

THE FORMATION OF AFRIKAANS

by

Paul T. Roberge

Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 27, 1993, 01-112 doi: 10.5774/27-0-69

**STELLENBOSCH PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS
NUMBER 27**

1993

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1. Introduction

'If we go back in time, the problem of what Afrikaans is becomes more and more difficult', wrote Valkhoff more than two decades ago (1972:2), and notwithstanding a far better understanding of the material facts, his words remain true today. In what follows I shall elucidate the sociolinguistic nature of the formation of Afrikaans at the Cape of Good Hope. In section 2 I explore the social bases of glottogenesis within a pantheoretical framework in the sense that the parameters I identify will hold for any theory or model of glottogenesis at the Cape. To paraphrase Woolford (1983:2): Although there are internal principles that govern the theoretically possible linguistic paths along which language may evolve in an extraterritorial setting, it is the external factors that determine how radically its linguistic structure will diverge from metropolitan norms. Section 3 is devoted to a critical overview of both current and selected older writings on how Afrikaans came into being. No one who has investigated its history would seriously dispute that the emergence of the new code was as much a social fact as it was a purely linguistic one. But not everyone has put equal emphasis on this truism. In numerous writings on our subject we find widely varying degrees of concern with sociolinguistic relations underlying the formation of Afrikaans. Section 4 explores the implications entailed by adoption of the view that periods of

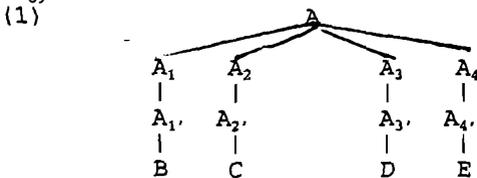
marked shifts in linguistic patterns are largely congruent with significant changes in culture. An eminent linguist/anthropologist of another generation, Harry Hoijer, was of the opinion that in order to understand linguistic change, one must see it as a part of a wider process of cultural change. Naturally, this is not to suggest a causal connection between sociocultural trends and specific linguistic changes. Rather, changes within the various aspects of culture cannot be regarded as distinct and unrelated but must be seen as different realizations of a single process (Hoijer 1948:335). In section 5 I discuss the directional gradience of linguistic items across social class by the end of the Dutch India Company (VOC) era in 1795, with a view toward elaborating on my claim (Roberge 1994) that the Cape Colony was a continuum speech community. More precisely, the Netherlandic speech community at the Cape consisted of a spectrum of lects ranging from the 'High' Dutch of the expatriot power elite to a Cape Dutch Creole. Rather than concern myself narrowly with the origins of these linguistic items, I focus on their social transmission and development in a context of interacting social groups alternating among variants in their linguistic repertoires. As such, this essay departs somewhat from the usual method of historical disquisition in Afrikaans linguistics, which concentrates on single-feature etymologies and takes for granted the formation of a socially accepted grammar.

2. Glottogenesis.

2.0. If there is one parameter that has been regarded as central to glottogenesis, it would surely be the continuity of language transmission between generations (e.g., Sankoff 1979:23-25, Markey 1981, Bickerton 1984:176, Mühlhäusler 1986:94, 255-58, and especially Thomason and Kaufman 1988:9-12, passim). A priori there would appear to be only two fundamental, nontrivial classes of events whereby a new language could come into existence. These are linear development and catastrophe.

2.1. By 'linear development' I mean gradual, incremental processes of linguistic innovation (primary hybridization in the sense of Whinnom 1971) and the social mechanisms by which change diffuses throughout a speech community. There are neither sharp breaks in linguistic tradition nor radical restructuring over the short haul. Low-level rules are added to the grammar over time. The grammatical core of the language remains intact and etymologically transparent. Thus, discrepancies between succeeding generations are relatively minor; there are no quantum leaps.

Our conventional understanding of 'normal' linguistic evolution defines a genetic tree or Stammbaum:



Glottogenesis occurs with the establishment of new speech communities (language spread) and the achievement of a signifi-

cant degree of Abstand or linguistic differentiation (Kloss 1978:23-30). One group splits off from the ancestral speech community, and both varieties undergo secondary and separate evolutive change. We can say that before approximately 874 A.D., the island on which Icelandic was going to be spoken simply was not inhabited. The raw material for what we know today as Icelandic existed in the Norse dialects of the colonists, who had been driven out of Norway and later the Scottish isles by Harald Fairhair. Modern Icelandic has retained most faithfully the structure and lexicon of Old Norse, although significant changes in phonology are concealed by a classical orthography (Haugen 1976:32). Inhabitants of the Faroe Islands are probably descendants of immigrants from Southwest Norway. According to Haugen (1976:34), '[the] form [of Faroese] is . . . intermediate between Icelandic and West Norwegian dialects, with enough distance from both to make it unintelligible, unless spoken very slowly'. Of course, whether such cases represent glottogenesis in any interesting sense is another matter entirely. The degree of Abstand required for recognition as a separate language is ultimately arbitrary; and any attempt to specify a terminus post quem separating ancestral and daughter languages leads to well-known vacuities.

Under circumstances we would consider 'ordinary', a language has but one parent. In 'normal' transmission there can be a certain amount of mixing and discontinuity. We speak of Vulgar (popular) Latin having fragmented into several Romance vernacu-

lars that in their turn evolved into what we know today as French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, and Rhaeto-Romansch (e.g., Coseriù 1978:265). Yet, simplified and reduced forms of Latin must have been utilized between Romans and non-Romans (secondary hybridization in the sense of Whinnom 1971)--especially along the frontier, in the military, in trade, and in Italy itself in the wake of the Germanic invasions. We may stipulate that Scandinavian (850-1042) and Norman hegemony in the British Isles introduced perturbations into the evolution of English. The later stages of the Danish presence were characterized by intimate bilingualism and eventual assimilation into the indigenous population. The Scandinavian legacy is represented by lexical borrowings, replacement of the Anglo-Saxon third-person plural pronouns (OE hie, hem, hiera) with they, them, and their (OE þeirr, þeim, þeirra), and onomastic elements; cf. Lass 1987a:50-54. Following the Norman conquest (1066-70) the English lexicon absorbed a massive influx of loanwords from medieval French. At the same time, French never dominated outside the elite spheres of society, nor was bilingualism pervasive (cf. Lass 1987a:54-61, Thomason and Kaufman 1988:306-15). Notwithstanding significant contact with other languages, English and the Romance languages are conventionally seen as direct continuations of antecedent languages (cf. Polomé 1983:132-55, Thomason and Kaufman 1988:263-342). To consider the origin of these languages possible cases of creolization would be an iconoclastic position.

Finally, mixing may occur with the migration of a largely homogeneous speech community that subsequently undergoes language shift. The first developmental phase of Yiddish commenced when Jews speaking Loez (Judeo-Romance) crossed the Rhine into Germany from 1000 C.E. Fishman (1987) points out that the Jewish community was at no time without a genetically transmitted language for communication; they could always fall back on their original language while acquiring German. The result was presumably a xenolectal (slightly foreignized) form of German that retained Romance and Semitic lexis and varied in terms of proximity to German norms according to sphere of usage.

2.2. Nonlinear linguistic development commences with untargeted and untutored foreign language acquisition. Social conditions may require communication between people speaking mutually unintelligible and typologically very different languages. These are typically: (a) indigenous trade between social equals speaking a fairly large number of individual languages; (b) military service involving mercenaries or conscripts of diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds; (c) military or colonial occupation involving monolingual in-migrants and indigenes (the latter often speaking several languages collectively) and in which the respective groups may or may not be of equal social status (e.g., trade versus domestic service); (d) migrant (foreign-worker) labor schemes in industrialized countries; (e) indentured, impressed, or slave labor systems in colonial settings, in which workers representing a multitude of native

languages must effect communication with the power elite and among themselves.

The linguistic result of such encounters is likely to be an auxiliary contact vernacular that arises more or less spontaneously and is not the native language of any of its users. These ad hoc codes are highly impoverished (e.g., very restricted lexicon, no inflectional morphology, no morphophonemics, derivationally shallow syntactic structure, etc.), and are suitable for use only in a limited and rather specialized set of communicative domains. Jargons (secondary hybridization in the sense of Whinnom 1971) are ad hoc, individual solutions to the problem of intergroup communication. They are highly unstable within given individuals and nonuniform across the learning population. While jargons exist in innumerable varieties (i.e., the speech of no two speakers is ever quite identical), the aggregate is usually labellable and easily stereotyped.

When there is sufficient opportunity for improvement in the direction of the superstrate language (i.e., of the group holding socioeconomic power), we no longer speak of a jargon but rather an interlanguage; that is a developing system that is partially independent of both the native language (L1) and the target language. Succeeding generations may then acquire the latter natively (usually as bilinguals early on) with or without eventual language shift. However, the social situations listed above are often defined by linguistically heterogeneous substrate communities (with little or no power). There are often signifi-

cant barriers to targeted second language acquisition. A pidgin results from the attempted use of the superstrate language by substrate speakers sharing no other language in common but under the influence of the dominant group (tertiary hybridization in the sense of Whinnom 1971). Like a jargon, a pidgin is a reduced and simplified form of language; unlike a jargon it has socially accepted norms of pronunciation, lexical meaning, and syntax. Stability, of course, is a matter of degree, as the pidgin will vary somewhat in the mouths of the different L1 groups that use it. Nevertheless, pidgins (as I use the term here) are qualitatively different codes than either jargons or interlanguages, both socially and linguistically (see Mühlhäusler 1986:ch. 5).

There is a functional relationship between the exigencies of communication, on the one hand, and a pidgin's linguistic elaboration, on the other. If external factors remove the need for communication outright or favor bilingualism or language shift, the pidgin is doomed to extinction. It may also happen that the communicative exigencies remain constant or create new domains. The latter case requires structural expansion of the pidgin so that it can maintain itself as a referentially adequate vehicle of communication within these domains (see Sankoff 1979, Mühlhäusler 1986:176-205).

More than any other sociolinguistic setting, plantation agriculture is supposed to have been especially conducive to the 'catastrophic' development of language (cf. Reinecke 1937:57-63; Bickerton 1979:7, 1984:176, 1989:17-19; Sankoff 1979:24-25,

Washabaugh and Greenfield 1983, Holm 1988:40-41). Regardless of whether workers arrived by means of forced relocation (slave labor) or indenture, they inevitably brought with them a wide variety of languages (cf. Bickerton 1979:10-11). In the paradigm case no one language group would be dominant enough so that it could prevail by means of language shift on the part of other groups; no second language was shared by enough people so as to serve as a vehicle of intercommunication (bilingualism). For almost everyone of the slave or indentured labor class, access to the superstrate language would be tenuous.

'Catastrophic' glottogenesis presupposes extraordinary circumstances (Sankoff 1979:24; Bickerton 1981:3, Thomason and Kaufman 1988:ch. 6). It has been pointed out often enough that the specifics of labor organization are crucial to whether a plantation pidgin will actually develop into a creole language; that is, becomes a native language for most of its users, with a lexicon and syntax that are sufficiently robust to meet all communicative needs. Slave labor normally entailed the separation of speakers from their native-language groups and arguably created the most severe breaks in the transmission of language. Sankoff (1979:24) reminds us that an important distinction exists between 'Pacific' plantations, which used indentured labor, and 'Atlantic' plantations (i.e., in the Caribbean and West Africa), which used slave labor. In the former case the labor force was renewed by the continuous importation of workers on short-term contracts, many of whom stayed on as immigrants. There was a

virtual absence of child language learners (at least in the early period). In the latter case the slave labor force increased continually due to natural human reproduction. This resulted in large numbers of children, whose only means of intercommunication was to nativize the pidgin. For Bickerton (1979, 1981, 1984, 1989), the presence of children--specifically an early generation of children--is pivotal to his definition of "exogenous" (plantation) creoles, which, ideally, arose out of a prior pidgin that had not existed for more than a generation and in a population where not more than 20% were native speakers of the superstrate language and where the remaining 80% were substrate speakers of diverse languages (1981:4). In a subsequent publication Bickerton (1984:176) writes that the ratio of superstrate to substrate speakers in a given creole community is only one of several factors that determine the severity with which language transmission could be disrupted (infra).

2.3. The relative continuity of language transmission implies a continuum along which individual cases of glottogenesis can be plotted, the theoretical poles of which are absolute linearity and virtual nonlinearity. According to Bickerton (1984:176-78), disruption will be most severe in cases of early nativization of a minimal pidgin or jargon. Early nativization is a hallmark of maroonage, the creation of communities of escaped slaves, virtually precluded the effective transmission of preexisting languages (Saramaccan, Djuka). The early withdrawal of the original lexifier language of a plantation creole due to

political change cuts off further influence from native speakers of the dominant language (e.g., Sranan). The rupture in genetic transmission is somewhat less severe in the case of 'exogenous' (fort, maritime) creoles, which, by contrast, remain in contact with their substrate languages.

In the mid range of our continuum would be languages that nowadays are referred to as 'semicreoles' (Holm 1988:9-10) or 'convergence creoles' (Gilbert 1993a, b). The need for an intermediate construct arose out of the empirical observation that a number of languages exhibit many of the structural properties of creole languages (e.g., simplification), even though they appear not to have originated in the nativization of a pidgin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1986:10, Holm 1988:10). Whereas 'true' creoles develop where there is a radical break in language transmission, many languages appear to have developed with only a partial break (Mühlhäusler 1986:10). Scenarios that could conceivably yield results structurally similar to creole languages involve multilingual societies in which a continuum of lects develops between a superstrate language and several substrate languages, each lect reflecting varying degrees of substrate influence (Romaine 1988:160). Alternatively, 'next to mixing between fully developed linguistic systems one also finds mixing between full systems and developing systems' (Mühlhäusler 1986:10); that is, a 'language that grew out of the close contact of a creole with a non-creole, without itself ever having had a basilectal stage' (Holm 1991:22). In Gilbert's model (1993a, b) members of

a colonial society has transmitted its metropolitan language without interruption to their descendants. One or more groups of speakers learned this language first as a pidgin and subsequently as a creole, with varying degrees of convergence between acrolectal and basilectal varieties.

Putative cases include inter alia Singapore English (Platt 1975), South African Indian English (Meshtrie 1992), Popular Brazilian Portuguese (Holm 1989:299-303, Gilbert 1993a, b), African-American Vernacular English (Holm 1989:498-503, 1991), and Yiddish following the expansion of Judeo-German-speaking Ashkenazic Jewry into Slavic Eastern Europe from the 12th century (Louden 1993). When reading the literature in creolistics and even lately in Afrikaans linguistics in South Africa, one is struck by the diversity of terminology positioning Afrikaans within this intermundium between creole and noncreole: 'rudimentary creole' (Hancock 1971:518), 'creoloid' (Trudgill 1978: 49n., Makhudu 1984:96), 'fusion creole' (Markey 1981:25, 1982: 201-2), 'acrolectal creole' (Ponelis 1988:126), '(nonradical) fort creole' (Den Besten 1989:226), in addition to 'semicreole' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:148, 251-56; Holm 1989:339-40, 1991; Bruyn and Veenstra 1993:30) and 'convergence creole' (Gilbert 1993a, b).

