, on the other hand, was likely influenced by German in that the Dutch definite articles *de* (common gender) and *het* (neuter) were replaced by *die* for all genders. As in all of these phenomena, there was a Dutch tendency that was given support by German. That is to say, German's role was more to "seal the deal" than to serve as wholesale exporter. As regards definite articles, German speakers had *das, dem, den, der, des, die* at their disposal as reference forms. Dutch *de* and *het* accord with none of them. But there is good reason to think that *die* 'that, those', which existed in Dutch as a demonstrative pronoun, was also used as a definite article (Bosman 1916:97-9), especially amongst sailors (Scholtz 1963:134-5), and that German speakers latched on to it. There was also reinforcement from the Dutch of slaves, for the earliest evidence we have of *die* for *de* and *het* is in the speech of slaves (Scholtz 1963:135). Be that as it may, it is striking indeed that the vast majority of the Cape Dutch instantiations of *die* as a definite article are to be found in the writings of Germans (Scholtz 1972:38-9). Surely, mutual apperception fueled this change, see 4.1.3.2 below.

The most oft-discussed legacy of German in Afrikaans is in the lexicon, which was one of the components of the debate between D.C. Hesseling, D.B. Bosman, and S.P.E. Boshoff in the early 1900s. Their works determined the course of Afrikaans linguistics for years to come, and it is only fitting that we look at them in 4.1.

4.1 SCHOLARSHIP ON THE GERMAN INFLUENCE ON AFRIKAANS

The nineteenth century saw the first attempts at scholarly inquiry into the origin and nature of Afrikaans. Almost all of it was by dilettantes who, while being intelligent and genuine in their analyses, were not strict enough scholars to be able to properly interpret the linguistic data they were faced with, see Scholtz (1985:82-7). The influence of German on Afrikaans has enjoyed some, but not much attention. What attention it did receive has been limited to a variable but largely stable collection of words and phrases, occurring in both Afrikaans word lists by Dutch speakers and in linguistic studies of Afrikaans itself. This enterprise started in the mid-nineteenth century and gained the most ground from 1900-1925, that is, during the polemic that Hesselning (1899) sparked. After that, it trailed off and became little more than a side show in the history of Afrikaans. Still, the treatment of the German element in Afrikaans is remarkable in that one can so clearly see how the trends arose and the discussions unfolded. Each scholar built upon the other's work, so that the archeology of this scholarship is very clear indeed. It is also the best way to illustrate how these scholars came to their conclusions about the German impact on Afrikaans.

In order to give a proper perspective on the role of lexical studies here, I begin by surveying all the most influential works on the field. After that, I single out twenty lexical items for a closer examination, during the course of which the range of German borrowings will become more clear. In telescoping fashion, I then move on to two lexemes for an even more in-depth look, all of which is intended to give the reader a better sense of the pressures and cleavages that exist in this field. After the lexical studies, there is a survey of the theories and conclusions drawn from all these lexical data.

4.1.1 THE SCHOLARLY DEBATE, FROM CHANGUION TO KLOEKE

Bookended by the sententious work of A.N.E. Changuion who wrote his primer to correct the substandard Dutch of the Cape's inhabitants and terminating with G.G. Kloeke's famous work on the origin of Afrikaans, an influential debate took place that determined the corpus of Afrikaans words supposedly from German.

4.1.1.1 A.N.E. CHANGUION, *PROEVE VAN KAAPSCH TAALEIGEN*, 1848

The first recording of German lexical items in Afrikaans is in the second edition of A.N.E. Changuion's *De Nederduitsche Taal in Zuid-Afrika hersteld* – the first edition came out in 1844 – which appeared in 1848 with an appendix called *Proeve van Kaapsch Taaleigen*, a list of words and phrases particular to Afrikaans, which was still thought of as Cape Dutch at the time (Van der Merwe 1971:3-18). The list is short, twelve entries, and is important for two reasons: 1) this is the first collection of Germanisms in Afrikaans, and 2) some of them would become part of a core body of Germanisms that became the focus of later scholarship:

gantsch en gaar 'completely', sees agreement with *gans und gar* 'completely', but notes that this collocation was well-known in older Dutch;
instal in *tot instal brengen* 'to let lapse', from *instellen* 'to desist';
lager 'camp', from *Leger* 'camp';
oorwaks 'box on the ears', merely gives "H.D." (=Hoog Duitsch);
prop 'cork, stopper', gives "H.D."; *schalten en walten* 'to do as one sees fit', gives "H.D."; *stevels* 'boots', gives "H.D."; *tres* 'braid (on dress), Prussian binding', gives "H.D."; *uitpietsen* 'to beat', gives "H.D."; *veels geluk* 'heartly congratulations!', from *Vieles Glück* 'lots of luck!'; *vrekken* 'to die', mentions that German also has *verrecken* 'to die'; *zaam* 'with', as in *ik ga saam, ga jij ook meê saam?*, from *mit samt* 'together with'

In addition to these items, there are two German words that Changuion gives in Dutch form: *schindloeder* (*Schindluder*) as in *mit jemandem Schindluder treiben* 'to make somebody suffer' and *wertschaften* 'to potter, rummage about'. Both of these terms will become important in later scholarship, as they will prove to be two of the few German loans directly into Afrikaans.

4.1.1.2 N. MANSVELT, *PROEVE VAN EEN KAAPSCH-HOLLANDSCH IDIOTICON*, 1885

In 1885, after five years of living in the Cape and canvassing his student body at the Victoria College (later the University of Stellenbosch) for linguistic items, the Dutchman Nikolaas Mansvelt published an *Idioticon* of Afrikaans words and phrases (Van der Merwe 1971:129-221). In it he entered a number of words that was to become the core of all linguistic discussion about the German influence on Afrikaans. Of Changuion's German words he treats all but *prop*, *schalten en walten*, and *tres*, and does not mention a German connection under *instal*, *saam*, *stewel*, *uitpiets*, and *veels geluk*.

That core consists of the following forty-two words, which I give with Mansvelt's German derivations:

aapskilloeder 'blackguard', *skilloeder* comes from *schinden* 'to flay' and *luder* 'dead animal, bait';
andach 'family devotions, prayers', from *Andacht halten* 'to do one's prayers', brought in by the German missinaries;
balderjan 'valerian', from *Baldrian* 'valerian';
blits 'lightening', from *Blitz* 'lightening';
boeglam 'dead tired', references the German word *Bug* 'shoulder';
danebol 'pineapple', possible connection to Low German *dane*;
dan en wan 'now and then', from *dann und wann* 'now and then';
gaar 'totally', in the phrase *gantsch en gaar* 'completely', from *gans und gar* 'completely';
genikst 'sharp, clever', from *wichsen* 'to polish shoes', and notes that in "Bet. en Saks. prov." (I understand this abbreviation to mean Betuwe in Gelderland, and the Saxon provinces of Overijssel, Drenthe and Groningen, all of which border the Low German-speaking area) it is used in the same sense;

gij 'you (form.)', in the chancery style it is repeated after the relative pronoun *die*, e.g. "Gij, M.H., die gij hier samengekomen zijt" 'You, Gentlemen, you who have gathered together here', which is copied from German. Mansvelt does not provide any German example;

hang 'steep slope', from German, but Mansvelt gives nothing more;

bekel 'to crochet', from *häkeln* 'to crochet';

jaarbónderd 'century', from *Jahrhundert* 'century';

kanijntji 'bunny', Mansvelt wonders if the *a* in the first syllable is from *Kaninchen* 'bunny', in Dutch it is *konijntje* 'bunny';

kalant 'rogue', possibly from *kaland* 'Kalands brethren';

laar, *lagher* 'camp (mil.)', from *Lager* 'camp';

maak 'to do', as in *wat maak jy?* 'what are you doing?', from *was machst du?* 'what are you doing?', in Dutch it is *wat doe jij?* 'what are you doing?';

makrol 'macaroon', possibly from *Makrone* 'macaroon';

niksnuts 'good-for-nothing', from *Nichtsnutz* 'good-for-nothing';

omsons 'in vain, for nothing', from *umsonst* 'in vain, for nothing';

ongeskik 'clumsy', this is a semantic loan from German *ungeschickt* 'clumsy';

oorwaks 'box on the ears', perhaps from the expression *iemand de ooren wasschen* 'to wash someone's ears', under the influence of German *wichsen* 'to hit';

peits 'driving-whip; to whip', from *Peitsche* 'whip';

probeer 'to try', the past participle is *probeer* in Afrikaans, unlike Dutch *geprobeerd*, but similar to German *probiert*;

sêns 'scythe', notes that it is still *Sense* 'scythe' in German;

schoeriel 'to whoop, whallop', from *schubriegeln*, presumably this is *schurigeln* 'to irritate, badger';

skuld 'to owe', from *schulden* 'to owe';

stoets 'stumpy', possibly related to *stutzen* 'to prune';

stols 'proud', from *stolz* 'proud';

Swaap 'numbskull', from *Schwabe* 'Swabian';

swernoot 'blackguard', from *Schwernöther* 'trickster, womanizer';

ter/der duivel 'the deuce!', from *der Teufel!* 'the deuce!';

(s)trawasi, 'difficulty', from *Strapaze* 'exhausting work';

uitwiks 'to hit', from *auswischen* 'to smoothe out';

verfoest 'to have spoiled, bungled', from *fusen* 'to hurry' and *fuscheln* 'to fidget';

vergange 'bygone', from *vergangen* 'bygone';

vrek 'to die (usually in ref. to livestock)', probably from *verrecken* 'to die';

waks 'shoe polish', from *Wachs* 'wax';

wêrskaf 'to potter or rummage about', from *wirtschaften* 'to potter or rummage about'

Mansvelt does not go into any further details as far as the German element in Afrikaans is concerned. He and Changuion agree on the German origin of the following: *gans en gaar*, *oorwaks*, *laer*, *vrek*. Because Schuchardt's review of Mansvelt was so informative to Hesseling and by extension to the whole body of scholarship on this field, Mansvelt is a foundational text, even if some of his derivations are flawed.

4.1.1.3 H. SCHUCHARDT'S REVIEW OF MANSVELT, 1885

The first linguist to address the connection between Afrikaans and German is Hugo Schuchardt (1885) – Changuion and Mansvelt were pedagogues, not trained linguists. For the first time, Schuchardt addresses one of the key problems in the study of linguistic contact between German and Cape Dutch/Afrikaans: how to identify German borrowings⁷. That the identification of them is a problem itself speaks volumes to the efficacy of borrowing between closely-related and therefore easily mutually-apperceptible languages. Indeed, he notes that everyday Germanisms appear from time to time in Holland, but also that an expression that looks German could very well be from eastern Holland. His formula for identification is simple: if a word or phrase seems foreign to a Dutch speaker who knows Dutch dialects, but seems familiar to a German speaker, then it is likely German.

Schuchardt's review is dominated by the correction of Germanisms according to Mansvelt, as well as the identification of Germanisms that Mansvelt did not catch:

aapskilloeder 'blackguard', sees *Schindluder* (as in *mit jdm Schindluder treiben* 'to make someone suffer') as the source for *skilloeder*;
bloedweinig 'precious little', does not give a German source;
boeglam 'dead tired', sees no point in adducing the old word *boeg* (Ger. *Bug*) 'shoulder', and ignoring *buglahm* 'dead tired';
Crethi en Plethi 'Tom, Dick and Harry', does not give a German source;
galg: in *hij lijk, alsof hij van di galg gewaai is* 'he looks like death warmed over', from *er schaut aus als ob er vom Galgen gefallen sei* 'he looks like death warmed over';
geluk-ook 'good luck to you', from *viel Glück auch!* 'good luck to you!';
boutji: in *hij is slimmer as di boutji van di galg* 'he's too clever by half', compares with *falsch wie Galgenholz* 'to clever by half';
klaa: in *ek kanni klaa ni* 'it's going alright', from *ich kann nicht klagen* 'it's going alright';
klein krij: in *ek kan die ni klein krij ni* 'I can't figure this out', from *ich kann das nicht klein kriegen* 'I can't figure this out';
lewer: in *hij lijk of 'n vlooi oo'r sij lewer gekruip bet* 'he looks peeved', from *eine Laus ist ihm über die Leber gekrochen* 'he looks peeved';
loop 'to walk', from *laufen* 'gehen';
met ... saam 'with', from *mit ... zusammen* 'together with';
musiekdoos 'music box', from *Musikdose* 'music box', not *musical box*;
neerskrijw 'to write down', from *niederschreiben* 'to write down', not *to write down*;
nek: in *jij lê beel dag op mij nek* 'you're a chain around my neck', from *ibr liegt mir den ganzen Tag auf dem Hals* 'you're a chain around my neck';
piets 'whip', from *Peitsche* 'whip';

⁷ Schuchardt (1885:466): "Freilich ist die Scheidung des Deutschen vom Holländischen ungemein schwierig; vielfach tritt Allgemein-Deutsches auch in Holland hier und da auf (z. B. *nakend - rakker - dat is water op sij meule*), und die Möglichkeit, dass dem östlichen Holland irgend ein deutsch scheinender Ausdruck angehört, ist, bis zu gründlicher Prüfung, als eine hinlänglich grosse anzusehen. Immerhin wird die Menge der Wörter und Wendungen, welche dem auch mit den Mundarten des Stammlandes bis zu einem gewissen Grade vertrauten Holländer fremdartig erscheinen, uns Deutschen aber mehr oder weniger geläufig sind, die Stärke des deutschen Einflusses ausser alle Frage stellen." "Separating German from Dutch is admittedly a difficult thing; oftentimes a common Germanism comes up randomly in Dutch (e.g. *nakend - rakker - dat is water op sij meule*), and there is always the great possibility that an eastern Dutch dialectalism will look German until fully investigated. After all, the number of words and phrases that seem foreign even to a Dutch speaker who is moderately familiar with German dialects, yet are more or less commonplace for Germans, proves beyond a doubt that German influence has been strong."

poedelnaakt 'buck naked', no German word given;
rechte 'very', notes that the form shows its German origin, for Dutch *recht* becomes *rech* in Afrikaans;
rechtig 'right', no German word given;
se, points out that a similar form can be found in Grimm "des einen seins war blind, des andern seins lahm" 'the one's was blind, the other's was lame', and colloquial *Marien ihr Buch* 'Mary's book';
seks: in *bij mij seks!* 'very truly', from *bei meiner Six!* 'very truly';
so een 'such a', from *so ein* 'such a', not *such a*;
toch: in *die weet ik toch nie* 'that I do not know', from *das weiss ich doch nicht* (with emphatic *doch*) 'that I do not know';
toeë: in *met toeë oo'e* 'with eyes shut', from *mit zuen Augen* 'with shut eyes';
veels geluk 'heartily congratulations!' is surely from *vieles Glück* 'lots of luck';
verflaxte kind! 'cursed child!', from *verflixtes Kind* 'cursed child!'

Most of his discussion entails merely providing the Afrikaans and German words side-by-side, e.g. "*geluk-ook* (viel Glück auch!) - *ek kanni klaa ni* (ich kann nicht klagen, d.h. es geht mir gut) - *ek kan die ni klein krij ni* (ich kann das nicht klein kriegen, d.h. ich kann mir das nicht klar machen)" (467). In addition to Mansvelt's thirty-nine lexemes, Schuchardt adds twenty-one new items, and brings up those by Changuion that Mansvelt ignored (*saam*, *schalten en walten*, *schindloeder*, *veels geluk*).

There are a few new additions to the corpus: *bloedweinig*, *Crethi en Plethi*, *galg*, *geluk-ook*, *boutji*, *klaa*, *klein krij*, *loop*, *met ... saam*, *musiekdoos*, *neerskrijw*, *nek*, *piets*, *poedelnaakt*, *rechte*, *rechtig*, *so een*, *se*, *seks*, *toch*, *toeë*. Of all these, only *Crethi en Plethi*, *piets*, and *seks* would have any staying power.

4.1.1.4 D.C. HESSELING, *HET AFRIKAANSCH*, 1899

Hesseling is widely recognized as being the founder of the scientific study of Afrikaans. His first book, *Het Afrikaansch* (1899), is a foundational text. In it he dedicates six pages to the German words in Afrikaans. Most of his examples come from Schuchardt and Mansvelt (82-7):

aapskilloeder 'blackguard', repeats Schuchardt's belief that *skilloeder* is from *Schindluder*, *andag* 'family prayers', notes that the Herrnhuters could have brought it in, but that it is not sure that the word is a Germanism;
bloedweinig 'precious little', notes that this is well known in Holland too, but as a Germanism;
Crethi en Plethi 'Tom, Dick and Harry', agrees with Schuchardt;
dan en wan 'now and then', gives no German source, refers to Mansvelt;
jaarhonderd 'century', questions whether this is really used in South Africa, is a Germanism in some Dutch writer's language;
kamaste 'gaiters', leaves open the possibility that German soldiers brought their *Gamaschen* over with them;
loop 'to walk', does not see why Schuchardt pointed to German, when Dutch *lopen* 'to walk' is much more common than *laufen* 'to walk';

musiekdoos 'music box', sees no reason to look to German to explain it;
poedelnaakt 'buck naked', treats the same as *bloedweinig*;
rappelkops 'dizzy', he lists it among the borrowings from High German, but then notes that *rappelköpfig* has the different meaning 'crazy';
rechte 'very', thinks Schuchardt is wrong and points out the Gelderland term *rechtevoort*;
saam 'together', points out that *zusammen* is used totally differently than *saam*;
schalten en walten 'to do as one sees fit', agrees with Schuchardt, but only insofar as this collocation is truly known in Africa;
by my siks! 'very truly', agrees with Schuchardt;
stols 'proud', merely notes that he has heard this term used in Amsterdam;
swernoot 'blackguard', repeats Mansvelt's example *jou swernoots kind!*;
ter duivel 'the deuce!', agrees with Mansvelt that it is from *der Teufel!* 'the deuce!';
uitviks 'to hit', remarks that *genikst / geniekst* 'clever' is almost universally known in the Netherlands;
veels geluk 'heartily congratulations', should be compared to Afrikaans *lievers* 'preferably', *meteens* 'at once' as opposed to Dutch *liever* 'preferably', *meteen* 'at once'; also mentions that *veels te veel* 'much too much' is already very common in Dutch;
verflaxte kind! 'cursed child!', agrees with Schuchardt;
vergange 'bygone', notes that Jan van Riebeeck used this often and is recorded by Boekenooen as *Zaans*

The proverbs excerpted from Mansvelt by Schuchardt are all, according to Hesseling, explainable as Dutch, not German. Hesseling gives all of them (*hij lijkt alsof hij van di galg gewaai is, hij lijkt of 'n vlooi oor sy lewer gekruip het, hij is slimmer as di houtje van di galg, ek kan ni klaa ni, ek kan die ni klein krij ni, jij le(g) heel dag op mij nek, met toeë oo'e, die weet ik toch ni, Maria se boek*) and adds no new phrases. He regards as Dutch the following: *bloedweinig, loop, musiekdoos, poedelnaakt, rechte, saam, stols, uitviks, veels geluk, vergange*. New to the list is *kamaste*.

By this stage in the scholarly record, the corpus of words has largely congealed. Changuion's influence has not extended beyond Mansvelt, and many of the items suggested by Schuchardt have been shown to be Dutch. Mansvelt's list holds up superbly, even if Hesseling does not address all the items in it, and becomes the *de facto* master list of Germanisms in Afrikaans.

4.1.1.5 D.B. BOSMAN, *AFRIKAANS EN MALEIS-PORTUGEES*, 1916

D.B. Bosman (1916) does not spend much time in addressing the German element in Afrikaans. He makes a general point that one must consider Khoekhoe, French and German in addition to Malay-Portuguese when looking at the input languages of Afrikaans (114). He then goes on to mention that there must have been an adapted variety of Afrikaans spoken by German immigrants, namely Duits-Afrikaans 'German-Afrikaans'. Two superficial comments follow: 1) that German-Afrikaans would be difficult to investigate, and 2) that German-Afrikaans was possibly more important than had previously been thought (124-5). Neither of these positions is substantiated with discussion. The only lexical items he engages with are *met ... saam* 'with' (82-3), for which he admits that the German construction is not synonymous. He goes on to note (82), however, that De Haan, in his monumental study of the Prianger Regency under the Dutch administration, cites the Germanisms *sampt* 'together'

(1648CE), *gansch en gaar* 'completely' (1663CE), *kargheyt* 'meagerness' (1665CE), *erreycken* 'to reach' (1648CE), *geschach* 'happened' (1648CE) and *omsunst* 'in vain' (1641-2CE) in order to show how "op de samenstelling van het Compagnies-Hollandsch de talrijke Duitschers in Indië grooten invloed hadden" 'the Germans in India had great influence on the Dutch spoken in the [East India] Company' (Bosman 1916:82).

The *uit ... uit* type of construction, as in *hy gaan uit die huis uit* 'he is going out of the house', is, according to Bosman (86), worth comparing to German *aus ... heraus* 'out'. He states nothing explicitly. He goes on to note that the German construction is common, and that we know that the Germans made up a large percentage of the white population on the Cape.

4.1.1.6 J.J. LE ROUX, *HANDLEIDING IN HET AFRIKAANS VOOR NEDER-LANDERS*, 1921

Le Roux's little primer is not a terribly useful book with respect to the German influence on Afrikaans. But it came out at a time when the Bosman-Hesseling debate was gripping the world of Afrikaans linguistics, and some of the scholars engaged in it cited him. As Schuchardt does, Le Roux stresses that it is sometimes impossible to tell if Afrikaans got its word from German or some other Dutch dialect. He gives the High German form of the words, conceding that there is still good reason to believe that Low German had a great impact on Afrikaans.

From the category of swearwords:

aapskilloeder 'blackguard', gives *abschinden* 'to tire oneself out', *Schindluder* 'to make someone suffer';
niksnuts 'good-for-nothing', gives *Nichtsnutz* 'good-for-nothing', Ndl. *niksnut* 'good-for-nothing';
seks, gives *bei meiner Six* 'very truly';
swerno(o)t(er) 'blackguard', gives *Schwernöter* 'trickster, womanizer', noting that it is much worse in Afrikaans than in it is in German;
swijnbond 'blackguard', gives *Schweinhund* 'bastard'

From the mountain-related category:

hang 'steep slope', gives *Hang* 'slope' and Dutch *het hängen*;
kop(pie) 'hillock', gives *Kopf* 'head', *Kuppe* 'hilltop';
krans 'cliff, rockface, high rock', gives *Krantz* 'rim';
nek 'mountain pass', gives *Nack*

From the miscellaneous category:

blas 'sallow', gives *bläss*, also in Overijssel;
blits 'lightening', notes that it is both a noun and a verb in Afrikaans;
dan en wan 'to do as one sees fit';
gevreet 'mug (face)', gives *Gefriss*;
bekel, (*-pennetjie*) 'crochet(-needle)', gives *bäkeln* 'to crochet';
kamas(te) 'gaiters', gives *Gamaschen* 'gaiters', French *gamaches* 'gaiters';
laer 'camp (mil.)', gives *Lager* 'camp (mil.)';
oorwaks 'box on the ears', gives *Ohrwachse* 'box on the ears';

peits 'whip', gives *Peitsche* 'whip', notes that it exists in Dutch dialects;
piets 'to whip', gives this in the entry for *peits*, noting *piets* as the verbal form of the lexeme;
pomp 'to nudge', gives *pumpen* 'to pump';
proses: in *kort proses maak* 'to make short work of', gives *kurzen Prozess machen* 'to make short work of';
rappelkops 'dizzy', gives *rappelköpfig* 'crazy';
uitwiks 'to hit', gives *auswischen* 'to smoothe out';
werskaf 'to potter about', gives *wirtschaften* 'to potter about' and eastern Middle Dutch *werschap* 'feast'

New here are *koppie*, *krans*, *nek*, *pomp*, *proses*, *swynbond*. None of these will become enduring discussion points, because they will all be shown to be German loans in Dutch, and therefore likely not directly borrowed from German. As a matter of fact, *pomp* and *proses* enjoy no scrutiny beyond that which Le Roux subjects them to here.

4.1.1.7 S.P.E. BOSHOFF, *VOLKEN TAAL VAN SUID-AFRIKA*, 1921

Of all the scholars who have yet weighed in on the question of the German inheritance in Afrikaans, S.P.E. Boshoff proved himself the most evenhanded. He believes strongly that if there is a similar word or phrase in Dutch and its dialects, then we must assume that it is Dutch, not German. As one can see below, Boshoff sought to construe many supposed Germanisms as native Dutch terms, some of which he later rejected. In response to Bosman, he held that there is no point in mentioning "Duits-Afrikaans", because such a thing never existed (71-2). He reasons that German speakers already had knowledge of Dutch before coming to the Cape, which put them on par with a Dutch dialect speaker. The implication is that German is so close to Dutch that speakers of German can pick up Dutch to such a degree that the deviations in their adapted speech would be no more of a departure from prestige Dutch than a Hollandic farmer's would be. What is also implicit, though, is that the fundamental similarity between German and Dutch allows for such a deep and quick transference:

aandag 'family prayers', notes that in addition to Hesselings' definition, it can mean 'to meditate devoutly', which differs little from 'family devotions, prayers', ultimately believes it not to be from German;
aapskilloeder 'blackguard', remarks that if it came from *ab-* in *abschinden* 'to tire oneself out' and *Schindluder* 'to make someone suffer', it should be *apskilloeder*, rather it is *aap* 'ape' and *Schindluder*, cf. *aap-* in *apekluiters* 'rugrat, tyke'; which is *aap* 'ape' (*ape* is a genitive form for compounds) + *kluiters* 'toddler'.
bloedweinig 'precious little', sees as a Germanism that entered Afrikaans via Saxon (eastern) dialects;
bolmakiesie 'head over feet', gives credit to J.J. Smith for deriving it from *Kobold schießen* 'to do somersaults';
dan en wan 'now and then', admits that this is possibly from German;
gaar nie 'not at all', notes that Bredero used this and other similar Germanisms (*geuse gaar*, *guyse gaar*, *gaaroes* [*gar aus*]);

gans en gaar 'completely', also notes this as a Bredero usage [1600s], but also that it occurs in the *Statenbijbel* [1618];

jaarhonderd 'century', admits that this is probably from German;

Kretie en Pletie 'Tom, Dick and Harry', thinks the German meaning could just as well have been around in Dutch in the past, and that it is not likely from German, but allows for the possibility that its semantic development could have been influenced by German, noting that the Saxon dialects of eastern Netherlands use *Krethie en Plethie* in the Afrikaans sense;

niksnuits 'good-for-nothing', notes that the word is known in Dutch dialects and 17th century literature, so it is surely not from German;

omsons 'in vain, for nothing', sees no reason why this should not be considered inherited from 17th century Dutch – Vondel used it often;

oorwaks 'box on the ears', sees as a Germanism that entered Afrikaans via Saxon dialects;

rappelkops 'dizzy', notes its occurrence in East Frisian;

siks; in *by my siks* 'very truly', admits that this is probably from German;

skalt en walt 'to do as one sees fit', claims never to have heard or read it in Afrikaans;

skoennaks 'shoe polish', sees as a Germanism that entered Afrikaans via Saxon dialects;

stols 'proud', claims not to know the word in Afrikaans;

stramasie 'difficulty; din, disorder', concedes that Mansvelt was probably right in deriving it from *Strapaze* 'exhaustion';

ter duivel 'the deuce!', notes that *de duivel* is more common, and then only in "so 'n der duiwel!";

verflaks 'damn', sees as a Germanism that entered Afrikaans via Saxon dialects, notes its occurrence in East Frisian;

verfoes 'to bungle', sees as a Germanism that entered Afrikaans via Saxon dialects;

wiks, *uitwiks* 'to hit', points out that because these words are known in proverbs, certain dialects, and 17th century literature, they are not likely German;

werskaf 'to potter about', claims that this occurs in different dialects, and need not be from German;

Boshoff sees the Saxon Dutch dialects as particularly important, because of all of the Netherlands, the areas where Saxon dialects are spoken are the most similar geographically to the Cape (269).

4.1.1.8 D.B. BOSMAN, *OOR DIE ONTSTAAN VAN AFRIKAANS*, 1923

The year 1923 saw the arrival of second editions of Bosman and Hesseling. Bosman gave his book a new title, and expanded its scope greatly. The section on Germanisms in Afrikaans was among those that received particular enlargement. In the introduction to the section (115), he brings up a key aspect of the German element in Afrikaans: that the agreement between German and Dutch is so great, that it is hard enough to confirm a German borrowing in Dutch, let alone differentiate between direct borrowing from German into Afrikaans and borrowing from German via Dutch into Afrikaans. This issue, brought up as it is by both Schuchardt and Bosman, touches fundamentally on the role of

apperception in linguistic contact. Bosman points out: "Om dié rede meen ek dat die direkte Duitse invloed op die taal groter moet gewees het as wat gewoonlik aangeneem word, hoewel dit onmoontlik sal bly om die omvang daarvan taalkundig te bepaal." 'For that reason I believe that the direct German influence on Afrikaans must have been greater than is usually assumed, though it will remain impossible to linguistically determine its scope' (115-6).

In Bosman's estimation, this principle should, where a Dutch source is possible, be applied when evaluating the words *aandag*, *aapskilloeder*, *bolmakiesie*, *dan en wan*, *jaarbonderd*, *kamaste*, *laer*, *niksnuts*, *peits* (*piets*), *rappelkops*, *skalt en walt*, *stols*, *swernoot*, *swynbond*, *by my siks*, *ter* (*de*) *duivel*, *verflaks*, *verfoes*, *werda*, *werskaf*. He then goes on to provide more lengthy discussion for some other items:

anderkant, *duskant* 'that side', 'this side', compares them with *jenseits* 'that side', *diesseits* 'this side';

die 'the', first notes that in German-tinted texts of the seventeenth century, one sees numerous examples of *die* for *de*, then counters himself, opining that it is unnecessary to see a German borrowing here when the word could so easily have been inherited from Dutch, concedes that the retention of *die* in Cape speech could have been advantageous;

gewoont 'used to', gives *gewohnt* 'used to';

kamaste 'gaiters', sees as a likely borrowing from German soldier speech;

koeël 'bullet', sees the vowel [u] as having either arisen from or been perpetuated by German *Kugel* 'bullet' and dialectal Dutch *koegel*;

kop 'head', notes that *kop* instead of *hoofd* 'head' was probably not a proper word in the 1600s in Holland, and that it has lost much of that impropriety in Afrikaans can be attributed to the more general use of *Kopf* 'head' in German;

korrel 'bead (on gun)', gives *Korn* 'bead (on gun)';

laer 'camp (mil.)', sees as a likely borrowing from German soldier speech;

met ... saam, in *met 'n mes saam* 'with a knife', gives *mit samt einem Messer* 'with a knife';

sak en pak, in *met sak en pak* 'with bag and baggage', from *mit Sack und Pack* rather than Dutch *met pak en zak*;

skuld 'to owe', leaves open the possibility that its use as a verb in Afrikaans is a Germanism;

sneller 'trigger', gives nothing;

stewel 'boot', only notes that *stewel* is dialectal in Dutch, whereas Afrikaans *stewel* and German *Stiefel* 'boot' are common words;

werda 'who goes there?', sees as a likely borrowing from German soldier speech

Alas, Bosman sighs, there are more or less strong suspicions throughout, but nowhere is there certainty about these words. Still, all these suspicions together, knowing what we know about the historical circumstances, make the likelihood of direct borrowing from German fairly high.

In the second edition of his book, the spelling of which he revised along the at-the-time newly promulgated spelling rules, Hesseling gives a more subtle treatment of the German influence on Afrikaans, despite repeating his belief that the Germans were so coarse and salty that *Hes* means 'clutz', *Swaab* means 'numbskull', and *Polak* means 'haughty person', noting this time that the Poles had become German speakers by the time they arrived in the Netherlands (77-81).

Hesseling sees, therefore, the following words as being German loans (79):

aapskilloeder 'blackguard', gives *aap* 'ape' and *Schindluder* 'to make someone suffer';
Crethi en Plethi 'Tom, Dick and Harry', gives no German form;
oornaks 'box on the ears', gives no German form;
seks 'very truly', gives *bei meiner Six* 'very truly';
swernoot 'blackguard', gives adjectival form *jou swernoots kind* 'you little rascal';
swijnbond 'blackguard', gives no German form;
uitwiks 'to hit', notes that *gewikst* is regular in Dutch, but means 'clever';
verflaxte kind 'cursed child', gives *verflixtes Kind* 'cursed child';

Given the paucity of discussion he provides for each lexeme, one wonders if Hesseling considers them all German because they are all profane. Le Roux's false etymology of the coarse word *gevrete* 'mug (face)' – he thought it was from nonexistent *Gefriss* – threw Hesseling off; it is likely from *Gefräss* 'mug (face)', another coarse word that was probably usually followed by a punch-up.

Hesseling does allow, however, for the existence of some words of German origin that are not so vulgar, namely *dan en wan*, *bekel* (-*pennetjie*), *jaarhonderd*, *rappelkops*. Furthermore:

aandag 'family prayers', admits that it could have been brought in by the Herrnhuters, but that it does occur in the [seventeenth-century] writings of Hooft and Vondel;
bolmakiesie 'head over heels', does not see how Smith's derivation from *Kobold schiessen* is possible;
stols 'proud', mentions that despite its use in Amsterdam, it has always been a foreign word in Dutch;
strawasie 'difficulty; din, disorder', sees its German origin as not unlikely

There are a few words from the speech of soldiers too; *laer* and *werda* are probably direct loans from German. The words *blas*, *blits*, *peits* are all attested in Dutch dialects, though *blits* and *peits* are known in Dutch as German loans. He also believes that is also true of *werskap*. Furthermore, the form *koegel* (*koëil*) he regards as a soldier's word brought in by Germans.

He explains the terms related to mountains (*hang*, *koppie*, *krans*, *nek*) by pointing out that in South Africa there are other examples of naming topographical phenomena after body parts: in *bil* 'buttock', as in *de bil van de Leeuwenberg*; *bult* 'hillock, rise' also means 'swelling'; *pram* 'breast' in *Pramberg*. This would solve the question of *koppie* and *nek*, but not of *hang* and *krans*. Finally, he does not see how *skuld*, being both a noun and a verb, could come from *schulden*, which is only a verb.

Boshoff took the opportunity to revisit many of the lexical items he handled in *Volk en Taal van Suid-Afrika*, in his so-called etymological dictionary of 1936. It is a slim and not at all comprehensive volume, but it is valuable in so far as it is postscript to the Germanisms in Afrikaans from the Hesselings-Bosman-Boshoff debate.

- aandag* 'family prayers', exists in seventeenth-century Dutch and is not necessarily from German;
- aapskilloeder* 'blackguard', no longer sees German etymon, rather that it comes from Dutch *aaps(ch)e loeder* 'apeish scoundrel' (I was not able to find this in any Dutch dictionaries, so I am unsure as to how to gloss it), compares change **aapse* > **aapske* to Afrikaans *dusketyd* 'this time < *deuse tyd* 'this time';
- balderjan* 'valerian', sees *Baldrian* as more likely than Dutch *valeriaan* or English *valerian*;
- blits* 'lightening', sees as either from Frisian or Low German;
- Boesman* 'Bushman, San', wonders if the vowel in *Boes* is from either German or English;
- bolmakiesie* 'head over heels', states that, if Smith is right and it is indeed from *Kobold schiessen*, the development must have been: *Kobold schiessen* > *bold schiessen* > *bolschiesse(n)* > *bolskiesie* > *bolkiesie* > *bol(ma)kiesie*;
- dan en wan* 'now and then', merely gives < *dann und wann* 'now and then';
- der*, in *der duivel* 'the deuce!', probably on analogy of *der Teufel* 'the deuce!';
- gaar*, in *gaar nie* 'not at all' and *gans en gaar* 'completely', from either German *ganz und gar* 'completely' or Dutch *gans(ch) en gaar* 'completely';
- gaip* 'boor', wonders if it could be from dialectal German *Kaip* 'unkempt fellow';
- halfie* 'half', claims it could be from either dialectal Dutch *half(e)* 'half' or German *hälfte* 'half';
- jaarbonderd* 'century', sees this as likely from German even though it occurs in Dutch too;
- kamas(te)* 'gaiters', sees as from either Dutch *camache* 'gaiters', German *kamasche*, *gamasche* 'gaiters' or French *gamache* 'gaiters';
- kats* 'cat-o-nine-tails', probably the synonymous soldier and sailor word *kat*, under the influence of German *Katze* 'cat';
- kietsie* 'kitty', from dialectal *kitze*, *kietze* 'kitty';
- Kretie en Pletie* 'Tom, Dick and Harry', maintains that the words are borrowed from the Bible, while the meaning was borrowed from German;
- laer* 'camp (mil.)', sees as a direct borrowing of *Lager* 'camp (mil.)';
- niksnuts* 'good-for-nothing', ascribes derivation from *Nichtsnutz* 'good-for-nothing' to Mansvelt and Hesselings, notes that Dutch has *niksnut* 'good-for-nothing';
- omsons* 'in vain for nothing', believes this came into Afrikaans from German via Dutch;
- oorwaks* 'box on the ears', sees the second part of the word was being from *Watsche* 'box on the ears';
- peits* 'whip', believes this came into Afrikaans from German via Dutch;
- piekfyn* 'snazzy', entered in the 1800s from German via Dutch;
- poedelnaakt* 'buck naked', believes to be from German via Dutch;
- poliets* 'smart, canny, precocious', probably from Low German – possibly via dialectal Dutch – *polietsch*, *politsch*, *politsig* from *politisch* 'political';
- rappelkops* 'dizzy', probably *rappelköpfig* 'crazy';

sens 'scythe', could be from either German *Sense* 'scythe' or dialectal Dutch *se(i)nse* 'scythe';
seties 'a kind of dance', from *schottisch* 'Scottish';
sikes 'very truly', derives from *bei meiner Six* 'very truly';
skalt 'to do as one sees fit', derives from *schalten und walten* 'to do as one sees fit';
sneller 'trigger', from either Dutch *sneller* 'trigger' < German *schneller* 'trigger', or directly from German;
spaas 'joke', from *Spass* 'fun, joke';
stols 'proud', from *stolz* 'proud';
stranasie 'difficulty; din, disorder', from *Strapaze* 'exhaustion';
swaap 'numbskull', from *Schwabe* 'Swabian', but notes that it is also used in Dutch in the same meaning;
sweis 'to weld', from *schweißen* 'to weld';
swernoot 'blackguard';
swynbond 'blackguard', from *Schweinbund* 'bastard';
uitwiks 'to hit', refers to *wiks* 'to hit';
verfoes 'to bungle', points out that this occurs in Dutch dialects too and need not be from German;
verfomfaai 'to confuse', from Dutch *verfomfaaien* 'to spoil', itself from German *verfumsfeien* 'to spoil';
vergange 'bygone', from either Dutch dialects or German *vergangen* 'bygone';
vervlaks 'damn', probably imitation of German *verflucht*;
vrek 'to die (livestock)', could be from either dialectal Dutch *verreken* or German *verrecken*;
vroegstuk 'breakfast', from *Frühstück* 'breakfast';
waks 'polish', from *Watsche*, though suspects that association with the meaning 'to wash' might have played a role;
werda 'who goes there?', gives *wer da?* 'who goes there?';
werskaf 'to potter about', identifies as *wirtschaften* 'to potter about', although the word and meaning appear in Dutch dialects;
wiks 'to hit', possibly from *wichsen*, although *wi(e)ksen* is also known in Dutch dialects in the sense of 'whoop, whallop'

This list of Germanisms contains all the most common players that we have seen over the course of these divagations.

4.1.1.11 G.G. KLOEKE, *HERKOMST EN GROEI VAN HET AFRIKAANS*, 1950

When the Dutchman G.G. Kloeke was holed up in the countryside during the German occupation of the Netherlands, he whiled away his time by writing a book on the southern South Hollandic character of Afrikaans. Though he spends much of his time dealing with issues of Dutch dialectology, Kloeke dedicates a whole section to the German influence on Afrikaans (12-40). In it, he makes the argument that one must be able to formally identify given words as German, if we are ever to come to any certainty about German loans. Scholtz (1963:234) rightfully points out that formal identifiability is irrelevant if the words are calques. Still, Kloeke addresses some of the words that had been adduced by others to

illustrate the German effect on Afrikaans. In most of the cases, Kloeke does not see a German origin:

- blits* 'lightening', does not agree with Boshoff, because most Dutch dialects have the form *blis*, so it must be a late borrowing directly from German;
- die* 'the', admits that this is probably from German, though not by German-speaking Germans, but rather by Dutch-speaking Germans who overused *die* in Dutch;
- kats* 'cat-o-nine-tails', sees it as odd that a word of English origin, itself from Low German, should end up in Dutch sailor parlance in a High German form, sees rather the possibility of the word-final *s* as arising on analogy of *karwats* 'horse whip';
- koeël* 'bullet', marshals more examples from seventeenth-century Dutch (Hooft, Vondel, Bredero, de Brune), Ten Kate (1723:281) gives *koegel* alongside *koegel*;
- kop* 'head', agrees with Schmidt-Pretoria (1938:280), that *kop* probably retained its meaning with the help of *Kopf*, though he notes that there is no evidence that *kop* was used any differently in seventeenth-century Dutch than it is today;
- krans* 'cliff, rockface, high rock', maintains that it has been a German borrowing in Dutch since well before 1652, and that the sense in Afrikaans is not metaphorical, whereas in Dutch it also means 'round dijk', next to which he puts "(?)";
- niksnuts* 'good-for-nothing', doubts that *-ts* is shifted *t*, noting that Afrikaans has an *-s* in *bloots*, *kiets*, *moedswillig*, *puts*, *wildsbok*, *rats*, *geniepsig*, *vreetsig*, *vrotsig*, none of which have *-s* in Dutch;
- onnutsig* 'naughty', see *niksnuts*;
- peits* 'whip', thinks this word's status as a borrowing depends entirely whether or not it is attested in a Dutch dialect;
- sak*, in *met sak en pak* 'with bag and baggage', adduces new textual evidence of this word order from seventeenth-century colonial sources;
- serp* 'scarf', notes that only Meyer has ventured to place this in the category of German borrowings, though he sees it as not being from *Schärpe*, but rather French *écharpe* 'scarf', because German *sch-* appears in Afrikaans as *sk-*, whereas French *ch-* appears in Afrikaans as *s-*, and while the vowel in German is closer, French words borrowed into German in the 1600s are notorious for having either *ar* or *er*;
- swaap* 'numbskull', sees as clearly from *Schwabe*, and *swaapstreek* as from *Schwabenstreich* *verfoes* 'to bungle', agrees with Meyer that it comes from *verpfuschen*, though he does not credit Meyer;
- werskaf* 'to potter about', agrees with Boshoff that it is from German, but does not agree that the word is known in Dutch dialects, the closest dialect word Kloeke knows is North Hollandic (Zaans) *warskippen* 'to visit for a few days', which, on account of the presence of *-pp-* is unlikely as a source for the *-f*, which he sees as clearly German

Kloeke spends much of his review responding to Schmidt-Pretoria (1938), who himself was no linguist. While Kloeke is right about S-P's spurious logic and the disrepute his Nazi credentials put him in, one gets the impression that Kloeke, having written the book holed up in the countryside while WWII raged on, was feeling particularly anti-German when he wrote it. Especially when directly engaging with Schmidt-Pretoria, Kloeke's tone gets

noticeably more snide. It is a shame, because, as Scholtz (1963:233) puts it, Schmidt-Pretoria's propagandistic work is hardly worth the attention that Kloeke pays to it.

4.1.1.12 SUMMARY

In the foregoing section, we have seen dozens of words discussed. Some of them never truly became part of the debate. They were either never commented upon by other scholars, as is the case with *afdruk* 'to print off', *anderkant* 'the other side', *danebol* 'pineapple', *geluk-ook* 'good luck to you', *gewoont* 'used to', *houtjie* in *hij is slimmer as die houtjie van die galg* 'he's too clever by half', *instal* in *tot instal brengen* 'to let lapse', *kalant* 'rogue', *kanijntjie* 'bunny', *kla* in *ek kan nie kla nie* 'it's going alright', *klein kry* 'to figure out', *lewer* in *hij lijk of 'n vlooi oo'r sy lewer gekruip bet* 'he looks peeved', *maak* in *wat maak jy?* 'what are you doing?', *ongeskik* 'clumsy', *pomp* 'to nudge', *probeer* 'tried', *prop* 'cork, stopper', *proses* in *kort proses maak* 'to make short work of', *rechtig* 'truly', *seties* 'a kind of dance', *skoeriel* 'to whoop', *so een* 'such a', *spas* 'joke', *stoets* 'stumpy', *toë* 'shut', *tres* 'braid', *verfomsaai* 'to confuse'; or they only had one back-and-forth, resulting in their no longer being part of the conversation, as with *boeglam* 'dead tired', *galg* in *hij lijk, alsof hij van die galg gewaai is* 'he looks like death warmed over', *gevreet* 'mug (face)', *gij* 'you' in chancery style, *halfie* 'half', *loop* 'to walk', *makrol* 'macaroon', *musiekdoos* 'music box', *neerskryf* 'to write down', *nek* in *jij lê heel dag op mij nek* 'you're a chain around my neck', *poedelnaakt* 'buck naked', *rechte* 'very', *se* possessive partile, *serp* 'scarf'. Some of these merit re-examination, such as *probeer* (Du. *geprobeert*) as a past participle (< *probiert*), *gevreet* (< *Gefräß*), and *serp* (< *Schärpe*), but given space limitations, are not given full treatments in this study.

What is left is the core body of words that have been taken seriously as potential German loans in Afrikaans: *aapskilloeder* 'blackguard', *andag* 'family prayers', *balderjan* 'valerian', *blas* 'sallow', *blits* 'lightening', *bloedweinig* 'precious little', *Boesman* 'Bushman, San', *bolmakiesie* 'head over heels', *dan en wan* 'now and then', *die* 'the', (*der/ter*) *duivel* 'the deuce!', *gaip* 'boor', *gaar / gans en gaar* 'completely', *hang* 'steep slope', *hikel* 'to crochet', *jaarhonderd* 'century', *kamaste* 'gaiters' *kats* 'cat-o-nine-tails', *koël* 'bullet', *kop* 'head', *koppie* 'hillock', *korrel* 'bead on a gun', *krans* 'cliff, rockface, high rock', *Krethie en Plethie* 'Tom, Dick and Harry', *laer* 'camp (mil.)', *met ... saam* 'with', *nek* 'mountain pass', *niksnuts* 'good-for-nothing', *omsons* 'in vain, for nothing', *oorwaks* 'box on the ears', *peits* 'whip', *piets* 'to whip', *poliets* 'smart, canny, precocious', *rappelkops* 'dizzy', *sak en pak* 'bag and baggage', *seks* in *by my siks* 'very truly', *sens* 'scythe', *skalt en walt* 'to do as one sees fit', *skuld* 'to owe', *sneller* 'trigger', *stewel* 'boot', *stols* 'proud', *strawasie* 'difficulty; din, disorder', *smaap* 'numbskull', *sweis* 'to weld', *swernoot* 'blackguard', *snynbond* 'blackguard', *uitpiets* 'to whallop', *uitwiks* 'to hit', *veels geluk* 'hearty congratulations', *verfoes* 'to bungle', *vergange* 'bygone', *vervlak* 'damn', *vreke* 'to die (livestock)', *vroegstuk* 'breakfast', *waks* 'shoe polish', *werda* 'who goes there?', *werskaf* 'to potter about'. This is no great number, and yet these lexemes can be very illustrative when looked at more in-depth. In order to get to a place where we can begin to appreciate the subtle influence of German on Cape Dutch/Afrikaans, one must look at the discussions surrounding these words and the theoretical issues that arise from and are integral to these analyses.

