The Realisation of Syntactic Principles in Non-Standard Afrikaans: The Correspondence of Jan Jonker Afrikaner (1820-1889)

by

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Thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Linguistics and Southern African Languages,
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University of Cape Town
August 2000

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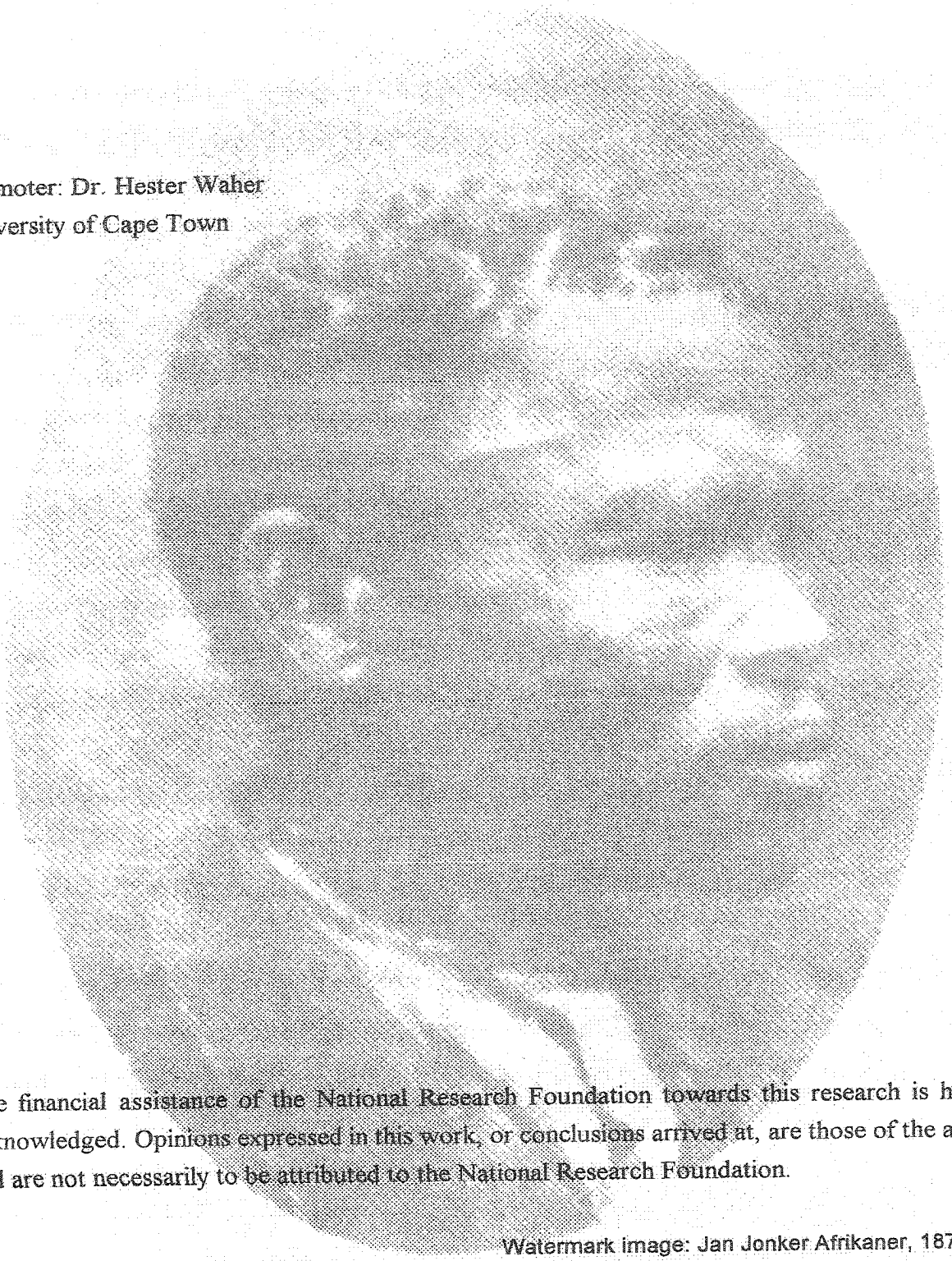
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The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this work, or conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the National Research Foundation.

Watermark image: Jan Jonker Afrikaner, 1876; NA

Abstract

This study compares the syntax of nineteenth-century Orange River Afrikaans with Dutch and synchronic Afrikaans varieties, with particular attention to Griqua Afrikaans. It provides an account of the differences that are found between the earliest attestations of an extraterritorial variety of the Dutch language on southern African soil (the so-called Cape Dutch Vernacular) with the present-day outcome.

The data collected for this study originate chiefly from an hitherto undisclosed corpus of letters kept in the Namibian State Archives by the so-called Oorlam-Nama, people of mixed descent who lived on the periphery of the nineteenth-century Cape colonial society. This thesis argues that nineteenth-century Orange River Afrikaans is a representative continuation of the earliest developments in the linguistic contact situation that existed at the Cape. The thesis advances that literacy and social class are important factors in the assessment of the written record from the Dutch colony at the Cape.

The thesis centers around the letters by one author, Jan Jonker Afrikaner, written over a period of nearly twenty years in the second half of the nineteenth century. This legacy is a unique contribution to the diachronic data concerning the development of Afrikaans. From the data it is shown that this author had the command over different registers, fluctuating between a near perfect metropolitan Dutch and a Hollands that is classified as basilectal Afrikaans. The comparison of the data is set in a framework inspired by the concepts put forward in Generative Grammar. This has precipitated an exciting linguistic comparison of contemporary Afrikaans grammar with the diachronic material.

This dissertation challenges the idea that the Khoesan Languages were of no or little influence in the development of Afrikaans. The linguistic analysis of the nineteenth-century data reveal that the developments which took place cannot be attributed to one single origin. It is demonstrated that the innovations and change that can be identified run parallel to regular patterns that are found in other languages generally classified as creole languages. It is argued that the syntax of the Khoesan languages is a major reinforcing factor in the development of the syntactic idiosyncrasies that are identified as un-Germanic characteristics of Afrikaans. Limited to non-standard varieties of Afrikaans, in the concluding sections the question is raised how these findings are to be addressed in the larger context of language change.

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Acknowledgments

A long time has passed since I first became interested in transformations of languages that were exported to foreign soil. This interest harks back to my studies at the University of Amsterdam, when in 1987 Professor Derek Bickerton, as a guest lecturer, introduced us to the concepts of Generative Grammar in his analysis of creole languages in the former Dutch colony of Surinam. It intensified when I wrote my doctoral thesis on the temporal system of Afrikaans. Specifically, learning how earlier forms of Afrikaans-Dutch went to the brink of creolization only to turn back - led me to read further about these fascinating vernaculars. But, like the nineteenth-century Afrikaners beyond the northern Cape frontier I have been moving at the pace of an ox, towards an ever receding point on an infinite horizon. This endless *trek* over intriguing terrain, seemingly sustained me more than reaching this goal. Indeed, without the faith, encouragement and advice of friends, colleagues and institutions, I would still be plodding on, beyond the limits of my subject and the patience of any reader.

Firstly I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr. Hester Waher, who, despite our hampering long distance communication made this thesis possible, and for her valuable comments, inspiring enthusiasm and patience with which she eased my way. The person to whom I am equally grateful is Professor Roberge of the University of North Carolina. Moderating his tolerance with excitement, he has guided me with good humor despite my using every opportunity to be exasperating with procrastinating queries. On many occasions his comments and insights helped me towards greater clarity and understanding; keeping me to my trail where there were so many roads. I thank John Lumsden for an equal amount of supportive theorizing on the little details to keep courage, and, Hans den Besten for his patient explanations, often the proverbial six times over. Not to forget Silvia Kouwenberg and Maaike Verrips, who were always there for me in the background. I would further thank Professor Willy Haacke from the University of Namibia who provided me with invaluable details about Nama. Esther van Zijl in Windhoek and my neighbor Christine Ellis and her family for their friendship which turned my visits to Namibia into such a pleasant experience. Ana Deumert for sharing comparative notes on Cape peninsular archival material as well as Johan Oosthuizen, Jac Conradie, John Holm, John Bottomley and Lydia Davey for their support. Kim, Keiran and Carla McCarogher for their encouragement and enduring my preoccupation.

I gratefully acknowledge the National Research Foundation (former CSD) grant 15/1/2/3/00724, and the subsequent scholarships I was awarded by the University of Cape Town.

List of Abbreviations

1S	first person personal pronoun, singular (irrespective of Case)
2S	second person personal pronoun, singular (irrespective of Case)
3S	third person personal pronoun, singular (irrespective of Case)
1PL	first person personal pronoun, plural (irrespective of Case)
2PL	second person personal pronoun, plural (irrespective of Case)
3PL	third person personal pronoun, plural (irrespective of Case)
1POS	first person possessive pronoun, (irrespective of Number)
2POS	second person possessive pronoun, (irrespective of Number)
3POS	third person possessive pronoun, (irrespective of Number)
ACC	accusative Case
CDV	Cape Dutch Vernacular
CWG	Continental West Germanic
D	determiner or demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
GE-[verb]	perfective participle
GEN	genitive Case
IND	indicative
MOD	modal adverb
NEG	negative element
NOM	nominative Case
OBL	oblique Case
ORA	Orange River Afrikaans
POS	possessive
PRC	participle inflection
PRF	perfective auxiliary
PST	past-morphology
REL	relative pronoun
SA	Standard Afrikaans
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
TMA	Tense-Mood-Aspect
VP	verb phrase
v/2	verb-second

1 Introduction

Oom Gys:

> Oupa-goed het Hollands gapraat. Die tal het toe nou veranner maneer en Afrekans in, want ons boeke was ook Hollanse boeke gawis.[1]

The present study is foremost a descriptive and analytical inquiry into a much-neglected contributor to one of the foundations, shaping Afrikaans. The words of *Oom* Gys are telling; syntactically they conform neither to Dutch nor present-day Standard Afrikaans. Compared to Standard Afrikaans (henceforth: SA), the language of *Oom* Gys is classified as a variety[2] of Afrikaans (Du Plessis 1988:21ff., Van Rensburg 1984 II:399, 1989b, 1990, 1998b, Van Rensburg et al, 1989:69, 85). More accurately *Oom* Gys' tongue is named Griqua Afrikaans, one of the variants of Orange River Afrikaans (henceforth: ORA).

In its earliest format ORA was a Dutch/Afrikaans vernacular which became established as the *lingua franca* in the area to the north and the south of the *Grootrivier* (Orange River). It was probably shaped on a variety of the Cape Dutch Vernacular (henceforth: CDV; see Roberge 1993, 1995) which met with strong influence of the Khoesan languages (Nienaber 1994a, 1994b, Van Rensburg 1984). The geographical focus of attention in this study includes the so-called northern Cape frontier zone during the nineteenth century and a vast region to the north of it. Historically it is agreed upon that

[1] Uncle Gys: "Grandfather, (and) his people, they spoke Dutch. Thereafter, Sir, the language changed into Afrikaans, as our books were also just in Dutch" (Van Rensburg 1984, Vol. II, I:79).

[2] In the Afrikaans literature language varieties (*taalvariëteite*) are defined as: "*'n variëteit van 'n taal is 'n patroonmatige sisteem van linguistiese items met ooreenstemmende sosiale en/of geografiese verspreiding. Variëteit sluit hiervolgens eenhede groter as dialekte (byvoorbeeld verskillende tale) en eenhede kleiner as dialekte (byvoorbeeld register) in*" (Du Plessis 1988:10). (A variety of a language is a systematical pattern along social and/or geographical lines. Therefore a variety includes units both larger than dialects (such as different languages) as well as units smaller than dialects (such as registers, for example).

this temporal-spatial area has suffered much neglect.[3] The historian N. Penn discusses the importance of this region as:

> [T]here emerged, during the course of the eighteenth century, a set of practices and attitudes which, precisely because they were prototypical, exerted a profound influence on the subsequent colonial history of South Africa. Although developments within the northern Cape frontier zone are not seen as being more important than those which were taking place elsewhere in the colony (such as the south-western Cape or the eastern Cape frontier zone) they are seen as being equally important. Our picture of eighteenth-century colonial society in South Africa has, until now, been a lopsided one in that the archival evidence for the largest part of the colony - the northern Cape frontier zone - has been under utilized (Penn 1995:i).

This argument holds as much for linguistics as for history (cf. Roberge 1995:76). The possible influence of indigenous people on the outcome of the language contact situation which prevailed over the last three centuries on southern African soil has not been a point which was readily addressed (Roberge 1992a, 1992b, Nienaber 1994b:150). This may be partly due to lacunae in the historiographical details such as the fact that the indigenous tribes could simply not be 'counted' in the earliest days (see § 2.1), thus leaving the records with question marks where their numbers are concerned. Bearing in mind that it has been a methodological postulate in historical linguistics that older forms of a language are preserved in, and are retrievable from contemporaneous non-standard varieties (Roberge 1993:65, 1995:76), the primary concern of this study is the evaluation of the question whether ORA, in particular its nineteenth-century forerunner, is a representative parallel to earlier stages of linguistic developments in Afrikaans. Although the immediate differences, such as the fact that the seventeenth-century indigenous people at the Cape were monolingual mother-tongue speakers of the Khoesan languages, whereas in the Orange River area contact was between 'Hollands'-speakers with other Khoekhoe and San, are obvious, the hypothesis that nineteenth-century ORA is a continuation of earlier developments of the CDV cannot be disregarded on socio-demographic grounds. The premise that grammatical structures found in ORA were an integral part of the CDV corresponding to earlier stages in the genesis of Afrikaans will be discussed in Chapter Two (§ 2.3). In this respect this study will contribute to our understanding of the shaping and

[3] Saunders (1983), summarizes the situation some fifteen years ago as: "No professional historian has attempted a general survey [of Namibian history]; the general histories we have in English are by a sociologist, a lawyer and an amateur who presents a very readable but highly descriptive account". Since then, Lau (1987, 1989) has closed a little of this gap; see also Dedering (1997:14ff.) for an overview of the historiographies for this era.

evolution of the Afrikaans language in comparison to its Dutch ancestor.

This issue unfolds into considerations about two premises which have not been the most accommodated topics in the literature to date. Firstly, grammatical features which are typical in the non-standard varieties of Afrikaans, and often not uncommon in spoken Afrikaans, have received little attention in the Standard Afrikaans grammar books (cf. Webb 1998:190). It is to be hoped that this study will contribute to what Van Rensburg (1992) has termed the 'democratization'[4] of the Afrikaans grammar. Secondly, as mentioned above, the sociolinguistic details of the indigenous people can hardly be speculated on (see Chapter Two). Yet, it is clear that the Dutch language went through changes in a contact situation with initially the Khoesan languages, later on contributed to by various other languages brought to South Africa by the slaves the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (henceforth: VOC) acquired.

At the same time, as a consequence of the nature of the data in this study, which are primarily letters from nineteenth-century Oorlams (*infra*), our historical horizons on these peoples will be widened. A large part of the nineteenth-century written testimony remains at most times open to a vast variety of paraphrases. In this sense, this study reaches interdisciplinary objectives where the linguistic examination of the nineteenth-century letters makes an important contribution to our knowledge and understanding of what leaders in the making of southern African history have purveyed. Related to this, and of equal importance, is the cognizance that the linguistic variation exhibited in the data of this study cannot be explained but from historical propensities (cf. § 3.2.1.2).

The protracted struggle for dominance, with the main protagonists being the sparse Khoesan and Herero population of what is present-day south-central Namibia, and the new groups which were emerging from Cape colonial society, is a secondary theme throughout this study. The Cape colonial groups, which were people of predominantly mixed racial or cultural origin (known in the parlance of the day as 'Basta(a)rds' (> Basters), 'Bastaard-Hottentots', 'Oorlams' or 'Oorlam-Nama') who

[4] 'Democratization' refers to the formal recognition of language forms which were earlier not acceptable according to the norms of the standard language (cf. Webb 1998:191, footnote 1 and the references cited there). See also Van der Horst (1999) on the objectives pursued by the authors of the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst (ANS)* offering an all inclusive reference book of Dutch grammar; not the traditional common means of Dutch syntax (emphasis added).

trekked north, gradually acquired a new cultural and political identity. Besides manumitted slaves, these groups also contained individuals from social backgrounds which included a variety of situations related to colonial discontent - "fugitives, Company[5] deserters, runaways, bandits, murderers and assorted criminals - whose importance on both Khoisan and colonial societies was frequently immense" (Penn 1995:ii). By the middle of the nineteenth century adventurous traders and vocational[6] or otherwise inspired missionaries emerged as additional role-players in the struggle. The corpus of this study centers around the correspondence of the Oorlam-Nama leaders who roamed the vast territory to the north of the Orange River, and focuses in particular on the written legacy of the Oorlam *Kapitein* Jan Jonker Afrikaner.

In the syntactic analysis of the material investigated in this study, I will follow the theoretical developments as put forward in the framework of Generative Grammar, drawing on its theory of linguistic universals to explain differences between languages. The syntactic structures in the Verb Phrase (VP), which have been perceived throughout the literature as (un-)Germanic characteristics of Afrikaans, form the core subject of this examination. In Chapter Two I will first survey the origins and diversification of Afrikaans from its earliest days, whereafter the linguistic characteristics of the Afrikaans, Dutch and ORA grammar are evaluated against the background of other (Dutch derived) creole languages. In Chapter Three the historical and socio-economic background of the Oorlam-Nama people, and in particular the Afrikaner family is described, followed by a further characterization of the corpus of this study. From the available historical details it will be argued that the language of the present corpus is a representative forerunner of present-day Griqua Afrikaans, as well as a continuation of the CDV. One conclusion which emerges from this investigation is that individuals may have had the command of different registers veering between the metropolitan (acrolectal) target language and the vernacular (basilectal variants; see Chapter Two (§ 2.2) on this terminology). Chapter Four details the variation in the pronominal paradigm in the present corpus in comparison to Dutch and diachronic Afrikaans sources. In Chapter Five theoretical aspects of the Germanic and Afrikaans VP are introduced. In Chapter Six the data concerning the VP in the source material presented here are analyzed with reference to both the CDV and contemporary ORA.

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[5] The Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC).

[6] Compare, for example, missionary Knudsen's deliberations about the *Herkunft* (origin) of the Oorlam people (§ 2.1, footnote 19, p.23) and the calling of missionary Anderson, summarized in § 3.1.3, footnote 28, p.74.

1.1 Sources

1.1.1 Field research

Linguistic fieldwork in South Africa has proved to be one of the most difficult tasks. Even soliciting judgements of synchronic Standard Afrikaans constructions can be a tedious exercise. Perhaps not being a native speaker was a considerable drawback, for I could always see a worry at the back of the head of my informants, when asking them their judgements on yet another construal inspired by Generative Grammar: how was I, speaking with a Dutch accent, ever going to master the basics of Afrikaans syntax considering sentences "like that"? Others were often quite concerned that they would be making mistakes in their answers against the prescribed (school) grammar, whereas I was after their untutored intuitions. Many of the constructions I tried to test, I was not able to get two people to agree on; also people would change their mind about the grammaticality after a lapse of time. Chapter Five, on the Afrikaans data on Verb Raising constructions has suffered from this in particular. In the end I had to confront the question if I was not making a comparative study between apples and pears. Although variability of speaker judgements is a well-known problem in generative grammar,[7] my impression is that Standard Afrikaans might not have stabilized out on a number of syntactic aspects. It would be worth a study to determine which factors are involved, but evaluating the impression I have been left with, people with a knowledge of English will not accept so-called non-standard variants as easily as people who are monolingual Afrikaans speakers. Secondly, Afrikaans speakers with some knowledge of Dutch (i.e., most colleagues in the Afrikaans & Nederlands department) are much readier to accept a Standard Dutch construction translated into Afrikaans, than the monolingual Afrikaans speakers. Another way of putting the latter impression would be to say that they are much more hesitant to refute such examples as having become ungrammatical or at least marginal.

Therefore, judgements in this thesis about the Standard Afrikaans grammar have been carried out along a scale of acceptance. Generally on a scale of five alternatives as in (1):

[7] Cf. Botha (1984:107) on the non-uniformity of judgements and interpretation of synchronic Afrikaans reduplications: "Different native speakers make different judgements about the meaning of the same reduplication. In addition the judgements of linguistically skilled native speakers about the meaning of the same reduplication often differ in subtle ways."

(1)	[unmarked]	Grammatical Standard Afrikaans.
	?	Other people use this construction but I do not speak like this myself.
	#	Non-standard Afrikaans.
	%	Marginal.
	*	Ungrammatical.

The synchronic non-standard data were not tested but all taken from the literature, in particular from Van Rensburg (1984) on Griqua Afrikaans (henceforth also referred to as GA84), but also from Visser (1989) on variation in spoken Namaqualand varieties, Le Roux (1988) on Rehoboth Afrikaans, Fourie (1985) on Riemvasmaak Afrikaans and from the study by Nieuwoudt (1990) on the variation between the languages which are classified as ORA.[8]

The diachronic data concentrates on manuscripts from the correspondence of Jan Jonker Afrikaner (1820-1889) as collected from a corpus of Oorlam-Nama letters in the Windhoek National Archives (henceforth: NA) in Namibia. The letters originate chiefly from the so-called 'Vedder collection' and the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (henceforth: RMG-files). The former is officially identified as 'the *Maharero collection*' (NA: Accession A3, Maharero, 1860-1887. Donor: dr. H. Vedder 1948. 2 Vols.[9]). In the Vedder collection there are 75 letters by different authors of which twelve are from the Oorlam-Nama leader Jan Jonker Afrikaner. These manuscripts are all type-scripted by dr. Vedder. Because the originals are chiefly written with blue ink on blue paper they are difficult to photostat. Therefore I took recourse to the type-written copies[10] of dr. Vedder, although on closer examination at a later stage I did find inaccuracies in these transcriptions. The RMG-files, (NA: Accession 237, 1866-1873) contain correspondence between Jan Jonker Afrikaner, the missionary Carl Hugo Hahn, Maharero, David Christian, and other contemporaries. These letters are all handwritten manuscripts

[8] Nieuwoudt (1990) includes Griqua Afrikaans, Riemvasmaak Afrikaans, Whites' Orange-River Afrikaans, Rehoboth Afrikaans, Afrikaans van die Richtersveld, Botswana Afrikaans, Afrikaans van die Kharkams, Kaapse Afrikaans and Van der Merwe Afrikaans.

[9] "Maharero (1820-1890), son of Tjamuaha; Herero chief from 1860. Concluded peace treaty in Okahandja in 1870 after seven years' war with Namas; waged war again against Namas 1880-1890. Signed protection treaty with Germany in 1885" (State Archives Service 1989:2).

[10] Except for the letters Nº 40 and Nº 42, Period III. See § 3.2.1.2, footnote 84, p.99.

and the transcriptions included here (26 letters by Jan Jonker Afrikaner), have been made from these originals. Further letters from the hand of Jan Jonker Afrikaner originate from the Cape Archives. (one letter), from the 'Andersson Papers'[11] (NA: Andersson Papers, Vol. 11), as published in Lau (ed., 1989:249-279). In total 44 letters from the hand of Jan Jonker Afrikaner were found covering the period 1863-1881. One letter, dated 1889, originates from the correspondence in the "Witbooi Diary" (NA, Accession A2, published in Voigts (1929) by the Van Riebeeck Society, Nº.9). In Chapter Three (§ 3.2.1.2), a chronological outline of the corpus, including place, date and addressee, is listed.

1.1.2 Transcriptions

The manuscripts are presented unaltered and I have stayed as close to the original as possible, including the length of the lines. I have not corrected spelling mistakes, etc. This implies that I tried not to omit any information which can be rendered in a printed form, e.g. corrections by the author, additions etc. are included in the transcript. I kept various types of information by way of a consistently applied system of diplomatic symbols.

[11] "Sundry correspondence etc. captured from the Hottentots at the battle on the 22th of June 1864 when I was crippled for life by gunshot wound. Charles John Andersson" (Lau ed., 1989:249).

1.1.2.1 Diplomatic symbols[12]

Below, the list of the symbols used:

Additions:	< >
<a>	*a* added on the line
<ol•a>	*a* added over the line
<ul•a>	*a* added under the line
<lm•a>	*a* added in left margin
<rm•a>	*a* added in right margin
<tm•a>	*a* added in top margin
<bm•a>	*a* added in bottom margin as a footnote
<*.*>	something is added, but illegible
<a>	*a* possibly added on the line
<rs•a>	*a* added on the reverse side of the paper
[a]	*a* added by the editor

Omissions:	[-]
[-a]	*a* deleted
[-*.*]	deleted and illegible

Uncertain readings:	* *
a	*a* is uncertain
a*b*	*b* behind *a* is uncertain
word	whole word is uncertain
..word	uncertain how the word begins (damaged left margin edge)
word..	uncertain how the word ends (damaged right margin edge)

[12] These symbols largely follow Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996.

1.1.2.2 Glosses

The Dutch gloss aims to provide a sentence as close to Dutch as possible. Deviations from the Dutch syntax have been indicated by addition of the word or the grammatical category (abbreviated, see Preface: vi) between square brackets, as for example [D], where a determiner or demonstrative could not be omitted. Word order violations are rectified by putting the [word>] (/[<word]) in the correct place and by means of an arrow between square brackets [-->], [<--] in the position where the word occurs in the manuscript. The arrows do not indicate any direction of movement etc. in current theoretical terms, but are merely an indication for the reader where the word is to be found. However, constructions with verb-second in the subordinate clause (a feature of present-day Afrikaans) and the Verb Projection Raising construction (partly allowed in present-day Afrikaans, see § 5.2.5) are left unaltered. Superfluous words in the text are indicated according to the key above, by a minus sign between square brackets [-]. However, in sentences where the finite verb occurs twice (usually in the verb-second position and *in situ*, see Chapter Six), one of the two is glossed with [-V]. Words written as two which represent only a single lemma as, for example, *groete nes* (Dutch: *groeten*, *groetenis*, Afrikaans: *groetnis*, 'greetings') are glossed under the first part. The second part is given a single minus sign '-'. Compounds that do not exist in Dutch, or two words written as one are separated in the glosses by a point [.]. There are many calques on Dutch expressions which I have translated literally and commented on by means of footnotes. The Dutch is provided with punctuation according to my (subjective) judgement. The English gloss below the Dutch one aims to stay as close to the original as possible, and in these I have made use of abstract grammatical symbols. Where agreement on the verb is used correctly this is translated in English; where not, the English gloss is rendered as an uninflected form as the Dutch glosses show the form that was aimed at. Passives are translated word for word, with no further marking.

The letters in the appendix (I) are grouped in three sections following the periodical division that can be distinguished in the Jan Jonker Afrikaner letters (see Chapter Three, § 3.2.1.2). Because of its length Period I is subdivided into two sections, section IA (letters 1-13) and section IB (letters 14-28). The letters are followed by a continuous free English translation with further historical clarifications by means of notes in Appendix II.

It is noted that until now, details about non-standard varieties of Afrikaans have come to book chiefly featuring an array of notable "peculiarities", rather anecdotal,[13] as for example Rademeyer (1938) and Van Zijl (1947); the latter carrying this distinction in the title. Links (1983) largely confines his analysis of Kharkams[14] to phonological and lexical idiosyncracies (less than 15% of the thesis is on syntax). Furthermore, the aforementioned studies consist of reported and/or solicited speech. In contrast, the present data consist of mainly first-hand written language from the very author (see § 3.2.1.1 for motivation of this detail). In Van Rensburg (1984) the spoken language is recorded, as a result of which pragmatic factors cannot always be distinguished from syntactic aberrations.[15] Since Van Rensburg (1984) a number of unpublished university studies have dealt with contemporaneous variants of ORA (Visser (1989), Le Roux (1988), Fourie (1985), Nieuwoudt (1990) a.o.), but again, as the analyses in Van Rensburg 1984, these are chiefly centered around variation based on quantificational criteria: the very obvious differences between ORA and SA (cf. § 2.5.2). A second problem, inherent to the descriptions of the varieties of Afrikaans is the approach to constructions that overlap with SA. On the one hand, if these constructions are included, the variety is not clearly distinguished from the standard language. On the other hand their exclusion results in an incomplete description of the variety.

1.2 Framework

The syntactic analysis of the data in the present corpus will be carried out in the theoretical framework known as Generative Grammar (henceforth: GG; Chomsky 1981, 1986). Over the last decade Generative Grammar (also: Government and Binding (GB-)theory) has moved away from using phrase structure rules as the basic specifiers of syntactic structure; instead, the theory has come

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[13] Cf. the evaluation of Rademeyer (1938) by Van Rensburg 1989b:456.

[14] Links (1983) treats Kharkams Afrikaans as a dialect or regional variant of Afrikaans (*op.cit.*:1), but stresses the fact that historically the influence of Khoi cannot be denied (p.6). On the social stratification of his informants he excuses himself that "*die gemeenskap baie agterlik [is] en was dit vir baie jare in 'n groot mate geïsoleerd.*" ([T]he community is very behind the times and has been isolated for many years.)

[15] Cf. Roberge 1994b:67 who takes into consideration that "direct evidence [...] in Orange River Afrikaans is at best tenuous. One bears the burden of demonstrating by a preponderance of evidence that [certain grammatical features] are not merely pragmatic."

to see phrase structure as the instantiation of a number of licensing relations, chiefly theta-role assignment, Case, agreement, and predication. The most recent development in Generative Grammar, the so-called Minimalist Program (MP) (Kayne 1994, Chomsky 1995, 1998), will also be considered The assumptions concerning the main principles and mechanisms of these by now quite distinct approaches, will receive treatment in the pertinent sections in Chapter Five and Six.