3. On the Genetic Transmission of Dutch in Southern Africa: Major Positions and Issues

Neither the social situation nor the linguistic facts would

support a claim that Afrikaans is a 'true' creole language. The circumstances that led to catastrophic breaks in the transmission of language between generations--such as were created par excellence by plantation agriculture using slave labor--were not present at the old Cape. The slave population in the Cape Colony never greatly exceeded that of the Europeans, nor were there any large slave-holders save for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) as a whole (cf. Raidt 1983:14). The topography of the Cape was ill-suited for plantation agriculture, and in any event the VOC did not at the outset envisage colonization as an end in itself. Linguistically, Afrikaans appears more creolelike than metropolitan Dutch but in turn displays far fewer prototypical characteristics than Negerhollands (Virgin Islands Dutch Creole), Berbice Creole Dutch or Skepi Creole Dutch of Guyana, all three 'true' creoles (cf. Markey 1982, Ponelis 1988, Bruyn and Veenstra 1993).

3.1. Afrikaans has maintained a fundamental typological feature of continental West Germanic languages (i.e., Dutch and German) that is virtually unknown in creoles; namely, underlying SOV word order with verb-second (V2) phenomena. Despite significant innovation in some systems (infra), the syntax of standard Afrikaans does not diverge radically from Dutch in essential aspects. Afrikaans has preserved the Dutch periphrastic perfect with the auxiliary het 'have' (Dutch hebben) and morphological marking on the verb (viz. ge+present verb stem). It is true that Afrikaans has lost zijn as a perfect auxiliary, but so has English. And while it is also true that Afrikaans retains only

vestiges of the Dutch preterite, this particular absence is not without precedent in other West Germanic languages (southern German dialects, Yiddish). There is case syncretism in the first- and third-person plural pronouns (Dutch wij/ons, zij/hun, beside Afrikaans ons, hulle) but the rest of the pronominal system shows the same inflectional oppositions as Dutch. Pluralization is achieved by means of suffixation rather than anaphora or reduplication. Curiously, attributive adjectives are frequently inflected in Afrikaans, the criteria for inflection being phonotactic and in part semantic. Donaldson (1993:163) is quite correct in noting that adjective inflection is one area of Afrikaans grammar where simplification has not occurred; see Lass 1990.

The lexicon is mainly Netherlandic in origin despite the fact that Portuguese and Malay have left their mark. Khoikhoi lexis in Afrikaans obtains chiefly from adlexification for plant and animal names, expletives, and some cultural items.¹ Netherlandic patterns of word formation remain virtually unchanged (Raidt 1983:160), save for the addition of reduplication (infra).

Phonemically, standard Afrikaans is derivable in the main from vernacular and dialectal Early Modern Dutch. Theoretically, its phonotactic divergences could have resulted from metropolitan Dutch, universals of untutored second language acquisition, substratum influence, or the interaction of some, if not all of these factors. At first glance, the apocope of final /t, d/ following a tautosyllabic obstruent (Dutch nacht, hoofd, Afrikaans naq, hoof) is consistent with the kind of coda simpli-

Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Vol. 27, 1993. doi:10.5741/29-0-65

fication that can result from intensive language contact;
cf. Hesseling 1899:152- 53, 1923:126; Holm 1988:110. However,
the probative value of parallel phenomena in other contact
situations is diminished by the fact that cluster reduction is
widely attested in colonial Dutch before 1700 and in contemporary
Dutch dialects (Kloeke 1950:284-87, passim; Raidt 1974:99-101,
1983:80-82, 1991:198-200; Ponelis 1991:68-72). It is certainly
reasonable to sense some relevance in the fact that 'Khoi syl-
lables have the canonical form CV (Hagman 1973:21)' and speculate
that 'phonotactic rules of Dutch dialects converged with those of
Khoi languages to simplify final consonant clusters in Afrikaans'
(Holm 1991:9). Empirically, the question of convergent phonotac-
tic processes is moot. More difficult is Afrikaans initial [sk-]
(skryf) for Dutch initial [sx-] (schrijven). Replacement of a
marked syllable onset with a less marked one would be consistent
with what we should expect to find in creole languages (cf. Valk-
hof 1966:199, Den Besten 1987a:74). It is also true that
initial sk- < WGmc. *sk- is present in many metropolitan dialects
(Hesseling 1899:152; Kloeke 1950:225; Scholtz 1972:85-86,
1980:56; Raidt 1983:87; Ponelis 1991:55-56), even though sch- and
not sk- is evidently preserved in New Netherlands Dutch in North
America, which shares the same dialectal base as Afrikaans
(Buccini 1992). The velarization of posttonic final -n (Dutch
doorn, Afr. doring) has eluded unified explanation. Schonken
(1914:172-74) attributed it to substrate (Malay) phonology, but
not even Hesseling (1899:150-52) was prepared to go quite that

far. Dialectal antecedents in the metropole have been argued (Scholtz 1963:208-14, 1980:60; Raidt 1983:88-89; Ponelis 1991:38-39), though a linkage between Netherlandic and Malay tendencies is not unthinkable (Den Besten 1987a:83-84). Another salient phonological divergence from Dutch is the nasalization of nonhigh, nonfinal vowels, as in Afr. kans [kã:s] beside kas [kas]. Citing Hagman 1973:13, Holm (1991:8) draws attention to phonemically distinctive nasalized vowels in the phonology of the Khoikhoi language Nama. But this connection is offset by the nasalization of vowels observed in metropolitan Netherlandic dialects (Scholtz 1972:84-85, Ponelis 1991:53-54) and by its presence in New Netherlands Dutch (Buccini 1992). Whether nasalization in Afrikaans represents a generalized Netherlandic dialectism, autochthonous innovation, the influence of a substrate language, or some combination of all three forces is difficult to determine.

Although Afrikaans has not moved as far from Dutch as 'true' creoles have from their lexifier languages, the changes that distinguish it from metropolitan forms are still fairly extensive. Afrikaans has divested itself of the bulk of Dutch inflectional morphology. Case distinctions, such as they existed in spoken seventeenth-century Dutch, are nonexistent except in singular personal and anaphoric pronouns and as relics in fixed expressions (ten slotte 'in conclusion', destyds 'at that time'). With specific reference to deflexion we note the following losses: (a) grammatical gender in nouns; (b) a distinc-

tion between nominative and oblique cases in the first and third person plural pronouns (supra); (c) a separate reflexive pronoun corresponding to Dutch zich (German sich); (d) the Dutch demonstratives deze/dit, die/dat, which have been superseded by neologistic hierdie, daardie; (e) personal agreement in verbs (even in the copula) and a formal distinction between finite and nonfinite forms (save for is/wees and het/hê); (f) grammaticalized apophony (Ablaut) to mark categories of the verb, save for attributive past participles, where it is strictly morphophonemic; (g) past participle suffixes (weak -t/-d, strong -e(n)) in periphrastic tenses and concomitant reanalysis in attributive past participles; (h) the preterite as an inflectional category (except in modal auxiliaries, weet, wees, and dink) and also the superperfect in the active voice; (i) all trace of a morphological subjunctive; (j) weak allomorphs of pronominal forms (Dutch ik/'k, wij/we, etc.) and of the adverbial daar (Dutch daar/er). There is a uniform relative pronoun for all antecedents regardless of number, definiteness, or humanity (Afrikaans wat, Dutch de/die/dat/wat). The possessive particle se (phonologically derived from the weak allomorph of sij(n), Dutch zijn/z'n) does not vary according to gender and number of the possessor: Afrikaans ma se hoed, die kinders se skool beside Dutch vader z'n hoed, moeder d'r (haar) hoed, de kinderen hun school.

Significant innovations in Afrikaans grammar include reduplication (die dokter vat-vat die swelsel), the associative construction (Piet-hulle), the verbal hendiadys (hulle het 'n

glas water gestaan en drink), use of vir before personal objects (hulle het vir my geslaan), conversion and unification of function (ek is honger), and the double negation with nie, in sentence-final position (die son gaan nie vroeg onder nie). If one looks to nonstandard varieties of Afrikaans, then one finds still greater divergences. Particularly noteworthy is the use of positional verbs as preverbal aspectual markers, e.g., hierie mense loop gee solke snaakse name, nou sit sing hulle virie heeldag (note SVO order).

3.2. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:255) are correct in their observation that 'the drastic inflectional simplifications and consequent remodelling of Dutch structures in Afrikaans are not typical, as a set of changes, of any European Dutch dialect or dialect group'. Exactly how and when they came about has been a warmly disputed question for more than a century. The various opinions on the origins of Afrikaans are too numerous to catalogue here, and many today are of strictly antiquarian interest. They fall into three categories, with varying degrees of overlap and difference in emphasis. The competing models, after all, are not necessarily incompatible (cf. Kloss 1978:151); and it is important to bear in mind that the questions asked are often not the same. Older theories generally posit the formation of Afrikaans by the end of the seventeenth century, although assignment of such an early date has consistently failed to gain lasting acceptance. Nowadays, virtually everybody agrees that by 1740 an extraterritorial variety of Dutch had come into existence

in the Cape Colony, and that by 1775--certainly no later than 1800--we can speak of a separate but cognate Netherlandic language. There are good reasons to be skeptical of the received termini ad quem (cf. Roberge 1994), but we shall accept them here as a working hypothesis.²

3.2. Models in the first category proceed from the assumption of more or less normal transmission of language within the socially dominant European community at the old Cape. To the extent that basilectal forms of Afrikaans are considered at all, they are seen as the result of untutored second language acquisition on the part of the indigenous Khoikhoi and slaves of African and Asian origin, followed by language shift on the part of their descendants. Their varieties are seen as separate developments.

3.2.1. One early school of thought placed the genesis of Afrikaans squarely at the normal transmission end of our linearly continuum. This is the so-called "spontaneous development" model initially proposed by Kruisinga (1906) and with which the Afrikaner linguists Boshoff (e.g., 1921:78, 1959), Bosman (1923, 1947), and Smith (1927, 1952) were in substantial agreement. Briefly, currents of change present in Dutch, Flemish, and Low German dialects rapidly became diffuse in an extraterritorial setting. Advocates of spontaneous development assumed minimal language contact and fixed the origins of Afrikaans in the late seventeenth century. The one exception is Smith (1927:19, 1950:20), who opined that Afrikaans did not reach its modern form until the year 1750.

The Dutch dialectologist G. G. Kloeke (1950) is conventionally included in the spontaneist camp (Reinecke et al. 1975:323, Combrink 1978:86, Markey 1982:169, Makhudu 1984:13), and it has perhaps been all too easy to overlook the fact that he saw his book as a reaction to some of the more fanciful assertions of both creolists and spontaneists (346). He inferred from the relative uniformity of (Euro-) Afrikaans over a vast territory of South Africa that the new language must have gained its most characteristic features before 1700--well before contact with other languages could have played any significant role. According to Kloeke, Afrikaans shows some striking affinities with dialects in the southern part of the province of South Holland. He attributed a strong 'founder effect' to the language of the outpost's first commander Jan van Riebeeck and his entourage, the bases of which must have lain in South Holland (1950:289-302). At the same time, Afrikaans is not the pure development of a single Netherlandic dialect, for one can discern compromises with the 'High' Dutch of the period. In the absence of prescriptive norms reinforced by education and with the rapid assimilation of German and French immigrants, 'the younger generation must have "murdered" the language' (1950:346, 363).

In an extreme revival of the spontaneist model Van der Merwe (1963, 1964, 1968, 1970) went so far as to claim that the emergence of Afrikaans took place within a scant four to six years (1656-58) after Van Riebeeck's arrival (1968:66). Glottogenesis was essentially predetermined by latent tendencies toward change

(taalneiging) inherent in the structure of sixteenth-and seven-teenth- century Dutch--in other words accelerated drift. Geo-graphic displacement of Dutch speakers along with an influx of new European immigrants upset the equilibrium of Dutch grammar, unleashing a wave of structural readjustments in which purely internal factors governed the succession of changes. He cate-gorically ruled out any possibility that people of colour contributed significantly to the shaping of Afrikaans (e.g., 1966:29).

If by 'spontaneous development' we are given to understand that Afrikaans arose some time between 1658 and 1750 through a series of 'perfectly ordinary internally motivated changes from Dutch', then the time factor itself becomes an explanandum. After all, such a chronology 'flies in the face of everything we know about ordinary rates of internally motivated change. We do not suggest that we can specify precise rates of change, but rather that the changes from Dutch to Afrikaans, apparently during the early years of the Cape Colony, were much too exten-sive to have arisen solely by internal means within the elapsed time' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:255). Contrary to the impres-sion one might glean from an uncritical reading of Valkhoff (e.g., 1971:464, 466n.; 1972:1-2, 12-13, 34-41), the idea of spontaneous development was long obsolete even in South Africa by the mid 1960s. Kloeke's book has intrinsic value by virtue of the data his dialect-geographical approach makes available; not surprisingly, it earned serious international attention. By

contrast, Van der Merwe's views were deservedly passed over in silence by serious students of Afrikaans historical linguistics (cf. Raidt 1977:73).

3.2.2. The prevailing model of linguistic development at the Cape has emerged out of what Den Besten (1987) has called the 'South African philological school', the two most prolific writers being J. du Plessis Scholtz (1963, 1965, 1972, 1980) and Edith H. Raidt (1974, 1983, 1984a, 1991, etc.). Scholars working within this paradigm have not concerned themselves with theorizing the origins of Afrikaans, which they regard as a dubious enterprise (Scholtz 1963:74, 1980:29-30; Raidt 1976b:163n.). Instead, they have concentrated on the history of specific linguistic phenomena.³

Underlying the philological paradigm is a developmental model that presupposes continuous and linear development within a contact situation. Accordingly, Afrikaans evolved from Early Modern Dutch by a series of internally motivated changes effected by the generalization of Netherlandic dialectisms and secondary autochthonous development. The Netherlandic tongue imported to the Cape existed in several dialects. The provinces of North and South Holland seem to have been especially well represented at the outset, although there followed speakers from Utrecht, Brabant, Flanders, Zeeland, and the eastern regions (Raidt 1983:17). After 1700 there is a discernable slope toward deflection and regularization. Our source material indicates a transition period between 1740 and 1775. Raidt (1983:15)

proposes the term 'Cape Dutch' (Kaaps-Nederlands, Kapniederlân-
disch) if a designation is deemed desirable or expedient. Some
changes that define Afrikaans were already in place, while others
were still in progress. By 1800, however, we can assume a more
or less uniform and stable vernacular (Raidt 1983:6-8, 27-28),
somewhat different in the mouths of the Khoikhoi, slaves, and
subsequent generations of mixed descent.

A century and a quarter is still a fairly short period for
glottogenesis to occur solely by means of 'ordinary' linguistic
change (cf. Kloss 1978:151). The large number of nonnative
speakers using the Dutch target language in a multilingual
society--Germans (Grüner 1982) and French (Pheiffer 1980) as well
as Khoikhoi and slaves--supplied the accelerating factor.
Native-language (L1) interference and imperfect approximation of
the superstrate resulted in 'broken language' (roughly jargons
and interlanguages) but not outright pidginization, much less
creolization (Raidt 1978:119, 1983:24-28, 1991:124-31, 176-77;
Pheiffer 1980:1-11). At first, speech 'errors' were random and
unsystematic. Eventually, they coupled with the gradual diffu-
sion of internal linguistic change in progress, or else intro-
duced perturbations into patterns of variation inherent to the
fledgling speech community. A case in point is the replacement
of the Dutch relative pronouns die, dat, etc. with wat in
Afrikaans, which according to Ponelis (1987:69-70) was abetted by
invariant que in Creole Portuguese and to a lesser degree Malay
(as Hesseling 1923:121 speculated).