4.1.2 A CLOSE LOOK AT THE GERMAN LOANS IN AFRIKAANS

That German loan words have been regularly entering the Dutch language since the 1500s is not surprising when one considers the growing economic might of the High German-speaking world, Luther's translation of the bible, and the Dutch expansion in the 1700s that brought them in greater contact with German-speaking peoples. The Dutch scholar C.G.N. de Vooy cataloged a great number of the words that entered Dutch before the Cape was settled (1946), most of which belong to the everyday vocabulary of both Dutch and Afrikaans, such as *beroemd* (*berühmt*) 'famous', *ervaring* (*Erfahrung*) 'experience', *indruk* (*Eindruck*) 'impression', *spannend* (*spannend*) 'exciting', *veelsydig* (*vielseitig*) 'many-sided' and many others, see Scholtz (1965:223-4), Raidt (1983:67). For the purposes of this study, these are what Haugen called pre-immigration loans (see 2.4), and go beyond the scope of the work at hand.

Still, there are some borrowings that were indisputably borrowed at the Cape. A few examples should suffice. The collocation *dan en wan* is widely accepted as a direct borrowing from German, see Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:151); Hesseling (1899:83; 1923:79); Le Roux (1921:71); Boshoff (1921:406; 1936); Boshoff & Nienaber (1967). The popularity of the variant of *Desember*, *de(e)tseember* is very probably on analogy of *Dezember*, see Nienaber (1953:242), Scholtz (1972:92n16), Ponelis (1993:105). As concerns *bekel*, Scholtz (1963:234) points out that both the word's form and its absence from Dutch dialectal sources should argue for a German origin. Still, wonders Scholtz, how could a word related to women's handicrafts be borrowed from German, when so few German women immigrated to the Cape? For this reason, he thinks this might be a later "cultural borrowing". All other scholars are simply in agreement that *bekel* is a direct borrowing from German into Afrikaans, see Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:163), Le Roux (1921), Hesseling (1923). Finally, *sweis* from *schweißen* 'to weld', which was first introduced into the discussion by Boshoff (1936), has found support by Raidt (1983:66) and Van Wyk (2003).

The majority of words purported to be of German origin have been shown to be just as probably from Dutch. In some cases, the word had already been borrowed from German before 1652, in other cases, the word was borrowed into Dutch between 1652-1900 and entered Cape Dutch. There are also quite a few words that are known in Dutch dialects and which need not be derived from German. Boshoff was always quick to point out a Dutch congener, believing that it was always better to defer to Dutch in these cases. What is clear from it all, though, is that all of the following words could be German or Dutch, and that this ease of borrowing and calquing speaks to the importance of apperception in linguistic contact. Among these words are the following, for which the scope of the study will not permit more in-depth treatments of: *bloedweinig*, (*der/ter*) *duimel*, *gansegaar*, *bang*, *kamaste*, *kats*, *kop*, *koppie*, *korrel*, *krans*, *Kretie en Pletie*, *laer*, *met ... saam*, *nek* (*geog.*), *niks*, *poedelnaakt*, *rappelkops*, *sak en pak*, *sens*, *skuld*, *sneller*, *smaap*, *swynbond*, *vergange*, *vervlaks*, *vreke*, *vroegstuk*, *werda*.

In order to get an idea of the variety of Afrikaans loanwords from German, the following twenty words are dealt with below. They are all representative of a certain kind of borrowing, and taken as a whole, provide a good overview of the diversity of borrowings present in Afrikaans.

4.1.2.1 AANDAG 'FAMILY PRAYERS'

In the case of *aandag*, Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:140) sees it as German *Andacht*. Hesseling (1899:82-3; 1923:79) allows for this possibility, but thinks the word might just as well be Dutch. Boshoff is sure it is seventeenth-century Dutch (1921:112, 405-6; 1936) on

account of the semantic agreement. Raidt (1983:67) agrees with Boshoff's conclusion. He revises his analysis slightly in Boshoff & Nienaber (1967), where he notes that the meaning 'devout prayer/meditation' could have been retained in Afrikaans with or without High German reinforcement. If it is from German, then whether this is a calque or a partially assimilated loanword is impossible to say. While the modern form is spelled *aandag*, the original form is *andag* with short [a], which corresponds to the German form, while the absence of word-final [t] could point to either a partial assimilation of *Andacht*, or that it is a semantic extension. If it is from Dutch, then it is either a pre-immigration loan or was borrowed later. If it was borrowed later, then it would likely be a nineteenth-century word. The possibility remains that it is a direct borrowing from German missionaries in the 1800 or 1900s. Whatever the case, the affinity between Dutch/Afrikaans and German makes it difficult to say where the word comes from. And if we have trouble with it, everyday speakers were also probably unable to say precisely which language the word came from. This is precisely the kind of reasoning that apperception operates in. The speaker has picked up a word and just "gotten" it, which is an intuitive act, itself a characteristic of abductive reasoning.

4.1.2.2 *BALDERJAN* 'VALERIAN'

While ultimately going back to Latin *valeriana*, the Afrikaans form *balderjan* seems to come from either Dutch *valeriaan* or German *aldrian*. All sources (Mansvelt [Van der Merwe 1971:142]; Boshoff 1936; Terblanche & Odendaal 1966) see either direct borrowing from German or influence by German. Indeed, the presence of word-initial *b* is not from Dutch, and the insertion of *-d-* needs an explanation as well. Given these two incongruities, the lack of any corroborating evidence from Dutch dialects, and the existence of *ballerjan* in Westphalian (Woeste 1882), it seems fairly likely that this is a partially assimilated loan of *Baldrian*, with the common metathesis of [r], see Scholtz (1972:98-100). Since *valeriaan* and *Baldrian* are semantically identical, it is unclear to what extent the Dutch word contributed to *balderjan*.

4.1.2.3 *BLAS* 'SALLOW, OLIVE-COLORED'

Despite the presence of *blafs* 'pale' in German, *blas* is by no means a settled question. While Le Roux (1921:71) thought it was from German, Hesseling (1923:80) quickly pointed out that the word is known in Dutch dialects – perhaps he meant Mansvelt's reference (Van der Merwe 1971:145) to *blas* 'pale' in the dialect of Overijssel, though I see nothing in Gallée (1895) – but does not state explicitly that *blas* is not from German. Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) go no further than mentioning that it is related to Low German *blas*, High German *blafs*, and Dutch *bles*. Raidt (1983:66) states that it was already known as a German loan in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch. There is no evidence of *blas* 'sallow' in the *WNT*, the only meaning is 'breath of air', which seems unrelated. As regards Dutch *bles*, somewhat-related meanings are 'bald' and 'blaze on the forehead (horses)', being that both indicate whiteness, a lightening of hue. It seems, therefore, that *blas*, both in form and meaning is a pure loanword from German on the Cape. Another probable, related German borrowing

would be the calque *blesboender* 'Red-knobbed coot (*Fulica cristata*)' of *Blässbuhn* 'Eurasian coot (*Fulica atra*)', for more see Scholtz (1974:92).

4.1.2.4 *BLITS* 'LIGHTENING'

Attested in some Dutch dialects is the word *blits*, which Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:146) and Le Roux (1921:71) viewed as German. Hesseling (1923:80) notes that it is known in Dutch dialects and that the WNT regards it as a German loanword in Dutch. Boshoff (1936) derives it from either Frisian or Low German *blits*, *blis*. Kloeke (1950:35) claims that the only form in Dutch dialects is *blis*, so it must be a late borrowing from German. Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) are noncommittal; they note that it is related to High German *Blitz* 'lightening', Low German *blots/blits*, Frisian *Blits*. From these forms (they do not say which one), the variant *blis* entered Dutch via sailor's speech. Raidt (1983:66) sees it as a cut-and-dried case of a borrowing from the sixteenth- or seventeenth centuries, pre-Cape Dutch, at any rate.

Blits might well have been brought over in the mouth's of Dutch settlers, but given that many of the German immigrées were soldiers and sailors, and that more than a few Afrikaans cusswords are from German already (*aapskilloeder* 'blackguard', *Hes* 'clutz', *Swaap* 'numbskull', *swernoot* 'scallywag', *ter duivel!* 'what the hell?!', *vervlaks* 'damned'), the existence of the synonymous *bliksem(!)* 'lightening; damn it!', would make a strong case for its being a German borrowing on the Cape. If it is not a pure loanword borrowed on the Cape, then the presence of Germans helped to perpetuate its use in Cape Dutch/Afrikaans.

4.1.2.5 (*GANS EN*) *GAAR* 'COMPLETELY'

The German word *gar* has been attested in Afrikaans in the phrase *gaar nie* 'not at all', presumably a calque of *gar nicht* 'not at all', and in the collocation *gans en gaar*, from *ganz und gar* 'completely'. Changuion (Van der Merwe 1971:10) mentions its agreement with German, but is quick to note that it is old in Dutch, see De Jager (1837:40). While Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:158) does nothing beyond stating that it is from German, Bosman (1916:82) implies its German origin with a reference to De Haan. A more nuanced discussion is provided by Boshoff (1921:111). He points out that *gans en gaar* is indeed from German, but that by the seventeenth century, it was probably not felt as a Germanism. What is more, due to its occurrence in seventeenth-century texts – Bredero used *gants en gaar*, *geuse gaar*, *guyse gaar*, *gaaroes* and *gaar* – it is safe to assume that the word was not brought in by Germans on the Cape. This seems the most convincing argument, though it is not outside of the realm of possibility that the maintenance and spread of the phrase is attributable to the German settlers in South Africa. Again, one thinks of how we perceive what we are adjusted to interpreting, see 2.5.1.

4.1.2.6 *JAARHONDERD* 'CENTURY'

The uncommon word *jaarbonderd* has been seen as a borrowing of German *Jahrhundert* 'century'. Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:167) claims as much, though he provides no discussion. He does, however, spell it *jaarbónderd*, which shows us that the word is stressed as it is in German, cf. Du. *jaarboek* 'yearbook', *jaargang* 'volume (pub.)', *jaartal* 'year', all stressed on the first syllable. Hesseling (1899:83) provides similar comments, wondering if the word truly belongs to the spoken language, and then noting that the word is used by some Dutch authors, but that it is understood as a Germanism. Boshoff (1921:406) continues in this vein, stating the *jaarbonderd* is a borrowing on the Cape, but offers no rationale as to why this should be so. Hesseling (1923:79) follows in like fashion. Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) proceed more cautiously, stating that it could have come from either Dutch or German, and commit to neither. The possibility of direct German borrowing at the Cape is certainly not unthinkable, in which case it is a calque, since all the morphemes in it are Afrikaans. Calques can often be the most insightful as regards apperception/abduction, because the recognition of the shared forms is highlighted by the use of native morphemes.

4.2.2.7 KOEËL 'BULLET'

The vocalic variant *coegel/koegel* [u] for *kogel* [o] 'bullet' is old in Afrikaans, occurring as it does in the diary of Jan van Riebeeck. But it is also old in Dutch. A perusal of the entry for *kogel* in the *WNT* shows that all the great writers of the seventeenth century used *coegel/koegel*, among others Bredero, Hooft, and Vondel. The earliest attestation in a Cape text is from 1784 "op de plaets van jacob ERasmus Aen grote visrivier met geweer en koegel" 'on the farm of Jacob Erasmus on the Fish River with gun and bullets in hand' (*KT* 3:6), and it occurs with some frequency thereafter. Bosman (1923:117) believes that the [u] of *coeël* could have either arisen from or been maintained by German soldiers at the Cape. Hesseling (1923:80) is not tentative; he is sure that the word is a borrowing from German soldiers. A less enthusiastic explanation is given by Kloeke (1950:35-6), who simply recapitulates Bosman and then adduces the examples from the *WNT*. By this, one is given to understand that Kloeke sees no reason to look to German when there is such an abundance of seventeenth-century Dutch evidence for it. A more measured approach is Boshoff & Nienaber's (1967) synthesis of these views, in which they state that while the influence of German *Kugel* cannot be dismissed out of hand, the preponderance of Dutch data make recourse to German unnecessary.

Clearly, linguistic affinity and historical circumstances have conspired once again to make pinning down the origin of *coeël* difficult. It is old enough to have undergone syncope of the velar fricative, which was probably in full career by 1775-1800, and given the spellings in Van Riebeeck, the vowel [u] was likely the most common variant in Cape Dutch. German speakers could adapt to this situation very easily, and while some Cape Dutch speakers strove to Dutchify their speech, saying *kogel* instead of *koegel* or *coeël*, or *oog* [o] for *oeg* [u], which is the variant of the Cape/Boland dialect of modern Afrikaans, it is hard to imagine German speakers not saying [kugl], or [kuxl], or [kul].

4.1.2.8 LAER 'CAMP (MIL.)'

It was Changuion (Van der Merwe 1971:12) who first derived *laer* 'camp (mil.)' from German *Lager*, though his derivation could not be more brief, he simply gives "(H.D.)". Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:179) is only slightly more obliging, giving "'t Du. *Lager*?". Le Roux (1921:71) is as parsimonious as Changuion is, and Hesseling (1923:79) states clearly that he believes *laer* to be a direct borrowing, but gives no discussion of it. Boshoff (1936) agrees with Hesseling. It took another thirty years for an opinion on this word to be proffered, and, as in the case of *koeël*, it is Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) who draw the sober conclusion that it could have come from Dutch *lager* or directly from German *Lager*. Raidt (1983:66) sees the distinct possibility that, because of its presence in the diary of Jan van Riebeeck, *lager* was part of Dutch soldier's speech and entered Afrikaans through it. She does leave open the possibility that it is a direct loan, though.

As with *koeël*, we see the syncope of the intervocalic velar fricative, which indicates its being an old component of the Afrikaans vocabulary, but it does not help us to be more precise about the word's origin. That Dutch *lager* and German *Lager* are spelled identically – requisite capitalization of nouns in German is a twentieth-century phenomenon – makes pinpointing the word's entry impossible. Only its meaning can help identify it, and *lager* in Dutch means only 'one who abuses', which, while martial in sense, is not quite similar enough to 'military camp'. While it would be helpful to do a thorough inspection of all Dutch dialect dictionaries, it is beyond the scope of this entry, though it seems fairly certain that German must have played a role here, given the military aspect of the word and the numbers of German soldiers that were absorbed into Cape Afrikaner culture.

4.1.2.9 *NIKSNUTS* 'GOOD-FOR-NOTHING'

In the case of *niksnuts* 'good-for-nothing', Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:187) and Le Roux (1921:71) are as brief in their discussions as they were in the case of *laer*. Hesseling (1923:79) is equally breviloquent in his agreement on the word's German origin. Boshoff (1936) saw that, while the word is probably from German, the form *niksnut* also exists in Dutch. Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) conclude that the Dutch word is a more recent – they are not specific about time here – compound than Afrikaans *niksnuts* and *niksnutter*, but that the only way to learn more about the Afrikaans word is to find early textual evidence of it, which is lacking. If that is true, one should be nonplussed by this assertion. How do Boshoff & Nienaber know the word is older in Afrikaans, if textual evidence of it is absent? A likelier scenario is that either /s/ was suffixed to *niksnut* as is common in hypocoristic forms in Afrikaans (see Bergerson 2004) and was reinforced by German *Nichtsnutz*, or that *Nichtsnutz* was borrowed straightaway into Cape Dutch/Afrikaans.

4.1.2.10 *OMSONS* 'IN VAIN, FOR NOTHING'

Omsons 'in vain' is a word that looks so much like German *umsonst* 'in vain', that it is hard to imagine it could be Dutch. This was Mansvelt's (Van der Merwe 1971:189) thinking. Boshoff (1921:111) put paid to this idea, noting, as he did in the case of *gans en gaar*, that while it is a Germanism, seventeenth-century writers used *omsonst*. Thus, it should be seen as having come from Dutch, not German. Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) maintain this viewpoint, and

given the martial and nautical nature of most direct borrowings into Afrikaans, this is probably right. Not all Germanisms need reinforcement by native Dutch congeners, and sometimes pre-immigration loans seem to be later borrowings than they are.

4.1.2.11 OORWAKS 'BOX ON THE EARS'

A more problematic lexeme is *oorwaks* 'box on the ears', which Changuion (Van der Merwe 1971:13) sees as German, though he typically gives "H.D." and no etymon. Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:190) was clearly aware that etymologizing the word *oorwaks* would require some creativity, which he achieved in his explanation. He wondered if the word might have arisen from the expression *iemand de oren wasschen* 'to tell someone what s/he has done wrong' under the influence of German *wichsen* 'to hit'. He leaves unexplained why the [s] of *wassen* (old spelling *wasschen*) would have been rendered as [ks], unless he believed that it was borrowed as [sk] and underwent metathesis. This is unlikely, given that the spelling *wasschen* was, by the late 1700s, etymological, not phonetic. Le Roux (1921:71) offers a more reasonable derivation in *oorwaks* < *Obrwasche* 'box on the ears', though he leaves unexplained the change of [š] > [ks]. The sound [š] used to be (before widespread knowledge of English facilitated its importation) regularly borrowed into Afrikaans as [s], *masien* 'machine', *Sankion* 'Changuion', *sieling* 'shilling' etc. (Le Roux & Pienaar 1927:132), which makes Le Roux's derivation unlikely. Perhaps it is a typo.

In his first treatment of the word, Boshoff (1921:269) gives it short shrift, noting only that it is a borrowing from German, but that it came into Afrikaans via the eastern, Saxon dialects of Dutch. Hesseling (1923:79) is even more brief, commenting that the word is a German borrowing, but providing no discussion. Fifteen years later, Boshoff (1936) deals with the word anew, claiming that the second element *waks* is surely the same word as German *Watsche* 'box on the ears'. Again, no explanation of a sound discrepancy is given, this time of the change [tš] > [ks], though this is less of a problem than Le Roux's sound change. Still, while the probabilities of Boshoff's change are slightly higher, the fact remains that the change [tš] > [ks] is unattested in Afrikaans. Perhaps its obvious lack of feasibility finally disabused Boshoff of his certainty, for in Boshoff & Nienaber (1967), the word *waarskynlik* 'probably' was added to the derivation from *Watsche*. Raidt (1983:66) sees *Obrenwatsche* 'box on the ears' as the indubitable etymon for *oorwaks*, though she provides no explanation of the troubling sound change associated with [tš]. Poneis (1993) agrees with Raidt, and shares her parsimony of explanation. If *oorwaks* < *Obrenwatsche*, then it would have to be a calque, with *waks* 'shoe polish' being problematic.

The entire question of the element *waks* is made even more complex by the presence of the widely agreed-upon borrowing *waks* 'shoe polish' from (*Schub*)*Wachs* 'shoe polish'. There is no semantic connection between the meanings 'box on the ears' and 'shoe polish', so it is unlikely that the German loanword *waks* 'shoe polish' has anything to do with *oorwaks*. However, an old and common sound change in Afrikaans is the allophonic variation of [a] and schwa. So perhaps, though it is unlikely, *oorwaks* came from **oorwaks* 'to hit on the ears', with stress on the first syllable. For more on *waks*, see below. If *waks* means nothing, then this would be a marginal blended stem.

4.1.2.12 PEITS 'DRIVING-WHIP', PIETS 'TO WHIP'

The lexemes *peits* 'driving-whip' and *piets* 'whip lightly; punish; criticize' form another semantic field. The verb *uitpiets* 'to whallop; cross out' is first given by Changuion (Van der Merwe 1971:17) in the form *uitpietsen*, with the Dutch infinitive ending *-en* added by him. Even though Changuion predates him, it was Mansvelt who first addressed all three words. Mansvelt's longest entry is for *peits* (Van der Merwe 1971:193), which he glosses as both a noun 'whip' and a verb 'to whip', while also observing that the word is common in the North Brabant dialect and is "[o]orspronkelijk van 't Duitsch *peitsch*" originally from German *peitsch*'. What is meant by "originally" is unclear. It could mean that the word came into Afrikaans via Dutch but that it is a loanword in that language. Or it could mean that it came into Afrikaans directly from German. Either way, Mansvelt seems to believe that it is a borrowing from German. Schuchardt (1885:467), in his review of Mansvelt, connects the form *piets* with *Peitsche*, which is odd, given the lack of agreement between the vowels; *piets* has [i], *Peitsche* has [ai].

More information is given by Le Roux (1921:71), who also thinks that *peits* is from *Peitsche*, though he adds that it is known in Dutch dialects. He says explicitly what has been implicit throughout: that the verb *piets* is related, but goes no further in his description. Hesseling (1923:80), while not giving his own opinion, relays that the *WNT* regards *peits* as a borrowing from German. Boshoff (1921:226) brings our attention to the fact that Kiliaen gives form *pitsche* 'whip', and that *peits* is to be found in seventeenth-century popular books and travelogs. His second treatment of *peits* (1936) is more precise, in which he derives it from German via Dutch. He also has an entry for *piets*, which he regards as coming from dialectal Dutch *pietsen*, *pitsen* 'to hit' and is connected to *peits* and more distantly to *Peitsche*, also Scholtz (1972:156). Kloeke (1950:35) is more circumspect, thinking that confirmation of *peits* as a direct German loan into Afrikaans is contingent upon further Dutch dialect research. Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) seek a reconciliation of the etyma, seeing *peits* as possibly from German via Dutch, and *piets* as doubtfully from dialectal *pietsen* 'to hit', which is related to Dutch *pietsen* 'to pinch'. They then wonder if there is a relation between it and *peits*, and compare it with East Frisian *pitsken* 'to whip'.

This is a strange entry. The two give no reason as to why *pietsen* in both meanings is doubtful, and then mention a connection with *peits* as if it were a stretch, even though Mansvelt, Le Roux, and Boshoff all dealt with these words as though they are related. It seems clear that there are two semantically-related words, that *peits* is a borrowing from German into Dutch, and that *piets* is likely from dialectal Dutch. That is, *peits* is a partially assimilated loanword, while *piets* is a semantic borrowing of *Peitsche* and *pietsen* 'to whip'. The borrowing of a noun's meaning for a verb seems dubious, but when one considers the interplay that these words have shown, it is clear that they all belong to the same semantic field, and the idea of borrowing across parts of speech gains in persuasiveness.

4.1.2.13 (BY MY) SIX 'VERY TRULY'

Under the entry for *keol* as in *by my keol/kolie waar* 'very truly', Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:175) gives the, according to him, synonymous phrase *bij mij seks* which Schuchardt (1885:467) identified as the German phrase *bei meiner Six!* 'very truly'. Hesseling (1899:85) agrees with Schuchardt, a position he did not deviate from (1923:79). Le Roux (1921:71) is

typically terse, as Boshoff (1921:406) also is, though not typically so. Boshoff maintained this viewpoint (1936), even when he collaborated with G.S. Nienaber (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967). Of all the Germanisms in Afrikaans, *by my siks* is the least controversial. Perhaps this is because it was never a very popular expression and only entered the conversation because Schuchardt saw fit to comment on Mansvelt's banal reference. But it is also probably so, because we know that there were many German soldiers and sailors who settled in the country, and this is a phrase that so clearly belongs to the speech of both of these groups, oath-taking being a quasi sacrosanct institution to them. The element *six* is a good example of what Haugen would call an unassimilated loanword, see 2.4.1.1.

4.1.2.14 *STOLS* 'PROUD, HAUGHTY'

An example of a partially assimilated loanword is that of *stols* 'proud' from German *stolz* 'proud'. Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:206) cites it as German, but Hesselting (1899:83) is doubtful that the word was borrowed directly into Afrikaans, since he had heard it used in Amsterdam too. The implication is that this is another German loan that was mediated by Dutch. Boshoff (1921:406) notes that the word does not belong to his vocabulary, and Hesselting (1923:79) once again points out that he remembers hearing this word as a young man, though as a foreign word. Boshoff (1936), curiously enough, does a seeming about-face, tersely deriving *stols* directly from *stolz*, a position that is maintained in Boshoff & Nienaber (1967). As was the case with *blits*, *gaar* or *omsons*, even if *stols* is a pre-immigration loan, the wider usage it enjoyed in Afrikaans could well be attributable to the Germans on the Cape.

4.1.2.15 *STRAWASIE* 'DIFFICULTY; DIN, DISORDER'

An interesting borrowing because highly contended and obscure is *strawasie* 'difficulty; din'. Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:211) derives it from German *Strapaze* 'exhaustion', a position that Boshoff (1921:406; 1936) agrees with. Hesselting (1923:79) has no great problem with Mansvelt's and Boshoff's opinion, though he adds that *strapatsje* is a Germanism in Dutch that means 'troublesome expeditions'. The most sustained discussion is by Scholtz, who devoted two entries to it in separate lexicological articles. The first of the two (Scholtz 1965:142-3) is based upon the following citation from 1879: "Wanneer hij volwassen is, zal hij handelbaar, getrouw, en aan stravagie en vermoeidheid gewend zijn" 'When he is grown up, he will be manageable, loyal, and accustomed to *stravagie* and fatigue.' At the time, there were no other examples of *strawasie* in old Cape documents, and Scholtz was forced to divine the meaning of the word in this context. He took it to mean 'exhausting work', which accords with the German meaning. The first of the two modern senses given above is also close to 'exhausting work, toil', but the second one of 'din, ruckus' remains.

In order to explain this, Scholtz draws attention to the Antwerp dialect word *strobatie* 'consternation, commotion, disorder' in Cornelissen-Vervliet (1899-1903), which he sees as a possible semantic etymon for the second definition. He does not address the Antwerp dialect element in Afrikaans or the number of settlers who came from that part of the Dutch-speaking world, but rather moves on to the problem of [p] > [v]. True, he points out, there

is ample evidence of stops leniting in related ways, as in *stavel* < *stapel* 'pile, stack', *tamwerd* < *tabberd* 'gown', and *kapeljou* < *kabeljou* 'cod' (for more, see Scholtz 1972:53-54), but the lenition always occurs at the beginning of a weakly-stressed syllable, while both *strawasie* and *strobotie* are stressed on the second syllable. He calls on the case of Afrikaans *twak* 'tobacco', which, he presumes, is from the old form *to(e)bak*, with stress on the second syllable: thus *toebak* > *toewak* > *twak*. If this is correct, then *strawasie* < *strobotie* becomes more understandable.

L.C. van Oordt found the word in a text from 1762 that makes etymologizing *strawasie* much easier (CJ 1085, no. 346): "en is haare gemelde moeder, die de strappaties en mishandelingen van des Comp^{te} Stiefvader niet langer dulden en verdragen konde, ook niet weeder naar haar plaats terug gekeert" 'and her mother, who could no longer abide the *strappaties* and maltreatment of the appearer's stepfather, has not returned to her farm'. The meaning here could well be either Afrikaans meaning, since both toil and a chaotic environment would be equally distressing. In 1786 we get another instance of *strawasie*, and this time in its current form: "sulk een ovisi verijst een ge sonde persoon die rap en gau is en die sulke strawasies kan uijt staan" 'such a position requires a healthy person who is fleet-footed and who can endure such *strawasies*' *KT* III: 29. The sense 'exhausting work' seems fairly obvious in this second passage.

Scholtz, who previously sought to derive *strawasie* from Antwerps *strobotie*, became convinced of its German origin when the form *strappaties* came to light (1972:168). Still, the meanings 'din, ruckus, disorder, commotion' require an explanation, since the German etymon means 'exhaustion; exhausting work', which could easily have evolved into the current meaning 'difficulty'. Scholtz was probably right to connect *strawasie* to *strobotie* to explain the semantic importation, though his argument would have been stronger had he thought to check De Bo-Samyn (1892) who give *strabantie*, *strabanse* 'commotion, disorder'. The presence of this meaning in two dialects lends credence to the idea that the meaning was more widespread in the past and lost ground in the last 350 years. Thus, it could have been imported to South Africa at a time when it was more common and been preserved in Afrikaans. Whether *strobotie* and *strabantie* are from *Strapaze* or from Latin *disturbatio* is neither here nor there, for the form and meaning of the words are close enough to *Strapaze*, that they could have been apperceived as the same word, and thus semantic borrowing (homophonous extension) could easily take place.

4.1.2.16 *SWERNOOT*, *SWERNOTER* 'BLACKGUARD'

Initially glossed as an element in two exclamations (*jou swernootskind!* 'devil child!', *ek sal jou op jou swernoot gee!* 'I'm gonna give you a licking!'), *swernoot* was seen by Mansvelt (Van der Merwe 1971:208) and Hesseling (1899:84) as stemming from German *Schwernöther* 'someone who cusses all the time; womanizer'. Typically enough, Boshoff (1921:134) sees the word as having entered Afrikaans via Dutch, because, as he points out, it can be found in seventeenth-century farces and it is still known in Dutch dialects. Bosman (1923:116) takes a more measured approach, allowing only for the possibility that *swernoot* is a borrowing from German soldiers. Raidt (1983:66) and Ponelis (1993) are so sure of the word's German origin that they do not even bother with an explanation. That is unfortunate, because the word's history is well documented, as Scholtz (1972:169-70) lays out. Its earliest attestation is 1734 (CJ 1047 tnr. p. 109): "Jouw donderslag en swernoets kindere" 'you damnable devil

children!', followed by several other eighteenth-century instances.⁸ The full range of its application is as a noun in *swernoot*, *swernoter*, *swernoots-* (in compounds), and as an attributive adjective in *swernootse*. It belongs solely in the realm of course language.

One could construe the word's early appearance in Cape Dutch texts as evidence that it had been in use before the settling of the Cape, because words do not normally come up in texts until they have already been in use for a long time. But even if the word had been borrowed into VOC or nautical Dutch before 1652, that would not preclude the likelihood that it was continually reinforced by all the incoming Germans. After all, three of the eighteenth-century texts (1736, 1737, 1777) have a distinct German flavor, and we know that Germans were availing themselves of *Schwer(e)nöter* in their colorful testimonies penned down in the criminal courts. It is thus most likely a wholly assimilated loanword. The German [š] goes to [s], and [ø] goes to [o:], a regular sound correspondence between the two languages. Of course, there remains the possibility that there was a Dutch dialect word similar in form in a meaning that served to expedite the establishment of *swernoot* as a core element of the Afrikaans vocabulary, but that it is only hypothetical at this point.

4.1.2.17 (UIT)WIKS 'TO HIT'

In looking at *(uit)wiks*, we return to territory familiar from 4.1.2.11. Mansvelt treats it under two entries, *gewikst* 'clever' (Van der Merwe 1971:160) and *uitwiks* 'to hit' (212). That *gewiks* is not unique to Afrikaans was pointed out by Hesseling (1899:84), who cites the forms *gewiekst*, *gewikst* 'clever'. Le Roux (1921:71) did not bother with *gewiks*, and he views *uitwiks* as a borrowing of German *auswischen* 'to obliterate; hit, beat to death'. Boshoff (1921:135, 406) regards *wiks*, *uitwiks* as he regards *swernoot*: since there is already ample evidence of the word in seventeenth-century farces and in Dutch dialects, there is no reason not to regard this as an inherited lexical item. Hesseling (1923:79) maintains his view on *gewiks*, but believes that *uitwiks* is from German. Inexplicably enough, Boshoff (1936) changes his position on *uitwiks*, deriving it from German, though he is more careful with *wiks*, which he notes could well be a Dutch dialect word *wi(e)ksen* 'to whallop'.

This seems to be the right approach. *Uitwiks* could be a calque (literal creation) of *auswischen*, while *wiks* could be *wi(e)ksen*. The meaning of *uitwiks* would have been supported by *auswischen*, and the maintenance and spread of *wiks* by *wichsen* 'to beat'. The formal and semantic similarity between *wiks* and *uitwiks* probably served to reinforce one another. With the semantically and formally-related word *oorwaks* as a reference point, it stands to reason that they would form a semantic field in the speaker's mind. It is true that *uitwiks* could just be *wiks* with *uit* prefixed onto it, since *uit* is a productive suffix in Afrikaans, but the existence of *auswischen* and the connection with *oorwaks* makes the likelihood of German influence fairly high, despite its being hidden behind the form of the word. As one can tell by this point, the majority of German loans involve substituting native Dutch or Afrikaans

⁸ 1736 (CJ 340, tnr. p. 66) "doe Sweer Noots hondt moes ich haben"; 1737 (CJ 341 tnr. p. 220) "dat raakt jouw niet jouw swerenouts hond waar vraag stoe naa; ...dat kunt gjj swerenouter doen"; 1742 (CJ 576 no. 71) "of Sessie [a slave] niet heeft geroepen : hier jouw Sweere noot"; 1762 (CJ 378 p. 134) "waar Sweernoot zal ik hem zoeken"; 1770 (Swellendam 3/12 no. 37) "jouw Verdoemde Sweernoodse Luijse Vreeter"; 1777 (Swellendam 3/14) "jouw Schwere noods vent"

morphemes, which understandably complicates the identification of borrowings from German.

4.1.2.18 *VEELS GELUK!*'CONGRATULATIONS!, GOOD LUCK!'

The expression *veels geluk!*, like so many other Afrikaans turns of speech, caused consternation for Changuion (Van der Merwe 1971:17), who recommended that South Africans say *veel geluks* or *veel geluk*. Whatever the case, he claims it to be from German *vieles Glück!* 'good luck!'. This opinion was either not shared by Mansvelt or he was ignorant of its existence (Van der Merwe 1971:213). He rather sees *veels geluk* as another example of the Afrikaner's loss of an understanding of the genitive, as is also to be seen in *diksvel* for *dikwels* 'often', *verjaarsdag* for *verjaardag* 'birthday'. A middle way is achieved by Schuchardt (1885:467), who expresses certainty about the German source of *veels geluk*, but admits that there is a preponderance of analogical *s* word-finally. Hesseling (1899:86) also makes note of the importance of the abundance of word-final *s*, as in Afr. *meteens*, Du. *meteen* 'at once', Afr. *lievers*, Du. *liever* 'rather', but he also refers to the collocation *veels te veel* 'much too much', *veels te* (adj.) 'much too (adj.)' as a possible source for *veels geluk*. To be sure, *veels te* is an old construction in Afrikaans, see *KT* (2:14) (1783 "dan komt gij veels te laat" 'then you'll arrive much too late'), *KT* (10:111) (1779 "weij waren ook veels te swak" 'we were also much too weak'). Despite its ubiquity, the syntax of the two phrases does not agree. *Veels geluk* never has *te*, while *veels te* always has it.

The main problem with deriving *veels geluk* from *vieles Glück*, is that there are no other instances of Afrikaans borrowing an adjectival inflection from German. Moreover, its being a calque also complicates this idea, because then it would be *veel geluk*, since there is no adjectival inflection for neuter nouns without an article preceding them. Still, it is remarkable, because this phrase stands alone in Afrikaans. Mansvelt and Hesseling make a good point, though, when they bring up the commonness of word-final *s* in Afrikaans where Dutch has zero, because the more common this morphological unit is, the easier it is for speakers to apply it analogically. As Ponelis (1994) has shown, though, this usually occurs in compounds (*badskamer* / *badkamer* 'bedroom', *stadsplan* / *stadplan* 'map of the city') and in adverbs (*eenders* / *eender* 'similar', *rats* / *rat* 'quickly'). There are also many more plurals in Afrikaans with *-s* than in Dutch. Unfortunately, the exclamation *veels geluk* is not a compound, nor an adverb, nor a plural.

We are faced with three potential explanations for *veels*. The first is that it is German *vieles*, which is problematic because it is the only borrowing of its kind. The second is that the collocation *veels te* gave rise to it. The third is that the ubiquity of word-final *s* in Afrikaans caused speakers to over-apply *-s*, and it ended up on *veel*. All of these have weaknesses, but they all have strengths. It seems entirely possible, that, knowing what we know about how apperception works, all of these forms could have contributed to create a feel for the language that made *veels geluk* a realistic and normal phrase. That is to say, Afrikaans speakers were comfortable with *-s*, as the numerous adverbs and plurals show, and they were comfortable saying *veels*, for they already had *veels te* in their speech. Thus, taking over *vieles Glück* might not have been that difficult, because *vieles* was apperceived as *veels* from *veels te*, which felt "right", because of the familiarity with *-s*. So in a certain sense, we can say the *vieles Glück* was borrowed, but only insofar as the *s*-friendly groundwork had been laid that made possible the phrase's (partial) calquing.

4.1.2.19 VERFOES 'TO BUNGLE'

There are three theories on the origin of *verfoes*. The first and least convincing is that of Mansvelt, who maintained that the word is from two German words, *fusen* 'to hurry' and *fuscheln* 'to drink rotgut'. The former is primarily a northern word, which would make it more attractive as an etymon, and the latter seems semantically too distant to be relevant. In his first treatment of *verfoes*, Boshoff (1921:270, 271) spent most of his time on the fact that *verfoes* is known in dialects, and because of that, we should rather view it as having entered Afrikaans via Dutch. He does not identify a German source word until later (1936), where he mentions that *verfoes* need not come from *verfuschen*, which must be a typo for *verpfuschen* 'to bungle'. This is a position that Kloeke (1950:27) did not agree with, observing as he did that the form and meaning of *verpfuschen* makes it a likely source. He is right that the phonotactics of *verfoes* agree with *verpfuschen*: [pʃ] would be rendered in Afrikaans as [f], [š] as [s], and *-en* would be apocopated. And the meanings are identical, making the likelihood of a borrowing from German fairly high. There is, as Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) point out, yet another key element to the origin of *verfoes*. It usually occurs in the combination *verfoes en verformfaai* 'to bungle', and *verformfaai* is attested in the dialect of Groningen, as is *verfoesd* 'taken aback'. That is to say, that if one can narrow down the dialectal origin of *verformfaai*, the origin of *verfoes* will follow. Since both words are known in eastern dialects, dialects that are full of Germanisms on account of geographical contiguity, it is possible that, as with *oorwaks*, *verfoes en verformfaai* is a pre-immigration borrowing from German. Be that as it may, it does not disallow the possibility that German speakers who knew *verpfuschen* apperceived *verfoes* as the same word, and insured that it would spread and become a long-term element of the Afrikaans vocabulary, as it seems they did with other words considered here.

4.1.2.20 WERSKAF 'TO POTTER ABOUT'

Dutchifying the entries in his word-list was Changuion's *modus operandi*, so its phonetic value is trivial, but still, his entry for *wertschaften* 'to have household commotion' is the earliest record of *werskaf* (Van der Merwe 1971:17). Changuion offered no explanation of the word's origin, but he did note that in "O. Holl." [Oud-Hollands 'Old Dutch?'], *weertschaft* meant 'a feast', to which there is always commotion attached. Etymological interest has surrounded the verb *werskaf* (stress on the first syllable) ever since Mansvelt offered an etymology of it (Van der Merwe 1971:218). He believed that *werskaf* arose through the "unifying influence" of both German *wirtschaften* 'to potter about, busily work' and "Old Dutch" (presumably he and Changuion both mean Middle Dutch) *werschappen*, *waerschappen* 'to hold a feast'. As he mentioned, the German word agrees semantically with *werskaf*, but he implied that the form of the words does not agree. Le Roux (1921:71) is largely in concurrence with Mansvelt, though he referred to eastern Middle Dutch *werschaf*, which he probably did in order to correct Changuion and Mansvelt's malaprop. Boshoff (1921:226, 406) was initially more strident against a German derivation, since, according to him, the word occurs in Dutch dialects. Later on (1936), he softened his position some, allowing that *werskaf* might well have come from *wirtschaften*, though again he brings up that the word occurs in Dutch dialects.

Which dialects specifically is something that Kloeke took issue with (1950:26-7). The only dialectal instance of something similar is *Zaans warskippen* 'to be someone's guest for a few days' (Boekenoogen 1897:1188), which Kloeke saw as an unworkable etymon, given the presence of *-p-* where Afrikaans has *-f*. Hesseling (1923:80) and Ponelis (1993) were both of the mind that the word is indubitably German. After denying the relevance of German to *werskaf*, then allowing for its possible influence, Boshoff & Nienaber (1967) achieved a fully reconciled position by deriving *werskaf* from the Dutch cognate of *wirtschaften*, *waardschappen* 'to hold a feast, be a guest', which could have merged with *wirtschaften*. Raidt (1983:66) saw *werskaf* as a direct borrowing on the Cape, but allowed that a Dutch dialectal word could have played a role.

There are a few phonetic problems with deriving *werskaf* directly from *wirtschaften*, mostly with respect to the rendering of [š] as [sk]. As has been already shown (4.1.2.11), before knowledge of English was widespread (pre-1920s), [š] was borrowed as [s], not [sk], and there are a few issues surrounding the element *wer-*. It all becomes clearer, though, if we look at *werskaf* as a compound marginal loanblend, with Cape Dutch borrowing the element *wirt-* as *wer-*. Perhaps it was first borrowed as *wert-*, but quickly lost the *-t*, either as part of the phenomenon of [t]-apocope after [r] (Scholtz 1972:89), or of [t]-apocope before [s] (90-1). The final element *-schaften* would have been borrowed semantically into the Afrikaans verb *skaf* 'to bring about'.

4.1.3 AN EVEN CLOSER LOOK AT TWO AFRIKAANS BORROWINGS FROM GERMAN

I would like now to address two more potential borrowings from German in more detail than I did with the twenty words above. They are two fundamental elements of the Afrikaans vocabulary, and have both enjoyed sustained discussion in the scholarly literature. They are *Boesman* 'bushman, San' and the definite article *die*.

4.1.3.1. BOESMAN 'BUSHMAN, SAN'

While now falling into disuse because of its political incorrectness, the term *Boesman* has had a long run in Afrikaans. Its oldest attestation is from 1752: "die Hottentot sijde ja, want dat de Land drost dat gesijt heeft, dat hij teegens de Boessiesmans ook segge moest" 'the Hottentot said yes, because the Landrost [Reeve] also had to tell the Boessiesmans' (Van Oordt 1941:27). Before this occurrence, though, the word appeared with regularity in Cape documents from Van Riebeeck on in the forms *Boschjesman*, *Bosjesman*, *Bossiesman*, *Bosman*, all of which have the vowel [o], whereas *Boesman* has the vowel [u], similar to the crux of *koeël*. It is this vocalic discrepancy that scholars have spilled the most ink over.

There are a few theories on the origin of *Boesman*. The first is that the word is a blend of *Bossiesman* and German *Busseman* 'boogeyman' and *Buschmann* 'bushman'. The second is that it is a Khoekhoe creole pronunciation of *Bossiesman*, since the treatment of short vowels in Khoekhoe is such that [o] can often sound like [u] to a listener unfamiliar with such languages. The third is that *Boesman* is a translation of Malay *orang utang* 'forest man'. The fourth is that it is borrowing of English *bushman* in Cape Dutch Pidgin, a variety spoken by the Khoekhoe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

First and foremost among the theories on the origin of *Boesman* is that of J.L.M. Franken (1953a:144-51). In his 1912 dissertation (Franken 1912), he brought together a whole complex of Frisian, Dutch dialect, and Low German words that are all variants on *boeman*, *boe(t)seman*, *buseman* 'boogeyman', some of which are quite old; he cites Kiliaen *boesman*, Plantijn (1573) *boeseman*, and Ten Kate (1723) *boes-man*. The idea is that, because these words all have a root meaning 'small, bloated, ugly' (Lieberman 2008, s.v. *boy*), *boe(t)seman* was applied to the San, who were shorter than the Europeans and were considered ugly and fat by them, see Franken (1953a:151n5).

This groundwork was further elaborated upon in his 1938 article (it was revised and reprinted in Franken 1953a) with eighteenth-century evidence he found in the Cape Archives. The earliest instance is *boesemans* (1776), then *boessemans* (1780), *boesiemans* (1780), and *boesmans* (1787). These *oe*-variants accord well with the much more common *o*-variants: cf. *bossemans* (1799 two times, 1801, 1803), *bossie(s)mans* (1702, 1759, 1793, 1795, 1797, 1799, 1800, 1803, 1812), and *bosman* (1804). Franken notes (1953a:146) that by 1812 *bossiesmans*, *bossimans*, *bossemans* and *bosmans* alternate widely. Still, he was a scholar who was led by his data, and he could not ignore the fact that the vast majority of the time, one comes across *bossie(s)man* in old Cape texts. In order to help solve this problem, he drew attention to Frisian *buzeman*, Drents *boezeman*, Low German *bûsemann*, *busemann* and Norwegian (Riksmål) *bus(s)emand*, all of which are similar to the most common form *bossieman* in that they do not have a genitive, compound-forming *s*.

Both the existence of these words for the boogeyman and the German translation of *bos(ch)jesman*, *Buschmann*, led Franken to believe that the form *Boesman* comes from German influence. He reasoned that, given its undeniable ubiquity in archival texts, *bos(ch)jesman*, *bossie(s)man* were the original forms on the Cape. As German colonists entered in increasing numbers throughout the eighteenth century, they began to associate *bossie(s)man* with *Buschmann* and *Butzemann* and its dialectal variants. This is why the oldest textual evidence is from 1776, when German immigration had been high for four or five decades. Over time, *Boeseman*, *Boesman* overtook the older form *Bossieman*, though because it was more established, *Bossieman* was the preferred form for scribes, writing being always more conservative than speech.

Corroborating evidence was provided by L.C. van Oordt (1941), who spent many years in the Cape Archives. In 1752 *Boessiesmans* was written in a letter that also had *Bossiesmans*, in 1783 *boesmans* (in two separate documents), 1784 *boesemans*, 1785 *boessimans*, 1789 *bussemans* (written by a one Volken Schomagr [Volker Schumacher?-J.B.]), 1790 *Boesemans* and *Bossimans* in the same letter. Van Oordt (69) deemed it significant that in spending five years on documents from 1652 – 1752, he only found one example of an *oe*-spelling, while after spending one year on the period 1752 – 1795 he found the other eight. This he interprets to mean that *Boes(e)man* did not exist in Cape Dutch until the mid-1700s, a conclusion that Franken would agree with. What else is significant here, is, and Van Oordt (69) claimed as much, that there is no phonological rule [o] > [u] in closed syllables, only [o:] > [u:]. No other *bos*- words have a variant with [u] in Afrikaans, so why would only *Boesman* be affected? He concluded that only foreign influence could account for the change, and given that *Boesman* occurs with some frequency during the period 1750 – 1795 when German immigration was at its highest, it is most probable that the vocalic change in question is a result of linguistic contact between German and Cape Dutch. Du Plooy (1981:17) agrees and adds a few citations of *busemann* in Low German dictionaries.

A totally different tack is that of the chief proponent of the Malay theory, F. Rudolph Lehmann (1945). He was inspired by this passage in Van Riebeeck's diary, as quoted by Lehmann (2):

April 24, 1654: "Heden werd doot gevonden aen 't geberghte een bosmanneken, op Batavia orangh-outangh genaemt, sijnde wel soo groot als een Cleyne Calff, pertinent handen ende voete hebbende als een mensch, met lange armen en de pooten, heel ruych ende doncker grauwe can couleur, die ons volcq van honger aten, alsoo 't warmoes weynich voetsel bijbrengt." "Today we found on the mountain a dead *bosmanneken*, called orangh-outangh in Batavia, which was as large as a small calf, had hands and feet as humans do, long legs and arms, was very hairy and of a dark gray color, which our servants ate, since our vegetables are a meager source of food."

It is clear that the writer is referring to a primate, probably a baboon, since there are no other large primates on the Cape and baboons are common there. Of course he was wrong in calling it an orang-utang, since those only live in Indonesia, but the mistake is forgivable, because the writer clearly meant 'primate'. For Lehmann to have taken this, to the best of my knowledge, singular instance of *bosmanneken* as evidence of *Boesman* being a translation of Malay *orang-utang* is to have been overly hasty in trying to solve this problem. But Franken had another take on it. He saw further evidence for the German origin of *Boesman* in the name *boesmantjie* 'baboon', a dialectal word from the Knysna district of the Eastern Cape. He believed this was a relic of *bosmanneken* and not later a use of *Boesman*, though he construed the presence of <oe> in *boesmantjie* as evidence against its being a later borrowing of *Boesman*. His reasoning gets less clear on this point.