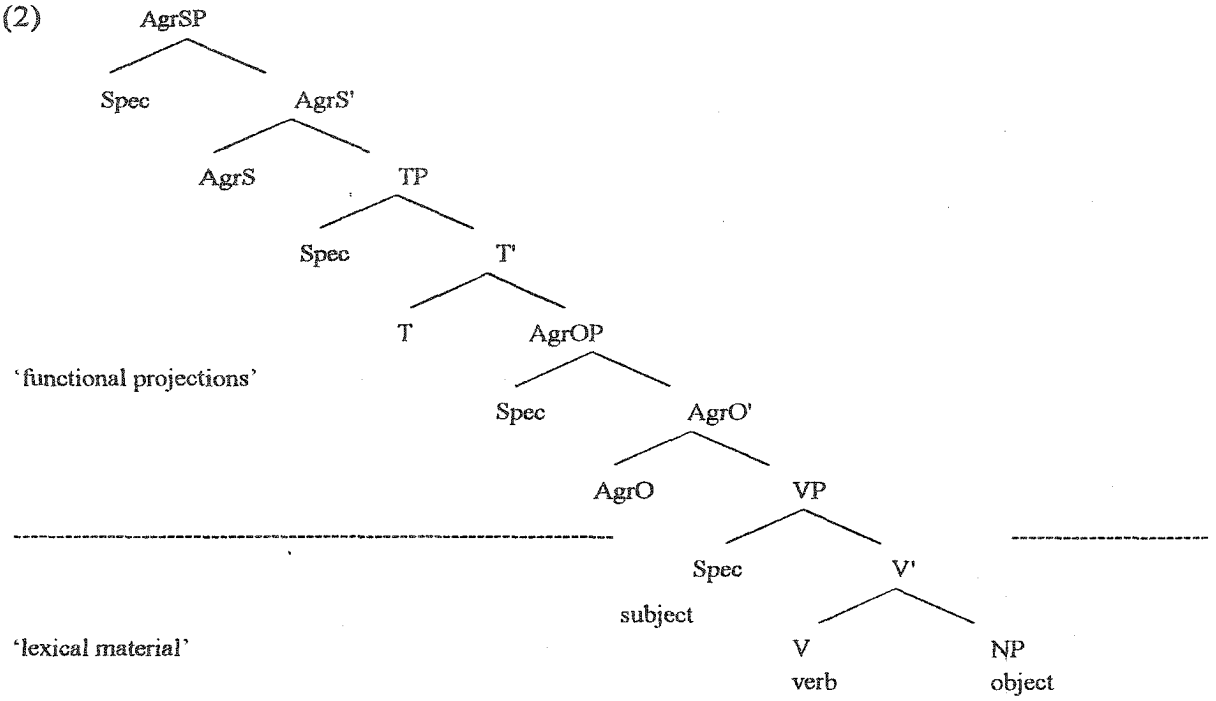
The central idea, within GG is that languages consist of a basic core of principles (Universal Grammar: UG) with associated parameters that interact in a modular fashion. The settings of the parametric values regulate further characteristics allowing for the diversity in language typology. In this view, the distinctions between the languages of the world are due to alternate settings of 'switches' of a specific parameter,[16] and/or because of the interacting modular restrictions that hold in Universal Grammar.

One such proposal about the Verb Phrase (VP) is that "rich" verbal inflections constitute a trigger for verb displacement (verb movement) because such morphology is listed in the lexicon and inserted in the syntax in a different position than the verbal stem (outside the VP, i.e. in a separate position from the verbal stem; (in one particular view, *infra*)). As affixal heads they cause the verb to raise overtly to this (higher) position in the structure. This movement can be diagnosed by, for example, the placement of the verb to the left of certain adverbials in French (cf. Pollock 1989). At the basis of these assumptions lies the so-called post-lexicalist approach to the morphology-syntax relation. It assumes that morphemes are bundles of features (semantic, syntactic, and phonological features), which are present throughout the syntactic derivation. In MORPHOLOGY (the morphological component), forms are selected corresponding to the feature bundles that form the output of the syntactic derivation (up to the Spell-Out point, *infra*, and § 5.1.4 for further details). Within the Minimalist Program, Functional Projections (FPs) are projected on a one to one relation with substantive items for their licensing requirements. In other words each lexical item results in a functional projection of one, and only one, corresponding functional category. Head movement and incorporation yield a morphosyntactic object which is fed to both the interpretative component and the phonological component (PF).

[16] In GG terminology also which *triggers* or *cues* assign a particular setting to particular parameters. See for example Lightfoot 1998, 1999.

I will adopt the general tenets of the MP as presented in the literature, which have resulted in a configurational structure as in (2) for the Dutch main clause (cf. Zwart 1997).

(2)



The demarcation line in (2) delineates the notions of Functional Projections and Lexical items, the former attracting the substantial lemma. Thus, the subject in [Spec,VP] will be licensed in the FP, Agreement Subject Phrase (AgrSP), the verb will 'pick up' Tense (and from there on Agreement with the subject) through the Tense Phrase (TP). The object is licensed in the Agreement Object Phrase (AgrOP). In the scenario as sketched above, two practical suggestions rival. For example: the verb *buy*, third person singular ('[he] buys [the book]'), in the one view will have the stem *buy* generated in the position V and the inflectional element 3S (*-s*) in the functional counterpart AgrS, where the verb 'picks it up'[17] (overtly or covertly, *infra*). In the other view, the verb *buy*-3S, is formed in MORPHOLOGY and enters the derivation as [*buys*] in the position labeled V. The functional counterparts carry the same information features ([V]-[present Tense]-[3S]) and the element in V has

[17] This view has determined the hierarchical sequence of functional projections. For example in Dutch (and Italian) the inflectional sequence is [Verb]-[Tense]-[Number], ([1PL] $werk_V$ $-t_T$ $-en_N$, 'we worked'). See Haegeman 1991:6, following proposals for Italian by Belletti (1991), (the ms. by Haegeman is without precise reference).

to match with these, otherwise the structure is rejected (will be ungrammatical). E.g., if MORPHOLOGY selects *buys* in the case where the subject is 1PL (*we buys the book). A further difference is made between overt and covert movement, depending on the "strength" of the functional projections. This distinction entails that a "strong" FP will attract a lexical item prior to the point of Spell-Out (hence: 'overtly', visible by word order variation). A "weak" FP attracts the same functional information but covertly, at the interpretative level, (not showing differences in word order).

The proposals about the morphology-syntax interface are far from unproblematic, yet they make interesting predictions which, (in principle) can be tested. In the case of Dutch vs. Afrikaans syntax, contradictions in the verb displacement proposal are immediately obvious: Dutch has a (rich) morphological inflectional system, Afrikaans has no morphological inflection (see Chapter Two, § 2.5.1.1), yet there are no obvious immediate differences in word order. On the other hand, although Afrikaans is in certain respects very similar to Dutch, the changes away from Dutch are fundamental. To mention one example, in Linking Verb structures (Afrikaans: *skakelwerkwoorde*), both the Linking Verb and the Main Verb can appear in the verb-second slot (see § 5.2.5). Further discrepancies are the presence of the prepositional object marker (objective *vir*) and the feature of a double negation (§ 2.5.1). Another fact is that Afrikaans exhibits far stricter rules affecting the placement of constituents. For example, the temporal auxiliary *het*, outside the main clause, must obligatorily appear sentence final as shown in (3), (see further Chapter Five).

(3a)	..dat	Karel	het	boek	gekocht	heeft[18]	Dutch
	..that	Karel	the	book	bought	has	
(b)	..dat	Karel	het	boek	heeft	gekocht	
(c)	..dat	Karel	die	boek	gekoop	het	Afrikaans
	..that	Karel	the	book	bought	has	

(d) *..dat Karel die boek het gekoop
..that Karel has bought the book.

[18] As main clause order differs because of the verb-second constraint, I will follow the convention to indicate the subordinate clause structure with a leader of 'double dots'.

The technicalities of the mechanisms involved in GG have changed rapidly over the last decade. In the nineteen-eighties the Continental West Germanic (henceforth: CWG-)languages were analyzed as differing typologically in their base constituent word order from, for example, English, the former featuring Object-Verb word order (OV), and the latter Verb-Object order (VO). Within the MP framework, on the contrary, all languages are assumed to derive from a base (universal) VO ordering (Kayne 1994; for Dutch as an SVO language see Zwart 1997), despite the fact that the object cannot follow the verb in the CWG-languages as shown in (4).[19] Within the MP framework these differences are accounted for in terms of available landing-sites (the position of AgrOP) of the constituents (cf. the sketch in (2), above).

(4a)	..dat	Karel	het	boek	koopt
	..that	Karel	the	book	buys
(b)	*..dat	Karel	koopt	het	boek

..that Karel buys the book.

In the subsequent discussion I will review the assumptions and consequences from both the SOV and the SVO-perspective, partly for expository reasons as the SOV-analysis of the Dutch VP, specifically the mechanism of Verb Raising (Chapter Five), details this clearer.

[19] See § 6.3.5 for details of verb-second in the Minimalist view.

2 The Dutch Language in Change and the Foundations of Afrikaans

2.1 Origins: the first decades of the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope

The Khoekhoe,[1] later called Hottentots by the European colonizers, were a people who were spread over much of southern Africa when the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) decided to start a refreshment station at the Cape (Giliomee & Elphick 1982:3). The officials and staff of the VOC make further mention of the San (referred to as *Bosjesman* (Bushmen)), a people of a similar origin as the Khoekhoe but basically distinguished from the Hottentots on economic grounds. Nowadays the San are identified to be of different ethnicity than the Khoekhoe;[2] in the literature these peoples have again become grouped together and are generally referred to as the Khoesan, their languages as the Khoesan languages (cf. § 3.2).

The numbers of Khoesan in the Cape peninsula and beyond in the early days of the Dutch colony have never been enunciated as they lived largely in migratory patterns. In a study by Bredekamp (1982), divisional lines are drawn in terms of the distance Khoekhoe tribes lived from the *fort*. Seventeenth-

[1] Previously also spelled K(h)oik(h)oi. In 1970 this spelling was officially changed to Khoekhoe. Cf. Nienaber, 1994a:180-209. About the European's designation and origin of the word "Hottentot" see Transactions of the Philological Society, London (1866).

[2] Cf. Westphal (1963), Traill (1995, 1997), Nienaber (1989:626, 830-837). Penn 1995:43 comments: "[W]ords like "Khoikhoi" and "San" are not timeless ahistorical categories but historical categories and social constructions. It is precisely the dynamic realities that lie behind Khoisan terminology that cause so many of the problems associated with the use of the words. Leaving aside, for a moment, the question as to whether "Khoikhoi" is a better word than "Hottentot", or "San" a better word than "Bushman", one still has to unravel that "Gordian knot of South African ethnography" - the relationship between Khoikhoi and San. Many skillful fingers have picked at this knot, some tightening it, others loosening it, but whatever the nature of the relationship it obviously differs according to its historical content. The word "Khoisan", for instance, which has become the convenient generic name for both the Khoikhoi and San peoples, implies that there is a relationship between them. But it means one thing when used in the pre-colonial context and another thing in the colonial context. In the former context the processes the word implies are those which relate to the transition of societies or individuals from a predominantly hunting and gathering mode of existence to a predominantly pastoralist mode of existence - and vice versa. In the colonial context, however, the dynamics of Khoikhoi and San interaction were fundamentally altered by the presence of Europeans who first exerted an influence through trade and later by direct settlement and conquest."

century descriptions of these Khoekhoe tribes by European travelers to southern Africa have been evaluated in Nienaber (1989). 19 different tribes are identified between the Orange River in the north and the Kei River in the east in the earliest days of the refreshment station (*op.cit.*: xxxi). However, references to the size of the tribes are scarce. Population estimates by Van Riebeeck anno 1662 for the Goringhaiqua and Gorachouquwna[3] ("Caep mans" and "Tabacdieven" respectively), are "*buijten vrou ende kinderen omtrent 300 weerbaere coppen*" (besides women and children 300 able men), and, for the latter "*6 a 700 weerbaere manne, buijten vrouw ende kinderen.*" (6 to 700 able men besides women and children) (Nienaber 1989:410, 402). The Cochoquwna, also referred to as "Saldanhars" and as "Koekemans", from further north, possibly the Company's major cattle suppliers, "*was den allergrootsten [stam] van al de Hottentoos,... gemeent wort deselve wel 17 à 18 duizend zielen stercq sijn...*" (was the biggest tribe of all the Hottentots; it is estimated that they may be 17 to 18 thousand souls in number) (*op.cit.*:265). Another, numerically negligible, yet highly present fourth group, who initially served as translators and go-betweens (*infra*), were the impoverished Goringhaikona, better known as "Strandlopers" or "Watermans". Their number is estimated by Van Riebeeck "*behalven vrouw en kinderen niet boven 18 man sterk*" (except for women and children no more than 18 men strong), in 1662 (*op.cit.*: 407). Wagenaer anno 1666, reports:

> Deselve waren op mijn aencomste alhier eerst niet boven de 30 coppen sterck, maer hebben naderhant een aenhanck van diergelijcken geboefte uijt 't land daer bij gecregen, die nu met vrouwen en kinderen wel een rott van 70 of 80 off meer coppen zullen cunnen uijtmaken.[4] (Nienaber 1989:408).

The latter report also shows that Khoekhoe tribes were not necessarily based on kinship relations, but also resulted from socio-economic circumstances, as in this particular case.

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[3] Goringhaikwas, Gorachoukwas and variant spellings (cf. Nienaber 1989:401, 410). See also the Dutch derived ethnonym *Kaapmans* and *Tabakdieven* (Tabaktekeman < tobacco-taking-men) *op.cit.* 567, 873.

[4] On my arrival here, at first these [the Goringhaikona] were no more than 30 head strong, but afterwards they acquired followers from kindred scoundrels from the land. Nowadays, together with women and children they could make up an army (gang) of 70 or 80 or more heads.

The demographic figures for the Europeans are well documented. In the first decades of the refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope, the dearth of European women is often reported on. Van Ginneken (1913 [1928]:206) specifies that in 1688, thirty-six years after the station had been started, only 88 adult European women resided at the Cape, compared to 254 men and 231 children.[5] Hereafter, a number of French Huguenots found their refuge in the Cape and in 1694 the total number of Europeans was 1159.

Slaves entered the Cape from 1658 onwards.[6] They originated from West- and East-Africa (Mozambique), the Indonesian Archipelago, the Indian sub-continent, Madagascar and the Mascarenes. In the beginning they arrived in numbers no larger than 200 to 500 per year, but from 1712 onwards these numbers steadily increased (Shell 1994:12). Shell (*op.cit.*:20) claims that farm owners would seek to purchase their slaves from different origins, as this would diminish the risk of rebellion and desertion. Locally born slaves, who allegedly could always speak Dutch, had the highest premium. Importantly, the slaves in the Cape Colony were more like servants and not, as the usual take, the other way around. In the more remote districts the Khoekhoe performed similar tasks to the slaves, but they were not entitled to wages; their 'freedom' merely meant that they could not be bought or sold. It was, however, not until early in the eighteenth century that the number of slaves began surpassing the number of the free population.

From this sketch it follows that the possible languages of influence in the genesis and subsequent development of Afrikaans include the Khoesan languages, Malay, Buginese, so-called Indo-Portuguese or Creole-Portuguese,[7] and varieties of Malay- or Indo-Portuguese, as well as the common assortment of European languages that featured in the colonial setting (cf. Ponelis

[5] Giliomee & Elphick (1982:44) specify that in the year 1679 there were "*259 vry persone, van wie 55 vroue en 117 kinders*" (259 free burghers, of which 55 women and 117 children).

[6] Raidt (1982:96) mentions earlier (small) imports from Madagascar, since 1654.

[7] Creole-Portuguese is an umbrella term for varieties of a Portuguese lingua franca, related to earlier Sabir, the fifteenth-century Mediterranean lingua franca. It presumably existed since the earliest days of the sea-faring Europeans along the West African coast and was later carried to India and the Far East. Cf. Romaine 1988: 86-87, Valkhoff 1966, 1972. Conspicuously hardly any Iberian based creole languages have survived to date (cf. Fasold 1990:183, Holm, Lorenzino & De Mello 1999:3; McWhorter 2000:6-40).

1993:15ff.). The level of integration between the different groups of the society can only be guessed.[8] Bredekamp (1982:87) claims that

> bloedvermenging en huwelike tussen Khoikhoi en Blankes 'n seldsame verskynsel was [...] deels omdat die Europeërs in die algemeen 'n afkeer van die Khoikhoi vrou se voorkoms, higiëne en versierings gehad het; deels omdat die Khoikhoi samelewing vrye geslagsverkeer skerp veroordeel het.[9]

According to the VOC records[10] miscegenation of the slaves with the indigenous people was highly common and a century later a new population group emerged from this society, who were the offspring of Europeans, Khoekhoe and slaves simply called *Basters* or *Baster-Hottentots* (Franken 1953:15-27, Valkhoff 1966, 1972, Raidt 1983:11, Roberge 1993:55, Penn 1995:158), later on also referred to as *Oorlams* (see p. 23, below).

From the historical details it is clear that at the outset there were two different cultures meeting each other. Economically a trade and barter relationship developed between these two parties. The VOC had resolved not to enslave the local population. Only more than a decade later, when the refreshment station started to prove a viable operation[11] and the Dutch settlers needed more hands to cope with the work, slaves were brought in. Importantly, in the initial stage it was Khoe-Dutch contact and not e.g. Malay-Dutch or Portuguese-Dutch contact that set the scene for the genesis of Afrikaans.

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[8] Precise details remain difficult to assess; compare the reference to a *duijtse Hottentottin* 'a Dutch Hottentot-woman' in the Criminal Justice report dated 18 December 1671, quoted in Franken 1953:34.

[9] [M]iscegenation and marriages between Khoekhoe and Whites was rare, partly because in general the Europeans were repelled by the Khoekhoe women's appearance, hygiene and ornaments; partly because Khoekhoe society strongly condemned promiscuousness.

[10] In 1685 the VOC took refuge to the circulation of prohibitional pamphlets about this practice. (Cf. Raidt 1983:10 and the references cited there.)

[11] Cf. Bredekamp 1982:8ff.

Prior to the Dutch decision to establish a refreshment station for their personnel on voyages to the East,[12] English ships had taken Khoekhoe with them and it is highly likely that a few English words were introduced into the Khoekhoe languages from this acculturation event (Den Besten 1987a:11). One of these people was the Goringhaikona ('Strandloper') captain Autshomao, also known by the European name of Herrie or Harry; hence the prominent role of the Strandlopers at the time the founding of the settlement (see p.16). When Van Riebeeck[13] arrived he was probably only able to rely on Herrie as his interpreter for cattle trading with other Khoekhoe from the interior. In 1658 a Goringhaikwa, Doman, reportedly returned from Batavia, where he had been taken for one year to be trained as a Company go-between (Bredekamp 1982:13). The linguistic aptitude of the local population has often been commented on (cf. Nienaber 1963, Scholtz 1980:38). There are equally many remarks about how notoriously unfeasible it was for the newcomers to understand a single syllable of the Khoesan languages as these are strikingly rich in 'click' sounds.[14] It is quoted that the Europeans perceived their speech as only sobs and sighs, "[t]heir words [being] for the most part inarticulate, and, in speaking they clocke with the Tongue like a brood Hen, which clocking and the word are both pronounced together, verie strangely".[15] The general opinion of the colonizers seems to have been that through an age-long process of de-humanization the Hottentots had lost the ability to talk like humans (Fredrickson 1981:11; cf. Bredekamp 1982: 3ff., also Nienaber 1963:8ff.). Reportedly, some Hottentots already spoke a broken Dutch in the earliest days of the settlement, which must be classified as a trade or barter jargon. In the first decade note is made of some Khoekhoe who were quite fluent in Dutch. In 1663 for example, the Khoekhoe interpreter Eva (Krotoa) had married a European (Van Meerhoff, a VOC official) and we can assume some sort of bilingualism on the part of the Khoekhoe (cf. Matthee 2000:23). However, part of the premises in the theories concerning language developments in southern Africa has been that the influence of the

[12] The Dutch had used St. Helena for a while, but they were on the look-out for better pastures as there was too much competition there (Nienaber 1989). From surveys of previously stranded ships they had a good impression of the area; unlike some experiences the Portuguese went through (cf. Bredekamp 1982).

[13] Note that the first VOC official, Jan van Riebeeck was on his second chance, being in disgrace with the Lords XVII after having been fired from his position in the East for trading privately.

[14] The Khoesan languages distinguish five different click-sounds, nowadays orthographically represented as: / dental click, ! alveolar-palatal click, ǂ alveolar click, // lateral click, ʘ labial click (cf. the illustrations in Traill 1997:20-26, CD-track 15).

[15] John Davis, anno 1598 quoted in Nienaber 1963:9.

Khoekhoe was minimal. In broad lines, their role in society has largely been depicted as a poor, adaptive community which was (soon) overpowered by the incoming Europeans. It is assumed that they would have ceased to exist as a factor of (linguistic) influence after about half a century of colonial expansion at the Cape (Roberge 1993:44, 48; 1999b:91). The event of a smallpox-epidemic in 1713 further sets the landmark of their passing.[16]

Connected to the aftermath of the forces that prompted the expansion of the Colony, in case of unrest or trouble with the original inhabitants of the newly acquired territories, the Europeans called upon the institution of the *kommando* (commando), in which all neighboring farmers in an area had to take part. From around 1715 this institution had been invoked to replace the VOC servicemen as the main agency for the defense of the colonial interior (Giliomee & Elphick 1982:27). Initially they were manned by *vrijburgers*, subsequently often accompanied by their servants, of all races. In 1739 the commando became compulsory for all the farmers in the interior. Individuals could call upon the *veldkornet* to call up a commando; he in turn was responsible to the local *landdrost*. The commando was not very popular amongst the farmers in the interior, often taking them away from their farms for periods of more than four months, but they were bound by it as they were also entirely dependent on the government for their firearms and ammunition for other purposes. A substantial part of the correspondence in the Cape Town archives are missives to the *landdrost* asking to be excused from commando service for personal or economic reasons (cf. Penn 1995:243, quoting *veldkornet* Van der

[16] However, archeological study of Khoekhoe society in territories further to the north have revealed a different set of data. Kinahan (2000) conclusively shows that the Khoekhoe in trade with the newcomers in the !Khuiseb area maintained their own culture - in fact flourished in the sense that they integrated the European assets into their own life-style, but importantly, did not give up on their traditions and customs (see also Chapter Three, § 3.1.2). Kinahan (2000:96) predicts in conclusion that "[as] Namibian archeology has shown that pastoral society can adapt to the challenge of contact [with the Europeans], in the !Khuiseb Delta by establishing semi-permanent sites in the vicinity of the entrepot to control trade[,] the possible validity of this model for the Western Cape [is again] pointed out. Given that the available archeological and historical evidence does not seem contradictory, it is worth considering that the sites of semi-permanent settlement did exist in the Cape." Cf. Budack (1977) who draws parallels between the Cape Khoekhoe in the seventeenth century (based on travelers accounts) and the twentieth-century Nama KhoekhoeTopnaars regarding eating and fishing habits (*op.cit:*20, 28ff.), and methods of preserving foods (*op.cit:*26). Despite the fact that direct evidence for the assumption of a parallel development at the Cape is not immediately available, the popular belief that the indigenous societies broke down with such rapidity is based on the same absence of data (cf. Elphick 1972:294-295 that "Many [Khoi] died in their huts [of small -pox] around the colony; their corpses were left to rot where they fell, presumably because all healthy Khoi had panicked and fled inland. [...] By 1713 official interest in independent Khoi tribes was so low that the documents do not give us a clear view of the extent of the carnage amongst them". This lopsided balance in our diachronic written record will be a recurring topic of the discussion weighing the role the non-Europeans in the developments throughout the next sections and Chapter Three.

Merwe, anno 1780 "I get more excuses than men"). On the other hand, less reputable *trekboere* were not shy of organizing cattle raiding expeditions amongst the Khoesan under this banner (see Penn 1995, Chapter Two). It also becomes clear that the indigenous population was actively involved in both legitimate service and banditry. Legassick (1982:274) assesses that in the beginning it was,

> the colonial citizens who moved out to tap new trade routes or new hunting grounds, [they] would have found Khoi Khoi eager to accept arms and powder in return for serving as guides [...] By the end of the 18th century, this class of Khoi Khoi dependants, some of them having regained autonomy, had become sufficiently numerous to become known as Oorlams, that is Hottentots who are born and bred with the farmers, most of whom understand and speak the low Dutch language [translated-cl].

The close interaction of the less well-to-do *trekboere* and the Khoesan along the northern frontier in the beginning of the eighteenth century, is further outlined by the fact that the legal owners of the *leenplaase* (loan-farms, as administrated by the VOC) were typically not residing on these properties but in the peninsula (Penn 1995:95). Notwithstanding that, rivalry for the office of field cornet amongst the leading farmers was not free of animosities and ulterior motives (cf. Penn 1995:427-428; also the history of Estienne Barbier as a 'social bandit'(Penn 1995:102-126, 1999:101-129, Pheiffer 1980:13-71) in an environment sketched as the "corrupt and venal world of Cape politics" (Penn 1995:114). The commando also led to a further division of the Khoesan in the interior as those who were part of the *volk* on frontier farms, for all that they gradually became acculturated as subordinates in colonial society, were drawn nonetheless from the ranks of the very people with whom the farmers were contesting the right of occupation of the land (Newton-King 1986:110, Penn 1995:245). As illustrated from one such an incident in 1804 along the Sak River, the alliances in these military-like enterprises were not defined along ethnic lines:

> [...] there was a massive San raid on the Christian's property in which 200 sheep were stolen. These sheep had been purchased from a certain H. van Aswegen [...] and were in the process of being driven to the mission station by two "Bastaards" when the San launched a night attack, wounding the shepherds and stealing the stock. A commando was despatched under the leadership of Veldcornet J.S. Olivier and, with the assistance of six "peacemaking Bushmen", the robbers were tracked beyond the Sak River. It was discovered that the San had also succeeded in stealing over a hundred oxen from somewhere else. The oxen were recovered but none of the sheep was left alive. Nine San were killed by the commando... (Penn 1995:457).

From the demographic record of the population, leaving a century of historical controversies aside, it is clear that as the colony grew and diversified its borders expanded accordingly. The developments gave rise to many migrations which are presently not well understood,[17] except that life was made very difficult for the Khoekhoe (and the San) in the Colony with the proclamation of the "Hottentot Code" by the British authorities in 1809. This law had been designed to have a protective function, but *de facto* it gave legal form to forced labor practices:

> Every Hottentot had to have a 'fixed place of abode', which in practice meant residence with a European. If he was found 'going about' the country, without a pass signed by his master or the *landdrost* (magistrate) he would be regarded as a 'vagabond' and summarily arrested (Newton King 1986:111).

Assessing the social stratification at a random point in time, when all these forces were in full play, for example, roughly around 1750, we have the following setting from bottom to top: there is the slave, the unfree one on the lowest part of the scale. Then, as employees of the VOC and *vrijburgers*[18] in the Colony, the Hottentots are next up, in a way also unfree, as they became detribalized. Barely above the level of a slave, their existence depended totally on the economy of the people around them. Above this stood the Oorlam, also very much a detribalized lineage, but with strong self-esteem and self-reliance. Basically the Oorlams were the more enterprising ones, some were christened and had acquired a little education; some had bought themselves free from slavery, others served a role in the politics of those days, in the commandos that served as a buffer in border matters. Above the Oorlams stood the Basters. They were in fact often of the same upbringing as the Oorlams but they might have had a little difference in their ancestry: most of them were proud to claim with good certainty, varying degrees of "white" blood in their veins (Nienaber 1989:25). For all of these people, the Europeans stood as the role model and the target to achieve. Bantu-Nguni tribes were not entirely absent from these parts of the world in those days but of very little essential influence on the developments.

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[17] See Ross (1976), Heywood & Maasdorp (1995), Lau 1987:19 and the literature mentioned there.

[18] Free-burgers, Europeans released from their service to the VOC, who were given land to cultivate fresh produce. Wagenaar, anno 1668, quoted in Franken (1953:21) divides the *Caepse boeren* in three categories, abridged, as: the first type, not exceeding four or five individuals, are excellent farmers and good citizens. The second type are hardworking people, but too poor to make progress as they cannot afford European help on their farms. The third type are lazy and useless (*onnutte*) vagrants or drunkards.