Empirically, scholarship conducted within the philological paradigm has much to recommend it. One proceeds inductively from a thorough investigation of the documentary evidence to a comparison of Afrikaans features with what we know of Early Modern Dutch and what we can impute to that period on the basis of modern Netherlandic dialects. The heuristic procedure is not precisely the one that comparatists have always applied to genetically related languages. The comparative method leads to a uniform protolanguage without any dialectal variation (except as necessary to accommodate irreconcilable differences in the daughters). In the case of Afrikaans the relationship is quite the opposite: synchronic uniformity has resulted from diachronic plurality.

After a tabulation of unambiguous continuities from Dutch (which require no explanation), one searches for forms in metropolitan Netherlandic dialects that are similar enough to the divergent Afrikaans features. Features that can be paired off in terms of these correspondences are considered 'explained'. It would be naive to think that an overseas territory settled originally from one area of the metropole should always and exclusively show dialect features from that area. Lass (1987b) has stressed that when a cluster of related but markedly different dialects move into an extraterritorial setting, there are two developmental options. Either one particular input type will dominate; or there will be varying degrees of mixture and recodification, with compromise outputs stemming from a variety of

inputs. Since Kloeke 1950, there has been nearly unanimous agreement that South Holland occupied a special position in the early days of the Cape colony, but immigrants from that region never constituted an absolute majority (Kloeke 1950:229-88). We should therefore hardly expect all defining features to be traceable to South Holland.

The development of Afrikaans is complicated by the fact that as a general rule it did not entail multiple migrations in which the component waves had a distinctly regional character. It is not possible to separate 'archaic' from 'advanced' linguistic patterns stemming from successive layers of continental Dutch dialects. Invoking dialectal substrata in order to account for the unexplained residue requires that two conditions be satisfied. First, there must be a metropolitan dialect that provides a plausible linguistic model. Second, there must be independent evidence for the presence of speakers of the dialect in question 'at the relevant time and in sufficient numbers' (Thomason and Kaufman 1982:255). The replacement of nominative wi by oblique ons in the function of subject has been recorded in the Dutch province of Zeeland (Raidt 1983:155). We also know that there was significant emigration from Zeeland between roughly 1685 and 1700 (Katzen 1982:198). So what at first blush appears to be an obvious creolism (Valkhoff 1966:222, 1972:45-47) may find its origin in an old dialectism. To infer from these facts a Netherlandic origin for subjectival ons is a defensible (but not necessarily unchallengeable) position. That there is no

neutralization of the nominative/ oblique distinction in the singular (ek/my, iy/jou, etc.) would lend some slight support.

Mühlhäusler (1986:123) has warned that as regards the determination of substratum influences in creoles, nothing is more misleading than a simple static comparison between two languages in their synchronic states. This caveat applies mutatis mutandis to a comparison of metropolitan and Cape varieties of Dutch. Problems arise when one or neither condition is met for a specific feature, and they become acute when that feature is not attested until fairly late in our Cape corpora. The etymologically opaque Afrikaans double negation shows a superficially striking resemblance to a negation pattern that Pauwels (1958) found in the modern dialect of Aarschot in Brabant. Yet, Den Besten (1985:13-30, 1986:199-206) has shown that the Aarschot pattern is structurally and pragmatically quite different than what we find today in Afrikaans. One cannot in any event draw a connection here unless one can show on independent grounds that the Cape settlement included a significant dialectal substratum with this kind of negation. As it happens, there were Flemish speakers in the service of the VOC during the seventeenth century. But they were very much in the minority and interspersed among the Hollanders; their linguistic influence was otherwise marginal. In the case of the double negation, only the first condition is met, and even at that very imperfectly.

It is certainly not enough to suppose that if a linguistic feature can be Netherlandic, it must be Netherlandic (cf. Den

Besten 1986:191, Thomason and Kaufman 1988:255), although such kneejerk opinions hardly characterize the scholarship cited in the present section (§3.2.2). Reduplication and the object particle vir do not find clear cognates in any continental variety of Dutch, and Raidt has fixed their origins in (respectively) Malay (1976a) and Creole Portuguese (1980, 1981). More usually, linguistic data from the formative periods attesting to the usage of slaves and Khoikhoi is at best scanty, and one simply cannot do adequate philology. Nonetheless, only in the last resort does one look to the substrate contact languages. From the philologists' point of view, a remotely plausible Netherlandic prototype must prevail when the evidence is in equipoise. To my mind, the conspicuous absence of double negation in the Afrikaans pattern from our Cape Dutch source material before the early nineteenth century flatly contradicts the received opinion that some facultative or discourse-dependent dialectism imported from the metropole became grammaticalized at the Cape. If the Afrikaans double negation is a Netherlandicism, where has it been lurking during 150 years of Dutch hegemony? True, avoidance of highly stigmatized variants in writing would explain the absence. But that explanation invites tautology and raises the awkward question of why a supposedly diffusing feature of dialectal Early Modern Dutch should command such a negative sociolinguistic evaluation among a rural, insular, and semiliterate settler population. Not without interest is the fact that an Afrikaans-like double negation is entirely unknown in another

former territory of the Dutch colonial empire; namely, New Netherlands Dutch in North America (Buccini 1992).

It should be obvious by now that the perspective adopted by the 'philological school' is preponderantly Eurocentric. It seems to me that what the philologists have posited by ca. 1775-1800 is an idealized Euro-Cape Dutch, a composite of all defining features. Contemporaneous forms of basilectal Cape Dutch are seen basically as ancillary and epiphenomenal. Note how the philological approach spreads the 'interference' factor more or less equally among several groups of European and non-European learners of Dutch. Raidt (1983:155-56) is too astute a linguist to claim that Zeelanders with subjectival ons in their dialect simply imposed this feature on everybody else, and so she allows that subjectival ons advanced at the Cape in part 'durch den Einfluß der Fremdlinge'. That is as far as she takes us. Idealization of Euro-Cape Dutch and the separation of basilectal forms represent a useful diachronic abstraction, but it could hardly have been sociolinguistic reality (see Roberge 1994).

3.3. Glottogenetic models of the second type proceed from the same postulates as those in the foregoing discussion, except that they stress dialect leveling in the European core community rather than internal linguistic change. Early proponents of this

model were Wittmann (1928) and Louw (1948). Wittmann's contention (1928:43, 57) that a variety strongly divergent from Dutch had come into existence already by 1685 is antiquated and untenable. Louw (1948:87) saw convergence as a far slower process, and he allowed a century for leveling to run its course. It seems gratuitous to add that like proponents of the older spontaneous development model, both writers reserve the mechanisms of change exclusively for the European settler community.

The basic principle is that when genetically closely related dialects come into contact in a foreign environment, they will coalesce into a uniform code (koine), often with a greatly simplified morphology (Mühlhäusler 1986:12, Holm 1988:10). Kotzé (1991) has stressed that the history of Euro-Afrikaans satisfies all of Siegel's (1985) requirements for koineization: (1) mixing of mutual intelligible codes; (2) the gradual nature of this simplification; and (3) sustained intensive contacts and gradual assimilation of social groups. In a similar vein Combrink (1978:72-77) explains the demise of personal agreement in the Afrikaans verb as the linguistic consequence of mixing between similar but nonidentical inflectional systems. The Netherlandic and Low German dialects imported to the Cape were structurally and lexically so similar as to be mutually intelligible. The main barrier to communication lay in the interdialectal 'channel noise' created by inflectional disparities. Because the exigencies of efficient communication

implied greater reliance on syntax and lexical roots, verbal inflections became completely redundant and thus disposable. In this way Cape Dutch could be morphologically stripped even while preserving intact its continental West Germanic syntactic typology.

For Van Rensburg (1983:138-39, 1985, 1989), the history of Afrikaans represents a continuous process of koineization; namely, leveling of inherent variation (taalvervanging) coupled with the generalization of erstwhile variable rules (reëluitbreiding) and autochthonous hybrids. The language of the Dutch rank and file at the Cape (viz. uneducated peasants and ordinary VOC employees) is equatable with nonstandard varieties already spoken on the continent and in the Dutch colonies (1984:514). Oosgrens-Afrikaans represents a convergent form that can be historically identified as the language of settlers who established themselves along the eastern frontier. The northern varieties of Afrikaans, as spoken in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, are based on this.

Nonstandard Netherlandic varieties imported to the Cape also served as the target language of the Khoikhoi and slaves. Language shift was preceded by imperfect code switching on the part of adult language learners in the early years of the colony, with succeeding generations acquiring Cape Dutch natively (as bilinguals for an indeterminate period of time). Creolelike features in the contemporary varieties of their descendants are in the main attributable to the interlanguages of adults master-

ing a foreign language in the conventional way vis-à-vis the creations of children. Whenever such cases can be observed directly, nonnative varieties of a target language are typically characterized by reduction, simplification, overgeneralization, and transference of structure from the native language. The contemporary Afrikaans of people of colour still bear the imprint of the interlanguages of their forebears but are not sensu stricto creole languages (cf. Van Rensburg 1985:138-54, 1989:137-38; Webb 1993; Van der Merwe 1993). Kaapse Afrikaans (i.e., of the Cape Malay and Cape 'Coloureds') is based on the varieties of the early slaves and Khoikhoi communities in the Western Cape. Oranjerivier-Afrikaans (i.e., spoken by the Griquas, in the Richtersveld, and by people of colour in Namibia) represents a form of Afrikaans that shows a greater influence of Khoikhoi languages and was spoken in the regions along the Orange River.⁴ Standard Afrikaans is a relatively late developmental phase (roughly 1870-1930) in which the settler vernacular spoken along the eastern frontier (Oosgrens-Afrikaans) provided the dialectal base and which proceeded under the influence of Dutch prestige norms (vernederlandsing); cf. Van Rensburg 1983:139-41. During the standardization process, East Cape Afrikaans made several inroads into the other varieties, whereas the latter had no measurable involvement in the overall process.

According to the variationist position, it is the convergence of preexisting variants rather than evolutive change in the neogrammarian sense that was the 'driver' in the formation of

Euro-Afrikaans. As such, this postulate qualifies merely as a shift in perspective, for traditional diachronic formulations are easily translatable into variationist terms. One generally looks in vain for explicit statements on how specific variables coalesced over time, space, and social class. It is one thing to offer programmatic allusions to a kind of linguistic stew during the early VOC period that somehow managed to sort itself out; it is quite another to reconstruct sociostylistic variation or early koine, difficult though this will be.⁵

It is easy to get the impression from the views just summarized that the explanatory power of interlanguage is supposed to finesse the question of pidginization/creolization by rendering these concepts derivative and ultimately dispensable (cf. Van Rensburg 1989:142). Central to Van Rensburg's position is the claim that the developing second languages of adult Khoikhoi and slaves in the initial contact generation (G_0) became a viable primary language. The disruption of language transmission would have been minimal, for the substrate populations could avail themselves of their native languages (e.g., Khoikhoi) and/or on imported *lingue franche* (Creole Portuguese, Pasar Malay). This brings up the problem of stabilization; that is, how to account for the elimination of individual solutions to intergroup communication and the establishment of social norms (Whinnom 1971:99, Mühlhäusler 1986:125).

Collectively, interlanguages would have represented a very open system, having neither shared norms nor stability in given

individuals. Theoretically, the interlanguage continuum in the Cape Colony between 1652-1700 could have ranged from the most rudimentary jargon to fluent, nonnative Dutch. With regard to Orange River Afrikaans, Van Rensburg explicitly rules children out as agents of innovation: 'It does not seem that the children who learnt this . . . language from their parents (next to their mother tongues in the beginning) affected the original version in a substantial way' (1989:138). He seems to presuppose that adult interlanguages in G₀ developed at roughly the same rate--and further that fossilization (the point where learning in second language acquisition permanently ceases) set in more or less simultaneously in given individuals. That innumerable varieties could have been reduced to comparative uniformity within G₀ is inherently implausible.

By definition, the existence of an interlanguage continuum implies that second language acquisition in G₀ was targeted toward superstrate Dutch. With continuing improvement in performance in achieving communication with Europeans, highly individualized L1-transfer and spontaneous interlingual hybridization would have become increasingly ephemeral over time. True, social distance between superstratum and substratum would have perpetuated bilingualism and prevented total convergence. Yet, the end result could only have been a somewhat indigenized variety of Cape Dutch and surely not one that 'is widely recognized as a pidgin or creole, or a language with distinct pidgin or creole characteristics' (Van Rensburg 1989:136).

If the requisite measure of stability came about through the nativization of intermediate forms of language a succeeding generation of children (G_1), then it is unclear to what extent the difference between the positions of Van Rensburg (loc. cit.), Ponelis (1988), and Den Besten (e.g., 1989) is not merely one of terminology. The only remaining avenues to stabilization are the fusion of speech communities (which nobody has claimed) or withdrawal of superstrate Dutch as the target language of G_1 . A compelling sociolinguistic reason for indigenes and slaves to maintain and nativize Dutch in the latter circumstance is not obvious. Nor is the stabilization issue even apprehended. As concerns the genesis of nonstandard varieties of Afrikaans, many of variationist ideas (which seem drawn from simple bilingual situations) conflict with their own presuppositions and so cancel themselves.

3.4. Glottogenetic models in the third category assume that the transmission process was "bent" but not broken in the early years of the Cape Colony" (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988:253).

3.4.1. For the Dutch linguist D. C. Hesseling (1899, ²1923:59), the transmission of language was disrupted by the sudden encounter of two completely different peoples and languages.⁶ With the introduction of slavery in 1658, Creole Portuguese with an admixture of Malay is supposed to have become so widely spoken in the Cape Colony during the period 1658-85 as to leave a very strong impression on the Dutch language. Slaves spoke this 'Malayo-Portuguese' (as Hesseling called it) among

themselves; it was for some a native language, for others a previously acquired language. Colonists used it with them and with other Europeans who did not know Dutch. Sailors and officials were conversant in the lingua franca as well, for it was in widespread use in the Dutch East Indies and in various ports of call. The slaves at the Cape learned Dutch from their masters, albeit defectively under the influence of their 'Malayo-Portuguese'. European interlocutors were unable to avoid absorbing a number of their linguistic patterns into their own speech.⁷ Miscegenation was also a factor, as the emergence of a half-caste population is supposed to have greatly accelerated the erosion of the Dutch inflectional system and introduced a number of creolisms into the syntax and lexicon. Hesseling (1923:ch. 1) thought that the 'breaking down' of Dutch into Afrikaans was largely completed by the end of the seventeenth century. Ultimately, however, creolization was only partial due to regular arrivals of VOC officials and new immigrants from the Netherlands, and also to the conserving influence of the Dutch church and Bible (1923:59-60, 128).

3.4.2. In essential respects this was also the position of Du Toit (1905), who sought to elaborate on Hesseling's views, and Van Ginneken (1913:210-13), who regarded Afrikaans as essentially creolized. For Franken (1927-31, collected 1953), the prototypical Afrikaans is that which has evolved as the spoken language of the 'Coloureds' (1953:202-3). He concluded from his study of early archival materials that Afrikaans evolved from

'broken' forms of Dutch that emerged already during the first fifty years of Dutch occupation as the vernacular of slaves, Khoikhoi, and their descendants of mixed race. It was during this time also that the speech of European children came under the influence of these varieties (1953:26, 95). Thus, Franken followed Hesseling in favoring the late seventeenth century as pivotal and stressing contact with people of colour (even while deemphasizing somewhat the latter's construct of a mixed 'Malayo-Portuguese' lingua franca; cf. 1953:43). Though primarily of antiquarian interest today, Hesseling's views on Afrikaans have been most influential. They are discernable in such widely disparate linguistic writings as Kainz 1943:571-72 on reduced languages and Lockwood's thumbnail history (1965:205-6).