Beyond this paucity of evidence for a calque from Malay, Lehmann did not once address the central issue of the vowel change. This would have been enough to dismiss his idea, because it is precisely the vowel discrepancy that has fueled the entire line of inquiry. Furthermore, when one considers the semantic and formal overlap that one sees between *Boesman* and *Busseman*, *Buschmann*, it becomes hard to get on board with Lehmann's theory.

G.S. Nienaber (1952), who was an expert on both Khoekhoe languages and Afrikaans, proposed his own explanation for *Boesman*. He doubted that German would have affected only *bos* and not *dors*, *bond*, *ons* and other congeners that have [u] in German (*Durst*, *Hund*, *uns*). He further doubted that Germans would have had trouble pronouncing a sound ([o]) that exists in German. What is more, since, as Franken admits, the most common form of the word is a diminutive, *bossieman*, it would stand to reason that a German calque of the word would have an unlauded vowel [y], which should appear in Afrikaans as *buussieman*. Since this form does not exist, along with the other shortcomings he saw, Nienaber believed that German influence here is unproven.

He thought that the alternation [o] ~ [u] in a closed syllable was not as uncommon as Franken and Van Oordt thought. He cited *voort* 'forward' ~ *voert(sek)* 'shoe!', *knots* 'knobstick' ~ *knoe(t)s* 'knob', and the flower names *baro* ~ *baroe* *Syphia* (genus) and *kambro* ~ *kambroe* *Fockea* (genus). These latter two are loans from Khoekhoe, and were exemplary for Nienaber, because the quality of Khoekhoe vowels is so difficult for speakers of Dutch or English to understand, that they often sound higher than they are, *ergo* [o] > [u]. Add to this the fact that the Rehoboth Basters (for more on them, see chapter five) regularly say *oender* for *onder* 'under', *oens* for *ons* 'we, us' and *toet* for *tot* 'till, until', and it seemed probable to Nienaber that *Boesman* arose in the speech of the Khoekhoe.

True, the Khoekhoe are ethnically close to the *Boesmans*, and why would *Bossieman* have to change to *Boesman* in the speech of Germans? But this question implies that for there to be linguistic contact, there must be a systemic substitution of phonemes. This might be true in the speech of an individual or an isolated community, see the monophthongization of the English diphthongs [ej], [ou], [uw] to [e:], [o:], [u:] in Minnesotan English. But as we saw in the previous chapter, there was no maintenance of German communities or identity on the Cape, so the only results of linguistic contact we get are random items across the spectrum of Cape speech.

The question remains, however, why Khoekhoe speech would have affected the vowel in this one word, especially when we know that the majority of Khoekhoe loans in Afrikaans are names for plants and animals. This turns Nienaber's argumentation against German around on itself; Khoekhoe influence on one isolated lexeme is as probable as the German influence on one isolated lexeme. Den Besten (2003:189) levels a similar argument against the putative German origin of *Boesman*, and it can just as well be applied here. He maintains that the change of a word composed of two meaningful morphemes *bossie* 'scrub' and *man* 'man', to *Boesman* with the so-called cran-morph *Boes-* would not be a sensible change for Cape Dutch speakers. Perhaps, but Den Besten must not have known about another possible instance of *boes* for *bos* cited by Kloeke (1950:329) from the writings of Frederik de Smit, a German employed by the VOC: "coomende alsdan in een boesvalleye daer wy een weynich uytspannen 'having arrived in a "bush valley" where we rested for a bit' (Godée-Molsbergen 1976:113). None of this is meant to gainsay the validity of his argument, but rather to show that it applies to Khoekhoe as well as German derivations.

One final theory was offered recently by the late Hans den Besten (2003:188-90). He thought that *Boesman* was to be derived from the Cape Dutch Pidgin (CDP) word **Boesman*, which itself was a rendering of English *bushman*. This was used by the Cape Khoekhoe who could avail themselves of CDP, from whom the Dutch learned it and translated it as *bosjesman*. The main problem with this idea, is that there is no textual evidence of the CDP word and builds hypothesis on top of hypothesis. But Den Besten is noncommittal at the end of his paper, so that we need not assign too much credence to his proposal.

In the last analysis, one must rely on probabilities when assessing the various arguments for the origin of *Boesman*. Given the textual evidence at hand, there is not enough information to pinpoint the source word. But a German-Dutch origin seems the most likely. Consider the semantic field 'boogeyman' which fits European sentiment about the San, and the words *boeman*, *boeseman*, *Bussmann*, which all sound so similar to *bossieman*, and it is hard to imagine that these Cape Dutch speakers did not associate the *Bossieman* with the *boeman*. And if they did render it in German as *Buschmann*, it is again hard to imagine that it would not have contributed to *Boesman*. Still, there is not enough room in a study such as this to address the totality of the *Boesman* question, and I cannot make a claim to having had the last word here. Nevertheless, the probability of German influence seems high enough that I regard it as the foremost clarification of the origin of the word, which would make it a compound nuclear loanblend.

4.1.3.2 DIE 'THE'

In Dutch, there are two definite articles, *de* for common gender (*utrum*) – the masculine and feminine fell together in the late middle ages – and all plurals, and *het* for neuter (*neutrum*). In

Afrikaans there is one definite article for all genders, *die*. The Dutch demonstratives are neuter *dit* 'this', common gender/plural *deze* 'this, these', neuter *dat* 'that', common gender/plural *die* 'that, those'. In Afrikaans the demonstratives are *hierdie* 'this, these' and *daardie* 'that, those'. So the two problems are the loss of gender distinction in Afrikaans and the rise of *die* as the sole definite article.

There are three theories on the origin of *die* as the definite article. The first is that it developed from the Portuguese Creole demonstrative pronoun *itoe*. The second is that it is a direct continuation of Middle Dutch *die* 'the'. The third is that it is the result of the imperfect speech of French and/or German colonists. Proponents of the first two theories were at odds with one another well into the 1920s, which means that much of the works they published on the subject are responses to pieces written by other scholars. This makes surveying the two theories in separate sections difficult, so I will instead treat them chronologically.

The first attempt at determining the origin of *die* was made by Hesseling (1899:136-7). Although, according to Hesseling, Malay has no definite article, the demonstrative *itoe* is sometimes used in Malay-Portuguese Creole in an almost-definite sense. It also shares the same syntactical position with Afrikaans in being preposed, as opposed to being postposed, as it is in standard Malay. It seems as though Hesseling considered Malay and Malay-Portuguese Creole to be very closely related, because he cites Malay grammar, yet his entire line of argumentation favors Malay-Portuguese Creole as the source language. He finds further evidence of Malay-Portuguese Creole in the semi-fictional travelog of the popular novelist Justus van Maurik, *Indrukken van een Totòk*, 1897. In it, he put these words, presumably heard by him when he toured Indonesia, in the mouth of the *Sinjo's* 'biracial male in Dutch Colonial Empire': "Hij spugen hart uit die lijf, ja! ... Op die couchette lang uit liggen. ... Die boot so slingeren" 'He barfs his heart out of his body! ... To stretch out on the couchette ... The boat rocks so much'. What Hesseling did not mention, however, is that the author Van Maurik states outright in the introduction that his book is not a scholarly, thorough, comprehensive work on the Dutch East Indies. It is comprised of his impressions (Van Maurik 1897:VII). Still, it is entirely possible that Van Maurik heard Sinjos using *die* where *de* or *het* is proper, and so his linguistic portrayal of them might very well be accurate in this respect.

Less *belles lettres* than Van Maurik is a letter written by two overseers on Robben Eiland to Governor Van Riebeeck, in which they use *die* instead of *de*: "Die tuyn gaat oock wel, hadden wij maar meer saet om te saaynen, die koolplanten groeijen wel, die geele wortelen ook wel" 'The garden is coming along well, if only we had more seed to sow, the coleworts are growing well, the yellow carrots well too' as quoted by Hesseling (1899:137). This he took to mean that the overseers picked up their use of *die* 'the' from the slaves with whom they worked so closely. This is to affirm the consequent, a converse error: If VOC men say *die* 'the', then they learned it from the Sinjos. The VOC men said *die* 'the'. They learned it from the Sinjos. Whatever the veracity of Van Maurik's characterizations, they are only circumstantial evidence in this case. It seems equally possible that the Dutch of VOC men, whether sailors or soldiers, showed a greater preference for *die* over *de* and *het*. It seems also possible that the Sinjos latched onto this form when they spoke Dutch, and thereby helped perpetuate its further usage. But borrowing it from the Sinjos is not the only explanation for VOC men using *die* where one would expect them to have used *de*.

The first scholar to rebut Hesseling was Kruisinga (1906:420-1). Where Hesseling saw a first attestation of a new use of *die* in the mouths of Dutch speakers, Kruisinga saw an old form that never died out. His reasoning goes like this: *die* was a definite article in Middle

Dutch, and we know that Afrikaans can be conservative, given that it retains old *skē-* [sk] where Dutch now has *sch-* [sx] (e.g. Afr. *skool*, Du. *school* 'school', Afr. *sku*, Du. *schuw* 'shy'). Perhaps it retained this old form. He admitted in a footnote that there is not enough evidence of *die* being used uninterruptedly into the seventeenth century, so the idea of retention loses persuasiveness. Might this not be correct, Kruisinga offered ancillary evidence for his conclusion. Some languages have developed definite articles from old demonstrative pronouns, cf. French *le, la* from Latin *ille, illa*; Greek $\delta \eta \tau \acute{o}$; English *the*. Perhaps Afrikaans has repeated the process *dem. art.* > *def. art.* that occurred between Old Dutch and Middle Dutch and yielded *die* 'the'. Additionally, the demonstrative article *dit* has become a personal pronoun in Afrikaans, which Kruisinga saw as comparable to the postulated change of demonstrative *die* > *die* 'the'.

Hesseling penned a rejoinder to Kruisinga (Hesseling 1906), in which he addressed the issue of the definite article. Hesseling (482) saw Kruisinga's argument that Afrikaans repeated the evolution of the definite article as doubtful, given the fact that in Latin, Greek and English, before the demonstrative article became a definite one, there had not ever been a separate form for the definite article, so that in these cases the article arose through differentiation. The processes cannot be seen as comparable, because Cape Dutch speakers would have had to unlearn *de* and acquire *die*, thus a case of substitution, which Hesseling sees as highly improbable.

The gap in *die*-use between late Middle Dutch and seventeenth-century Dutch was filled by Bosman (1916:97-9) who found numerous examples of *die* as a definite article in the writings of the traveler Linschoten and in other VOC-related documents. Bosman saw this textual evidence as proof enough that *die* never ceased to be used in Dutch, but that it became less and less preferable over time. While he was satisfied on the question of continuity between Middle and seventeenth-century Dutch, Bosman was not satisfied with the hitherto-offered explanations of why *die* should have won out over *bet*. He implied that it is because *die*, much more so than *bet* did, had a much wider range of application. It was used for masculine and feminine, all plurals, and as a demonstrative pronoun. *Het* was limited to neuter singulars. Clearly, the high frequency of *die* would have made it the most noticeable pronoun to non-native speakers.

Bosman ended (99) by remarking that just because Sinjos said *die* instead of *de*, it does not follow that when Dutch speakers said *die*, it came from the speech of Sinjos. He rightfully pointed out that English and French speakers were also known for their preference for *die* over *de*, but that does not mean that Dutch speakers are using an Gallicism or an Anglicism. What is more, in the Negerhollands of the Danish Antilles (U.S. Virgin Islands), the exclusive definite article is *die* (Hesseling 1905:92), and there can be no talk of Malay influence in the Caribbean.

As he did in the case of Kruisinga's paper, Hesseling (1916a) quickly published a rebuttal to Bosman in which the problem of the definite article was again contested. This time, Hesseling offered strictly historical and speculative arguments. He asked if the presence of *die* in Van Riebeeck's diary is really a case of the retention of an old article, or if it is not rather more realistic to assume that Van Riebeeck picked this usage up in Indonesia, where he spent the majority of his life. He also wondered if we should really believe that Van Riebeeck, who came from a well-off family in Kuilenburg, brought this usage with him from the Netherlands, where, as far as we can tell, it had ostensibly been moribund for some time. He ends with an important point, that the existence of *die* in Negerhollands probably stems from sailor speech.

As a corrective to this debate which was already getting heated, J.J. le Roux (1919) dug up more examples of *die* 'the' from the beginning of the seventeenth century. He saw these instances as proof that *die* was not limited to sailor speech, and that it probably came from the Netherlands into both nautical Dutch and Afrikaans. He also admitted that *die* was certainly waning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but that it had not disappeared. This short paper received a prompt and brief response from Hesseling (1919), who genteely accepted that he had been overly hasty in his claims about the absence of *die* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch (95). But, he pointed out, while there are numerous instances of *die* in the first half of the seventeenth century, what we need is evidence from the latter half of that century, and the occurrences of *die* are anyway insignificant in number compared to those of *de* in the 1600s. Hesseling further remarked, that the line between demonstrative and definite article is by its very nature blurred. Many of the passages quoted by Le Roux and Bosman could just as easily be interpreted as either emphatic or demonstrative, and need not be seen as definite articles. Finally, Hesseling engaged in more circumstantial reasoning. We know that *die* was more common in nautical Dutch, and we know that amongst VOC sailors some knowledge of Creole Portuguese was fairly widespread. Is it not remarkable, Hesseling asked rhetorically (96), that Creole Portuguese had only one demonstrative article *ackel*, which is a reduction from *aquelle*, *aquella*, *aquillo* (he goes into more detail on this point in Hesseling 1916b:287). For all these reasons, Hesseling maintains his belief in a Malay-Portuguese Creole etymon for *die*, though he offered no explanation as to whether it was Malay *itoe* or Creole Portuguese *ackel* that is the semantic source of *die*.

In returning to this debate, which had been dominated by Hesseling, Bosman (1923:93-4, 110-1) took a more neutral position. The dubious connection between the Malay demonstrative pronoun *itoe*, which is only used like, not as, a definite article, and the preponderance of *die* 'the' in nautical Dutch is Bosman's starting point. He correctly observed that even if *die* 'the' were a Malayism, Hesseling's argument in favor of *itoe* would still not be sufficient proof of direct Malay influence.

If a medieval definite article required foreign influence for its continuation, Bosman opined that German would be the best candidate language (93-4). He then cited a series of *die*-instances in the seventeenth-century Dutch of a German, which illustrates the preference that German speakers have for *die* when speaking Dutch imperfectly. Nevertheless, Bosman (94) thought that recourse to German was unnecessary for a phenomenon that could just as easily be an inherited Dutch form.

In his first attempt at marshaling textual citations, Bosman erred in only quoting from seafaring literature. Since Hesseling regarded *die* as a Malayism in nautical Dutch, Bosman's examples lost their persuasiveness. This time Bosman (110-1) brought up Bredero's use of it, which he learned of from Le Roux (1919). Bosman went further still and claimed that *die* was used in dialectal Dutch up into the 1900s. He found some examples in a Rotterdam newspaper, and got in touch with the author of the piece that he excerpted them from. The man assured Bosman of the accuracy of the quotes and that they were indeed definite and not demonstrative articles. Unless Hesseling wanted to consider *die* 'the' in the rural speech of the Netherlands as a Malayism, then, according to Bosman, the creole hypothesis is no longer defensible. It might well be possible to accept Malay influence on the Afrikaans definite article, but that would not apply to the writings of Bredero and to dialectal Dutch. German, not Malay, seemed to be most reasonable to Bosman.

Fittingly enough, Hesseling has the last word in this twenty-four year controversy (1923:116-8), though he failed to strike the same neutral tone that Bosman did. As

counterevidence to the idea that a medieval Dutch pronominal form lived on in the Netherlands until it was exported to South Africa, Hesseling mentioned Van Halteren, who concluded in his dissertation that by the 1500s *die* 'the' was used less frequently than it had been. Hesseling also relayed the verbal confirmation he got from the editorial staff of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* that by the 1700s, *die* was dead. Bearing this in mind, he reasoned, is it realistic to assume that *die* 'the' lived on in the Netherlands until new life was breathed into it in South Africa? He finds this unacceptably fanciful, yet he finds his own circumstantially-based argument for *itoe* perfectly reasonable.

Thus far there have been some key points made: 1) The loss of grammatical gender was widespread amongst sailors and those associated with the VOC; 2) *die* was used as a definite article amongst sailors and Sinjos; 3) *die* can be found in texts from the 1500s and 1600s. All of the contestants agree on point one. There is supporting evidence of this in Stolz (1987:292-4) showed that all overseas varieties of Dutch (New Netherland Dutch, Berbice Dutch Creole, Negerhollands, Afrikaans) have either *de* or *die* as the only definite article. This can be considered a tendency in Dutch stemming from the pre-colonial time.

On point two, Bosman and Hesseling agree on the historical facts, it is just when it comes to interpreting them that the two diverge. Hesseling's argument that VOC men picked up *die* from the Dutch of Malay speakers is lacking in direct evidence. What is more, and Hesseling could not have known about this, Den Besten (1997:314-43) has shown that the creole Portuguese in South Africa was not Malay-Portuguese, but rather Indo-Portuguese, spoken in South India and Sri Lanka. It is clear that the Malay theory is no longer viable. Be that as it may, the existence of *die* 'the' in VOC speech still requires an explanation. Bosman's idea of inheritance is not incredible, but Hesseling was right in pointing out that the number of *die* examples pales by far in contrast to the number of times *de* comes up. So when Bosman mentions Van Riebeeck's diary in this respect, he is not painting a complete picture, for, as Du Plessis (1934:57-8) illustrates, *die* as a definite article is the exception, not the rule in Van Riebeeck's writings. But all is not in Hesseling's favor either, since it was not just the laborers on Robben Eiland who used *die*, other writers use it too (58).

The scope of the textual evidence for a *die* 'the' in seventeenth-century Dutch is not, however, limited to VOC documents, as Le Roux (1919) showed. Additional examples from Bredero are provided by Van der Spuy (1946:14), and Scholtz (1963:125-6, 134-7) collected numerous other examples from Cape archival texts, so that we can be more sure that *die* was, if not a popular, at least a semi-common variant. He was also right that sometimes the meaning of *die* is ambiguous, and could be read as either a demonstrative or a definite article. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that *die* was a less common but not-yet moribund variant of *de* until the mid-1600s in the Dutch-speaking world. It also seems clear that we can be fairly certain that nautical Dutch had widespread loss of *het*, and that *die* 'the' was far more common in it than in the Dutch of the Low Countries (Scholtz 1965:134). It is just the origin of this form that caused trouble.

With Hesseling's theory out of the way, all that is left are the ideas that it is an inherited, purely Dutch form, and that it is the result of German influence. Bosman is the only one of this period to bring up German, but he always regarded it as the best explanation *only if* a theory of foreign influence *had* to be propounded. Some further discussion is provided by Kloeke (1950:34-5), who, after having read the Dutch of a few Germans working for the VOC, and after realizing that many Germans who have a working knowledge of Dutch over-use *die*, decided that it was entirely possible that Afrikaans has German to thank for its definite article.

In an early work on the decline of the two classes of nominal gender in Afrikaans, Scholtz (1965:122-45) addressed the entirety of the demonstratives in Afrikaans, marshaling textual evidence for all categories: demonstrative, relative, reflexive, personal. The great value of his study is its comprehensiveness, but he also proposed a new theory for the pronominal system in Afrikaans, and consequently a new theory for *die*. He (137-8) pointed out that in contrast to Dutch, Afrikaans always retains a fuller form of the pronoun, that is, one without schwa. Dutch pronouns can either be emphatic and have a full vowel or they can be unemphatic and have schwa. So, in Dutch, the unemphatic form of *daar* is *er*, whereas Afrikaans only has *daar*. This also applies to the pronominal system. Dutch has, alongside *ik, jij, hij, zij, het, wij, jullie, zij*, the unemphatic *'k, je, ie, ze, 't, we, je, ze*. Contrast this to Afrikaans *ek, jy, hy, sy, dit, ons, julle, hulle*. Also, Scholtz reasoned, the definite articles in Dutch *de* [də], *het* [ət] in Afrikaans there is only *die* [di]. By illustrating this tendency in Afrikaans, Scholtz was trying to show how *die* should not strike us as surprising, being that it, like the rest of the pronominal system, has a fuller form. He believed that Afrikaans does not tolerate reduced forms. He finds further proof of this in the demonstratives, which are monosyllabic *die, deze, dit, dat* in Dutch, and disyllabic *hierdie, daardie* in Afrikaans.

This theory of Scholtz's did not gain much ground, and essentially died off when he returned to the subject after having worked through the several hundred pages of Cape Archival texts excerpted by L.C. van Oordt (Scholtz 1972:35-43). In it, he found even more evidence that by 1750, *het* had died out in Cape Dutch (35-36). Similarly, his conclusion that by 1750 *de* had given way to *die* was lent further support in these new archival documents (36), in fact, he pushed the date back ten years to 1740. Those same passages that provided this insight, provided another one: that many of the instances of *die* where one would expect *de* or *het* are attributed to Germans, whether the text was written by or contains the speech of a German. The citations begin relatively early, in 1713. Scholtz interpreted this in the following way. If German speakers were using *die* in Cape Dutch only for cognates that would have *die* in German, then the texts would be meaningless, but this is not the case. In fact, more than half of all the instances are not cognate. From this Scholtz decided that there was no other conclusion to draw than that the Germans on the Cape picked up this usage from the Cape Dutch speakers they lived with (38).

The next scholar to address the German aspect of this problem is Edith Raidt, Scholtz's former student and his greatest champion. She agreed with Scholtz in his findings, and added that the loss of the neuter is all over the place in the writings of French speakers, so that when reckoned together, one can safely conclude that the imperfect Cape Dutch of foreigners was *the* main factor in the evolution of the Afrikaans demonstratives (Raidt 1983:150-1). Ponelis, another Scholtz enthusiast, is less enthusiastic about possible German influence. First he leaves open the possibility that German might have contributed to the deviation in the definite article in Afrikaans (1993:20), but then later in the same work (166) states that although many of the early instances of *die* in Cape Dutch documents occur in the usage of Germans, not too much should be read into this.

Still, as Nienaber (1953:249) pointed out before Scholtz, Raidt and Ponelis could weigh in on this, the data from New Netherland Dutch are especially insightful in this case. We know that New Netherland was colonized by VWC (*Vereenigde West-Indische Compagnie* 'Dutch West Indies Company') associates in the 1620s and 1630s, about a quarter century before the Cape Colony was founded. The two groups almost surely came from the same population in Amsterdam, and as such the Dutch that evolved in New Netherland can be informative. In New Netherland Dutch, *het* was replaced by *de*, and *de* remained the definite article. It did not become *die*, as in Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. Had Afrikaans *die* not been supported by German

speakers, Nienaber reckons, *de* would probably have been the sole definite article in Afrikaans.

What one can gather from the foregoing, is something like this. The definite article in Dutch was on a road to becoming solely *de* throughout the 1500 and 1600s, though *die* was still used. In sailor and VOC Dutch, *die* seems to have been more popular than it was in mainland Dutch. This form was what Indonesians, Sri Lankans, and south Indians picked up in their Dutch, further establishing *die* as a VOC form. It is probable that Germans contributed to the spread of *die* in nautical Dutch and in Cape Dutch as settlers on the Cape. It is therefore a homologous loanshift.

4.1.4 APPERCEPTION AND BORROWINGS FROM GERMAN

When reviewing the twenty-two brief etymologies given above, the lack of certainty one can have when trying to pin down a word's origin is striking. This frustrated Kloeke (1950:13-4), but it should not frustrate the researcher who looks at this seemingly inconclusive body of evidence as conclusive evidence of apperception. The fact that *aandag* might be inherited, a homologous extension, or a partially assimilated loanword shows how, when two languages with a low linguistic differential are in contact, the nature of that contact is associative, apperceptive. If it were a homologous extension, then the signifier, in this case the word *aandag*, was that which was previously known, and the signified, *Andacht*, was the novelty that was understood via the previously-known. This experience can be repeated. As with *aandag* uncertainty surrounds *blits*, *laer*, *oorwaks*, and *wiks*; they leave questions about the word's origin. They are undefined in an associative blur, they could be Dutch, they could be German, they could be both. They belong to the intuitive, pre-cognitive state where reasoning is not conscious, but intuitive, see also Grüner (1982:41).

There are other kinds of borrowings that are less obviously apperceptive in nature. Among the partially assimilated loanwords we can count *balderjan* and *peits*. Some words (*blas*, *blits*, *gans en gaar*, *six*) fit into either the category of unassimilated or wholly assimilated loanword, because the phonemes are shared by the borrowing and loaning languages. *Swernoot* is a wholly assimilated loanword. Sometimes an inherited form is not a borrowing from German (*koeël*, *niksnuts*, *piets*), sometimes it is (*jaarbonderd*, *omsons*, *stols*), and sometimes it could be either (*verfoes*). All inherited forms, however, probably received support on the Cape by German speakers who would have gravitated towards familiar forms. The case of *strawasie* is instructive, because it shows how messy linguistic contact can be, being both a wholly assimilated loanword and a homologous extension. *Veels geluk* would seem to be a homologous extension, though it is hard to say with certainty. *Werskaf* could be a compound marginal loanblend, but until its etymology is settled, the jury will remain out. As one can see, there is truly a lack of certainty surrounding the German words in Afrikaans. Kloeke did not like this fact. I regard it as insightful.

When people subconsciously borrow from another language, they can sometimes associate the new word with a pre-existing one, and then extension occurs. As we can see from the German influence of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans, there are numerous cases of extensions. There are also loanwords, which are less apperceptive in nature, though unassimilated loans or folk-etymological formations do show an abduction with the previously-known.

4.1.5 INTERPRETING THE IMPACT OF GERMAN ON AFRIKAANS

We have now seen the whole range of words that have been called German by one scholar or another. Many of them did not prove to be German, many others did, as the more in-depth discussions of twenty-two individual words has hopefully shown. All of these word histories were, however, written by their respective authors in order to prove a certain point about the German element in Afrikaans. In order to contextualize their conclusions, there are a few historical points that need to be reiterated.

It is widely accepted that the Germans who settled on the Cape already spoke Dutch, however broken it might have been. This knowledge they either got during their years working for the VOC or because they came from areas of western modern-day Germany that were actually Dutch-speaking in the 1600 and 1700s. What is more, many of the immigrants came from Low German-speaking areas, and given the strong linguistic affinity between Low German (LG) and Dutch, their linguistic shift was probably a very easy one. Almost all of them had been employed by the VOC for some time when they were released from service and offered the opportunity to remain on the Cape. Once there, they were quickly absorbed into Cape society. This is in part because they were already able to speak the language of the colony, but also because they were almost all men. This meant two things. First, that they were not able to marry German women and form German-speaking households. Second, that they ended up marrying Cape Dutch women (usually widows), and consequently established Cape Dutch-speaking homes. That the Germans had been settling down on the Cape from 1652-1795 at a piecemeal rate also meant that they were unable to form the kind of linguistically-insulated communities that emerge from whole families and villages emigrating. They were all individuals, and were thus easily assimilated into Cape society. All of these historical facts have been interpreted by different scholars to mean different things.

This range of factors has been taken to mean that the influence of German must have been small (Hesseling 1899:33; Boshoff 1921:403; Scholtz 1970:84). The idea is that because these immigrants would not have been speaking German or learning Dutch on the Cape, their native tongue would not have had an affect on Afrikaans. This was countered in a series of works by Bosman (1916:125; 1923:29; 1927:70), who reasoned that, precisely because they already knew Dutch and were quickly absorbed into Cape Dutch society, their influence must have been high. A less enthusiastic, yet sympathetic position was taken by Nienaber (1953:240), who thought that the small number of identifiable words from German probably does not reflect that actual, higher contribution it made to Afrikaans. Scholtz, who had initially eschewed this opinion, warmed up to it in later years (1979). Usually, Scholtz regarded linguistic variation in the texts of Germans as a diagnostic of what was happening in Cape Dutch. He figured, that because most of the variations in German's Cape Dutch did not accord with German cognate forms, they did not arise from their native tongue, rather they learned these forms on the Cape (1972:4). He never fully agreed with either conclusion about what the Germans' rapid uptake into Cape society meant, though he did concede that the potentially large number of loanshift creations (he writes *Lehnübersetzungen*) makes it hard to be specific about the German influence on Cape Dutch/Afrikaans (Scholtz 1963:234).

The key element to both of these positions, is that the formal similarity of German, Dutch, and Afrikaans makes identification of borrowings very difficult. No one took issue

with this, see Schuchardt (1885:466), Bosman (1916:124; 1923:28), Boshoff (1921:405), Le Roux (1921:70), Hesseling (1923:20), Nienaber (1953:240), Scholtz (1963:234), Raidt (1983:68). For Hesseling and Boshoff, this was proof positive that the German influence has to have been small. The reasoning goes, that because German speakers had such an easy time altering their own idiom into something very approximate to Dutch, the influence of their speech would have been neutralized because of its few deviations. Bosman thought this was the exact reason why their speech would have been influential. Because it was so close, one must assume that there would have been less resistance to its input. Its proverbial foot was in the door. There are a few things to comment on here.

Old Cape Dutch texts show us that there was a great range of Germans' command of Dutch (see Appendix A). Some spoke poorly, others very well. And of those who fell inbetween, it is likely that their speech could have been very influential because it was both riddled with Germanisms, but was close enough that their Cape Dutch interlocutors would have not felt the great distance one does when speaking with a foreigner who has a poor command of the target language. When one considers other cases of languages in contact that have a low differential and the results of that contact, i.e. Old Norse-Old English and the simplification of the definite article in the latter language, it is not surprising that German-colored Cape Dutch could have had a great impact.

Another sociological factor of great importance is the role of women's speech. The received wisdom is that the mother has a greater impact on the speech of children, or at least she did back when women's gender roles were much more rigid, and this would effectively have neutralized what little influence these older German fathers could have had. While this has been mentioned in a by-the-way fashion, no scholar except for Edith Raidt has bothered to investigate women's speech on the Cape. She brought out two long studies, "Vrouetaal en taalverandering" 'Women's speech and language change', and "Taalvariasie in agtiende-eeuse vrouetaal" 'Linguistic variation in eighteenth-century women's speech', both of which have been reprinted in Raidt (1994:175-216; 217-57, respectively), see also Schoeman (1997).

Raidt begins with the truism that women's writings are in general better sources for natural written language (1995:178). Fortunately enough, it happens to be the case that Cape Dutch texts written by women are never in line with the standard of the time, whereas some texts by men are (187). Clearly, women's texts in Cape Dutch are more reliable sources of natural language than men's. The pertinence of women's writings to this study is that, as Raidt sees it, some texts show variations that these women must have picked up from their German husbands. There were many Cape women who married Germans, but here are four that Raidt was able to get particularly good background information for. Maria van Hoeven, born in Zeeland, married Jurgen Petersen van den Heever from Holstein on the Cape in 1713, and has, according to Raidt, numerous Germanisms in her letters that could be attributable to the speech of her husband (226, 254). Maria Koster, born 1703 on the Cape to a German father and Cape Dutch mother, married two Germans. Hester Roux, who came from good Huguenot (French Refugee) stock, married a German in 1711, and Raidt suspects Roux picked linguistic items up from her husband (228, 254). Catharina van As, born 1695 on the Cape, married three Germans and was known for having a foul mouth, which Raidt attributes to her husbands, all former soldiers (225). Hesseling liked to mention that the speech of the mother far outweighs that of the father in a child's rearing. If that is indeed the case, then the few women mentioned above have already given us proof that women's speech could have been influenced by that of their husbands, and in this way certain Germanisms could have been transferred to children.

Another favorite point to mention for Hesseling was that, given the remarkable number of German swearwords, and the fact that most of the seventeenth-century German immigrants arrived after having led adventurous, intemperate lives, almost all the Germanisms in Afrikaans are cusswords (1899:109-10; 1923:78-9), see also 3.7. If she were here, Catharina van As might well agree with that. This he substantiates by quoting a soldier from Brandenburg, who is upbraiding someone (a Herrnhuter?) on the Cape: "Dou beernhuyter, waarom veragt's dou een soldaat? Alshoon dat's dou een paruyk draagt, met een rok met silvere knopen, ik schijts in dier. Wan's dou nou maar een woord spreek, sal ichs dou den hals breeken." 'You, shithead (?), who are you to look down on a soldier? You might be wearing a wig and a robe with silver buttons, but I shit on you. If you say one word, I'll break your neck.' (79). When, according to Hesseling, we read this kind of language and think of all the German swearwords we've seen (see 4.1.2.4), it becomes clear to us why in South Africa *Hes* means 'clutz', *Swaab* means 'numbskull', and *Polak* means a haughty person. Schonken (1910:75-6) parrots him and Le Roux (1921:70), like Hesseling, sees the German contingent on the Cape as not having belonged to the most refined class of people, as is reflected in Afrikaans' borrowings from German. Boshoff found this kind of reasoning dangerous and advised against it (1921:406-7), while Scholtz warns that not all Germanisms in Afrikaans are vulgar (1979). While it is dangerous to draw historical conclusions from linguistic information, it also just might be the case that the Germans who did settle on the Cape were a bit rough around the edges; perfect types for imperfect language acquisition.

4.2 THE LOW GERMAN ELEMENT

Due to the large number of German immigrants who came from the LG-speaking area, LG has been seen by many as a factor of potentially great importance. There are a few linguistic opinions out there on LG influence, and most agree on one fundamental point, that the linguistic affinity between LG and Cape Dutch/Afrikaans makes the identification of potential LG loans very difficult. While there are some shared themes throughout this scholarly conversation, the best way to illustrate the range of ideas on this topic is to deal with the authors chronologically, as was done in section 4.1.

4.2.1 J.J. LE ROUX, *HANDLEIDING IN HET AFRIKAANS VOOR NEDER-LANDERS*, 1921

We can start with Le Roux, who, although succinct in his comments, represents a general sentiment about the LG inheritance in Afrikaans: "Wij geven de Hoogduitse vorm aan, hoewel er reden is te geloven, dat juist 't Nederduits veel invloed heeft gehad" 'We give the High German form, even though there is actually reason to believe that Low German had a great impact' (1921:70). This belief was shared by Boshoff, but he had much more to say on the topic.

4.2.2 S.P.E. BOSHOFF, *VOLK EN TAAL VAN SUID-AFRIKA*, 1921

The most fully elaborated view of LG influence was written by Boshoff, who begins by tackling the question of the very existence of LG loanwords (1921:272). He posits that most of the Germanisms in Afrikaans probably came in via LG, because those words also occurs in LG and they would have had a better chance of being taken up via a LG ingress. Neither of these reasons is particularly compelling. The former because the mere existence of a word in both High and Low German does not say anything about the probability of LG as the loaning language. What does say something about that probability is the latter statement, implying as it does that LG, because of its formal similarity to Dutch, would have been an easier lect to borrow from. The sociological data on the LG immigrants also fueled Boshoff's thinking here. Given that LG is so formally close to Dutch, Boshoff concludes that it would be better to classify LG with Dutch (405). He goes on that the Saxon (eastern) dialects of Dutch also have many of the words that have been considered German, so we need not ascribe a German origin to them, when they could just as well have come from dialectal Dutch. He does, however, correctly point out that these words' occurrence in LG would have been advantageous for their inclusion in Afrikaans.⁹

In a later section (402), he quotes Kolbe (1727:I, 70) and Sparrman (1787: I, 86)¹⁰, both of whom commented on the different German dialects heard on the Cape, and decides that there must have indeed been various dialects spoken on the Cape in the 1700s, but that they might not have been the same ones mentioned by Kolbe and Sparrman. Knowing what we do about German immigration to the Cape, this conclusion does not seem far-fetched. That being the case, the existence of LG on the Cape should be considered a fact. The question then becomes what one should do with this fact.

4.2.3 G.G. KLOEKE, *HERKOMST EN GROEI VAN HET AFRIKAANS*, 1950

Kloeke was no great believer in the importance of LG in the evolution of Afrikaans. He went to lengths to show how LG had been in decline for so long by the time the Cape was settled by Europeans, that its role would have to have been insignificant (14-20). Beyond this sociolinguistic consideration, there is the linguistic argument that Kloeke makes about the formal recognizability of German loans. Since LG is an unshifted west Germanic dialect, the

⁹ "Uit die voorgaande opmerkings moet dit duidelik geword het, dat dit vandag al heel moeilik is om die vinger op bepaalde woorde en uitdrukkinge te lê en dié vir leengoed uit Duits aan te sien. Byna alle woorde ens. van so'n aard in Afrik. kom ook in verskillende, veral oostelike, Ndl. dialekte voor, of bestaan nog in Platduits. En waar moet ons die isoglossgrense trek tussen Nederlands en Platduits vir die 17^{de} tot die 18^{de} eeu? Sou dit nie miskien beter wees, ten minste van die Afrik. standpunt uit, om van die *Nederlandse* en die *Platduitse* taalgroepe saam as die *Nederduitse* groep te praat nie?" "It should have become clear from the discussion above, that it is difficult to pinpoint certain words or expressions as German. Almost all similar words and expressions in Afrikaans also appear in different, primarily eastern, dialects, or they still exist in Low German. And where are we supposed to draw the isogloss border between Dutch and Low German in the 17th and 18th centuries? Would it not be better, at least from the Afrikaans perspective, to speak of *Dutch* and *Low German* together as *Low Dutch*?" (405). This comment cannot be related to the later, synonymous term *Low-Dutch*, because that word's coiner, J.F. Bense, had not yet published his dictionary (1939) when Boshoff made this suggestion.

¹⁰ Boshoff cites the Dutch translation of Sparrman, as is common in Afrikaans scholarship, but the original is Sparrman, Anders. 1783-1818. *Resa till Goda Hopps-Udden, södra Pollkretsen och omkring Jordklotet, samt till Hottentot- och Caffer-Landen Åren 1772-1776*. Vol. 1, 1783; vol. II no. 1, 1802; vol. II no. 2, 1818. Stockholm: Anders J. Nordström. Why he does not verify the translation against the Swedish original is unclear, because in the previous citation of Kolbe, he takes the time to double-check the German against the Dutch.

formal detectability of potential borrowings is very low. Take, for example, Kloeke's view that *werskaf* should be counted among the potential borrowings from German. Were this a LG form, it would be *werskap*, and Kloeke would have regarded it as a Dutch dialect word. That is to say, LG forms are impossible to detect formally, which leaves Kloeke making an *argumentum ex silentio*: there is no evidence of LG borrowings, therefore there are no LG borrowings. He believes this in spite of the difficulty in identifying those borrowings.

Beyond the important points he makes about the socio-historical aspect of LG, he also put his finger on an issue that is important for the rest of this study, most notably in dealing with Siegling (1957). The most widely-cited East Frisian source is Ten Doornkaat-Koolman (1882), which Boshoff used as a LG source. Kloeke (18) rightly points out that East Frisian is not a good dialect to cite, because it has a long history of borrowing words from Dutch, so anything in that dialect that accords with Afrikaans, could well have originally come from Dutch, not LG.

Finally, that Dutch played an important role in the areas where Rhenish Platt was spoken during the years 1660-1800, is to Kloeke (19) proof positive that LG was not spoken on the Cape. Along with LG, Kloeke adds the eastern Dutch dialects as being of no importance in the history of Afrikaans. He concludes by asserting his claim that the lack of formal identifiability leads only to vague implication and hunches. As we have seen, the great formal affinity between Dutch and LG makes the identification of borrowings impossible on a formal basis. A more fruitful area of investigation is that of semantic loans, which, on the other hand, can, indeed would have occurred on the Cape.

Impracticability of detection and semantic borrowing both have linguistic affinity to thank for their existence. The former because of the *werskaf*-style problem, the latter precisely because formal similarity is easily apperceptible, and semantic loans are after all apperception par excellence.

4.2.4 G.S. NIENABER, OOR AFRIKAANS, TWEEDE DEEL, 1953

One of the key points that Nienaber makes in respect of LG, and this also incidentally applies to High German, is that the identification of LG loans is made more difficult by linguistic affinity (239-40), see also Scholtz (1963:233-4), Grüner (1982:41). He reasons that as a result of this, the number of relatively sure German loans in Afrikaans is especially low and does not reflect the actual German contribution. Nienaber is fairly sure that *sy blus is uit* 'he is dog-tired', *siemies* 'capriciousness', *gaip*, *kietsie* 'kitty' and *poliets* 'smart, canny, precocious' are from LG, and he thinks that *aandag*, *ganse gaar*, *halfte*, *hang*, *jaarihonderd*, *kats*, *keratie en pletie*, *niksnuts*, *omsons*, *peits*, *sens*, *skans* 'bulwark', *sneller*, *swets*, *verfomsfaai*, *vergange*, *vervlaks*, *vrek*, *wiks* and possibly *blits*, *piets*, *uitwiks* could all be from either Dutch, High German or LG (240-1). As a direct outgrowth of this circumstance, Nienaber decided that one must, in addition to direct influence, factor indirect influence in too, even though all one can do is provide hints. In this respect, we should see mutual reinforcement in the words that could just as well be derived from Dutch, Low or High German. A dialectal word could have facilitated the borrowing of a similar-sounding German word or vice versa. Nienaber was in agreement about how to interpret this corpus of potential loanwords, but he did not mention apperception and its role in this case of intra-Germanic dialectal contact.

4.2.5 E.-M. SIEGLING, *DIE VERWANDTSCHAFT ZWISCHEN AFRIKAANS UND DEN NIEDERDEUTSCHEN DIALEKTEN NORDDEUTSCHLANDS*, 1957

Siegling is one of the two monograph-length studies we have on LG; Du Plooy below is the other. In this respect, her work is important, but it suffers from a lack of sufficient synchronic and diachronic knowledge of Afrikaans and Dutch, as Grüner (1982:42) also points out. For example, instead of using the most recent studies of OS at the time of writing the dissertation, Siegling used Kiliaen (1599) as her touchstone for identifying OS vocabulary. While Kiliaen is an impressive and insightful work, it was far from being at the cutting edge in 1957. Another related, problematic choice was to take up those words in Kiliaen that are identified as "sächsisch-friesisch", because the East Frisian dialect had been subsumed by the Saxon dialects surrounding it. Apparently the existence of West Frisian dialects in the Netherlands or North Frisian dialects in Germany and Denmark were immaterial to her reasoning, to say nothing of the misgivings Kloeke aired about citing East Frisian as a LG source. The methodological irregularities in her work are numerous, and a full-length critique lies beyond the scope of this dissertation, so in lieu of that, a few representative problems are sketched out below.

She claimed *as* 'if, than' (Du. *als*) has to be LG, because of the loss of *l*, which is common in LG (147). This is clear to her, because in standard Dutch *l* is retained, and when it is lost, it is because of carelessness, as if slovenly speech has no bearing on the history of Afrikaans – J. du P. Scholtz had no such qualms, indeed he attributed the loss of the intervocalic velar fricative to just that (1963:190). What is more, turning to modern standard Dutch to verify the provenance of a given pronunciation in Afrikaans is unsound, because Dutch had not yet been standardized – though there was a semi-standard lect in chancery-style VOC Dutch – when Afrikaans was forming (Scholtz 1981), so its current pronunciation is irrelevant in this context. What is most likely, and Nienaber would probably have agreed with this, is that there was a Dutch dialectal form *as* that was supported by LG *as* and gained enough currency that, by the time standard Dutch *als* came around, the form *as* had become too entrenched to be lost; for more on Dutch dialectal *as* and its relation to Afrikaans, see Le Roux (1968b:324).

Even though she takes recourse to standard Dutch in much of her argumentation, one gets the impression that she was not fully informed on the workings of Dutch orthography. For example, Siegling reasons that the Afrikaans words *afmars* 'to march off', *gans* have to have come from LG, because in Dutch the words are *afmarsch*, *gansch* (148). Word-final <sch> in Dutch is pronounced [s], not [š]. Further ignorance is displayed in her claim that <w> is pronounced when between <au> and <e> (148), which it is not. The spelling is etymological.

All is not lost, however, because she almost hits the mark with the Afrikaans word *bemp* 'shirt' (Du. *hemd*), noting that in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and on Rügen *bemp* is the regular form. That LG speakers heard the variant *bemp* in South Africa and helped its spread is most probable, but her comment "Die Veränderung von d zu p muß daher wohl auf Einwanderer aus diesen Gebieten zurückzuführen sein" 'the change of d to p must therefore be attributed to immigrants from these areas' displays is also troubling. The change is not *d* > *p*, rather it is

mt > *mpt* > *mp*. Excrescent *p* arose¹¹ in early modern Dutch, was brought to South Africa, and while there it underwent the regular loss of word-final stops after liquids and sibilants.

Siegling's discussion of the vowels in the words *vir* 'for', *neut* 'nut', and *deur* 'through' does not flatter her. She sees a much greater affinity between the Afrikaans words and their LG cognates *vör*, *nöt*, *dör* than with standard Du. words *voor*, *noot*, *door*, all with [o:]. It is true that the Afrikaans vowels are more similar to the LG ones, both being mid-vowels, but this where one's cheeks begin to redden. She first misconstrues the vowel in *vir* as [ø], when it is in fact a schwa. She further confuses herself when she states that "Lautliche Ähnlichkeit zeigt sich auch in Zusammensetzungen wie vörsichtig-versigtig, vörbi-verby" 'phonetic similarity is also visible in compounds such as vörsichtig-versigtig, vörbi-verby'. Siegling seems to think that the difference in spelling (*vir* ~ *ver*) indicates a difference in pronunciation. In fact, the spelling with <e> is a merely conventional rather than phonetic spelling for the derivational morpheme *ver-* (Du *voor-*), in order to bring it orthographically in line with the other prefix of the same spelling. The meaninglessness of her observation is illuminated further by knowing that the spelling <vir> is relatively late; throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, <ver> was the most common. As regards *neut* and *deur*, the problem is not that the vowel in Afrikaans is closer to the one in LG than it is to the one in St Du, but rather that she did not know that [ø:] is the vocalic congener of Du [o:] in the dialect of Holland, the dialect that lies at the foundation of Afrikaans. It is astounding to look at the bibliography and see Kloeke (1950), a work in which he, a specialist in the dialects of Holland, devotes considerable space to precisely this vowel (73-100), and read no discussion of these particularities.

The experience can be repeated. When addressing the etymology of the word *baklei* 'to quarrel', a word which is almost universally recognized as coming directly from Malay *barkalahi*, she notes that the loss of *-r* in the Afrikaans word speaks against this Malay derivation, "denn gerade das r in der Mitte eines Wortes pflegt in Afrikaans scharf ausgesprochen zu werden und erhalten zu bleiben" 'exactly because the r in the middle of a word tends to be sharply pronounced and retained'. What "Mitte eines Wortes" means, is unclear. Presumably it does not mean intervocally, because that is not the case with *barkalahi*, so it must just mean anywhere in the middle of a word, be it post-vocalic or whatever else. Siegling got her D.Litt. from the University of Pretoria, in an area of the country where Afrikaans speakers did indeed tend to retain any post-vocalic [r]. But in the Boland well into the 1950s, weakly-pronounced [r] was still common, and it has remained so amongst Coloured speakers to the present day, the very community that descends from active Malay speakers in the Cape (Ponelis 1990:40)¹². While Ponelis's historical phonology had not yet been published, Poole's University of Capetown master's thesis on Malay and Portuguese words (1951) had, and one would expect that she had knowledge of it, done as it was under J. du P. Scholtz' advisement. In any event, Siegling sees East Frisian *bakkeleien*/*pakkeleien* as the word's source, agreeing with Ten Doornkaat-Koolman who says it is the dialect word *packen* with a diminutive suffix. Beyond the difficulty of citing only Ten Doornkaat-Koolman, it is much simpler to see *barkalahi* having been borrowed – as many other Malay words were – into early seventeenth century Dutch by people connected with

¹¹ Forms such as *genaempt* 'named' and so on are absolutely the norm in early modern Dutch and consequently also in the VOC documents written at the time. A better question is why *hemp* became the standard and not *genaamp*, and therein lies the true role of LG in the formation of Afrikaans.