Much has been said about the meaning of the word "Oorlam"[19] (for an exhaustive summary see Nienaber 1989:794-803), but it is generally accepted that it originates from Malayan *orang lama (datang)* which means "someone who came long ago (to the East)", i.e. someone who knows the land, the people and their customs and therefore will not offend against any sensitive conventions. The notion is opposed to the term *baar*, from Malayan *(orang) beharoe (datang)*: "a person who is new in the country, who only recently arrived". Both in Dutch and Afrikaans *baar* has taken on the meaning of 'novice', 'inexperienced', 'freshman' and hence also 'dumb'. *Oorlam* still has its original meaning in Dutch, in Afrikaans it has taken on further significations as 'clever' (*skelm*), 'able', 'capable' and hence connotations as 'cunning', 'shrewd'. The former, positive meaning of the word has been related to this new "elite" amongst the descendants of the colonial community. The question arises how these Oorlams were organized. Lau (1987, 1995) suggests that each subdivision formed a group,

> with at its core a fairly small military oligarchy, an elite of 'commando' leaders, craftsmen in smithing, carpentry and sometimes road building, immensely skilled in guerrilla warfare and cattle raids. Invariably educated, literate and well-versed in Cape colonial politics. Their following were closely associated individuals and their servants, and their (extended) families, and whole clusters

[19] Missionary Kleinschmidt translates it to *overlander* (from abroad): *„Der Name ist nichts weiter als eine verderbte Form des Holländischen Wortes 'overlands' oder 'o'erlands'. Manche Rheinischen Missionare, z.B. Vollmer, nennen die Einwanderer daher 'Oberländer'* (Nienaber 1989:795). Missionary Knudsen was convinced that the Oorlam were the lost sons of Benjamin from the Bible and relates it to Ulam, a descendant of Saul. I quote Nienaber (1989:800): *"Nou het hierdie jong yweraar [Knudsen] tot die oortuiging gekom dat die Khoekhoen eintlik uit die stam van Benjamin spruit. In 1 Kronieke 8 kom hy af op die naamlys van die nakomelinge van Benjamin en Saul, en daaronder op name wat vir hom duidelik ooreenstem met Khoekhoense stamname [...]. In vers 39 lees hy die name van Esek se seuns, onder wie "Ulam, sy eersgeborene", en wie kan Ulam nou anders wees as die stam-vader van die Oorlams, uit die kindere van Israel? So opgewonde was Knudsen dat hy die Here al die dank toesê vir dié openbaring, en die dag en datum erkentlik noteer. Vir Knudsen was 'n toevalligheid van ooreenkoms uitgesluit. Trouens, hy sê dat hy sielsgraag die Jode tot die Christendom sou wou bekeer het maar sendeling van die Khoekhoen geword het, en nou blyk dit dat hy sendeling is van die Jode in hulle afgedwaalde kinders, dat hy op dié wonderbaarlike wyse "Heiden- und auch Judenmissionar, nach welchem ich mich oft gesehnt, sein dürfte."* (The young enthusiast, became convinced that the Khoekhoe were actually descendants from Benjamin. In 1, chronics 8 he stumbled on a list of names of descendants of Benjamin and Saul, and one of them corresponded with the name of the Khoekhoe tribe [...]. In section 39 he reads the names of Esek's sons, amongst which "Ulam, his first born", and who else could Ulam be but the founder father of the Oorlams, the children of Israel? Knudsen was so thrilled he thanked the Lord for such a revelation, and in awe, he noted down the day and hour. Knudsen could not imagine it was a coincidence. Besides he acknowledges that he had always wanted to convert the Jews to Christianity but that it turned out he became a missionary to the Khoekhoe, and now it turns out for him he has become a missionary to the Jews after all, amongst their strayed children. Thus in a miraculous way he was a missionary both to the heathens as well as to the Jews, something he had always longed for.)

of villages or other tribes or groups such as the indigenous Namaland Topnaars (Lau 1995:viii).

The relationships that bound them were not based on kin or genealogy but were rather feudal-type allegiances, with the most varied forms of tributes being paid. The proceeds of these went towards buying the prized commodities from the Cape on which they became so dependent: guns, horses and ammunition.

Note that the word *Baster* has been associated with different population groups through time. In the late eighteenth century the *Griqua* called themselves *Basters*, but this appellation was changed on the advice of missionary Campbell (see § 3.1.2, p.70). In the 1860s a new group calling themselves *Basters* emerged on the scene, specifically distinguished from the Oorlam, who settled down in the vacant territory around Rehoboth (the forefathers of the present-day Rehoboth Basters in Namibia; see § 3.1.2, footnote 18, p.70). In the twentieth century, in turn, the Khoekhoe Korana also adopted the ethnonym *Griqua* (see § 3.2, p.83).

In Chapter Three the pursuits of the Oorlam on the northern border of nineteenth-century southern Africa will be further explored.

In addition to the influence of Khoekhoe other non-European languages, (Pasar) Malay and Malay- or Indo-Portuguese, brought in by the slaves acquired by the VOC, must have been prominent in the spoken language in the formative years.[20] An exact ranking however, is an intricate task, partly because the ethnonymic labeling used both by the Europeans and indigenes of the day is discursive and exceedingly flexible in reference. Bearing in mind the vastness of the settlement territory, in which relatively small groups of people settled down quite isolated from each other, we can assume that different processes of language change could have operated simultaneously in different locations. In statistical terms all the ingredients to provide for the emergence of a prototypical creole language (cf. Bickerton 1981, 1984) are in place. The reason why this never happened is suggested to be found in the demographic settlement patterns (Giliomee & Elphick 1982). According to these comparative assessments social stratification along the lines of the so-called plantation situation, as witnessed in

[20] Den Besten (1997) evaluates some twenty utterances in Creole Portuguese beside Cape-Malay texts, arguing that what used to be referred to as 'Creole Portuguese' or 'Malay-Portuguese' in Afrikaans historical linguistics may have been Indo-Portuguese rather than Malay-Portuguese. See also Den Besten 2000b.

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the Caribbean, or even the prototypical fort-creole situation, never existed in southern Africa.[21]

Language-wise by around 1750, we have the following diversification: at the lowest end of the social scale stood the slaves, imported by sea from the East, Madagascar and Mozambique. From their numbers and heterogeneity it can be assumed that they must have gained some knowledge of languages other than their mother tongue.[22] The slave's languages themselves were never recognized, even forbidden by the authorities.[23] Although, as Valkhoff (1966, 1972) hypothesized, there certainly may have been room for the existence of a creole-Portuguese medium between the colonizer and the workforce, details are conflicting. Shell (1994:29) quotes an English visitor to the Cape in 1777, who notes that the slave-owners were obliged to learn the slaves' *lingua franca* (presumably based on Malay-Portuguese), and not the other way around.[24] Other reports, as early as 1740, reflect a complete tower of Babel, from which a new *lingua franca*, based on Dutch emerged which "was intelligible to all" (Shell 1994:30).[25] Yet, it is unknown which language is meant, Dutch or Afrikaans, or an early combination of these. The considerations to establish "when the language is Afrikaans" in the formative years, have been attentively measured in Roberge (1993) and I refer the reader to this appraisal.[26] Besides, as Nienaber (1934:24) has warned: "dating Afrikaans, is courting danger". It might be that the variety Shell refers to is the one which is identified in later years as 'Kitchen

[21] The demographic picture that emerges could be classified as a "homestead society" (see footnote 29, below).

[22] Note that both the slaves and the Europeans all came to South Africa by ship on journeys which took a considerable amount of time in a confined space. Cf. Mesthrie et al, 2000:283-287.

[23] The VOC prohibited its employees from speaking Portuguese to the slaves (Raidt 1982:96); see Bosman (1928:54) about the VOC language policies, but Franken (1953:41-79) about translations given at court proceedings in the seventeenth and eighteenth century at the Cape; also Valkhoff (1966, 1972) and Den Besten (1997, 2000b) on the influence of the slave languages during the formative years.

[24] Quoting Kindersley (1777:66) "What seems extraordinary is that the slaves do not learn to talk Dutch, but the Dutch people learn their dialect, which is called Portuguese, and is a corruption of that language, some of them are called Malays, brought from the country of Malacca and the islands to the eastward of India."

[25] Referring to Mentzel (1921-44, 1:56). Sparrman (1977, 1:58) anno 1770 remarks: "At mealtimes, various European dialects, together with the languages used in commerce with the Indians, viz. the Malay, and a very bad kind of Portuguese were spoken at one time, so that the confusion was almost equal to that to the tower of Babel." And, a Persian visitor to Cape, Mirza Abu Taleb Khan (1810, 1:72-73) reports that "besides the Dutch, there are to be found at the Cape people of many other nations, and at least seven or eight languages are spoken here."

[26] See also the comprehensive evaluation of the politics involved in dating Afrikaans in Ponelis 1993:69ff.

Dutch',[27] but note that Nienaber (1950:36) still distinguished between Here-Afrikaans, Boere-Afrikaans, and Hottentot-Afrikaans from sources in 1875.[28] It is likely these ought to be equated with an Afrikaans acrolect, mesolect and basilect, respectively, in accordance with the evaluation in Roberge (1993:52), that "there was not enough room, or rather too much space for the development of a coherent single creole" (see further § 2.3). Although it remains a daunting task to make sense of the variation that is found in the archival sources in Cape Town, the linguistic situation may have been comparable to the difference between *bakra tongo* and *nengre tongo* in Sranan creole in eighteenth-century Surinam (Muysken, 1995:342), c.q. the distinction in Negerhollands between *Hochkreol* and *Plattkreol* (low and high creole) in the (now US) Virgin Island settlements (Adams-Graves 1977:58, 88). These terms do not refer to geographically separated variations of a language with the same basic grammar while varying phonologically, as is the case with Low and High German. In the cases of creole languages the terms are based on the degree to which version in question approximates Standard Dutch. They are often associated with the social status of the speakers (cf. Den Besten 1987b:86). Although Afrikaans/Dutch in the eighteenth/ nineteenth century was probably highly variable, it ultimately has stabilized out in one of its 'high' or acrolectal variants. This is in opposition to what happened in other Dutch-derived creole languages (e.g., Negerhollands, Berbice Dutch). In those languages the 'high' variant gradually was used less and less by the upper middle class with as a result a 'typical' creole as the Negerhollands slave language recorded in the twentieth century (Adams Graves 1977:88; Van Rossum & Van der Voort 1996) or Berbice Dutch (Kouwenberg 1994). Sociolinguistic considerations based on size and spread of the slave-holding households (a 'homestead society'[29]), as well as the turn-over and influx of Europeans in southern Africa, would be comparable to for example St. Kitts (see Parkvall 1998). Yet, the twentieth-century outcome from such comparable situational conditions has turned out unalike (cf. Bruyn & Veenstra 1993, Baker & Bruyn 1998, *passim*).

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[27] Nineteenth-century (derogatory) term for the Afrikaans vernacular.

[28] Citing S.J. du Toit in *Die Zuid-Afrikaan* of January 30, 1875.

[29] A society in which the average number of slaves per homestead was small (on averages below ten) and interaction between settlers and slaves was frequent and intense (Mufwene 1996a:91). South African figures from 1834 show an average of 4.55 slaves per household, with the Cape District geographically in the lead with 7.92 slaves per household, and 3.83 in the District of Somerset (Mason 1994:73).

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Our linguistic heritage includes a few sentences, annotated in e.g., Den Besten (1987a, 1989a), from both Khoekhoe and slaves that are characterized as pidginized Dutch.[30] Den Besten (2000b:1) warrants that it is reasonable to assume that the slaves learned their pidgin from the Khoekhoe. Aside that attestations of speech recorded from slaves are minimal in our written diachronic records, they certainly may have been of importance. Evidently the children in the seventeenth-century Cape community had accommodated themselves to some novel form of Dutch (cf. Ponelis 1993:27). From an entry in Van Rheede's diary in 1685 we learn that:

> ...; hier is een gewoonten onder al ons volck, dat lerende dese inlanders de Nederduydsche spraek, en dat deselve die op haer manieren seer krom en bij nae onverstandelijck spreken, soo volgen de onse haer daer in nae, ja soodanigh, de kinderen van onse Nederlanders haer dat mede aenwendende een gebroken spraek gefondeert werd,...[31]

However, further characterization or documentation regarding this particular change in speech has not yet been uncovered (cf. Den Besten 2000b). Whilst the differences between the seventeenth-century pidgin as attested by the slaves and the pidgin sentences uttered by Khoekhoe might be due to chance (*op.cit.*), the possibility that they further developed 'Hollands' into a partially creolized variant, along scales to what is referred to as the spoken (basilectal) variety of Cape Dutch cannot be disregarded for the lack of firsthand documentation (*infra*).

Next up the social ladder stood the Oorlams and Basters who clearly had 'Dutch' as their aim (see Chapter Three). Moreover, some had learned to read and write under their master's or the missionaries' tutelage. Their exposure to the target language was somehow more differentiated than that of the lower two classes of society. The population of the Colonizer was not homogeneous

[30] For the interested reader it is noted that part of this legacy can be retrieved from the Website of the CreoList Archives. [Http://www.ling.su.se/Creole/].

[31] [H]ere there is a habit under our nation, teaching the natives the Dutch tongue, and these [ones] in their way, speaking [it] very awry and nearly incomprehensible, so that our people consequently have followed them in this, yes [in] such [a way], that as the children of our Dutch people use it as well, the foundations for a broken tongue are laid... Anno 1685. *Kommissaris-generaal* H.A. van Rheede - Journal of his stay at the Cape of Good Hope, (Cape Language Archives).

either;[32] some had already spent a career in the East (as for example Jan van Riebeeck, see footnote 13, p.19), and, from such experiences we can assume their acquaintance with one contact language or another (cf. Mesthrie et al, 2000:283-287). The nature of the Dutch which became the target language for these people once on southern African soil remains unclear, as will be further discussed *in* § 2.3.

2.2 Language change and the creolization of languages

With regard to the causes of language change, the prime consideration is the earmark set by the notion of contact induced change (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). The second point is whether it can be determined if language shift took place with normal transmission, or if language shift took place without normal transmission (abrupt change). The former is defined for the situation where two languages of unequal sociolinguistic value meet and the population starts making changes towards the target language. In the event where we find language shift without the normal transmission process prevailing, the situation is characterized in the literature as the emergence of a creole language. In creole studies, since the 1970s a separate discipline in historical linguistics, pidgins are distinguished from creole languages, under the following definitions:[33] A **pidgin** is an auxiliary language that arises when speakers of several mutually unintelligible languages are in close contact. It is a contact vernacular which emerges from an early pidgin stage (jargon), (cf. Romaine 1988:117);

[32] Besides Germanic mother-tongue speakers from Germany and Scandinavia, between 1688 and 1690, a contingent of French Huguenots arrived at the Cape, and kept trickling in thereafter (Ponelis 1993:21). Their language is well documented in a study by Pheiffer (1980). Aberrations from the Dutch may be attributable to the influences of spoken Cape Dutch (Pheiffer 1980:261-269), although some errors, such as inversion constructions in the main clause, which globally show 25% error from both the Dutch or Afrikaans standard (*op.cit.*:199, 268), would be typically classified as mistakes in Second Language Acquisition (cf. Larsen-Freeman & Long 1994). However, a genealogical survey by Van der Merwe (1994) indicates that as much as 34% of Huguenots were of Flemish descent, and that the actual percentage of Dutch speaking Huguenots may very well have been higher, taking into account that historically Calais and Marck on the French coast belonged to Flanders (*op.cit.*:104). In general their influence on the formation of the language seems negligible (cf. Raidt 1983:21).

[33] Albeit not without debate or with overall consensus. Cf. for example Baker 1996, and the literature cited there. The definitions and exemplifications in this section largely follow Arends, Muysken & Smith (1995), but see Mühlhäusler (1986:3-12), Romaine (1988), McMahon (1994) and Mufwene (1997) for a discussion of the terminological issues. A comprehensive list of pidgin, creole and other mixed languages appears in Arends et al 1995; among its 506 entries American Black English, with several million speakers, is one of the largest.

by definition it has no native speakers. A **creole**[34] is a language which comes into existence when children acquire a pidgin as their native tongue; theoretically this process can occur at any stage in the history of a pidgin. As such, a pidgin is a (highly) impoverished language system. It is the product of second language acquisition (SLA) with restricted access to the target language. A creole, on the other hand is the product of first language acquisition generally assumed on the basis of a pidgin (*infra*). In these terms the difference between pidgins and creoles (henceforth: P/Cs) is in terms of nativization (cf. Bickerton 1981, 1984). Creoles are further subdivided into a gradual scale of the basilect, the mesolect and the acrolect. The latter is defined as the variant closest to the target language (the superstrate), the basilect as the furthest away from it; the mesolects as stages in between. When all three stages can simultaneously be identified (usually on sociolinguistic variables as a result of decreolization), we speak of a creole continuum (see Sebba 1997:218, for discussion of the concept as a synchronic phenomenon vs. a continuum from a diachronic point of view). Decreolization takes place when the creole, under the (returned) influence of the superstrate, again takes on the (grammatical) features of this language. In this context Romaine (1988:160) emphasizes the relativity presupposed by the notion of 'target':

> In decreolization, speakers progressively change the basilectal grammar so that its output gradually comes to resemble the output of an acrolectal grammar. The word 'gradually' needs a gloss here. The degree of closeness to the acrolect attainable at any degree may be constrained, [...], by the fact that the speaker's perceptions of his ultimate target may be inaccurate[.] (Quoting Bickerton 1980:109-110; see also Baker 1990.)

As will be discussed in subsequent sections, besides questions about the reliability of our written record as a representative of the 'Dutch' that emerged in southern Africa, the exact nature of the target which is predominantly referred to as 'Hollands' in the previous centuries is one of the leading inquiries to which this thesis seeks to contribute.

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[34] In the words of Thomason & Kaufman (1988:211): "[pidgins] arose in a multilingual situation in which speakers shared no common language, and which did not (at first) involve language shift, but rather the creation of a linguistically restricted contact language for restricted purposes of intergroup communication." And, creoles are "languages that arose in (primarily) multilingual situations in which speakers who shared no common language shifted rapidly away from their several native languages but learned only the vocabulary - not the bulk of the grammatical structures of the target language." See further comments on these definitions in the main text.

Concerning the theoretical premises associated with the notion of creolization as a separate, distinguishable type of language development, there is the supposition that creole languages are derived from a pidgin (or pidgin-stages of language mixing).[35] One relevant factor, often pointed out in the literature, is the speed with which creole languages develop compared to 'normal' processes of language evolution. As expressed by, for example, Janson in his work on articles and plural formation: "What is specific to creoles is the pace and amount of change, but not the general principles for change" (Janson 1984:321; see also Bruyn 1995:128). In this respect, the changes Afrikaans has made away from Dutch certainly fall under the denominator 'creolization'.

Compared, the most salient feature rendering creoles synchronically distinguishable from other languages is identified by the minimal degree of inflection in their structure. Ideally, creoles have no inflection at all[36] (McWhorter 1998). Secondly the (idealized, prototypical) creole language should make little or no use of tone to lexically contrast otherwise identical monosyllables or to syntactically encode grammatical distinctions. And thirdly, derivation as a means of enlarging the vocabulary should be transparent. Other prototypical features attributed to P/Cs are serial verb constructions, pre-nasalized stops, postposed demonstratives (general SVO order) and a Case-less pronominal system (cf. the discussion in Romaine (1988:47-70) of the "twelve features of creoles" that have been proposed in the literature, and the references cited there).

Notwithstanding, a creole is a mother tongue and as such, equivalent in its capacity of power of expression to all other mother tongues. Its vocabulary and syntactic devices are, like those of any native language, large enough to meet all communicative needs of its speakers. Yet, often certain sociolinguistic values have become attached to a particular creole as in any culture to any behavioral phenomena. Thus, a creole can be regarded as inferior in social status to its corresponding standard

[35] This does not imply that a pidgin necessarily must have existed before creole formation takes place. Cf. Bickerton 1995, Baker 1997.

[36] Note that these typological features are on comparative scales. Wittman (1999, Aug. 10) adds: "When weighed quantitatively under the criterion of gradience, this amounts to saying that creole languages under inflection should not have more than two affixes. This is easily contradicted with the test case of Berbice Dutch, a creole that has admittedly four inflectional affixes, three aspectual ones (perfective, imperfective, iterative) and a plural one. [...] Even if we could muster pidgins or creoles with seven or eight affixes, that still wouldn't be very much compared to Turkish where we have 42 inflectional affixes."

language (cf. De Camp 1971:16, Bickerton 1984).[37]

Three types of creole languages are discerned, depending on the socio-historical context in which they arose.[38] The creole languages that emerged in the Caribbean (e.g. Jamaica, Haiti, Guyana, Surinam) are referred to as plantation creoles, as they developed out of contact of people of various descent on the plantations. A second type is the fort-creole which developed in the fortified posts along the West African coast from which the Europeans coordinated their activities. *Sensu stricto* any language different from Dutch at Cape Town Castle can be classified under this heading. A third type of historical context which gave rise to creole formation is maroonage. This refers to the situation where slaves (or other dissidents) who escaped from the European influenced environment, subsequently formed their own communities, often in isolated areas (cf. Arends et al 1995). The language which developed along the northern Cape frontier zone in the eighteenth century could perhaps fit into this classification.

Participating languages are identified as the **superstrate** (the target language, being in most cases a European language), the **substrate**(s) (the mother tongue of the indentures; classically, in most settings a variety of West African languages), and the **adstrates** (other participating languages of smaller population groups). In practical terms on southern African *terra firma*, Dutch was the superstrate, the Khoesan languages the substrates, and the languages brought by the slaves the

[37] In the case of ORA the attachment of such stigmata becomes apparent from the argumentation in Van Rensburg (1984:188) that Griqua Afrikaans "*nie 'n veragterde variant of kreoolse vorm is, [...] die Afrikaans van Griekwas dui eerder op die behoud van vroeëre Afrikaans dialekte, en nie soseer 'n afleiding daarvan nie.*" ([T]hat Griqua Afrikaans is not a backward language or creole language; the Afrikaans of the Griquas sooner points to maintenance of older forms of Afrikaans dialects, and not so much a (deteriorated) composite [Emphasis added].) Cf. the sociolinguistic characterization of Kharkams Afrikaans speakers in Links 1983:6, quoted in § 1.1.2.2, footnote 14, p.10.

[38] Note that the concept 'creole-person' differs from 'creole-language' in important respects although in popular terminology the two seem to have been united. Shell (1994:17), discussing creolization in South Africa, applies a demographic statistic to the concept of creolization in an implied definition, in which the demarcation line for the "moment of creolization" is set at the level of 50% locally born slaves versus imported indenture. (This sets the date around 1770.) The linguistic concept of creolization cannot be bound by such a numerical quantification (cf. Baker 1996).

adstrates.[39]

The justification for setting creole languages apart is the striking point, noted by scholars, of grammatical similarities that are shared by creole languages across the world, despite them being derived from a vast variety of different languages. As motivation and explanation for creole genesis, by and large, three different schools of thought rival. The **superstratists** characterize the development merely as an instance of the imperfect second language acquisition of the superstrate. The **substratists** emphasize the African or other non-European contributions to creole languages. Most substratists subscribe to what is called the relexification hypothesis. This advances the theory that people acquired the lexicon from the superstrate but maintained their mother tongue grammars[40] (cf. the definition of Thomason & Kaufman in footnote 34, p.29). A second line of thought, called the **monogenesis hypothesis** has sought explanations for the similarities of creole languages in posing a Portuguese based *lingua franca* which existed at the time of the colonizing enterprise. It supposedly originated on the West coast of Africa and was subsequently relexified with the lexicon of the dominant language in the various colonial settings.[41] Thirdly, the **Language Bioprogram Hypothesis** (LBH), related to claims in Generative Grammar about an innate Language Acquisition Device (Chomsky 1981; henceforth: LAD), gained influence in the 1980s from the work of Bickerton (1981, 1984). In this conceptual framework, identical grammatical features across creole languages are assumed to originate from a "programmed" capacity to acquire language amongst humans. In this account children born into the colonized community play a major role. In the inter-ethnic Babel of tongues (the pidgin(s) next to various mother tongues), the children, as first language acquirers, facing the need to construct a language that can suit all communicative needs, whilst receiving an imperfect "input", invoked their LAD resulting in the creole. In this way it is claimed that creole

[39] This is a simplified representation, rudimentarily based on geographical and numerical grounds during the earliest years of the Colony (note that the Khoesan were never enslaved). The exact apportionment of the influence of Khoesan and Asiatic languages has yet to be determined. Roberge (1993:44) unifies the theoretical distinction, postulating one Afro-Asian substrate, which is a more appropriate description of the facts.

[40] This hypothesis runs into problems where more than two or three different languages converged: in the words of Baker (1996:5) on such assumptions about Haitian (derived from French and approximately 50% Fon-speakers): "[it needs] an account of what the non-Fon would have been doing while Fon-speakers were busy relexifying."

[41] See Baker (1996) for an evaluation of this proposal.

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languages reflect universal aspects of the human language capacity. Within the concepts of the theory of Principles and Parameter settings (see § 1.2), the structural similarities across creoles arise, as creoles instantiate the default values of the parameters.

2.3 Cape Dutch: theoretical perspectives

From demographic data as sketched in § 2.1, we can surmise a situation in the early Cape settlements in which there was room for both language change with normal transmission (language evolution), and for a process identified as abrupt language change (creolization), (cf. § 2.2). Not surprisingly the linguistic variation encountered in the archival documents is profuse. This ranges from near perfect metropolitan Dutch as penned down by scribes and government officials, quite similar to that of their colleagues in Cape Town, Batavia or Amsterdam, with at the other end of the scale hardly legible documents, often composed by barely literate people (in conditions which were unlikely to be very favorable to calligraphic fineness). Their language was something between Dutch and Afrikaans, sometimes with other native tongues coming through; the style, often innocent of punctuation or orthographical standards.

The way Afrikaans historical linguists have analyzed and evaluated these texts has been the major factor that has caused the divergence that exists in the theories concerning the formation of Afrikaans. Before explicating a number of the most relevant theories that have been proposed, a short discussion of the various types of data is in order.

In an assessment of the written diachronic record, as far as novel forms of language are concerned, a first division must be made between internal and external informants (Baker & Winer1998:104). The first question is whether the authors were visitors who reported back to their European readership, or whether texts or quotations in the vernacular were written by people who lived in the colony with as their target readership their fellow compatriots (internal informants).

In the earliest accounts on southern Africa we mainly have documents of the first type: European visitors reporting back about their travels to their European audience. The description of linguistic facts is chiefly anecdotal such as O.F. Mentzel's remark, anno 1730, about the Dutch accusative form

ons for the first person plural nominative Case in use at the Cape (see § 3.2, footnote 41, p.80). This is not to underestimate the value of such 'exaggeration' in these reports. They have, for example, reported utterances of illiterate speakers like the Khoekhoe and slaves which form an important part of the evidence for the existence of a pidgin or pidgins at the Cape (see Den Besten 1987a, 1989a, 2000b).

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the first documents written by internal informants arise: texts from those people who lived at the Cape, knew the vernacular that was spoken at the Cape, and who did not have anyone else outside their local audience as addressee.[42] Among such are personal diaries and notably a corpus of texts from the Cape Town archives, which were culled by Mr. L.C. van Oordt for Prof. J. du P. Scholtz on aberrations from Dutch, known as *die Kaapse Taalargief*[43] (henceforth: KT). Although the actual textual material as, for example, the reports from field cornets to their superiors is often fragmentary, the documents mostly originate from people who had Cape Dutch as their mother tongue (cf. Raidt 1983:35). This corpus of data from the KT became the cornerstone of the theory on the genesis of Afrikaans developed by Scholtz and his student E.H. Raidt; since Den Besten 1987a they are often referred to as the South African philological school.

Even before ca. 1960-1975 when the influence of the philological school became paramount in Afrikaans historical linguistics, there was a large degree of consensus that the reliance on written Dutch norms greatly obscured the actual linguistic situation. This is not to insinuate that the people would have spoken in the vernacular but purposely have written in 'Hollands', but there was no

[42] For example Raidt's investigation into archival texts from the Cape Town archives written by women cover nearly a century starting from 1710 onwards (Raidt 1995:131).

[43] Henceforth also referred to as: Van Oordt (n.d.). Part of this was privately published (known as the *Kaapse Taalargief* (KT), (Van Oordt 1947-56, parts I-IV privately published, Cape Town; parts V-X) in *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns)*. The other, unpublished parts are in circulation in bootleg copies, to which Raidt 1983:36 refers as the *Kapargivmaterial* (KA). I will refer to all this Cape archival material as the KT. Some of the photocopy versions of the unpublished material bear a page numbering, originally added by Prof. Pheiffer, which I will include in references, where possible. The unpublished corpus is stylistically heterogeneous and contains bills, affidavits, letters, court proceedings etc. Most fascicles, as well as for example the Diary of Johanna Duminy, are presently electronically available for research purposes from the JS Gericke Library, Stellenbosch; the published material from Van Oordt is labeled KT1-KT3. See also Raidt (1982:101-153) for an inventory and evaluation of these sources.

dispute that the predominance of the Dutch grammatical norms and the Dutch orthography[44] obfuscate our impressions of those particular features Afrikaans gradually acquired. Nienaber (1950:14) quotes the interpreter and translator of the High Court, J.G. Swaving, around 1827 commenting: "*En de Europeanen zijn niet lang hier of zij neemen de spreekwijzen [Cape Dutch] aan om dat men spreekt om verstaan te worden.*" ('And the Europeans are not long here or they take on the manner of speech [Cape Dutch] because one speaks to be understood'.) Yet our written record, as witnessed in this quotation from Swaving, remains largely Netherlandic. The philological school has given the linguistic variation in the record ambiguous attention. The general belief would be that authors deliberately tried to avoid the features of the spoken language in the (more formal) written repertoire. Raidt (1982:202) and Scholtz (1963:225) advocate the idea that deviations from the metropolitan norm in the documents represent some kind of permeation of the vernacular norms into their grammar. In their analyses the tendency prevails to attribute the non-standard features in the texts to the influence of the vernacular; circumlocutory, metropolitan features are ascribed to the influence of the Dutch orthographical norms seeping through (cf. Roberge 1999b:98). Analyzing the salient grammatical features of the KT texts in this way, they concluded that a separate but cognate language, comparable to Afrikaans existed by ca. 1775.