3.4.3. Between the classical creolist and spontaneist positions falls the 'foreigners' Dutch' or 'adaptation' model of D. B. Bosman (1923, 1947). Bosman (1923:56-60) rejected the idea that some adstratal 'Malayo-Portuguese' could have left any such imprint on the grounds that the number of Asian slaves was insignificant prior to 1715. Nevertheless, he conceded that spontaneous development alone could not account for the relatively rapid transformation of Dutch into Afrikaans (1923:43). (Bosman appears to have had no quarrel with Hesseling's terminus post quem.) Insofar as Afrikaans is not the spontaneous development of Dutch on foreign soil, its creolelike features (e.g., deflexion) are attributable to the influence of nonnative speakers of Dutch, supra (1923:101-4).

Bosman's model is indeed preponderantly eclectic (Reinecke et al. 1975:323); to call it 'evasive', as Markey 1982:169 does, would hardly do justice to this writer. True, Bosman made no attempt to apportion the influence of the various linguistic determinants (Reinecke 1937:572). He drew a distinction between European and creolized varieties (e.g., 1923:83), and indeed many of his views strike the alert reader as prescient in the light of contemporary research. Nienaber (1934:54, 1949:121-32) thought that Bosman was essentially on the right track even though the empirical underpinnings to his formulations did not run deep. A few years later, Nienaber himself (1955) would attribute the Afrikaans double negation to a 'foreigner' hybridization on the part of Khoikhoi speakers of Cape Dutch.⁸ Bosman's well-known position anticipates the philologists' invocation of 'broken language' as a secondary mechanism of change, a concept that has since found explication in second language acquisition terms as taalversteuring 'interference' (Van Rensburg 1985, Ponelis 1988) and interlanguage continua (Van Rensburg 1989).

3.4.4. Weighing the views of Hesseling and Bosman, Reinecke (1977:568) commented that the argument in favor of the influence of Malay and Creole Portuguese might have been stronger if Hesseling had allowed that the transformation of Dutch continued after 1685. Valkhoff (1966, 1972) appears to have recognized this fact when reasserting the 'quick birth' of Afrikaans under the influence of Dutch spoken by "foreign peoples, namely Indonesians, Malaysians, Indians, Hottentots, Bushmen . . . , Malagasy,

Negroes, and White foreigners' (1966:206). According to him, Cape society from the second half of the seventeenth century and still in the first half of the eighteenth century was so much integrated that there was a very close intercourse between Europeans, indigenes, and slaves. Valkhoff assumed the emergence of a 'proto-Afrikaans', among the latter groups during the first fifty years of Dutch occupation (1966:204-7; 1972:48- 49). During these 'linguistic encounters' Creole Portuguese provided the flux in the semicreolization of Dutch, though Malay, the other lingua franca of the East Indies, gradually overtook it as a slave language in Southern Africa in the eighteenth century and left its mark as well (1972:72, 83). For Valkhoff, then, the process of transformation 'was started at a very early date in the bosom of the Coloured community, for whom Afrikaans is still the mother tongue. As a matter of fact the situation was more complex than it appears at first sight, and the Whites, too, had their share in the transformation of the Dutch language . . . ; and so did the Dutch-speaking slaves and Hottentots' (1966:206-7). By the middle of the eighteenth century this proto-Afrikaans 'had probably developed into a dialect so different from "Hollands" Dutch that most people would regard it as a new language' (1972:72; cf. also pp. 48-49, 83). Thus, Valkhoff followed Hesseling, Bosman, and Franken in dating the 'actual origin' of Afrikaans from the late seventeenth century (roughly 1685-1710). But he clearly hedged his position by making allowance for a subsequent period of development and

convergence lasting several more decennia. Thus, 'pure' Afrikaans--the one truest to type--was the language par excellence of the 'Coloureds' in the first half of the nineteenth century, a little different according to whether it was spoken by the Cape Malay or the 'Coloureds' proper (1972:7). The Boers must have used a more or less similar language, but one that was somewhat nearer to 'High' Dutch.

Valkhoff's first book (1966) provoked a heated quarrel with old-guard spontaneists (e.g., Van der Merwe 1966) that did nothing to advance the field. Valkhoff 1972 is a deeply reactive monograph that offers little in the way of direct engagement with existing historical research programmes. For their part, the philologists tend to dismiss Valkhoff's work as unscientific, speculative, preoccupied with social conditions to the exclusion of 'hard' linguistic analysis, and generally uninformed with regard to the history of Netherlandic (Lubbe 1974:94-98; Raidt 1975, 1976b, 1977, 1983:42-46). As a Romance specialist, Valkhoff was by his own admission out of his element with respect to Early Modern Dutch, Netherlandic dialectology, and Afrikaans philology (1966:217). One may grant Valkhoff's claim that Portuguese Creole and to lesser extent (Pasar) Malay were used as *lingue franche* among slaves, as also between Europeans and slaves. However, Raidt (loc. cit.) has argued that he greatly overestimated the impact of these languages on Cape Dutch. Furthermore, Valkhoff staked much of his case on circumstantial evidence involving the social setting in which Afrikaans em-

erged. It is not enough to suppose that if a feature can be a creolism, it must be a creolism. Although simplification and reduction are hallmarks of prior pidginization, their appearance in Afrikaans is misleading. The continuity of our textual sources militates rather strongly against regarding Afrikaans as a creole. Nearly 200 years had elapsed before all of the defining variables were fully in place. The abrupt and simultaneous structural changes typical of pidgins and creoles is generally absent (Raidt 1983:191).

Mühlhäusler (1974:13) correctly observes that Valkhoff seems to treat pidginization and creolization as the same process. The latter's vaguely formulated notion of the 'breaking down' of the original Cape Dutch (e.g., 1971:456) with miscegenation as a causal factor was anachronistic and totally inadequate by the late 1960s (cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:43). Yet even if nothing else in Valkhoff's work turns out to be of lasting value, his insistence that from the outset Afrikaans was subject to the continuum principle (that is, we should speak of more and less 'advanced' forms of Afrikaans) ought to be a serious consideration for any student of its history.

3.4.5. One simple alternative to reconstructing actual sociolinguistic processes is a comparison of Afrikaans with recognized creoles having Early Modern Dutch as their lexifier language. Markey (1982) proffers a gradient evaluation of Afrikaans in terms of a roster of features that are supposed to be universally present (or nearly so) in creole languages. As an

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'unmistakably creole form of Dutch that is well recorded in the literature' (175), Virgin Islands Dutch Creole serves as the standard of comparison. Whereas Virgin Islands Dutch Creole has all eleven diagnostic features, Afrikaans tests positively for only two, with two other features being weakly present. This leads Markey to conclude that 'in typology . . . as throughout human language there are no absolutes. Afrikaans, for whatever inexplicable reasons of environment and structure, is a transitional language located on a continuum somewhere between creole and non-creole' (204).

At one level, it is impossible to disagree with either aspect of this conclusion as far as it goes, even if one does not fully endorse the efficacy of his diagnostic features (cf. Bender 1987:44-45), or the very idea of characterizing creoles in terms of selected features (cf. Le Page 1987:115). Markey's finding--again as far as it goes--is entirely consistent with the emerging recognition among creolists that Euro-Afrikaans is linguistically much closer to Dutch than either Hesseling or Valkhoff averred; cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:18; Makhudu 1984:57; Thomason and Kaufman 1988:256, Den Besten 1989:227, Holm 1989:339. At another level, it is vacuous, amounting essentially to a mere restatement of the problem it seeks to address.

Makhudu (1984:3-4, 54-59) is rightly critical of Markey for having culled his information chiefly from a normative grammar of standard Afrikaans and for factual inaccuracies.⁹ His determination (1984:60-95) that 'coloured' Afrikaans and Flytaal

show significantly higher indices of creolicity provides a necessary corrective to the woefully incomplete picture that the unwary reader will adduce from Markey's article (or from its mostly uncritical summary in Romaine 1988:55-62, although this author does alert her readers to Makhudu's principal objection, p. 62). By utilizing a modified version of Markey's checklist to test nonstandard varieties of Afrikaans in addition to the standard language, Makhudu carries on with the enterprise of typological classification grounded in the contrastive analysis of synchronic states--even while offering a far more revealing examination of the continuum of lects that are constitutive of Afrikaans. At one level, Makhudu's general conclusion is entirely in line with current thinking among those who adopt the creolist perspective: 'It now seems likely that pidginization and creolization did indeed occur in the non-native Dutch communities of the early Cape'. Racial separation preserved creolisms in the 'coloured' community, while the Afrikaans of Europeans developed under the 'conserving influences of Dutch immigration and the promotion of the High or standard variety of Dutch until the early 20th Century' (1984:96-97). At another level, the 'creoloid nature of the Afrikaans lectal continuum' is only suggestive; apparent creolisms in synchronic grammar do not explain themselves. While I am entirely sympathetic to Makhudu's conclusion, I do not agree fully with the argumentation by which he reaches it.

Well-informed comparison of the endpoints of glottogenesis

can be instructive to the extent that it shows what developments are possible as the result of intensive language contact (see more recently Ponelis 1988:132-42; also Bruyn and Veenstra 1993, who explicitly limit their discussion to standard Afrikaans). Though often forced upon us by a lack of reliable documentation, inference of prior processes of linguistic hybridization on the basis of static comparison is methodologically suspect (cf. Mühlhäusler 1986:206). Moreover, 'there is considerable disagreement as to the world-wide similarities of creole structures' (Mühlhäusler 1986:222). Yet, all this has done little to discourage attempts to classify Afrikaans--or specific varieties thereof (e.g., Kotzé 1989, Van der Merwe 1993)--on typological grounds: How creolelike is it? Is it a postcreole? A fort creole? A semi-creole or creoloid? The decisionistic and asocial foundation upon which such classifications rest undermines their usefulness and leads me to view them with increasing skepticism. The end result of this exercise is virtually guaranteed by its own pre-suppositions ('in typology as throughout human language there are no absolutes'); Afrikaans will inevitably fall somewhere within the mid range of any reasonable scale of creolicity.

3.4.6. Today, most linguists who take a creolist view concerning the genesis of Afrikaans will readily stipulate that Dutch colonists at the Cape can reasonably have been expected to pass their language on to their descendants in a continuous and unbroken process of 'normal' transmission (Makhudu 1984:95; Thomason and Kaufmann 1988:252; Den Besten 1989:226; Holm

1989:343, 1991; Gilbert 1993a, b). Pidginization and subsequent creolization took place within the Afro-Asian substrate. The Afrikaans of Whites today--particularly their colloquial speech--bears the imprint of this former creole, but the antecedent vernacular of European settlers was only peripherally involved in the creolization process.

The Khoikhoi are today acknowledged as the primary substrate community during the early years of the Cape Colony (Den Besten 1986:224, passim). From as early as 1590, when the Dutch and English started calling at the Cape of Good Hope, there came into existence a jargon used between Europeans and indigenous Khoikhoi. From 1658 slaves were brought in from West Africa, Mozambique, Madagascar, India, Ceylon, and Indonesia. The slaves acquired this trade language in their encounters with the Khoikhoi and contributed their own modifications; it became stabilized as a pidgin during the last decennia of the seventeenth century (Franken 1953; Valkhoff 1972:50; Den Besten 1986:192-201, 1989:217-24). Creolization occurred first in the Western Cape around 1700 following the withdrawal of Khoikhoi into the interior to escape European domination and in the wake of the smallpox epidemic of 1713 that decimated their population. Nativization of the Cape Dutch Pidgin was effected by slaves, the mixed offspring of Khoikhoi who remained behind, and other free people of colour. Modern Cape Afrikaans (supra) is traceable to the pidgin and creole Dutch formerly spoken widely in the Western Cape and now almost completely decreolized.

According to Kotzé (1984:42), the nonstandard characteristics that are typically associated with Cape Afrikaans are quantitatively most prevalent in the speech of the Cape Muslim community. The retreating Khoikhoi took with them their own variety of Cape Dutch Pidgin (possibly itself on the fringes of creolization), which they later deployed in their encounters with trekboeren along the eastern frontier. The expansion of Cape Dutch along the northern frontier coincided with the migration of mixed Khoi, slave, and European populations. Its synchronic reflex, Orange River Afrikaans, is widely thought to have descended from a creole ancestor (cf. Van Rensburg 1989:135), though its prehistory remains poorly understood.

Den Besten (1989:226) regards Afrikaans as a 'fort creole' in the taxonomy of Bickerton (1989), which differs less radically from its lexifier language than a plantation creole.¹⁰ That Afrikaans has remained linguistically close to Dutch is attributable to three factors: (i) The population of the Cape Colony was comprised of a high percentage of Europeans, who accepted individual features from the Cape Dutch Pidgin/Creole but did not adopt it in its entirety; in fact the European superstrate exerted reciprocal influences of its own on hybridized forms of Dutch; see further Ponelis 1988 on this point. (ii) The Cape Dutch Pidgin/Creole was a second or third language for the many slaves could avail themselves of Creole Portuguese and/or Pasar Malay. The availability of these lingue franche mitigated ruptures in the overall transmission of language and limited

somewhat the importance of Cape Dutch Pidgin for intragroup communication. (iii) The legally free Khoikhoi were in a better position than the slaves to improve their performance in the direction of the superstrate by virtue of their greater access to that language (cf. Den Besten 1989:227).

The creolists are certainly correct to assert that simplified, reduced, and restructured forms of Dutch must have arisen among the Khoikhoi and other Africans dealing with the Europeans, as also among the slaves. In order to make a case for creolization within the Afro-Asian substrate, one will first have to demonstrate the existence of a stable Dutch pidgin (or a relexified 'Malayo-Portuguese', improbable though this may be) and the subsequent addition of grammatical rules and lexis (cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:18). Den Besten (1987, 1988, 1989:229-234) has marshalled evidence for a Cape Dutch pidgin (or pidgins) from the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. He has attributed the instantiation of certain Afrikaans features to substratum influence. This means the direct transfer of structures belonging to the speaker's first language (implemented by Netherlandic exponents) or the creation of new structures on the basis of first-language interference. Examples of direct transfer would include the associative construction in -hulle, -goed (Den Besten 1993), and the uniform possessive particle se, which is phonologically derivable from Early Modern Dutch sij(n) but syntactically patterned after possessives in Khoikhoi (Nama/!Ora di), Creole Portuguese (sua) and Pasar Malay (punya)

(Den Besten 1978:28-38)¹¹; the Afrikaans double negation exemplifies the grammaticalization of an interference neologism (Den Besten 1978:40-42, 1985:32-35, 1986:210-24). Den Besten ascribes other Afrikaans features to universal strategies for the encoding of meaning, examples of which are the neologistic demonstrative pronouns hierdie, daardie (1988:26-27). I do not wish to deal generally here with the substance of Den Besten's claims; many of the phenomena he examines have been massively discussed in the literature and are long-standing etymological cruxes. My point is that all such hybrids would also be characteristic of haphazard approximations of the Dutch target language (Mühlhäusler 1974:17-18), or 'rapid and drastic linguistic change due to imperfect learning' (Ponelis 1988:119). There are important structural parallels between pidginization and the interlanguage stage of language shift 'because both reflect cognitive and linguistic universals at play in the acquisition of another language' (Holm 1991:21). At increasing time depths, their results may become indistinguishable. In principle, then, the issue that divides the creolist and variationist positions is not so much one of the actual mechanisms of hybridization, but rather what type of code was nativized within the Afro-Asian substrate: a stable pidgin or unstable, transient interlanguages emanating from gradient degrees of multilingualism and language shift. Nativization of a stable pidgin would, of course, have resulted in a creole language within the substrate. But so far nobody has been able to show by the dint of direct evidence or convincing

argumentation that this is in fact what happened. The stabilization question presents itself as usual.