¹² Interestingly enough, the so-called *bry-r* 'uvular r' (*bry* means 'to speak with a uvular r'), which is unique to a certain area of the Cape, might have come from German according to Ponelis (1990:39).

the VOC. It was then further reinforced on the Cape by the incoming Malay speakers in the mid-seventeenth century as well as the sailors from all over northern Germany who must have had some familiarity with this word before they had even left Europe. And if the East Frisian word above had any currency during 1660-1810, then perhaps it was brought to the Cape and served as a basis for apperception of *barkalabi*.

In all of the words above, the role of LG should not be denied. It has been my contention throughout that these are precisely the types of instances in which apperception has led to a substandard form gaining prominence in Afrikaans. That is to say, it is no less insightful not to regard these words as LG borrowings, but rather to ascribe their perpetuation to the comfort LG speakers had with them, which is just another way of saying that LG speakers apperceived the words and thereby helped spread them.

What is truly valuable about Siegling's investigations, is that by the 1920s already there were numerous extensive dialect dictionaries of Dutch or closely-related Germanic dialects. They all required comparison with the vocabulary of Afrikaans¹³, and Siegling was the first to deal with Ten Doornkaat-Koolman in this way. This alone makes Siegling's study useful, even if it is generally weak.

4.2.6 F. D. DU PLOOY, *EINIGE BEOBACHTUNGEN ZU NIEDERDEUTSCHEN EINSCHLÄGEN IM AFRIKAANSEN*, 1966; *MOONTLIKE RAAKPUNTE TUSSEN PLATDUITS EN AFRIKAANS*, 1981

Du Plooy's first work on the LG element in Afrikaans was a short article (1966). He compared certain Afrikaans words with similar LG forms which he found in twelve LG dialect dictionaries. In order, however, to preclude any criticism of his methods, he qualified the ensuing comparison by calling attention to the fact that LG was not the only language that suffers from a paucity of texts from the 1600 and 1700s; this is also true of both dialectal Dutch and early Afrikaans. So Kloeke's argument in favor of Dutch dialects in the formation of Afrikaans is as lacking philological evidence as Du Plooy's is. Both rely on a certain amount of speculation.

When we bear in mind that there are probably many semantic loans from LG in Afrikaans, some of Du Plooy's etymologies seem fairly convincing. The verb *afhou* 'to hold a child out to pee' could be a calque of synonymous LG *afhollen*, as *afhouden* does not have this sense in Dutch (160). Another possibility is *melkebaard* 'first hair on a pubescent boy's face, peach fuzz'. In Dutch it means 'unexperienced boy; lover of milk', but LG shares the same meaning with Afrikaans (164).

In the second study he brought out (1981), Du Plooy makes a good point in citing a questionable source, namely J.F. Bense (1939). He quotes Bense (1939:xv), who writes "Owing to the close affinity of English and Low Dutch, it is in many cases very difficult, if not practically impossible, to make out whether an English word has come down from the speech of the Low German tribes who settled in England during the fifth and sixth centuries, or has been borrowed at a later date from some Low Dutch dialect." (Du Plooy 1981:3). This state of affairs should be familiar by now. Furthermore, "It is possible that Low Dutch words passed into Old English ... but the difference between native Old English

¹³ J. du P. Scholtz (1985) and Franken (1912) did a great deal of excerption of these dictionaries in the early twentieth century, though Franken was more preoccupied with the eastern Saxon dialects than Scholtz, who did not concentrate on a single area.

and the imported Low Dutch words, if any, must have been so very slight, that the Anglo-Saxon borrowed them unconsciously; or, if he did so consciously, he must have found them so much like his own native speech, that he adopted them without having to go through the process of naturalization or adaptation" (ibid). That is just another way of saying that the Anglo-Saxons apperceived OD and OS words as their own.

Many of the same words were taken up into Du Plooy's second, monograph-length study (1981), but he also increased the number of words included; from 27 in (1966) to 165 in (1981). There is not enough space here to deal with all these words, so a few will have to suffice.

Game names are notoriously hard to etymologize. While the Afrikaans stick game *kennetjie* has not yet been explained to universal satisfaction, Du Plooy offers a novel explanation. The most common approach to *kennetjie* [kənəci] is to connect it with two synonymous words: Groningen dialect *koanje*, and East Frisian *kunje* (Scholtz 1965:170-1). To these two words Du Plooy adds the Lüneburg dialectal word *Käin*, which also indicates the same game. He wonders if a diminutive form of the word, *Käinke*, was not exported to South Africa, according as it does with the Afrikaans meaning as well as the palatal suffix (33). Whether or not *kennetjie* is directly traceable back to *koanje*, *kunje* or *Käin(ke)*, as in so many other cases we have seen, the possibility that these words were somehow brought over together with their respective games is not to be excluded. The potential here is that both a word and an activity were apperceived by LG immigrants.¹⁴

There are more than a few proverbs in Du Plooy (1981), and, as one can expect, some are convincing, and others are not. A good example of the former is *uitgebak wees by iemand* 'to be in someone's disfavor'. Du Plooy connects this to Schleswig-Holstein dialectal *he bett bi mi utbacket* 'he means nothing to me', and to Altmark dialectal *bi denn' hast útbackt* 'my friendship with him is over' (47). This seems a far more reasonable derivation than, for example, tracing the saying *een van sy varkies is weg*, or *hy het nie al say varkies nie* 'he's not all there, he has a screw loose' to a similar phrase found in Schleswig-Holstein and in Mecklenburg; i.e. *he bett een vun sien fief Swin verloren* and *bei bett sin fiv Swin ok nich up 'n Hümpel*, respectively. The wording of the two is too different, and while *Swin* could have been translated as *varkie*, the lack of overall concord between the two makes this possibility less than likely.

Finally, Du Plooy is not shy to offer some only modestly insightful connects. Such is the case with *algar* 'everyone, all of them', which he connects with MHG *algar* 'all ready; totally, completely'. No etymology is offered, merely the association with MHG, which is strange, since the object of his study is LG. A similar instance is that of *nukkerig* 'moody, cranky', in which he admits that it is merely interesting that the LG form *nückerig* 'moody, cranky' is so similar to the Afrikaans one. He also addresses the exclamation *verduikers/verdeikers* 'darn it!', agreeing that it is a euphemistic pronunciation for *verduiwels* 'dammit!', and then going on to marshal three examples of similar words in LG.

Whatever its weaknesses, Du Plooy's study is important because of its range and the research that it covers. There are ample opportunities for apperception-based etymologies in his work, as there are in Siegling's, the other long study on this topic.

¹⁴ This situation can be likened to that of cricket and baseball in the Netherlands, where both games have a strong following. One can but wonder if the stick-and-ball games that already were being played in the Netherlands (see De Cock & Teirlinck 1903:III, 36-46) somehow served to ease the adoption of cricket and baseball when they were introduced, ca. 1850 and 1910, respectively. Clearly, apperception is a psychological process that applies to any social item, see Weinreich's comments on religion in 2.5.3.

4.2.7 M.C.J. VAN RENSBURG, *OOGLOPENDE RAAKPUNTE TUSSEN AFRIKAANS EN PLATDUITS*, 1988; E. KOTZÉ, *'N FONOLOGIESE VERKENNING VAN DIE NEDERDUITSE DIALEKTE – 'N AFRIKAANSE PERSPEKTIEF*, 1994

The last two contributions to the study of LG and Afrikaans are phonological in scope. The more exiguous of the two is Van Rensburg, who observed that there are so many sound correspondences between Afrikaans and LG that a thorough comparison of all the linguistic material should be made (46). This might change the numerous non-Germanic etymologies proposed for Afrikaans words, e.g. *baie* (47), see below. The value of Van Rensburg is questionable, because he cites as LG only Luxembourgish forms. While it is true that Luxembourg is north of certain Low-High German isoglosses, the Speyrer-Linie, for example, it is not a LG dialect in the same way the dialect of Lüneburg is, which lies north of all the isoglosses. What is more, many of the points of agreement that he draws our attention to are probably look more coincidental than systematic.

Kotzé is less optimistic about the value of such comparative studies than Van Rensburg. He believes that we need far more information on the LG area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries before any claims can be made about the LG influence on Afrikaans (142). Kotzé, unlike Van Rensburg, took all of northern Germany into consideration, and his study is of far more value. His notes on intervocalic [b] > [w] are useful, as are his comments on vowel-lowering. But, as with Van Rensburg, his study is not exhaustive, and there are numerous factors to consider when doing phonological comparisons. One should, for example, survey the entire continuum of eastern Dutch dialects and northern German dialects to see if there are not some other potential lending dialects, for more on this see Taeldeman (1996). There could be agreement between LG and Afrikaans that is merely so due to happenstance. The topic is so huge, that it would require a dissertation all of its own. Even if phonological comparisons between LG and Afrikaans have been insufficient up till now, the possibility remains that those similar pronunciations did indeed live on in Cape Dutch. If LG speakers, regardless of where they came from, apperceived certain Cape Dutch phonemes as their own, they probably favored those forms that agreed with what they already knew from their native dialects.

4.2.8 SUMMARY

The influence of LG on Afrikaans is characterized by its opacity. All researchers have commented on this, and it remains as true today as it did in 1921 or 1953. And yet despite this lack of indubitable evidence, given the number of LG immigrants in South Africa, it would be highly unlikely if their speech had left no trace on Afrikaans. True, they probably knew High German and Dutch just as well as their native dialect, but surely their native dialects would have colored their mastery of either of those languages, as it colored their Cape Dutch. In the last analysis, there is far more work to be done in this area, lexically, phonologically and syntactically, though we should not be surprised if, yet again, pinpointing the effects of linguistic contact between these Germanic dialects are as elusive as they have ever been.

4.3 THE ETYMOLOGY OF *BAIE*

This is a word that is the truest result of apperception, being as it is the outcome of several etyma, Frisian *banjer*, Low German *banni(g)*, Malay *banjak*, and possibly Malaysian Creole Portuguese *baë*. It is used both adjectivally and adverbially.

4.3.1 THE SYNCHRONY OF *BAIE*

The word is widely-used and many speakers take liberties with it, but despite that there are four definitions that we can easily talk about:

a) As an indefinite adjective of quantity, either nominally or adjectivally: 'many, much', e.g. *Baie was hier gewees* 'Many were here', *Baie mense was hier gewees* 'Many people were here', *Sy dink baie* 'She thinks a lot'.

b) As an adverb of degree preceding an adjective: 'very, to a great extent', e.g. *'n Baie groot vliegtuig* 'A very large airplane', *Die fietser ry baie vinnig* 'The cyclist rides very fast'.

c) As an adverb of time: 'often', e.g. *Ons gaan baie soontoe* 'We often go there', *Die Eerste Minister is baie in Kaapstad* 'The Prime Minister is often in Capetown'.

d) As a dialectal and infrequently-used adjective: 'good, fine', e.g. *Hy is 'n baie kêrel* 'He is a fine fellow', *Dis 'n baie perd* 'That's is a good horse'.

There are only two officially-recognized compounds with *baie*, namely *baiekeer* and *baiemaal*, both of which mean 'oftentimes'. The word has an emotional value that tends towards the more everyday, informal aspects of speech. In bible translations, for example, the tendency is to use more Dutchified language, so the declined form of *veel*, *vele* is more preferred; also note that *te baie* 'too much' is considered uncultivated and *te veel* is given preference. In official speeches, though, *baie* is now felt to be the normal word, and one does not feel the compunction expressed by J.J. Smith seventy years ago (in Smith 1965:176-7). It is noteworthy, however, that well into the twentieth century, as is evidenced by Smith's article, Afrikaans speakers were conscious of their usage of *baie*, a fact that attests to the word's long history of being strictly an item of informal speech.

4.3.2 THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF *BAIE*

There are forty different spellings,¹⁵ but the primary ones are *baia*, *-e*, *baing*, *banja*, *-e*. The philological record of *baie* can be divided into three kinds of texts: Dutch, Afrikaans and non-Dutch (German and English). As is the case with many of the defining features of Afrikaans, *baie* is first attested in the latter half of the eighteenth century, in an anonymous document from the Swellendam archives:

¹⁵ They are as follows: baai, baaie, baaien, baaije, baaijing, baaing, bai, baia, baiang, bai'ang, baie, bâie, baië, baign, baiing, baija, baijang, baije, baijeng, baijing, baim, bain, bân, baing, bäing, bainje, baja, bajan, bajang, baje, banja, banjak, banjan, banjang, banje, banjer, banjing, baya, baye, bye. List taken from Smith (1965: 175).

1769: "Dat den relatant (burger P. S. van der Merwe, oud 25 jaaren) op een zeekeren dag geweest is bij den burger luitenant Mr. Gerrit Hendrik Meyer sonder den netten dag of datum te kunnen noemen, Dat wanneer de Vrouw van boven gemelde Meyer aan den relatant gevraag heeft, Neef Piet hebjeij al banje ossen..." *KT* (3:33)

Bearing in mind the definitions provided above, *banje* could mean either 'many' or 'good, fine'. It would be ideal to see the rest of the passage, however, Van Oordt – the excerpter and editor of the texts – does not give it. Nor was I able to locate it amongst his papers in the *Van Oordt-versameling* in Gericke Library at the University of Stellenbosch. So we are left with context in order to determine the meaning. One could think that, because the sense 'good, fine' is often seen in relation to animals or people, that such is the case here. However, if one considers the mood of the sentence, that it is inquisitive and not indicative, it would seem that the meaning is rather 'many'; the sense 'good, fine' does not seem to come up in questions. That is, it would make more sense to ask someone "Hey, Piet, do you have many oxen?", rather than, "Hey, Piet, do you have fine oxen?" Assuming, then, that its meaning is indeed 'many', it is only the form which differs from modern *baie*. This will be dealt with later.

The next, also anonymously penned instance is both simpler than the above and notable because it was clearly written by someone who was a foreigner:

1780: "... hebbende sijn Swager den Oud Heemraad Willem Morkel, bij soo eene gelegenheid aan het Magazijn tegenwoordig, van diergelijke aangebragte Tarwe uit een der sakken verthoont, en gevraagd wordende, of het niet schandelijk was, zulk vuil koorn bij de Edele Comp. te brengen, daarop zelve moeten zeggen: dat is seer, of soo het door sommigen alhier gedrukt, banje vuil..." Franken (1953a:142n5)

Here there is no need of context. The writer himself says that *banje* is used in place of *seer* by "sommigen", which Scholtz (1963:153) claims to be in reference to whites. The significance of this is that many of the most typical Afrikaansisms (the use of *oms* in the subjective, the use of *die* instead of *de* or *het*) are first attested in the mouths of slaves, and usually only decades later is there an instance of whites using them. For this Afrikaansism to be first attested in the speech of whites implies that it is far older than 1780, or 1769, for that matter.

The following is just as semantically clear as the previous, but is notable for showing again that the form *banje* was very common in the eighteenth century:

1785: "en dat hy van Reenen hem aldaar zes plaatzen en banje vee en paarden ... zoude geven" *KT* (3:33)

The final example from this century comes from the Dutch diary of Louis Reinders:

1793: "30 Dec. 1793 ten anker gekomen op de Reede van Portsmouth zijnde een zeer goede haven maar het was er banjer koud" Franken (1953a:204n46)

The most noticeable aspect of this form is the presence of word-final <r>, though the strength of its pronunciation was likely to have been weak (Ponelis 1990:40). Also noteworthy is the fact that this example comes from a document written in and pertaining to

Europe, not the Cape. The importance of this will become clear when we look at the origin of *baie*.

Just to show that the above is not an aberration, another instance of *banjer* is to be seen in the following excerpt from the journal of the Dutchman J.W. Janssens:

1803: "Op de vraag of zy het by de Christenen niet beter als in de crael had? zeyde zy volmondig neen, dat zy het zeer slegt had, en banjer (veel) slaag kreeg, en dat zy, by haar ouders wel behandeld wierd." Godée-Molsbergen (1932:185)

An interesting aspect of this passage is that Janssens saw fit to use *banjer* at all. The speech of the Khoekhoe woman is indirect, so there is no need for him to be true to her exact words. By providing the reader with the word *banjer* and its gloss, Janssens is trying to relate a turn of phrase characteristic of the Cape Dutch/Afrikaans-speaking peoples. From this we can infer that *banje(r)* was already the common word at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The following example comes only two years after the above, and is the first time we see a variant with word-final [ŋ]:

1805: "dat het de Grootte Baas banjang spijten zal" Theal (1911:384)

Here we see in *banjang* hints of two common forms, *baing* and *banje*. This is the last example we have from Dutch texts. All subsequent occurrences are in Afrikaans texts. The earliest of these is by Marten Douwes Teenstra, a Dutchman who, after catching a bad cold and getting rheumatism in his foot, was forced to spend a few months in 1825 on the Cape, taking in the healthy, dry airs. While there, he noticed that the Dutch of the colonists was rather strange, and in the sixth letter of his travelog he gives a sample of Cape Dutch. It is no more than a page and a half, but is of great linguistic value. In it, he has the Boer husband and wife both speaking Afrikaans, though it is only the wife who uses the word *banja*.

1825: "Voorzichtig, mijnheer! die stoep is banja hoog, dat zal niet braaf gaan nie.", "Het pad (de weg) zal braaf nat wezen, het heet banja geregend." Bosman (1943:240)

This is also the first time we see the variant *banja*, which comes up frequently throughout the nineteenth century. The *-a* here is unlikely of etymological consequence; there are numerous cases of schwa-lowering in Afrikaans: e.g. *Janrappe* > *Janrappa*, *malve* > *malva*, *tante* > *tanta*, etc. It does, however, make the form *banjang* seem like less of a departure.

As does familiarity. The newspaperman, sworn translator and writer of doggerel, Joseph Suasso de Lima, self-published a few humorously-intended sketches in Afrikaans, and in them he makes exclusive use of the form *banjang*:

1828: "de Baron van de Policie, heeft het banjang drok, en die eer moeten wy hem nageven, dat de Straten mooi zullen worden" Nienaber (1971:23)

This excerpt comes from a letter published on Sept. 24, 1828, whose supposed author is called "Mietje". As a girl from Stellenbosch, a town imbued with rural life and at the same time a cultural hub, we would expect her language to be colored with both native Afrikaansisms and put-on Dutchisms. One such affectation would be the avoidance of

banjang and the preference for *heel*, *veel* and *zeer*. But in point of fact, her usage of those terms does not deviate in any meaningful way from the way they are used in Afrikaans to this day. She writes "zoo veel", which is not uncommon in Afrikaans; "so baie" can sound a bit uncultivated, though plenty of educated speakers will say it in informal speech. She uses the declined form of *heel* in the phrase "heele party", which, again is a common phrase in Afrikaans, though now it is simply *heelparty*. The only case where *banjang* could have been used but was not, is in the clause "Er zyn veel Indische Heeren in de Stad", which is similar to the sentence above in so far as it is normal Dutch with nothing Afrikaans about it except for the word *banjang*. But it is also possible that because the sentence is about "Heeren", it would have felt stylistically uncouth to use the prosaic *banjang* in describing them.

In Mietje's following letter, De Lima has her use *banjang* twice, and their spellings do not match:

1828: "Nu nog wat, ik heb de Kleine Dalima gezien op de Burgerwacht met potlood in de zak en banjang papier"; "Mynheer Borgers is een brave man, hy doet eerlyke Regt, en wie verbruit had, zou gewis boetis betalen, maar die veel spreekt het banjan te verantwoorden." Nienaber (1971:26)

The reasons for the spelling without *-g* could be that it was simply a typo, or it could mean that both <ng> and <n> word-finally are different ways of representing a nasalized vowel. Interesting though these orthographical questions might well be, the second example is most notable for the Dutchy proverb "die veel spreekt het banjan te verantwoorden", because the first clause is totally Dutch (*die* for 'he who', *veel* instead of *banjang*, *spreekt* for *praat*), and the second is mostly Afrikaans (*het* for *heeft*, *banjan* for *veel*).

So De Lima's 1828 letters, written in a non-malicious, lampooned Afrikaans give way to the next example by "Paay Schaapie de Oude", though in truth we cannot say with any surity who the author is:

1829: "ik hoor ook van neef Crisjan dat banjan mensen nie meer in de kerk wil gaan" Nienaber (1971:33)

Scholtz (1965:68-9) maintains that the writer was neither a native speaker of Afrikaans (he thinks he was English), nor was he from Graaff-Reinet (he thinks he was from the Cape), as Paay Schaapie claimed. Either way, the form of the word is familiar, and further informs us about the variants with currency at this time.

Another writer who was not a native speaker of Afrikaans is Charles Etienne Boniface, from whose writings the following examples are gleaned:

1830: "Die tyd was ik nog banje schelmagtag, das waar; dat wil ik weete. ... toe is ik heen gegaan en het een beetje van die brandewyn getapt; maar, nie banje, nie!" Nienaber (1971:38); "Kan nie meer banje werk doen!" (39); "Ach, Kyk! wat weet ik nou? daar stond zoo banje dinge daarop: wie kan nou alles onthouwe?" (40); "Is dat dan zoo banje geld, honnert Risdaals, sjeur?" (41); "Hulle seg dat hy zo banja leugens geschryf het in een Boek" (45)

Boniface put Afrikaans in the mouths of Coloured characters, which was a common enough practice at the time. One gets the impression that everyone was speaking Afrikaans at the time, but whites were too embarrassed about it, so they attributed it to the Coloureds whose

social standing was so low that to put a mongrel form of Dutch in their mouths would offend no one whose opinion they cared about.

Regardless of the race of those who said *banje* and *banja*, both of these forms attested in Boniface's writings are already familiar to us. What should be noted here, though, is that Boniface had been living for a long time in the Eastern Cape, and perhaps *banja* and *banje* were eastern variants, while *banjang* and its ilk were Cape ones. At variance with this idea would be the example from Teenstra, who in his travels never went farther than to Caledon in the eastern Boland, an area which is, dialectally seen, still in the Cape.

The following letter is, according to Nienaber (1942:XIV-VX), written by a white Afrikaner from Swellendam, and is not, as the previous samples are, the construct of a non-native speaker:

1830: "Ik hoor en ziet dat bayen dinge wat gebeur in jou Courant kom, zoo als verlede week het jy van di Swellendamse tenders geschryven, maar hoe kom tog dit myneer van die Zwellendam Schutkraal niet schryve, maar ik geloof dat mynheer daar nog niets van weet. Hoe kom tog dit Swellendam een aparte wet het, wie maak tog die soort van wette, ik geloof die man trek al te bayen ponde op zyn gemak" Nienaber (1971:52)

This is the first time we have come across the spelling *bayen*. Nienaber (1971:53) apparently sees it as a spelling of *baie*, presumably with final <n> to indicate nasalization of the vowel. Since the writer is an ostensible native speaker, the spelling *bayen* is of particular interest. It is possible that we have here a pronunciation not unlike the one of *banja(ng)*, the only difference being that the first vowel would also have to have been nasalized, so that non-native speakers would perceive a nasal consonant there and thus write *banje* and similar forms. Outside of phonetic considerations, the words *heel*, *veel* and *zeer* do not come up, so that one can fairly presume that *bayen* was probably the only comparative that this writer used in his speech.

Another white farmer is, according to Nienaber (1942:XV-XVI), the author of this text, which is mostly concerned with the farmer's hometown, Beaufort in the Eastern Cape:

1831: "maar ik zal nie betaale voor dat ik ziet dat hulle daaraan gaat - want de Baufoortse mensche die kan nou al tedanig banjang wint make - hulle praat veul, maar hulle voer weinig uit" Nienaber (1971:57)

Interesting here is that in the same sentence the writer uses both *banjang* and *veul*. The use of *banjang* could be explained as an emotive form, for the writer is clearly expressing frustration in that clause. He is so frustrated, in fact, that he adds a superfluous *al tedanig*, which was a very common near-synonym of *baie* in the nineteenth century – it is in the vast majority of Afrikaans texts from this time. What makes the clause with *veul* noteworthy, though, is that both *veul* and *weinig* are Dutch words; their Afrikaans equivalents are *baie* and *min*. In light of this, we can fairly assume that *veul* was probably as moribund an element of his vocabulary as was *weinig*, and we should not attach too much meaning to its occurrence. What is meaningful, though, is that there are only three other instances in this letter in which the writer does not use *banjang* where he could have; in those passages he uses *te danig*.

By way of minor digression, Nienaber (1971:62) suspects that the letter these two sentences were excerpted from were written by De Lima, which is notable because here the young lady uses *banje*, not *banjan(g)*:

1833: "ik kan zeggen ons banje pret heeft gehad", "op die party is banje kaapse heere gewees" Nienaber (1971:61)

Either this means that there was great fluidity between forms in this period of Afrikaans, or that the writer is in fact not De Lima.

Apropos *banje*, it only appears once in the philologically very important diary of Louis Trigardt:

1837: "De mijt, ik kee nie om; maar ik de Bosmans banje onkoste kedaan, van Calidon." (Le Roux 1964:96)

The speaker is Albach, a German immigrant who married a Coloured woman and whom Trigardt lampoons throughout his diary. He puts the broken Cape Dutch of the Coloureds (or maybe of the Khoekhoe) in Albach's mouth, and translates him whenever he has cause to mention Albach. Clearly, Trigardt saw *banje* as a form unfit for writing, but it is also possible that he did not use the word very much, because, for all its Dutchisms, Trigardt's diary has a flow to it that at once shows the reader how well read he was, and yet leaves the reader fairly convinced that it is quite close to how he spoke.¹⁶ Still, given the number of examples we have already looked at, it strains credulity to think that Trigardt and his cohort were so linguistically cultivated that the only time they heard *banje* was when speaking to Coloureds or Khoekhoe. Indeed, it is much more likely that *banje* emerged when they spoke informally, and was thus one of the hallmarks of their diglossia.

Whatever the case, Trigardt was born and raised in a Boland family, and when he struck out on his own, lived mostly in the Eastern Cape, in Graaff-Reinet, Somerset East, and Uitenhage. He had to have been familiar with *banje* and its variants.

One of the most discussed Afrikaans texts from the 1830s is called *Kaatje Kekkelbek; or Life Among the Hottentots*, written by the South African geologist of Scottish birth, Andrew Geddes Bain, and possibly co-written by Fred Rex, both English speakers, though Rex was apparently a fluent speaker of Afrikaans (Nienaber 1971:74):

1839: "maar ons Hotnots, will jy g'lo, is bayaan slimmer, ons weet wel wanneer ouw Kekwis rond kom" Nienaber (1971:68); "want als een mens wil ryk word in England, jy moet maar bayaan kwaad spreek van de Duits volk" (70)

The whole piece is written in a mish-mash of English and Afrikaans, and despite being authored by non-native speakers, the Afrikaans sentences are strikingly good. J. du P. Scholtz did an analysis of the Afrikaans and concluded that, while there are some cumbersome passages, the language in *Kaatje Kekkelbek* could well be a reliable depiction of the Afrikaans of the Eastern Cape at that time (Scholtz 1965:67). Whatever the case, the form *bayaan*, while having an Anglicized spelling, is clearly the same as the Swellendam farmer's *bayen*, and which Scholtz (*ibid*) equates with *bajan*, a form that he sees as unrefined.

Most of the texts that have hitherto been discussed were written by non-native speakers. Teenstra, Boniface, De Lima, and Bain (& Rex²), have all been put under the microscope

¹⁶ I have discussed the idea that Trigardt's diary provides a basically accurate reflection of his speech with the Afrikaans expert Prof. Paul Roberge, and he too was inclined to think this is the case.

and their places in the history of Afrikaans are unchallenged. Of them, though, only Boniface achieved the status that our next writer, Louis Henri Meurant did. Meurant was born in Capetown to a French-Swiss father and an English mother, though when he was seven years old, his mother died and his father placed him in the custody of the Afrikaans family Smit. Thus Meurant grew up speaking Afrikaans, though, as Scholtz (1965:32) points out, he was more English than Afrikaans, and always felt more at home in the former. Nevertheless, he wrote reams of Afrikaans letters and stories in the years 1844-1850, and his language remains of cardinal import for the history of Afrikaans. Meurant used various spellings of *baie*, viz. *bajang*, *banja*, *banjan*, *banjang*, *banyan*, *banyank*, *bayan*.¹⁷ In Meurant we see a microcosm of the lexical diversity that characterized *baie* in the nineteenth century. As we have already seen in this abridged textual history of *baie*, the earliest forms are limited to *banje* and *banjer* – which, given the historically weak pronunciation of post-vocalic [r] in Afrikaans (Ponelis 1990:40), might well have been homophonous – and as the nineteenth century grinds on, forms such as *bajang*, *banja*, and *banjang* were proliferating. Indeed, while Meurant uses mostly the forms he does, other writers from the same time were using the familiar *banja*, *banjang*, *banje*.¹⁸

The textual tradition of so-called Arabic-Afrikaans gives us insight into what was common amongst the Muslim Cape Malays in the mid-nineteenth century. These are Afrikaans text written in Arabic characters, and it must be borne in mind when using them that they have been transliterated. The earlier of the two texts is a catechism and has an uncertain date. Van Selms (1951:22) notes that the barely legible date on the book looks to be 1268 AH, which corresponds with 1851 CE. This, however, seems to be too early for Van Selms, given the look of the book itself. He therefore posits that the book appeared in 1868,

¹⁷ 1844: "ander wil de gouernment hier na toe twee Komsaars stuur die ons te danag banjang zal laat betaal" Nienaber (1971:89); 1844: "...en nog banjan meer... Banjan slegte dinge ook." Nienaber (1971:91); 1845: "ons zel bayan moet betaal ... mar die nuwerwetse mens wat so slim is bayan der van schelm is" Nienaber (1971:102); 1845: "Nou daag ik uit, wie zal zeg dat zoo banja brandie drink beter is als om voor die buttige krant te tyken... Ik het banja keer gezien, byna heel dag zit mense by die brandie; ... Want dat het die gouernement zoo banjan zware dinges op ons pak, zoo gou als die mense wat een beetje slim is memories aan die hooikerrels stuur, dan ziet hulle mos beetje banjan af van hulle oplagen en dinges. Ja, als die meisje en oom Mias hulp heeft, hulle zoo banjan aan ons land kan doen." Nienaber (1971:103-4); 1845: "ik het al bajang van die ding gehoor, maar nog nooit gezien. ... jou kop is klein, maskie is jou naam Grootkop, maar daar zit banjan in." Nienaber (1971:108, 110); 1846: "Ik het soo banjan voor jou nou te skreyf dat ik regtig niet weet wat ik eers aan jou sel vertel"; "als al de Afferkaners zo was als ik, sal alles reg kom, want een ouw man, of oom J., die banyan weet, het meyn gezeg det teenswoordig alles onderstebove is"; "Denk tog Maandag nag, het hulle de nigozie winkel van neef Kowes Meintjes oopgebreek, en banyan goed daaruit gesteel, ook banyan gouwen ponden" Nienaber (1971:120-1); 1846: "Das waar, wat neef Wysneus zeg en de krant, dat hier nog nie Averkanders geloop het nie na Engeland om kos te zoeke nie, zo as banyank Engelmanne hierso gekom is, en hulle word hier somaar groot Maneer."; "Maneer de drukker zal voor ons kwalyk neem dat ons voor hom zo banyank laat druk" Nienaber (1971:123-4); 1849: "Want als dat zoo is zoo as die Engelse krantschryver zeg, dan het hy al banjang onreg gepleeg"; "en arme ouwe Klaas het regte banjang gezoebat" Nienaber (1971:150)

¹⁸ E.g.: 1854: "Maar hoe dom toch van Oom Jan en Neef Freek, om zoo banje praatjes te maak, over die kruut." Nienaber (1971:178); 1860: "*Jama*: Die mallicipaliteit krijg banjang geld vandaag." Nienaber (1971:204); 1860: "*Thomas*: Ik weet nie, seur, maar 'banjang' keer al; zoo als die dienders mijn maar ziet, moet ik zoo maar naar die tronk, maskie het ek niks gedaan nie." Nienaber (1971:210); 1874: "Mijn vader en mijn moeder is alle bei al ouw, En als hul kom te sterven, dan erf ik banja goud, Een plaats zal ik dan koope, en ook zoo banja vee, Daarom mijn liefste Alie, zeg mij toch niet mee!" Nienaber (1971:199)

which makes it just one year older than the much larger *Bayaanu ddiin* (Van Selms 1979). Despite his misgivings about an 1851 dating, Van Selms reserves the possibility that the catechism is older than the published work off of which all philological work has been based. It was written by Sheikh Imam Ahmed, the son of Imam Mohammed Mufa'uddîn, who was born in Capetown, and was therefore a native speaker of Afrikaans:

ca. 1868: "oep ien dagh : het ghakoem bai oens ien man hai het banjak wiet kiraairie an banjak sauaatie haarei" Van Selms (1951:76)

This is the first time we see the Malay form of the word: *banjak*. The question is, is this *banjak* an unchanged relic from the early seventeenth century, or is this a word that was maintained as part of the Malay language tradition in Capetown, as described by Franken (1953a:116-43). This will be answered below, but suffice it to say at this point that *banjak* in the writings of Imam Ahmed might be a Malay word, and not a variant of Afrikaans *baie*.

I think we do see, however, our familiar Afrikaans word in Abu Bakr Effendi's *Bayaanu ddiin*:

1869: "en moenie bajaang *naatar* ferberaik fer *abdastnie*" (Van Selms 1979:6)

Abu Bakr Effendi, unlike Sheikh Imam Ahmed, was not a native speaker of Afrikaans. He was a Kurd, and learned his Afrikaans in Capetown. Because he was a second language learner, with an unwritten word like *baing*, he would have written what he heard. There was no Dutch form for the word to hide behind, so a more or less phonetic treatment is what we see in Effendi's writings. He also spells it *baiaan* (84) and *baiang* (152).

Abdullah Abdurahman writing as Piet Uithalder also shows interchange between *bayaan* and *bayang*, though the former is far more common:

1909: "My ou'ers was bayaan arm en in my jonge daae was da nie 'School Board Act' nie." Adhikari (1996:20); "Die kussengs wat die parlement leden op sit is te sag, daarom le en slaap so bayaan van hulle." (23); "Da was bayaan mense, ma meeste bruine en slamse, en een beetje witte." (26); "Mij maag is bayang zeer van dag en mij vriende moet nie veel van mij verlang nie van dese week nie." (37); "Mij maag is bayang zeer van Mr. Frombling ze drankie en pille." (39)

These two spellings would seem to be attempts to render [bã^hē] or [bãⁿⁱē]. Though nasalization of *baie* is no longer common today, it must certainly have been the case up into the twentieth century, when indeed more words were nasalized than they are today (Coetzee 1977).

In the 1870s, the English-speaking lawyer Henry William Alexander Cooper, writing under the pseudonym Samuel Zwaartman wrote a number of letters and sketches in *Het Volksblad* which were very influential on the Afrikaans writing of the time. Again, the career of nineteenth century Afrikaans literature was in large part determined by English speakers. What is notable, though, is a new spelling of *baie*, namely *baaieng*:

1870: " De Procureur-Genraal moe nie zoo onverstandig wees nie, want ons zal al te baaieng moet betaal." (Nienaber 1942:6); "Ik het op Skieterij Kraal uitgespan, maar ik het de grog gemis, kan ik ver jou seh, want dit was

baaijeng koud, en toe de maan opgekom het, is ek weer ingespan." (14);
 "Hulle is gloo bang ver die vlieë, daar is mos zoo baaijeng vlieë" (16) *et passim*

Cooper lived in Rondebosch, just around Table Mountain from Capetown, so the Afrikaans he was exposed to was the Cape/Boland dialect. When we look at the Boland periodical *Ons Klyntji*, which came out in the years 1896-1905, we see that the regular form throughout is *baing*. The same is the case when we look at the Arabic-Afrikaans texts. Raidt (1994:301) also sees *bajang* and its ilk as Cape variants. Cooper's writings would also seem to confirm this state of affairs.

There is so much variation between *banjang* and *bajang*, *banja/banje* and *baia/baie*, that one wonders what the articulation of intervocalic *nj* must have been. Perhaps it was somewhere between a nasal vowel and an approximately-articulated velar nasal. Smith seems to think this is the case, pointing out as he does that the common pronunciation in the "binnelande" 'the interior' is [bãia], though he admits that [bain] can be heard in the Boland (1921:98n4), even though most people say [bãiə] (1921:99n5). He also reckoned that the spellings with <ng> [ŋ] and <nj> [nj] are an imperfect attempt at representing the nasal diphthong [ãi] (*ibid*). Since the form with <nj> is the most common in nineteenth-century texts, this would seem to support the idea that [bãiə] was the predominant form and.

Corroborating evidence for this idea is to be found in the South African English texts that attest to a form [baia]

1813: "he offered to bring the water of two neighbouring fountains to water his land, but all his arguments made no impression on the lazy boor, who said it would be *bye* (superfluous) trouble." (Campbell 1816:119-20)

1850: "Watering every thing. Lovely day. Tseu says beyae ewes are in lamb." (Silva et al. 1996)

A German text further confirms this:

1868: "'In zehn Minuten sind wir da', meinte Wuras. 'Dat licht is noch bye ver' (sehr fern), meinte Johannes." (Wangemann 1868:306)

The data from Dorslandafrikaans would seem to give further support to the idea that the alveolar nasal was only weakly articulated in nineteenth century Afrikaans. Klopper shows that although *banja* was giving way to standard *baie*, it must not have been far off, because the common pronunciation already approximated *baie*, namely [baiⁿⁱa] (1986:204). The loss of the nasal consonant at word boundaries would seem to lend further credence to this; e.g. *gaan jy* > *ga jy*, *kan jy* > *ka jy*, *sien jy* > *sie jy* (Klopper 1986:127). Van Rensburg-Combrink (1983:111) show that *banja* was the most frequent form of late nineteenth century Transvaal Afrikaans, which is the most closely-related dialect of Dorslandafrikaans. That the translators of the Bible agreed on *baie* as the only form most certainly contributed to its becoming the normal word in standard Afrikaans (Nienaber 1965:250-1), though considering what we have seen from the preceding discussion, it seems as though *baie* was probably already the norm by the early twentieth century.

Let us now look at the early lexicographical evidence of *baie*, all of which comes from Van der Merwe (1971). The pedagogical luminary of Capetown's South African College and

vociferous champion of Dutch, Antoine Nicholas Ernest Changuion gives in his 1848 *Proeve van Kaapsch Taaleigen* the lemma "*bajan* 'ook wel *banje*'." (7). Changuion was a born Dutchman, and therefore wrote what he heard. Another Dutchman, Theod. M. Tromp, who spent some time in the Transvaal in the mid-1870s, gives *banje* (27). Van der Merwe (1971:xi) is doubtful about the linguistic reliability of Tromp's collection of Afrikaans, but for our purposes the information is useful, because *banje* is a well-established form and thus gives us some insight into the regional variants at that time.

And yet another Dutchman, Arnoldus Pannevis, wrote an Afrikaans word list in 1880, giving *baiang*, *bai(ng)keer*, *-maal* (64-5). Pannevis lived his whole life around the Cape, and so we should not be surprised by the form with an alveolar nasal. In 1882, the Capetowner Hendrik Carel Vos Leibbrandt published a list of Afrikaans words, most of which he took directly from Marsden's *Maleisch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek*, and which would explain the appearance of the unadulterated form of the Malay word, namely *baniak* (31).

Perhaps the most important nineteenth-century lexicographical contribution is *Proeve van een Kaapsch-Hollandsch Idioticon* published in 1884 by Nicolaas Mansvelt, a Dutchman who came to South Africa to teach in Stellenbosch. He got many of his words from his students, among which: "**Banje, bajang, baing**" (142). In the entry for those three headwords, we have the earliest mention of the adjectival use of *baie*: "**Banja** wordt ook als bvnw. gebruikt in den zin van *fluks*, *flink*, *degelijk*, bv. 'n *banja* *perd*, 'n *banja* *kerel*." (142-3). The Afrikaner S.J. du Toit, a voluble critic of Mansvelt, brought out his own word list in 1908-9, which included the headword *baing*. Du Toit confirms the adjectival usage, though he notes that it is not generally used (234).

There are two other nineteenth-century lexicographical works to consider, H. Kern's short word list from 1890, which includes *baing*, *bajang* (42), and the *Patriotwoordeboek*, under the editorship of S.J. du Toit, which gives *baing* (*banja*) (Van der Merwe 1968).¹⁹

From this textual history of *baie* we can make a few points. First, the word initially appears in the form *banjer*, which occurs in mostly Dutch texts. Second, the forms *banja* and *banje* are the most common forms in the first half of the nineteenth century. Third, by the middle to end of the nineteenth century, a whole panoply of forms is attested, the most significant of which are the ones with an alveolar nasal word-finally. This chronology is of cardinal importance to the etymology of *baie*.

4.3.3 THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF *BAIE*

There are three main theories on the origin of Afrikaans *baie*. The oldest and least commonly held is that it comes from French *bien* 'good'. The most common is that it comes from Malay *banjak* 'many, a lot, often, very'. And finally, the idea that has proven most contentious, that it comes from Low German *banni(g)* 'very, tremendous, extraordinary'.

4.3.3.1 THE FRENCH THEORY

¹⁹ Raidt (1994:321) also gives an overview of the nineteenth-century lexicographical evidence for *baie*, though she claims that the *Patriotwoordeboek* has no entry for it. Apparently its being set in italics caused her to overlook the entry, which I myself did the first few times I consulted the dictionary.

The French theory is the oldest and most quickly dealt with. The French speakers to whom linguists refer are the French Refugees (also known as Huguenots) who arrived in 1688. Around the turn of the eighteenth century, the European population was of roughly 15% French extraction. This is not a high percentage, but neither is it meaningless, and because this period has been traditionally seen as a formative one in the history of the Afrikaners, much stock has been put into the significance of the French population in the creation of Afrikaner culture.

In 1872, an article was published in *The Cape Monthly Magazine* in which the author compared the lot of English with that of, as the author called it, Cape Dutch. The article is mainly concerned with comparing the deflection of the verb in both languages, but there are a few comments on vocabulary, one of which is the perfunctory: "*canalje* (*canaille*, rascal), and perhaps *baijing* (*bien*, in the sense of *tres*, very) from the French" (D.U.M. 1872:51). The first Colonial Historian of the Cape Colony, George McCall Theal, weighed in on the French origin of *baie* as well: "The French immigrants modified the character of the colonists to a considerable extent, but with the single exception of the word *bien*, corrupted into *baije*, added nothing to the language." (Theal 1897b:329). Theal, himself not a linguist, offers us no reasoning as to his statement. Mansvelt, whom we know from 4.1.1.2, initially agreed with the French theory (1882), though he later repudiated this position in favor of the Malay theory, see 4.3.3.2.

The only sustained discussion of the purported French origin of *banje* comes in a polemic that appeared in the Pretoria newspaper *D(i)e Volkstem* between December 1908 and February 1909.²⁰ The proponent of the French theory was a one C.A. Cilliers, about whom we know almost nothing, unless he is the same C.A. Cilliers who was first Secretary of Public Works and then Chairman of the Public Service Commission, neither of which qualifications imply linguistic expertise. The opponent of the French theory was the classicist and creolist D.C. Hesselning, whose linguistic bona fides were second to none.

Cilliers's argument is entirely phonetic (Cilliers 1908). He claims that *baing* – he makes explicit his incredulity of the existence of *banje* – sounds much more like French *bien* than Malay *banjak*. What is more, *baing* and *bien* have, according to him, in many cases the same meaning. What these same meanings are, he does not give, rather he notes that there are many French words in Afrikaans and goes on to adduce a few of these supposed Frenchisms, such as "twee egaal paarden", "kontrij", and *hierdie* and *daardie*. None of these phrases has anything to do with the French Refugees, of course. The first two phrases are good Dutch, and the demonstrative pronouns are still disputed between Raidt's German dialectal explanation (Raidt 1994:161-74) and Roberge's Cape Dutch Vernacular explanation (Roberge 2001). There is no French theory for the demonstrative pronouns in Afrikaans.

In a response to letter dated January 12th, Cilliers again outlines some of his arguments in favor of a French derivation of *baie* (Cilliers 1909). Surely, though, Cilliers, judging from his last name a descendent of the French Refugees, had a bias towards a French explanation.

That the French added little to nothing to Cape Dutch is at this point an uncontested belief. One need only read J. du P. Scholtz's authoritative study "Verdwyning van die Franse Taal in Suid-Afrika" 'Disappearance of the French Language in South Africa' (Scholtz 1965:226-34) to realize the limited opportunity of French to influence Cape Dutch. Indeed, in Pfeiffer's excellent study of the broken Dutch of the French Refugees (Pfeiffer 1980), there is no evidence of *bien* or *banje*. On a more language-internal level, as Smith (1965:179)

²⁰ These are extremely hard-to-find articles, and so I provide transcriptions of them here in Appendix B.

points out, the meanings of the words do not agree in any appreciable way. Even J. te Winkel, who was the most learned and articulate of those who argued that Cape Dutch changed because of French influence, does not see *bien* as the source word for *baie* (Te Winkel 1896:353).

If we consider that the only words that historians of Afrikaans agree on as stemming from the French Refugees are names from fruit – *sermein*(*peer*), (*bermot*)*ersan*(*peer*), *panvie*(*perske*) – then the likelihood of an everyday word such as *baie* being also attributable to them is very low indeed.

4.3.3.2 THE MALAY THEORY

The most widely-held belief about the origin of *baie* is that it comes from Malay *banjak* 'many, a lot, often, very', where <k> represents a glottal stop. This is oftentimes mentioned in passing as an illustration of how deep the Malay influence on Afrikaans was, see Wessels (1880c:95), Veth (1889:33), Te Winkel (1896:353), Le Roux (1910:66), Schonken (1910:71), Van Rijn (1914:38), Le Roux (1921:73), Nienaber (1953:261), Scholtz (1980:101), Ponelis (1994:223).

The Malay derivation was first propounded by Mansvelt. His reasoning is simple: there are almost no words in Afrikaans from the French Refugees, but there are some "Indisch" 'Indian' words from the slaves. *Baie* is one of them. The brevity of his argumentation is not what is important, rather it is that he pointed out the source word *banjak*, which was cited by all subsequent scholars, such as Hesselting (1899:90-1) and Pettman (1913:45), both of whom cite Malay *banjak*, but provide no discussion of the etymology.

Bosman (1916:46) claims that *baie* was so versatile, meaning as it does 'very, much, many', that it did not displace any native Dutch words. Apparently Bosman is arguing for the efficiency of having three meanings in one place instead of spread across three separate words, which is erroneous, as synonyms exist without any problem in all languages. Still, he ventures to guess that *baie* was borrowed directly from Malay on the Cape. He does not see it as a Malay loanword that was brought in via nautical Dutch.