Although both Scholtz (1963, 1980) and Raidt (1983) acknowledge that there must have been variation, the reconstruction of non-European varieties of Dutch has not been their main interest on grounds which state that such theories are only based on nonlinguistic evidence. According to them rapid development of an auxiliary contact variety cannot be proved as there are "no pidgin characteristics to be found" (*[es] fehlen nähmlich die charakteristischen Pidginmerkmalen*, Raidt *op.cit.*). Both Scholtz and Raidt have put great emphasis on (dialectal) continuity of (spoken) Dutch in the South African situation. They characterize the evolutive process by large numbers of L2 speakers in contact, which led to an acceleration of (Germanic) language-internal tendencies towards deflection and regularization, but without interrupting the process of 'normal linguistic change'. The possibility that Afrikaans *eers in die mond van Hottentotte en slawe ontstaan het en later deur die koloniste oorgeneem is* ('first developed in the mouths of the Hottentots and slaves and later adopted by the colonists') is emphatically refuted (cf. Raidt, 1982:203 and the references cited there). Almost

[44] However, note that the Dutch standard language was not socially diffused before the late nineteenth century (see Van der Wal 1992, Ponelis 1993:123).

needless to say Raidt (1983:32) questions the reliability of the sources that relate the pidgin data as, for example, Kolbe (1727) and Ten Rhyne (1686). As antithesis Raidt (1983) adds that from the data in her research (in the KT) again and again it becomes apparent that many Khoekhoe could speak *ein beihnahe korrektes Niederländisch* ('a near perfect Dutch'), (*op.cit.*:33, fn.22). This preoccupation has clearly led to inaccuracies as, for example, the dating of deflective forms such as *gee* (Dutch: *geven*, 3S: *geeft*, 'to give') to 1812, whereas it already appears in 1655 in a pidgin sentence (Raidt *op.cit.*:85; see Chapter Six, § 6.4.1, example (79), and Den Besten 1987b:89). Witnessed by Raidt's assessment of, for example, Valkhoff's work as *vorwissenschaftliche Spekulation* (pre-scientific speculation; Raidt 1983:45), it must not be overlooked that imputing possible creole ancestry to Afrikaans has had far-reaching political and identity-ideological implications as reviewed in detail by Roberge (1992a, 1992b).

It may be clear that actual research in the substrate languages has not been a South African tradition. Although Raidt has paid considerable attention to the influence of Malay in for example the Afrikaans objective *vir* (see § 2.5.1.3) and reduplication, her conclusions have been a qualified 'yes'. Thus, for example, Raidt (1981:187) concludes a lengthy discussion on the latter with the statement that

> die Afrikaanse reduplikasie is gebaseer op albei die Nederlandse én die Maleise patroon. Aan die een kant het die Maleise vorme die bestaande Nederlandse tendens tot verdubbeling versterk, aan die ander kant is nuwe on-Nederlandse reduplikasievorme uit Maleis in die wordende Afrikaans oorgeneem.[45]

Since Le Roux (1923) only G.S. Nienaber studied the influence of the Khoekhoe languages,[46] followed, since 1978, by the Dutch scholar Hans den Besten and in the last two decades by South African linguists (a.o. Victor Webb, Hans du Plessis and Christo van Rensburg). Research into the influence of Asian Creole Portuguese has been done by Schuchardt (1885) and Le Roux (*op.cit.*); the

[45] The Afrikaans reduplication is based on both the Dutch and the Malayan pattern. On the one hand the Malayan forms reinforced the existing Dutch tendencies, on the other hand, new, un-Dutch forms of reduplication from Malay were incorporated in the nascent Afrikaans.

[46] Nienaber's research (since 1948) met with a lot of hostility which nearly silenced him.

latter also advanced the study of (Pasar) Malay in this context.[47]

Taking substrate influences and the possibility of processes of creolization seriously into the account, Den Besten (1987a, 2000b:1) distinguishes a Hottentots-Hollands pidgin, as attested in the reported speech by the indigenous population, from a pidgin (or pidgins) in use among the slaves in the seventeenth century. From the available archival material, thereafter, he discriminates Proto-Afrikaans from the pidgin(s) by the feature of verb-second in the grammar (*infra*), while maintaining a linear development from pidgin into creole through time (cf. § 2.2 on this premise within creole studies). The research within the Afrikaans philological paradigm rejects any form of pidginization or creolization involved in these developments (cf. Den Besten 1987b:77). Raidt (1983:191) speaks of the misconception (*derartige Mißverständnisse*) amongst linguists that Afrikaans can even be discussed in the context of creole studies. Unable to disregard that the influence of Khoesan languages, especially on the lexicon in terms of geographical names and South African flora and fauna persists in present-day Standard Afrikaans (Raidt 1982:167, Van Rensburg et al, 1989:37), their influence in all other areas of the grammar is only marginally accepted (Raidt 1982:167, 1983:19, Scholtz 1980:37,100). Subsequent work by Den Besten has been directed to correcting this illusive premise that Afrikaans was the sole property of white settlers. Elaborating on earlier work by Franken (1953), Nienaber (1953) and Valkhoff (1966, 1972) Den Besten argues that within the Afro-Asian substrate the pidgin(s) stabilized. From ca. 1680 onward the pidgin(s) nativised into a creole to which he refers as Proto-Afrikaans I with its endpoint set around 1740. At the same time he postulates an essentially independent variant developed by the white settlers under the influence of the aforementioned creole Dutch as spoken by the workforce. In his scenario these two strands later converged, resulting in the variation that is found until the late nineteenth century, to which he refers as Proto-Afrikaans II. Although qualitatively of an entirely different composition, the placement in time of these varieties retains the linear order of developments as proposed by the philological school. Proto-Afrikaans I coincides with what Raidt refers to as "Cape Dutch" (which is given its endpoint around 1740); Proto-Afrikaans II would be Raidt's "Afrikaans" (dated at 1775, *supra*). However, Den Besten's evaluation of the contributing factors to reach this stage in the developments differs crucially from the appraisal made by the philological school. In his analysis great emphasis is laid on areal idiosyncrasies of the substrate languages under consideration. Because of certain language

[47] Although of negligible importance further mention can be made of the work by Hesseling (1899) and Bosman (1928) on the (Asian-)Portuguese substrates.

typological similarities between the substrates and Dutch, in his view, the structural continuity between Dutch and Afrikaans, (as for example, the rule of verb-second in the main clause in Afrikaans), is more or less accidental (Den Besten 1987b:88).

Based on this impetus, reconstructing the linguistic evidence whilst incorporating further socio-economic factors that lay at the basis of the developments, in a new bid to unravel the meaning of the variation that is found, Roberge (since 1993) has dismissed the reality of a linear development in successive stages between seventeenth-century Dutch and the end-nineteenth-century outcome. Instead, he introduces the concepts that identify the creole-continuum in many of the world's languages as part and parcel of the southern African linguistic history (Roberge, 1993:2, 1995, 1999b:86). He argues for a continuum of lects in existence at the Cape, which is referred to as the Cape Dutch Vernacular (henceforth: CDV). In this situation individual speakers would not be uniform in their experience of the CDV, but this would vary according to their socioeconomic position in society (Roberge 1993:56). In this alternative Roberge identifies the CDV to consist of a basilectal stratum, a mesolect and an acrolectal form. Besides documents from the Dutch officials, ex-patriate clerks and merchants in which the metropolitan standard is maintained, most of the data in the Cape archival material as collected by Van Oordt, which have formed the major source material for linguistic study, can be interpreted as examples of largely acrolectal and to a lesser extent mesolectal usage (cf. Deumert 1999:60 and the references cited there). Although in Roberge's (1999:95) assessment the corpus is typified as predominantly representative for the mesolectal stratum, some of the texts could arguably be classified as acrolectal. It is also true that there is no direct evidence from these corpora to substantiate the view that decreolisation (loss of the basilect) represents a developmental stage in the history of Afrikaans (Roberge 1998:21, as quoted in Deumert 1999:52). As such, most theorization on the origins of Afrikaans is based on the absence of data as, for example, from the basilectal stratum (cf. footnote 49, below). As a concept, to overcome this inherent deficit in our records, the term CDV covers roughly two centuries of language variation (late seventeenth century till ca. 1870[48]) over a vast geographical area. The proposed scenario implies that a basilect, as well as pidgin forms of the language persisted throughout the lifetime of arriving captives (arbitrarily, but wittingly set around 1840 in Roberge 1999:90). To this we can add the language

[48] Roberge roughly dates the early historical stage of Afrikaans, characterized as the CDV, from ca. 1710 to ca. 1840 (1999:85). Reserving the label *Afrikaans* to the standardized variety that began "to take shape from the last quarter of the nineteenth century" (c.q. ca. 1875, *op.cit.*:86) he leaves a gap of between forty to fifty years which I suggest is best included as part of the CDV.

contact situations which existed in the incessantly newly acquired territories that resulted from colonial expansion.

Typical characteristics of the three strata (the basilect, mesolect and acrolect) are the presence or absence of the gender distinction of nouns, agreement in verbal inflections, the opposition between finite and nonfinite forms of the verb, and the use of the temporal auxiliary (*hebben*, *zijn* or a zero-form, see Chapter Six, § 6.3.4.2.1; cf. Roberge 1999b:100-106). As example of the acrolect, the diary written by Johanna Duminy from 1797 (Franken, ed., 1938) evidences some morphological aberrations from the metropolitan standard (the levelling of gender in nouns and verbal agreement features). In most other areas of the grammar, however, the Dutch standards are maintained (cf. Roberge 1993:18-62, 1995:78-79, 1999b:94-96). The mesolectal stratum is illustrated by, for example, Trichardt's diary text, and, the notes and reports from field cornets as attested in the *Kaapse Taalgargief* (KT; see footnote 43, p.34). Linguistic characteristics, beside the loss of gender and verbal agreement, are the variable leveling of the distinction between finite and infinitival forms of the verb, and a largely intact Netherlandic perfect auxiliary system; the (Dutch) auxiliary *zijn* 'to be' with mutative intransitive verbs is only rarely replaced by a form of the paradigm of *hebben* 'to have' in the perfect tense (Roberge 1999b: 95,97 and Chapter Six, § 6.3.4.2 for a discussion of this development in Afrikaans). As such, the variability of the forms that are encountered in the mesolectal sources is seen as stable, patterned variation which manifests the spoken CDV. Basilectal Cape Dutch is illustrated by Roberge (1999b:100-103) in e.g., the speech of the *bywoner* Albach in the diary of Louis Trichardt. Amongst the deflection mentioned for the acrolect and the mesolect, the basilectal stratum features the complete loss of distinction between the auxiliaries *zijn* and *hebben*, as well as the omission of the (finite) auxiliary, resulting in the use of the past participle form of the verb as the finite verb, c.q. in the prefix *ge-/ ga-* functioning as a preterite tense marker. Because these particular features are an integral part of the corpus in this study, illustration and discussion in comparison to the KT data is deferred to Chapter Six.

Applying this interpretation of the linguistic stratification in southern Africa to the texts in the present corpus in correlation to the social variables that are identified, the written record of the Oorlam-Nama as documented in this thesis must be classified towards the upper-basilectal (or perhaps the lower-mesolectal) end of the continuum as will be discussed in the remaining chapters of this thesis, in particular in Chapter Six.

As Scholtz and Raidt before criticized the earliest speculations on the origin of Afrikaans (Kruisinga 1906, Bosman 1923, Boshoff 1921, Hesseling 1899, Du Toit 1905, Van Ginneken 1913 and Franken 1953) as lacking factual linguistic evidence, they set themselves to the task to uncover 'real' proof in the Cape archival legacy (cf. Raidt 1983, § 2.3 *Theorien und Fehlschlüsse*, 'theories and fallacies'). In turn, as Roberge has questioned, their focus on the diffusion and relative chronology of individual features as attested in the Cape archival corpora *versandet* ('is silted up') in Raidt's words, in a description of Afrikaans as a composite of defining features which was probably spoken by few (if any) South Africans during the periods in question (cf. Roberge 1986:197, 1993:57, Den Besten 1987b:68-69). Roberge (1994a:156, 1993:58) interprets the textual record as 'real', representing at least "*in some sense* a written reflex of intermediate forms of spoken language" (emphasis in the original).

Methodologically it has become the practice to seek out the 'mistakes' in the texts and relate these to the form in which the language might have been spoken. The classification from basilect to acrolect made by Roberge does not divert from the established method of counting the (relative) distance of the lect from the superstrate. The more the discrepancies with the metropolitan variant the less Dutch, c.q. the more basilectal, the particular variant is classified. Importantly, for the material from the Cape archives the subdivision made by Roberge correlates with a difference in origin of the sources. The basilect is documented in reported speech, the mesolect is identified to originate from areas outside the Cape peninsula (the field cornets, Trichardt on his journey to the north-eastern area), and, the acrolect which is at the same time the variety that is the most easily retrieved and makes up the majority of the documents from the Cape archives, consists chiefly of documents written by the Cape Town bourgeoisie.[49] This may not be a coincidence. Because Cape Town was the chief port of

[49] The one-sidedness of the Cape archival material is illustrated by the paucity of related letters from the Basters or Oorlams in these corpora, the chief group of writers that can be identified in the nineteenth-century ORA corpora from the Namibian Archives. There is one example probably written by a 'coloured' according to the comment in the heading by Mr. Van Oordt: "Jan Smook *kleurling*?" ('coloured'). The note by Jan Smook does stand out as one of the most basilectal specimens in the Cape corpora, comparable to data from the present corpus (cf. Chapter Three):

> *Ik onder getekenten te kenne En Brief en vangen dee hewen von Deiiunes Muler*
> Ik, ondergetekende [geef] te kennen een brief ontvangen te hebben van Teun(is) Muller
> *En Blaas Dee be Danken vor 18 of 20 mant maar Dese brief ver Loren in mijn heijus*
> in plaats [van] te bedanken voor 18 of 20 man. Maar deze brief [is] verloren [gegaan] in mijn huis

(continued...)

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entrance for the Europeans, as well as the center of administration of the colony, it is reasonable to assume that the influence of the metropolitan standard was at its optimum in this area. Similar access to the target language cannot be claimed for the other parts of the territory.

Notwithstanding the interpretative problems with the written record, the diversification of the CDV is occasionally depicted. At times striking differences occur between the acro- or mesolectal CDV text as a whole and the directly reported speech of persons who may be assumed to belong to the same social class as the author. In such cases it can be argued that the deviant passages represent the person's spoken language. A well-known instance is illustrated in (1), anno 1772, in which a widow, Mrs. Wagenaar is quoted in reply to her interlocutors in defense of the identity of her lover.

(1)

1	Toen	sprak	villiers	en	seijde	u	beijde	swaagers	heeft	geseijdt			
	then	spoke	Villiers	and	said	your	both	brothers-in-law	have	said			
2	als	dat	[het]	van	[door]	schols	soude	weesen	dat	gij	bevrugt	seijd	
	as	that		from		Scholz	would	be	that	you	conceived	are	
3	Namendtlijk	Jan	Hendrik	de	Lange	en	Ari	Jacob	Jouberdt	volgens	seggen	van	Jan
	Namely	Jan	Hendrik	de	Lange	and	Ari	Jacob	Joubert	according	say	of	Jan
	Jouberdt,	toen	sprak	sij	en	seijde	[:]						
	Joubert	then	spoke	she	and	said							
4	["] het	hulle	dan	Overal	geloop	waar	ons	geloop	het	[?]			
	have	they	than	everywhere	walked	where	us	walked	have				
5	hoe	weet	hulle	dat	[?]								
	how	know	they	that									
6	of	het	hulle	de	Nues	daar	beij	gehad	[",]				
	or	have	they	the	nose	there	with	had					
7	het	was	alles	dat	sij	seijde	of	hij	al	vroeg	sij	sweeg	stil,
	it	was	all	that	she	said	whether	he	more	asked	she	kept	silent

[49](...continued)
Caabo Den 19 feweray 1773 Jan Smook [*eie skrif*,'own handwriting' - Van Oordt]
Cape de 19 februari 1773

'I the undersigned acknowledge to have received a letter from Teun Muller, instead of [*sic*] saying thanks for the 18 to 20 men. But this letter has been lost in my house. The Cape, February 19, 1773. Jan Smook'.

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toen	ging	wij	naa	de	tuijn ...[50]	
then	went	we	to	the	garden	CJ 1103, no 202

The text as a whole can be characterized as acrolectal CDV:[51] the simple past is still in use (*seijde*, ln.1, ln.3, ln.7; *sprak*, ln.3; *vroeg*, *sweeg*, ln.7), whereas the morphological marking on verbs in the plural is not always in place: *u beijde swaagers heeft* ln.1 (Dutch: *hebben*); *wij ging* ln.7 (Dutch: *gingen*). The pronominal paradigm resembles the Dutch usage (*gij*-2S, *hij*, *sy*-3S, *wij*-1PL, *u*-2PL). The sentences uttered by Mrs. Wagenaar (ln.4-6), however, differ in respect to all these constructions.There, in contrast, present-day Afrikaans pronominal forms appear: *ons* in the first person plural (Dutch: *wij*) and *hulle* in the third person plural (Dutch: *zij*). Likewise, the temporal auxiliary (*het*), is realized in its Afrikaans invariant form (ln.4, ln.6) whereas from the form *heeft* (ln.1) it is clear that the author was aware the metropolitan Dutch form which was also current in the acrolectal CDV.

It must be concluded that the weight of the influence of the Dutch orthography on our Cape archival material remains unclear and to which extent we can take the written record at face value. Although the sociohistorical information about the situation at the Cape would indicate that access to the norms of early standard Dutch cannot be taken as given, the question in which way the variation in the sources is 'real' (in some sense) receives contradictory answers. In respect of Negerhollands, a Dutch derived creole language which emerged on the Virgin Islands, Stein (1989:155) explains that the slaves only commenced writing in their own vernacular, rather than in Dutch, after such an example had been set by the founder and first leader of the Moravian Brethren from Herrnhut, Count Zinzendorf (cf. Van Rossum & Van der Voort 1996:25, 49-64).

> When the missionaries began to use written materials to teach the slaves to read and write, they found they could only do this in Dutch, because there were no creole texts. Nobody had ever thought of writing creole, nor had anyone any idea whatsoever how to do so. [...] The only advantage of Dutch over creole was its prestige as a written language and as the language of the whites. Thus when the slaves began to write, they did so in Dutch, a language which, with a few exceptions, they could neither speak nor write correctly. [...] Because of this prestige the slave

[50] CJ 1103, writer unknown, anno 1772 (in the photostat copies with Prof. Pheiffer's page-numbering, p. 424).

[51] See § 2.5.1 for a general characterization of the typical differences between Dutch and Afrikaans.

> writers did not begin to use creole until Zinzendorf did so himself in a long speech and farewell letter ("*Abschieds-Schreiben*") addressed to the slaves..."

Thereafter, the creole only gradually replaced the Dutch. From an analysis of the variation in written Negerhollands in the eighteenth century Stein (1989) concludes that the

> ability [of the slaves] to distinguish [grammatical features] between the two languages [the target, Dutch and the spoken Negerhollands creole] varies from the next. These features can be placed along a continuum, starting with the creole-dominated area of the subject pronoun and the copula verb.

Changes in the area of verbal inflection and word order are classified on the opposite end of the scale.[52]

Similar systematic changes towards a new variant have not been uniformly demarcated in the development of Afrikaans. Although the influence of varieties of Afrikaans amongst the non-European sociolinguistic groups is not explicitly denied by the philological school, it has not been given the thorough investigation and reconstruction it would deserve. As noted above, Scholtz and Raidt's primary concern has been to substantiate the emergence of Afrikaans as the result of an essentially gradual and linear development from seventeenth-century dialectal Dutch. Other varieties are believed to have been relatively marginal to the development of Standard Afrikaans (also witnessed by the fact that, for example, the texts presented in this thesis have not been linguistically examined to date, despite the work done by dr. Vedder almost a century ago (see § 1.1)). As discussed in this chapter the ability to read and write introduced one unwittingly to the Dutch standard only. To illustrate the point that exposure to spelling conventions did play a role, the 'Hollands' written by authors who were not familiar with the Dutch orthography is revealing. E.g., dr. Hans Schinz, a German botanist who reports on Namaland in the 1880s quotes from the spoken vernacular Dutch *nieuws*, 'news', (Afr.: *nuus*) as *Nüves* (Schinz 1891:72), and he writes *furtjes*, (a

[52] Just as a matter of interesting inter-continental cross-reference, in this article, a Negerhollands slave-scribe, Domingoe Gesoe is quoted, in a letter dated *18 Julij 1739*, mentioning "*dat haselman Een brief Gekrege heeft van de Capt En datt er 32 hottentotter tot den heijlandt gekomen is waer van 1 En de testenment leest En de anderen En de abc boeken* ..." (that Haselman has received a letter from the captain, that 32 Hottentots have come to our Saviour, amongst which 1 reads the Bible and the others in the ABC books).

diminutive form) for Dutch *voort[-zeg-ik]* (>Afr.: *voetsak*, imperative), 'go away!' (usually to annoying domestic animals), (*op.cit.*:91). On the consensus that the reliance on written Dutch norms has obscured our data from the actual situation, I emphasize that reading and writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was an activity which can be demarcated for a specific group of the population. Pen and paper were European commodities, for one, they cost money and the skill associated with the use of these items was decisively limited to the upper part of society. Biewenga (1999:165-166) shows that anno 1704, from the documents that could be traced from the area of Stellenbosch (representing 67% of the total population of Stellenbosch), only 28% of the *vryburgers* could sign with their signature, 39% of these people could not. It is furthermore noted by Biewenga (*op.cit.*) that being able to sign (c.q. 'copy down') one's name does not include the ability to read and write. As such, this data points in the direction of a particular sociolinguistic group as the source of the Cape archival material.

As mentioned above and further discussed in the Chapters Four and Six, the syntactic measurement of Jan Jonker's grammar in terms of the distance from Dutch would, *pace* the periodical division that can be made throughout the corpus, be classified nearer to the basilectal end of the cline of variation that has been documented for the CDV. The letters were written outside the sphere of the Cape peninsular society and access to the target cannot be ascertained except for the attempt to near the Dutch orthographical norms (cf. § 6.3, p.201). Yet it is a genuine form of writing and no other motive than to get the message across "as best as he could" – quite similar to the written work that has survived from the field cornets (see Chapter Three, § 3.2).

In the nineteenth century we find reference to the language that was spoken in southern Africa as either *Hollands*, *Holländisch*, *Niederdeutsch* as well as *Dutch*. Yet, it remains the very issue how *Nederlands-achtig* (Dutch-like) this language really was. While leaving the question at which date we could possibly speak of 'Afrikaans' as an identifiable construct entirely open, *Oom* Gys' statement (Chapter One, p.1) that his parents spoke 'Hollands', but that he (now) speaks 'Afrikaans' is illustrative. As a pre-theoretical notion the term *Hollands*, as employed by the people themselves, should be seen as an umbrella term for all the variation that existed. Given the flexibility in reference of the term Cape Dutch, by some scholars limited to one of the early stages in the development (Raidt, *supra*), by others to the geographical area referred to as the 'old Cape' (Roberge 1999b:86), I will follow Jan Jonker Afrikaner, the author of the data in this study who refers to his language as

hoolans (see Vol. II, Period I, Section A, ln.577). Without committing myself to theoretical controversies I will also refer to his vernacular as Hollands.

Before discussing this nineteenth-century Oorlam-Hollands in detail, the contemporary varieties of Afrikaans which are distinguished in the literature are reviewed in the next section.

2.4 Varieties of Afrikaans

It has become generally accepted to divide contemporary non-standard Afrikaans into three varieties along regional lines (cf. Van Rensburg 1989b).

- **Oosgrens Afrikaans**, largely the vernacular of the white *trekboere* into the eastern and north-eastern parts. It is claimed that this variety forms the basis on which the standardization movement (from 1870 onwards; see Van Rensburg et al, 1989:92ff.) founded its judgements to arrive at present-day Standard Afrikaans.
- **Orange River Afrikaans**, a variety which developed along the northern frontier zone: "[i]ts synchronic reflex, [..] [is] widely thought to have descended from a creole ancestor, though its prehistory remains poorly understood" (Roberge 1993:45).
- **Cape Afrikaans**, as spoken in and around the Western Cape, "traceable to the pidgin and creole Dutch formerly spoken widely in the Western Cape and now almost decreolized" (Roberge 1993:44).

Oosgrens Afrikaans is deemed to be an independent development under the *trekboere*, largely free of any substrate influence. It is claimed to be the exclusive forerunner of present-day Standard Afrikaans (cf. Van Rensburg 1993:146). Orange River Afrikaans is characterized in Van Rensburg et al, 1989:37, as the nineteenth-century *lingua franca* of the Cape's northwestern frontier along the Orange River "*en die uitgestrekte aangrensende gebiede: 'n baie groter gebied as waar Afrikaans vandag gepraat word. Dié soort Afrikaans het waarskynlik die grootste geografiese besetting in die*

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geskiedenis van Afrikaans gehad."[53] They further stress the influence of the Khoekhoe languages on ORA, whilst at the same time explicitly denying that Khoekhoe had any influence on Standard Afrikaans:

> "[...] Standaard Afrikaans wat nie uit Khoi-khoi-Afrikaans ontwikkel het nie. [..] Dié Afrikaans het toevallig nie 'n rol gespeel in die standaardisering van Afrikaans nie. Dié rol is deur Oosgrens-Afrikaans vervul."[54]

Although it cannot be refuted that Oosgrens Afrikaans, as much as the Dutch as written in the Netherlands, has put its stamp on the present-day standard language, it is difficult to imagine how Khoekhoe could not have had any influence on the formation of Afrikaans (cf. the historical evidence of contact between the two parties referred to in the previous section). The question is rather which form(s) of Dutch/Afrikaans the standardization process applied to, rather than (the entirely separate question) of how the standardization process was applied.[55] It is also clear that the people who brought the 'Dutch' language to the Orange River area and beyond originated from the south-western Cape (cf. Chapter Three, § 3.1). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that the contemporary nineteenth-century varieties, such as diachronic ORA vernaculars, all showed features, to varying degrees, of the nineteenth-century Afrikaans which subsequently became standardized.[56] After all, the

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[53] [A]nd the vast bordering territory: a far larger area than where Afrikaans is spoken today. This type of Afrikaans may well have covered the largest geographical area in its entire history.

[54] [...]Standard Afrikaans, which did not develop from Khoekhoe Afrikaans. Thát Afrikaans did not happen to play a role in the standardization process of Afrikaans. That role was played by Oosgrens Afrikaans.

[55] In the literature, contemporary Afrikaans is classified as a semi-creole or creoloid (Hancock 1971, Holm 1988). (Cf. Makhudu (1985) for an evaluation of this label, considering the non-standard varieties of Afrikaans.) Yet, the standardization of Afrikaans at the turn of this century remains a weighted factor in these assessments. The development which is in general referred to as *vernederlandsing* (Dutchification) has only been sparsely surveyed (Uys 1983, Waher 1994a).

[56] Roberge (1994, 1995 (see also Van Rensburg 1989a:136, Du Plessis 1988)) has argued that rural non-standard varieties, such as Griqua Afrikaans, possibly retained older forms of non-European varieties. Smith (1995:355) includes an "as yet undocumented creole language, as the forerunner of present-day Orange River Afrikaans" in his listing of the world's pidgin and creole languages. For the moment, ignoring the directions the possible developments of pidginization, creole formation, and perhaps subsequent decreolization took, as a working hypothesis the nineteenth-century Oorlam-Nama vernacular under study in this thesis will be evaluated in this light, bearing in mind that it cannot be determined which other languages these people had the command of; whether they were bilingual, nor which language or particular dialect they had as their mother tongue (cf. Chapter Three, § 3.2).

Patriot movement (cf. Spruyt 1896, Nienaber 1950) started in the north-western Cape peninsular area, around Paarl in the 1870s and not in the geographical area where Oosgrens Afrikaans is located.[57] Den Besten 1978, 1988, 1989a, 1994a, 2000b (also Nienaber 1963, 1994b), have attentively apportioned the contribution of Khoekhoe to Afrikaans in its formative years. Nienaber (1994b:150) identifies the importance as:

> Die indringende beskrywing van Khoekhoe-Afrikaans as verskynsel enersyds en andersyds die opsporing van onder andere versteurings wat daardeur in die Afrikaans van die blanke sprekers veroorsaak is, is take wat onderneem behoort te word.[58]

Although many of the features of Afrikaans are not, or only sparsely attested in the late nineteenth-century written documentation, this does not mean that they did not form an integral part of the Afrikaans vernacular. One such example is the non-occurrence of the synchronic characteristic double negation (see § 2.5.1.2, § 2.5.2.1). Similarly irregular is the frequency of the allomorphs *dat - lat*[59] as a complementiser, of which, in a corpus Cape archival private correspondence (1880-1922)[60] only five attestations were found (Deumert 1999:215). Another example is the Afrikaans reduplication which is neither attested in this corpus of Cape archival private correspondence (1880-1922), (Ana Deumert p.c.), nor in the corpora Oorlam-Nama letters I have had access to (see § 1.1, p.6). Yet, the descriptions of the Afrikaans syntax from around the turn of the century, e.g., Hoogenhout (1904), do not fail to treat the phenomenon as a core part of its grammar.[61]

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[57] Strictly speaking the proposal by Roberge for the CDV cannot accommodate a regional division of emerging varieties until after 1875. See Roberge 1993:30-32 for a critique on the motivation and merit of including these postulates.

[58] The description of Khoekhoe-Afrikaans (as a separate variety) and the study of its aberrations which will show its influence on the Afrikaans of the White speakers, are tasks that have to be undertaken.

[59] Also *laat*, homonym with the causative verb *laat*. See § 6.3.2.

[60] This corpus comprises about 130 000 words with texts ranging between 100 and 6000 words per individual. The texts were collected in the *State Archives*, the *NGK Archives*, the *South African Library*, the archives of the Moravian Church in Genadendal and the manuscript collection of the University of Cape Town (Deumert 1999:105).