4. From Initial Contact to Social Convergence in Cape Colonial Society, 1652-1795

The three groups primarily responsible for the formation of Afrikaans--European settlers, Khoikhoi, and slaves--were quite distinct during the first decades of the Cape Colony. This distinctness was defined by physical appearance, culture, religion, and language. By the end of Dutch East India Company era in 1795, a number of processes had eroded these boundaries: ' (1) the incorporation of the Khoikhoi into the European-dominated society as wage labourers subject to Dutch law, (2) the conversion of slaves and free blacks to Christianity or Islam, (3) miscegenation and intermarriage among groups, (4) the manumission of slaves and the consequent emergence of an important new group--the free blacks, (5) cultural exchanges among groups' (Elphick and Shell 1989:184). The present section briefly examines the sociolinguistic implications of these processes.

In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck and his party landed at the Cape of Good Hope with the limited objective of establishing a refreshment station on behalf of the Dutch East India Company. At the outset, the population of the outpost consisted almost entirely of the 100 or so Europeans in the original expedition. The presence of VOC officials, ordinary servants, soldiers, and

sailors afforded some social stratification. Beyond this, social and racial divisions were ill-defined and fluid during this initial period. After 1657 the VOC allowed 'free burghers' (vrijburger) to settle at the Cape to produce commodities needed by the station. This group of European arrivals was comprised of many Dutch, as also some 200 Huguenots, who had fled France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and large number of Germans in the service of the VOC. The Huguenots, who arrived in the Cape Colony from ca. 1688, assimilated into the existing Dutch-speaking population with little in the way of a direct linguistic legacy. Within a generation, their French language had disappeared (cf. Pfeiffer 1980). In the main German free burghers were able to achieve fluency in Dutch within a decade of their arrival. Typically, they married Dutch-speaking women; children of their issue were brought up to speak Dutch (cf. Grüneir 1982). These new immigrants merged with the existing Dutch population to constitute the core of the Afrikaner community.

Buccini (1992) has demonstrated that the colonial Dutch dialects (Cape Dutch and New Netherlands Dutch) reflect in all general respects the spoken Dutch of the lower and middle classes in the provinces of *Holland and Utrecht* during the early and mid seventeenth century. Because of the founder effect, the tinge of South Holland is perhaps more prominent in the Cape Colony than the number of immigrants from that region might otherwise predict (Kloeke 1950). Traces of other Netherlandic dialects may be discerned (Raidt 1983:16-17), but they are in the main relatively

superficial (chiefly lexical). The prestige variety of Dutch imported to the Cape was the educated speech of the urban upper class of Amsterdam and The Hague (Raidt 1983:16). But it was spoken by a minority of the population (the commander and transient officials of the VOC), an elite to which the rank and file--particularly migrant farmers along the frontier--would not aspire.

Already by the end of the seventeenth century, there had emerged a distinction between Africaanders, people of European descent who regarded the Cape Colony as their permanent home, and expatriot VOC officials and other personnel in temporary residence there. (In the eighteenth century Africaander did not bear the semantic burden of its modern cognate, but that is a topic for a separate essay.) By the eighteenth century, the settler population was no longer an undifferentiated community. The most salient socioeconomic division arose between the colonists in the southwestern Cape and the migrant farmers (trekboeren) in the interior. The former were dominant politically. They consisted of a 'small and fairly prosperous bourgeoisie' (Du Toit and Giliomee 1983:5); namely, civil servants (some of whom were born at the Cape), prosperous burghers in Cape Town, and a few wealthy wine, grain, and vegetable farmers in the Boland. Beneath this group were the majority of Capetonians and smaller farmers in the surrounding areas, who lived respectably but enjoyed no great wealth. After 1717, a growing number of individuals moved inland to join the few free burghers who, since the turn of the century,

had established themselves as migrant farmers on land leased from the VOC. This migration was due in no small measure to lack of opportunities in the monopolistic official economy. Many colonists could not afford to become entrepreneurs in Cape Town or farmers in the southwestern Cape. They were not sufficiently educated to enter the limited ranks of the Dutch colonial administration or professions. Reliance on slaves and an indigenous labor force precluded the development of a white working class (cf. Du Toit and Giliomee 1983:7-10). As these people migrated further away from Cape Town, the authority of the government and cultural influence of the city (such as it was) receded.

Prior to 1658, there was only a handful of personal slaves at the Cape, including a few in Van Riebeeck's household. The first significant numbers arrived in that year from Angola and Dahomey. Excepting a few individuals, they were the only West African slaves who were brought to the Cape during the VOC period (Armstrong and Worden 1989:111-12). Slaves were thereafter imported from Madagascar, from Mozambique and entrepôts along the East African coast, as well as from the Indonesian archipelago, India, and Ceylon. The slave population also increased naturally by procreation. The children of liaisons between slave women and European or Khoikhoi men were de iure slaves (Elphick and Shell 1989:202). By 1834, when the institution was abolished at the Cape, as in other British colonies, the slave population had risen to 36,169 (Armstrong and Worden 1989:109).

The diversity of the languages represented in the Cape slave community guaranteed the deployment of extraterritorial *lingue franche*. Valkhoff (1966:146-91) was certainly correct in his assertion that *Pasar Malay* and especially *Creole Portuguese* were readily available as means of interlingual communication among slaves. Merchants, officials, sailors, magistrates, and other VOC personnel who had lived in the East Indies could be expected to be proficient to some degree in Portuguese. This has never been a matter of controversy; see Franken 1953:15-27, 41-79, 116-43; Raidt 1983:20; Den Besten 1989:224; Davids 1991:44-46. At the same time, Raidt (1983:20) is no less correct in her assertion that these languages could not have been in general use as *lingue franche* throughout the entire colony because too few rank-and-file colonists knew them. The emergence of a Dutch jargon to effect communication between slaves and master can scarcely be open to doubt; see Den Besten 1987b, 1989.

The Khoikhoi were the first South Africans to confront the Europeans at the Cape of Good Hope. Within 60 years of Dutch occupation, the traditional Khoikhoi economy, social structure, and political order had almost entirely collapsed in the southwestern Cape (Elphick 1977:ch. 11, Elphick and Giliomee 1989:18-21). Smallpox, stock disease, and the advance of European settlement during the eighteenth century destroyed some inland Khoikhoi groups, realigned other groups, and drove still others deeper into the interior. Many destitute Khoikhoi became hunters and robbers; others became servants to the *trekboers*, living in

virtual serfdom. By 1800, there were few Khoisan in the colony who were not in the service of the Europeans as laborers, herdsmen, and nursemaids (Elphick and Giliomee 1989:35-43).

VOC policy was formulated with a view toward preserving the Dutch character of the settlement. Europeans appear to have placed little value on knowledge of the languages of groups that were subordinate in status. Irrespective of official constraints and attitudinal barriers, Khoikhoi languages were considered impossibly difficult and all but unlearnable. Aside from two officials who evidently had a working knowledge, 'it is not until 1711 that we hear of a few white children picking up Khoikhoi, and not until the isolated frontier conditions of the mid-eighteenth century that such skills were common among settlers' (Elphick 1977:210; cf. also Elphick and Shell 1989:229). The upshot of all this is that in general if Khoikhoi wanted to understand the settlers and be understood themselves, they had to acquire Dutch. Fluency was rare before the early eighteenth century. Elphick (1977:211) infers from fragments of Khoikhoi Dutch recorded by Wilhelm ten Rhyne (1673), the German astronomer Peter Kolbe (1705-12), and in judicial records (1706-8) that 'even those Khoikhoi who had regular dealings with the Dutch spoke in broken dialects'. The historian may of course be excused for writing in a general way of 'broken dialects' and shunting over to the linguist the problem of whether the Khoikhoi Dutch jargon developed in the direction of an interlanguage continuum or a stable pidgin. That jargonized Dutch arose among the Khoikhoi

can also scarcely be open to doubt (cf. Den Besten 1986:193-99, 1987a:85-89, 1987b). The Khoikhoi learned languages other than Dutch--among them French, English, and Portuguese (Franken 1953:28-40), and there is no reason to think that with few exceptions, these, too, were jargonized.

The decline of Khoikhoi identity as it had existed prior to 1652 was exacerbated by attendant language shift. To be sure, cultural change was more gradual than structural change. The Khoikhoi continued to speak their own language among themselves until the mid eighteenth century, at which time their dialects began to disappear from the western Cape. One can envisage a generational continuum in which fully fluent L1 speakers of Khoikhoi were limited to the oldest members of the population of the colony proper or those living on its fringes. Semispeakers with varying degrees of fluency probably occupied the middle-age group, none of whom transmitted Khoikhoi as a first language to their own offspring.

Social differentiation of the Cape society was furthered by emergent groups of people of color. The so-called 'free blacks' (vrijzwarten) were of wholly or partially African (but not Khoikhoi) and Asian descent. This group came into being primarily in Cape Town through the manumission of slaves, although a sizeable number of free blacks traced their origins to miscegenation and to Asian settlers, political exiles and convict laborers (Elphick and Shell 1989:216). In the course of the eighteenth century miscegenation between European men and Khoikhoi women produced

another new group, the Bastaards. This took place mainly in the remote outlying districts (especially along the northern frontier), where European women were few and where because of their comparative poverty, trekboers relied less on slaves than on Khoikhoi labor. The term Bastaard (or Bastaard-Hottentot) could also denote the offspring of unions between Khoikhoi and slaves (cf. Elphick and Shell 1989:202, 231; Armstrong and Worden 1988:159).

Elphick and Shell (1989:225-30) make the very important point that the direction of cultural history during the VOC period was towards convergence. By 1795, the various European and slave cultures were merging with one another and with the culture of the Khoikhoi.

In Cape Town a mixed European and Asian culture was shared by Company officials, some burghers, and slaves, though some of the latter managed to retain more traditionally Asian traits, especially through conversion to Islam. In the agrarian southwestern Cape, slaves and Europeans seem to have shared in a culture which was predominantly of European origin. In the trekboer regions . . . the culture of slaves and colonists was a composite of European and Khoikhoi influences, appropriate to a livestock economy (Elphick and Shell 1989:230).

While there were demonstrably strong pressures toward cultural merger, there were clearly ecological and ethological barriers to

total convergence: 'Slaves had comparatively little opportunity to become free, even in Cape Town, Khoikhoi never enjoyed the rights of burghers, and free blacks and baptised Bastards gradually lost the privileges they once had' (Elphick and Shell 1989:232). Notwithstanding mutual poverty, free people of colour and poor landless Whites did not form a coherent class. The latter tended to identify rather strongly with more prosperous colonists, who often accepted them as tenant farmers (bijwoner). Though legally free, the former remained proletarian (Du Toit and Giliomee (1983:6-7)).

There was always a need for communication between the various segments of a polyglot society: between Dutch, Germans, and French; between Europeans and indigenes; between Europeans and their slaves; between slaves of varying ethnolinguistic backgrounds; and between slaves of whatever background, the Khoikhoi, and free Blacks. Dutch was the dominant language within the limits of the Cape Colony between 1652-1795 (cf. Ponelis 1988), though by no means the sole means of interethnic communication. Given European hegemony and cultural convergence, it was inevitable that the descendants of the various groups would eventually come to share in a common Cape Dutch vernacular. Individual speakers would not be uniform in their experience of this vernacular. That experience would vary according to the socioeconomic relations outlined above.

5. Sociolinguistic Stratification of the Cape Colony at the End of the VOC Era (1795)

5.1. It has long been the practice of Afrikaans historical linguistics to divide the Cape Dutch speech community into discrete compartments. The distribution of linguistic variants is assumed to be roughly isomorphic with ethnic or status groups (Europeans, Khoikhoi, slaves). Accordingly, linguistic forms assumed whatever social valuations that were associated with the respective groups by other members of the speech community. Since Nienaber 1950, the literature has given the impression of a speech community consisting of four or five Cape Dutch varieties during the eighteenth century: the 'High' Dutch of the power elite, the Cape Dutch of the settlers (slightly different in the mouths of Capetonians vis-à-vis rural white speakers), plus the Cape Dutch vernaculars of slaves and Khoikhoi. However, such compartmentage is artificially static. Responsible Afrikaans language historians have always acknowledged this, if only fleetingly. Lectal boundaries were fluid and in flux in response to dynamic social forces. Like anywhere else, the use of linguistic variants at the Cape was determined by patterns of social and stylistic norms (cf. Nienaber 1953:163, Loubser 1961:2, Scholtz 1965:101, Raidt 1984b:265-66).

5.2. I have argued elsewhere (Roberge 1994) that what the philologists have posited in their studies as 'Afrikaans' was by the turn of the nineteenth century an abstract and ideal type--a composite of all features--that was probably spoken by few (if

any) South Africans during the period in question. In other words there was no clear separation at some particular point of the superposed standard and the vernacular. There were instead any number of lects intermediate between the superstrate and the most extreme form of the Cape Dutch vernacular. Let me illustrate this point with data from what I consider 'acrolectal' Cape Dutch (i.e., the variety of Cape Dutch closest to the metropolitan language) from the end of the VOC era. This is represented by the diary fragment of a prosperous Cape Town resident, Johanna Duminy (née Nöthling) from 1797, which can be shown to be extremely close to metropolitan Dutch even while containing many extraterritorial features. Because her diary is a personal document kept for her own private purpose, its language cannot be regarded as pure orthographic fiction. In other words we cannot make the simplistic assumption that the diary is merely a failed attempt to write 'correct' Dutch in which her true spoken language (more or less the same as what we know as Afrikaans today) leaks through; cf. Roberge 1994.

Duminy uses the first person plural pronoun wij throughout; subjectival ons is unattested. Sij and sulle alternate as the nominative third-person plural pronoun; the oblique case forms are haarluij (which can also serve as a possessive pronoun), sulle, and the weak allomorph se (Modern Dutch ze). Gender in the noun has virtually disappeared (de huijs, Dutch het huis). De and die appear to be free variation as the definite article, with het preserved only vestigially in the function of an

anaphoric (2a) or dummy pronoun (2b):

- (2) a. ik wilt het [een boulte vee] niet enkelt verkopen
(Franken, ed., 1938:83).
b. het was vraaij weer (idem, 88).

The demonstrative pronouns are deese (proximal) and die (distal);
dit is unattested. The relative pronoun is uniformly die; dat

occurs only anaphorically with a sentential antecedent:

- (3) tou was rijnoo genootsaak om de varkens op de wage te laaden
dat hat ook versuijmt (86)
'Then Ryno was forced to load the pigs on the wagon. That
had also caused delay'.

postnominal possessive forms show no sign of simplification:

- (4) a. en een groote c(er)misbet lee redelikhuyse sijn vrouw
(85)
'on a big shakedown bed lay Reedelinghuis's wife'.
b. in die ouwers haar droufhijt (109)
'in the parents' sorrow'

Finally, Duminy makes frequent use of the weak form of the
adverbial daar, e.g., er was ook een mooie bastert bul (88).