The first editor of the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* (*Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language*) was J.J. Smith, a scholar who was deeply invested in both lexicography and etymology. His contribution to the search for the origin of *baie* is an article called "'n Bietjie oor baie" 'A bit about baie', which first appeared in 1942 in *Die Suiderstem*, and which was reprinted in Nienaber (1965:173-80), here referred to as Smith (1965). It is the most thorough of all surveys of *baie*, and in it, Smith comes to the conclusion that *banjak* must be the etymon for *baie*. Its meaning accords best with *banjak* 'many, a lot, often, very', and the phonetic shape of the words are also very close; the change of *banjak* > *banja* requires only the loss of the glottal stop. The first problem that he saw with this change, however, is that other Malay loanwords such as *kapok* 'cotton; snow', *pondok* 'shanty, hovel', *sambok* 'sjambok', *laksman* 'hangman' show retention of the glottal stop post-vocally, which he ascribed to these words probably being from the Malay dialect of Java, where <k> indicates [k], not the glottal stop. He further mentions that he found the variant *panga* in a Malay text from 1692, which excited him because of the loss of the word-final glottal stop, though he is not at all bothered by the devoiced bilabial stop and the presence of [ŋ] instead of [nj]. The only other example that he could marshal to his argumentation was the Afrikaans partially assimilated

loanword *pieknie* from English *picnic*. Regardless, he saw the semantic and phonetic agreement as persuasive, and deemed *banjak* the source for *baie*.

A less doctrinaire approach is by J. du P. Scholtz, whose opinion on the origin of *baie* changed over time. In the Scholtz-versameling 'Scholtz Collection' in the special collections of Gericke Library at the University of Stellenbosch, there are drawers of cards, each devoted to a single lexeme. I found one his card on *baie*, upon which he explained it as a sailor's word. However, he crossed the whole thing out.²¹ When this card was written is unclear, but it must have been before the first publication in which he calls *baie* an "eastern" word, "Afrikaanse Geskrifte in ou Kaapse Koerante en Tydskrifte" 'Afrikaans Writings in old Cape Newspapers and Journals', 1935, in (1965:275-79). He stuck to the Malay etymology throughout his publications. In all instances, he merely cites the Malay form in passing, providing little discussion. It seems to have been rather self-evident to Scholtz that *baie* is from Malay *banjak* that he did not think it bore discussion.

Poole's (1951) study of Malay and Portuguese words was done under the supervision of J. du P. Scholtz, and his mark is easy to see²². She accepts his derivation without question (IV/8), though she goes a little further than he did by dating *baie* as an eighteenth-century borrowing (VI/4).

The balance of the Malay theories on *baie* are tantamount to etymological boilerplate. Terblanche & Odendaal (1966) is the only Afrikaans dictionary with an etymological component, and given that, their entry is understandably brief, providing as it does the citation form *banjak*. Valkhoff (1969:145) adds nothing new either. Raidt (1983:60-1) also believes that *baie* comes from Malay *banjak*, though she makes the special point that it, unlike many other Malay words in Afrikaans, was borrowed on the Cape, not via nautical Dutch. Van Wyk (2003) sees *banjak* as the source, though leaves open the possibilities that it came in through Dutch or as a borrowing on the Cape.

The evidence from mid-nineteenth-century Transvaal Afrikaans was studied by Van Rensburg & Combrink (1984), in which they found that the earliest form of the word is *banjac*, and the commonest is *banja* (111). The variant *baja* (which is closest to *baie*) is the least common. They take a more measured position on its origin, stating that it is probably from Malay *banjak*, while Davids (1990) takes a more novel approach. Because of the large number of Buganese slaves on the Cape, Davids reasons that their phonology would have influence the pronunciation of *banjak*. Word-final consonants are not tolerated in Buganese, so their rendering of it would have been *baiing*. As regards *k*-loss, we have other evidence of this from the Malay dialects spoken in Capetown well into the 1900s: see *doedoe sini* < *doedoeke sini* 'sit here' (Du Plessis 1935:27). Davids (1990:10) does not explain the change of [nj] > [ŋ], though he might have done well to mention *minjak* > *mijang* 'oil' (Du Plessis 1935:27). Here we see both intervocalic [nj] > [j] and word-final [k] > [ŋ].

²¹ Here is the card in full: "Dykstra I, 79, gee banje, banjer op as hier en daar in Friesland in gebruik in die sin van "in oorvloed," en bring die woord in verband met Mal. banjak, banjer en Afr. baie - volgens Boshoff 247 (voetnoot) waarskynlik ten onregte. Op welke gronde Boshoff die onjuistelikheid van Dykstra se afleiding waarskynlik ag, sê hy nie. Is die Friese banje wel niks anders as die Maleise banjak nie, dan word dit waarskynliker dat baie in Afrikaans as aan die seemanstaal ontleen moet beskou word, en nie aan die taal van die slawe nie. Sien bakleislag."

²² Curiously enough, I also found a manuscript on the Malay and Portuguese words in the Scholtz-versameling that turns out to be the first two chapters of Poole's thesis verbatim. The handwriting is Scholtz's, and one is of course left wondering if he wrote the first two chapters for his student, or if he simply rewrote it to clean up the prose. Perhaps he just made a copy for himself. It is hard to say.

4.3.3.3 THE LOW GERMAN THEORY

While both French *bien* and Malay *banjak* had been proffered as potential etyma for *baie*, the LG word *banni(g)* 'very, enormously, extremely; good' (Schütze 1800:64-5; Mensing 1927; Müller 1928) has also been regarded as the source of *baie*. The first scholar to hit upon a connection between Low German and Afrikaans is J.F. van Oordt (1916). In the introductory remarks in his review of Bosman (1916), Van Oordt stressed that, of all the Germanic dialects brought to the Cape during its early years of colonization, LG was the most influential, given the numerous commonalities between it and Dutch. In a footnote to this point, he wrote (145n4):

"Dit blijkt uit de twee betekenissen van 't woord baing of banja. Banja in de betekenis van 'veel' is 'n zuiver Maleis woord in vorm en betekenis. Maar in de Westelike distrikten van de Kaap Kolonie hoort men soms spreken van 'n baing pêrd' of 'n baing man', waar baing dan de mening heeft van 'voornaam, flink, zeer goed.' Dit is niets anders dan 't Plat Duits of Mecklenburgs bannig dat dezelfde betekenis heeft, en waar men ook zegt 'ein banniges Pferd', in de betekenis van 'n uitmuntend paard.'" "This can be seen in the two meanings of the word *baing* or *banja*. *Banja* in the sense of 'many, much' is a pure Malay word in form and meaning. But in the Western districts of the Cape Colony, one can hear people speak of "'n baing pêrd" or "'n baing man", in which *baing* means 'distinguished, plucky, very good'. This is nothing more than LG or Mecklenburgish *bannig*, which has the same meaning, and which is used in "ein banniges Pferd" 'an excellent horse'.

Boshoff (1921:247) built on Van Oordt's explanation by expanding it. He sees the case of *baie* as possibly one of homonymy. If, he reckons, *baie* comes from *banjak*, then it could well have been inherited from Dutch, because in Dapper's (1672) glossarium of eastern words excerpted from seventeenth-century travelogs, one comes across the following: *dickmael* = *boynja calit* (Boshoff presumes this is *banjak cali*) 'many times' (75) and *meenig* = *bayntan* 'many' (78). He then moves on to *baie* as an attributive adjective as in the expressions of the type 'n *baing pêrd*, where he agrees with Van Oordt and cites *bannig* 'very' in Leopold & Leopold (1882:II, 127, 167, 175). Boshoff (1921:289) reiterates his point when discussing Du Toit (1905:83), who saw a case of change of function in the attributive use of *baie*. What is more, Boshoff brings up the fact that *banjak* can be used in Malay as an attributive adjective, and there is consequently no need to see here a change of function.

As was mentioned above, Smith (1965) first appeared in 1942, and so we must deal with him before moving on to Franken. Smith took issue with the LG derivation (179). He admits that the LG word *banni(g)* is used precisely as *baie* is in Afrikaans, and then derives *banni(g)* from "an old word" *bano*, which he glosses 'murder'. Smith must have gotten his old West Germanic confused, because Old Saxon (the parent language of LG) and Old High German *bano* means 'murderer', not 'murder'; his gloss is "moord". At any rate, he probably got his *bano*-derivation from Teuchert (1909:60), with whom he agrees in seeing in *banni(g)* an adjectival form of *bano*, thus 'murderous'. Based on this reasoning, Smith sees *banni(g)* as an expletive used adjectivally, as are *hels* 'hellish', *deksels* 'darned', *duivels* 'damned'. He then contradicts himself, maintaining the LG meaning does not accord with any other Afrikaans ones; perhaps he confused himself by expounding the murder-related semantics of *bano*. Lack

of concord between the phonetic shape of *banni(g)* and *baie* gives him further reason to believe that *banni(g)* is not the source word for *baie*.

While Van Oordt was the first to publish the idea of a LG connection with *baie*, it actually J.L.M. Franken who first addressed the connection. He discussed it in his University of Ghent doctoral dissertation of 1912, of which the only remaining copy is his own handwritten one that is now housed in the Afrikaans National Literary Museum in Bloemfontein; the original was destroyed in World War I. Because it has never been published, it is worth reproducing here in full.²³ As one can see, Franken too was inspired by the LG dialect word *banni(g)*, which he found in the writings of Klaus Groth and Johann Meyer, see footnote 20. While he is the first scholar to draw a connection between *baie* and LG, because his dissertation was not available to the public, it consequently did not enter the scholarly debate. He later revised his position slightly and his etymology appeared in *Tentatieve etimologieë (Tentative etymologies)* (Franken 1953b). This is the authoritative version that I will deal with here.

²³ **baje** 'veel', 'zeer' Door Hesseling opgegeven als Indies (90). De uitspraak door mij 't meest gehoord is *bǎ-je* of *bǎ-ja*. Zeer veel in gebruik als bijvoeglijk naamwoord voor 'veel' en als bijwoord 'zeer', 'heel'. 't Is eigenaardig dat dit woord niet in gebruik is in het Nederlands van Nederlands-Indië (Het wordt niet opgegeven door Prick van Wely of Veth), wat wel het geval is met de meeste andere Maleise woorden in Zuid-Afrika in gebruik. In het Afrikaans rust de hoofdtoon op de eerste syllabe. 't Is echter hoogstwaarschijnlijk dat we hier niet te doen hebben met een Maleis, maar met een Germaans woord. In het Platduits vinden we *bani* als bijwoord van graad. Zie Klaus Groth's *Gesammelte Werke* III:70, 75, 136, 155, 183, 273, 330, IV:17, 102, 130. Johann Meyer *Plattdentscher Hebel*, Hamburg 1859, p. 77, p. 117, glossarium p. 252. Dit *banni* = *bandig*, vgl. *sanni/sandig* en *fründli, endli, natürlü, ari, menni* etc. Dit gebruik van *banni* als bijwoord van graad is waarschijnlijk voortgekomen uit *unbanni* als 'zodanig' idem III:155, 190, 324, IV:45. Dit aan te nemen is echter niet noodzakelijk; zie de overgang van *bandig* in het Nederlands. Vgl. De Jager I:975, Dijkstra, Gallée 31, Grt Wdb II:962. Ten Doornkaat-Koolman (*unbandig*), Ten Kate II:206, Verdam I:554, V:207, Bergsma (*albandig*). Als bijwoord in Friesland en Drente in dezelfde betekenis als het Platduits 'geweldig, zeer'. Ik zou er aan twijfelen dat het Afrikaans *banje* hetzelfde woord is als het Platduitse *banni*, indien het niet in diezelfde vorm en in diezelfde zin ook in Nederland gebruikt wordt. Dit is echter het geval en wel in verschillende delen van Friesland. Zie Dijkstra (*banje*).

Het Afrik. *banje* zou dan *bandig* zijn. Betekenisontwikkeling: 'aan banden gelegd' > 'bondig' > 'geweldig' > 'groot' > 'veel' > 'zeer'. Een van de vorige betekenissen komt nog uit in "*e banje perd*", "*e banje kèrel*" (Mansvelt). In dit licht komt ook de betekenis uit van *bandig* in een citaat waarin het Grt Wdb I:383 de betekenis van *bandig* niet duidelijk acht. Mansvelt (*banje*), Veth 365.

baje "many, much", "very" Cited by Hesseling as Malay (90). The pronunciation I have heard the most is *bǎ-je* or *bǎ-ja*. Very common adverb for "many, much" and as an adjective for 'very'. It is curious that the word is not in use in the Dutch of the Dutch East Indies (It is not given in Prick van Wely or Veth [sic!]), as is the case with the majority of the Malay words used in South Africa. The stress is on the first syllable in Afrikaans. However, it is highly probable that we are not dealing here with a Malay, but with a Germanic word. In LG we find *bani* as a comparative adjective. See Klaus Groth's *Gesammelte Werke* III:70, 75, 136, 155, 183, 273, 330, IV:17, 102, 130. Johann Meyer *Plattdentscher Hebel*, Hamburg 1859, p. 77, p. 117, glossarium p. 252. That *banni* = *bandig*, vgl. *sanni/sandig* en *fründli, endli, natürlü, ari, menni* etc. That usage of *banni* as a comparative adjective probably arose out of *unbanni* "so much" idem III:155, 190, 324, IV:45. But need not be the case; see the change of *bandig* in Dutch. Cf. De Jager I:975, Dijkstra, Gallée 31, WNT II:962. Ten Doornkaat-Koolman (*unbandig*), Ten Kate II:206, Verdam I:554, V:207, Bergsma (*albandig*). As an adjective in Friesland and Drente in the same sense as in LG "enormously, very". I would doubt that Afrikaans *banje* is the same word as LG *banni*, were it not used in the Netherlands in the same form and meaning. However, this is the case, to wit in different areas of Friesland. See Dijkstra (*banje*).

Afrikaans *banje* would then be *bandig*. Semantic evolution: "restricted" > "concise" > "tremendous" > "great" > "many, much" > "very". One of these earlier meanings is to be seen in '*e banje perd*', '*e banje kèrel*' (Mansvelt). In this light, the meaning of *bandig* also appears in a citation which the WNT I:383 sees as unclear. Mansvelt (*banje*), Veth 365.'

What is most striking about Franken's etymology is its even-handedness. He asserts straightaway that he believes that *baie* comes from *banjak*. He adds to this his belief that the LG colonists in their large numbers on the Cape must have used *banni(g)* and in so doing helped spread the very similar-sounding word *banjak*. Before he makes any concluding remarks, Franken addresses the Frisian word *banjer* 'here and there', 'in excess'. He strongly doubts that the Frisian word would have been a borrowing of *banjak* when *banje(r)* is not even in the Dutch of the Dutch East Indies, according to Prick van Wely (1906) and Veth (1889). This, however, is wrong; Veth (1889) does cite *banjak*, see 4.3.3.2. Franken also doubts that Frisian *banjer* is a borrowing of LG *banni(g)*, since the corresponding Frisian form is *bànnich*. What Franken does not consider, however, is that Frisian could have gotten it from Dutch. Kruyskamp (1946: 51) found three instances of *banjer* 'very, much, many' in Dutch literature of the eighteenth century, one from ca. 1750 and two from 1767. Both texts are related to voyages to Indonesia, which makes the likelihood that this *banjer* and Afrikaans *banje(r)* are the same word. Considering the quote from Louis Reynders in 4.3.2, it seems fairly certain that by the mid-eighteenth century, *banjer* 'very, many, much' was in use in the Netherlands. He concludes by stating that Afrikaans *banje*, *baing* could not have come from LG *banni(g)*, given that there is only one analog of the change *i* > *je*, namely *goeni* > *gonje* 'gunny', and that the exact opposite (*je* > *ie*) usually appears in word-final position. He is correct about the reality of the change he describes, however *goeni* > *gonje* is not a vocalic change, rather it is [n] > [nj].

Even-handedness is not a hallmark of Siegling's study (1957). Irony, however, is, for she begins her argumentation by stating that one can, "aus stichhaltigen Gründen" 'with sound reasoning', regard *bannig* as the the source word of *baie* (154), even though the rest of her argument is anything but sound. She notes that as a child growing up on Rügen, she never heard people say *viel* 'many, much' or *sebr* 'very', only *bannig*, which was often pronounced *banning*, *bannig* in which <nn> is hardly pronounced, both of which, according to her, are just as close to *baie* as *banjak* is (155). This is, of course, wrong, because Siegling makes no mention at all of the variant *banja*, which accords with *banjak* very well indeed. She must not have known of its existence. In any event, she is galled by the fact that most scholars have favored the Malay derivation over the LG one, which she tautologically attributes to the lack of investigations into the Saxon element in Afrikaans. She rightly points out that it is inconceivable that the very common word *bannig* would not have been used on the Cape, but then wrongly argues that if *baie* comes from *banjak*, the so must *bannig* have come from *banjak* itself. With this specious argumentation, Siegling has convinced herself and proclaims *baie* to have come from *bannig*. Given the poverty of her reasoning, I hesitated to treat her study here, but given the importance of her study as one of only a few, I decided to include it, however little it contributed to the problem of *baie*.

Du Plooy (1966:166) is the next proponent of *bannig* to come along, though he is far more circumspect, noting as he does that both Malay and LG stand on the same footing in this case. Boshoff & Nienaber largely reiterate what Boshoff previously asserted (1921), with the non-dogmatic position that *baie* could have been either inherited from Dutch or borrowed from Malay, and that Dutch *bandig* and LG *bannig* may well have contributed to its spread. Van Rensburg (1988:47) suggests that the striking correspondences between LG and Afrikaans should compel us to reevaluate the connection between LG and Afrikaans, and that the Malay derivation of *baie* would need to be included in such a reconsideration.

4.3.3.4 THE APPERCEPTION-BASED RECONCILIATION THEORY

We have now seen the three main theories on the origin of *baie*. The opinion that it comes from French *bien* 'good' has not had much support from professional linguists, and its meaning only accords with the attributive adjectival use of *baie* 'good, fine', not with the senses 'very; much, many; often'. The least controversial of the three is that it comes from Malay *banjak* 'many, a lot, often, very'. This etymology has been supported by all the greatest linguists of Afrikaans, Hesselings, Bosman, Boshoff, Scholtz, and Raidt. In addition to the semantic agreement between it and *baie*, its phonetic shape is also easily reconciled, since <k> represents a glottal stop, which, one lost, leaves us with *banja*, a form that is well-attested in older Afrikaans texts. The final explanation is that *baie* comes from LG *banni(g)* 'very, enormously, extremely; good'. There is partial semantic overlap in the senses 'very' and 'good', and the attributive use agrees particularly well with *baie* as an attributive adjective. The change *banni(g)* > *banje*, is, however, almost impossible to explain, because there is only one other case of the change [n] > [nj], and that itself is not even certain. However, before we deal with these three theories once and for all, the phonetic history of *baie* must be treated.

The oldest form is *banje(r)*, occurring in 1769, 1780, 1785, 1793, and 1803. All of these forms are in the writings of Dutch speakers, and the one from 1793 (*banjer*), occurs in Europe, not South Africa. The 1803 citation is a rendering of the speech of a Khoekhoe woman, and she also says *banjer*, or at least that is what the Dutchman who wrote down her words heard. The first variant we get is *banjang* in 1805, also in the writings of a Dutchman recording the speech of a Khoekhoe woman. The balance of the texts is all written in nineteenth-century Afrikaans. The variants with word-final [ŋ] (*baaieng*, *banjan*, *banjang*, *bayaan*) occur throughout, as do the older variants *banje* and *banja*. Given this textual variation, it is difficult to identify a phonological development. Despite that, there are a few conclusions we can draw.

J.J. Smith made some insightful comments on *baie* in his footnotes to Von Wielligh (1921-22) (July 1921:99n5). He remarks that the common pronunciation he heard in the interior – he writes "Binnelande", presumably he means the old states of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State – was [bãia], while the common form in the Boland was [bãiə], though he admits to having also heard [bain] in the Boland. He attributes the spellings *baing*, *baïng* and *baia* to speakers' inability to orthographically render the nasalized diphthong [ai̯], which was ubiquitous. Finally, he claims that there is no nasal consonant [ŋ] or [nj] in the word. If Smith's observations are reliable, and we have no reason to think they are not, there are a few things to note here.

The nasalization of [ai̯] and the loss of [nj] must have been complete by 1813, in which year we see *bye* in the writings of an English speaker. All of the nineteenth-century spellings must therefore be seen as varying attempts to render the nasalized diphthong. The loss of [nj] word-medially is a common phonological process in Afrikaans. By-forms such as *Daïel* for *Daniel* (Coetzee 1940:97; Van der Merwe 1971:71) or *Goeyemans* for *Goenjemans* (Mossop 1935:22) can be found in old Cape texts. There are three other words that have undergone a similar development: *nôï* 'girl' < Malay *njonja* 'girl', *tamaai* 'huge' < Portuguese *tamanho* 'great', and *ramkie* 'guitar' < Portuguese *rabequinha* 'little violin', for which there are the variants *ravekinge*, *ramakienjo*, *rabekin* in old Cape texts. The hypercorrect form *prinjeel* for *prieel* 'pergola' also shows the strength of this process; for more on these processes, see Bosman (1937), Scholtz (1965:208-14).

As regards the distribution of *baing*, *banja*, *baie*, it seems that *baing* was a Cape form, while *banja* lived on in the interior – *banja* is attested in Namibian German (Nöckler 1963:48),

which most likely borrowed it from Dorslandafrikaans – though it must have been well on its way to losing [nj], as the data from Dorslandafrikaans show, that dialect being a more conservative Transvaal idiom. So both forms *baing* and *banja* are similar to *bāie*, though the Cape form is much less conservative, given that [nj] is completely lost and *-a / -e* are apocopated. Both *baing* and *ba(n)je* were closer to *baie* than they were to *banja*, which helps explain why *baie* was such an agreed-upon form for the standard language. Having established that, we can return to the contending etymologies.

There are problems with all of the theories. As regards the idea that *baie* comes from *bien*, the main problem is that there is no textual evidence to support it (see Pfeiffer 1980), and that there are so few other borrowings from the French Refugees, that the probability of *bien* as the source for *baie* is highly unlikely. That said, it is phonetically close to the Cape variant *baing*, and it is semantically close to *baie* as an attributive adjective. Given the fact that the French Refugees were settled in the Boland, and that the pronunciation *baing* and the sense 'good, fine' are considered to be Cape idiosyncrasies, the possibility that French speakers perceived *banje* as *bien* and contributed to the nasalized pronunciation *baing* and its use as an attributive adjective cannot be dismissed out of hand.

The Malay theory is not without its own problems, though they are more easily overcome than those connected with the French theory. The primary one is that the oldest attested forms of *baie* are *banje* and *banjer*, not *banjak*. Assuming that the glottal stop was lost immediately, for Dutch speakers do not regularly have a glottal stop at word coda, the form would have been *banja*. Afrikaans, like all West Germanic dialects, shows a weakening and eventual loss of full vowels in weakly-stressed syllables, so *banja* > *banje / banjer* (where [r] might have been an attempt to render the glottal stop). This is a fine development, but there are later, nineteenth-century attestations of *banja*, where we must posit either a retention of the original word-final [a], or we see a case of schwa-lowering, as is so common in uncultivated speech. This is also an evolution that is not so troubling, but the form *banjac* in Transvaal Afrikaans gives cause for pause. The presence of *banjac* and *banjank* in some nineteenth-century texts needs an explanation. It seems entirely likely that these words were borrowed continuously into the nineteenth century, and that they co-existed with *baing*, *ba(n)je*. We already see *banjer* in the eighteenth century, so we know that *banjak* had to have entered the language repeatedly, because it surely could not have developed *banja(k) > banje > banjer > banjak*, and if *banjac*, *banjank* are stultified old borrowings, how else does one account for *banjer*? It seems fairly clear that the only explanation is that it was continually borrowed into the language into the nineteenth century.

Scholtz (1972:113) is right in pointing out that the textual tradition of Afrikaans does not support *banni(g)* as a source word for *baie*. The phonology of Afrikaans does not help either, because of the problematic change [n] > [nj]. But this is only true in the most direct sense of source. If Low German speakers encountered *banje(r)* on the Cape and understood it as, albeit slightly different sounding, essentially the same word as their own *banni(g)*, this could have been the decisive factor in maintaining the primacy of *baie* while *veel*, *heel*, and *zeer* all came to feel more and more *Hooghollands*, the Afrikaans term for 'Dutch', literally 'High Dutch'. It would then be an *extension* or a *semantic loan*, adding the Low German senses to *banje(r)*. This is essentially the same position that Franken (1953b:33) took.

I therefore see the following as the most likely course of development. Malay *banjak* was borrowed into nautical Dutch as *banje* and *banjer*. This was brought to the Cape, and underwent continual reinforcement by the Malay speakers who kept being brought there. Semantic extension to the sense 'good, fine' probably arose via LG *banni(g)*, though French *bien* could have played some kind of ancillary supporting role. Finally, there might have been

another etymon that contributed to the success of *baie*, namely, the homophonous Malay Creole Portuguese *baë* 'very'. Schuchardt (1891:148) records: "*Mevrouw punja budjang ada baë baë onbeleefd* 'Madam Ihr Knecht ist sehr sehr unhöflich'" 'Ma'am, your servant is very, very rude'. This lexeme, never before connected to *baie*, is phonetically and semantically identical to it. Given the paucity of information about it, one can only speculate as to its place in this complex of words, but given the number of Malayisms that have ended up in Afrikaans, it seems entirely reasonable that *baë* might have contributed to the history of *baie*.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The German influence on Afrikaans has a long history characterized by both opacity and profundity. These two characteristics are the hallmarks of apperceptive reasoning, and while conclusiveness on all these fronts remains elusive, these case studies are instructive when trying to understand the role of apperception and linguistic affinity in situations of long cultural contact.

The first part of this study has been dedicated to studying the German influence on Afrikaans, which happened long ago, but now we will move on to influence of Afrikaans on German, which happened recently: the Afrikaans influence on Namibian German.

PART TWO

GERMAN AND AFRIKAANS IN NAMIBIA, CA. 1840 –
PRESENT

CHAPTER V

AN EXTERNAL HISTORY OF AFRIKAANS AND GERMAN IN
NAMIBIA, CA. 1840 – PRESENT

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The history of German-Afrikaans linguistic contact in Southern Africa is, as we shall see, not limited to the situation in South Africa alone. Another chapter in its story unfolds in Namibia, where a heterogeneous population of Afrikaans and German speakers interacted with and settled amongst one another. While in chapter three we examined how German and Cape Dutch/Afrikaans speakers lived among and influenced one another, in this chapter we will see sociolinguistic influence in the other direction; namely how Namibian German was influenced by Afrikaans, the descendant of Cape Dutch. In order to understand how the Afrikaans language could have had as profound an effect on Namibian German as it did, one must look at the social and historical factors that brought speakers of the two languages into contact. Providing a broad sketch of this sociolinguistic situation is the aim of this chapter.

5.1 THE SPEAKERS OF NAMIBIAN GERMAN

There are currently around 25,000 matrilineal speakers of Namibian German. It is most commonly spoken by artisans and farmers, but is also a mainstay in boarding schools, particularly amongst male students (Deumert 2009:359). Most live in the north of Namibia (Swakopmund, Windhoek, Otjiwarongo, Omaruru, Okahandja), though they can be found everywhere. In addition to Namibian Germans, there is a small and dying community of mostly Hereros who speak so-called *Kiche Duits* 'Kitchen German', which is a non-native contact variety that evolved during the course of the twentieth century. While there is a lot of evidence of the Afrikaans influence on *Kiche Duits*, but it is of a markedly different nature than of the kind under scrutiny in this dissertation, and therefore outside of this study's scope; for more, see Deumert (2003, 2009).

5.2 AFRIKAANS IN NAMIBIA: NAMAS, OORLAM, BASTERS AND AFRIKANERS

The first of the two languages to be introduced into Namibia was Afrikaans. There are two ethnic groups responsible for its early importation: the Nama and the Oorlams. The Nama are a Khoekhoe people who had lived in the Cape Colony at the time of its colonization by the Dutch. As the Dutch expanded northwards, taking land and inadvertently spreading disease, the Nama too moved ever farther north, until they ended up in present-day Namibia in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Of the Namas, there were three broadly-divided groups, namely the *Topnaars* (Aonin) of the Walfish Bay area, the Red Nation (Khauben, Rooinasie) in the central areas around Rehoboth, and the *Bondelswarts* (Gaminun) in the far south. The Red Nation was by far the largest, and was subdivided into six tribes: the Red Nation, after whom the larger grouping is named and who enjoyed suzerainty over all other tribes, the *Swartboois*, the *Groot Doden*, the *Fransmanne*, the *Keetmanshoppers*, and the *Velskoendraers*; for more

on these tribes, see Budack (1972). As is suggested by their names, these tribes had had a fair amount of contact with Afrikaans. None of them spoke it as a native language, and only some people in each tribe could communicate in it. But it certainly was a growing part of their daily existence at this time, which quickly found reinforcement from the incoming Oorlams.

The Oorlams were Nama and biracial Afrikaner-Nama who spoke Afrikaans at varying levels of proficiency, from none at all to complete fluency, and who had taken up some of the trappings of the Cape Afrikaners, namely firearms, ox-wagons, and horses. They also, to a limited extent, accepted certain aspects of the Christian religion. Their story is more fully told in section 5.3.1.

After the Nama and the Oorlams, the next Afrikaans speakers to enter the region were the Basters, a people who, like the Oorlams, were of Nama and Afrikaner stock. The Basters, however, were all biracial, being the sons and daughters of Cape Afrikaners and Nama women who lived in the far northern Cape. They were Calvinists and native speakers of Afrikaans, and wore European clothing; that is, they had more or less fully adopted the Cape Dutch culture when they arrived on the Namibian scene. The migrations of the Oorlams and Basters have been the subject of much study; Vedder (1934) dedicated almost the entirety of his important history to them, and Stals & Ponelis (2001) devoted a whole book to the use of Afrikaans amongst them. The historical sketches provided here are based largely upon these two works.

The Nama, Oorlams and Basters were all peoples of Khoekhoe descent. While the Basters were exclusively biracial, and the Oorlams were partly so, none of these groups can be considered European. The first Europeans to enter Namibia were the Afrikaners, who came in via two routes. The southerly route was taken by those living in the northern Cape Colony, i.e. the Cape Afrikaners. The northerly route was taken by the Dorslandtrekkers, descendants of the Afrikaners who had embarked on the *Groot Trek* 'the Great Trek' in the 1820s and 30s out of the Cape and into the now-former provinces of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The Cape Afrikaners were largely speakers of Oranjerivierafrikaans and the Dorslandtrekkers of Voortrekkerafrikaans. The differences between these two varieties will be discussed in chapter six.

Afrikaans-speakers' numbers grew slowly, and once German colonization began in earnest in the early 1900s, these newly-arrived colonists had frequent contact with both Afrikaners and Basters, and learned much about semi-desert farming techniques from them. As the language of the political rulers of the land, German was the prestige variety, though by virtue of the exchange, in this context Afrikaans and German were on equal footing. This relative linguistic parity continued until the Union of South Africa was charged with the administration of Namibia after World War I. After that, Afrikaans-speaking South African administrators and settlers poured in and quickly outnumbered the Namibian Germans. They brought with them the recently-standardized Afrikaans of the Union of South Africa. This had profound effects on the German language, especially because of the changes in schooling. The German school system was largely dismantled between the years 1919-1955. In its place, Afrikaans became the primary language of instruction at government schools. Two generations of Namibian Germans have now grown up having had the majority of their schooling in Afrikaans, as the numerous Afrikaans loans in their speech show.

5.3 GERMAN IN NAMIBIA: MISSIONARIES, SOLDIERS AND COLONISTS

Between the first immigrations of the Oorlams in the early 1800s and the Basters' and Afrikaners' entry in the 1870s, German Rhenish missionaries began trickling in and interacting with all these groups. This interaction was usually achieved by means of either Dutch, Cape Dutch, or Afrikaans, and physically so in the context of mission stations that became ad hoc trading centers. The missionaries hailed from all over Germany, and consequently there is no one German dialect to speak of in the context of Namibia.

The German presence in Namibia was limited to missionaries until Namibia came under official German rule in 1884, after which colonists started arriving. The colonization was both slow and late compared to that of most other European colonies, e.g. North America, Australia or New Zealand. This was in part due to the dryness and severity of Namibia's climate, in part to Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's decision to pursue colonization through corporations, an idea he got from the East India Companies of England and the Netherlands. The German version of this was the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika* 'German Colonial Company for South West Africa', which was not successful. Its leaders spent almost all of its capital on mine exploration and did nothing for the further colonization of the country. A further hindrance to colonization was that some companies (e.g. the English-owned South African Territories Ltd.) charged such high rents on their lands that more often than not properties remained unsettled (Oelhafen von Schöllnbach 1926:16-7). It was not just corporate incompetence that doomed the colony's initial growth, though, indecisiveness on the part government officials played a role its stagnation. The problem was, that the German administration could not decide whether to allow Afrikaners from the northern Cape and the Transvaal to settle in large numbers or to vigorously pursue the settlement of *Reichsdeutsche* 'subjects of the German Reich'. Thus the settler population remained tiny: in 1891 the total white population was 539, around half of whom were Afrikaners (Kaulich 2003:320).

The defeat and subjugation of the Oorlam leader Witbooi and his followers in 1893-94 by Von Leutwein's forces made possible the earnest colonization of Namibia by Germans. Whereas in the year 1893 the German population had total 346, by 1901 it was at 1433, most of whom were discharged soldiers. In addition to this demographic upswing, there were infrastructural advances as well that fostered success in the colony. During the years 1893-1901 a harbor was built in Swakopmund, railroads were laid, steamliner service was more frequent, and many wells were sunk. Oddly enough, the rinderpest outbreaks in the north in the late 1890s proved to be a boon, as it drove many Germans into trades and other types of farming, another consequence of which was the success of goat and sheep herding in the south. In the period up to 1904, German settlers worked as both farmers and traders. They were dependent on the missions for their livelihoods, and they formed tightly-knit communities (Bley 1996:75-6, 86-7; Kaulich 2003:337). The role of the missions in setting the tone in the early days of German settlement may not be lost sight of.

During the colony's early years, few German women immigrated; not nearly enough to provide even half the men with a wife. Shortly before the Nama and Herero Wars started in 1904, there were 2,804 men and 640 women in the colony (Kaulich 2003:335). For this reason, many German men took native wives, usually Rehoboth Basters (see 5.3.2). But the German population had gradually grown to about 12,100 by 1912, despite its generally anemic growth and the setbacks attendant to the brutal Nama and Herero Wars of 1904-1907, during which the German authorities engaged in genocide against the Hereros (of a population of 80,000 at the beginning of the war, only 18,000 remained at the end). This seemingly propitious growth was in large part due to the parceling-out of land that had up

until recently been occupied by the Hereros. But this new state of affairs, promising as it appeared, did not last.

In 1915, the Union of South Africa declared war on Germany in solidarity with the United Kingdom. The Union took upon itself the task of ejecting the Germans from Africa, starting with German South West Africa (Namibia). After some bitter engagements, German forces surrendered to the South African Army, and the Peace of Khorab was signed. Once the territory was securely in South African hands, the deportations of Germans began. In total 6,374 left the country: 3,718 military, police, and governmental officials were deported, 1,223 so-called undesirables were deported, and 1,433 left willingly. Namibia was then entrusted to the Union of South Africa as a "C" Mandate by the League of Nations. Under this mandate, South Africa was to administer the country as if it were a province of the Union, a task which the South African government carried out with aplomb.

At the beginning of this new mandate, there were just under 6,000 Germans in Namibia. Despite these lowered numbers, the effects of de-Germanization were not as pronounced as one might imagine, given that the majority of those deported were military, police, and government officials who were anyway unlikely to remain in country. Also, those Germans who had stayed were highly invested in their lands, and their presence insured the survival of the German language in Namibia. Indeed, German numbers showed continued growth up until 1960: 7,855 in 1921, 8,875 in 1926, 9,779 in 1936, 11,931 in 1951, and 16,533 in 1960, thereafter 15,858 in 1970, and 12,741 in 1981. In spite of these seemingly promising numbers, Germans as a percentage of the white population went down drastically: 40% in 1921, 37% in 1926, 31% in 1936, 24% in 1951, 23% in 1960, 18% in 1970, and 17% in 1981 (all figures from Bähr [1989:100]). This was the result of massive immigrations of Afrikaners from the Union of South Africa.

In 1920 Prime Minister J.C. Smuts implemented a new law which provided landless Afrikaners from the Union of South Africa with state support to settle in Namibia. This moved at a fast pace, sometimes regardless of the capabilities of the recipients to farm in such a dry climate. Be that as it may, Afrikaner growth dwarfed German growth: 10,673 in 1921, 18,088 in 1936, 25,313 in 1946, 33,091 in 1951, 49,421 in 1960, and 61,910 in 1970 (Kleinz 1984:30). These newcomers, together with the South African Mandate Administration, brought in the newly-standardized Afrikaans, and secured the future of Afrikaans as the lingua franca of Namibia.

Further entrenchment of Afrikaans in Namibia occurred in 1928, when most of the Angola Boers were repatriated by the government of the Union of South Africa and settled on farms in the regions of Grootfontein (25 farms), Gobabis (100 farms), and Gibeon (100 farms), as well as on other farms scattered throughout SWA. This influx of 1,900 Boers brought the German population into even heavier contact with Afrikaans, all the more so, in fact, because most of the German farmers were scattered across northern Namibia, the same area where most of the Angola Boers were given farms (Jooste 1975:186). The seeds of linguistic contact that were sown in the time of German missionary activity and germinated during German rule were thus given fertile ground in which to grow, which guaranteed that the Afrikaans influence on Namibian German would be deep and lasting.

5.4 THREE REGIONAL STUDIES: THE SOUTH, THE CENTER AND THE NORTH OF NAMIBIA

In the interests of providing a more nuanced view of the dynamics of German and Afrikaans throughout the whole country, there follow here brief histories of the south, center, and north of Namibia. They focus primarily on the time of German rule, that is, up to 1915. There are two reasons for this; 1) this is the key period in which linguistic patterns were established, and 2) because there have been massive amounts written on white settlement in this period, and comparatively little on the period of South African rule.

The south is typified by higher numbers of whites who spoke Oranjerivierafrikaans, lower numbers of German settlers overall, and a greater presence of Nama and Oorlam tribes. The north, on the other hand, shows larger-scale German settlement, whites who spoke Dorslandafrikaans, fewer Namas and Oorlams, and the Herero as the foremost aboriginal group in contact with the Germans. The center of the country is unique in that it was overwhelmingly German with a strong admixture of Basters who spoke Oranjerivierafrikaans and who colluded with and married Germans. As it stands, there are two distinct groupings of Afrikaans-speaking whites who came into the country, divided into a northern and a southern group²⁴. The overall picture that emerges is one of varying degrees of contact all over the country, but that such contact was in the aggregate high, and yielded the pronounced influence of Afrikaans on Namibian German that we see today.

Many of the placenames in Namibian history have changed over the years, and in the interests of providing greater geographical clarity for the following regional studies, I created the map below, which gives the locations of the most important places.

²⁴ Trümpelmann (1948:123) also breaks down the Boers in SWA into a northern and a southern group, which he demarcates as Boers in Namaland (the south) and Damaland (the north). According to him, they not only formed two distinct geographical communities, but they formed two distinct religious groupings, between the members of the Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk in Namaland and the members of the Hervormde Kerk in Damaland.



5.4.1 THE SOUTH: GERMAN MISSIONARIES, NAMAS, OORLAMS AND CAPE AFRIKANERS

Unlike the wholesale emigrations of Afrikaans-speaking whites out of South Africa, namely to Argentina and Kenya, the treks that brought Cape Afrikaners into southern Namibia were part of the gradual settlement of southern Africa by Europeans that had been going on since the 1650s. It took just over one hundred years for colonists to push as far north as the Orange River (the current border between the Republics of South Africa and Namibia); in 1776-77, for example, the Cape government awarded the first grazing licenses to colonists on the southern bank of the Orange River. But the story of white settlement in Namibia proper begins in 1760 with an expeditionary trip undertaken by Jacobus Coetsé and underwritten by the Cape government.²⁵

Coetsé never occupied the land himself, but he did trek a little ways north of Warmbad, a town in the south of the land. Coetsé's journey piqued interest in some, and another expedition was approved. It was organized and headed by Hendrik Hop, with Coetsé

²⁵ The journal of this trip was edited by Ernest Mossop and released together with the journals of Hendrik Jacob Wikar and Willem van Reenen as the fifteenth volume of the Van Riebeeck Society series (Mossop 1935).

employed as a guide, and it followed to a large extent the same route as the previous journey had. A third trip into Namibia was carried out by Willem van Reenen in 1791-2. He was heading to Modderfontein (modern Keetmanshoop), when he met a farmer, Gideon Visagie, who had originally come from Piketberg in the Boland.²⁶ He had set up a horse and cattle farm, and had Nama and Coloured laborers, both of whom were Afrikaans-speaking. Surely, since Visagie came from Piketberg, he and his workers spoke broad Bolands. He was eventually repatriated and his enterprise came to an end. This is then the first attestation we have of Afrikaans speakers living within the borders of Namibia, and what is more, we have a very good idea of what dialect was spoken there. This is also the last attestation we have of Afrikaners living in Namibia for a long time.

In the course of the eighteenth century, groups of Namas who had previously resided in the Cape Colony, more specifically, in and near the Boland, found themselves being pushed ever northwards as Cape Afrikaner settlers sought new pastures for their herds of sheep and cattle. Eventually, these Namas ended up within the borders the country Namibia, which bears their name. The first of their settlements is the town of Warmbad.

The initial contact between speakers of German and Afrikaans was in the territory of the Nama tribe of the Bondelswarts, which encompassed Warmbad. The Bondelswarts had been there for a while when in 1796 a group of Oorlams under their captain Jager Afrikaner invaded the land and occupied it. The Afrikaner tribe was familiar with and to some extent used Afrikaans, as was the case with the Bondelswarts, though they were less capable in Afrikaans than the Afrikaner tribespeople were. Ten years later the first German missionaries, Albert and Christian Albrecht, arrived in Warmbad. Their experience is prototypical for that of every other subsequent German missionary; that is, they had to preach in Dutch, for it (i.e. Afrikaans) was the lingua franca of the region. By the 1880s, there were, along with the native Bondelswarts, numerous Afrikaans-speaking Baster and Cape Afrikaner families in Warmbad. The settling of Cape Afrikaners in the Warmbad region not begin in earnest until the 1880s. This was mostly due to the power of the Oorlam and Nama tribes already living there. After the German government took control of the south in 1893, Cape Afrikaners arrived in larger numbers: while in 1893 there were around 200 Cape Afrikaners in the south, by 1894 the number had risen to 538, and by 1895 there were 610 (Oelhafen von Schöllnbach 1926:16). The farmers who had been steadily trekking into Namibia would have spoken Oranjerivierafrikaans, coming as they did from the far northern Cape (Trümpelmann 1948:66). Interestingly, we see a case of Bolands being brought into Klipfontein (just east of Warmbad) in 1890 with the arrival of twenty-seven families from the region of Piketberg (Trümpelmann 1948:69). Their Bolands would most likely have had an Oranjerivierafrikaans coloration to it, for Piketberg is far north enough that it is in dialectal a transition zone. While the Nama language continued to be spoken, the rise to dominance of Afrikaans was complete by the early 1880s. In 1890, Reichskommissar Dr. Göring sealed a contract of protection (that is, a contract that recognized Germany as the highest authority) with the Bondelswarts and the Velskoendraers, another Nama tribe with some very limited knowledge of Afrikaans. On August 21, 1890, the German flag flew over Warmbad.

By 1913, the German element in Warmbad had grown so much, that Germans now constituted sixty percent of the total white population. This high percentage was, admittedly, due in large part to the well-provisioned military garrison, so that after World War I and the ejection of these military men and their families the German portion of the population fell

²⁶ See Tabler (1973:116-7) for a more full account of Visagie.

sharply. There just had not been enough German farmers in the region. By 1936, the percentage had dropped to a mere four. The situation in 1946 was no better, falling to 2.5 percent of the total white population, in 1951 it was 2% and in 1960 1.3% (Klein 1984:129, Nöckler 1963:133).

Keetmanshoop was another locus of German activity in the south. Johann Schröder founded a mission there in 1866 with generous funding by a one J. Keetman, after whom it was named. In the first fifteen years of the mission's existence, the dominant language was Nama. But Cape Afrikaners slowly trickled in, and, perhaps more meaningfully, in 1881 a group of Basters fleeing Grootfontein-Suid settled here (Fischer 1913:30). They, along with a community of Oorlams, represented the most numerically prominent group of Afrikaans speakers (Stals & Ponelis 2001:37). Beyond Schröder, the Germans Dubiel and Hegner also worked in this parish. Keetmanshoop became more and more Afrikaans-speaking as the years passed, and by 1884, there were so many Basters, Oorlams, and Cape Afrikaners in the district, that it was the only language of common use. The horrors of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) caused another significant influx of Afrikaners into the south. While more returned to South Africa than stayed in Namibia, ultimately 606 remained in Namibia, with the majority of them settling around Keetmanshoop, Hasuur and Gibeon (Trümpelmann 1948:120). In 1903 there were only 148 Germans amongst a population of 800 Cape Afrikaners in Keetmanshoop, of which 43 Germans were farmers as opposed to 248 Cape Afrikaner farmers. Nevertheless, between the years 1905-07, the German population enjoyed a relative boom. This growth was so significant, that by 1913, Germans constituted 85 percent of the white population. However, as in the case with Warmbad, their numbers fell off dramatically once the South African Mandate Administration took over to 9.5% in 1936 and 6% in 1946.

The Berseba mission (west of Keetmanshoop) was founded by Samuel Hahn with the Goliath Oorlams in 1850. They were largely Afrikaans speakers. True, numerous missionaries worked there, namely, Johann Georg Krönlein, F. W. Weber, Johann Georg Schröder, Johannes Olpp, H. Hegner, and B. Dubiel, but it never drew much beyond the smallest number of German settlers (Külz 1909:35). Nevertheless, these missionaries moved around enough that their experiences in such Afrikaans-heavy situations would have influenced their speech which they brought elsewhere. What is important, is that missions in general set the tone for the first German settlers, a tone that was to a marked extent determined by the Afrikaans language.

Bethanien, on the other hand, was more attractive to settlers. It was established by Albert Albrecht who had been doing missionary work in Pella in 1812 when, together with a one J.H. Schmelen he trekked from Pella with 150 Oorlams towards the northwest until they found a suitable place. It was named Klipfontein, but soon after they changed it to Bethanien. The Boois Oorlams and other Nama had already been residing in this area at that time, and they continued to do so for decades after, though the Boois tribe split; one group went to Grootfontein and retained the name Boois, and the other stayed in Bethanien and took the name Fredriks. Both of these Oorlam tribes consisted mostly of native speakers of Afrikaans. Albrecht left Bethanien in 1822, and it was not until 1842 that another missionary set up in his stead. Though the missionaries who followed were usually German speakers, and though the language of church and state was Dutch²⁷, Nama remained the primary language of Bethanien (Stals & Ponelis 2001:29). Nevertheless, by 1913, the German

²⁷ Note that in 1883 Lüderitz concluded a contract in Dutch with the Bethanien kaptein for access from Angra Pequena to the interior (Lüderitz 1945:54).

component of the white population had grown to 86 percent. After the First World War, Bethanien did not experience the catastrophic demographic changes that Warmbad or Keetmanshoop did; the German percentage fell to 20 in 1936 and 14 in 1946. Given these numbers and the tenacity of Afrikaans in the area, it is almost certain that the German of Bethanien was deeply imprinted by this linguistic contact.