[61] Cf. Van der Zwan (1986:140) who, in her analysis of verb-second structures in Hendrik Witbooi's Diary, also raises the question "*[dit] laat die vraag ontstaan) of die betrokke variant* [verb-second in the subordinate clause, cl], *nie tog meer deel was van die Kaapse spreektaal as wat die voorkoms daarvan in die Kaapse argiefmateriaal laat*
(continued...)

Furthermore, Van Rensburg (1984:47) asserts that none of the syntactic constructions in ORA are entirely unacceptable in SA (see Chapter Three, § 3.2, p.79). In the light of the variation in contemporaneous grammaticality judgements of the Afrikaans syntax (cf. § 1.1.1), it would rather seem that the advocated standard does not represent the actual language. In other words, that Standard Afrikaans has not yet stabilized out, perhaps along regional lines, in a number of respects in various areas of its grammar.[62] Before addressing the implications of this data, I shall review those aspects of Afrikaans, which have traditionally been viewed as un-Germanic, as well as a number of deviations from the standard in the diachronic and non-standard Afrikaans data.

2.5 Creolization and the differentiations of Afrikaans

2.5.1 Standard Afrikaans and Dutch: linguistic characterization[63]

Within the Afrikaans philological school, Afrikaans changes away from its Dutch superstrate, have mostly been perceived and described from a Germanic syntactical point of view. This necessarily would have colored, if not tainted the observations.[64] Mühlhäusler (1986) discusses this type of shortcoming with an illustration of the descriptive discrepancies in the grammar of Tok Pisin. In (2), the sequence *haisim ap* (hoist up) can in principle be analyzed as either a verb-particle or a verb-verb combination.

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[61](...continued)
vermoed nie." (this raises the question whether [verb-second in the subordinate clause] was rather a more common characteristic of the Cape vernacular than the data in the Cape archival material would suggest). Cf. Chapter Six.

[62] To mention one instance, the contemporaneous judgements received on reduplicated forms is highly variable. See Botha 1984, Den Besten, Luijks & Roberge [to appear]. (On the issue of 'democratizing' Afrikaans, i.e. the recognition of its syntax as it prevails, see Van Rensburg 1992, Webb 1998.)

[63] This characterization is neither claimed to be exhaustive nor complete.

[64] See Valkhoff (1966) for comments on the albocentric nature of the Afrikaans philological school. Also Roberge (1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1995:76) for an evaluation of the Eurocentric touch in the literature on the development of Afrikaans.

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(2) man ya i haisim ap plak
man DET PM hoist PRT/V flag
This man hoists up the flag.

"The verb-particle analysis is preferred by European speakers [..], whereas the verb-chain interpretation is common among the Papua New Guineans" (Mühlhäusler 1986:42). Thus, the answer to the question whether Tok Pisin has serial verb constructions becomes qualified by more than the language itself. The justification for Eurocentric practices as far as Afrikaans is concerned, is rather obvious as the European languages have been studied and described in far more detail.[65] Research logically tends to start with what is known, and as such this is a predominantly historical artefact. In terms of creolization concepts (see § 2.2) the Afrikaans philological school represents the superstratist hypothesis: developments in Afrikaans are a continuation of Dutch (dialectal) tendencies. Their share in the literature on Afrikaans has long outweighed alternative analyses, although in certain areas e.g., the double negation (Den Besten 1985, 1986, and § 2.5.1.2) and the comitative plural (*pa-hulle, pa-goed* 'father-them', see Nienaber 1994a), substrate influence has been proposed. Adstrate influences have been put forward in, for example, the case of objective *vir* (Raidt 1969, 1976, Ponelis 1993:272ff., Den Besten 1997:340, see § 2.5.1.3 and § 5.2.1.1) and reduplications (Den Besten et al, [to appear]). In the following paragraphs I will make a brief overview of general aspects of the Afrikaans grammar that have been discussed in the literature, except for the features of the verb phrase (VP), which will be treated in detail in Chapter Five (§ 5.2). The variation in the pronominal paradigm will be examined in Chapter Four.

2.5.1.1 Tense and morphological inflection

The most striking characteristic of Afrikaans is its loss of verbal inflection. Whereas the Dutch paradigm marks both person and number on finite verb forms, Afrikaans has one invariant form, both in finite clauses as well as in infinitival environments (3).

[65] As far as our diachronic corpora are concerned, it is still a desideratum to have these analyzed by a Nama-native speaker syntactician. To date, chiefly the lexicon has received scholarly attention (Nienaber 1963, 1994a (a.o), Haacke 1998).

(3)

'to work'	DUTCH	AFRIKAANS
infinitive	werken	werk
1S	werk	werk
2S	werkt	werk
3S	werkt	werk
1PL	werken	werk
2PL	werken	werk
3PL	werken	werk

Secondly, Afrikaans has not retained the equivalent of the Dutch simple past forms (imperfectum), nor a separate paradigm to express a plusquamperfectum (past-before-past). In the grammatical expression of temporal relations there are fundamental discrepancies with Dutch. The opposition past versus non-past is rather characterized as present versus anterior. In this respect, the temporal system of Afrikaans is not, like its Dutch ancestor an absolute tense system, but has developed a so-called relative tense system. Formally [+past] can be marked by the 'auxiliary' *het* plus prefixation of the verb with the particle *ge-*.[66] This form contrasts with a [-past] form, which is not marked, as in (3). In a relative tense system the overt marking of [+past] is discourse dependent. The reference point for tense is not "the point present" or "the moment of speech" (as in the absolute tense system), but rather the time of the topic under discussion which may or may not have present reference (Brinkman 1969, De Villiers 1971). Thus, verbs relating to the topic-time are unmarked; a narrative relating a series of past events in the order in which they occurred will contain a string of unmarked verbs. However, if the narrator refers back to an earlier event the verb or verbs concerned must be marked for [+past]. Hence, in a context in the past tense, the amalgam [*het ... ge-V*] signals the past-before-past (pluperfect). The temporal relations are not exclusively marked by the verb system, but may also

[66] Only the modal verbs have retained the equivalent of the Dutch imperfective form. They cannot combine with the temporal auxiliary *het*. Other verbs as in (i) show a steady decline towards uniformity (Stoops 1972). Cf. *dog* in the present corpus, Appendix I, section IB, ln.183.

ia.	to know	*het geweet*	*wis*
		1920-1960 AVG = 85.3%	AVG =14.5%
		1920 =63.3%	1920 = 36.6%
		1960 = 100%	1960 = 0%
b.	to think	*het gedink*	*dog/dag*
		1920-1960: AVG = 89.2%	AVG = 9.8%.
		1920= 78.2%	1920= 21.7%
		1960 = 95.7%	1960 = 4.2%

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be signaled by temporal adverbs. This resembles more the creole language systems which are almost invariably relative temporal systems (cf. Kouwenberg 1991, Bruyn & Veenstra 1993). One exception to the total loss of imperfectum forms is made by the modal verbs, as will be discussed in § 5.2.2.2. These further exhibit the un-Germanic characteristic of surfacing in their [+past] form in infinitival environments. Besides the separate forms for the modal verbs, *het* (to have), and *is* (to be) in the function of a main verb, have preserved a separate form for the infinitive with the forms *hê* and *wees*, respectively. I will return to the intricacies of the verbal paradigm in Chapter Five in detail.

2.5.1.2 Double negation

A second striking dissimilarity with the Germanic languages is the development of the double negation (4).

(4) Hulle sal nie kom *(nie).
They will not come not

This phenomenon has been described extensively in the literature. It has been attributed to Dutch dialectal influences (Pauwels 1958) and to Khoesan influence (Den Besten 1978, 1985, 1986; see Nienaber 1994a for an overview), as well as ascribed to the influence of (Low) Portuguese (Ponelis 1993:465-478). Ponelis (1993:478) dates the emergence of the construction back to the early nineteenth century as a result of a process of grammaticalization, seen as a language-inherent tendency to disambiguate sentences.

> Owing to their variable position, *nie-1* and the other negators did not transparently mark the scope of sentential negation, and *nie-2* was grammaticized as a scope marker: it became obligatory in clause-final position.

Anticipating the discussion in the next section where SA is compared with its non-standard varieties, the obligatory presence of *nie-2* seems much relaxed, also in ORA (§ 2.5.2.1).

2.5.1.3 Objective *vir*

A third innovation cited in the literature is the emergence of objective *vir*, most often associated with a notion of animacy and/or emotivity (Raidt 1969, 1976, Ponelis 1993:266). Its appearance is mostly facultative, sometimes with a disambiguating function (5).

(5a) Wie nooi julle?
Who has invited you?
Who have you invited?
(b) Vir wie nooi julle?
Who have you invited?
(c) Wie nooi vir julle?
Who has invited you?

However, the obligatory presence of *vir* as in (6b,c) has not been explained. This grammatical idiosyncracy will be addressed further in Chapter Five (§ 5.2.1.1).

(6a) Ek het (vir) Jan gister gesien
(b) Ek het gister vir Jan gesien
(c) *Ek het gister Jan gesien
I saw Jan yesterday.

In the literature the emergence of objective *vir* has been attributed to the influence of the Portuguese (varieties) brought in by the slaves (Raidt *op.cit.*, 1982:196, Ponelis 1993:274, Den Besten 1997:340). Anticipating the discussion in subsequent chapters on the usage of *vir*, in contemporary ORA the usage of optional *vir* has spread. In the Oorlam-Nama data objective *vir* occasionally appears,[67] although, in general it must be said that the use of prepositions in the corpus of this study is (highly) inconsistent (cf. § 3.2.1.1, example (1)).

[67] See for example Appendix I, section IA, ln.521.

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2.5.1.4 The periphrastic possessive construction with *se*

A fourth innovation concerns the pronominal paradigm, in which there emerged the so-called periphrastic possessive construction with *se* (< Dutch *zijn*) as in (7).

(7) Die huise se vensters — Afrikaans
*De huizen zijn vensters — Dutch
The windows of the houses.

Roberge (1993:66) writes that "the use of *se* is demonstrably old, and we may impute it to an older Dutch creole." Ponelis (1993:244) typifies this construction as fully in place since around 1861. Scholtz (1963:108-109) features a few examples from 1802 and dates its emergence back to around 1775. The expansion of the construction has been attributed to the spread of the Dutch third person singular possessive pronoun *zijn* into other segments of the paradigm (the superstrate hypothesis). In the light of the Oorlam-Hollands data, presented in this study these points will be evaluated in detail in Chapter Four (§ 4.2.3ff.).

Other areas of change include relative clause formation (see Den Besten 1989b, 1996), reduplicated forms of word formation (Botha 1984, Den Besten et al, [to appear]), circumpositioning of prepositions (i.e. repetition as in: *hy loop in die huis in*,'he walks into the house into'); the comitative plural construction as *pa-goed, pa-hulle* 'father-them', 'father and the family, father and those who relate to him', (cf. the quotation from *Oom* Gys, Chapter One, p.1, Kempen 1982:291ff., Nienaber 1994a:14ff.). Other innovations are nouns replacing pronominal forms in vocatives (*kan pa my die kar leen*, 'could father (/you) lend me the (/your) car') and appositive structures (*Piet, hy kom nie*, 'Piet, he isn't coming'; cf. Hoogenhout 1904:25). For further details see for example Ponelis (1993), or Donaldson (1993) and the references cited there.

2.5.2 Orange River Afrikaans and Standard Afrikaans

In this section I will survey a number of features[68] which demarcate both synchronic non-standard varieties and diachronic vernaculars of Afrikaans from the standard variety, without claiming any ordering or continuance for the moment.

2.5.2.1 General deviations from Standard Afrikaans

Among the general differences between Orange River Afrikaans and Standard Afrikaans which have been treated in the previous paragraphs is the omission of the second element in the double negation (*nie-2*).

(8a)	want ek kan glad nie meer sien	GA84:95[69]
(b)	want ek kan glad nie meer sien *(nie)	Afrikaans
	for I can totally not more see not	
	For I can't see anymore.	

In the corpus Jan Jonker Afrikaner letters, the subject of this study, as late as 1889, no attestations of *nie-2* could be found.[70] In the light of the claim made by Den Besten (1978, 1985, 1986) that the double negation would have resulted from a combination of Germanic syntax with Khoesan grammar

[68]The data in this section largely follow the inventory in Van Rensburg (1984) but are by no means exhaustive or complete.

[69] Henceforth the examples taken from the corpus from Van Rensburg (1984), Volume II (appendixes, transcriptions), will be indicated as GA84, plus page numbering and line numbering where provided. Examples from the Jan Jonker corpus are indicated by the section as in Appendix I, plus line number (e.g., IA, ln.365).

[70] In the letters of his contemporaries the phenomenon is also scarce. (I have found one example dated 7.1.1864 by Adam Vleermuis to Dik Jager: *Ik laat u weten dat de pokie is no gedaan; daar is no geen pokies hier niet.* 'I let you know that the smallpox is finished; there is now no smallpox here [not]', (reproduced in Lau (ed.) 1989:277).) Deumert (1999:221) also states that in the corpus Cape archival private correspondence 1880-1922 "examples of *nie-2* are relatively rare at only 21% of negative clauses showing the Afrikaans pattern of embracing negation, (in number 367 out of 1751 clauses). The distribution across [individuals] appears to be extremely skewed with only about a third of individuals employing the feature at all. Use of *nie-2* was not yet categorical for any informant."

(substrate influence) this is unexpected.[71] Without being able to address this issue in precise detail it seems that the position of *nie-1* in the grammar of Jan Jonker Afrikaner is, generally speaking, adjacent to the finite verb in the verb-second position (9a,b). In inversion constructions[72] it appears adjacent to the subject (9c).

(9a) Ik heb niet u ingeroep — IA, ln.233[73]
I have not you [in]called
I didn't call you.

(b) maar gij heb niet dat gedaan — III, ln.213
but you have not that done
But you didn't do it.

(c) diet is waar: heb ik niet uwe naar liesder heb — IB, ln.145
it is true have I not you to listened have
It is true (that) I didn't listen to you.

In the Germanic languages these structures would invoke a reading of constituent negation.[74] However, this cannot be the intended meaning of the sentences in (9). Thus, it can be argued that in the grammar of this particular form of Hollands the Negation Phrase (NegP), in which the negative element is projected, is in a different position (below AgrSP but above AgrOP), than the Germanic NegP, which is placed at the boundary of IP and VP (cf. the structural representation sketched in §1.2).[75] These data clearly call for further investigation but are, *prima facie* in line with Ponelis' (1993:478) conclusion that the scope of negation in eighteenth-/nineteenth-century Afrikaans was

[71] Cf. Ponelis (1993:472) who draws a similar conclusion on the grounds that *nie-2* is facultative in ORA.

[72] See Chapter Six on the predominant verb-second word order, also in embedded clauses in Jan Jonker's grammar.

[73] See Chapter Three, § 3.1.2.2 for the periodical division of the letters from Jan Jonker Afrikaner and § 1.1.2 for comments on the abbreviations that are used in the transcription of this corpus as included in Appendix I.

[74] Not necessarily so in Standard Afrikaans (Hester Waher p.c.).

[75] Other movement analyses have centered around the argument that there were general tendencies in eighteenth-century Cape Dutch to move constituents such as modal auxiliaries, adverbials as well as the negation particle to the left of the verbal complement. Cf. Waher 1994b:103. On the emergence of *nie-2*, Roberge (2000b, 2000c:4-7) proposes an alternative explanation based on the pragmatic force of a Dutch emphatic tag negation (*Het kan niet waar zijn, (oh) nee (toch)!* 'It is not true, no!'), (2000b:147).

structurally opaque.

A further difference between ORA and SA is the omission of articles and prepositions in ORA in positions where they would be obligatory in SA (cf. Van Rensburg 1984:95). The former could be attributed to substrate influence, as Nama does not feature articles. In the correspondence of the Oorlam-Nama, the use of articles is irregular, often absent as well as overdone (cf. the letter from Daniel Daus c.s. in § 3.2.1.1, p.90).[76] Examples from Jan Jonker Afrikaner's oeuvre include:

(10a)	hier	by	___	baai	is	niet	schiedgoederen	zegt	de	Mr. Cocht.	III, ln.189
	here	at		bay	is	not	shooting goods	says	the	Mr. Koch	
	Here, at the bay are no guns, says Mr. Koch.										
(b)	Ik	kan	u	bewijsen	dat	Gij liestig	is	als	___	slaangt	IA, ln.36
	I	can	you	prove	that	you cunning	is	as		snake	
	I can prove to you that you are as cunning as a snake.										

Where prepositions in GA84 are often omitted in contrast with SA, in the Oorlam-Nama correspondence the number of prepositions in use seems limited and their semantic connotations often do not correspond to either Dutch or Afrikaans. In (11), similarly as in English, against cannot function as a dative marker.[77] Likewise behind cannot combine with an abstract object such as 'war'. In contrast, in other creole languages behind (or the noun back) often function as a preposition or temporal adverb denoting 'after' (cf. Bruyn 1995:241-242 on Sranan *baka* 'behind/after').

(11)	woevel maal	heb	ik	deëen	Kamaharo:	vrede	gevrag	achter	de eerste oorlog	IB, ln.110
	how many times	have	I	against	Kamahareo	peace	asked	behind	the first war	
	How often did I ask Kamaharero for peace since the first war?									

[76] No systematic differentiation between the omission of definite articles versus indefinite articles could be pointed out, as is clear from the examples in (10). Rademeyer (1938:79) also classified the omission of articles as *heel gewoon* (very normal) in ORA. Du Plessis (1984:122) has argued that there is a scale of acceptability, and that the omission-constructions chiefly concern the indefinite articles ("*slegs twee voorbeelde van die weglating [kon] opgespoor word* [in the corpus GA84 -cl]" (only two example of the-omission could be found) (*op.cit*:123). Note that the excessive use of articles as in (10), (see also example (1) and (3), § 3.2.1.1, p.90 and p.92) is not mentioned in these studies. Cf. Van der Zwan (1986: 122-123) about this feature in the grammar of Hendrik Witbooi in his diary.

[77] Dutch does feature this PP with the verb *zeggen* ('to say'; *(iets) tegen (iemand) zeggen*, 'to say something to someone'). However, as in English, the idiom is "to ask (someone) for peace", (*"to say (for) peace to someone").

This aspect of the syntax in the Oorlam-Nama correspondence may perhaps be classified as imperfect second language acquisition (cf. Larson-Freeman & Long, 1994:62ff.). Unfortunately I am unable to deliberate the question if these could be calques of Nama PPs.[78] But likewise, Van Rensburg (1984:131) makes note of the non-standard use of the prepositions *agter* (behind) en *op* (on) in GA84, as well as Nieuwoudt (1990:139), who remarks on prepositional variation in other varieties of ORA. The issue clearly needs further investigation.

As mentioned earlier, objective *vir* in ORA has spread in general, and also into usage with [-animate] NPs.

(12) Vier hulle nog vir Nuwejaar[79]
Celebrate they still for New year

However, this does not seem to be a unique ORA development. Van Rensburg (1989:448) ascertains that *vir "toenemend voor [kom] voor 'n persoonlike voorwerp [in Kaapse Afrikaans], die Maleiers en Kleurlinge gebruik vir baie meer as wat blankes dit gebruik ... en die werkersklas sprekers van al drie die sosiale groepe gebruik dit baie meer as die hoë klas sprekers."*[80]

Besides this Nieuwoudt (1990:138) illustrates *vir* replacing other prepositions with examples from 'Afrikaans van die Richtersveld', 'Botswana Afrikaans', as well as from 'Rehoboth Afrikaans'. In (13a) *vir* replaces the preposition *aan* (to),[81] in (13b) the preposition *met* (with).

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[78] Note that Nama, being SOV features postpositions but substrate influence may not be absent: "Some [...] nouns referring to parts of the body have undergone a diachronic transition, either acquiring a transferred meaning or to become outright postpositions. [...] Four nouns particularly involved in this transition are *ais* 'face', *ams* 'mouth', *!gâb* 'back, dorsum', and *|khab* 'body, side'." Haacke (1995:19-20). Cf. the compound *achterklappen*, Appendix I, IA, In.220; IB, In.461.

[79] Example from Riemvasmaak Afrikaans (Fourie 1985:96).

[80] [*Vir*] is on the increase with personal objects [in Kaapse Afrikaans], the Malay and coloureds use *vir* much more than the Whites ... and the working class speakers of all three social groups use it much more than the higher class speakers.

[81] Possibly *vir* replaces the preposition *aan* (to). Alternatively, (the only option from the perspective of the Dutch syntax: *Zij zijn gewend aan *(een) lekker leven*), *vir* replaces a CP (*om lekker te lewe*).

(13a) Hulle is net gewoond vir lekker lewe
they are just used to/for nice life

(b) As ek moet vir jou trou
If I must for you marry

As noted above the use of prepositions in the Oorlam-Nama data in the present corpus is too irregular to make any substantive generalizations.

The periphrastic possessive construction with *se* in ORA has spread to regular usage with pronouns (Van Rensburg 1984:106, Nieuwoudt 1990:141, Visser 1989:92). As this aspect of ORA and Oorlam-Nama Dutch will be dealt with in detail in § 4.2.3, I will forego further discussion here.

The above-mentioned aspects in the grammar of Griqua Afrikaans as documented in Van Rensburg (1984) have been culled on the basis of frequency indexes (Van Rensburg 1984:46). Thus particular constructions, typical but infrequent in the corpus are not discussed.[82] In the Oorlam-Nama data which are the subject of this study, that factor has not been considered. Notwithstanding that particular constructions (double finite verbs, absence of finite verbs) are difficult to assess in the GA84 corpus, because this corpus consists of the spoken language form, whereas the Oorlam-Nama corpus represents a written style (cf. § 1.2, footnote 15, p.10), none of the characteristics, *infra* are absent from contemporary ORA.

2.5.2.2 Double finite verbs

Bearing in mind that SA and all its varieties do not make a morphological distinction between the finite form and the infinitival form of the verb, the sentence in (14) from GA84 cannot be analyzed as recursive VP-embedding (14b,d), (cf. Wurmbrand 1998, and Chapter Six).

(14a) Ons het nie sommer op een plek gebly het nie GA84, 289 ln.17
We have not just on one spot stayed have not
We didn't just stay in one place.

[82] Subsequent studies of other ORA varieties have become styled on this example.

(b) *..dat ons nie sommer op een plek gebly het het (nie)[83]

(c) Ons kon nie sommer op een plek gebly het nie

(d) ..dat ons nie sommer op een plek kon gebly het (nie)

The Oorlam-Nama data show similar structures, but are more telling as this vernacular still displays something resembling the Dutch morphological inflection (15), (details are presented in § 6.3.4.2.2).

(15) ik ziet nu dat is warlijk uwe rad is, dit hief Damras deze op roergemaak heeft...
I see now that is truly your advice is, that has Damaras this rebellion.made has
I see now that it is really on your advice, that the Damaras started this rebellion... IA, ln.365

It is uncertain if such a construction would be grammatical (or at least acceptable) in SA (cf. § 1.1.1 on contemporary judgements). It has gone unnoticed in the traditional literature, although the number of examples of this kind are legion in the GA84 corpus (see Chapter Six). Moreover, this type of structure is not absent from the Cape archival material (16).

(16) ...en et reegen waater is door et dak is geloopen onder et koorn...
...and the rain water is through the roof is run under the wheat
...and that the rain water had come through the roof on the wheat.... CJ1089, no. 21, Ao.1763

In Chapter Six this aspect of Afrikaans will be examined in detail.

[83] In southern German dialects temporal auxiliary embedding is not ungrammatical (ia), (Jacki 1909, Reis 1910), provided that only one of the two is realized as a finite form (ia'). This has been described in the literature as an instance of recursive VR (see Chapter Five) producing a double perfect, which replaces the pluperfect forms (ib) (Den Besten & Edmondson 1983:167).

ia. *..dass er gegangen gewesen ist*
..that he gone been is
ia'. **..dass er gegangen ist ist*
b. *..das er gegangen war*

2.5.2.3 Suspension of the finite verb

In § 2.5.1.1 it was shown that tense marking in SA deviates from the Germanic one in important ways, both formally and systematically. Formally SA exhibits just two forms, the unmarked stem and the periphrastic amalgamate [*het...ge-V*], styled on the Dutch perfect tense form to denote past.[84] Systematically they also differ: in Afrikaans both (17a) and (17b) can denote [+past], depending on the context; in Dutch (17a) signals only [-past] (the present tense), and (17b) only [+past] (the present perfect tense).

(17)	AFRIKAANS	DUTCH	
(a)	Hy werk	hij werkt	*he works*
(b)	Hy het gewerk	hij heeft gewerkt	*he has worked /he worked*

In the Oorlam-Nama data which are the subject of the present study we find the temporal auxiliary expressed twice, (example (15), above) as well as omitted (18).

(18) 1 als nu ik en u voor en voor IA, ln.85-87
if now I and you for and for
2 gesprokenGE-speak _____ [PRF] dan then zal shall ik I u you raguit straight verdeelen tell hoe how vel many
3 mannen men gewees GE-be ___ [PRF] van of mij me [REL] dat that ge GE- vertelen tell _____ [PRF]

Although suspension of the finite verb and 'bare' participial forms have largely gone unnoticed in the literature as observed by Roberge (1994b:67), it seems a widespread feature of earlier Afrikaans as well as ORA. Roberge makes the suggestion that *ge* could function as an unbound tense marker. In Chapter Six the temporal reference of the bare participial structures ([0 ... *ge*-V]) in the clause will be further examined. And, although pragmatic factors cannot always be ruled out, similar examples are attested in the corpus GA84, as well as in the Griqua Afrikaans commented on in Van Zijl (1947), the Witbooi Dairy (Voigts ed., 1929) (19a),[85] as well as in the KT material (Van Oordt n.d.). From

[84] The temporal reference of the sentence will be discussed in Chapter Six, § 6.3.3.2.1.

[85] Other examples are summarized in Van der Zwan 1986:111.

the latter an example in (19b).[86]

(19a) En ik heb mijn paard opgezadel met Samuël en ____ gereden en hij ___ ook alleen
and I have my horse saddled with Samuël and rode and he also alone
uitgekomen met zijn paard. (8)
came out with his horse

(b) [...] want ik met het begin van Sijn Siekte tot sijn overlijden bij hem geweest bin en
for I with the beginning of his illness till his death with him been am and
ook met het ontkleden geen eenig manquement of kwetsuer gesien ____ [I]n teken der
also with the undressing not one defect or injury seen in sign of [the]
waarheijd ondertekene ik het met mijn eijgen hand.
truth sign I it with my own hand CJ 1096 no. 532, Ao. 1769

Although present-day Afrikaans grammar rules out this type of structure, the construction can be observed as late as the early twentieth century.[87] In the narrative diary of Susarha Nel, which retells her incarceration in the Mafikeng concentration camp during the Anglo Boer war (1899-1902), probably written within the decade after her ordeal (Bottomley & Luijks 1998), the temporal auxiliary is added in over the line as corrections to the manuscript, in numerous instances.[88] The diary begins:

> Wat ik Sùsarha Eliesabetha deùr-gemaak <ol•het> en ons laaste oorlog van 1899 - tot 1902 det was en die nag van die 4 Jùlij 1901 ons <ol•was> nog gerùs. toe mij hùis van die vijhand om sengel word...[89]

Both, the doubled finite verb structure and the constructions which exhibit the suspension of the finite verb, will be examined further in Chapter Six.

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[86] Note that these examples occur in a coordination between an ergative verb (perfect tense conjugation with *zijn*) and an unergative verb (perfect tense conjugation with *hebben*, cf. Broekhuis 1997 on the choice in Dutch). In Dutch the structure is ungrammatical, but in Afrikaans this difference is no longer observed and the structure is not ungrammatical. As a consequence the argument on the alternate side runs that the leveling of perfect tense auxiliaries was already in place at this date. Cf. the discussion in § 6.3.4.2, and footnote 53, p.229.

[87] Notably neither this feature nor doubled finite verb constructions were attested from the corpus of private letters from the Cape Town archives (1880-1922), but occur with regularity in the German vernaculars that are spoken in present-day Namibia (Ana Deumert, p.c.).

[88] Most often added as *het*, also as *h*, or omitted, i.e. the sentences are conform the examples in (18) and (19).

[89] What I Susarha Elisabeth Nel went through in our last war from 1899 till 1902. It was in the night of the fourth of July 1901, we were still asleep, when the enemy surrounded my house...

3 Hollands on the Geographical Periphery of the Southern African Colonial Society

3.1 The Afrikaners: their origin and their history

As mentioned in § 2.1 the term Oorlam does not denote an ethnic group, instead the term refers to those people from various cultural and/or racial groups who had acquired a higher standard of acculturation within the colonial setting. In southern Africa around the middle of the eighteenth century it denotes a new, higher class, that emerged from several groups of indigenous peoples, generally referred to as the Khoekhoe or Hottentots, as well as the imported slaves (cf. the abstruseness in reference to Adam Kok, founder of the Griqua nation, as both a slave and/or a Hottentot in footnote 4, below). This new elite can be seen to be the result of the acculturation of the local population with the bonded servants and the colonizing European forces.