The pluperfect tense is intact, as is the usage of both
hebben and zijn as auxiliary verbs in periphrastic construc-
tions. Duminy appears to have captured even a subtle distinction
with regard to vergeten in (5d):

- (5) a. hij see niet minder als die ander man heeft gekreegen
(Franken, ed., 1938:83)
b. ik bin buyte geweest (idem, 86)
c. ik hat ook een groote caatel gekogt (86)
d. sij ware de voorige dagt al na de vandiesie gereeden
(82)
e. ik heeft vergeeten om te sege (85)

Cf. Modern Dutch:

e'. ik heb vergeten te schrijven (i.e., did not think of)

e''. ik ben je naam vergeten (i.e., gone from memory)

For the relation of anterior events, the preterite is Duminy's tense of choice. The distinction between 'strong' (ablauting) and 'weak' (dental suffixal) inflection is preserved in preterital conjugation: kwam, liet, gong/qing, koqt, schreefte, bestelde, etc. (Modern Dutch komen, laten, gaan, kopen, schreeuwen, bestellen); similarly, in the past participle gekreegen (krijgen), opgebracht (opbrengen), etc.

Duminy consistently maintains a distinction between finite and nonfinite forms of the verb, but her usage vacillates between inflected and endingless forms: wij sliep beside wij sliepe (Modern Dutch wij sliepen). Cluster reduction is evident in the diary (direk, Dutch direct), and one would think that it would have brought additional pressure to bear on second- and third-person singular verb forms and on the weak past participle (gewerk for gewerkt). However, cluster reduction may not have been as general in acrolectal Cape Dutch as one might suppose. Several idiosyncrasies of Duminy's usage are hardly consonant with the usual assumption of a fully diffuse cluster reduction rule by the end of the eighteenth century: the presence of a paragogic dental stop after a tautosyllabic velar obstruent in other categories of words (daqt for daq, nodigt for nodig); ahistorical -t in the present-tense first-person singular (ik heeft, ik komt) and plural (wij komt, sulle heeft), and in the

strong preterite (wij sagt 'we saw', ik gaf/gaft); the fact that a t-less variant of the auxiliary hebben (heef) does not occur at all. The direction of change in acrolectal Cape Dutch seems to be toward an invariant inflectional opposition: finite versus nonfinite. As concerns personal agreement, it is the singular (the exponents of which could be either zero or -t) that is in the process of supplanting the plural termination -en. Note that the weak preterite has already attained a stable state of uniform finite inflection through the apocope of final nasals (ik maakte, pl wij maakte, Dutch wij maakten); the rest of the verb system has not yet progressed this far. It is surely no coincidence that Duminy writes wij sal [Dutch zullen] aan hem vraage (81), but never zulle(n) where a singular form would be called for; that she utilizes ik wilt (cf. Dutch jij wilt), ik bin buyte gewest en is in de verkeerde caamer gekoomen (86), but never wilte(n) or sijn. Nor does she introduce excrescent -t's into the more suppletive paradigms (viz. *zalt, *ist). The excrescent -t's in the strong preterite (krijgen, kreegt) reflect the same kind of analogical projection as the nonce form kreegte (strong preterite kreeg reinflected with the weak preterite ending -te). As such, they have nothing to do with either phonology or with hypercorrection but reflect instead the kind of phonomorphological indeterminacy that foreshadows paradigmatic levelling (cf. Roberge 1985, 1987).

The Duminy diary is no less important for the hallmark Afrikaans features (§3.1) that it does not show: the double

negation, the demonstratives hierdie/ daardie, reduplication, the verbal hendiadys, subjectival ons, hulle etc. Nevertheless, the features just summarized--together with divergences in pronunciation, pluralization, and lexis (cf. Franken 1953:169-74)--would be more than sufficient to mark the speech of even upper-class Capetonians as an extraterritorial variety of language, albeit one that is still recognizably Dutch.

5.3. For their part, variationists and creolists have focused on the instantiation of jargons in a single generation of speakers but have given little attention to subsequent developments over a number of generations. As we have already seen (§4), social conditions did not remain constant during the VOC era. At some point in the process of cultural convergence, a socially accepted (stable) grammar of the Cape Dutch vernacular had to have emerged in the substratum among succeeding generations. That jargonized Dutch became a stable pidgin by virtue of its use within the heterogeneous slave community and subsequently creolized (Den Besten 1989:226, Davids 1991:44) is entirely plausible but exceedingly difficult to ascertain. The degree to which a Khoikhoi Dutch jargon would have stabilized into a pidgin would accordingly depend on the intimacy of their linguistic encounters with slaves, about which Mentzel (1785 [1921:49]) has left to posterity a tantalizing clue: 'Since the arrival of the Europeans the inhabitants of these kraals [the Khoikhoi] that were near the new settlement greatly enriched their vocabulary from the newcomers; they learned still more from the slaves and

borrowed some [my emphasis] of the so-called Portuguese, or more accurately, of the lingua franca, common among all Eastern slaves'.

I proceed on the assumption that Mentzel's observation, is fundamentally correct at face value; that is, the slaves and Khoikhoi, sharing no common language, used Dutch as their primary medium of intercommunication augmented by adlexification from Creole Portuguese. By the early eighteenth century, standardization of Khoikhoi and slave jargons into a Cape Dutch Pidgin occurred in the colonial service community, albeit with regional and ethnic variation. In the trekboer regions Portuguese and Malay elements in the Pidgin became diluted. One should bear in mind that the Creole Portuguese of the slaves had to have been rejargonized (i.e., subject to individual language acquisition strategies) in the mouths of the Khoikhoi, for whom it would have been entirely novel and more foreign than Dutch. Traditional Khoikhoi with very restricted contact with slaves probably did not speak the Pidgin but instead retained their jargonized Dutch, whence the greater Khoikhoi element in modern Orange River Afrikaans. This Cape Dutch Pidgin was transmitted as a native language to the children of interethnic unions--most notably the Bastards and Free Blacks at opposite ends of the colony, but surely within the slave population as well. The first generations of creole speakers came into existence during the period 1680-1750. The superstrate community did not speak this Cape Dutch Pidgin, except possibly in the frontier areas.

Stellenbosch Persers in Linguistics, Vol. 27, 1995, 011-128
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155776/27-169

The transient population of officials, sailors, and soldiers in Cape Town could avail themselves of Portuguese, as could perhaps other Company personnel with prior service in the Far East, many of whom took their discharges at the Cape. Outside Cape Town Europeans addressed their interlocutors of colour in the dominant language--Dutch--doubtless in foreigner talk registers.

The Cape Dutch Creole did not diverge as radically from superstrate Dutch as 'true' creoles do from their lexifier languages. The rate of dilution of Dutch across the entire colony was far less extreme than in the case of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, where the language of slave masters was vastly more remote from the majority of enslaved Africans. In the Cape Colony continuous interaction between the inchoate social strata afforded more opportunities for targeted language learning on the part of individual slaves and acculturated Khoikhoi. This fact alone all but assured an end product that would be much closer to the metropolitan language than what we find in the Caribbean.

I am writing as if basilectal forms of Cape Dutch (those furthest removed from the superstrate) were directly observable for the period in question. The reality is that Dutch in the mouths of slaves, Khoikhoi, and other people of colour are very sparsely attested before the mid nineteenth century. Den Besten (1978, 1987b, 1988, 1993) has culled the evidence from these periods and has attributed the source for a number of Afrikaans features to the erstwhile Cape Dutch jargons. Limitations of space do not permit me to review his findings here. What I shall

do instead is supplement them by reconsidering the linguistic variables examined in the Duminy diary and showing how they might have been realized in the Cape Dutch Creole.

The only other access to the Cape Dutch Creole ca. 1795 is through internal reconstruction on the basis of contemporary nonstandard varieties. To that end I should like to consider some exemplary data from Orange River Afrikaans. Our point of departure is the Afrikaans of the Griquas in the 1980s. The Griquas are descendants of 'early Boer frontiersmen; of the remnants of Khoisan tribes . . . ; of escaped slaves from the wine and wheat farms of the south-west Cape; of free blacks from the colony who could find no acceptable place for themselves in it; and of African tribesmen' (Ross 1976:1); in short, their Baasjaard forebears were a creole community. Two methodological precepts long accepted in traditional historical linguistics and dialect geography are: (i) Older forms of language are preserved in and are retrievable from its nonstandard varieties; and (ii) the speech of nonmobile, less-well-educated, and especially older speakers of these varieties will be conservative and least affected by the normative influence of the standard language. I shall assume that the Griqua form of Orange River Afrikaans has been in a gradual but inexorable state of decreolization over the course of the past two centuries. Nevertheless, a creole element should be traceable in the speech of its oldest speakers as recorded in the invaluable Afrikaans van die Griekwas van die tagtigerjare (Van Rensburg, ed., 1984, hereinafter GA).

Among the first casualties during jargonization were gender distinctions, personal agreement in the verb, the preterite and periphrastic tenses, the weak forms of the pronouns and daar, and the demonstratives deze, dit, and dat.

Possession was signalled by means of invariant se, which could also be used to indicate close relationships other than possession in the strict sense. The particle was juxtaposed to the right of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs of time and place:

- (6) a. En nou nou sal ik vir baas sê, die grootste ding ook nog wat daar is, nou dié se Griekwas, nie ou Griekwase, die jong Griekwa, hulle is meer in die Hollands (GA, 2.333).
- b. Daai tyd se grootmense (GA, 2.306)
- c. daarie se tyt (GA, 2.102)
- d. Sôs die vroeër se noois gedra het (GA, 2.276)
- e. die nou se kjêniers is slim (GA, 2.81).
- f. Die perskebome, die druiwebome--is maar goete wat later se tyd eers ingekom het (GA, 2.321).
- g. Watsie plek se nam, meneer, hierso, hier oner hierso hierse skool? 'Nabeni', 'n kaffernam. 'n Groot skool. (GA, 2.136)
- h. Vier dogters is al uitgetrou. . . . Toe's hier van die kenner by/daai anders, Helliot. 'Ja dáarse, het my dogtertjie gatrou in Port Shepstone gatrou (GA, 2.76).¹²

The use of se in (6) is demonstrably old, and we may impute it to the earlier Cape Dutch Creole. Wikar (1779 [1935:66]) reported that the Khoikhoi along the Orange River referred to baboons as de oude tyden zijn mense, which would be quite infelicitous in Dutch (Scholtz 1963:108).

As regards the personal pronouns, the form hy could refer not only to masculine singular antecedents, but also to feminine, inanimate, and plural entities.

- (7) Die Gift al gedaan dood, wie kan hy meer wat schaden?
(Kolbe 1727:2.114)
'This/that poison has died, whom can it harm any more even a little?'

Consider the following patterns in contemporary Orange River Afrikaans:

- (8) a. En dan kaptein Kok se vrou. Hy's mos ook 'n Griekwa
(GA, 2.334).
b. Daar is saad gewees wat die plant mee gesaai is, en as hy groei, dan kom hulle lote, nou die blaaie
(GA, 2.328).
c. Hy [piesangs] kom baie skaars (GA, 2.322)
d. Hier's nie piesangs nie, baas. . . . Maar 'n mens kan hom darem in die winkel koop, nè (GA, 2.321).

See further Links 1989:78-80. Overt pronominal marking for plural referents was made possible by the expansion of the Dutch pronoun hulle (etymologically oblique hun + lui) for both subject and object. The pronominal system of the Cape Dutch Creole had no formal means of distinguishing between subjective and oblique cases in the first person plural. This was arguably the state of affairs already in the stabilized Cape Dutch Pidgin:

- (9) a. . . . waarom ons die goeds niet weder beitem en op vretum (Kolbe 1727:2.66).
' . . . why don't we bite these/those things [lice] back and eat [them] up?'
b. Ons soek kost hier, ons al gedaen wegloopen (slave, ca. 1706, cited from Franken 1953:89).
'We seek food here; we have run away'.

Den Besten (1987b:passim) has culled the relevant data on this

feature from the eighteenth-century source material, and I refer the reader to his study for a more or less complete survey.

At first blush, it would appear that Cape Dutch Creole possessive pronouns were formed by the placement of se to the right of the corresponding personal pronoun (10). Upon closer scrutiny, the history of this pattern is somewhat opaque.

- (10) a. Maar daarie tyd toe hy se vader most nou daai jare in die Boere-oorlog gegaan het (GA, 2.294).
- b. Nou dis nou ons se speletjie wat ons geleer speel het (GA, 2.309).
- c. Hulle se rokke dra hulle hiersô wys (GA, 2.275).

The emergence of a gender distinction in the third-person singular pronoun is arguably secondary and due to the influence of Euro-Cape Dutch. Rademeyer (1938:66) reported that 'onder die Rehoboth-Basters word die besittlike sy en haar nou en dan gehoor, dog die meer gebruiklike vorm is hy se' for both masculine and feminine singular antecedents. A half century later, Links (1989:82) would call attention to the existence of sy se for 'her' in Namaqualand (Sy se [=haar] man is aan die ploeg); but this must be a late development given the absence of a parallel form in other varieties of Orange River Afrikaans (cf. Rademeyer 1938:66).

Le Roux (1923:98) pointed out a syntactic parallelism between the Orange River Afrikaans personal pronouns with se and a Khoikhoi construction exemplified by ti di khóin = lit. 'ek se vriende', sa di hāb = lit. 'jy se perd'. Standing alone, however, substratum transfer is inadequate as an explanation in

light of the fact that neither Rademeyer (1938:66) nor Links (1989:82) found instances of *ek se and *iy/jou se. Sparse as they are, our eighteenth-century attestations of pidginized Cape Dutch do not flatly contradict Le Roux's hypothesis; but they do little to support it, either. We should expect a developing system to have considerable variation in forms standing for the same concept. The second-person singular pronoun 'you' could appear as jij, qij, je, and even the oblique form jou.

- (1577/278) a. . . . ik zoo lang zal by u blyven, tot jou Husing de dubbeltjes betaalt hemme (Kolbe 1727:1.121-22).
'I shall remain with you [in your service] until you have paid Husing the silver coins [i.e., money]'.
b. ons denk jou ook soo (slave, 1706, cited from Franken 1953:93) 'we think [_s you (are), too]'¹³

Only jou is attested as the second-person singular possessive pronoun; see example (19c), infra. In our older source material the first-person singular pronoun 'I' is often the emphatic form ikk, which would seem attributable to holophrastic speech during the jargon phase; ik occurs, too, and both types are preserved in Orange River Afrikaans (ik/ek, ekke). We find no direct evidence at all for 'I' being expressed by oblique mij. In contrast to the singular, the first-person plural form wij is unknown in the fragments of pidginized Dutch that have come down to us from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; 'we' is consistently rendered by oblique ons. These same materials suggest that both nonneuter and neuter forms of the first-person plural possessive pronoun (respectively onze, ons) were available in pidginized Dutch during this same period: onse groote Kapiteyn (Ten Rhyne

1673 [1933:140]) beside ons bloed (Kolbe 1727:2.66). Although their usage in these sentences is superficially consistent with the rules of Dutch grammar, this is surely coincidence. The loss of nominal gender can only mean that they were no more than free variants.