The last southern settlement worthy of mention is Gibeon founded in 1863 by J. Knauer. He was followed by J. Olpp and H.G.F. Rust. There were numerous Basters here alongside the Witbooi Oorlams, who made regular use of Afrikaans amongst themselves (Stals & Ponelis 2001:52). We know that Afrikaans was strongly represented here, for Olpp had to teach himself Dutch to be able to get on in the town. One wonders, however, how great a role Gibeon played in the contact between German and Afrikaans speakers. Given the negative comments made by Hendrik Witbooi, kaptein of the Witboois, about German haughtiness and contempt for the Oorlams²⁸, one would think that contact did not begin until later, when more Afrikaners moved in to the region. In 1900, German speakers were 32 percent of the white population, and in 1913 they were 67 percent. As with everywhere else, deportations of Germans and inflow of Afrikaners changed Gibeon's demographic. But it was not just subsidized Afrikaners from the Union who put down in Gibeon, in 1928 Angola Boers were given 100 farms in the region (Jooste 1975:186), further bolstering its status as a bulwark of Afrikaans.

In the census numbers for Namibian Afrikaners given in Oelhafen von Schöllnbach (1926:20), the category "Namaland (Keetmanshoop u. Gibeon)" corresponds to the southern settlements discussed above. Whether or not Berseba and Bethanien are included is not stated, but it is probable that they are. At any rate, white growth in the south was brisk once the territory came under German control: in 1893 there were 74, in 1894 there were 193, in 1895 538, in 1896 610, in 1899 496, in 1900 588, in 1901 647, in 1902 1506, in 1903 1154. The population spike in 1895 is a direct result of the German conquest of the south, while the spike in 1902 is attributable to the influx of refugees from the Anglo-Boer War. It was a fortunate time for these new arrivals from South Africa, for goat and sheep herding in the south of the country was enjoying a boom. Many Germans came in to farm at this time, too, and it is certain that they had heavy commerce with the Afrikaans speakers in the area, being that they were numerically and horticulturally superior to the German newcomers. The drop in 1899 is due to northerly migrations, namely to Omaruru. Some of the population growth in 1899 had to do with the influx of previously nomadic Boers (Trekboers) who bought farms in Gibeon after having drifted about in the north of the country and having been forced to evacuate it when the German government required that all Europeans in the region be landholders. Life was good for the Namibian Afrikaners in Gibeon; their numbers grew and they took German citizenship.

In addition to all the European colonization discussed above, another story of Afrikaans speakers settling in the south is that of Grootfontein-Suid, which was home to a community of Basters, namely those who trekked in from Die Tuin (now Carnarvon) and Amandelboom (now Williston) in the Klein Karoo region of the Cape Colony in 1873. Their

²⁸ His complaint begins as follows: "Ik voel my verplig, en gedwongen, van de toestand en omstandigheid [te schryven], waaronder ik nu leef, ik meen van de toestand van de Duitsers, wat hier in ons land gekomen zyn, want ik hoor dingen ik ziet ook dingen van die mannen, wat my onmogelyk zyn, en wat my niet goed en reg zyn" 'I feel obliged, and forced, [to write] about the state of affairs and conditions under which I now live, I mean the state of affairs under the Germans, who have come into our land, for I hear things and I also see things of these men which are impossible to me and which I deem not good and right' [translation mine] (Voigts 1929:152). Witbooi goes on for thirteen pages.

leader was Klaas Zwart, who worked with the German missionary Pabst in their settlement of Grootfontein-Suid. They were courted by Van Wyk, leader of the Rehoboth Basters, to remove to Rehoboth, but Zwart was uninterested. After repeated San and Herero harrassment, Zwart and all his people went with Papst to Rietfontein, where they joined another Baster community that had settled there between 1810-1820 under the leadership of Dirk Vilander (Stals & Ponelis 2001:36; Fischer 1913:30). These Basters were joined by their white linguistic compatriots in the flourishing town of Hasuur, where Afrikaans speakers have never been themselves in the minority.

5.4.2 THE CENTER OF NAMIBIA: GERMANS, BASTERS AND AFRIKANERS

Windhoek was established by Jonker Afrikaner in around 1835, at which time he took control of the whole surrounding area. His people were Oorlams who had spent a long time in the then-Europeanizing Warmbad, wore western clothing, and spoke Afrikaans with varying abilities. The first Rhenish missionaries to arrive in Windhoek were the Germans Frans Heinrich Kleinschmidt and Carl Hugo Hahn and the Cape Afrikaner Johannes Bam in 1842. Bam took over a waystation in Rooibank, and in 1844, Hahn and Kleinschmidt moved to Okahandja, thus Jonker was without a Rhenish missionary until 1871 when Johann Schröder arrived. But Schröder's activities were short-lived, as, in fact, was Jonker's settlement, for the Herero attacked Windhoek in 1880 and drove out the Afrikaner tribe. Even though Afrikaans had had a robust presence in the region, when the Hereros removed Jonker and his people, the language went with them. The area became a no-man's land; Windhoek was, according to Captain Curt von François, uninhabited in 1889 when he came upon it. By the time the Germans declared it the administrative center of the colony in 1890, there were no Afrikaner Oorlams to communicate with, having themselves moved into the country around Rehoboth. The town quickly took on an unadulterated German character as roads were laid, buildings erected, and the trappings of German life reproduced, such as they could. The first years were dominated by a military presence, but that soon changed as more and more colonists and civil servants streamed in. In 1894 seventy-eight colonists (including eighteen discharged soldiers) settled in the nearby valley of Klein-Windhoek (Oelhafen von Schöllnbach 1926:18), which is today a mere neighborhood of Windhoek. Growth was brisk there; in 1895 their numbers were up to 312.

As the German language became ever more established in and around Windhoek, the Afrikaans admixture to the area began to grow as well. Between Windhoek and Rehoboth lies the Kommas Plateau, which was declared Crown Land and divided into farms and sold. Many of the purchasers of these plots were Cape Afrikaners from the district of West Griekwaland and Keetmanshoop. They were mixed in amongst the German farmers, which proved a boon for the Germans, for the Cape Afrikaners were highly skilled in the farming techniques for such a dry climate (Oelhafen von Schöllnbach 1926:21). Growth in the region was steady; by 1899 there were 109 Boers or Cape Afrikaners in Windhoek, in 1900 there were 134, and in 1902 there were 150 (*ibid.*:22). Furthermore, the children of many Namibian Afrikaners (whether they were northern Boers or southern Cape Afrikaners is unclear) in the countryside attended boarding schools in Windhoek around the turn of the century (*ibid.*). Windhoek was on its way to being the premier German city in Africa in 1913, when 90 percent of the population was German and 10 percent was Afrikaans and English. But the loss of World War I, the deportations, and the state-sponsored immigration of

Afrikaners from the Union of South Africa changed that situation. By 1936, with massive South African governmental investment, the situation had changed with 34% Afrikaans and 46% German; in 1946 it was 48% Afrikaans and 33% German; in 1960 it was 57% Afrikaans and 28% German. The rest of the European population was English-speaking. Windhoek became the governmental, transit, and business center of Namibia, which meant that all things pertaining to officialdom were headquartered there. This further meant that Afrikaans in its newly standardized form was propagated from Windhoek across the country. With the numerical superiority of newly arrived Afrikaners from the Union, Windhoek became a bilingual German-Afrikaans city.

Further entrenchment of Afrikaans in the center of the country came in 1855 when an Oorlams group under Amraal Lambert moved into the region around Gobabis, together with the Rhenish missionary F. Eggert. He was followed up over the next decades by E. Krapohl, F. W. Weber, and F. Judt, all of whom went on to work at other missions in Namibia. The Amraals were fairly bilingual in both Nama and Afrikaans, though the main language of communication with outsiders was Afrikaans. While Gobabis has played a small role in the history of Afrikaans-German interaction in Namibia, it is important in that it was a place where the Germans who did go there were forced to speak Afrikaans in order to communicate with the town's inhabitants, an experience that reinforced the pre-existing pattern of Afrikaans as the lingua franca of the land. Ultimately, Germans could not afford to be ignorant of Afrikaans, a reality that inexorably brought Namibian German under the influence of Afrikaans.

The role of the Oorlams and Basters in the contact between German and Afrikaans cannot be underestimated, as the case of Amraal Lamberts shows. Among the most influential of these peoples were the Rehoboth Basters. The Basters had gotten permission to occupy the region around Rehoboth from the Swartboois, and moved in in 1870-71. The Swartboois, who had been living in Rehoboth until a few years prior, leased the land to the Baster's leader, Hermanus van Wyk. Van Wyk and his folk trekked in from the Cape together with their missionary, Johann Christian Friedrich Heidmann, a German from Lübeck (Tabler 1973:55). The country around Rehoboth was, at the time of their arrival, surrounded by Afrikaans-speaking communities: the Afrikaner tribe in Windhoek, the Swartboois who had just occupied the area made frequent use of Afrikaans, and there had moreover already been Basters living in the vicinity when Van Wyk's community settled itself. The Basters of Rehoboth, unlike many of the Oorlams communities, sided with the Germans in some military engagements. Unlike the Oorlams, the Basters identified strongly with European culture and were Germanophiles. Their military cooperation extended to both Witbooi campaigns of the 1890s and most notably so the genocide of the Hereros and Namas in 1904-07. Their cooperation with the Germans clearly paid off, for they retained more autonomy into the twentieth century than any other nineteenth-century Oorlam or Baster community ever did.

There is a special aspect to the cultural contact between Germans and Rehoboth Basters that sets it apart from the other contact that Germans had with Afrikaans speakers. This is that, as was mentioned above, German men often married Rehoboth women. They did this for good reasons. The most obvious reason was that there were too few German women in Namibia. Rehoboth women were comparatively numerous, and given the Rehoboth Baster penchant for being as European as possible, these women oftentimes could pass as white. Their families also contributed modestly but meaningfully to the couple's start-up capital, which provided a down payment for a farm or other business venture. In addition to money, their knowledge of the landscape came in equally handy to the newly-arrived German.

Perhaps most importantly, these marriages provided young men with structure, so that they might become productive colonists and not the boorish, besotted louts that one so often found in colonies. Becker (2004) gives an excellent description of this cultural exchange in much more detail, outlining as well the special nature of the Rhenish missions in Baster society, all of which points out the long and intimate relations between German and Rehoboth Baster, relations which surely had a hand in the spread of Afrikaans influence on the speech of Namibian Germans.²⁹

5.4.3 THE NORTH OF NAMIBIA: GERMANS, DORSLANDTREKKERS AND ANGOLA BOERS

Afrikaans had already been introduced into the north of Namibia before Germans settled there in significant numbers after 1907. The bearers of Afrikaans who would stay in this region were the so-called *Dorslandtrekkers* (Thirstland Trekkers, though in English they are referred to by their Afrikaans moniker); Hintrager (1955:180-212) provides a first-rate treatment. They were those Boers who between 1874 and 1877 trekked from the South African Republic (Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, i.e. the former province of Transvaal) in search of new land. Their abiding hatred of then President Burgers and his supposedly prurient ways was the ostensible main cause for such an emigration, but it was also due to their self-proclaimed trekking spirit. After a harrowing trek across the Kalahari (hence the term "thirstland"), they arrived in Namibia and moved about from spring to spring in the north of the land. Some, unsatisfied, returned to the Transvaal, while others stayed, many of whom died or almost starved to death. Eventually some groups of disillusioned Dorslandtrekkers were led by a certain Will Worthington Jordan into southern Angola, an area he was familiar with. Jordan organized favorable settlement conditions with the Portuguese government, and in 1881 he led fifty-five families of Dorslandtrekkers to Humpata, Angola. They brought with them their variety of Afrikaans, Dorslandafrikaans, which is a subvariety of Voortrekkerafrikaans.

Not all of these settlers found the conditions in Angola to their liking. Some deemed the climate unfit for cattle farming, others could not suffer the culture of the Portuguese Roman Catholics. For these and other reasons, about half of the Boers in Angola left. Some of them returned to the Transvaal, where the political situation had apparently improved, and again others followed Jordan in the opposite direction, trekking into the region of Grootfontein and Waterberg in 1885. After having failed to found their own country in the region, the so-called Republic of Upingtonia, most trekked back to Angola.

A contingent of these Dorslandtrekkers, however, remained in the region of Grootfontein. They were joined by more families from the South African Republic in 1893, when a trek out of that country successfully reached Grootfontein. Many of these newly-arrived trekkers continued on to Angola, but roughly forty families decided to remain in Grootfontein (Trümpelmann 1948: 92). The Boer population in 1893 in the area of Grootfontein was 89 (Oelhafen von Schöllénbach 1926: 20) which is admittedly small, but the industriousness of these Boers showed itself in the ordering of the town, the laying of gardens and the building of houses. In 1896-7 some of them left Grootfontein in favor of German-dominated Omaruru, where malaria was not such a problem. They were followed in

²⁹ See Rademeyer (1938:122-4) for the influence of German on the Afrikaans of the Rehoboth Basters. Also, Kienetz (1975:634) points out favorable attitudes towards the Basters.

the next three years by other emigrants, and eventually a large number of these newly drifting Boers were ejected from the northern region because they did not own and maintain property. This benefitted the German colonists, because the Grootfontein region had been slated for German settlement.

In 1899, Governor-General Theodor Leutwein created the division of Grootfontein, which had a military garrison at its center. By then, almost all the Boers who had trekked into the northern third of the country were in and around Omaruru. Still, Boer numbers grew, though unremarkably so: in 1901 there were 95 Boers in the entire northern part of the country, in 1900 there were 81, in 1902 there were 145, and in 1903 there were 168 (Oelhafen von Schöllnbach 1926: 23, Trümpelmann 1948: 105). However, the true number of Boers in the north might well have been higher, for many had taken German citizenship and were subsequently counted amongst the Germans. To be sure, even if their numbers had been higher than that, Grootfontein remained overwhelmingly German. It should be noted, however, that despite their generally low numbers, the Boer presence in Grootfontein was strengthened in 1928 when Angola Boers received 25 farms in the district, and again in 1957 when 400 more Angola Boers were repatriated to Namibia. Unlike most towns in Namibia that, after the First World War, lost a great deal of their Germans and/or whose German communities became small minorities, Grootfontein retained its German character and Germans remained a large percentage of the white population: 94% in 1913, 54% in 1936, 45% in 1946, 31% in 1951, and 29% in 1960. Despite the drop in percentage, German numbers remained stable: 1094 in 1936, 1156 in 1946, 1594 in 1951, and 1113 in 1960 (all figures from Nöckler 1963:131 and Kleinz 1984:122). Indeed, of all the farming regions of Namibia, Grootfontein, along with Windhoek, Otjiwarongo and Okahandja, has the highest number of German-owned farms (Bähr 1989:107).

Being deeply impressed by the amount of water and arable land in the north, the Rhenish missionary Johannes Rath founded the mission station *Richtersveldt*, commonly called Otjimbingwe (Von Schumann 1989:141). Otjimbingwe became such a busy town, lying as it did along a well-traveled route to Walvis Bay, that, after a while, the Rhenish Missionary Society set up a wagonwright's workshop. By 1882 the mission's various business concerns had to be dissolved due to *inter alia* drought, deforestation, devastation of large wildlife, and a locust plague. This meant that many of the Germans brought in to work in the mission's workshops had to move elsewhere. Other German missionaries who worked there are Carl Gottlieb Büttner, Carl Hugo Hahn, Frans Heinrich Kleinschmidt, Peter Heinrich Brincker, and F. Bernsmann. The mission station at Otjimbingwe was also an important center of contact, since it was the location of the Augustineum, a storied mission school. The German missionaries here made ample use of Dutch in their preaching. Both the heavy ox-wagon traffic of the 1860s, 70s, and 80s (wagon transport was a common livelihood amongst Namibian Boers) and the use of Dutch as a *lingua franca* mean that there was contact between German and Afrikaans speakers here (Stals & Ponelis 2001:50). Unfortunately, Otjimbingwe declined after the 1890s in favor of Omaruru, and thereafter lost what little importance it had had as a point of German-Afrikaans linguistic contact, except in so far as it served as one more place where Germans were brought into contact with Afrikaans. Even if they left Otjimbingwe, many went elsewhere in the land and brought their experiences with them.

5.5 GERMAN LANGUAGE USE IN NAMIBIA, 1915-PRESENT

The use of German in official capacities is central to understanding how Afrikaans could have had as great of an influence on Namibian German as it has. Schools and government have been the two main platforms on which this has played itself out.³⁰

Turning the roving Afrikaners of Namibia into African Germans was the partial intention of establishing the first German-language schools. The schools themselves were chaotic. There was no official beginning time for instruction, so children constantly came and went at different times, severely disturbing the course of a day's teaching. Afrikaans and German were the two languages of the pupils, which means that in addition to all the farmers, soldiers, and other colonists who were enjoying heavy linguistic contact with one another, so too were their children. Right before the outbreak of hostilities between the Union of South Africa and the German Forces of the Protectorate of German South West Africa, in 1914, 39 teachers taught 775 pupils at 20 schools (Gretschel 1995:300). In 1919, all German schools were halted.

On Nov. 23, 1920, the *Landesverband der deutschen Schulvereine* was founded in Windhoek with the intention of pressing the cause of German schooling. The Administrator, Sir Howard Gorges, promulgated a policy that included the take-over by the government of German schools, the deportation of German teachers, and the implementation of English as the sole language of instruction. The *Landesverband* fought against this new government's posture, and was ultimately successful. The legal status of German as a medium of instruction was settled in the London Agreement of 1923 between German and the United Kingdom, which insured the right of Germans in Namibia to send their children to German-language schools. It went:

"The Administration of South West Africa will give every facility to the free use of the German language and will raise no objection to the use of the German language in public offices, and in correspondences with these offices, who will reply, wherever possible, in the same language. German translations of the Official Gazette containing the laws and Government Notices enacted from time to time will also be published." (Höflich 1961:125)

Further support to the movement was lent by the recently-established (in 1925) Legislative Assembly's passing of Education Proclamation 16/1926, which determined the parameters of German-language schooling. German was offered as a subject until standard X; it was allowed as the sole language of instruction until standard VI, and the primary language of instruction until standard X. German-language supporters gained more ground with Swakopmund Agreement signed on April 14, 1929, which granted the use of German as a medium of instruction all the way up to Matriculation (standard XII), with the exception of the compulsory subjects English and Afrikaans. At the same time, German political participation was unrestricted, as was affiliation with any of the numerous cultural, social, and sports clubs in Namibia. In order to get an idea of the level of German involvement in clubs, one need only look at Swakopmund at the time of the agreement: *Turnverein* 'Gymnastics Club', *Gesangverein* 'Choir', *Schützenverein* 'Shooting Club', *Kriegerverein* 'Old Servicemen', *Theaterverein* 'Drama Society', *Orchester* 'Orchestra', *Streichquartett* 'String Quartet', *Tennisclub*, and a few *Kegelvereine* 'Bowling Clubs'. (Gretschel 1995:301).

³⁰ This section is a summary from the following authoritative works on the sociolinguistic history of Namibian German: Gretschel (1993, 1995, [& Ludszuweit] 2001); Höflich (1961); Pütz (1991, 1992).

The loss of WWI smarted for the Namibian Germans as much as it did for those in Germany and Austria who founded the National Socialist Party. Not surprisingly, many Namibian Germans were publicly sympathetic to the Nazi party throughout the 1930s (the best treatments of Nazism amongst Namibian Germans are by Rüdiger [1993] and Walther [2002]). When WWII began in 1939, the Union of South Africa rounded up all German men in Namibia and interned them in camps located inside South Africa. General resentment amongst the English of South Africa and Namibia against the Germans led to anti-German political action. Proclamation 36/1945 rescinded Education Proclamation 16/1926, effective Jan 1, 1946. Only three private German schools (Karibib, Lüderitz, Windhoek) were allowed to continue German instruction up to standard XI. Most males were released from the camps in May-June 1946, but had to remain for some time under police surveillance in South Africa. Namibian Germans regarded this treatment as harsh, and because of both it and Proclamation 36/1945, decided to quit running for elected offices. One must bear in mind that Germans had engaged in civil service throughout the 1920s and 30s. With the passing of the South West Africa Constitution Act 32/1925 and the establishment of the Legislative Assembly, the *Deutscher Band für Südwestafrika* became the major political party for Namibian Germans, and it enjoyed relative success. The Legislative Assembly was a unicameral, Westminster-style parliament in which both twelve elected (corresponding to the South African House of Assembly) and six appointed (corresponding to the South African Senate) members sat. In the 1926 election, 7 Germans were elected and two were appointed, in 1929, 4 Germans were elected and 1 appointed. In 1934, the final election before WWII, 1 German was elected to the Assembly, which was less a function of anti-German sentiment than it was of the demographic swing in favor of Afrikaners during South African Mandate rule. Breaking with this tradition of political participation, Namibian Germans either detached themselves totally from party politics, or they simply voted for the National Party, which had been sympathetic to Nazism. In 1948, the National Party took control of parliament in South Africa and began their infamous agenda of *Apartheid* 'separateness'. Namibian German support was crucial in passing Apartheid legislation in the Mandate, for which the National Party rewarded them by passing the Aliens Affairs Amendment Act 26/1949, which enabled Namibian Germans to become citizens of South Africa. National Party reinstated German as medium of instruction up to standard IV, reinstated it as mother tongue in all school exams, and gave financial assistance to private schools that taught government-approved syllabi. While this was a gain for the Namibian Germans, it still did not afford them as much German instruction as had been the case prior to WWII.

It was, however, the first in a series of steps intended to roll back the anti-German legislation of the late forties. A further step was taken in 1958, when the Legislative Assembly resolved to return to the London Agreement. In 1969 it was decided that German would be permitted as a medium of instruction at government schools up to standard VII. More schools were opened in the next two decades: e.g. Glück-auf-Schule, Tsumeb, 1964; Deutsche Schule Otjiwarongo, 1966; Deutsche Schule Windhoek (boarding), 1970; Deutsche Schule Walvis Bay, 1972; Deutsche Schule Swakopmund, 1976 (became primary and secondary boarding in 1981); Deutsche Oberschule Windhoek, 1979. German departments were founded at the Windhoek College of Education in 1979 and the Academy for Tertiary Education 1983. In that same year, the Administration for Whites accepted German as its third official language.

Recent language policy states that the mother tongue may only be used in the first three years at government schools, after which the medium is English. Private schools, on the other hand, are allowed any medium of instruction they choose. This has benefitted

Namibian Germans, who are fairly wealthy and have been able to mobilize funds for private as well as government schools, in addition to securing educational subsidies from Germany. This has helped in the maintenance of standard German, but all the years after WWII in which German was not allowed at the secondary level also meant that coursework in Afrikaans was extensive. The social life in the schools, especially boarding schools, was also deeply influenced by Afrikaans, given the sheer demographic superiority of Namibian Afrikaners.

As was noted at the beginning of this chapter, Namibian German is its most divergent form is used by students. It is no wonder then how they could have imported so many linguistic items from Afrikaans. The opportunities for borrowing extend beyond primary and secondary schooling, because Namibian Germans tend to go to South Africa instead of Germany for university, where the importance of Afrikaans is continually reinforced for them. Add to this the fact that Afrikaans is the lingua franca of Namibia, and it is clear why Afrikaans loans continue to enter the language.

Standard German has always been accessible to Namibian Germans through print media, television, and more recently the internet, so that they have never lost a sense of what constitutes correct speech. Despite the inhibiting effects of the standard language, Namibian German thrives in a sea of Afrikaans speakers.

While population information by region was given in section 5.4, the following table gives a nationwide breakdown of the German-Afrikaner demography in Namibia:

	Numbers			% of white Population	
	Germans	Afrikaners	Total	Germans	Afrikaners
1891	310	312	622	50%	50%
1894	614	355	969	63%	37%
1896	932	1,090	2,025	46%	54%
1901	2,223	1,420	3,643	61%	39%
1907	4,929	2,181	7,110	69%	31%
1909	9,283	2,508	11,791	79%	21%
1911	11,140	2,822	13,962	80%	20%
1913	12,292	2,538	14,830	83%	17%
1921	7,855	8,288	19,714	41%	43%
1926	8,875	11,359	24,051	37%	47%
1936	9,779	18,128	31,200	31%	59%
1946	9,119	25,313	37,858	24%	67%
1951	11,931	33,091	49,930	24%	66%
1960	16,533	49,421	73,464	23%	67%
1970	15,858	61,910	89,389	18%	69%
1981	12,570	55,323	76,571	17%	71%

5.6 CONCLUSION

The picture that one gets from the preceding is of a highly diverse landscape with respect to the distribution of German and Afrikaans. At different times and in different places, ratios of German and Afrikaans speakers vary. That is to say that in no one place can one pinpoint an instance of contact that is central to German-Afrikaans contact in Namibia. Rather, all of this contact, in all its variegation brought about a net result of heavy overall interaction. In the south, which has always been a geographical unity with the northern Cape, Cape Afrikaners predominated, so we can assume that the Germans amongst them were heavily influenced both linguistically and culturally. Linguistically, they had heavy exposure to Oranjerivierafrikaans. Culturally, they learned much about desert pastoralism. In the center, Germans were numerically superior until the mid-1900s, though frequent contact with Afrikaans speakers had probably been commonplace. In the north, the isolated Boers were too numerically small to have had a strong influence on the Germans, but they probably engaged in regular social commerce with their German neighbors, who thus had exposure to Dorslandafrikaans. Once the mandate began in 1920 and South Africa took over administration of Namibia, Afrikaner civil servants, businessmen, farmers, military and others streamed in and quickly outnumbered the German population. From Windhoek out to the other administrative centers (Swakopmund, Lüderitz, Grootfontein, Keetmanshoop), standardized Afrikaans was disseminated. Newly arrived Afrikaner farmers also helped spread standardized Afrikaans, though probably to a lesser degree given that up until the 1950s standard Afrikaans was mostly a city and radio phenomenon. In a situation of such heavy and broad contact, it is no surprise that Namibian German borrowed numerous Afrikaans words, as we shall see in chapter six.

CHAPTER VI

AN INTERNAL HISTORY OF GERMAN AND AFRIKAANS IN NAMIBIA, CA. 1840 – PRESENT

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Unlike the contact between German and Cape Dutch/Afrikaans, which has enjoyed a great deal of linguistic attention, the situation of Afrikaans and Namibian German has not been equally well-studied. As can be seen from chapter five, the majority of the work on this contact has been sociolinguistic. Nevertheless, there have been some traditional linguistic studies on the topic, and their findings are important for both the theory of apperception in borrowing as well as for the broader Germanic linguistic reality in Southern Africa.

6.1 THE AFRIKAANS VARIETIES OF NAMIBIA: ORANJERIVIERAFRIKAANS, DORSLANDAFRIKAANS, STANDARD AFRIKAANS

The Afrikaans of Namibia is as variegated as its speakers were. The first two varieties of Afrikaans to be brought in were Dorslandafrikaans and Oranjerivierafrikaans. The latter was brought in by the Oorlams, the Cape Afrikaners and the Basters, and was subsequently passed on to the Riemvasmakers. Dorslandafrikaans, on the other hand, was brought in by the aptly-named Dorslandtrekkers and their cousins, the Angola Boers, as well as the Van der Merwes, a black African community. The third variety, standard Afrikaans, was brought in by Afrikaners from the Union of South Africa, whether by civil servants or those looking for a better life in South Africa's new acquisition. Namibian Germans came into contact with all of these varieties, though given the paucity of data on Namibian German (Namibian German), it is impossible to say how they all affected it. That being said, we can assume that in the south of the country, Namibian German farmers were more familiar with Oranjerivierafrikaans than their countrymen in the north would have been, given that German settlers in the north were surrounded by Dorslandafrikaans. Urban Namibian Germans in Windhoek, Swakopmund and their environs in the center of the country would have had the most contact speakers of standard Afrikaans. Although this is hard to show linguistically, it is still useful to provide breakdowns of the various dialects.

6.1.1 ORANJERIVIERAFRIKAANS

Oranjerivierafrikaans (literally 'Orange River Afrikaans') is a variety that evolved in the northern Cape near, aptly enough, the Orange River. The northern Cape, however, is not a dialectally homogenous area. As one moves northwards, the Western Cape dialect slowly

gives way to Oranjerivierafrikaans, and, as one often sees in linguistic geography, there is no distinct isogloss separating the one dialect from the other. This transitional dialect is the kind of Oranjerivierafrikaans most commonly spoken by whites, and we can assume that this is the variety that the Cape Afrikaners who settled in the south of Namibia brought with them. Given that the Oorlams came largely from the northern Cape, we can be fairly sure that they brought a more or less typical Oranjerivierafrikaans with them, but this is pure speculation, because we have no texts written in Oranjerivierafrikaans from the late 1700 and early 1800s. The Basters, on the other hand, arrived relatively late from much farther south in the Cape where the Western Cape dialect transitions into Oranjerivierafrikaans. But we need not speculate on their speech, because we know from Rademeyer (1938) that they too spoke Oranjerivierafrikaans. Because of all the Oorlam wars of the 1800s, a heterogeneous group of Damaras, Hereros, Namas, Oorlams, and Basters fled central Namibia to find a safe haven in the area of the Orange River. They were placed on a reservation in the northern Cape called the Riemvasmaak Reserve in the years 1914-1923. In 1973 they were repatriated to central Namibia, where they remain, speaking their own variety of Oranjerivierafrikaans (Fourie & Du Plessis 1987:46).

The dialect itself has a strong Khoekhoe component. Most of the deviations from standard Afrikaans are hard to detect in Namibian German. Take, for example, the palatalization of [k] (e.g. *kerk* [cɛrk, kjɛrk] 'church', *kinders* [cɛnəʃ, kjɛnəʃ] 'children'), a phonological process that is stereotypical for Oranjerivierafrikaans. Given that there are no studies on the phonology of Namibian German, and because there is no separate grapheme for the voiceless palatal stop, it is not yet possible to ascertain if this has been borrowed without doing fieldwork. Another hallmark of Oranje-rivierafrikaans is a spread of grammatical constructions that already exist in standard Afrikaans, as with the use of *vir* before all verbal objects instead of just indirect ones, or the more widespread use of repeated prepositions, as in *in die aand in* 'in the evening'. Identifying these items in Nam.Germ. is problematic to say the least. The use of *für* before verbal objects is certainly found in Namibian German, but it does not differ markedly from the use of *vir* in standard Afrikaans, and the same can be said of the *in ... in* construction. That said, there is no evidence that exposure to Oranjerivierafrikaans did not play a role in the spread of either construction in Namibian German. Taking this into account, however, we can be fairly certain that, given what we learned about the sociolinguistic situation in 5.3.1, Namibian Germans in the south were familiar with Oranjerivierafrikaans, and it would be astonishing if it had had no influence on the farmers in that region; indeed, the Namibian German loanword *futsam* 'on foot' is from Oorlams Oranjerivierafrikaans *voetsaam* 'on foot', literally *voet* 'foot' + *saam* 'together' or the derivative suffix *-saam* roughly '-ful' (Ponelis 1993:359). Nöckler (1963:71) also testifies to the importance of Oorlams and Basters in the early contact between German and Afrikaans speakers in Namibia; for more on these dialects, see Fourie & Du Plessis (1987), Van Rensburg (1983, 1996).

6.1.2 DORSLANDAFRIKAANS

When Afrikaners emigrated out of the Cape in the Great Trek, they took with them their early nineteenth-century Cape Afrikaans, which is referred to as Voortrekkerafrikaans when talking about the Afrikaans of the Boer Republics (Republic of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic). As we saw in chapter five, several groups of Afrikaners from

these republics trekked into Namibia on what became known as the Dorslandtrek (literally 'Thirstland Trek'). Their Voortrekker Afrikaans is now called Dorslandafrikaans, a dialect that has developed in northern Namibia along a few paths. There are the Dorslandtrekkers who stayed in northern Namibia, and whose numbers were bolstered by an influx of other Afrikaners from the South African Republic in 1893. The Angola Boers who, having originally left Namibia to go to Angola in the 1890s, returned in two migrations in 1928 and 1957, provided further support to the Dorslandafrikaans dialect already spoken there. The final group of Dorslandafrikaans speakers are the Van der Merwes. The Van der Merwes are a unique community, being the black African descendants of farmhands who had participated in the Dorslandtrek, but who founded their own villages in Angola. They returned to Namibia in 1943 and settled in Ehomba in the far north of the country.

The characteristic features of Dorslandsafrikaans are similar to those of Oranjerivierafrikaans insofar as they are difficult to detect in Namibian German. One such case is that of intervocalic [g], which distinguishes Dorslandafrikaans markedly from standard Afrikaans, but which already exists in Namibian German and is therefore undetectable. One of the most distinguishing features of Dorslandafrikaans is the raising of [e] > [i] and [o] > [u] in closed syllables: e.g. Dorslandafrikaans *wier* 'weather; again', *kloef* 'kloof' and standard Afrikaans *weer*, *kloof*). German already has all four vowels, so we cannot speak of importation, unless speakers of Namibian German started raising the vowels in German words, which there is no evidence of. That said, this vocalic aspect of Dorslandafrikaans might be detectable in Namibian German. The unassimilated loanword *Suppi* [supi] 'a drink' is possibly a borrowing of Dorslandafrikaans *soeppie* [supi] (standard Afrikaans [sʊəpi]) (Van Rensburg 1983:143). For more on Dorslandafrikaans, see Klopper (1986), Strydom (1963), Wissing (1987).

6.1.1 STANDARD AFRIKAANS

The year 1930 is traditionally seen as a turning point in the standardization of Afrikaans (Van Rensburg 1983:136). The process had been going on for fifty-five years before then, but in 1925 it was given a jumpstart. After fifty years of agitation, the proponents of Afrikaans achieved their goal of it replacing Dutch as the second official language of South Africa in 1925. This victory meant that they had to make good on their promises that Afrikaans was a dynamic enough language to handle the subtleties of politics, sciences, and media. Five years after the law was enacted, the regularization of Afrikaans in schools and media had gotten fully underway, and, importantly for this study, many who grew up during this time landed in Namibia, bringing their standard speech with them.

Little has been written on the distribution of standard Afrikaans in Namibia, though recalling the figures from 5.2, we can assume that the majority of Afrikaans speakers in Namibia are speakers of standard Afrikaans. As was mentioned, when German rule ended, South Africans poured in and became numerically superior to the Germans in a short amount of time. Between 1915 and 1965, the Afrikaans speaking population grew from about 2,500 to over 60,000, a multiplication of roughly twenty-four times. Most of that growth represented speakers of standard Afrikaans, who outnumbered those of Dorslandafrikaans or Oranjerivierafrikaans. The importance of standard Afrikaans, however, is not merely told in demographic change. The entire governmental administration in Namibia was imported from the ranks of the South African bureaucracy, all of whom were

standard Afrikaans speakers. Thus the prestige of standard Afrikaans grew, and is now the dominant variety one hears in Namibia; for more, see Steyn (1980), Ponelis (1998).

6.2 THE PERIODIZATION OF NAMIBIAN GERMAN

Unlike the situation with Afrikaans, we know next to nothing about the German dialects represented in Namibia. There has been circumstantial evidence that many of the settlers came from the north of Germany because of the high number of Lutherans amongst the Namibian Germans (Nöckler 1963:134), but there is no evidence of their being speakers of LG. The pronunciation of Namibian German agrees with that of standard German, showing no dialectal coloration (97), which need not argue against there having been LG speakers in Namibia, cf. Natal German, which evolved in a community of originally LG speakers who shifted their pronunciation over to the standard German model (Stielau 1980:9). We are left instead with treating the material that we have, and the best way to do that is to examine Namibian German in its different phases of development. The history of the German language in Namibia can be broken down into four distinct periods: the Missionary Period, ca. 1850-1884; the Period of German Colonial Rule, 1884-1915; the Period of South African Rule, 1915-1990; and the Period of Namibian Independence, 1990-present.

6.2.1 THE MISSIONARY PERIOD: CA. 1840-1884

The German language was first brought into Namibia by missionaries and explorers, and the Afrikaans speakers with whom they first came into contact all spoke non-standard varieties of the language. In the north of Namibia, German missionaries encountered Dorslandtrekkers, and in the center and south of the country, they came into contact with Oorlams, Basters, and Cape Afrikaners. The only sources we have for investigating this early linguistic contact are the writings of German missionaries and the names they gave to places. No systematic linguistic analyses of German missionaries' diaries has been carried out, and such a task goes far beyond the scope of this study, but a single, famous missionary will suffice as fairly representative.

Carl Hugo Hahn, founder of the mission school the Augustineum in Otjimbingwe, kept a diary during his time in Namibia. Upon arriving in 1841, he made his way to Windhoek in 1842, where he lived with Jonker Afrikaner's people. He left in 1844, and spent the next thirty years traveling in the northern third of Namibia, preaching amongst the Hereros. His diaries from 1837-1845 (Lau 1984) contain numerous borrowings from Afrikaans, which he must have gotten from his initial dealings with Jonker Afrikaner's tribe.

Hahn was, of course, not a native-born Namibian German. This means that one cannot regard his language as Namibian German, a fact that does not diminish the importance of his diaries. The borrowings in them are valuable, because they are evidence of the first borrowings from Afrikaans into the German language in Namibia. In these loanwords, one could argue that we are seeing the process of borrowing itself, not just the results of that borrowing, though we obviously see those too.

The kinds of borrowings one sees are expectable, that is, terms for novelties: landscapes, material culture, foods. Some are, as far as the textual evidence shows, unassimilated loanwords:

baas 'master, boss' "Beim Wegziehen nahm ihn sein 'Baas', wie es uns schien, halb mit Gewalt mit sich." 'In leaving, his "Baas" grabbed him rather violently, or so it seemed to us.' (207);

kraal 'kraal, corral' "Die Schlachtschafe machten uns viele Mühe, und eines mussten die Leute über eine halbe Stunde jagen, ehe sie's in die Hände kriegten, um [es] in den Kraal oder die Hürde, von Dornen gemacht, zu setzen." "The sheep meant for slaughter were a handful, indeed it took the farmhands a half an hour just to chase and catch one of them and get it into the Kraal, or, pen, which was made of thorns.' (234);

mud 'muid, bag (weight)' "Einen Tjigervanger, den ich im Klein-Namaqualand gekauft [habe] für einen Müd Weizen, den ein Gembok im Gefecht anstach." 'A gemsbok stepped on a tiger trap that I got in Little Namaqualand for a muid of wheat.' (199);

praatjies 'gossip' "Der Brief von Mr. Cook ist gekommen, worüber nun die Praatjes sind." 'Mr Cook's letter came, which is the source of the current gossip.' (160);

uintjies 'edible plants of the genus *Morea*' "Die Leute sind aussergewöhnlich freundlich und bewirten uns zum Überfluss mit uintjies und saurer Milch." 'The natives are exceedingly friendly and fed us a lot of uintjies and sour milk.' (190)

In all of these cases, the Afrikaans words in Hahn's diary entries are in their Afrikaans form. Whether or not Hahn pronounced them as they are written, is impossible to determine. We can, however, safely assume that he pronounced them as he wrote them, given the fact that not all borrowings in his diaries are spelled as unassimilated loanwords. There is not much to say about the term *Baas*, because the Afrikaans pronunciation of the word and the German one only differ in the quality of the vowel and the voicing of the plosive, if the German speaker comes from the south and devoices it. The pronunciation of the common word *Kraal* would also not differ in any meaningful way. By this I mean, that if a German speaker did not know either of these words and was asked to pronounce *baas* and *kraal*, it would sound very close to how an Afrikaans speaker would say them, by sheer virtue of the similarity of the two language's sound inventories. In respect of *mud*, the German spelling *Müd* is different, but it accurately gives the Afrikaans pronunciation [myt]. *Praatjes* is an interesting one, because it has the Dutch diminutive suffix <tj> [çə], not the Afrikaans one <tjie> [ki] (standard Afrikaans and Voortrekkerafrikaans) / [ci] (Western Cape dialect and Oranjerivierafrikaans). Perhaps this is interference from the German missionaries' knowledge of Dutch, which they had to have at least a working knowledge of in order to preach the bible, for which they used the *Statenbijbel*. Note, however, that the edible tuber *uintjie* (literally 'little onion'), does have the correct Afrikaans diminutive suffix.

Except for *praatjies*, which refers to a universal and timeless phenomenon, all of these terms, *baas*, *kraal*, *mud*, *uintjie* refer to novelties. Germans did not have the kind of institutionalized slavery that one did in Southern Africa, nor did they have cattle pens the size of African kraals or American corrals. The Dutch brought a whole host of medieval measurements with them to South Africa that differed from those in Germany, among which was the *mud*, which described the weight of grain in sacks, usually between 165-200 American pounds (75-100 kgs). It goes without saying that an edible tuber native to

Southern Africa was a new item for Germans, as it was when the Dutch first encountered it. Much like the English naming the American Robin after its similar-looking British namesake, the Dutch named it after the European onion to which it looked so similar.

The only similarity between a *matjieshuis* and a house in Germany is that they both are houses, a likeness that is reflected in this nuclear loanblend:

matjieshuis 'mat/rush house of Southern Africa' "Zum Aufenthalt ist ein besonderes, geräumiges und reinliches Matjieshaus" 'Lodgings come in the form of a special, roomy and clean mat house' (188)

Afrikaners, Khoekhoe, Oorlams and many other peoples in the Cape have dwelled or still dwell in structures variously called *matjieshuis*. With some variation, they are all very much alike, being houses constructed from mats of rushes, and, because they are specific to Southern Africa, were a novelty to the German missionaries.

The next two homologous extensions also refer to new items related to similar ones in Germany:

skilpad 'tortoise' "Der Leib ist schwarz und weiss gestreift, und die sehr langen Beine haben viel Ähnlichkeit mit Schildpatt." 'The body has black and white stripes, and the very long legs have a strong similarity to [those of] a tortoise' (212);
werf 'native village' "Die kleinen 'Werften' gehören zu grösseren 'Stämmen'." 'The small native villages belong to larger tribes.' (219)

The tortoises and villages of the region had analogs in Europe, but differed markedly. The meanings of the words were close enough too, that German speakers were able to import the Afrikaans meanings with presumably little resistance. In German, *Schildpatt* means 'tortoise shell' ('tortoise' is *Schildkröter*), which is in the same semantic field as 'tortoise'. As regards the importation of the sense 'native village' to *Werft* 'shipyard', we must assume it was mediated by Afrikaans *werf* 'farmyard', from which the Namibian Afrikaans meaning 'native village' evolved; the quality of being a workyard of whatever trade is the semantic connection that enabled this early borrowing.

Most of the words above refer to new items for the incoming Germans, which is to be expected, since in initial contact, borrowings are usually restricted to words, and of the words borrowed, most refer to novelties. The translation of phrases, however, is a sign of longer-term contact, so when we see Afrikaans *reguit* 'straight ahead' translated as *recht aus*, we are seeing the next phase in Namibian German borrowing:

"Bruder Scheppmann ritt mit Samuel vorigen Dienstag, um zu untersuchen, ob der Wagen nicht von hier aus recht aus nach der Bai gehen könne, weil der Weg über Elberfeld-Esek so viel weiter ist." 'Brother Scheppmann rode last Tuesday with Samuel in order to see if the wagon could go straight from here to the bay, since the road through Elberfeld-Esek is so much longer.' (231)

This literal creation (calque) is interesting in that its elements are cognate, *recht* ~ *reg*, *aus* ~ *uit*. Whether Hahn did this on the spur of the moment, knowing intuitively that these words are congeners, is unknowable, but it seems not in the least bit unlikely. If that is the case, then NG *rechtaus* is a perfect example of apperception in borrowing.

The onomastic history of Namibia also sheds light on both early Namibian German and the role of apperception in borrowing. It is well known that, in European colonies, rivers and places were commonly named after ones that already existed in the Old World; e.g. the counties Gloucester, Surrey and Isle of Wight in Virginia, the Avon River in New Zealand, or Harlem (Haarlem, Netherlands) in New York. Two good examples of this are treated by Möller (1984:50), namely *Elberfeld* and *Barmen*. The former was so named because, as the missionary Kleinschmidt himself states, the Namibian settlement had much in common with Elberfeld, Germany, and so they called it Elberfeld. The same was true for *Barmen*; Hahn and Kleinschmidt, after having trekked through the desert, came upon a spot on the Swakop River. Inspired as they were by their evangelical task and the welcome sight of water, they named the place that the Hereros called Otjikango, Barmen, which was the headquarters of the Rhenish Mission in Germany. Others, such as *Rhein* for the Swakop River, are clear transfers from Germany, as is *Schwarzwald* for the area around the highlands of Khomas. Hahn claimed to have named it *Schwarzwald* on account of the darkness occasioned by the dense bushes and trees (53). Of course, these were conscious decisions on the part of Hahn and Kleinschmidt, and apperception is by definition a pre-conscious mental process, but they are still examples of understanding the new by means of the previously known.

The missionary period of Namibian German is important because it is the time in which first contacts were made and familiarity was gained. Most evidence of linguistic contact is on the level of loanwords and the carrying over of names from Germany. This is a necessary step in order to get to more profound loans, such as loanshifts, and the form *recht aus* 'straight ahead' can be seen as an early example of this next phase.

6.2.2 THE PERIOD OF GERMAN COLONIAL RULE: 1884-1915

In April of 1883, Heinrich Vogelsang, agent of Adolf Lüderitz, landed in Angra Pequena (now Lüderitz) and set about organizing the purchase of land in Namibia. While he was there, he kept a journal in which we see more borrowings from Afrikaans (Lüderitz 1945). While Vogelsang's journal cannot be regarded as early Namibian German, it can, like Hahn's diary, testify to the kind of borrowings that occurred when German and Afrikaans speakers first came into contact with one another in Namibia. It is likely that Vogelsang got his borrowings from his dealings with the Fredriks Oorlams of Bethanien (see 5.3.1), from whom he purchased the land; he states, in fact, "Die beiden Namaquas Exemplare konnten ganz gut holländisch sprechen, der eine sogar schreiben" "The two Namakwa specimens could speak Dutch very well, one of them could even write it" (Lüderitz 1945:24). The few terms he picked up all refer to Southern African phenomena, such as a native seabird:

Malgaß '*Morus capensis*, Cape gannet' "Der Chef schoß einen ziemlich großen Meervogel, Malgaß genannt." "The boss shot a rather large seabird called malagash." (19)

This is clearly a borrowing of Afrikaans *malgas*, and it would seem to be an unassimilated loanword, though it is unclear whether the vowel in the syllable *-gaß* is long or short. If it is long, then we have a partially assimilated loanword, if not, an unassimilated one, see Van der Meulen (1920).

The term *Kraal* comes up three times (28, 51, 52), but more interesting than that is the homologous extension *Platz*:

Platz 'farmstead' "Der Wagen machte Halt und übernachtete in der Nähe von Ratfords Platz, um de Jonghs Equipage aufzunehmen." 'We halted the wagon and spent the night nearby Ratford's farm, in order to collect De Jongh's equipment.' (37)

The Afrikaans word *plaas* 'farmstead' comes from Dutch *boerenplaats* 'farmstead', and while Vogelsang's precise meaning is not totally clear, it does seem to mean 'farm', not 'place' as it normally would in German. If so, then this is one of the first attestations of the Namibian German loanshift *Platz* 'farm'. It is also one of the first loans from the official beginning of German rule in Namibia.