3.1.1 The Afrikaner Oorlams

The word *Afrikaner (/Africander)* has been in use in the Cape colony with a variety of significations over the centuries. The common denominator seems to have been "people born in Africa", and definitions include African-born descendants of European parents generally, African-born offspring of Dutch parents only, and a denotation for the descendants of unions between slaves and Khoekhoe or Whites to distinguish them from the slaves who came from Madagascar, Mozambique and the East. The first official mention of this name dates back to 1761.[1] In the Criminal Court proceedings

[1] Van Schoor 'Resolusies van die Politieke Raad' Cape Archives C139. Reproduced in Nienaber (1989:93) "*...dat de Bosjesmans Hottentotten Capitain Claas en Afrikaner toenmaals, zo men meende Landwaards geretireert, niet op te spooren waaren geweest, ...*". (that the Bushmen Hottentot's captain Claas and Afrikaner then went inland, and could not to be traced...). Franken (1953:97) notes: "*In die 17e eeu word die woord wat voorkom in die vorm Africaan sowel as Africaander, Afrikaaner, in die Kaapse stukke uitsluitend gebruik in die sin van naturel of inlander.*" (In the seventeenth century, in the Cape corpora, the word Africaan, Africaander and Afrikaaner is exclusively used with reference to the 'natives' or indigenous people). He gives a further attestation from the beginning of the eighteenth (continued...)

a decade later we read for example:

> daar omstreex meede werkenden slaaven jongen Andries, dewelke een africaner is, toegeroepen...
> (CJ 393, p. 265, anno 1768)

Thereafter, the term seems to have been adopted as a proper name for individuals or groups among the indigenous (Khoekhoe, Hottentots) population.

> Hottentot Africaner[2] noem dit 'n voorstok (CJ 408, 264,265,266, anno 1772)

> had gem(elde) Africaner daarop dien hottentot in der hottentotten taal substantieelijk tot Antwoord gegeven: wat geef ik om dat goed Duijtsvolk (CJ 408, p. 629, anno 1772)

> Een bitje hiernae zoo hoorden wij schreeuwen, toe slaagt de hersepannen in, en raakt, raakt. Hierop soo saag wij de pad langs te heele troep uitkoomen, en op onze waagens an; daarop schreeuwde de heele troep immers voort(:) toe raakt, raakt, en gooijze de hersenpannen in, [...] En naer dat ik en mijn man weder aan 't opkoomen waren, so ben wij van mijn Schoonmoeder afgereeden hiernae de Cape toe, en terwijl wij bij Julius Steijn aan kwaamen, soo hoorde ik daar van eene Hottentots meijd, welke Betje genaamt, dat die Hottentot Afrikaaner, dewelke de Schaape van Jan Christoffel Rog gestoolen, in presentie van Julius Steijn en vrouw, soo grootsch gedaan, en daarmeede gepraalt hadde, dat ik zoo geslaagen gebleeven, en de weg leggen ben.[3]
> (CJ 408, p 915-953, Cabo de Goede Hoop, den 5 Aug: anno 1772)

Eventually, the name Afrikaner became connected to a group of Khoekhoe-Hottentots/Basters originating from the Cape peninsula that rose to supremacy in the 1830s in Central Namibia. The

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(...continued)
century, in which *Afrikaner* is used in opposition to Dutchmen and Frenchmen who are born in Europe (i.e. Whites born in Africa) (*Contra Deductie*, 1712; *op.cit.*:98). Cf. Pettman 1913, sub *Africander*.

[2] This can be read as "The Hottentot, by the name of Afrikaner...", or "The Hottentot Afrikaners,..." as a specific group.

[3] A little later we heard screams "come on, beat their brains out" and "get them".Then we saw lots of them come towards us along the road, towards our wagons; then they screamed again "come on, hit them and beat them their brains out". And after I and my husband felt better, then we went from my mother in law to the Cape; while we were with Julius Steijn we heard from a Hottentots servant by the name of Betje, that the Hottentot Afrikaner, who stole the sheep from Jan Christoffel Rog, in the presence of Julius Steijn and his wife, had boasted, that I had been so beaten up [by them] and had been left to lie in the road.

founding father of this polity was Jonker Afrikaner (☼Tulbagh, ca. 1785 - †Windhoek, 1861), who left the Orange River area around 1823 and established himself with some 300 followers further north, ultimately finding domicile in Windhoek around 1840 (Vedder 1938, Lau 1987, Penn 1995, Pool 1995, Dedering 1997). From then on, he and his *raad* (council) ruled Namaland and Hereroland, thereby creating a powerful, if rudimentary, state. Jonker has gone down in history as a bloodthirsty tyrant. This point of view, however, was predominantly based on reports from the Rhenish missionaries and is decidedly one-sided (cf. Loth 1963, Lau 1987). Jonker's father, Jager Afrikaner (? - 1823) had left the Cape peninsula towards the end of the eighteenth century for the northern interior.[4] Between the 1770s and 1790s the family were dependants of one Pienaar, a farmer from the Cape Colony (see Vedder 1938 [1966]:16, Penn 1995:393ff., on Pienaar's career in the northern Cape territory and beyond). Possibly the Afrikaners were also authorized by the Cape authorities to take independent actions against the Khoekhoe and the San of the Orange River area (cf. § 2.1 on the institution of the *kommando*). Jager Afrikaner murdered Pienaar in 1796 whereafter he built himself a notorious reputation, roaming north and south of the Orange River (cf. Vedder 1938, Penn 1995, Dedering 1997).

Jager's son and successor, Jonker Afrikaner was born at Roode Zand, Tulbagh ca. 1785. He left his father at Blydeverwacht (district Karasburg) around 1823 and settled later at Windhoek (Lau ed., 1989:292, Nienaber 1989:565). From here he built his influential captaincy in Namaland (Lau 1987, ed., 1989). Jonker Afrikaner died in 1861 and he was succeeded by his son Christian. Christian was killed shortly afterwards in a confrontation with the enemy (the Damaras [Herero] army raised by trader Andersson (see § 3.1.3) in June, 1863 at Otjimbingwe) endowing his brother, Jan Jonker with the leadership of the Oorlam Afrikaners, (see Lau 1987:126-130, Lau ed., 1989; Vedder 1938 [1966]:335, as well as Jan Jonker's own recount of the aftermath in the letters Nº's 3 to 5, Appendix I, section IA). At this point in time Jan Jonker's correspondence begins. The historiographies further contend that after the defeats in the 1860s (*infra*) the Afrikaners did not rise to power again, that in

[4] Cf. the history of the Kok family, founders of the Griqua nation: "Adam Kok, a slave (although further down in this passage he is, at the time, described as a 'Hottentot'), who had bought himself free was granted grazing rights by the Dutch government on a farm sometime between 1751 and 1760; at the same time he acquired burgher rights. In their new domicile Kok and his family came into contact with a Khoekhoe group (the Chariguriqua). Economically they did rather well and attracted a substantive following, more or less started to form a clan. As they moved further north many adherents attached to them and at his death he had become enough of a patriarch to be 'followed up' by his son. (Ross 1976:14).

fact Jan Jonker's rule led to the downfall of the Afrikaner Nation. After Jan Jonker's death in an engagement with Hendrik Witbooi in 1889 the group was vanquished and the remaining members were scattered.[5]

Jan Jonker's correspondence gives us an idea of the forces at play from his point of view, which were to lead up to these events. For the period 1837-1860 the diary of missionary Carl Hugo Hahn (published in Lau ed., 1984-1985) offers us an insight into the Namaland affairs during the period of rule of the father of Jan Jonker. The diary of the trader Charles John Andersson continues for the years 1860-1864 (Lau ed., 1989). Lau (1987) has written a monograph about the rise of the Afrikaner polity under the rule of Jan Jonker's father, Jonker Afrikaner (1840-1861), and a diary has come down to us written by Hendrik Witbooi, detailing the events from 1884 until 1895 (published in Voigts ed., 1929). The present corpus of letters by Jan Jonker fill in on details of the period 1861-1880. More historic information is provided in the appendix, introducing Jan Jonker's letters in English translation (Appendix II).

Dedering (1997) advocates the view that the Cape-Oorlam Khoekhoe were culturally the same as the Namaland Khoekhoe. He infers that the Cape-Oorlams did not "invade" these territories, as was previously believed.[6] Instead, he argues that the Oorlams initially settled down with the full consent of the local inhabitants (applying for the necessary permits and paying tribute). From a letter by Jager Afrikaner (Jan Jonker's grandfather) and his brother Titus Afrikaner (quoted below on p.75, footnote 29) it transpires that these initial contacts were not always free of animosities, and the issue is thus far from being resolved. Socio-economically, the central Namibian trade relations are mostly depicted as the merchandising of "stolen Herero cattle" (Dedering 1997:173, [emphasis added]; see also

[5] The exact circumstances of Jan Jonker's death remain unclear. There are reports he was killed by his son, who wanted to join with the Witboois: "*...doodgeskiet in 1889 deur sy eie seun wat oorgeloop het na Hendrik Witbooi, die nuwe 'ster'.*" (..shot in 1889 by his own son who wanted to join the enemy, Hendrik Witbooi, the new 'star'), (Nienaber 1989:565; also Vedder 1938). Hendrik Witbooi, in his diary notes about the incident: "On 6 August our war party rode out against Jan Afrikaner. We followed his trail to Hereroland and, after four days, caught up with him in ǂGuguameb. On 10 August we attacked him, killing and wounding many of his men. He, the Captain Jan Jonker Afrikaner, also died in battle that day, the 10th of August." (Heywood & Maasdorp, 1995:25).

[6] Dedering (1197:64) states that "The Oorlam newcomers, did not enter Namibia as conquerors, as the common view of an 'Oorlam invasion' insinuates." The latter view is advanced in Lau 1987, 1989 (ed.).

Vedder 1938: *passim*), with the Oorlams[7] as the thieves:

> From the 1840s, the upper echelons of the raiding-trading network were mainly occupied by Oorlams, or acculturated Nama, who had access to European goods and firearms. Many Damara, Herero and San were forced into a new underclass of exploited servants and herders (Dedering 1997:177).

In the next section there is a ranking of the people and tribes the Oorlam-Hottentots came in contact with.

3.1.2 The indigenous people of Namaland

A description of the peoples the Oorlam-Hottentots encountered in the territories north of the Orange river areas can be rather vague. The ethnonymic terminology used by the newcomers (and the indigenes themselves) fluctuates. Nineteenth-century reports distinguish the *Nama* from the *Herero* (which is equated with *Damara*,[8] *infra*). A primary division can be made into the Khoekhoe (Hottentots, Nama), the San (Bushmen, *Bosjesmannen*) in remote areas and the Kalahari desert and the Bantu: the Herero and the Briekwas or Thlaping of Bechuanaland (present-day North West Province (South Africa) and Botswana). Furthermore we have to differentiate the Hottentots who came from the Cape and the Hottentots who were indigenous to Namaland. The Herero are often equated with the Damara in the literature - for example in the index in Lau (ed.,1984-1985:1308) the *Herero* are co-listed as "Damaras, Gomaxa-Damaras, Omuherero, Ovuherero" and *Hereroland* is indexed as "Damaraland". Perspicuously, the ethnonym *Damara* does not refer exclusively to the Herero. Haacke (p.c.) specifies that "the Nama-tribes in Namaland referred to with *Dama* (perhaps 'black people') are two different groups: the Beesdamaras (cattle Dama), which are the Herero's

[7] But compare Lau's (1987, 1995:viii-ix) interpretation, that in this loose, broad-based society "the dynamics of the means these groups had to incorporate or exclude members, followers or adherents to the group, are quite obscure." And that therefore, "certain raids, battles or wars were not real animosities but could have been merely 'tax'-collections", although they looked like theft to European observers.

[8] Jan Jonker distinguishes the Damara (=Beesdamara) from the Bergdamaras and the Herero. See letter Nº. 20, dd. 30.10.1869, Appendix I, section IB.

(Bantu) and the Xaudama (excrement Dama), also called Bergdamaras[9] (mountain Dama), or simply Damaras. These days, the Beesdamara speak a Bantu language and only rarely bother to learn Nama" (cf. Haacke et al 1997). Nienaber (1989) does make the distinction between Beesdamaras and Bergdamaras but finds it hard to classify the latter, "these Nama-speaking black people" (*op.cit.*:180); "*...die Bergdamaras wat etnies tot die Herero's behoort maar in taal en sentiment tot die Namas behoort*" (*op.cit.*:41).[10] He proposes that the Bergdamara were a Bantu tribe who were once conquered by the Namaland Namas and that they subsequently lost their language:

> Die Bergdamaras het êrens in die tyd sy eie taal en kultuur afgelê en dit vervang met dié van die Namas wat hulle meesters geword het. Hulle het oorspronkelik 'n Bantoetaal gepraat as moedertaal. In 'n sin is hulle taal nou 'n dialek van Nama (Nienaber 1989:68).

Haacke (p.c.) confirms that:

> In the old jargon it is true that the Damara speak 'Nama', like the Nama proper do. That it is however not true that the Damara adopted that language from the Nama; as recently has been proved in a dialect survey, they speak a common language with different dialects, now again called Khoekhoegowab.

Summarizing we distinguish the Bantu-speaking Herero (the Beesdamara), who were Jan Jonker's chief concern throughout this period, from the Bergdamara, the latter group being much like the Nama in custom and perhaps language. We encounter the Bergdamara as Jan Jonker's denizens. Besides these groups there are the Nama proper, who were, like the Cape Oorlam, Khoekhoe or Hottentots. Amongst these, the following different tribes can be named in order of size and importance:

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[9] Jan Jonker further distinguishes the Bergdamaras (Mountain-Damaras) from Kaalbeesdamaras (Barren-from-animals-Damaras). See letter Nº. 17, dd. 21.7.1869, Appendix I, Period I, Section B, ln.247; also Appendix II, letter Nº. 17, footnote 97 on the speculation that these Kaalbeesdamaras might be the Ovatjimbas. This distinction is not made anywhere else (cf. Nienaber 1989, also Preller 1941). Jan Jonker further distinguishes (Bees-)Damaras from "Kaffers". See Appendix I, Period I, Section B, ln.129, ln.339. Preller 1941:22 divides the Bergdamaras into those who live in the Auas mountains and the "ou-Damas" or "Bergtop Damas" in the Otavi highlands. "*Bergdamaras is minder onsindelik en onbeskaaf as die ander en sien ook neer op hulle; inderdaad is die veragting wederkerig.*" (The Bergdamaras are less unclean and uncultured and look down on them; indeed the disdain is reciprocal.)

[10] The Bergdamaras who belong ethnically to the Herero, but in language and sentiment to the Nama.

Red Nation (Rooinasie, Kai//khaun)
Bondelswarts (!Kami≠nûn)
Veldskoendraers (//Haboben)
Fransman Hottentots (!Kharakhoen, later Simon Koper Hottentots)
Swartboois (//Khau/gôan)
Topnaars (≠Aonin)

And, possibly as an offshoot of the Red Nation:

Groot Dode (Great Dead, !Gomen)
Tseib's people (Karo!oan)

The names of the Namaland tribes seem straightforward translations from Nama into Dutch (Lau 1987:6, Nienaber 1989 *passim*). As the Europeans before them in the Cape two centuries earlier, the newcomers into Namaland stood as the example and aim, in custom and language, to the indigenous people. For example Willem Swartbooi, the leader of the Nama-Hottentot Swartboois, is reported to have done away entirely with his own culture and language in exchange for the Cape-Hottentot's example (cf. Wallman's quotation, p.84).

The settlement pattern of the Nama groups was rather like a checkerboard. Different groups lived amongst each other, at most a clan had a certain right to a specific place or pasture but they did not own a demarcated territory (Lau ed., 1989:7, see also Vedder 1938). Except for the Swartboois, the Namaland Hottentots, like the Bergdamara, fell under Jan Jonker's authority, were his allies, paid him taxes and enjoyed his protection.[11] The Beesdamara on the other hand had only become allies and tributaries to Jonker Afrikaner (Jan Jonker's father) in 1843 (Ross 1976:10, Vedder 1938 [1966]:199-203). However, from the early 1860s onwards they began to refuse to accept the Afrikaner dominance, possibly through the influence of the missionaries who sought both to convert them to Christianity, as well as to break the dominance of the Afrikaners (Lau 1987). See for example Jan Jonker's own explanation of his troubles in a letter to the governor of the Cape, Sir Philip Wodehouse:

[11] The strength of the Nama-Hottentot groups in Namaland in the nineteenth century is estimated by Hahn, (*Rückschau*, ca. 1853) as follows: Rode volk (Red Nation) 4000, Bondelswarts 4000, Veldschoendragers 1000, Franzman 1000, Swartboois 1500, Topnaars 800 (Lau ed., 1984-1985:672).

> [We were always friends and allies with the (Bees-)Damara]... Then, teacher Hahn gave the Damaras advice: that the Damaras should stand up and fight us, drive us away and that they then would own the land. That is the advice he gave, that is how the war between us started, because of the advice of the teacher. (Letter Nº. 13, dd. 22.04.1869, Appendix I, section IA; Appendix II).

At this period in time Kamaharero emerged as the paramount chief of the Beesdamara, although his authority was not undisputed. From Jan Jonker's correspondence it transpires that Kamaharero had trouble keeping all his people under control.[12] Kamaharero apparently spoke the Otjiherero language; he acquired some Dutch later in life but it is doubtful whether he learned to read and write. Vedder (1938 [1966]:430) relates that when a protection treaty was entered into with the Cape Government in 1874, only his son Wilhelm was able to sign his name to the document. In the corpus of Oorlam-Nama letters there is reference to Jan Jonker Afrikaner functioning as a scribe for Kamaharero (see § 3.2.1.1, p.92).[13]

Besides the Afrikaners, other groups or polities of Cape-Oorlams that had moved into Namaland by this time include the Bethany people (Bethaniers, *!Amas*) under the leadership of the Booi(s) or Frederiks family;[14] the Berseba people under Paul Goliath[15] and his followers; the Witboois who settled at Gibeon and the Amraals (Gobabis-people) under the chieftaincy of Jonker Afrikaner's cousin Amraal Lambert. The Witboois became the stronger faction at a later stage, in the 1880s.[16]

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[12] If not that Kamaharero was perhaps a "token chief"; cf. the narration in Vedder (1938 [1966:426]) about correspondences taking place between Maharero's literate advisors in Maharero's name and the Cape officials regarding annexation of South West Africa to the British Empire.

[13] Amities and enmities between them remain ambiguous. As mentioned Jan Jonker functioned as a scribe for Kamaharero. Other reports describe the missionaries' astonishment how quickly and amicably Jan Jonker and Kamaharero agreed on the first 1870 peace treaty (cf. Goltblatt 1971). Herero narratives relate to them as brothers, as being raised together (Heywood, Kau and Ohly 1992:16-17; see also Vedder 1938 [1966]:329-330, 424). Notwithstanding, in one of the letters included here (Nº. 43, Appendix I, section III) Jan Jonker clearly takes out a contract on Kamaharero.

[14] Further details on who these people were can be found in the English translations of Jan Jonker Afrikaner's letters in Appendix II.

[15] Vedder 1938 [1966:378] relates that he was born at Ebenezer on the Oliphants River [n.d.] in the Cape Colony and describes him as a "fugitive from the system of slavery in vogue at the Cape. [...] He died mourned by his whole tribe, on the 15th of April 1869."

[16] Cf. "Die dagboek van Hendrik Witbooi 1884-1895" (Voigts ed., 1929, translated in English by Heywood (continued...)

Hahn, anno 1853 (Lau ed., 1984-1985:672) assesses the strength of the Oorlam in Namaland as:

Jonker Afrikaner	5200 (excluding 800 Topnaars, including 2000 Bergdamaras en 2000 Ovaherero)
Amraals	800
Boois	800
Goliath	600

The Basters, as a separate group, only moved in in the late 1860s (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:227). They were allowed (*sic*) to settle at Rehoboth in 1872.[17] Politically they do not form part of the history related here.[18] Only one particular group, in the beginning of the nineteenth century also calling themselves Basters, who had their main settlement south of the Orange River in Klaarwater played a largely undocumented, but identifiable role in this part of Namibian history. This group had moved north from the Cape at the turn of the eighteenth century under the leadership of the Kok family.[19] Missionary Campbell from the London Missionary Society (henceforth: LMS) had visited them in 1815 and had made objections to this appellation whereupon the group at Klaarwater agreed on calling themselves Griquas. Klaarwater was accordingly renamed Griquatown. Their origin and lifestyle was initially very much like the Afrikaners and the other Oorlam captaincies. Their further development into a 'nation', in the nineteenth century differs from the Namaland Oorlams because their main settlements were in the Cape Colony, on land that was later claimed by other parties. Their

[16](...continued)
& Maasdorp 1995).

[17] In 1870 peace negotiations between the Afrikaners and Beesdamara were completed and a treaty was signed, but Hahn saw to it that Jan Jonker's powers were sufficiently limited (Hahn made Jan Jonker and Kamaharero agree on a second treaty). Moreover, clearly in a final bid to prevent Jan Jonker and Kamaharero from renewing their alliance, Hahn obtained permission from Kamaharero to ensure that the Cape Basters settled in Rehoboth, thus acting as a buffer between Jan Jonker and Kamaharero and setting a seal on a situation that had been prevalent for a few years already: Hahn's diplomatic interference resulted in a strong case for any European hunter, trader or missionary to do as he pleased (Lau 1987:128, *passim*). See also Jan Jonker's letters from 1870 onwards, included here in Appendix I, and Vedder 1938.

[18] Letters of Jan Jonker in the later years of his correspondence (Appendix I, section III), make reference to the Basters as (very) unwelcome guests in the area.

[19] Cf. footnote 4, p.64.

history is comprehensively detailed in for example Ross (1976).[20] Since they fell under the English speaking (LMS) missionaries most of their correspondence has been translated into English,[21] but apparently 'Dutch' is deemed to have been the predominant language amongst them. The Griquas feature in the background throughout the correspondence from Namaland.[22] In a diary entry from missionary Hahn, (see p.86, below), a Griqua wagon driver turns up and helps him translate to Beetje Booi, Jonker Afrikaner's wife, who apparently spoke only Nama. We hear from missionaries complaining about the "riff-raff from Griqualand", who knew better about the price of goods, coming into Namaland and "incite the people against the traders" (Lau 1987:103). We encounter "Griqua-Hottentots" as servants (Lau ed., 1989:84), and reportedly "hunting to the south-west of the Ovambo" (Lau ed., 1989:165). On the 31st of October 1864, Andersson enters in his diary:

> 31st. Monday. News from Aris. No written answer from John Jonker! When he received Mr. Hahn's letter he enquired whence and from whom it came and, on being told, threw the epistle away in great rage and exclaimed: "Peace, peace, yes, they shall soon hear of me!" The Bergdamaras inform us that very large numbers of Griquas have joined Jan Jonker; Iversen who writes in Swedish to Smith corroborates the statement, begging his friend for God's sake to come away,... (Lau ed., 1989:166).

[20] Mention is made by various other authors, e.g., Campbell (1822), Andrew Smith (Kirby ed., 1939-1940), P. Anderson 1995. From these it becomes clear that Dutch was their first language. For example in the novel-style biography of missionary William Anderson (P. Anderson 1995) the address *Mijnheer* is used in the English text instead of 'Mister' to achieve the flavor of the foreign tongue the missionaries had to work with. Two *doopboeken* from Griquatown, presently kept in Kuruman at the Missionary Moffat Museum, commence in 1807 in Dutch until 1842 when it continues in English, with here and there a Dutch remark.

[21] Schoeman (1996) reproduces the correspondence related to the Griquas, amongst which are two letters from Adam Kok in Dutch. In the Archives of the LMS in London is one more letter from him in Dutch, but it is not yet determined whether these are in his own handwriting or if he made use of a scribe. The grammar in one of the three letters differs significantly from the other two, although all three letters are addressed to the same person (see § 3.2.1.2, p.102). The reproduction in Schoeman (1996:143) is not completely accurate.

[22] Cf. Lau (ed.)1989:278, footnote 296: "The Griqua presence in 19th century central and southern Namibia remains largely unassessed. Yet it was undeniably relevant: it was a Griqua who formulated the famous Treaty of Hoachanas [!Hoaxa!nâs] (Qu5, 5.1.1858) (see p.72 below); Kleinschmidt met two Griqua deputies at Gobabis in 1860 and claimed that they were on a spying reconnaissance mission (BRMG 1861, 69); other missionaries commented on the trading, raiding and free movement of Griquas throughout Namaland; see Qu11, 31.8.1860; BRMG 1860,24."

A few months later (22.12.1864) he writes:

> The Krygers give me much anxiety. Todd and Co. assure me that they saw guns in the hands of the Hottentots which they knew were the property of the Griquas. This may be accounted for in more than one way. Either the Tottenties took the guns with force or the Griquas gave them of their own accord on condition of sharing the prospected plunder, i.e. Damara cattle. (Lau ed., 1989:185).

Missionary Kleinschmidt writes to Andersson about the Griquas as cattle transporters (Lau ed., 1989:219) and Willem Swartbooi complains to Jan Jonker that the *Griekennaars* are a bad influence on him:

> Nu wilde ik u antwoorden op uwe twee brieven, ik ben niet kort van worden, om u de antwoorden, maar deze antwoord is niet voor u, Jan Afrikaner, want gij kund toch niet regeren, want gij kund toch niet doen zoo als gij wil, want gij woord toch rond getrokken van andere mans, en ook van de onverstandige griekennaars. Zoo zal ik nu die antwoorden, wand die griekennaars zeggen zij willen loop dooden daar dat hunnen kinderen toch op hun bloed plekkriegen kan dat zijn griekennaars woorden... (16 January 1864, Lau ed., 1989:278).[23]

That the Griqua had firmly established ties with Namaland also becomes clear from the Articles 6 and 7 from the Treaty of the 'United Captains', signed in 1858.[24]

Traktaats brief Van ons vereenigde Kapiteins en Raadslieden is besloten op den 9 January 1858 op de plaats +Jesa Katnas. [...]	Treaty letter By us, united captains and Council has been decided on the 9th of January 1858 on the place +Jesa Katnas. [...]
Artikel 6 Wy besluiten ook onze ver-	Article 6 We decide also our

[23] I wanted to answer you, your two letters. I'm not short of words to answer you, but this answer is not for you Jan Afrikaner, because you can't rule anyway, because you cannot do as you want, because you are influenced by other men, and also by foolish Griquas. Thus I will answer to them, because the Griquas say they want to kill [everyone] there, so that their children can occupy the place there, that are the words of the Griquas...

[24] *Besproken, goed gekeurd en eenstemmig aangenomen van ons Kapiteine* (discussed, ratified and unanimously accepted by us, captains): Cornelius //Oasib, + Karab, Willem Swartbooi + Huisib, Jager + Aimeb, Garib, Hendrik Hendriks +Namib, Pied Koper Gâmab, Witbooi a//eib, Ambraal + Gainub, Jonker Afrikaner Haramub, David Christiaan //Naîxab, Paul Goliath Howegab (NA, A237, II).

bintenis en traktaat te stellen met alle Greiqua hoofde. Wanneer zy ons noodig hebben met groote oorlogen, die het land betreffen dat wy dan gereed zullen zyn hun te hulp te komen.	unison and treaty to make with all the Griqua chiefs. When they need us with big wars, which concern the land, that we will be ready to come to their aid.
Art. 7 Wy ondergeteekende hoofden besluiten ook, wanneer iemand uit Griequaland als vlugtenaar hier in dit land komt zich te verbergen. En wanneer zyn hoofd eene aanvraag doet dan zal hy afgegeven worden, door dien hoofd in welke wyse hy gevonden word. Alzoo ook dezelfde verpligten van de Griequa hoofde.	Art. 7 We the undersigned chiefs decide also, when someone from Griqualand flees to here, in this land, to hide himself. And when his chief requests then he will be returned, by this chief in the way he has been found. Likewise the same duty lies with the Griqua chiefs.

In the 1880s the Kok family (founders of the Griqua polity) apparently held leadership positions among the Witbooi's. On a list of Hendrik Witbooi's "officials" to uphold law and order, we see Andreas Kok in the position of Field Cornet, Christian Kok as councillor, next to Jonathan Afrikaner as a messenger, and Samuel Izaak as the deputy captain, (amongst others), (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:64, 240). From this listing we further learn that by this time the original Namaland polities had fragmented. From the 1870s on the numbers of the original polities dwindled, many groups ceased to be mentioned separately, their ranks being absorbed by the Afrikaners and the Witbooi's.[25] According to Vedder (1938 [1966]:425) it went so far that "the Griquas, who were subject to the control of the Cape government, were very anxious to escape from that control by emigrating to South West Africa" (cf. the allegations in the letter from Swartbooi to Jan Jonker Afrikaner quoted above).

As mentioned in Chapter One (p.1), the language of the Griquas today differs sufficiently not to be classified as a dialect but rather as a variety of Afrikaans. The similarities in origin, history and life-style between the Afrikaners and the Griquas warrant it to evaluate Jan Jonker's language as a forerunner of present-day Griqua Afrikaans. Supposedly the contemporary Afrikaans of the Basters living in Rehoboth (Namibia) is likewise comparable. However, we do not have the transcribed, spoken data from this group as we have from Griqua Afrikaans in South Africa, which was recorded and transcribed in a lengthy project in the 1980s (Van Rensburg 1984). Before we turn to the

[25] Cf. footnote 5, p.65 about the political circumstances around Jan Jonker's death.

linguistic features of ORA in detail, we take a look at another party involved in the politics in Namibia in those days: the missionaries and traders.