My sense is that the use of se with personal pronouns was originally limited to the anaphora (hy se, hulle se). This innovation was creatively generated on analogy with the possessive/associative construction for nouns (supra), to which anaphora refer. The first-person plural possessive onze, (which occurred alongside of ons), was decomposed (ahistorically) into two unbound morphemes, whence ons se. At some point in the history of the Cape Dutch Creole, the plural paradigm was filled out by the addition of a second-plural pronoun. As with the first and third persons plural, julle is formally identical in subjective and oblique environments. Projection of se into the possessive of this pronoun, as we see in Orange River Afrikaans (12) julle se skool het nou gesluit (GA, 2.271), produced a symmetrical and transparent plural inflection in the Cape Dutch Creole pronominal system. A further step in the expansion of se would be the first person plural possessive ons se having become a forme de fondation for a first person singular my se. However, Griqua Afrikaans offers but one very marginal possibility of such a 'founded form':

(13) Dis hierie hierie boetie van my se se se [sic] oorle vrou se se se [sic] skoonpa gewees (GA, 2.345).

i.e., if not [boetie van my] se vrou. My se is not recorded in

the descriptions of either Rademeyer or Links (loc. cit.).

Die was both the definite article and the sole demonstrative pronoun ('this, that') in the Cape Dutch Creole. The focus of the article could be sharpened by means of a preceding deictic adverb (viz. hier, daar, and doer) a given discourse called for narrower specification of (respectively) proximal, distal, or far distal location of the referent in relation to the speaker. Eventually, this pragmatic combination would lexicalize into the demonstratives we know today: hierdie, daardie, and nonstandard doerdie (Roberge 1992). It is quite probable that the adverb alone could function as an adnominal deictic element in the early stages of the Cape Dutch Creole:

(14) a. doer onderste draad (lit 'yonder lowest wire')
(GA, 2.161).

b. Dáár tyd toe't hy die skrywe, toe skryf sit my
Vader (GA, 2.39)

The tense-modality-aspect system of the former Cape Dutch Creole did not continue the Dutch preterite or periphrastic tense constructions with hebben and zijn. A preverbal particle ge (< the Dutch past participial prefix ge-), together with its phonological variant ga, marked events that are completed prior to the time in focus.¹⁴ We can be reasonably confident in this reconstruction on the basis of what we find sporadically in Orange River Afrikaans:

(15) a. Nee, e, speel mos mar met hierie bal en sô an, mit die voetbal en sô an en krieket ok gespeel (GA, 2.213)

b. Baas hulle hom geroep die galsbôom (GA, 2.267)

Although this morphème is joined to the verb in standard orthographic practice, it appears to have been an unbound grammatical formative in the Cape Dutch Creole. In (16a) the ge particle precedes the lexical verb while the modal in the V2 position remains in the present tense; in (16b), by contrast, ge is attracted to the modal auxiliary.

- (16) a. Ou Paul Krieër my bas, Paul Krieër. Danke my bas.
Bas ek kjen hom nie gasiene, mar sy kop, ek had hom oppe kop gasien (GA, 2.274)
- b. Interviewer: Dan't julle, julle het seker mooi gelyk?
Informant: Ons het mooi gelyk, mooi gelyk. Ons het sommer mooi gelyk, want dit was mooi gewerk ook. Dieou Griekwa tantes het mooi gewerk, en mammase en oumase, wat nou gekien daai broeke werk (GA, 2.306).

As a sidebar to the discussion of the Cape Dutch Creole past tense form, it is worth recalling adjectives frequently become creole verbs (Holm 1988:85). The use of the adjective dood 'dead' to mean 'die' is well known from the fragments of Khoikhoi Pidgin Dutch recorded by Ten Rhyne (Masky doot 'when I die', 1673 [1933:140]) and Kolbe (Die Gift al gedaan dood, 'this/that poison has died', 1727:2.114)). That contemporary Orange River Afrikaans also shows dood in place of sterf/sterwe suggests that such conversions may have been at least marginally present in the prior Cape Dutch Creole:

- (17) Hierie plek Beltfontein sal ik nooi:t afgan nie.
As ek moet hier weggan, da dood ek (GA, 2.168).

This usage of dood is of course by no means unique to Orange River Afrikaans (cf. WAT 2.245), but it cannot be a Netherland-

icism. It can hardly represent Dutch doden 'kill', which requires a patient and is unknown in Afrikaans; see Den Besten 1987b:17-18 on its replacement with doodmaak. Note how the tense particle ge/qa attaches itself to dood in (18):

(18) Die Griekwas het twintagduizend vee gehat. En baie van die vee het gevrek. Die Basoetoes het baie vannie vee gesteel want hulle het oorie Drakensberg gekom. En toe't hulle hier kom, die land s' gras dieselfde gras vannie Vrystaat nie, toe dōod die vee, baie van die vee, beste is gadōod (GA, 2.40)

From the outset, all events in (18) occur at a single point in time prior to the time of utterance. Their relation by means of the narrative past is consistent with superstrate usage and is what we should expect in a decreolizing variety. The qualitative difference in grazing land between the Orange Free State and Koffiebaai establishes a new time center. The tense nucleus implied by the particle qa in gadōod signals that the process of dying occurred in the past; the copula refers to a complete action by the time of speaking.

As concerns modality, I believe the irrealis marker of the Cape Dutch Creole was kamma, which Nienaber (1963:373) has derived from Khoikhoi //kamūh or ʃkamūh (cf. Nama ʃhòmi 'lie'). I take this to be the kam(m)e recorded by Kolbe (19) and Mentzel (20) during the eighteenth century. Den Besten (e.g., 1986:217-18, 223-24) thinks kam(m)e represents pidgin or creole Dutch, and I am in agreement with him on this point. What I do not concur with is his resolution of the form as 'be able to' (supposedly from a Khoikhoi verb--cf. Nama //xáa--or a nasalless variant of kan) plus a postvocalic variant -me of a 'Hottentot Dutch' ending

-um/-om/-me that is affixed chiefly to verbs but also adjectives and nouns (1986:213-14, 1987a:88, 1987b:33-37 et passim).

Problems arise with the second constituent -me, for which there is no clear semantic motivation. Nonepistemic modality involving ability does make sense in glossing the utterances that Mentzel and Kolbe have preserved for posterity; but so too does expression of unrealized action (namely, distant future and conditional) or lack of certainty:

- (19) a. Kamme niet verstaan (1727:1.504)
'won't/would not understand'
- b. Ey Vrouw die Tovergoeds ja zoo bytum, ons ik kame niet verdragen (1727:1.528).
'Ayee, woman, the medicine stings so, we [click] shall not endure it'
- c. Vrouw, jou Tovergoeds bra bytum, dat is waar, maar jou Tovergoeds ook weer gezond makum, dat is ook waar. Ons Tovermanns kame niet helpen, maar die Duits Tovervrouw ja bra, die kame helpe (1727:1.528)
'woman, your medicines sting very much, that is true, but your medicines also make healthy again, that is also true. Our medicine men will not help, but the Dutch medicine woman is good, she will help'
- (20) a. Kammene Kumi, Kammene Kuli (1787 [1944:99])
'IRR no food, IRR no work'
i.e., 'if I do not eat, I do not work'
- b. Kammene Kas, Kammene Kunte (idem)
'IRR no money, IRR no cunny'
more fastidiously: 'if you don't pay, you don't play'

Given that the eighteenth-century sources neither affirm nor deny the putative root modality of kamme, we consider the evidence afforded by the modern language:

- (21) a. Die klippe is bontes, wittes, dis kamma onse veëns. Nou maak ons kraletjies, kraletjies, kraletjies. Nou so maak ons dis kamma onse veëns wat ons inja in die krale (GA, 2.310).

'The stones are coloured ones, white ones, they are our cattle. Nou we make little kraals, kraals, kraals. Now we do as if they were our cattle that we herd into kraals'

- b. Dis maar sommer 'n klein poppie. . . . Maak hulle maar net sit hulle kamma ook nou 'n kappietjie. . . . Hulle maak hom kamma ook 'n kappietjie so (GA, 2.311). 'But it is just a little doll. They just do as if they were putting a little bonnet on. They also make [for the doll] a pretend bonnet'.

The use of kamma to give a nuance of pretense or ostensibility in Orange River Afrikaans (and other forms of spoken Afrikaans) favors the irrealis interpretation of the kam(m)e attested in our source material from the eighteenth century.¹⁵

Den Besten (1987b:19-20) has suggested that al gedaan and (al) klaar functioned as aspect markers (perfective) in the Cape Dutch Creole. He cites (22a) from Kolbe in support of this reconstruction, to which we can add (22b, c) in Orange River Afrikaans:

- (22) a. Die Gift al gedaan dood, wie kan hy meer wat schaden (Kolbe 1727 2.114).
'This/that poison has died, whom can it harm any more even a little?'
- b. Klaar gesaai het, nou om-, nou as dit klaar omgeploeg is (GA, 2.320)
- c. en lōp sê vir hulle . . . lat hulle hom regmak want hulle-t al klaar gebetaal (GA, 2.10).

In (22c) a completed action (payment) has resulted in a state (someone being made whole). Considerations of space do not permit me to examine this idea further beyond stipulating to the probable correctness of Den Besten's suggestion. Durative aspect in the Cape Dutch Creole was marked by a preverbal element derivable from the Dutch verb leggen 'lay', its contrast with

liggen having been neutralized (Afrikaans lê).

(23) Maar orwaat sou vullekie vanaand so lê hardloop?
(Rademeyer 1938:86)

'But why would the little foal be running so this evening?'

So far as I have been able to determine, this marker has largely disappeared in contemporary Griqua Afrikaans. Preverbal loop signalled the beginning stages of events, as we see in (24):

(24) As hy [die grond] eers loop nat word
(GA, 2.320).

In Orange River Afrikaans the verb-form loop shows a spectrum of finely graded shades of meaning, ranging from its etymological lexical meaning of 'go, walk' to a punctual, purely inchoative function (cf. Du Plessis 1984:132-41).

Finally, another possible creolism sparsely attested in contemporary Orange River Afrikaans is verb topicalization:

(25) Sit, ik sit lekker, lekker, lekker
(GA, 2.336).

It is not clear to me at this point whether (25) is a nonce form, the result of general pragmatic principles (topic-comment order) or is a vestige of some earlier grammaticalized pattern.

5.4. The linguistic items that defined Cape Dutch did not fall into nonoverlapping domains. Rather, they were organized into a continuum of lects in which the speech of individuals took on superstrate or Cape Dutch Creole features--or avoided them--to varying degrees. One group may have used one particular variant, and another group the other. But we should expect to find mutual exclusivity only when comparing the extremes of the sociolinguistic continuum. Between acrolectal Cape Dutch (Duminy) and

the basilect (Cape Dutch Creole) we should expect to find linguistic forms that were subject to both social and stylistic variation. The rise of a composite culture implied a convergence of variables leading to compromise (mesolectal) varieties that underlie today's forms of Afrikaans. These mesolects were partially independent to the extent that the defining variables have hybridized leading to new structures not found in either acrolectal or basilectal Cape Dutch. Thus, mesolects cannot be considered simply as composita of variants selected from the end points of the continuum. I have already investigated two cases of convergence leading to hybridization: the Afrikaans double negation (Roberge 1991) and the verbal hendiadys (Roberge 1993). I shall now very briefly discuss three additional cases that I intend to treat elsewhere in detail.

5.4.1. During the process of convergence, the tense auxiliaries hebben and zijn were reintroduced. But as the Cape Dutch Creole moved closer to the superstrate, not all inflectional categories were fully restored, even though their exponents managed to survive. The result is a residue of allomorphs that are used more or less interchangeably in Orange River Afrikaans: het, 't (< Dutch heeft), had, ha (< Dutch had):

(26) Die goue pondtjie bas? Ja, ek had hulle gakjen bas. Ek het die tiensielings ok gakjen. (GA, 2.275)

Vestiges of zijn as a perfect auxiliary are also to be discerned in Orange River Afrikaans:

- (27) a. Die boere was baie laat hier gekom (GA, 2.40)
 b. Ek moet so sê want êk is op hom [=plaas] grôotgeword (GA, 2.219)

Merger of the semantic import of the creole temporal marker ge/qa with that of the Netherlandic periphrastic perfect facilitated additional hybridization. We find in Orange River Afrikaans the use of both 'have' and 'be' as tense auxiliaries with the copula (28) and in the expression 'to be born' (29):

- (28) a. waar dit baie gras gewees het (GA, 2.138)
 b. my annder seester se nam is gewees Fytjie (GA, 2.248).
 (29) a. Ek het eintlik daar gabore (GA, 2.232).
 b. die van der Westhuse is mos hier in die Griekeland gebore (GA, 2.282).

With the restoration of tense auxiliaries, the ge/qa particle became omissible:

- (30) a. En toe't hulle hier kom (GA, 2.40).
 b. Nee bas, my ôupa kan ek'ie, wan dis toet ek bore was, toe't my ôupa al voortsoorg was, toe's hy weg (GA, 2.248).

Interesting, too, are pairings of the temporal particle ge/qa with etymologically finite forms of the lexical verbs 'have' (het) and 'be' (was) (31). These hybrids, which are manifestations of the creole pattern just described, also show up in Orange River Afrikaans with one or both tense auxiliaries:

- (31) a. mar oupa se pá was 'n leraart qawas (GA, 2.79)
 b. Ennie oumêense het mos nou jaaare siek gawas (GA, 2.120)
 c. Ons het intlijk 'n plek da:r gehet (GA, 2.189)

In (31a, b) gawas (ge + preterital was) cannot be a phonological-

ly conditioned variant of standard past participle gewees. Were this so, we should expect to find other instances of lowering, monophthongization, and shortening, say *bas(te) alongside bees(te).

Given that convergence involved the progressive acquisition of noncreole features by substrate speakers, and metropolitan prestige norms were inaccessible to them, it follows that the language of the permanent European settler community from the late eighteenth century provided the linguistic model. Remnants of metropolitan feature such as the tense auxiliary zijn alongside salient creolisms in Orange River Afrikaans strongly indicate that the Cape Dutch of European speakers occupying the same geographical space displayed greater affinity with the language of the Duminy diary than with modern Afrikaans. This would render untenable the conventional view that a more or less uniform Cape Dutch vernacular strongly resembling modern Afrikaans had come into being between 1770 and 1800.

5.4.2. Save for some diachronic speculations in Slomanson's (1993) analysis of infinitival complements in Orange River Afrikaans, very little has been said about complementation in the Cape Dutch Creole in current creolist literature. This may well reflect the genuine paucity of data in our source material. However, in the Orange River Afrikaans corpus compiled by Van Rensburg and his collaborators (1984), variation in the formal signalling of complements provides some basis for internal reconstruction.

In Orange River and in colloquial forms of Afrikaans the conjunction lat can introduce a sentential complement that would begin with dat in the standard language. Le Roux (1910:107-8) took the former to be an allegro variant of the latter resulting from different releases (lateral versus oral) from a common point of occlusion. Since then, few scholars have seriously questioned this view, even though there are reasonable grounds to do so.¹⁶ First, dat is unique in Afrikaans in showing an alternation between dental and lateral onsets. Second, Le Roux (*loc. cit.*) reported the existence of covariant laat, the long vowel of which he attributed to confusion with the verb form laat (Dutch laten) 'cause (to be done), have (done), let, allow'. Le Roux's postulation of a sound change d- > l- for a single lexical item seems all the more ad hoc given the fact that from a purely synchronic viewpoint there is no apparent grammatical or semantic motivation for secondary contamination of the complementizer lat from an auxiliary verb. Diachronically, however, in the context of intensive language contact, Le Roux's intuition may turn out not to have been unfounded.