In 1929, fourteen years after Germany lost control of Namibia and nine years after the deportations had been concluded, Ernst Allister Schlegemann (1928-29) gave a talk on linguistic contact in Namibia. Schlegemann was himself a perfect example of a Namibian Afrikaner. He grew up in the Boland and immigrated to Namibia in the early twenties, thus being part of the flood of Afrikaners who picked up stakes and struck out for South Africa's newly-acquired territory. His father was German, his mother was English, and he was trilingual, though he always felt more comfortable in Afrikaans than any other language (Moltke 1930:162). In his short twenty-six years, he noticed enough contact-induced linguistic phenomena in Namibia to give a fairly in-depth talk about the subject. He revisited the topic a year later (Schlegemann 1930), stating explicitly how he got his data: from listening to people in Windhoek, from what limited contact he had with German farmers, and from letters and other writings by Namibian Germans. His two works are important for the history of Namibian German, because they are the earliest linguistic studies we have on Namibian German and therefore most closely describe what Namibian German was probably like in the period of German rule.

Of course, it is misleading to speak of Namibian German as a monolithic speech community in this time period. Among the plus-minus 12,000 Germans in Namibia in 1915, there were missionaries who had been active in the country since before Vogelsang's arrival, soldiers who had been there for a few years only, and farmers who had arrived between the 1880s all the way to the 1910s. As Schlegemann (1928-29:51-2) puts it, if all the Germans and Afrikaners who had been in Namibia in 1900 were there in 1929 and no new immigrants had come in in the meantime, then there would have been much more borrowing between the two languages than what he had evidence of. As it stood, the constant influx of Germans during the period of German rule and of Afrikaners during South African rule had a retarding effect on the speed of borrowing. Unless, Schlegemann (52) conjectured, there was much greater borrowing in the south of the country, which he saw as the area of heaviest contact, and which he had never visited.

Despite these reservations, the data he provides are as reliable as any. Almost all of the work on Namibian German is based on data that were collected by personal observation (i.e. Riehl 2004, Shah 2007, Deumert 2009), and Schlegemann's paper fits right in with that tradition. Among those patterns he detected in the mutual borrowing between Namibian German and Afrikaans, was that these two languages borrow more often between each other because of their linguistic affinity, that is, their low language differential (1928-29:52; 1930: 47, 49). He posits a rule that is essentially the same as Haugen's language differential (see 2.3), that when words in two languages have a formal similarity, there is a tendency for semantic assimilation (1928-29:58). He attributes this to the workings of analogy, which is,

after all, another way of referring to the results of apperceptive reasoning. The majority of the contact phenomena he gives are instances of Namibian German influence on Namibian Afrikaans, which is surely because under German rule, German was the prestige and therefore influential language in this contact. Schlegemann does, however, manage to discuss a few cases of homologous extensions in Namibian German:

abkommen 'to come down' < *afkom* 'to come down' (1928-29:59; 1930: 49);
Feld 'veldt, Southern African grassland' < *veld* 'veldt' (1928-29:58; 1930: 47);
Junge 'male servant' < *jong* 'male servant' (1928-29:58; 1930:47, 51);
Platz 'farmstead' < *plaas* 'farmstead' (1930:47)

There are loanwords too, such as *vernüicken* 'to cheat' < *verneuk* 'to cheat', with German [y] for Afrikaans [eø], but they are less a result of apperception than loanshifts (specifically, homologous extensions) are, and are thus given more attention in this limited study. As one would expect, the ratio of loanwords to loanshifts in Namibian German changes in this time period. By the 1930s, German and Afrikaans in Namibia had been in contact for around seventy years, with the heaviest contact having been in the last twenty-five. As we saw in 6.2.1, most of the early borrowings by Namibian German are loanwords, with fewer loanshifts. With longer contact, more loanshifts occur, because a greater familiarity with the L₂ allows the borrower to import less superficial items (names for new plants, animals, or cultural phenomena) which is what we see the start of in Schlegemann's works.

The standard German verb *abkommen* means 'to get away from; to aim; to leave or drop sth.', and got its new sense in Namibian German from Afrikaans *afkom*, which is often given in syntax *die rivier kom af* 'the river is in flood'. The elements are cognate, and given the relative similarity of the senses 'to come down' and 'to get away', one could argue that this is a homologous extension, if not, it is a homophonous one. We have already seen *Platz* 'farmstead', but *Feld* is a new term to the list. In standard German, *Feld* means 'open country; field', whereas Namibian German has taken the meaning of Afrikaans *veld* 'uncultivated, unwooded area or tract nearby a town, village or farmstead with or without its vegetation'. The sense 'open field' is not so far removed from the Afrikaans one, so here we are dealing with a homologous extension. As regards the change *Junge* 'boy' > 'male servant', it should be noted that the change 'boy, lad' > 'male servant' is not uncommon at all, see English *boy* (Lieberman 2009). Given the new circumstances in which the Germans found themselves in Namibia, i.e. owning slaves and servants, and the two words being congeners, this borrowing is straightforward enough. A related instance is the synonymous extension *Weib* 'female servant' < *meid* 'female servant' (1928-29:63; 1930:51). This must have occurred because of the pejorative sense 'wench' that *Weib* already had.

Around the same time that Schlegemann brought out his treatises on linguistic contact in Namibia, Trümpelmann (1931-32) published a long article on the German *belles lettres* of Namibia. In it he devoted a few pages to the lexical results of contact with Afrikaans (136-41), all of which he excerpted from the printed word, unlike Schlegemann, who got most of his data from close listening. In this way, Trümpelmann and Schlegemann complement one another, providing as they do a picture of the spoken and the written word at the same point in the history of Namibian German

Translations of cognate forms are more numerous in Trümpelmann's data set. This is because he worked exclusively on German data, whereas Schlegemann mainly focussed on German loans in Namibian Afrikaans. There are far more loanshifts in Trümpelmann's list, but one comes across compound loanblends too:

Marginal:

Achterochse < *agter* 'hind ox, last ox in team';

Hartebeesthaus < *hartebeeshuis* 'hartbeesthouse';

Naukluft < *noukloof* 'narrow ravine';

Nuclear:

Viehwächter < *veevagter* 'cattle-herd'

Dickpenz < *dikpens* 'wingless locust with a thick under-abdomen';

Achterochse shows the borrowing of *agter* 'back, behind' and the substitution of *-ochse* 'ox'. *Hartebeesthaus* could be an borrowing from English *hartebeest*, a word that was itself borrowed from Cape Dutch. The Afrikaans form of the word is *hartbees*, which has regular apocope of both *-e* in *harte-* and of *-t-* in *-beest-*. Since the Namibian German form is *Hartebeest-*, it stands to reason that it was probably borrowed from English and not from Afrikaans. The second element of the word is, of course, homologous German *Haus* 'house'. *Naukluft* might also be from Dutch, not German, given the difference in the diphthongs: German [naʊ] is closer to Dutch [naʊ], given that both diphthongs begin low, than it is to Afr. *nou* [nɔʊ], which begins higher. The diphthong in *Naukluft* might also be explained as an attempt by German speakers to render the Afrikaans sound with its closest equivalent in German. In any event, *Kluft* normally means 'ravine, crevasse, chasm', while in Afrikaans *kloof* shares those senses, but refers specifically to the kinds of steep-walled ravines one often sees in Namibia and the Cape. The word was borrowed outright as well, so that both *Kloof* 'steep-walled ravine' and *-kluft* co-exist in Namibian German; note also place-name *Trothakluft* from the time of the genocide of the Hereros (Möller 1986:48). The duties of a cow-herd are similar all around the world, but the context in which the cattle are herded differs. The wide-open spaces of the northern Cape and Namibia were so vast, that having a competent cow-herd was of cardinal importance. This difference in the role of the cow-herd in society must have caused Germans in Namibia to regard it as different from German *Viehwächter* 'cow-herd' with <ä> [æ], and thus imported the second element *-wächter* from Afrikaans *-vagter*, both with <a> [a]. *Dickbauch* 'a person with a paunch, pot-belly' is known in German, but the Afrikaans *pens* 'stomach' of *dikpens* has no cognate in German and is therefore an imported morpheme.

Loanshifts are rather numerous in Trümpelmann's list of borrowings:

Literal creation:

Ausspannplatz < *uitspanplek* 'halting place';

Kameldornbaum < *kameeldoringboom* 'Acacia giraffae';

Kapkarre < *kapkar* 'Cape cart';

Kranksinnigkeit < *krank.sinnigheid* 'craziness';

Milchbusch < *melkbos* 'plants of the species *Euphorbia* and *Asclepias*';

Tauleiter < *touleier* 'wagon-leader';

Vormann < *voorman* 'leader';

Vorochse < *vooros* 'front ox';

Zündeldose < *tonteldoos* 'matchbox'

Innovations are *Kameldornbaum*, *Kranksinnigkeit*, *Tauleiter*, *Vorochse*, *Zündeldose*. *Ausspannplatz* and *Kapkarre* have two elements of differing qualities, for which Haugen makes no provision,

unless he would have categorized them under "approximate creation". In Southern Africa, trekking Afrikaners would need to find an *uitspanplek* at regular intervals, which was commonly a special area where, with the owner's permission, they would unyoke (*outspan* in South African English), feed and water their animals, and have a rest themselves. The verb *ausspannen* means 'to unyoke', and is cognate with *uitspan* 'to unyoke', while *Platz* 'place' is synonymous with Afrikaans *plek* 'place' and shares word-initial *pl-*. The two extensions *Ausspann* and *Platz* are homologous and synonymous, respectively, unless one wanted to argue that word-initial *pl-* made *Platz* and *plek* homologous. A similar type of homology-synonymy question arises when looking at *Kapkarre*. Afrikaans *kapkar*, literally 'hood-cart', refers to a specific type of buggy used on the Cape also known as a tilt-cart. While *Kap* [a:] in standard German means 'Cape', Afrikaans *kap* [a] means 'hood, bonnet'. Thus the two extensions in *Kapkarre* are homophonous and homologous, respectively. *Milchbusch* could be homologous, if its dialectal use for 'dandelion' was known amongst the German colonists; *Vormann* 'one who stands in front row' > 'leader' was maybe reinforced by Eng. *foreman* 'leader of team of workers'. All of these creations share semantic senses with the cognates used in their formation, which makes them homologous extensions too. The blurred line between these two categories will become more clear with Nöckler's (1963) data in sec. 6.2.3.

There are only three extensions based on form alone in Trümpelmann: *Drift* 'ford' < *drif*; *Rivier* 'dry river, wadi' < *rivier*; *Schlot* 'irrigation ditch' < *sloot*. German *Drift* means 'drift', a nautical term that has no similarity to 'ford', except that both refer to water. *Revier* 'police station; territory; mines' has nothing to do with 'dry river, wadi'. *Schlot* means 'chimney', but the Northern German *slót* 'grave' is given under *Schlot* in *DW*. Deumert (2009:356) says many LG speakers came to Namibia; if LG speakers knew this word and brought it with them, it surely would have been a form to associate with *sloot* 'irrigation ditch', both being things dug into the ground, and would thus make *Schlot* 'irrigation ditch' a homologous extension. Given the similarity of form and meaning between so many German and Afrikaans words, the homologous extension is the best-represented borrowing in Trümpelmann's study:

Bock < *bok* 'South African antelope';
Busch < *bos* 'forest';
Kamp 'corral' < *kamp*;
Kapitän 'chieftain' < *kaptein*;
klar < *klaar* 'finished';
Klippe < *klip* 'rock';
Kost < *kos* 'food';
Lehrer < *leraar* 'preacher';
Pfanne < *pan* 'depression in the ground typical to Namibia';
Posten < *pos* 'post in the wilderness';
Pütz < *put* 'water well';
Springhahn < *sprinkaan* 'locust, grasshopper';
Tiger < *tier* 'leopard';
Treiber < *drywer* (< *driver*) 'driver';
Volk < *volk* 'servants'

Synonymous extension:
Leute < (*volk*) 'servants'

There are numerous words here that refer to phenomena specific to Southern Africa. In standard German *Bock* means 'buck', *Busch* 'area where bushy plants grow', *Kamp* 'plot of land, field', *Kapitän* 'Captain', *Klippe* 'rock in the water', *Kost* 'food', *Lehrer* 'teacher', *Pfanne* 'pan-like depression', *Posten* 'post', *Pütz* 'water well', *Springbahn* 'locust', *Tiger* 'leopard', *Treiber* 'drover', *Volk* 'servants'. Most of these senses developed out of Dutch ones that are themselves much closer to the standard German meanings; for more on this, see Smuts (1964). Standard German *Bock* 'buck' (and *Bocki* with the Afrikaans diminutive suffix from *bokkie*) acquired the genderless meaning of Afrikaans 'antelope', which refers anyway to the species of antelope that live in Southern Africa. The forests of South Africa are less dense than those of western Europe, but larger than areas of mere bush growth, so this specifically African sense took over the old one of *Busch*, which in Namibia was extended to more open spaces than in South Africa. *Pütz* seems to have been moribund by the early 1900s, so perhaps we can classify it as a homophonous extension. Either way, the Namibian German obsession with drilling wells was, as cow-herding was, so starkly different in quality to that of the Old World, that borrowing took place. The *DW* notes that *Springbahn* 'locust, grasshopper' and *Kamp* 'plot of land, field' are both from the LG area of northern Germany, so, as with *Schlot*, if there were sufficient numbers of northern Germans in Namibia, perhaps they knew these words. The similar but differing quality of these items is self-evident, and need not detain us any longer here. There is, however, one homologous shift here that is not related to specific Namibiana. The adjective *klar* means 'clear; prepared' in standard German, and *klaar* means 'clear; evident; ready; kaputt; done'. The perfective sense has been transferred to Namibian German, which is not far off from the sense 'being prepared'. Perhaps the high frequency and multiple meanings of *klaar* induced its importation.

In a few instances, Trümpelmann is probably wrong about some of his etymologies. Three words that he thought were borrowed from English were probably from Afrikaans. *Boy* (137) is probably from *booi* 'male servant'. As with *Donkie* < Afr. *donki* < Eng. *donkey*, so the spelling with <i> in the second syllable would suggest that *Missis* < Afr. *miesies* < Eng. *Missus*. *Storie* (141) was already old in Afrikaans by the early 1900s; given the lack of English speakers before the period of South African rule, thus *Storie* < Afr. *storie* < Eng. *story*.

As the number of borrowings grew in number during this period, so too did the number of place-names. The penchant for applying names from the Old World to the New did not abate, among which *Altmark*, *Brandenberg*, *Hannover*, *Mecklenburg*, *Niedersachsen*, *Pfalz*, *Rostock*, *Tirol* (Möller 1987:91). One sees the homologous shifts above in *Tigerberg*, *Wolfsputz* – *Wolf* here is most likely a homologous extension with the Afrikaans meaning 'hyena', thus both morphemes in *Wolfsputz* are homologous. *Grossvley* < *Grootvlei* is the only loanblend treated by Möller (92).

6.2.3 THE PERIOD OF SOUTH AFRICAN RULE: 1915-1990

In 1963, Herbert Nöckler brought out the only full-length study of the linguistic contact between German and Afrikaans in Namibia. He, like others before him, noted (1963:79) "Daß sich leicht Wörter aus dem Afrikaans in den deutschen Sprachschatz einreihen lassen, wenn auch mit kleinen Formabänderungen, ist schon dadurch möglich, daß die beiden Sprachen eng verwandt sind." 'Afrikaans words were so easily included in German, albeit with some formal changes, because the two languages are so closely related.' In his study, he built upon Schlegemann and Trümpelmann's works, providing more citations in Namibian

German literature, which are by-the-way for the study at hand. He addresses all of the words given above, and adds some to the list. Many of the words he gives are loanwords and do not interest us here, but there are notably more loanshifts:

abschießen < *afskiet* 'to steal someone's livestock';
bankrott < *bankrot* 'credit';
Beiwobner < *bywoner* 'sharecropper';
Deichselbaum < *disselboom* 'beam, draught-pole';
Damm < *dam* 'small lake';
Donner < *donner* 'dumbass';
Durchschlag < *deurslag* 'mud, morass';
eingehen < *ingaan* 'to go in for';
einspannen < *inspan* 'to yoke, inspan';
fragen < *vra* 'to demand';
Fußgänger < *voetganger* 'young, wingless grasshopper';
gesalzen < *gesout* 'immunized (of livestock)';
kahlfuß < *kaalvoet* 'barefoot';
Krans < *krans* 'rockface, high rock';
mal < *mal* 'mad, angry';
Manier < *manier* 'manner, means, way';
oben < *bo* 'northwards';
Regenzeit < *reëntyd* 'rainy season';
schlechtmachen < *slegmaak* 'to speak badly of someone';
Schmauser < *smous* 'traveling salesman';
schwerkriegen < *swaarkry* 'to have a hard time of it';
Vorkiste < *voorkis* 'box that the ox-wagon driver sits on';
Vorschlag < *voorslag* 'the small strips of leather on the tip of a whip that make the cracking sound, i.e. a sonic boom';
umgeben < *omgee* 'to care about, be interested in'

It would be superfluous at this point to deal with each lexeme individually, since the importance of loanshifts in this intra-Germanic contact was just illustrated in 6.2.2, so it will suffice to comment on just a few of these words. *Infanteristen* normally means 'infantry', but in Namibian German means 'young, wingless grasshopper', and must be a semantic extension of *voetganger*. The verb *eingehen* is an Anglicism in Afrikaans, which makes it a borrowing of a borrowing, all the elements of which are Germanic: *go* + *in*, *in* + *gaan*, *ein* + *gehen*. Another case of intra-Germanic borrowing is that of *krans*, which itself is a German loanword in Afrikaans. This kind of re-borrowing must have happened all the time in the history of intra-Germanic linguistic contact, see introduction. It is interesting that there is no element of Haugenian homology in the Afrikaans word *mal* 'mad', which is a semantic extension from English (specifically American English), and its borrowing into Namibian German is purely homophonous. As one can expect from the radically different climate of Namibia, old words for seasons became meaningless in this new context. So Namibian German calqued Afrikaans *reëntyd* 'rainy season' (literally 'rain time') as *Regenzeit* 'rainy season', and Afrikaans *droëntyd* 'dry season' (literally 'dry time') as *Trockenzeit* 'dry season'.

Gretschel (1984:39-42) reiterates the findings of Nöckler, agreeing that Namibian German and standard German pronunciations do not differ, and adds our first data on grammatical borrowing. Nöckler only focussed on lexical borrowing, as did Schlegemann

and Trümpelmann, which makes Gretschel's comments valuable. Gretschel (41) makes a special point that there are few morpho-syntactic phenomena to report. He notes that there is a tendency for confusion between accusative and dative, but that this is largely manifest in the masculine II noun category (weak, n-class nouns). The meaningfulness of this development is lessened by the knowledge that the same loss of case distinction in masculine II nouns is also far along in the spoken German of Germany and Austria, still, it is interesting that the same loss has been detected in Natal German (Stielau 1980:211). The placement of the finite verb immediately after *weil* 'because' instead of at the end of the clause is another change that is well under way in European German, but which has been given a boost in Namibian German by the identical placement of the finite verb after Afrikaans *want* 'because'. English too could have contributed to the acceleration of this syntactic change.

There is, however, one development Gretschel touches on (1984:41) (see 2.5.2) that is surely a borrowing from Afrikaans, namely the use of *um ... zu* in constructions without intent. In standard German, *um ... zu* means 'in order to', whereas *zu* is used for simple infinitival object clauses, e.g. *Es macht Spass, Krieket zu spielen* 'it is fun to play cricket', but *Ich spiele Krieket, um Spass zu haben* 'I play cricket in order to have fun'. In Namibian German the *um ... zu* construction is used for simple infinitival object clauses such as *Es macht Spass, um Krieket zu spielen* on the model of Afrikaans *Dis lekker om krieket te speel*. But Namibian German also uses it for attributive infinitival clauses, e.g. *Der Weg, um diese Frage zu lösen, ist schwer* 'The way to answer this question is hard', based on Afrikaans *Die weg om hierdie vraag op te los, is moeilik*.

6.2.4 THE PERIOD OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE: 1990 – PRESENT

Data from the most recent period of the history of Namibian German show expansion of the morphosyntactic borrowings from Afrikaans. The *um ... zu* construction becomes dominant by this period. Claudia Riehl (2004:88) maintains that it has almost totally replaced the standard German construction with *zu*, which Sheena Shah (2007:25) disagrees with. She believes that *um ... zu* has indeed spread, but that there are still German speakers in Namibia who use *zu* in accordance with the norms of standard German. The data from Natal German, which is not as beholden to the norms of standard German, show that if left unbridled, this construction would become the sole one, as it has in Natal German (Stielau 1980:213-4). What is more, Stielau rightfully points out that *um ... zu* has been gaining ground in standard German for the last few centuries, and the expansion of its use in Natal German is not just an importation of Afrikaans *om ... te*, it is also a contact-induced acceleration of a tendency in the language itself. The data from Natal German are so important in analyzing Nam.Ger, because these two Southern African German lects developed independently of one another. If both languages made the same borrowings from Afrikaans without connection with one another, then we have proof that it is the internal structure of German that enabled the borrowing, i.e. the correspondence between the grammars allowed German speakers to perceive the Afrikaans items and quickly borrow them.

The importation of the Afrikaans use of the preposition *vir* 'for' with a direct or an indirect object is foremost among the borrowings of prepositions. In standard Afrikaans, *vir* can be used with an indirect object, e.g. *Gee vir hom die boek* 'Give him the book'. In spoken Afrikaans, one uses *vir* with direct objects too, e.g. *Ek sien vir jou* 'I see you'. Namibian

German has borrowed these usages, thus *Gib für ihn das Buch, Ich sehe für dich*. As Shah (2007:26) points out, Namibian German has already expanded its use of *für* 'for' with importations from English, e.g. *Ich suche für ihn* 'I look for him', and *Ich habe so lange für ihn gewartet* 'I waited so long for him', so that the borrowing of the Afrikaans use can be seen as a larger process of the expansion of range of *für*-use.

One sees syntactic borrowings from Afrikaans as well. German and Afrikaans share the word order one sees in Wh-interrogatives, that is, the finite verb is in position two, e.g. *Was sagt Claudia?*, *Wat sê Claudia?* 'What does Claudia say?/What is Claudia saying?' They also both place the finite verb at the end of a dependant, subordinate clause, e.g. *Ich habe gehört, was Claudia sagt.* / *Ek het gehoor, wat Claudia sê.* 'I heard what Claudia said.' This subordinated word order is normal in spoken German, but it is losing ground in spoken Afrikaans. The tendency in Afrikaans is to use the interrogative word order (finite verb in position two), thus *Ek het gehoor, wat sê Claudia*. According to Riehl (2004:87), Namibian German has imported this more colloquial Afrikaans syntax: *Ich habe gehört, was sagt Claudia*. That such an importation does not disturb native speakers' feel for the language (*Sprachgefühl*) is attested by the fact that native speakers of Natal German have effected the same borrowing (Von Delft 1984:17).

The placement of *nicht* is also being patterned on Afrikaans syntax. Whereas in German, *nicht* often appears at or near the end of the clause (e.g. before an infinitive verb), in Afrikaans, *nie* appears earlier in the sentence. So NG *Du musst nicht das jetzt machen* corresponds to Afrikaans *jy moenie dit nou doen nie* 'you shouldn't do that now' (Riehl 2004:87; Shah 2007:32); the same change has occurred in Natal German (Stielau 1980:224). Further borrowing is to be seen in the formation of the perfect tense, where Namibian German is expanding the use of the auxiliary *haben* 'to have' on the model of Afrikaans: e.g. *Die hat nie zu mir gekommen, Sy het nooit by my gekom nie* 'She never visited me' (Shah 2007:34). The relative pronoun has also been influenced by Afrikaans: cf. *Das ist jetzt Maxine was redet* and *Dis nou Maxine wat praat* 'That's Maxine who is speaking' (ibid.). The pre-existing German syntax that made this borrowing possible must be the use of *was* as a relative pronoun with *alles, das*, etc.: e.g. *Ich mache alles, was ich machen kann* 'I am doing everything that I can.' It must also have been from the tendency in some German (and continental West Germanic, see Den Besten [1996]), and English [Wright 1905:280]) dialects to use *was* as a relative pronoun in the same way Namibian German does; see Russ (1990). That this change is natural for Germans is shown, once again, by its independent development in Natal German, where *was* is used as a relative pronoun for neuter referents, though as one moves into northern Natal and southern Transvaal (today Mpumalanga) where Afrikaans speakers constitute the majority of the white population, *was* is used far more widely than in the southern part of Natal (Stielau 1980:210).

Other changes in the pronominal system of Namibian German are also taking place under the influence of Afrikaans. As we saw German influence in the development of the Afrikaans definite article, so we see Afrikaans influence in the ongoing evolution of the Namibian German definite article. Shah (2007:28-29) noticed varying examples of this in spoken Namibian German. There is a growing confusion among Namibian German speakers as to which case follows which preposition, so that sentences with accusatives instead of datives like *Ich spiele immer mit die beide* 'I always play with the two of them' (should be *mit den beiden*), or *Sie hatte Jellytots in die Klasse* 'She had jellytots in the class' (should be *in der Klasse*) are now often heard in Namibian German. On the other hand, *die* has not spread nearly as far as one would expect; loanwords can be borrowed into the masculine or neuter classes: *die vlei* > *der Vläi* 'the vlei', *die biltong* > *das Bülltong* 'the biltong' (ibid.:36-7). Still, case confusion is

prevalent after prepositions, and especially with possessive pronouns: e.g. *Er fährt mit sein Auto* 'He drives his car' (should be *mit seinem Auto*) and *Ich bin in sein Klasse* 'I am in his class' (should be *in seiner Klasse*) (ibid.:28). As one can tell, this interference is on a limited scale, but one can extrapolate into a future in which Namibian German has one definite article *die* and no case distinctions. As it stands, standardized German-language education and stronger ties to Germany are helping to slow this development. It does, however, build off of a larger German (and Germanic) tendency to lose case and gender distinctions, see Shrier (1965). This tendency is also manifest in Natal German, though its realization is more differentiated and widespread, probably because there is less contact between Natal German and standard German and more contact between Natal German and Afrikaans (Stielau 1980:214-5).

A similar deterioration in the Namibian German case system is evident in its formation of the periphrastic possessive. Standard German *Die Kinder saßen auf dem Mann seinem Schoß* 'The children sat on his lap', corresponds to NG *Die Kinder saßen auf dem Mann sein Schoß* (Shah 2007:28). The possessive pronoun *sein* is lacking the proper inflection, as it is in the foregoing paragraph. Both standard German and Afrikaans have periphrastic possessives (see 4.0), and it looks like the Afrikaans construction, which is the sole possessive construction in the language, is helping the spread of the uninflected form *sein* in Namibian German. This would be because the Afrikaans particle *se* (< *s'n* < *sijn* 'his') distinguishes neither gender nor case. Such a change is in its early stages. Uninflected *sein* has not spread to feminine nouns, nor is it uninflected all the time, as is the case with educated speakers with strong ties to Germany and German-language media. As with all language change, the innovations are happening in the speech of non-prestige speakers, in this case, farmers, artisans, and students, that is, those speakers who are less connected to normative language use. Natal German shows a similar, though wider expansion of periphrastic *sein* (Stielau 1980:215-6).

While grammatical borrowing has increased markedly in this period, all of which has some predicate in German, the influx of loanshifts has not abated. Riehl (2004:84) provides a few examples: *Absprache* 'appointment' < *afspraak*; *lecker* 'fun, excellent' < *lekker*; *beschäftigt* 'busy' < *besig*. Pütz (2001) is a semi-humorous dictionary of typically Namibian German words and phrases, many of which are from Afrikaans, that shows how open the language now is to wholesale importation of Afrikaans and English loans.

The expected evolution of borrowing in a contact situation is playing out according to expectations in the case of Namibian German. In its early phase (see 6.2.1) we see mostly loanwords for new items, which is in keeping with the results of early linguistic contact. In its phase of establishment (see 6.2.2 and 6.2.3) we see a large increase in the number of loanshifts. In this section, grammar, syntax, and lexicon have all been borrowed, a sign of robust linguistic contact, what is more, much of the borrowings have a precedent in German, which has enabled Namibian German speakers to more easily take up those Afrikaansisms that accord best with the structure of their native language.

6.3 ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES ON A FEW NAMIBIAN GERMAN WORDS

Of the words Nöckler gives, a few that come from Afrikaans have been erroneously assigned to the categories of African or English words. There are a few points to make about the words he sees as coming from native languages before we move on to those from English and Afrikaans.

He gives *atatita* (36) as a Herero word, meaning "Ein Ausruf des Erstaunens, ungefähr wie 'Donnerwetter'" 'an exclamation of surprise, similar to "darn it!". Apparently Nöckler did not know about J.L.M. Franken's unpublished dissertation (1912), in which he discusses Afrikaans *hètètè*, *batata*.³¹ It would be an extraordinary coincidence if *atatita* and *hètètè*, *batata* were unrelated. We can conclude that the word is originally from the Low Countries; Franken gives ample evidence of the word's existence in Dutch dialects. This makes it highly likely that the word is old in Afrikaans, which means it was probably already well established when contact between Afrikaans and German speakers in Namibia first took place. If it happened to turn up first in the speech of German colonists in the former Herero-dominated north around Grootfontein, perhaps it entered Namibian German via Dorslandafrikaans. Note that Nöckler does not make the same mistake with the exclamation *eikona*, correctly deriving it from Afrikaans *haikôna*, a borrowing from Nguni (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967).

Another word that Nöckler thought was from a native language is *buga* 'long ago; always' (36). This is probably from Afrikaans *boeka* 'already; all along; long ago' not directly from Nama *buga*, for the form cited by him is in fact *buka*.³² It seems unlikely that a Nama word would enter the speech of Germans, being that they settled mainly in the north, on former Herero lands. Their house-servants were Hereros, not Namas. In fact, outside of a few military engagements, German-Nama relations were not nearly extensive enough to have effected such a borrowing. Of course, it is always problematic to theorize about the reason why any word is borrowed. Nöckler states that these words (loan words that refer to things in German for which there is already a German word) were taken up because they sound more accurate, because they say more. This is, unfortunately for Nöckler, an unprovable assertion. It might well be true that for some reason, *buka* felt better to Namibian Germans, but we cannot prove it. Whatever the case, what is important here is that we are dealing with a loan word from Afrikaans and not from Nama.

The expression *mooi kako* 'not good' is curious. I have never come across a similar construction in Afrikaans, so I see it as unlikely to have been an Afrikaans loan. Still, the second element *kako* reminds one strongly of Afrikaans *kak* 'shit, malarkey; fuck!'. As Nöckler sees it, *kako* is from Herero and means 'no', but is also used in the sense 'bad' or as an exclamation like *pfui* 'foeey'. As Nöckler admits, the first element is Afrikaans *mooi* 'pretty, nice, good'. So brought together the two should mean 'good-bad' or 'nice-bad', or something like that, not 'not good'. One must wonder, though, if it is not more likely that the second element is Afrikaans *kak*, and that the expression is, if not based on, at least influenced by German *schönblöd* 'not good; quite bad', in which the two elements have the same meanings as those of *mooikako*. That said, it is not outside of the realm of reason that *kak* was apperceived by the Herero as their word *kako*, and in some way this exchange helped to bring about the introduction of word-final *o*.

³¹ Franken (1912:212): "tw. (kindertaal) tegen ander die kwaad gedaan heeft, 'jij zult slaag krijgen!' Waarschijnlijk niet 'tzelfde als het Vlaams *hettetet*, *tettetet*, *tatata* (Rutten, Joos, Cornelissen-Vervliet, Tuerlinckx) tw. om wrevel, onverschilligheid, afkeuring te kennen te geven. Mansvet geeft: "*dit was net so bittetè!*" 'jij hadt bijna slaag gekregen!' en vraagt of 't samenhangt met Engels *to bit*." 'Exclamation (children's speech) to one who has been naughty, "you're gonna get it!" Probably not the same as Flemish *hettetet*, *tettetet*, *tatata* (Rutten, Joos, Cornelissen-Vervliet, Tuerlinckx) exclamation of resentment, indifference, or disapproval. Mansvet gives: *it was so bittetè!* "you almost got a knuckle sandwich" and wonders if it has a connection with English *to bit*.'

³² Angebauer (1927:169): "Huka, huka hatte ein alter Häuptling von Kallunga, dem großen Geist, ein Bündel Stöcke erhalten." 'Huka, huka an old chief received a bundle of sticks from Kallunga, the great spirit.'

The words *keinatsch* and *kanatjie* 'child' (37) remind one of the numerous *ka-* words in Afrikaans that connote endearment or familiarity. *Kabouter* is one that comes to mind; it can mean 'ironically used name or nickname for a kid who is full of pranks'. This is a secondary meaning from the primary one of 'imp, goblin'. The etymology of *kabouter* is by no means solved, but what is important here is not its origin, but rather its affective character. There is a whole raft of *ka(r)-* words in Afrikaans, all of which carry a heavy emotive load, see Bouman (1951), Coetzee (1995). Given the tendency of Afrikaans to make use of *ka-* words when intimacy or emphasis is in play, it would seem more likely that *kanatjie* entered the Namibian German vocabulary via Afrikaans. This would explain the diminutive suffix *-tjie* in a German word, and it would partially explain the form *keinatsch*, where *-tsch* is a German rendering of *-tj(ie)* [ci]. That the word has *ei* in a syllable with secondary stress is notable, because the only vowel variation allowed in this position in Afrikaans is schwa or [a]. Whatever the case with *keinatsch* and *kanatjie*, it seems more likely that the word entered Namibian German via Afrikaans, and not via Herero. The idea would be that Afrikaans speakers apperceived Herero *Okanatje* 'child' as another *ka-* word for children, and it entered Namibian Afrikaans and was subsequently passed on to Namibian German. Another *ka(r)-* word from Afrikaans is *Kapater* 'gelding' which, according to Nöckler (64), is an extension of German *Kapater*, though I found neither it nor the *-r-* variant *karpater* in *DW*. Given the already large number of Namibian German agriculture-related borrowings from Afrikaans, it seems that this is probably a loanword, not a loanshift.

In two instances, Nöckler (102) saw an internal phonetic change, where there is probably none. He construes the Namibian German form *Povian* 'baboon' as a change of standard German *Pavian*, thus *Pavian* > *Povian*. However, just as *Pavian* has [o], so does Afrikaans *bobbejaan*, and since we know that so many other names for new fauna were borrowed from Afrikaans, it seems unnecessary to regard this as anything but a partially assimilated loanword. Nöckler makes a big stretch in his treatment of *Póntok* 'native hut', which he saw Afrikaans *pondóke* > NG *Póntok*. He does not explain the shift of accent, though it is likely just another instance of the tendency in German to stress the first syllable, nor does he provide an explanation of [d] > [t]. He must not have known about the by-form *pontok* (no stress indicated), which Scholtz included in his notes on dialectal variation in Afrikaans (*SV*). Instead of flirting with Werner's Law, it seems more reasonable to assume that the dialectal variant *pontok* was more common amongst the Afrikaans speakers from whom the first Namibian Germans borrowed the word.

Nöckler's second list of words consists of borrowings from English. Here, too, there are some words attributed to English that are more likely from Afrikaans. It is entirely possible that the English words *bloody*, *donkey* and *khaki* were borrowed from Afrikaans, which in turn had borrowed these words almost a century earlier. In the case of *bleddy* (40), the vowel /e/ is shared by Afrikaans *bleddie*, which is an Afrikaans attempt to produce the terse South African English mid central vowel. Note the same vowel in English *trouble* and *clutch* being rendered as *tröbbel*, *trabbel* and *Klötsch* in the mouths of Namibian Germans (44). Our equine beast of burden, the donkey, is such a rural animal, and was so widespread amongst incoming Afrikaners, Oorlams and Basters, that it is highly unlikely that *Donki* only entered Namibian German after 1915 (41). It was probably already being used in the land before German colonists arrived in the first place. Likewise, the fabric name *khaki* more likely entered Namibia around the time of the Anglo-Boer War in the mouths of Afrikaans speakers, hence the Afrikaans definition 'English soldier' (41). Another interesting example of this is the word *Distrikt* 'district, area'. The stress on the second syllable gives away its Afrikaans origin. It is Afrikaans *distrik*, and not English *district*. The oldest form in Afrikaans

is *destrecksie* from 1758 (Scholtz 1972:118), with the common centering of the first two vowels. It used to mean 'district' as well as 'area in the countryside'. So perhaps the English meaning was borrowed after the Afrikaans word had itself entered Namibian German.

No dissertation on the Germanic component of the Namibian German lexicon is complete without addressing the adjective *stief* [šti:f] 'very; many, much; hella'. The first scholar to attempt an explanation of this word was Schlegemann (1928-29:63), who rightly pointed out that it seems clearly related to Afrikaans *styf* [stɛif] 'stiff, rigid' and German *steif* [štaif] 'stiff, rigid', but that the vocalism is incongruent. He, as others later would, wondered whether the Namibian German monophthong arose like so: Afrikaans [ɛi] > Namibian German [i:]; or like so: standard German [ai] > Namibian German [i:]. He offers no solutions, but he does give a piece of useful sociolinguistic commentary. The Namibian Afrikaners, who themselves made wide use of *stief*, viewed it as a borrowing from German, while the Namibian Germans held it to be from Afrikaans.

More sociolinguistic information is provided by Trümpelmann (1931:140), who notes that *stief* is usually seen in the speech of *Eingeborenen* 'natives'. He does not say whether it was the Basters, the Damara, or the Hereros. This contribution is important, however, because of an analogous situation in Afrikaans. Linguistic items that are seen as typically Afrikaans, such as the use of *ons* 'us' for *wij* 'we', of *is* 'is' for *ben* 'am', reduplication or the brace negation (*nie ... nie*), were all first recorded in the mouths of Coloureds. The reigning interpretation of this is that these anomalous forms were in common usage by all, but the sense of a written standard prevented whites from being portrayed as speaking in a slangy way, whereas that was perfectly fine with respect to the Coloureds, who could be portrayed in however poor a light as whites decided. Accordingly, if early examples of *stief* are seen in the speech of "natives", then we can also assume that *stief* had become common amongst all Namibian Germans at an early date, though they felt the word to be too informal.

Rademeyer (1938:123-4) fell into the same trap that Schlegemann did, wondering about how to explain the monophthongization of [ɛi] or [ai] to [i:]. His solution was to regard it as the result of the same process that produced Afrikaans *stiebeuel* 'stirrup' < *stijgbeugel*, *stiegriem* 'stirrup-leather' < *stijgriem*, *tier* 'hyena' < *tijger*. As Franken (1938a:45) points out, Rademeyer is right that it is part of the same phenomenon that yielded *stiebeuel*, *stiegriem*, and *tier*, namely, the retention of old monophthongs. In both Dutch and German (and English), [i:] was diphthongized in the early modern period. There were, however, dialects of both languages that never underwent diphthongization, and it is from those Dutch dialects that *stiebeuel*, *stiegriem*, and *tier* come (see Bouman 1928), as Franken (ibid.) also points out. Rademeyer (124) hits much closer to the mark, however, in opining that *stief* could have come from LG *steef* 'many, much', which is used in East Prussia and in littoral Germany. Nöckler (1963:62) relays that two informants assured him that *stief* is also used in East Frisian and the dialects of Mecklenburg. In the same dialectal neighborhood is Groningen, which also, according to Franken (ibid.) has *stief* in a similar sense, see Molema (1887:402) Deumert (2009:369) agrees in passing that it is probably of north German origin.

The LG descent of *stief* is clearly born out in its vocalism, but if *stief* was brought over by LG settlers, then why did it survive while so little else did? The sociolinguistic comments by Schlegemann about the word being seen by neither Namibian Afrikaners nor Germans as a native one help to answer this. One possible explanation is that the word was brought over early on by the LG settlers who made up the majority of early colonists. As the northern Germans leveled their dialect-heavy speech, the next generation was already speaking according to standard German pronunciation. As is common with words of high frequency and special emphasis, *stief* must not have undergone the diphthongization that would have

brought it in line with the standard – cf. the analogous retention in Afrikaans of high-frequency *stiebeuel* and *tier*. It ended up being effectively stranded in the growing Namibian German lexicon, and because it did not fit the phonological profile of German, was seen by Namibian German speakers as a loanword. In both form and meaning, NG *stief* is from LG.

6.4 APPERCEPTION AND BORROWINGS IN NAMIBIAN GERMAN

In 1901, a certain Pfarrer Anz delivered a sharp-tongued reproach of the Germans of Namibia as reported in Nöckler (1963:68):

"Aus früheren Verhältnissen des Landes unbeschens übernommene Gewohnheiten, die liebe Eitelkeit, die sich geschmeichelt fühlt, wenn sie mit fremden Wörtern um sich werfen kann, und die beklagenswerte Unart der Deutschen, wo sie auch seien, ihre Sprache sofort jeder beliebigen anderen nachzustellen, wenn es nur eine andere ist, das alles hat dazu zusammengewirkt, in der kurzen Zeit der Besiedlung des Landes hier ein schauerliches Afrikanerdeutsch entstehen zu lassen, das jeder mit Hochgenuß spricht und gegen das es höchste Zeit wird, uns mit aller Gewalt aufzuraffen" 'Disregarding the customs borrowed in earlier times, the lamentable German habits of vain self-flattery in bandying foreign words about, and of deferring in all instances to whatever other language happens to be there, have both, in the short time that this colony has existed, conspired to allow a dreadful Afrikaner German to arise, which all speak with glee and aplomb, and which we must put to rights with extreme prejudice.'

The fact that by 1901 Germans in Namibia were speaking an Afrikaans-heavy idiom, is testament to the speed with which new items that are apperceivable as wholly or partially native can spread. Most colonists had not yet arrived by 1901, a time in which the German population was spread out all over the country. The variety of work done amongst them was also variegated, whether agricultural, religious, military, mercantile or governmental. We can therefore expect that among many of the less cultivated elements of this community, who were also the majority of it, slangy, Afrikaans-infused speech was common. It would also stand to reason that the constant influx of colonists and its retarding effects on the rate of change in Namibian German that Schlegemann referred to was less operative during this period of looser demography. Only after Germany's defeat of the Hereros in 1907 did relatively large numbers of colonists arrive, which was part of a larger change in Germany's investment in Namibia, which had been half-hearted up till then. Telegraphy, more frequent shipping, and railroads all made Namibia better connected by 1910, a connectedness which has remained unbroken ever since.

Returning to 1901, it is remarkable to note that, after a mere sixty years of contact, Namibian German had changed so much that an outsider would have taken such exception with its divergence from proper standard German. One is inclined to believe that the borrowings of this early period would have consisted mainly of items that are taken up quickly, that is, ones from the L₂ that are easily apperceived as part of the L₁ (loanblends, homophonous and homologous extensions). While the influx of German colonists and strong ties to Germany would help to slow the divergent evolution of Namibian German, the motivation to borrow, on account of both the strong affinity between the two languages

and Afrikaans' prestige, has led to the present situation in which Namibian German has borrowed a significant amount of grammar from Afrikaans. Almost all the borrowings had precedents in German, e.g. *Jan se boek* ~ *Jan sein Buch* 'John's book', *die man wat praat* ~ *der Mann, was spricht/praat* 'the man who is speaking' (see 6.2.4).

6.5 CONCLUSION

After looking at the intra-Germanic linguistic contact in Namibia, there are two main points to make. The first is in respect of the periodization of Namibian German. There are four main periods in the history of Namibian German. The first is the missionary period of the mid-nineteenth century. In this time we see the kinds of borrowing that one expects in the initial phase of linguistic contact. Words are borrowed for new things, activities, and ideas, and the grammar of the borrowing language is left alone. In the case of Namibian German, most of the borrowings are agricultural and landscape-oriented, which is understandable, given that the context in which these items were borrowed was a rural one. We can assume that many of these early borrowings came from the Afrikaans of the Oorlams and Basters. The second period is that of German rule, a time in which more borrowings occur, though the speed is slowed down given the prestige of German at the time. There is an increase in loanblends and loanshifts, a sign of Namibian Germans' greater familiarity with Afrikaans. This familiarity becomes ever deeper during the third period of Namibian German, the period of South African rule. In this time, Namibian German takes on all manner of loanshifts, from slavish, morpheme-for-morpheme translations to synonymous extensions. Loanblends also increase in this time, all of which is understandable when one considers that the prestige language at this time is Afrikaans. The fourth period, that of Namibian independence, shows, linguistically speaking, a further development of the changes that were well underway in the period of South African rule. Loanshifts become very common, and the grammar of Namibian German is affected greatly, mostly by importing those Afrikaans constructions that are already somewhat familiar because of analogous, pre-existing German grammar.

This brings me to my second point, that apperceptive borrowings make up the majority of Namibian German borrowings from Afrikaans. We have seen time and again in this dissertation that loanblends and loanshifts are apperceptive in nature, given their use of the known, or the old, in respect of the new. Given the low differential between German and Afrikaans, there was ample opportunity for Namibian Germans to associate Afrikaans words and grammar with corresponding German phenomena.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

When a language is influenced by other languages, the phenomena that arise out of that situation can (among many other possibilities) correspond in varying degrees to the patterns of the receiving language, or they can be wholly different. An example of the former would be semantic shifts in congeners (Namibian German *abkommen* 'to let water out' from Afrikaans *afkom*), an example of the latter would be loanwords for ideas that are entirely new (Namibian German *Nara* 'pumpkin-like seed of the nara fruit'). The focus of the study at hand has been on the former, which is characteristic of both closely-related languages in contact and the dynamic of apperception, see section 2.5.

The German influence on Afrikaans has a long history characterized by both opacity and profundity. As I sought to show in sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3, many of the most promising potential borrowings from German are not unequivocally derivable from a German or a Dutch source. That said, some linguistic items are easier to identify as German than others, as was the case with the Afrikaans adjective *stols* 'proud', which is clearly a pre-immigration borrowing (see 4.1.2.14). Other items are ambiguous yet compelling, viz the case of the Afrikaans definite article *die* 'the' (see 4.1.3.2). If indeed the development of the Afrikaans definite article was influenced by German speakers who gravitated to it because of its similarity to the German feminine and plural definite article *die*, the change is both profound and opaque given the paucity of textual evidence of such a development. In realization of the subconscious nature of apperception, it would fully stand to reason that Germans using *die* in their idiolectal Cape Dutch would be attributable to their perceiving of the new as the previously known. This is the essential analogical nature of apperception.

A most instructive example of how apperception can motivate lexical evolution is that of the Afrikaans adjective and adverb *baie* 'very, many, much, often'. In section 4.3 I showed the textual history of this word, its formal development from *banjer* to *banje* / *banja* and finally to modern *baie*. I then moved on to its etymology, which, after careful analysis of all the competing theories, shows that the likeliest explanation is that it derives from Malay *banja(k)* 'very, many, much, often', Low German *banni(g)* 'very, extraordinary', and nautical Dutch *banjer* 'very'. Etymologies rarely derive words from multiple sources, but sometimes, in multilingual contact situations, such developments are known to occur, as has been pointed out by Cassidy (1966) and Zuckermann (2004). In the case of the hybrid *baie*, the role of apperception was central to *baie* coming into being. Simply put, when a Malay speaker heard a Low German say *banni(g)*, he apperceived it as *banja(k)*, and when the Malay speaker said *banja(k)*, the Dutch speaker apperceived it as *banjer*, and so on in all combinations of speakers. The form of the word is a compromise hybrid between them all, namely *banje*, which itself later underwent the regular Afrikaans sound change of intervocalic loss of [nj]. The meanings were all close enough that no significant compromise was necessary on the semantic front.

While both Low and High German played their respective roles in the history of Afrikaans, in Namibia, the linguistic situation was reversed. Now it was Afrikaans that was

the input language, and Namibian German the receiving one. Namibian German is a young dialect compared to Afrikaans. Unlike Afrikaans, which began evolving at a time when long-distance communication was slow and difficult, Namibian German has developed under the retarding effects of mass communications. This has kept Namibian Germans connected to standard German, and thereby slowed the influence of Afrikaans. The development of Afrikaans was rather different. Dutch was stranded on the Cape of Good Hope for two hundred years of non-electric, marine conveyance, during which period Cape Dutch could evolve unconstrained, an evolution that was aided by the widespread illiteracy of that period. German in Namibia might have been rough around the edges, but literacy has always been high there, further helping to stanch the flow of Afrikaans loans. Nevertheless, the great affinity between the two languages and the attendant opportunities driven by apperception have resulted in numerous borrowings from Afrikaans into Namibian German.