3.1.3 Missionaries and traders

Although early missionary activity in the northern Cape frontier region was not absent,[26] Dedering (1997) starts an evaluation of missionary labors along the banks of the Orange River with the arrival of the first London Missionary Society representatives in 1805, namely, the brothers C. and A. Albrecht and J. Seidenfaden. Through their reports back to their employers, Dedering presents a picture of these missionaries as "ordinary" people working in an extraordinary environment (cf. J. & J. Comaroff 1997). Such a perception is perhaps understandable given the source material largely consisting of the European's missives, but the cognizance of missionary activities as a whole remains hard to understand (cf. Loth 1963). As a result, it is difficult to infer what it was that these missionaries were up against. On one level it is reasonable to adopt the somewhat disingenuous argument that it is unrewarding to speculate on changes in indigenous social/cultural structures, because the earlier composition of these socio-economic arrangements is hidden from history (Dedering 1997:175). Yet, if one accepts this dismissive argument with regard to one side of the equation, it is hard to see how one can avoid discussing the nature of the missionaries and vocation:[27] how "ordinary" could a person be, who would go to such lengths to follow a calling, or engage in the desire to travel to unknown and/or dangerous African territories in the early nineteenth century?[28] In other words, with respect to the historiographies of the missionary efforts, the socio-cultural context

[26] Cf. Penn 1995:435ff.

[27] In the case of the settlers and traders (not to mention the so-called "adventurers"), characterizations which detail ulterior motives do not so easily escape historiographies.

[28] For example, P.Anderson (1995:2) describes the motivation of his forefather, the missionary William Anderson, that "after all his immediate family had died, he became firmly convinced God was calling him to serve overseas and was willing to go anywhere the Society [LMS] sent him." (Missionary Anderson had lost two brothers and a sister at a young age, in 1789 his father died and a brother at the age of 16. In 1797 his mother died and five months later his last remaining brother died at the age of 26. William, at the age of 25, set foot in Cape Town in 1800.)

is often missing.[29] The parameters that defined both what the missionaries and indigenous people could do, as well as their own perceptions of the reasons and consequences of their actions, are nowhere clearly explicated.

A third party of major influence in Nama-/ Hereroland in the nineteenth century is missionary Carl Hugo Hahn (1818-1895, German) representing the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*[30] (Rhenish Mission Society, henceforth: RMG), with intervals from 1842 until 1873. He had established himself in Windhoek with Jan Jonker's father, Jonker Afrikaner in 1842, and he seems both Jan Jonker's biggest refuge and antagonist. Hahn apparently taught Jan Jonker to read and write (see letter Nº. 10, Appendix I, section IA), and Jan Jonker obligingly writes Hahn everything that befalls him, asking for advice, at first trusting him seemingly blindly:

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[29] Although first-hand information regarding the indigenes' attitudes to the missionaries is sparse, it is not altogether absent. There is one letter dated "*Bijna aan de onderkant van de Groot Rivier, de 9. Februarij, 1803*" (Almost at the bottom of the Great River, 9th of February 1803) in which Jager and Titus Afrikaner ask the Cape Colony officials for a missionary:

> "*Gehoort hebbende van een leraar die een van de andere leraars de groot revier is af gekomen om naa Kammis te gaan; dat de vroome mensche aan de Cab Leraars rond uit stuure, Zoo verzoek ik alschoon [ofschoon] dat ik de Groote Kwaad doender ben evenwel ootmoedig om een Leraar want ik kan niet zonder Leraar meer blyven en ik zal van nu af aan alle kwaad af laate en zoeke hulpe voor myne ziele die ander verlooren moet gaan. ag help mij schielik eer ik sterfs en bij de andere Leraars boven in de Revier zou ik wel gaan maar die menschen zoude mij niet verdraagen ten minste al zouden de kinders die dag stout zyn kwaad spreeken en hier is ook nog veel volk die gaan leeren wiel.*" (Having heard from a missionary who is one of the missionaries who came down to the Orange River to travel further to Kammis, that the pious people in the Cape send out missionaries, I request, although I am a big sinner, nevertheless [I ask] humbly for a missionary, because I cannot stay any longer without a missionary and from now on I will forsake all evil and seek help for my soul, which otherwise would be lost. Oh, help me please, before I die. [Although] I would like to go to the other missionaries, up the river, the people there would not accept me, when the children are naughty [they will] speak evil [of us]. Furthermore there are other people here who would also like to learn.)

And one cannot help wondering how history would have changed if the *Heeren alle die God lief het Vroome menschen aan de Caab* (Gentlemen, all who love God, pious people in the Cape) to whom this letter is addressed, had given Jager and Titus a positive answer at this early date (only later, in 1815 Jager obtained the missionary J.L.Ebner). Cf. Dedering 1997 on the missionary labors in the early nineteenth century in the Orange River area; Penn 1995 on the situation south of the Orange River.

[30] Other missionaries present in Namaland at the time (1860-1870) were (a.o.) F.H. Kleinschmidt (amongst the Swartboois at Rehoboth), J.G. Schröder Snr. (Pella), J.G. Schröder Jr. (Berseba, Keetmanshoop and later in Windhoek), J.G. Krönlein (Berseba), F.H. Vollmer (Hoachanas), P.H. Brinker (Otjimbingwe) and F.W. Weber (Gobabis and Warmbad), (Lau (ed.) 1989, *passim*).

> Dear Sir, I will return you a reply. Dear Sir, but I do not know which answer I shall give you more; I am still at peace with you and all the white people. In friendship, as always. Therefore I always write you letters, to ask you [advice] when I hear something from that side...
> (Jan Jonker Afrikaner to Missionary Hahn, 10.6.1869, Letter Nº. 16, Appendix I, section IB.)

Around the 1870s (after a peace-treaty with his foremost enemy Kamaharero was signed) Jan Jonker becomes more aware that Hahn might be advocating a political strategy of 'divide and rule'. (See for example letter 26, dd. 18.07.1870, Appendix I, section II; also Lau 1987, chapters seven and eight.) Hahn's interests were focused on the Herero mission; his converts however, remained few in number (Lau ed., 1984-1985, Vedder 1938, Goltblatt 1971). He left the service of the RMS in 1873 (see footnote 88, p.101) and then became active in the field of linguistic studies, exploration and, through his persistent and successful endeavor to expand the European mission field, also in trade and politics.

Notable traders at the time were C.J. Andersson (1827-1867) and his aide F.J. Green (ca. 1830-1876). Especially Andersson, a Swedish national, became quite involved in the politics as he found himself hampered by Jan Jonker's dominance over the trade routes.[31] Then again Jan Jonker's antagonism towards Andersson does not seem too unfounded when we learn that Andersson unscrupulously sent infected cattle (lung sickness) through the herds of the indigenous people, to the Cape (Lau 1987:126). Green (a Canadian) had a reputation for recklessness; he did for instance, not shy away from killing women and children of the Afrikaners (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1256). The center of the Europeans' activities seems to have been Otjimbingwe, (Nama: *Atsâb*), halfway between Windhoek and the coast, from where Hahn tried to spread Christianity and Andersson to set up a trading network. From the traditional historiographies it transpires that the tension between these groups was rooted in the struggle of the "Herero to free themselves from the yoke of the Nama".[32]

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[31] A number of roads had been built by Jan Jonker's father to facilitate transport with cart and oxen, a.o. a road through the Auas mountains, and the road from Windhoek to Walfish Bay. Hahn comments: "Jonker has made, by a remarkable effort, a highroad through this part of the country, which was formerly impassable for a wagon. I must confess that, nowhere in the Colony, have I seen a work of this sort being undertaken. It is scarcely credible that people with hardly any tools, or generally with none at all, could have carried out a task of this magnitude. Enormous rocks have been dug out, others have been shattered with loose stones, trees and bushes have been rooted out and so on." Quoted in Vedder 1938 [1966]:223-225.

[32] For example the chapter on the period 1860-1870 in Vedder (1938 [1966]) is titled "Herero war of freedom and Orlam war". However, anecdotical remarks show how cultural differences influence the interpretation of events:
(continued...)

The traders and missionaries who have left their accounts felt themselves charitably involved in this 'tribal strife' in the African wilds and emerge from their own records as advocators of the 'freedom fighters' they claimed the Herero to be. The Herero had to be freed from the limitations and controls which the powerful Oorlam Afrikaner alliance had been able to impose on them, as they possessed better political insights won by a long history of struggle against the servile roles imposed by Dutch and British colonialism. But as Lau (1987, 1989 ed.)[33] has argued, and as transpires from the present corpus of letters which Jan Jonker wrote, there was little charity, rather tangible personal interest on the part of the Whites, which was ruthlessly defended.

Summarizing, the general view of the Namaland missionaries, presented in the literature leaves one with the monocausal impression that the missionaries were 'poor', 'ordinary' people in an inhospitable, harsh environment, confronted by 'cunning' Africans. Yet missionary C.H. Hahn characterized his missionary colleagues as being largely "stupid".[34] At the same time, even if we assume the Afrikaner Oorlam leaders to be capable (or even shrewd) chiefs who were manipulating the missionaries for their own ends, this would not be an unnatural situation, for doubtlessly, they would have been imprudent or even derelict in their duty as leaders of their people not to have done so.

As to the central question concerning how the missionaries were able to gain control over a

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[32](...continued)
e.g., Preller (1941:17) narrates: "*Toe hulle [Herero] [...] na 'n reeks bloedige moorde, deur die Duitsers vasgedruk werd, was dit vir genl. Von Trotha se generale staf snaaks dat die inboorlinge nie aanval nie. "Waarom sou ons aanval?" het een van hulle geantwoord, "julle het mos g'n beeste by julle nie"*." (When they [the Herero] after a number of murders were entrapped, it was incomprehensible for Von Trotha's staff that they didn't attack them. "Why would we attack?" one of them answered, "you don't have cattle"). Another example is England annexing established Portuguese territory in a treaty with Kamaharero, as he in turn was unaware of 'empires' and 'nations', only knew his land in terms of the grazing grounds for his cattle. At the same time we hear of an English official drawing up the border in northern Namibia from Scheppmansdorf till Rooigrond, not realising this was respectively the German and the Dutch name for one and the same town (Goltblatt 1971:63).

[33] Much of the above has drawn on the publications from Lau (1984-1985 ed., 1987, 1989 ed., 1995). With regret I had to learn of her untimely death. The first five letters of this collection of Jan Jonker missives can also be found, in their original version, in Lau (ed.) 1989.

[35] Lau (ed.)1984-1985: 669, C. Hahn, *Rückschau*, anno 1853: "*Die Gesellschaften sind dem Maxim gefolgt, für dummen Hottentotten passten dumme Missionare, wenigstens ungebildete, ...*" (The Societies have followed the maxim that for the stupid Hottentots (Khoekhoe), stupid missionaries, at least uneducated ones, suited best....).

fundamentally different, yet otherwise perfectly functioning society,[35] Dedering (1997:173) offers that:

> [The] chiefs [must have] found it more difficult to assemble and control followers, because the missionaries offered at least a temporary alternative to ambitious clan heads, impoverished individuals and women looking for a more prestigious social position.

And that:

> [The] missionaries offered spiritual and ideological innovation that attracted a larger following of Africans, especially women and children who found themselves excluded from socially rewarding positions (*op.cit.*:93).

This kind of explanation is not in accordance with what contemporaneous observers mention about social role-modelling in Khoekhoe societies.[36] It may be true that the earlier accounts are not entirely devoid of romantic ideas about "noble savages" and what is now termed "the Otherness". Most of them fail to offer a context in which to examine such issues. As a touchstone, Penn (1995:483), writing from the perspective of the indigenous people, observes that from their point of view there may have been "the cruel disappointment of betrayed expectations - [that] the missionaries had not played their part".

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[35] In his account of the northern Cape frontier some decades earlier Penn (1995:233), offers us the following deliberations:

> What is more debatable, however, is whether the San were ever able to conceptualise, adequately, the nature of the forces that were overwhelming them. The stories and myths of the /Xam, which were collected by Bleek and Lloyd, suggest an essentially ahistorical understanding, where events and things were fitted into a conceptual grid of essentially mythic significance. Theirs was a reality which included dreams, trance, out of body travel, therianthropic forms, spirit possession and shamanistic powers. Ancient stories had great explanatory power. Certain animals had magical properties and were much easier to understand than strange white men. "They think we are lions", said Gordon, and here we should understand that sorcerers who worked evil at night were thought to assume the form of lions. None of this is meant to imply that the San's mental universe was inferior to, or more absurd than, that of a Dutch frontier farmer. It is merely to say that the focussed drive of the Europeans, with a cluster of concepts based upon Christian certainties and a notion of power which derived from material gain, proved to be of greater utility, in the long struggle for survival on the Cape frontier, than a world view....

[36] Cf. Wikar (Mossop ed., 1935), Hahn 1881:19, 21, 28 and details presented in Penn 1995, *passim*.

In this respect the present study offers a significant contribution in disclosing the contents of letters from an indigenous source. The importance of the present treatment of the source material further lies in the fact that the original texts are diplomatically edited and are accompanied by Dutch and English glosses (cf. Chapter One, § 1.1.2.2). Thus, they remain open to further study and interpretation, both by the historian[37] as well as by the linguist.

3.2 Diachronic Orange River Afrikaans

As discussed in Chapter Two (§ 2.4), contemporary Orange River Afrikaans is listed as a post-creole language "spoken by many descendants of the former Khoekhoe-speaking population in/from the Orange River area, and derive[d] from a late 18th century creole" (Smith 1995:355). And although, as brought forward in studies of the varieties of ORA, the idiosyncrasies of ORA are neither Dutch nor particularly Afrikaans (Van Rensburg 1984, II:399), according to Van Rensburg (*op.cit.*:47) none of its syntactic singularities are completely ruled out in Standard Afrikaans.

> Verder kan daar uit die toetsresultate [of Griqua-Afrikaans constructions -cl] bepaal word watter konstruksies na die oordeel van die respondente standaardkonstruksies is en watter konstruksies op die ander punt van die aanvaarbaarheidskaal, glad nie in Afrikaans voorkom nie. Nie een van die konstruksies kom glad nie in Afrikaans voor nie [emphasis added].[38]

The question arises whether nineteenth-century ORA must not be rather seen as an independent development amongst speakers living in remote areas of the northwestern Cape and beyond the Orange River. As documented in the previous chapters, ORA was formed among people (and their descendants), who migrated north from the Cape. In non-theoretical terms they were speakers of Hollands, which they introduced to these areas (cf. Van Rensburg et al, 1989, and § 2.1).

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[37] Note Dedering's remark, that "Heinrich Vedder 1934 ([1938]) errs in decisive details", in the light of the fact that part of the present source material was preserved through the care of dr. Vedder (Dedering 1997:17, footnote 15).

[38] Further from the testing results [of Griqua Afrikaans constructions] it can be determined which of the constructions, according to the respondents is a standard construction and which ones lie on the other end of the scale of acceptability, being entirely ungrammatical in Afrikaans. Not one of the constructions [in ORA] is entirely absent (impossible), in Afrikaans.

Linguistically speaking it is doubtful that the Hollands of the Cape Khoekhoe in contact with the Namaland Khoekhoe took an entirely different route of language formation, than the one which was already established by the contact of the Cape Khoekhoe and the colonizers. The question posited above will therefore be given a negative answer. This is in line with the working hypothesis formulated in Chapter Two that nineteenth-century ORA is a continuation of earlier developments of the CDV. Given this assumption, it cannot be ruled out that positive grammaticality judgements on ORA constructions by SA speakers are based on earlier variation which have not (yet) completely dissipated, again pointing in the direction of a communal origin of ORA and the CDV in the formative period.

To reach an insight into the forerunner of contemporary ORA, keeping in mind that it may lead to a deeper insight of the non-acrolectal CDV, I culled the Windhoek National Archives on a quest for documents which were "written in Dutch".[39] Overall the linguistic quality of the written material of the Oorlam-Nama as found in the Windhoek National Archives (henceforth: NA), can be classified along two lines: those who showed a good knowledge of the metropolitan variant, and those who showed latent 'Afrikaans' constructions (often in the 'Dutch' spelling). A rudimentary division between the two forms can be made on the basis of the use[40] of the first person plural pronoun *wij* (Dutch, nominative form) versus *ons* (Afrikaans nominative form, Dutch non-nominative form), in nominative Case-positions.[41]

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[39] Unfortunately the documentation of the archival resources in South Africa and Namibia do not include the linguistic format of the accessions. An omission, I would support to see adjusted in the currently ongoing process of digitalizing the archival inventories nationwide.

[40] There are other differences showing similar variation in pattern for a number of syntactic phenomena, as for example, the use of articles, demonstratives, diminutives, relative clause formation, verbal inflection and tense marking (see further § 3.2.1.1 and § 3.2.1.2).

[41] The use of the Dutch accusative (as well as possessive) pronoun *ons* in the first person plural, nominative Case, was first noted in the 1730s by O.F. Mentzel with the by now classic witticism: "*Man fragt etwan, ob sie keine Bibel haben, so erfolgt die Antwort: Onz heeft geen Bijbel... Wann man sie aber alsdann frägt: Wie viel Unzen gehen auf ein Pfund? so werden sie schamroth.*" ('You ask them if they have a Bible, then they will answer: Us have no Bible... When you ask them how many ounces are there in the pound? then they blush.') Most Afrikaans linguists assume that nominative *ons* was fairly common by 1750 (Raidt 1983:155, Ponelis 1993:218), but Hoogenhout (1904: 9) still reported variation between *ons* and *wij* in subject position amongst older people. Notably in the copy of this grammar book in the Merensky Library (Pretoria) corrections have been added in pencil towards the modern Afrikaans orthography, e.g., *feul*: *veel* (much), *minner*: *minder* (less), *fir*: *vir* (for) and the suggested alternate for 2S *jy* as

(continued...)

To attempt a closer characterization of the Hollands of the Oorlams, it may be pointed out that Roberge (1999:99) considers basilectal Cape Dutch varieties to have formed amongst groups like these. At the same time he notes that basilectilization of the CDV was not extreme, compared for instance to Atlantic Creoles. It is also not unlikely that the Oorlams' speech was influenced by contact with mesolectal speakers and, in the case of some, by being taught to read and write Dutch.

The exact nature of other language(s) and/or dialects which the eighteenth-/nineteenth-century Khoekhoe spoke, in particular their grammars, are impossible to reconstruct. From the word-lists that have survived,[42] Haacke (1998) established that seventeenth-century Cape-Khoe shares 69% of its vocabulary with present-day Nama as spoken in Namibia. Cape-Khoe shares an equal amount (69%) with !Gora (also spelled !Ora or Koran(n)a), as documented from the 1930s. The vocabularies of !Gora and Nama share 80% of the lexicon surveyed. Over a time-span of more than 300 years and approximately 2000 square kilometers on the African continent this is an impressive result. Regardless of the fact that nothing can be known about the particular syntactic traits, the continuation seems evident. Note the equal proximity of Cape-Khoe with both Nama and !Gora, contrary to the general opinion in the literature that Cape-Khoe had a greater affinity with !Gora than Nama (cf. Nienaber 1989:235). Although Hahn (1881:55, 102) refers to definite differences between Nama and Cape-Hottentots[43] in the beginning of the nineteenth century, as well as Nienaber (1989:674-675) who speaks about broad dissimilarities between Nama, Korana and Cape "Hottentot dialects", I will adopt the already common practice of using the present-day Nama grammar as a comparative model for the analysis of the syntactic structure of the nineteenth-century data under examination.

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[41](...continued)
(southern Dutch) *gy* is crossed out. However, the alternate *wy* for Afrikaans *ons* is not sanctioned by this 'editor'.

[42] Haacke (1998) compares the listing by Wreede in *Eenige Hottentotse Woorden*, Wreede's *Hottentotsche Taal, gebruykelick by de Natien, op en omtrent de Caab de goude Hoop*, Kolb's list of Cape Khoekhoe (as in Godée Molsbergen, 1916) and !Gora (Korana) data according to Meinhof (1930), Engelbrecht (1928) and Wuras (1920), with present-day Nama.

[43] Vedder (1938 [1966]:11), quotes from the log of the Dutch East India Company's ship *Bode*, which sailed from the Cape to South West Africa in 1677: "...the natives [about one mile inland of the coast of South West Africa] tried to talk [but], because these people could only understand our Hottentots ["who had accompanied the captain from Cape Town"] with difficulty, I took them with me to the shore, where our boats lay, and showed them every kindness by giving them tobacco and brandy..." [emphasis added].

This practice does require further elaboration though; besides the spelling variation,[44] the intricacies of the ethnonymic designations have often been ignored. Mistakes have been made and have been carried over by subsequent authors.

The number of tribes, groups and clans accounted for in the 900 odd pages of Nienaber's *Khoekhoense Stamname* (1989), speaks for itself as an indication of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Khoekhoe. The South African Khoesan languages fall into two linguistically unrelated groups (Traill 1997:2). The !Kwi group, a branch of the southern Bushman (San) languages, with |Xam and ||Ng as South African examples is entirely extinct in South Africa. Only a few recordings, made in the 1930s remain. The second group is the Khoekhoe group, consisting of !Ora (/ !Gora/ Koran(n)a), Gri, Nama, and the southern and eastern Cape Khoe dialects. Of these, only Nama survives today. Other languages of the Khoe family group are still spoken in Namibia, Botswana, southern Angola, and western Zambia.

From Traill (1997:6) it becomes clear that languages from these groups were often mutually unintelligible, even within the group. For example from the !Kwi language group,

> Ku |Khaasi and ǂKhomani do not appear to have been mutually intelligible: not only was this Story's [ms., approx. 1940] impression but the last three people to retain some knowledge of ǂKhomani could not understand a word of this [monologue by Kabara, 1936] Ku |Khaasi recording.

Language-typologically these languages do not form a uniform group either. Sandawe, Nama and !Ora are classified as SOV languages, whereas Ju'/hoan, =Hoan, Naro, !Xõo, =Khomani and /Xam exhibit an SVO order (Bell 1999:13). Apart from the fact that mutual influence cannot be ruled out (*infra*), as demonstrated for the lexicon of the Khoekhoe group of languages by Haacke (1998), it is correct that "although there are many differences between !Ora and its surviving linguistic relative Nama, in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, a Nama speaker will be able to grasp bits of

[44] For example, the Nama demonstratives *nee* (this), *n//ãá* (that), *náú* (yonder), translate as *hee*, *n//ãá*, and *háú* in Korana (Honken 1977:162).

[!Ora]" (Traill 1997:23).[45] With respect to time (the seventeenth century vs. the twentieth century) and space (the Cape peninsular area vs. the territory along the Orange River) the apportionment of !Ora (/Korana) influence must be treated with care. Already in the late 1920s just a few Korana could be found who had a reliable and fluent command of the language.[46] Today, from one recording made in the late 1930s, the language still can be heard. Notably, by that time most Koranas

> had shifted to Afrikaans, at the same time adopting the ethnonym Griqua. Others had shifted to Tswana. [...] Today there are no Korana, only Griquas who speak Afrikaans and English with a few individuals who remember odd words and phrases from this Khoekhoe language" (*op.cit.*:23).

Therefore the equation of the Korana with the Griqua seems rather a twentieth-century development. The make-up of the population that became known as Griquas since 1814 seems of an entirely different nature.[47] As far as the language under research here is concerned, it is not altogether clear which other languages contended with this particular form of Hollands. About their own preferences Nienaber (1989:801) claims that as much can be said as that they aspired to speak nothing but Dutch:

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[45] The Penduka Declaration (April 2001) summarizes the present day-situation as follows: "It is an error to refer to the languages of the San peoples as *Khoisan*. In the 1930s European researchers made the mistake of thinking that all click languages came from one source. Previous and subsequent research shows that there are at least four entirely separate language families. These are the Ju, Khoe, !Ui and Taa language families. Each language family has different and unrelated grammar, word order and vocabulary. There are various San peoples who speak Khoe languages, and there are non-San peoples who speak Khoe languages, including the Nama and the Damara.

The difference between Khwedam (a Khoe language) and !Xun (a Ju language) is greater than the difference between Otjiherero and isiZulu, both of which are Bantu languages. The difference between Naro (a Khoe language) and N|u (a !Ui language) is greater than between English and Hindi (the dominant language of India), both of which are Indo-European languages."

[46] Both Rainer Vossen (University of Frankfurt) and Andy Chebanne (University of Botswana), as well as Tony Traill (University of the Witwatersrand) and Petrus Vaalbooi (a ǂKhomani representative) conceded that there are no monolingual Khoekhoe or San speakers in southern Africa that they know of, with the possible exception of some Nama-speaking enclaves outside South Africa (p.c. January 2000).

[47] Cf. the imprecisions in Nienaber's assessment of the relative likeness of Korana and Cape Khoekhoe (1989:235), equating the Korana people in the seventeenth century at the Cape with the twentieth-century connotation of Korana. (*Toe die Korannas nog 'n Kaapse stam was, was hulle die bekende Gorachoukwas ["Tabakdieve"] uit van Riebeeck se tyd en het hulle dieselfde taal gepraat as die ander Hottentotte rondom die Tafelvallei. Daar is 'n groot affiniteit tussen Kaaps en Koranna waardeur die twee dialekte hulle in verskeie opsigte van Nama apart stel.* 'When the Koranna were still a tribe in the Cape, they were the well known Gorachoukwas [Tobacco-thieves] from Van Riebeeck's days and they spoke the same language as the other Hottentots in Table Valley. There is a great affinity between the Cape [language] and Koranna, by which these two dialects set themselves apart from Nama').

> Die opvallendste teken van Oorlamskap was die toeëiening van Hollands as die eie taal. Daar was allerlei grade in die kennis van die eie taal, party het Nama glad nie meer geken nie, ander egter kon dit nog praat maar was nie trots op die kundigheid nie. Party van die Oorlamkapteins het botweg geweier dat die sendelinge die kinders in Nama of deur Nama onderrig mag gee. Kroenlein 1834:86 in *Quellen* 10 vertel dat sy gemeente in Berseba meestal uit Oorlamme bestaan het en "*sich erst in späteren Jahren die Hottentotten-Sprache angeeignet haben. Sie sprechen daher herzlich schlecht, und Tibot, mein Dolmetscher, wohl am schlechtesten.*[48]

Nienaber's opinion is based on two statements from those days, which I will include in full:

> [Knudsen 1844 ms.] ...Orlam oder Orlammi (ohne Bedeutung). Khauaku, Orlammi u. Manatab sollen gleich sein ... (Baster, Orlam und Manab (nicht Namab) sind eins ...) Die Orlams sind solche, welche aus der Capgegend sind, und desshalb auch die holländische Sprache sprechen, wesshalb alle Hottentotten ... die Holländisch verstehen und etwas geschickter und klüger als andere sind schlechtweg Orlams genannt worden. Auf Namaquaisch nennen sich die Orlams zugleich Holländisch-sprecher, Duitschsprekers: Manada. Die Antwort, wenn sie gefragt werden, was für Leute, sie sind, ist: Manata-da oder Manada-ta (Sing.), Manada-da (Pl.) ... Die Kinder Ulams sind die Orlams, kluge und geschickte Leute. ([Nienaber verduidelik:] Ulam is 'n nakomeling van koning Saul, Knudsen meen dat die Orlams se naam bewaar is in die Bybelse Ulam).[49]

> [Wallman J.C. in Der Missions-Freund 1861 nr.5] Die Horde des Häuptlings Willem (Willem Swartbooi): sein Name könnte auf den Gedanken bringen, als ob er selbst sich hätte taufen lassen. Dem war aber nicht so. Er hiess eigentlich Huisib und war ein echter landeingesessener Nama; als aber die Oorlam aus der Capcolonie ins Land eindrangen, ging es Huisib, wie vielen seiner

[48] The most striking feature of being an Oorlam was the appropriation of the Dutch language. They had some knowledge of their own language to varying degrees, some didn't know any Nama anymore at all, others however, could still speak it a little, but were not proud of this ability. Some Oorlam-captains apparently simply refused to let the missionaries instruct their children in Nama. Krönlein 1834:86 in *Quellen* 10 narrates that his Station in Berseba consisted chiefly of Oorlams and that "[they] only acquired the Hottentot language in later years. Therefore they speak it terribly, and Tibot, my translator must speak it the worst of all".

[49] Oorlam or Oorlammi (without meaning). Khauaku, Orlammi and Manatab should mean the same ... (Baster, Orlam and Manab (not Namab) are one...) the Oorlams are those which came from around the Cape, and therefore they speak the Dutch language, as a consequence, all the Hottentots ... who understand Dutch and are a little more adaptable and cleverer are simply called Oorlams. In the Nama-language the Oorlam call themselves therefore Dutch-speakers, German-speakers: Manada. When asked what people they are they will answer: Manata-da or Manada-ta (Sing.), Manada-da (PL.) ... the children of Ulam are the Oorlams, clever, agreeable people. (Ulam is a descendant of King Saul and Knudsen thought that the name of the Oorlam was preserved through ancestry of the biblical Ulam.)