Let us begin with one of Le Roux's example sentences illustrating the usage of laat in place of dat.

- (32) hoe kom het julle ni laat ons die goue goed uit
 di klip uithaal ni (S. J. du Toit, Di Koningin fan Skeba,
 1898, cited from Le Roux 1910:108).
 'Why didn't you [pl.] have us remove the gold from the
 stone?'

If the matrix verb het is equivalent to wil hê (dat) 'want something done', then a 'true' complementizer would be called

for. However, the WAT subentry for wil hê (4.119) does not indicate the existence of a bare-stem variant. Yet, het in (32) cannot be the tense auxiliary, which would preclude a complementizer. Under these circumstances laat would be interpretable only as the causative verb, and its leftward dislocation would be inexplicable. Ruling out these possibilities leaves 'to have/order somebody to do something' as the only reasonable interpretation of het in (32). If this reading makes sense, then laat must again be seen as introducing a subordinate clause. I want to make a case that this laat is the causative verb functioning in a way somewhat comparable to serial 'say' meaning 'that' in Caribbean creoles (cf. Holm 1988:185-88).

So far as I have been able to determine, substrate influence does not seem to have been a factor. I suspect this structure emerged during the transition from less to more complex systems, when barriers to mixing are greatest (Mühlhäusler 1986:127). Substratum transfer would therefore be less a factor than independent modes of syntactic innovation. From Orange River Afrikaners we can infer that complementation in the Cape Dutch Creole could be effected by means of simple juxtaposition of sentences.

(33) Klaas, tel gou vir ons.
Ek het gehoor, baas, ~~die~~ die ou grootmense gesê het:
[informant counts in the Griqua language] (GA, 2.295)

A modal verb could be used to introduce a quotation or a complement clause after matrix verbs the meaning of which involved cognition ('believe, know, think, ascertain').

- (34) Nou, kan hy Griekwa praat?
Ik weet nie sal hy kan praat nie (GA, 2.336).
'Now, can he speak Griqua? I don't know whether he
can speak [it] (lit. 'he will be able to')'.

If the matrix predicate involved either an imperative or deontic or root modality (obligation, necessity, commission; i.e., real-world events and forces), the modal verb signalling the subordinate status of the following string was laat.

- (35) a. nee, meeneer du Toit moet nou fluks fertaal,
laat ons ferder kan hoor, en di Boesmans moet werk,
laat ons di gat ope grawe (S. J. du Toit, Di Koningen
fan Skeba, 1898, cited from Le Roux 1910:108).
'No, Mr. Du Toit must now translate energetically,
so) that we can hear further, and the Bushmen must
work (so) that we can dig the hole open'.
b. Broer, jy moet lat ons lê troei huistoe want daar kom
'n verskriklike weer aan, opdat die weer ons nie beseet
nie (Rademeyer 1938:125). 'Brother, you must allow
[that] we head back home because a dreadful storm
is coming, so that the weather does not possess us'.

The sentences in (36) demonstrate the semantic proximity between clauses introduced by hortative laat and etymological complementizers following an imperative or deontic modal in the matrix clause:

- (36) a. Wag dan, ou broer, laat ek hom eers betrag
(Rademeyer 1938:125).
'Wait, old brother, let me first look at it [the storm
in (34b)]'.
b. Bring daai skaap lat ik hom slag (GA, 2.362).
'Bring that sheep (so) that I (can) slaughter it'.

Both (36a) and (36b) are purposive. Hortative laat and the 'true' complementizer (so)dat '(so) that' reflect the speaker's expectation that the following proposition will become reality.

Historically, Afrikaans represents the convergence of acrolectal Cape Dutch with strong metropolitan characteristics

and the Cape Dutch Creole. By the late nineteenth century there is syntactic evidence for an ongoing merger between serial laat/lat and the acrolectal complementizer dat.

- (37) Ek is jammer, lat hij ni kom ni (Mansvelt 1884 [1971:156].
'I am sorry that he is not coming'.

Whether shortening of the vowel in laat was due to lexical realignment or was part of a more general phonological trend cannot be considered here. Whatever the case, the weak allomorph lat eventually supplanted its etymon. In Orange River Afrikaans lat is fully grammaticalized as a conjunctive element and functionally on par with dat.

- (38) a. En die manne het met 'n nuus angekom dat hulle verbas is om kom vind lat hier nog ê Griekwa-kjerk is (GA, 2.68).
b. Die kerk van ons verklaar lat ons is die stam van kaaptain Kok wat in dié land angakom het (GA, 2.68)

Whether the earliest forms of Cape Dutch Creole maintained a distinction between infinitival and sentential complements lies beyond reconstruction. We do know that there must have been considerable variability in infinitival complementation, all of which is preserved in Orange River Afrikaans. At some point in time basilectal Cape Dutch Creole acquired a complementizer om that corresponds to om . . . te in standard Afrikaans and in Dutch.

- (39) a. om die warheit sê (GA, 2.72)
'to tell the truth'
b. Die daarop wōon en ok maar 'n plekkie het om sit (GA, 2.121)
'they live up there and also have a place to sit'

c. Cf. (38a), supra:

hulle verbas is om kom vind . . .

Om was not available to introduce sentential complements, incidentally, for it functioned as a causal conjunction in both acrolectal and creolized forms of Cape Dutch. We can ascertain these facts respectively from the usage of Duminy (40a) and from that of the slave in Teenstra's zamenspraak (40b).

- (40) a. om het een caapschee bul was
(Duminy diary, Franken [ed.] 1938:88)
'because it was a Cape bull'
- b. hij niet spreek, om hij geen boodschap doen wil nie
(Teenstra 1830 [1943:240]).
'He doesn't speak, because he doesn't want to do an errand'.
- cf. Modern Afrikaans:
- c. Ek verlaat jou om jy niks vir my oorhet nie
(HAT, 748)

Mesolectal forms of Cape Dutch added the particle te in various configurations under the influence of acrolectal Cape Dutch. One such configuration positions the particle te immediately to the right of the complementizer om:

- (41) a. Hulle was vorbaas om tê Griekwa-mênse kry (GA, 2.68)
- b. en pa vra vir oorlede oupa om te die pert dar die berg
in sit lat hy nog groei (GA, 2.138)

The question arises as to whether this type of complementation involves attraction of the particle to COMP, as Slomanson (1993) has proposed, or the actual fusion of morphemes into an un-analyzable whole, as Rademeyer (1938:71) seemed to think; see further the remarks of Du Plessis 1984:159-62. One factor that lends support to the latter position is that infinitival comple-

ments introduced by om te in Orange River Afrikaans often show the particle te before the infinitive as well.

(42) Orange River Afrikaans:

- a. Jy moes rontval om te pakkie kiers voor te betaal
(GA, 2.137)
- b. Ai meneer, wee jy, om te jou die waarheid te sê
(GA, 2.299)
- c. Die oumase en die mammase het ook die kappies so geleer
werk vir hulle om te op te sit

Standard Afrikaans:

- a'. . . . om vir 'n pakkie kerse te betaal
- b'. . . . om die waarheid vir jou te sê
- c'. . . . om op te sit

If I am correct in the above reconstruction, convergence between acrolectal Cape Dutch and the Cape Dutch Creole resulted in two hybridizations. Basilectal complementation with om was made formally more similar to its acrolectal counterpart through the introduction of te first into COMP and then secondarily into the position directly before the infinitive itself.

5.4.3. The distinction between predicate nominatives and predicate adjectives was much less obvious in the Cape Dutch Creole than in the acrolect. It is not clear whether the Cape Dutch Pidgin possessed a verb corresponding to Dutch zijn in its equivoque function. The evidence, such as it exists, is in equipoise:

- (43) a. Dat is doet (Ten Rhyne 1673 [1933:140])
'that is good (?)'

- b. Ons denkum, ons altyd Baas, maar ons ja zienom,
Duytsman meer Baas (Kolbe 1727:1.477)
 lit. 'We think we always master, but we indeed see
 Dutchman greater master'.

However one interprets doet in the well-known datum from Ten Rhyne (cf. Den Besten 1987b:17-18), the copula status of is would seem unambiguous. Ignoring what is at present a moot issue in regard to the Pidgin, I tentatively impute to the Cape Dutch Creole an equative construction with 'be' joining a subject and a complement. The complement could be filled by adjectival constituents, of course, and also by a presumably unrestricted set of noun phrases.

- (44) a. 'n Kleurling is darie lang hare (GA, 2.266)
 lit. 'A Coloured is those long hairs'.
- b. Interviewer: En u is in die metodiste kerk?
Informant: Nee meneer, ek is die Griekwa
 Independentente kerk. Dis [sic] is wat ek is (GA, 2.1047)

The mesolectal forms of Cape Dutch that gave rise to Afrikaans lexicalized individual patterns (ek is jammer, ek is honger, ek is dors, ek is spyt, ek is lus; see Donaldson 1993:188-89) but did not adopt this usage wholesale.

6. Conclusion

The interaction between social factors and glottogenesis are much more complex than philological, variationist, and early creolist positions would have us believe. And there seems to lurk the danger in renascent models of semicreolization that simplistic hypotheses are replaced by even simpler and empirically less robust ones. If I may close by again quoting Valkhoff

(1966:231): 'It is not always either one thing or another in the evolution of such a delicate social phenomenon as speech or language'. In the history of Afrikaans it was not always Dutch or substratum grammar, but three linguistic traditions--European, African (Khoikhoi), and Asian--that have met and hybridized with one another to produce a new whole that is truly more than the sum of its parts.

NOTES

1. Only a handful of German and French loanwords in Afrikaans are directly attributable to language contact at the Cape during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Raidt 1983:66-69). Lexical borrowing from Bantu languages and English is secondary.

2. It is not my intention to resuscitate old controversies here. I would refer the reader interested in historiography to Reinecke 1937:563-81 and Nienaber 1949:96-141 for excellent discussions of the early literature, and to the annotated bibliography of Reinecke et al. (1975:322-77). Valkhoff (1971:462-70), Scholtz (1980:29-34), Raidt (1983:41-46, 1991:232-36), and Makhudu (1984:11-25) all survey previous literature, albeit through the filter of each author's particular point of view. Happily, the old ethnocentrism has largely subsided, and few will mourn their passing; on the ideological dimension of our subject see Roberge 1990.

The anglophone reader will find critical discussions of the philological approach in Roberge 1986, Den Besten 1987a.

Ponelis (1993) has very recently published what appears to be the first more or less complete history of Afrikaans since Nienaber 1949-53. I was unable to consult this work for the present essay.

3. One could naturally expand this list to include linguists either influenced by Scholtz and/or Raidt or who have conducted their diachronic investigations within a comparable

framework (e.g., Loubser 1961, Smuts 1969, Pfeiffer 1980, Conradie 1981-82).

4. The variationist research program has resulted in the compilation of an invaluable data base for Afrikaans of the Griquas and the Richtersveld (Van Rensburg, ed., 1984, 1987). On the Afrikaans of the Cape Malay, see Kotzé 1984 and Davids 1991.

5. I am aware of only one attempt at the latter, viz. Ponelis (1991) history of Afrikaans phonology: "Die uitgangspunt vir die sosiostilistiese kontekstualisering is dat Afrikaans uit 'n Hollandse koine stam (Scholtz 1980): 'n vorm van versorgde (Amsterdamse) Hollands wat afgewyk het van sowel vernekulêre Hollands as formele Vroeë Nuwe Nederlands" (p. 1).

6. The anglophone reader will find a précis of Hesseling's views in Markey and Roberge (eds.) 1979.

7. In the first edition of his book Hesseling (1899:54-55) alluded to the possibility of European children being exposed to creolized Dutch through their aia's (nursemaids). Years later others would continue this thread; viz. Franken (1953:36-38), Valkhoff (1966:176-77), and Van Marle (1978:61-63).

8. Though received sympathetically by Combrink (1978:83-85), Nienaber's hypothesis has consistently failed to win acceptance by the philologists (cf. Raidt 1983:189-90) because it is beyond direct empirical verification. Den Besten (1978:40-42, 1985:32-35, 1986:210-24) has greatly revised and elaborated on the notion of a Khoikhoi substratum origin for the Afrikaans double negation, an idea that has always found favor among creolists

(Valkhoff 1966:17; Holm 1988:174; 1989:343, 346; 1991).

9. Makhudu (1984:3) absolves Markey of the charge of Eurocentrism, and it is clear that the inadequacies of Markey's paper are in part due to its programmatic nature and in part to a superficial knowledge of Afrikaans. Compare the egregiously misleading chapter on Afrikaans in Hutterer 1975:278- 87, which makes no mention of the 'Coloured' community and claims that Afrikaans evolved solely from the nonstandard varieties of Dutch imported to the Cape.

10. Den Besten (1989:228) is unconcerned with the specific label (i.e., 'semicreole', 'creoloid', etc. versus his 'fort creole') as it is 'nonsensical to occupy oneself with such nitpicking discussions in the absence of a theoretically sound typology of "new languages"'.

11. Similarly, Hesseling 1923:118-19, Le Roux 1923:88-98, Rademeyer 1938:66-67, Valkhoff 1966:227-29, Links 1989:83. Ponelis 1992 was not available to me.

12. Of course hierse (6g) and dáárse (6h) could well be hierso, daarso. However, reduction of the vowel in so would seem unusual, to say nothing of a demonstrative use of the adverbial hierso in (6g).

13. I see this utterance as structurally different from jouw siecken hond ghi; die brood tecken (slave, 1671, cited from Franken 1953:47), in which the first clause is comparable to Afrikaans jou verbrande skurk! (HAT, 494).

14. In his Travels in Southern Africa (VRS 10-11) Lichten-

stein made the following cryptic comment on the Dutch of Khoikhoi along the frontier: "Farther, there are no auxiliary verbs; and the Hottentots, even in speaking Dutch, do not know how to make use of them. . . . The want of auxiliaries to express the time, is often transferred by the Hottentots into the Dutch language" (1815 [1930:2.467]). The accuracy of this observation for Khoikhoi is of far less interest than the allusion to the omission of tense auxiliaries in their Dutch. One cannot help but wonder whether Lichtenstein stumbled onto precisely this feature, construing it as L1 transference. Alas, he provided no details, and further speculation would accomplish nothing.

15. According to Den Besten (1987b:17-18), the temporal adverbs strack (Dutch straks/strakies 'presently, just now') and soon function as future markers in the following sentence from Ten Rhyne: Icke strack nae onse grote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba gemme (1673 [1933:140]); consider also ik ja strakies voort lopum zoo (Kolbe 1727:1.121-22). This interpretation is supported by Franken's (1953:47) observation that logo 'soon' could similarly indicate the future in South African Creole Portuguese. Whether the Cape Dutch Creole continued this usage is another matter. If it did, I am inclined to think at this point that it distinguished proximate (strack) from remote future (kamma).

16. Cf. Rademeyer 1938:53. Paardekooper (1990) is rightly skeptical of a phonological explanation, but his own suggestion of a Netherlandic dialectism is no less unlikely.

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