The settlement of Namibia by Afrikaans and German speakers has been generally even all over the country, giving rise to a situation of heavy aggregate interaction. Bearing in the mind the comparatively short amount of time they have been in contact, the great number of loanshifts (as detailed in section 6.2) that have occurred is striking testimony to the efficacy of apperception in linguistic contact situations between languages with very low differentials (see section 2.3). The course of the evolution of Namibian German is unclear, in large part due to the fact that it is such a young lect. Given, however, the high rate of borrowing that one sees in Namibia right now, it is likely that in three hundred years from now, if German and Afrikaans-speakers are still farming and living side-by-side in Namibia, the German spoken will be on its way to being a distinct dialect, replete with borrowings that are largely attributable to apperceptive reasoning. Namibian German therefore represents the most recent example in the story of intra-Germanic linguistic contact and its profound effects on the Germanic language family.

This point is worth stressing. Cape Dutch/Afrikaans and Namibian German are perfect case studies for intra-Germanic linguistic contact. Parallel developments, whether arrived at independently or by shared genesis, will reinforce one another when brought into contact, a situation which must have played itself out all throughout the history of contact between Germanic languages. Whether it was Burgundian influence on Franconian, Old Frisian on Old English, Danish on Faroese, or Dutch on East Frisian, the role of apperception must have been great in these cases of linguistic contact, whether we can show it or not, as is the problem with Langobardic, Vandalic, Burgundian and, to a lesser extent, Franconian. Sometimes developments underway can get sped along, as the spread of non-intentional *um* ... *zu* constructions in Namibian German (see sections 6.2.3 and 6.2.4) or the victory of the *die* over the other Dutch definite articles *de* and *het* shows (see section 4.1.3.2). Likewise sometimes developments away from a certain linguistic item, as with the Namibian German relative pronoun *was* (section 6.2.4) or the intersonorantic [g] in Afrikaans (section 4.0), can be reversed. These two Germanic languages in Southern Africa provide us with a modern example of this important Germanic process.

There are several hallmarks of apperceptive reasoning that one can detect in both Afrikaans and Namibian German. In the case of Afrikaans, the opacity and profundity of the borrowings speak to both the paramountcy of linguistic affinity (low language differential, see 2.3) and of the subconscious nature of apperception. As regards Namibian German, the ease and preponderance of borrowings from Afrikaans show full well how, when an item is easily apperceived, it will become quickly imbedded in the recipient language. These case studies are instructive when trying to understand the dynamic of apperception and linguistic affinity in situations of long cultural contact. They demonstrate the cross-disciplinary

contribution made by the application of a semiotic-philosophical concept in refining known linguistic strategies. Doubtless apperception is central to the study of linguistic contact.

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APPENDIX A: CAPE DUTCH LETTERS WRITTEN BY GERMANS

From the *Van Oordt-versameling*, Gericke Biblioteek, Universiteit van Stellenbosch.

Schwechten, 1777, Paarl - 139/1 (1-2): 4 / St 6/90

Ik onder geteekende bekenne wel en deugtelyk, oonlangs gesien te hebben
Een vraet dek stroo van davied jordaan gebragt naar den voor leser Jan
Krügel, Ende ook de selwe vraet sien wederom terug brengen maar dag en
datum is mijn vergeeten

Johann Joachim Swegten

Parel de 28 ten
Aprl 1777

Seiffert, 1777, Paarl - 139/1 (1-2): 5

Die inhoud baie soos by Swegten en Jonker, maar vir *voorleser* staan *Dominé*, vir *Krügel* staan
krieger, vir *stroo* staan *strooy* (2 maal).

Parel den 3 Maart 1777

Krügel, 1715, Paarl - 139/2/2: 23 / St 18/63

Ich antres Krigel Lantbauer andie perl sta bierg vor meister Mylius vor 300
Gulden zu enfangen von die arm Casse von Trachen Stein anno 1715 den 30
Sept

Anterecas Krügel
geteuge Jan Klutaph

Teutmann, 1762 - 139/2/2: end of file / MOOC 8/10 (29)

ek und deer gee schrefen
be keene ge west te sijn beij deen
Wee du Wee nar lauwe rens Eraas mus
un sijn schaapen te teelen en be finde
heet ge taal 500 en 5 heet weelk
ek feer klaare Johan heene rijk tüt
man

7/8/1762

Engela, 1759, Coeberg - 139/3: 1-2 / MOOC 2/1

Aen DHeer Jhs.Hks. Blankenbergh
Mijn Heer

Het was den 7 deesen maand, dat mij eene citatie gedateert van den 27 novb.
geteekend door den boode Redelinghuijs wierd ter hand gesteld van sijn
E.Compenjies post visschers hok, van inhoud om op den 21 deeser maand te
verschijnen voor E Heeren Mesters om mijne aldaar loopende rekening te
vereffenen, Maar terwijken mijn koorn overreyp op het veld staat en geen
kans sie, nog in groote veertien Dagen afte snijden, en daarbij noodsaakelijk
mijne pra'sentie vereijscht word als geen groote schaade wil ondergaan

terwijl en op geene andere opsigt kan in het minste staat maken dierhalven is het dat UWEdl op het vrindelijkste versoeck dat het van UWEd. behagen mag sijn om werkstelligh gelieven te maaken den gestelden termijn voor een enkelde maand te prolongeeren met vaste verseekering, dat volgens mijn pligt niet in gebrek sal blijven bij Leven en gesonthijt sonder uijtstel tegens den 21 Jan. aenstaande 1760 mijne pampieren behoerlijk over te geven terwylen onder Godes ver hoop tegens vermelde tyt mijne koorn bij huys te hebben.

Ik vlije mij van UWEd. gunst bewijsing en sal tragten te allen tijden, soo menigmaals immers doenlijk en UWEd. mogten benodigt sijn, met aangenaame tegen Diensten te vergelde met allen bedenkelijken Eerbiet blijvende

Mijn Heer UWEd

Dienstveerdige Dienaar

Coebergh de 13 Deb

Hend^k Engela

1759

P.S. Versoeck believgst om een klijne letter aenwoord

Engela, 1755 - 139/3: 2-3 / MOOC 2/1

REKENING

van Wijle Johannes Samuel van Niekerk in sijn kwijnende lankduurige siekte door mij ondergeteekenden betaalt en wat deselve van mij contant ontfangen beginnende van het jaar 1747 Novbr tot dat deselve op den 14 Novbr 1755 overleeden.

"Aen Johan George Haubtfleisch: voor het practiseeren van sijne eerste siekte waarin deselve dagelijks 4 poeiers en 2 maal Droppen gebruikt en 5 maanden Ellendigh geduurig te bed gelegen in eener somma betaalt. Rxd

350

Aen Barent Pietersen van den 26 octob 1754 tot op den

14 8obr 1755 81 Rxd. 5 Sch.

Aen Willem Cemerlingh voor logis en kostpenningen teffens

ander mond behoeftens bij de 4 maanden 50 Rxd.

aen Doctor Roos voor practiseeren 30 Rxd.

Aen Meester Helmoet voor kruyden en balsem 35 "

Aen van Elven voor spermaseti en poeiers 5 "

aen den 50tn penning tot syn aandeel 18 "

aen de venditie van Sr. Joh^s H^{ks} Blanckenbergh

voor een gekogt paart 26 "

aen hem Contant, waarvoor de selve paarden Rxd sh st

gekogt van Jan Raatjes 33 2 4

in syn siekte aen hem in viermaalen aen

de Caap gegeven contant 8 -- --

dto na het warm bad hem contant voor

roodewijn aen H^k Hijns 1 4 --

voor het maken van silver gespen aen hem contant 2 4 --

Transport Rxds 650- 7- 4

50 pont thee suijker tot anys stroopen 7- 2- 2

voor Keersen die merendeels 13 manden

Dagh en Nagt moeten branden 32- 4- -

aen piter Lauser voor paarde huur betaalt 2 - -

voor 2 flesch soeten olij om te smeeren	2	-	-
aen kerkengeregtigheit betaalt	6	-	-
voor een Dood kist van stinkhoude planken terwijlen geen ander te krygen was	16	-	-
voor het gebruijken Consumptie der wakers			
3 Leggers wijn in den gedurenden tyt			
a 23 R	69	-	-
aen brandewijn	10		
aen tabak	12		
voor Coffe thee en suijker	25		
100 lb seep verbruijkt	25		
2 gros pijpen	4		
Een bedde van Levende ganse veeren soo gantschelijk verulmt en bedurven	33-	2-	4
2 Combaarse vernielt	10	-	-
voor vernielt Linne goet als Lakens			
en sloopen	20		
Somma Rxds.	925.	0.	4

Jurgen Hendrik Engela

Coetsers, 1762, Cogmans Cloof - 139/3: 5a / MOOC 2/1

Mij Heer

UE missive geda: onder den 14^e 7br. hebbe den 19^e 8br: ten regten ontfangen en daar uijt gesien hoe dat UE mij groot gunstig doen weten dat ik mij den 21^e 8br: soude moeten invinden op de wees Caamer wegens effenen van mijne uijt getrouwte Dogter Maria Anna Coetsers over haar Moederlik uijtkeer; Maar hebbe UE vriendelijk versoeken sullen om de gunst en genegendheid voor mij te hebben om mij te excuseeren in dien ik al bij de twee maanden sieklik geweest en met swaare duyseling in het hoofd gequelt bin maar heb mij dog den 22^{de} 8br op het Pat gemaakt om te komen dog niet verder kunnen komen tot mijn Schoon Moeder de Wedube Nel, en mijn genoodsaakt bevonden om aldaar te blijven, waar hoope met Gods hulpe sien ten eersten aan de Caab te koomen, en met aller devotie mijn voor de EE vergadering te praesenteren. UE dienen ook te weeten hoe dat ik mijn kind voldaan hebbe: versoeke alsoo nog maalg om mij dog groot gunstig te verexcuseert houden, blijve alsoo met aller hoog agting

Cogmans Cloof

UE gantsch gehoorsamer Dienaar

den 26ten 8br 1762

Johannes Jacobus Coetsers

Willers, 1735, Robben Eyland - 139/3: 11

Ed: Agtbr. Heeren, De Ed.Heeren Weesmeesteren
aan Cabo de Goede Hoop.

Ed: Agtbr: Heeren

Uyt U Ed: Agtbr: seer g'respecteerde missive van den 23^{sten} deeses, so myn behandelt, heb verstanden, dat U Ed: Agtbr: wegens de Persoon van

Hendrick Pooting seekere narigt gelieft te hebben; so dient deese U Ed: Agtbr: onderdaanigst, dat gemelde Persoon tot dato nog in kranksinnighyt continueert, en in 't geheel niet by Verstand is, hoewel hy veel van syne voorige quaataardighyt verlooren, nogthans staat hem niet te betrouwen: Owrigens doet hy niemand eenig quaad en bemind altoos de Eensaamhyt dat is also 't geene wat van de bowengenoemde Persoon UEd: Agtbr: weet te melden

Waarmede schluytende in submissen Respect
verblywe

Ed: Agtbr: Heeren UEd: Agtbr:
onderdaanigsten Dienaar

Robben Eyland
den 25 Maart 1735

G. Willer

Oberholster, 1715, 139/3: 15 / MOOC 3/4

An mijn heeren

Mijn Heeren weesmeestern en Den E president,
en verdere Leeden vant Collegie

Ik heb u:L: missiven van den 18 September Deses Jaars bij den Sectius Adriaan van Kervell ondertekent ontfangen waar bij U:L: gelieven te schrijven dat U:L: seekere verwarde en onbehoorlike missive ontfangen had inhoudende Communicatie van de dood van haarman Bothoff, ondertekent in plaas³³ van mijn Nam met een kruysie et gene U:L: als mijn gewoone handteekening niet seijde met bevremding voorquam, weshalven U:L: vermoedende dat hier mede niet ter goeder Trouwe gehandelt wesen mogte. In antwoord van U:L: geeerde dienst, dat wel haartelick verpligt ben voor U:L: sorge voor de Eere van mijn messive misbruijkte Nam, gelijk et ook waarheijt is, dat onse Brieft op gestelt en geschreven bij een parsoon genamt Jan Hennig en die schrefte wel wat krupel duijs was dogh evenwel ondertekent eijgen handig met de name van J:oberholster en hans hensie weshalven uijt U:L: schrijvens Besluijten wort dat ijmandt de Copije daar van Heeft af geschreven ende U:L: toe gesonden, verders wat angaat de (subsidiatie??) van de overleeden parsoon, en de omstandigheijten, soo sal met korte woorden alleenlick seggen de hoedaandigheijt als dat wij anders niet bevonde hebben dan een oude kist en wat oude lapen om tot velt schoene te gebruijken een ouden esel daar hij op sliep en een oude bulssack, geen brieffen, nook niets
waar mede afbrekende
soo verblijve mijn heeren

Clapmuts
den 25 September 1715

UEE^s Dienstveerdige Dienaar
J:oberholster

Krugel, 1717, Stellenbosch - 139/3: 16 / MOOC 3/4

Men heer

Capetijn in Casteel de Goede Hoop

³³ A <t> was added after the fact.

dese dient om ue bekent te maaken dat de Weedu van staden is den 16 deser maent overleeden en het is men heer wel bewist dat het daer wat slight gegaen heeft en nu wat sligher gaen sal soo is mijn versoek dat ue daer gelieft order te stellen wat dater nu sal gedaen werden om datter nogh wees kinderen sijn sal versoeken antwoord

verblijve na presentasie van mij seer geringe dienst
men deer uu verplight dienaar

Matijs krugel

dagh
1717

Grütter, 1713 - 139/3: 18 / MOOC 3/3

(on back) desen brief te bstellen an monsuer kerevel

Monsuers ick laet u l³⁴ weten als dat 10 slaven zieck zeijn 3 achter de schap³⁵ gaen 1 achter de kalver 1 achter de perde dat ick nieman³⁶ meer en hebbe als dat liegt en staet de enne schap wachter int velt is zieck geworden so dat daer vel schape³⁷ verloren zeijn so dat wij gesoch hebben en deerst nacht om trent wel vijtig buijten ge vunden so dat nash³⁸ 96³⁹ mankeren so dat ick alle dage ront reijde van de ehn⁴⁰ tropht tot deander so dat ick niet mer doen kan so als gelieden⁴¹ met den wingert te hebben so belieden se daer vor te sorgen en op de ander post als dat piter geck is en de hottentots alle sieck bennen so⁴² heb ick de treck ossen met 1 jungen⁴³ daer na to stuert om ossen un best op te passen⁴⁴ sodat daer mer sieck mochten worden so wet ick gien raet als dat ter 2 perde wagens op kleij⁴⁵ seijnt gekommen last van meyn hier helot

verders⁴⁶ seijt gegrutet hernan grutter

(-)lij (17)13

Deetlefs, 1775 - 139/4: 7 / MOOC 8/16

1 onbekwaam stukende waagen	18 beetels
1 tendseijl	1 flees vurk
1 smeer pöes	4 stoellen met Rijem en vellen
half vragt planken	3 paseleijn tafel borden
wat ondugende hout	3 afel gaares

³⁴ In *KT* 10: 100, Van Oordt emended this to "uEl.". Which is the correct one is not ascertainable.

³⁵ In *ibid* emended to "schap".

³⁶ In *ibid* emended to "niemant".

³⁷ In *ibid* emended to "schaepe".

³⁸ In *ibid* emended to "noch", which Van Oordt indicates in the VOV with "(lees noch)".

³⁹ In *ibid* "(46?)" has been added.

⁴⁰ In *ibid* emended to "een".

⁴¹ In *ibid* emended to "believen", which Scholtz indicates in the VOV by underlining the <d> and writing "(sic)" in the margin.

⁴² In *ibid* emended to "So".

⁴³ In *ibid* emended to "jurgem".

⁴⁴ In *ibid* "op" is absent, and after "passen" there is "(in margine staan: heden(-) july 1713)".

⁴⁵ In *KT* 10: 101, Van Oordt emended this to "kaff", in original he writes "(klip?)".

⁴⁶ In *ibid* emended to "ieders".

3 diessels
1 kniptang

Hans Deetlefs
Nicolaas Neef Jacobus van Beelen

den 15 Detcember 1775

Loose, 1739 - 139/18: 7-10 / CJ 345

Mijn Heer Landrost ik doe uE met deeses onder danigh weeten, als dat Jan Hes met Christoffel Eyleven is hier op mijn plaas gekoomen op Saderdagsnacht sijnde ten 7 van Maart en aen geklopt van Jan Hes, en gevragt om uijt te spannen soo ben ik op gestaan en bij de wagen gegaan en hem binnen int hujs genoot en hem kost op laeten zetten en doen weer slapen gegaan maar Jan Hes en sijn vrouw hebben bij ten wagen geslapen maar Christoffel Eijleven heeft in t hujs geslapen ten sondagh morgen is ock een knegt van gidon Jubert gekoomen en ock tien dagh gebleven en Jan Hes is ten Sondagh na mitdagh vertrocken en doen ben ik met mijn vrouw na Groenenbergh gereeden om hem en Esias Mijer te be soeken tewelke met sijn vrouw daar was gekoomen om te Cramen en heeft den voor genoemten knegt van Gideon mijn hujs aen bevoolen, daar ik Christoffel meede te kenne gaaf om te vertrekken maar laet thuijs koomende vond ik hem nogh wyl het laat was heeft ik hem nogh dien nagt laeten blijven en de knegt van gidion is vrog vertrocken des morgens kofte trinckende heb ik Christoffel Eijsleven geseijt dat het tijd was te vertreckken, maar hij heeft nogh wat gedreijd dat ik hem met vorsche nogh maals geseijd heb dat het dijt was te vertrekken soo heeft hij door een hottentot sijn peert laeten haalen en op gesadeld doen heeft hij mijn gevragt of ik hem voor geen Eerlijk man en kende dat ik hem mijn hujs ver boot waar op ik ant worde als ik menschen bij mijn hadde dat ik het hem seggen sou wat hij was, daar op heeft hij mijn gesejt dat ik hem bij alle menschen plammeede en ock aen da Caap, meende daar meede sijn geweest baas mijn Heer Lafebrv ik seijde als hij Redelijk gehandeld hatte dan soude ik nogh niemand van hem spreeken doen haelde ik hem van het Roer op daar ik bij mijn heer Lafeber om gevragt was en dat ik, soo ik het willen seggen, wel mackkelijk kunne doen, dat hij het verontraud hatte / daarop sij te woorden soo ver gekoomen dat mijn vrouw ten beesen stock genoomen, en hij was doen bij sijn pert en spronck op en Ree voort all scheldende mijn voor al wat leelijk was ik liep hem na maar al Reijdende schelden / in te briff sijde hij dat hij niet rusten sou tot ik of hij doot was, het welk ock gehoort is van een mijt dogh het is maar een slavinne, daar op is hij met sijn goet soo hij van de Caap gekoomen is vort gereeden soo ik van mijn jongen verstond na martijnus van Staden en is dien nagt daar gebleven, ten dins dagh abend omtrend agt, of half negen na gissing seijnde den 10 is imant gehoort met een peert het welke wij ock hoorden aen plaffen van de honden een wijnigh daar na is hij omtrend de deer ag ge sprongen en tot voor de hujs gegaan om te geijken wand te booven deer stond half open en seij heeft gesien dat hij het was door het schijnen van vier maar hij heeft ge woord gesproken soo heeft mijn vrouw ten besem stock agter den Righ genomen en met een vaard bijden gesprongen en gevragt wat hij sogte en of

hij vertrekken woude en met eens doet geslagen togh hij parrede⁴⁷ volgens ge seg van mijn vrouw den slag ten meesten af en kreeg haar vel mijn vrouw van gelijken en sijn bijde teegens ten gront gerak met deese woorden ik sal u ver moorten en set haar den duijm op te keel waar op ik hoorde maat hij ver moort mij daar op ben ik met een Roer bijden gesprongen en ik sou hem ock loffelijk toot geschooten hebben maar ik kon daar niet doe koomen of ik soude mogelijk mijn vrouw meede geraekt hebben, ik lijd mijn Roer neffens mijn neer en sloeg hem met mijn vust en sijn aen gesigt met ver scheijde andere en kreeg door hastighijde den Reijs stamper / soo lang was ik met hem nogh doende met mijn geprekkelijke hande, dat ik hem door gragt van den hemel op den trimbel smet of der voor en mijn vrouw met den Reijs stamper trop en doen waar hij weer over ent gerakt dogh niet ten volle / onder Tuschen heeft mijn vrouw gerakt waar seij best konde, maar ik en sij te beenen moeten hebben waar niet heel doot wand ik sal menschen laeten roepen, hoe het ons over gekoomen is maar heij seijde teegens mijn vrouw doe maar ik sal u door uE moer Jagen als ik op kom, dogh dat was hem omtrend het slan op de beene ver booten daar op hebben wij hem voor de deer laeten leggen en ik heeft aen stons 2 jongens na Groen bergh ge sonden om Esias meijer en Groenenbergh te Ruepen maar die was den dinsdagh morgen weggereden naar de Caap soo Esaias Mijer liet boodschappen en hij liet sigh ont schuldigen dat sijn vrouw niet wel was, soo dat die Jongens dien nacht weer om quamen sonder imand te brengen, ik ben dan des morgens vroeg na martijnes van stadden gereeden en hem ver sogt om over te koomen, en ock gevragt of hij was trunken geweest en alle van neen geantwoord hebbende maar Ehr ik van huijs Reede sat heij met permissie te schrijven op sijn gadt want ik mende dat dien nacht sijn been in stukken was geslagen, het welk even wel niet waar was der wijl hij onder wijl ik wegh was, sigh heeft door hulp van een Amandel Boomgen over ent gerigt, maar Erst braf rond gekeken het welk mijn vrouw bij den trimpel zittende alles sagh, seij heeft ock gesien dat hij sijn hand van te vooren in zack stack en doen hij over End was heeft hij een vaard na mijn vrouw gedaan met mes in de hand, maar hij viel in dien loop doen heeft mijn vrouw volgens haar seggen weer praf sijn handen, en wat meer, te seggen den bockkel ock af gerost, maar het was maar een Engels knip mes, martijnus is kort na mijn vertreck gevolgt met Cornelis van donderen NOTA: ik vond Groenenbergh met sijn vrouw nog bij martijnus en nog ver schijde andere den soon van Vos ock genampt Casper en die quam een wijnigh daarna ock bij mijn, ik vroeg haar of Christoffel Eijleven was drunken geweest maar allen van neen geantword, seij vroegen ock of hij gisteren niet bij mijn was geweest en van neen ge hord hij was dan een dijt lang van martijnes weg geweest met het peert maar niet langer als ande half ure maar dogh geseijt dat hij bij mijn geweest was, maar hij was bij mijn ander Blas geweest en mijn Jongen een briefgen van wijnigh worden gegeven, om mijn te brengen het welk ick ock ontvangen heeft, en dat ik aen mijne Regters sal ver toonen, thuijs was ik niet lang geweest of den

⁴⁷ Scholtz (1965: 125) discusses *parreer* 'parry, ward off'. His earliest citation is from 1850. It is interesting that in his book *Afrikaans-Hollands in die Agtiende Eeu*, he does not discuss this earlier attestation, as he does with other lexemes.

knecht van mijn Heer Lafebr, quam ock in passand met den wagen die spanten uijt en bleef dien magt bij mijn doen ik die menschen bij malkaer had heb ik hem scherperlijk gevragt of hij wat te seggen hadde maar hij wilde niet spreken als ogh hoewel hij kort van de vooren, volgens mijn vrouw seggen gevragt om een stoel om daer aen op te staan en ock ver scheijde maelen gesegt dat ik maar op was, maar meer wou er niet oijt, volgens haar seggen, ik heb hem soo hard doe geroepen dat hij sou seggen wat hij de seggen had, Ehr hij al te met quam te sterven / hij kerden hem van een kand na de ander en dan op sijn Buijk / hij noemten even wel den naem des heeren en ock sijn soon, effen van te vooren hat hij een hottentots mijt nogh eens gevragt om ten stoel en wat water maar kost heeft hij niet gevragt dogh ik heb het hem laeten aen bieden, door mijn Volck en ock door ander soo dat hij op den 13 is koomen te over leijen sijnde op Frijdagh morgen en heb hem Laeten begraven Verders weet ik niet te berigten Verders niet als uE Mijn Heer Landrost mijn onder danige dienst te ver sekeren

den 19 Maart

1739

Jn Loose

Bernard, 1720, Capetown - 139/29a: 12 / CJ 1034, pp. 264-6

Aen den WelEd^a Gestrenge Heer Mourids pasqwis Chavones Raad Extraord. van Nederlands India etc.

Mitsgaaders

Den Ed^c Agtbaeren Raad van Justitie deezes Gouvernements.

Geeft met schuldige Eerbiedighijdt te kennen Jan Bernard hoe hij Supliant, als dat den Landbouwer Gerrit van den Linde mijn niet zoekt te Voldoen volgens de Regten, naemaels hij in klijne en groete saaken mijn alle Prosesen aen doet van de Goederen die hij van mijn gekoght heeft:

Volgens den Reghter mijn gecondemneert heeft het geene te geven wat toe de plaetze hoort het weleke ik gedaen heeft volgens onze accoort, en den Land bouwer Gerrit van der Linde het selvde van mijn genoeten heeft. En dogh den Restant van de Eerste paaij nogh niet aen mijn betaelt.

En ook niet een droppen wijn van de tweede paaij aen mijn geleevert heeft, de tijd is al vervloeten ultimo Apriil primo Maaij Naemael dat ik weet en getuijgen kan dat gerrit van der Linde Brande wijnen verkoght heeft aen den packter von Leipsig, het welk ik getuijgen kan met den Packter van Lijpsig self de hier Present is, en den packter mijn selfde Brandewijnen heeft laeten sien in sijn huijs En den Landbouwer gerrit van der Linde ook een Jonge van de plaetz verkoght heeft aen den Land bouwer Conraet scheepers, het welke de boede Witmond wel bekendt is.

En nogh den 12 Junij 1720, weer een Jonge verkoght van de plaets aen den Burger Christiaan Rasp.

Soo dat de Edlen Heer Gouverneur en Ed^l. Aghtbaeren Raad self sien en bemercken kan dat gerrit van der Linde mijn niet seek te voldoen anders als met bedragh.

Den supliant geeft uEd^c Gestrenge Heer Gouverneur en Ed^p. Aghbaeren Raad te bedenken wat fraaij saek dat het is.

Dien halven soo is den Supl^t genootsaeckt versoeckende Aan U WelEd^c.
 Gestrenge Aghtbaerheeden gelieven soo wel te doen en ordieneeren den
 Land bouwer Gerrit van der Linden ter Een mael afstand te doen van de
 plaets met het geene wat daer aen dependeert soo wel Roerende als
 onroerende goederen goederen, En den eijgendom In de voorige Possessie
 aen den Supliant magh gerestitueert worden volgens accoort.
 Verhoope dat u wel Ed^{en} gestrenge Aghtbaerheeden hem supliant hier op en
 vavurabel Apostel gelieven te verleenen 't welk doende etc.

Cabo de Goede hoop
 Den 20 Junij 1720

J. Bernardt

Johannes Craai, 1718 - 139/29a: 12 / CJ 1034, p. 313

Ich under geSchriebener Johannes Craai bekenne beij desen wel en
 deugdelijk [schuldig] de Sijn an meinen ohm Johann Sieck vijf hundert
 gulden Caps geldt welches ich von ihm gelehnd habe en ich belobe Solches
 in einen Jahr zu bezahlen welches gelt er an mein Sonder interesse gelendt
 heft in fal das mein ohm zu sterben kombt mut ich solches geldt an Seine Erf
 genahmen bezahlen, In degen der warheit habe ich Solches mit meiner Eijen
 handt under Schrieben

Capo de goede Hop den 16 Maij 1718

Johannes Craa

Wolitskij, 1720 - 139/35a: 6-7 / CJ 324, p. 33

[on outside] an de Edele Heer Guweneer

Edele Heer guweneer
 Gewe mij di eer di edele Heer
 met mijn Sreiwen gants underdanig
 to dienen, en versuke gants underdanig
 an mijn edele Heer om mijn Klagten
 antohoren, dat offtermalen Wunderlike
 Saken en Strafen passiriren dat t an de
 Edele Heer nit to Horen kompt, als t
 met mij ok nog well passiriren kan, mar da voer
 gew ek mij di ehr om de edele Heer
 guweneer met mijn Miserabel Sreiwen
 bekent te maken, ek ben genodiget worden
 Von Sergant Kartau, om op den awent
 wat Musiek to maken wo dat en de
 op passers wagt verseidene Serganten
 gewesen Sien, So dat wij sij al So well
 Hebben gekontentiert als wan wij bij de
 edele Heer gewesen waren naer de
 twalw uren en de nagt ben en met gud
 adje van Si gegaen, ben gekomen
 to fallen,
 Sergant Basenborg bij mij gekomen

als en tapfer helt om mij naer di pint
to bringen, ek met hen gegeten en
gedruken tot hem geseget dat he maer
gaen kust ek Sau mijn pint well
finden, hij tot mijn gesproken dat
ek Sau den Bek hauen ow hij
Sau mij under di futen Stoten ols en
Hunt, ek gau naer mijn Kist gelopen
en een Soldaten degen en de hant
genomen, en gerupen ow hij nog en staet
was an mij to duen als he t ent vaderlant
gebakken t mar hij es agtergebleven,
ek ben under en de poert van onse pint
Büren gestaen waer op ek beseiden ben hij
Sutkens agter mij gekomen, en enen Sprung
genomen als een Haes, So ek hem naer
gefolgt en gefragt en gerupen ow hij
nog en staet was om mij under di futen
to Stoten hij gekomen met Sergant
Kartau di der denkt adgudant to worden
met en Suet pratken beij mej gekomen als
dat Hij nýt allen en Staet was*, ek ben
des morgens naer t port openen bij
Mijn Heer Reinius gekomen maer keen
gehoer niet gekregen, al ewen als en hund
also gew ek gants underdanig an mijn
Edele Heer Gouverneur di Saek to
kennen dat t genog Same saken
passiren Sonder mijn edele Heer Sijn Weten
en denk dat en Sergant di mij et en drink
dat hij so gud es als ek, wo dat ek
en dinst von di Staet von Hollant
eer Sergant gewest ben als nog mer
da bij als So een Kerdell nog nix
worden sal

Versuek om genadige verlossing von mijn Edele
Heer gouverneur
en Vebliwe haer underdaniger
dinar Johannes Wolitskij
vo Konigsberg en prussen

* en mij en arest gebracht

Feyerabend, 1715 - 139/36a: 4 / CJ 319, p. 307

Den Posthouder van t vissers hok heeft mijn veel ontvreemt in Mijn
apensstie waar van hij twee wagens zonder den Gesagh hebben zijn order
heefft Laten in Spanne geladen met 4 mudde Taruw de rest met sout en

stroo, den den baas heeft den 4 mudde Taruw bij den vrijman munnik aande Soute rievier in bewaringh gegeven, den gesagh hebber vragende waar hij den Taruw geladen heeft aan den vrijman Munnik antwoordende als dat hij ze verkogt heeft aan een bakker met zijn eigen waagen daar heeft van daan gehaalt

J.D. Feyerabend

Hasewinkel, 1707 - 139/37/1a / CJ 311, no. 66

Ik onder gesr. Christoffel hasewinkel vrijbr alhier verklarende bij desen hoe dat ik op vrijdag den 4 deser lopende mand november des naarmiddags de klokke omtrent drie uren nevens mijn soontje ben gereden van mijn plaats gelegen onder de bottelerije om als doen dien avond nog naar de Caab te rijden dat ik gekomen sijnde omtrent een quartier uurs vant kuils pad aldaar hebbe jngehaald twee wagens en op ijder een Legger siende dat bij de voorste was een swarte jongen en bij de agterste wagen een Europiaander sijnde so niet beter wetende de knegt en jongen van den vrijheemraad aan drakenstein Jacobus van as welke van as selve was agter aan rijdende verder dat ik met voor^a mijn soontie den genoemde van as ende wagens op t tweede of derde oude pad stilswijgende en sonder Eenige molestie aan hem sijn knegt of desselfs jonge aan te doen ben voor bij gereeden dat de knegt en jonge soude kunnen ende des noots moeten getuigen ik gekomen sijnde na bij de tijgervalleij en sonder eenig agterdenken sijnde heeft hij geseide van as sijn wagens verlaten hebbende wij aldaar vervolgt en ingeiaagt digte bij mij komende sijde hij van as goeden dag swaager waarom spreke gij niet daar ik op aantwoorde ik wilde blijven dien ik was hij mij daar op een scheld woord to voegende dat ik niet wel verstaan hebbe vermits hij mij te gelijk met sijne rottang begun te slaan ande daar mede een slag over mijn regter schouderbeen ende een tweede op mijn regter Elleboog toebragt daar van mij de arm doov wierd mitsg^s nog een a twee slagen over mijn arm dien ik door verbaastheit niet voelde maar egter des anderen daags de teekens daar van nevens die vant schouder been en elleboog mij bewust sijn gewoorden dat ik onder t slaan den geseide van as gevraagt hebbe of hij mij moeste in t veld waarnemen daar hij nog een heemraad was hem op de genoemde woorden nevens mijn soontie ontiagede en toeriep dat t straatschenderije was en dat ik over hem aande magistraat klagen soude blijvende hij van as doen agter.

het geene voorss. staat verklaarende ik onder ges^f mij t selve dien dag alsoo waar en waaragtig te sijn gepasseert en voorgevallen.

Cabo de goede hoop den [?] november 1707

Christoffel hasewinkel

Kunz, KT 10: 118 / St. 11/48

Meijn heer dros/ik heft den 10 feberwari den velt kaperal genamt andres otte beij onse beij wezen de plas van meijn heer brand af to gan zodat ik genotzak ben om ofer te klagen beij U/ik hef en plas de kort onder de berg leijt war

Niets to vreten ist voor en best on twe deyzen tre van meijn heijz en zhwar
eijzpan plekt ist dat ik dezelfde kwardelrefier beweiigen moet on de plaze zo
dig beij malkander leiigen genam lowies(revie) Jan mareij on konrat grunewalt
dezelfte velt beweiigen motten dat weij maar en half uer van malkander
leiigen verders ben ik toen verbleijfende diner on vrin/
den 12 Maart
anno 1794

Cresgan fredrig Kunz

APPENDIX B: THE *BAIE*-POLEMIC IN *DE VOLKSTEM*, 1908-1909

HET WOORD 'BANJE.'

December 8, 1908

De verschijning van 't woord "banje" of "baing" op Zuid Afrika's taal-bodem heeft aan de navorsers al heel wat hoofdbreken gekost! De meest geldende lezing omtrent de oorsprong van dit raadselachtige woord is die van Dr Mansvelt's Idiotikon die 't laat komen van het Maleise woord "banjak". En deze afleiding heeft wederom Prof. Dr Hesseling gesterkt in diens theorie, als zou de Maleis-Portugese faktor van grote en overwegende invloed geweest zijn op onze taal.

Deze theorie wordt vandaag ernstig bestreden door verscheiden Zuid Afrikaanse deskundigen: en 't kan niet ontkend worden dat menig woord dat door Dr Mansvelt's school met 'n oosterse genealogie was voorzien, van puur Nederlandse afkomst is. Zo, onzes inziens, ook het woord "banje". Dit wordt nog vandaag, in de gedaante van "banje" gebezigd in de volkstaal van Hamburg en aangrenzende Noordzee-provinsies. En 't is merkwaardig dat 't woord, evenals in 't Afrikaans, gebruikt wordt als bijwoord en als bijvoegelijk naamwoord. In een der jongste nummers van 't bekende Duitse weekblad "Simplicissimus" - in de uitgave van 2 November namelijk - verschijnt een opstel, dat in populair Hamburgs is geschreven. In dat opstel wordt gewaagd van "bannig scharf", van "ich hab hier bannig darueber gewundert", van "'n banniger Wind hat geweht". Aangezien het Nederduitse bevolkings-element vrij sterk was in de aanvangs-dagen onzer volksplanting en aangezien er grote familie-gelijkenis bestaat tussen ons "banje" en 't Nederduitse "bannig" - de gutterale "g" is dadelik door Zuid Afrika's mensheid losgelaten! - is de onderstelling alleszins gerechtvaardigd dat dit typies Afrikaanse woord niet uit Oost Indië ons werelddeel heeft bereikt doch met de blanke kolonisten van de Noordzee-stranden is overgekomen.

HET WOORD 'BAING.'

Johannesburg, 11 December. 1908

Met belangstelling heb ik in uw uitgave van 8 deser 't artikel omtrent 't woord "banje" gelezen, en daar dit woord mij geheel onbekend is en ik derhalve meen dat u daardoor het Afrikaanse woord "baing" (in de regel "baje" in de *Volkstem* gespeld) bedoelt, zij 't mij vergund enige aanmerkingen daarop te maken. 1. Indien ik te kiezen had tussen een afleiding van 't woord "banjak" en 't woord "bannig", zou ik eerstgemelde kiezen, want hoewel beide woorden belast zijn met de letter "n" in de eerste lettergreep, kan "banjak" zich toch nog op 't feit beroepen dat er Afrikaners zijn die 't woord "baing" als "bajing" en zelfs als "bajang" uitspreken. 2. Mijns inziens is 't woord "baing" afgeleid van 't Franse woord "bien" (bw.) en in verband met deze zienswijze wens ik uw aandacht te bepalen bij 't volgende: Naar mijn bescheiden mening heeft de uitspraak van het woord "baing" veel meer overeenkomst met de uitspraak van de woord "bien" dan met de uitspraak van "banjak" of "bannig" en de woorden "baing" en "bien" hebben in vele gevallen dezelfde betekenis. En aangezien het

Frans sprekende bevolkingselement een paar eeuwen geleden vrij sterk was in Zuid-Afrika, en aangezien er een groter familiegelekenis bestaat tussen "baing" en "bien" dan tussen "baing" en of "banjak" of "bannig" beschouw ik mijn bescheidene zienswijze als alleszins gerechtvaardigd dat dit typies Afrikaanse woord met de Franse Hugenoten meegekomen is. U zal wel bemerkt hebben dat er in onze taal vele woorden van Franse (Hugenoten) afkomst te vinden zijn. Luister maar eens naar een boer wanneer hij spreekt van twee egaal paarden, van zijn vriend die in een ander kontrij woont, en van een subtiel of setiel wagen as; of wanneer hij spreekt van hierdie of daardie huis in plaats van zoals een Hollander of Engelsman van dit (this) en dat (that) huis. Waar hij deze spreekwijze vandaan krijgt is 't natuurli kwel [sic] bekend. Het trachten om woorden in de Afrikaanse taal van Franse afkomst op de oude Nederlandse in te enten, komt mij voor als zijnde alles behalve prijzenswaardig, en kan m.i. tot verwarring leiden. Di entji sal tog ni groei ni.

C.A. Cilliers

Dr. Mansvelt die in zijn "Kaaps Hollands Idioticon" 'n speciale studie heeft gemaakt van 't onderwerp, zegt dat "banje, bajang, baing" met is 't Franse "bien" zoals hij vroeger meende, tegen die "bien" theorie pleit o.a. dat in 't Afrikaans wordt gepraat van 'n banja perd, 'n banja kerel met andere woorden, evenals 't Nederduitse "bannig" wordt "banje" ook als bijvoeglike naamwoord gebezigd terwijl het Franse "bien" een door-en-door bijwoord is. Dat we de geachte schrijver een Franse illusie ontnomen hebben door "banje" terug te voeren tot 't Nederduitse taalgebied doet ons leed; maar "amicus Plato sed magis amica veritas" - Ed. V.

9 Februari 1909
"t Woord 'Banje'

De gedachte-wisseling, in de "Volkstem", over de vermoedelijke oorsprong van 't woord "banje" heeft ook de aandacht getrokken van Dr. D. C. Hesseling, professor ter Universiteit te Leiden, Nederland, en schrijver van 'n lezenswaardig boek over de Afrikaanse taal.

In onderstaande brief, ons door Prof. Hesseling toegezonden, wordt onze mening dat "banje" wellicht afkomstig was van 't Nederduitse woord "bannig" weergelegd en de oude aanspraak van 't Maleise woord "banjak" hoog gehouden. Tevens publiceren we 'n verdere brief van de heer C. A. Cilliers, die gelijk onze lezers zich zullen herinneren de partij (?) van 't Franse woord "Bien" als vader van "banja" had opgenomen en met veel talent en vasthoudendheid heeft verdedigd.

PROF. HESSELING'S OPINIE

LEIDEN, 7 Januarië.

Mag ik naar aanleiding van de opmerkingen over 't woord "banje", voorkomende in de "Volkstem" van 8 December 1908 een plaats verzoeken in uw veelgelezen blad voor de volgende beschouwingen? Van een op zich zelf staande behandeling der afzonderlike woorden verwacht ik niet veel voor 't onderzoek naar de herkomst van 't Afrikaans. Gesteld dat men eens kon aantonen dat de meerderheid der door Dr. du Toit en mij uit 't Maleis-Portugees verklaarde woorden van andere afkomst zijn, dan zouden de overige argumenten voor de door ons verdedigde theorie nog van kracht blijven: ik voor mij zie in de ontleende woorden een bevestiging van de theorie, niet de grondslag waarop ze steunt. Er wordt dus van mij geen offer van veel betekenis gevraagd, wanneer men mijn in een bepaald geval er toe zou willen brengen om de voorgestelde afleiding van een Afrikaans woord op te geven. Dat ik dit niet kan doen ten opzichte van "banje" berust op 't volgende:

Ik geef toe dat 't Platduitse woord "bannig" vrijwel dezelfde betekenis schijnt te hebben als "banje", en ook dat er niets onwaarschijnliks in ligt om aan te nemen dat Duitsers in dienst van de Compagnie in der tijd zulk een woord zouden hebben ingevoerd. Maar als men 't woord "bannig" wat nader bekijkt, dan krijgt 't heel wat minder kans op 't vaderschap van "banje" dan 't Maleise "banjak". Van de Platduitse woordenboeken die ik raadpleegde, kennen dat van Richey (Hamburg, 1755) en dat van Dähnert (Stralsund, 1781) 't woord in 't geheel niet, 't in 1767-1771 verschenen Bremense idioticon, 't woordenboek van Schütze (Hamburg, 1800-1802) en dat van Berghaus (Brandenburg-Berlijn, 1878-1885) vermelden het en zeggen dat er naast staan de oudere vormen "bandig" en "bantig". 't Schijnt een weinig verbreid woord te wezen van onzekere afleiding; dat 't "van puur Nederduitse afkomst" is, schijnt mij lang niet zeker. Maar hoe kan nu van "bannig", om nog niet te spreken van de oudere vorm "bantig" of "bandig", in 't Afrikaans "banje" komen? En is 't niet geheel en al onbegrijpelijk dat uit "bannig" de andere Afrikaanse vorm, "baing" zou zijn ontstaan? In 't Platduits wordt de "g" aan 't eind van 't woord niet andere uitgesproken dan in 't Nederlands, en ik kan dus niet toegeven dat de guttarale "g" dadelik door Zuid Afrika's mensheid is losgelaten"; ik behoef maar aan een woord als "finnig" of "aardig" te herinneren om duidelijk te maken dat zulk een "g" niet wegvalt. Waarom zou "bannig" niet "bannig" gebleven zijn, evengoed als "finnig" onveranderd bleef? Veel beter is de samenhang met 't Maleise "banjak" te begrijpen. De eigenaardige "k" aan 't eind heeft niets met onze "k" te maken; 't is een klank, die 'n ongeoeffend Europees oor niet eens waarneemt, een klank die men vergeleken heeft met de "aspiritus lenis" in 't Grieks en die men bij scherp luisteren kan horen tussen de twee "a"'s van 't Nederlandse "na-apen." Geen wonder dat zulk een "zuchtje" aan 't eind van 't woord verloren ging. De "nj" van "banjak" is een z.g. gemouilleerde "n": de klank die men in 't tweede deel van het Franse woord "champagne" hoort, dus een klank die niet alleen heel wat beter dan de dubbele "n" van "bannig" bij 't Afrikaanse "banje" of "banja" past, maar ook kan dienen om de vorm "baing" of "bajing" iets duidelijker te maken men moet dan een verspringing van de "nasalisatie" gelijk de wetenschappelijke term luidt, aannemen. Van bevoegde zijde wordt mij verzekerd dat in sommige delen van Indië een vorm van "banjak" in gebruik is die dicht bij 't Afrikaanse "baing" staat.

Bij 't bestuderen van de vreemde woorden in 't Afrikaans zal ik mij ongetwijfeld wel eens vergist hebben: Dr. du Toit heeft op blz. 22 van zijn dissertatie terecht er op gewezen dat ik door de spelling "dollos" verleid, in dat woord niet een verbinding van "dol" (voor "dobbelen") en "os" heb gezien. Voortgezet onderzoek zal wellicht nog andere gouden aan de dag brengen, maar in zake "banje" meen ik 't bij 't rechte eind te hebben.

D. C. Hesseling

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's HEREN C. A. CILLIER'S BRIEF

Bus 1612, Johannesburg. 5 Februari.

Vergun mij enige aanmerkingen te maken op uw aanmerkingen omtrent bovenstaand woord in uw uitgave van 12 Januari:

1. 't Woord "baing", wanneer in de Afrikaanse taal als bijvoeglik naamwoord gebruikt, wordt als zulks allenkijk gebruikt ter aanduiding van de kwantiteit of hoeveelheid van 't zelfstandige naamwoord daardoor bepaald, zoals bijvoorbeeld, "baing mans", "baing wind", en "baing keer"; 't wordt nooit, zoals u schijnt te denken, als 'n bijvoeglik naamwoord van 't lidwoord of "'n" of van enig ander lidwoord. Ik neem natuurlik zulke dieventaal uitdrukkingen als "'n baing perd" òf in 't geheel niet òf even weinig in aanmerking als de Engelse "slang" uitdrukking: "an O.K. horse."
2. Na nauwkeurig onderzoek heb ik niets in mijn vorig schrijven gevonden tot staving uwer bewering dat ik erken dat "bien" hoewel vele funksies vervullende, niet als bijvoeglik naamwoord in aanmerking komt. Doe mij 't plezier en doorlees maar eens weer al de door mij aangehaalde Franse uitdrukkingen. Vindt u daarin echter niets om u van zienswijze op dit punt te doen veranderen, dan wil ik toch hopen u zult met mij instemmen dat "bien", wanneer niet voorafgegaan van 'n lidwoord en in de regel door "des" gevolgd, vrij dikwils in bijvoeglike zin (vergelijk 't Engelse "adjectival locution") gebezigd wordt, welke funksie nog duideliker blijken zal bij de overzetting van zulke uitdrukkingen in het Afrikaans.
3. Recht aangenaam was 't mij uit uw aanmerkingen te bemerken dat, in plaats van zoals vroeger mijn zienswijze in deze als 'n Franse illusie te verwerpen, u nu slechts aarzelt om "bien" tot prototype van "baje" te proklaméren. Waarlik een stap in de rechte richting. Intussen zullen we voortgaan elkanders zienswijze te respectéren, al kunne wij die juist niet délen. De toekomst zal wel beslissen wie gelijk had.

C. A. Cilliers