> Landsleute: sie verachteten ihre väterlichen Sitten und Weisen und wollten auch Oorlam, d.h. civilisirte Hottentotten sein, nicht mehr auf Ochsen reiten, sondern in Wagen fahren, nicht mehr mit Bogen und Pfeilen schiessen, sondern Feuergewehr zur Hand nehmen, nicht mehr in der Väter Zunge reden, sondern sie radebrechten ihr Capholländisch und liessen sich von den Fremdlingen mit holländischen und christlichen Namen nennen. Daher hatte der Häuptling seinen Namen Willem bekommen; aber an die Taufe dachte er nicht. Oorlam Häuptlinge, mit denen er zusammen Schmelens Predigt hörte, liessen sich taufen, aber Willem Zwartbooi wollte in dem Stück bleiben, was er war...[50]

The latter statement is representative of the general tone of complaint about the people's language preferences in the letters and reports of the missionaries to their authorities (cf. Preller 1941). Heese, (s.j.:196) summarizes: "*Die Rynse sendelinge het Schmelen se werk aan die [Nama] taal in Groot Namaland voortgesit ondanks heftige teenkanting van die inwoners wat daarop aangedring het om onderrig slegs in Hollands te ontvang.*"[51] This attitude is illustrated in Preller 1941:36:

> Die Duitse sendelinge in Suidwes het sowel die Nama as die Hererotaal aangeleer, die Bybel daarin oorgesit en hulle het aangedring daarop om die kleingoed op die skole deur medium van hul eie taal te leer. Dáarteen het die Basters hulle met hand en tand verset. Op 'n stormagtige vergadering byv., in Bethanie het die hoofman David Christiaan met klem en nadruk geroep:
>
> "Hollands, en niks as Hollands nie! Ek verag myself en voel of ek in die bosse wil wegkruip as ek Hottentots praat!" [...] en dit was die kaptein se antwoord wat wet geword het in Bethanie.[52]

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[50] The followers of chief Willem [Willem Swartbooi]: his name might suggest that he had had himself christened. But that is not true. His real name is Huisib and he was a real Nama from Namaqualand; but, when the Oorlam moved from the Cape Colony, it happened to Huisib as it happened to many of his countrymen: they started to loath their ancestral customs and wisdom and also wanted to be Oorlam, which means civilized Hottentots; no longer ride on oxen but in wagons; no longer shoot with bow and arrow, but take up firearms; no longer speak in their mother tongue but rather hodgepodge in Cape Dutch and they have strangers call them by Dutch and Christian names. Thus, the chief got his name Willem; but not a thought of being baptized. The Oorlam chiefs with whom he listened to Schmelen's preaching, had themselves baptized, but Willem Zwartbooi held out ...

[51] The Rhenish missionaries continued Schmelen's work on the Nama language in Great Namaqualand despite strong protests of the inhabitants, who insisted on being instructed in Dutch only.

[52] The German missionaries in South West both learned the Nama and the Herero language, they translated the Bible into these languages and they insisted on teaching the children in the schools in their mother tongue. The Basters resisted with might and main. For example, in a stormy meeting in Bethany, chief David Christian shouted vehemently: "Dutch, and nothing but Dutch. I despise myself and I feel as if I want to crawl behind the bushes if I talk Hottentots"; and the law became the same as this answer of the captain.

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One other consequence was that the Oorlam dubbed whatever they could into Dutch: their own names, the names of the tribes, rivers, mountains and settlements. Fourie (1985:58) concludes that "*Afrikaans het dus al teen 1869 sy beslag in Namibië gekry en diegene wat met Oorlams te doen gehad het, sou sekerlik Afrikaans as 'n tweede taal moes aanleer.*"[53] Also Schinz, visiting Namaland in the early 1880s remarks that the Hottentots prefer to speak Hollands amongst each other ("*die Eitelkeit veranlasst sie sogar, eine solche der eigenen Muttersprach vorzuziehen, und nicht selten kann man Zeuge sein, wie die Hottentotten unter einander ohne Grund auf holländisch unterhalten.*" (Schinz 1891:82). Thus, the preference of the population for Dutch is clear, however, exactly which other languages were spoken which could have been of influence on their Hollands, is very unclear. In the case of the Griqua, Rademeyer (1938:27) has claimed that in the beginning of the twentieth century the Griqua still spoke Hottentots besides Afrikaans. As far as the nineteenth-century Oorlams, to the west of the Griqua are concerned, from a conversation between Hahn and Jonker Afrikaner quoted in missionary Hahn's diary (written in German) on March 8, 1853 it seems that he and Jonker Afrikaner spoke Dutch, as Hahn clarifies the gist of Jonker's words in that conversation with a verbatim quotation in Dutch:

> Jonker erwiderte darauf [...] er wolle eher sterben, eher vernichtet werden (dood gaan, gedaan raken) ehe er einen Missionar nehme. (Lau ed., 1984-1985:654).[54]

And, anno 1842, missionary Kleinschmidt in his *Dagverhaal* (quoted in Hahn's *Tagebücher*, Vol . I) adds: "*Jonker musste uns verstehen, da es langsam gelesen ward und jeder Satz in Namaquaisch übersetzt ward, obwohl er selbst holländisch spricht*"[55] [emphasis added], (Lau ed., 1984-1985:180). Then again Jonker's wife, Beetje Afrikaner[56] apparently spoke no Dutch at all. Hahn sighs that she once came to visit him in vain, as he did not have an interpreter present; that however, a few days later, he found a Griqua wagon driver to act as interpreter (diary entry on 4 January 1857, Lau

[53] Afrikaans was an established language in Namibia around 1869, and those who wanted to deal with the Oorlams certainly would have had to learn Afrikaans as a second language.

[54] Jonker then replied ... he would rather die, rather be destroyed before he would take on a missionary.

[55] Jonker must have been able to understand us, as it was read slowly and every sentence was translated into Nama, although he himself speaks Dutch.

[56] There is a good possibility that Beetje was Jan Jonker's mother, but this is not certain.

ed.,1984-1985:949). Jan Jonker's children in turn, must have been fluent in both languages as Kleinschmidt notes: "To my great surprise I found that his two daughters who used to stay at Rehoboth with their mother for long periods ... had practised several of our songs in Dutch and Nama with great part of the youth there" (anno 1862, quoted in Lau 1987:76, fn.7). And, Dedering (1997:60) quotes missionary Gorth stating in 1852 that "Even Amraal [Lambert] whose people all speak Nama is not yet familiar with that language" i.e. that he could only speak (Cape) Dutch.[57] Although missionary Hahn goes as far as voicing the opinion that all languages south of the equator are very similar indeed,[58] like many before him, he finds it very difficult to learn the indigenous language, which he calls Nama, whereas his wife[59] refers to it as the Omuherero-language. Influence from other languages on Nama itself can neither be ruled out.[60] Regardless of the question what exactly constitutes *Nama*, both as the epithet for the people as well as the language, it can be certain that various Khoesan languages (c.q. not only Nama), were of influence on the Hollands the people sought to master.

Concluding this section, not much more can be determined than that some form of the Dutch

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[57] Note that Amraal Lambert was Jonker Afrikaner's cousin: "*Jonker Afrikaner ist sein Vetter und Landesmann, denn die Afrikaner stammen auch aus dieser Gegend* [Tulbagh region, cl]" (J.A. was his cousin and compatriot, because the Afrikaners also originate from this region), quoted from the *Berichte der Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*. nr 22, dd. 1855:237 in Nienaber 1989:565. Also compare the letter in example (1), § 3.2.1.1, co-authored by the schoolmaster Daniel Dauseb, who reportedly was brought from the Cape to Namaqualand by missionary Olpp as a young boy.

[58] At one stage he theorizes that "from Mozambique to the West coast, one language in different dialects is spoken" and he rejoices to have found "the key to the heart of Africa": "*Das ist also ein unwidersprechliches Faktum, dass von Mosambik bis hier zur Westküste, quer durch Afrika, eine Sprache in verschiedene Dialekten geredet wird. Diese Entdeckung war mir unbeschreiblich erfreulich. Wir haben den Schlüssel zum Herzen Afrikas.*" (It is thus an absolute fact that from Mozambique unto the West coast here, right across Africa, one language is spoken in a number of different dialects. This discovery made me very happy. We have found the key to the heart of Africa. (Dairy entry 6.10.1850, Lau ed., 1984-1985:474).

[59] Emma Hahn, née Hone, came from England. She kept a diary in 1846, reproduced in Lau ed., 1984-1985:519ff.

[60] It is generally conjectured that the Khoekhoe at the Cape would have spoken chiefly Nama and Korana. Notwithstanding, influence from the San languages is difficult to deny. On eighteenth and nineteenth century ORA Den Besten (2000a:7) concedes that "the many |Xam speakers who were absorbed by ORA or pidgin speaking Khoekhoe communities may have been instrumental [in the retention of a Germanic word order] as well" (with reference to Traill 1996.) Likewise, Tony Traill assesses the substrate language of the Karretjiemense, nowadays a monolingual Afrikaans speaking Khoekhoe people (De Jongh 2000:13), to be of Korana or Griqua origin, but located in the area where |Xam was spoken (p.c. March 2000).

language was in use amongst the Oorlam-Nama, which is indicated by the term 'Hollands', and that this language was of the highest esteem amongst the population. There is no suggestion in the nineteenth-century reports from Namaland that the Hollands of the Oorlam-Nama would have been significantly different from the same in the Cape peninsular areas.[61] Examination of the written record however, does not confirm such homogeneity, leading to either one of two conclusions,

- that regional and/or social stratification, which might have featured in varieties of the nineteenth-century vernacular was unimportant,
- or, the Hollands, as featured in the corpus of this study was a generally accepted form of speech, despite all its differences with the written record from the KT.

The survey of both the anthropological and the linguistic data gives no decisive indication that there were prominent distinctions between the Oorlams in the northern territories and the corresponding communities in the Cape. It will be shown in the next section that Jan Jonker Afrikaner had the command over different registers, in a certain period bordering a near perfect Dutch, not unlike the record from the KT. Therefore, as a working hypothesis the vernacular forms of language which are demonstrated in the corpus of this study are taken to represent a continuation of (at least one stratum of) the CDV. From historical details such as that a group of discontent frontier farmers called in the aid of the Frenchman Estienne Barbier to formulate their grievances on paper, and that only two out of the nine or ten men could write their name to the *plakkaat* - the rest made crosses (Penn 1995:110, 1999:115; cf. Pheiffer 1980:29), it is further concluded that illiteracy of a large part of the population is an important factor obscuring the written record in the KT. An element of caution must also be

[61] Hahn's opinion about the Dutch vernacular in the Colony (and beyond), round the 1850s is rather despondent: *Fuer Gegenden wie die Kolonie, wo im allgemeinen unter den Farbigen und selbst auch Weissen die geistige Entwicklung auf keiner gar hohen Stufe steht, wo der Missionar in seiner Muttersprache ein nahes, aber sehr verdorbenes Sprachidiom lernen hat und er nicht leicht in die Verlegenheid geraten kann, aufs Glatteis der Metaphysik oder Philosophie überhaupt geführt zu werden, mag es wohl sein, obgleich ich's auch da nicht ganz zugeben kann, denn Gelehrsamkeit kommt in allen Lebensverhältnissen zustatten, aber unter allen anderen Umständen ist die Arbeit eines ungebildeten Missionars eine höchst mangelhafte und für die Zukunft vergebliche. Eine Fremde Sprache greift er an wie etwa ein Schuster ein heisses Eisen; er verbrennt sich die Finger daran.* [emphasis added]. (Lau ed., 1984-1985:669). (For areas such as the Colony, where in general the intellectual development of both Coloreds and Whites does not reach a high level, where the missionary has to learn a corrupted language, close to his mother tongue, and, although he will not be easily trapped in the embarrassment of having to discuss metaphysical or philosophical issues in general, therefore it may be the case, although I hesitate to admit it, as knowledge is of importance in all areas concerning life, but in all cases, the labors of an ignorant missionary are highly deficient and without future profit. He tackles a foreign language like a black smith touches hot iron: he burns his fingers.)

raised with respect to our perception of the eighteenth-century Khoekhoe. The recorded observations are through the remarks made by visitors to the Cape (cf. Chapter Two, § 2.3), characterized by Penn as "learned outsiders looking in" (1995:230):

> They reflect, no doubt, some of the colonial attitudes towards the Khoikhoi but are also shaped by the assumptions of the discourse of the Enlightenment [...] whereas the colonists, especially those on the frontier [may have] had retained ideas about "the other" which had been prevalent in Europe since the middle ages.

Assuming that the Hollands of Jan Jonker Afrikaner had developed out of the CDV, certain discrepancies are left unexplained. As was touched upon in Chapter Two, the near absence of the double negation[62] in the nineteenth-century ORA data is one such anomaly. In Chapter Four I will show that similar discrepancies can be pointed out in the area of the pronominal paradigm. As the initial survey of the variation in the oeuvre of Jan Jonker Afrikaner will show, the difference between an acrolectal ('high') variety and a basilectal ('low') variety is not solely based on sociolinguistic factors. It rather seems that Jan Jonker Afrikaner was bilingual in these varieties and could manipulate them at will. Before I turn to this, an evaluation of the diachronic source material is in place.

3.2.1 Oorlam-Nama correspondence

3.2.1.1 The corpus of letters in the Windhoek National Archives

In the case of the Oorlam-Nama letters it remains hard to determine which letters would be the work of scribes, except for those instances where the author signs with an X. Some formal education does not seem to have guaranteed the use of metropolitan Dutch, as illustrated in (1), a joint effort between a Nama-Khoekhoe leader Manase, the local schoolmaster (born in the Cape) and the magistrate.

[62] Cf. § 2.5.2.1, footnote 70. In the corpus of letters from Jan Jonker Afrikaner the double negation (sentence final *nie*-2) is entirely absent.

(1) !Hoaxa!nas 9 Maart 1880

Wel Edele Kapityn Mozes Wittboi[63]

1	Ik	wilde	de	U	met	dezen	kliene	brieftje	sommigen			
	I	wanted	the	you	with	this	small	letter	some			
2	regelen	te	schryven,		en	wy	hebben		uwen	brief	hel	ont-
	lines	to	write		and	we	have		your	letter	whole	-
3	vangen	en	[ ]	dankbaar		daarover (.)		in de	verledenen		maan	hebben
	received	and		grateful		for this		in the	past		month	have
4	[ ]	zelf	in	de Damaraland			geweest		als	spiejond,		in !Uri -
		self	in	the Damaraland			been		as	spy		in -
5	! khubib[64]		geweest,									
	Urikhubib		been									
[...]												
6	en	nu	verzoeken		wy	dat	u	toch	ons	mog	helpen,	
	and	now	request		we	that	you	MOD	us	might	help	
7	omdat	u lieden	traktaat		hoofden		zyn,	zoo	verzoeken		[ ]	u
	for	you	treaty		chiefs		are	so	request			you
8	dat	ons	u	verhoor, om		ons	toch	schietgoede		[ ]	helpen	na
	that	us	you	hear	for	us	MOD	shooting-goods			help	after
9	te	trakdat	van	ulieden(.)		wy	verzoeken	Capitien			als	weest
	the	treaty	of	you		we	request	captain			as	orphans
10	kinderen		er	is niemand		wat	wy	vertrouw	kunnen		dan	u
	-		there	is no-one		what	we	trust	can		than	you
11	alleen,	om	ons	klag	stem	te	ver hooren,		om dat de		ulieden	
	alone	for	our	lament	voice	to	answer		for	the	you	
12	traakdat		hoofden	[ ]	zoo	smeekende		en	vertrouw		te	schryven
	treaty		chiefs		so	imploring		in	trust		to	write
13	wy	deze	brieft,	om toch		in de zelfde		man[65]	antwoord		van	
	we	this	letter	for MOD		in the same		man	answer		from	
14	Eerwaarde		Capitien		te ontvangen(.)		met	deze	hoop	sluit	ik	
	honorable		captain		to receive		with	this	hope	close	I	

[63] Honorable Captain Moses Witbooi. With this small letter I wanted to write you some lines and we have received your letter in good order and are grateful. In the past month we went ourselves as spies to Damaraland; we went to !Uri!khubib. [...] and now we ask you if you could please help us, for you are Treaty-captains. Thus we ask you to credit us with shooting materials, after the letter of the Treaty. We implore you as orphans Captain, there is no-one we can trust but you to hear our lament, for you are Treaty-captains. Thus pleading, we write you this letter in good trust, to receive an answer returned with this messenger from the honorable Captain. With this hope I close my letter. I am (your) friend, Manase and schoolmaster Daniel Daus, with warm regards and Magistrate Abraham !Galleib." NA. ACC003. Maharero collection; index Vedder, Nº 39.

[64] Probably Urihuib, old name for Witkrans, south of Rehoboth (Nienaber & Raper 1980 [1977]:748).

[65] Alternatively: *maand*, 'this month', but compare ln.3.

15 mynen brieft
my letter

Ik ben vriend
Manasa en
Schoolmeester Daniel Daus[66]
met hartelyk groetenissen
en
Magestraat Abraham !Galleib

From the use of *wij* for the first person plural, nominative Case we can infer that the metropolitan standard was their target. However, the subject is just as easily left out (ln.4, ln.7; indicated by the empty square brackets). Secondly, the choice of prepositions can hardly be characterized as either Dutch or Afrikaans. Besides this, note the un-Germanic word order in line 8, which cannot mean "we request that we listen to you". Thus, this word order, whereby the object precedes the subject is rather analyzed as an unmarked Nama pattern than a stylistic alternative. Rust (1965:57) exemplifies that Nama has two basic word orders (*Grundformen der Wortfolge*):[67] *Stellung A* (order-A) and *Stellung B* (order-B) as illustrated in (2).

(2a) STELLUNG A
subject - (*ge* subj.[68]) - object - temporal particle - verb
subject - (*ge* subj.) - temporal particle - verb with object suffix

(b) STELLUNG B
object - subject suffix - (*ge* subj.) (subject) - temporal particle - verb
verb with object suffix - subject suffix - (*ge* subj.) (subject) - temporal particle

[66] Manase (*!Noreseb*), (disputed) successor of Barnabas as leader of the Red Nation (cf. footnote 55 and 198, Appendix II). Daniel Dausab was attached to the mission station at Hoachanas mostly as a schoolteacher. He was brought to Namibia from the Cape by missionary Olpp as a young man or boy (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:230).

[67] One would argue that *Stellung-A* is the base order and *Stellung-B*, preposing the object, involves some sort of markedness. Haacke (p.c.) is of the opinion that there is no basic word order in Nama, that the topic element will always appear sentence-initially. Cf. also Rust (1965) on clause initial XPs and § 6.2.1.1.

[68] The '*ge* subjectivum', (*ge* subject particle), appears in main clauses and reinforces the subject (Rust 1965:7), or, can be described as a clause-type indicator, as it can only appear in main declarative clauses; see Chapter Six, § 6.2.1.1. Note that both word orders are equally acceptable in main clauses and in embedded clauses (Haacke p.c.).

Accordingly ln.8 in (1) can be analyzed as a standard Nama *Stellung-B*, relexified with Dutch vocabulary items (cf. Appendix I, section IA, ln.126, ln.129, ln.367) rendering the Dutch pronominal Case system to become opaque, c.q. accusative *ons* was seen realized in the Dutch canonical subject position. Further, the redundant use of the infinitival marker *te* (ln.2, ln.12) is ungrammatical in both Dutch and Standard Afrikaans (cf. § 6.3.2). Other telling features are hypercorrective forms such as *spiejond* ln.4 (Dutch: *spioen*, 'spy'), *brieft*, *briefije* ln.1, ln.15 (Dutch: *brief*, *briefje*, 'letter'), and *weest kinderen* in ln.9 (Dutch: *weeskinderen*, 'orphans'). The un-Germanic use of the definite articles (ln.1, ln.4, ln.11) can be explained by the fact that NPs in Nama do not feature articles. Therefore, they are often absent or overdone, as for example in (3), where "in the this path", must be analyzed as a combination on a calque of Nama, on the ground that in Nama demonstratives follow the syntax of adjectives (Rust 1965:43), with the addition of the Dutch article *het* to reinforce the notion of definiteness.

(3)	Ons reigoed	is	laam	in	het	deze	pad
	Our riding-goods (horses?) are		lame	in	the	this	path

(Jafta F. Booi, 18.11.(approx.)1868 - NA A237, Vol.II, (RMG II, p.39))

As argued earlier, in general we cannot know who the actual author of the letters in the corpus of Oorlam-Nama correspondence was, i.e. how representative a particular linguistic sample is for the speech community. However, amongst the letters in the NA corpora, there are forty-five letters written by the Afrikaner Oorlam leader Jan Jonker Afrikaner, over a period of nearly 20 years, (1863 till 1881, plus one later letter from 1889, see § 3.2.1.2). In one of these letters Jan states explicitly that he writes his letters himself (4).

(4)	1	Zien	mijne	gelief	de	oute	leeraar	ik			
		See	my	beloved	-	old	teacher	I			
	2	is	in	uwe	school	gewes	en	door	uwe	leer	heb
		have	in	your	school	been	and	by	your	teaching	have
	3	ik	vandag		die	brief	zalf	geschrijfen			
		I	today		the/that	letter	self	written			

(J.J.Afrikaner to C.H. Hahn, dd. 11.01.1867; Letter Nº. 10, Appendix I, section IA)

A further lead that Jan wrote all his letters himself comes from a letter, dated 26 May 1877, in which H. van Wijk (a Baster) quotes Jan Jonker functioning as a scribe for Kamaharero. It appears that the polite practice in those days was to identify oneself, if a letter was written in someone else's name.

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In the Vedder collection there are a few such examples of translations for the English-speaking Cape officials. And one letter written by Piet Beukes on behalf of Jan Jonker begins: "*Ik heb een opdrag van Kapitein J Africader om an U Edl dese Regelen te zenden en zyn nam...*"[69] In a letter, addressed to the Cape governor Sir Philip Wodehouse (dated 22.4.1869, letter Nº. 13, included here, Appendix I, section IA), Jan asks the governor explicitly to write in Dutch and he makes a request to the governor for Cape newspapers, but "*my Heer moet zoo goedwesen heb ik altyt my Koorand krygen op hoolans gedrooken ben*", (Sir, be so good, send me my newspaper, but printed in Dutch please). Nevertheless, forgery was also a practice. In that same letter Jan warns the governor to double check with him that all letters from Namaqualand, written in his name are genuine. Additionally it is known from the missionary reports to their authorities that the Nama insisted on Dutch, that some Oorlams did not even have a command of Nama.[70] A linguistic argument for the supposition that Jan Jonker did not make use of a Dutch secretary or scribe comes from the pronominal paradigm third person plural (see Chapter Four) in which he frequently uses the form *hen(n)e* for nominative and accusative Case. The only attestation of the variant form *henne* I could find was as a possessive pronoun in the diary of Susanna Smit (1799-1883) but not in any other Case environments. Neither Scholtz (1963) nor Ponelis (1993) make mention of this form in Cape Dutch; only *hun* as an early contender of *hulle* is reported on. Jan Jonker's usage must thus be classified as an innovation of his own, as no Dutch aide would have thought of wording the personal pronoun in this form. Besides this, the number of strike-outs, additions over the line and corrections is significantly higher in the letters that represent the acrolectal style (Period II, see § 3.2.1.2). Again this is not a characteristic of the secretarial transcriptions we know of.

To further establish the authenticity of the letters the independent graphologist S. Grandin, and an expert in paleography, dr. P. Verkruijsse of the University of Amsterdam were consulted. Five specimens from the various periods, each of which included Jan Jonker's signature, were submitted to these experts; they are included in Appendix I, section IV. Under the provision that only photocopies of the originals could be examined, both experts reached the conclusion that the sample pages from the various periods were written by one and the same author. It was further noticed that

[69] "I have been ordered by Captain J. Afrikaner to send your honor these lines in his name..." (August 1880 (?), Vedder collection, no. 45. Note that Vedder writes Jan Jonker Afrikaner as author, which is clearly incorrect.)

[70] Cf. § 3.1.2, and e.g., the quotation from missionary Gorth in 1852 (p.87, above), that the Oorlam chief Amraal Lambert had not yet mastered Nama and could speak only 'Dutch'.

in the specimens D and E the author had used a better pen and/or ink as the letter-type of the handwriting appears less broad (*vet* 'fat') and more regular.

Arguments in favor of the conclusion that this was the work of one and the same author include the fact that in all *specimina* certain letters are outstanding. In particular, the form of the letter *k* is strikingly idiosyncratic in relative size, even in the middle of a word as, for example, in the signature *Afrikaner*. It is further noted that some of the letters appear in two distinct forms, which argues against the hypothesis that this would be the work of a scribe or secretary, as it is highly unlikely that a professional writer would employ two different forms for one letter. For example, the letter *z* in all *specimina* is realized in two forms: one written on the line, and one which lowers to beneath the line. Given the linguistic, historical and psychological details as discussed in § 3.2.1.2 the conclusion that the letters are the penmanship from a single author is only strengthened in the opinion of the experts in handwriting.

As far as the content of the letters is concerned, they rarely can be classified as 'non-official', or as family correspondence. Unlike certain corpora from the Cape peninsula which include intimate love letters, condolence letters and affectionate notes between friends,[71] the letters in the Namibian corpus are chiefly of a business-like content. The subject matters are primarily political topics although some letters express concerned enquiries and advice, others contain pleas for help and support. Despite the formal character, the tone of most letters can be characterized as similar to the spoken language,[72] except in Period II (see § 3.2.1.2).

This detail indicates that although people could read and write, they only engaged in correspondence for business matters. Presumably both paper and ink were scarce and expensive commodities (cf. Jan Jonker's request in letter Nº. 17, Appendix I, section IB, ln.225). To my knowledge there are no letters from Jan Jonker Afrikaner prior to1863, the year he became chief of the Oorlam Afrikaners. In the first years a gradual development in his writing abilities can be noticed, but overall the letters

[71] "Letter writing [in the Cape-cl], as reflected by the sheer volume of some of the collections, was an important activity in the four decades between 1880 and 1922. The condolence letters alone to 'Katie' Malan (née Van Huyssteen) after the death of her husband in 1905 fill several tightly packed boxes" (Deumert 1999:104).

[72] The sentences are relatively short, the vocabulary is limited, a great proportion of first person references, exclamations and a fragmented style with idea units often strung together without connectives (see Tannen 1982).

in the first 17 years of his oeuvre are consistent. Thereafter two pivotal changes can be identified, which is the topic of the next section.

3.2.1.2 The Jan Jonker Afrikaner letters: periodical division

The particular point I want to discuss in this section concerns the variation found through time in Jan Jonker's letters. Table (5) is an analysis of Jan Jonker's use of first person plural pronouns (1PL) in comparison to Dutch and Standard Afrikaans. On the assumption that the use of the form *ons* for 1PL, nominative Case indicates that he writes in a basilectal variant[73] and that the form *wij* signals the metropolitan standard as the target, it becomes clear that his usage of this particular variable divides the correspondence into three periods. This periodical division is corroborated by further syntactic patterns such as the use of articles, diminutives, relative clause formation, the use of tenses, subordinate clause structure, and, the number of corrections and hypercorrections in the acrolectal period. In the first period, from 1863 till 1870 he prefers the form *ons*. In Period II (ca. 1870-1875), *wij* becomes the predominant form, but after 1875-1877 he abandons it again and uses only *ons*.

[73] Cf. footnote 41, p.80.

(5) FIRST PERSON PLURAL[74]

DUTCH AFRIKAANS	NOM wij -	NOM - ons	ACC ons ons	ACC	OBL ons ons	OBL	POSS ons/onze ons	POSS - ons se$_{[colloquial]}$
JAN JONKER Period letter Nº.	WIJ	ONS	ONS	OTHER	ONS	OTHER	ONZE/ONSE	ONS ZIJN/(ONSEN)
I *1863-1870*								
1-12	5[75]	16	2	onsen 1x	9	onst 1x onsen 3x		17 onsijn 1x
13[76]		4	1		3	onse 1x		
14-28	3	13	1		4			3
II *1871-1875*								
29-37	16	7	2		9		2[77]	7
III *1877-1881*								
38-45		23	9		8			12

Before addressing the questions this raises, first a brief overview of the historical events with reference to the details presented in § 3.1. Jan Jonker's letters cover the two decades from the 1860s until the 1880s, roughly speaking between missionary Hahn's *Tagebücher* (Lau ed.,1984-1985), which run from 1836 until 1860, Andersson's diary (1860-1864), and Hendrik Witbooi's Diary which starts in 1884. After Jan Jonker's father, Jonker Afrikaner, had died of an infection in 1861, the

[74] The variants *lat ons*, *dat wij* (that we) or *laat ons* (let us) are excluded in this count. Cf. § 6.3.4.

[75] Four of these five cases occur in a kind of slogan: *Wij zijn een natie* ('we are a nation'), in one of the letters repeated three times.

[76] Letter Nº. 13 is an exception to Period I. The letter is addressed to the Cape Governor Wodehouse and concerns a lengthy exposition in Jan's defense about previous events. It is clearly written in a studied register, whereby it can further be noted that the first 50 lines (from a total of 119 lines) are far more 'Dutch' than the second half of the letter.

[77] Besides these two instances of the use of the correct Dutch forms, Jan Jonker writes three times *onse land* and once *onze land*, and *onze besluit*, whereas the correct Dutch form would have been *ons land, ons besluit*. As it is unclear if these are wrongly inflected forms, or a contraction of *ons* + *se* (<*zijn*), they were left out of the present considerations.

leadership of the Afrikaner group was taken over by Jan Jonker's older brother Christian. At that time the battle for power, the mandate over the trade routes and grazing rights already ran high. The other prominent figures at this time in Namaland were missionary Carl Hugo Hahn and the traders Charles John Andersson and Frederick Thomas Green, (cf. § 3.1.3). In June 1863 a war broke out between these parties and Christian Afrikaner was killed in the Battle of Otjimbingwe, also called *Die Eerste Oorlog* (The First War). At this point in time Jan Jonker's correspondence starts.

From the listing of the letters, including the date, place and addressee in (6) it is clear that a difference in register does not depend on style with respect to the addressee. No division can be warranted claiming that a formal style versus a colloquial register would be a discerning factor, except for the letter Nº 13, addressed to Governor Wodehouse.

(6)

LETTER Nº.	DATE	PLACE	ADDRESSEE	SOURCE (PAGE Nº.)
		PERIOD I[78]		
1	9.7.1863	Windhoek	Willem Swartbooij	AP (261)[79]
2	5.8.1863	Windhoek	Jacobus Booijs	AP (264)
3	25.9.1863	Windhoek	Missionary Kleinschmidt	AP (268)
4	25.9.1863	Windhoek	Missionary Weber	AP (269)
5	29.10.1863	Windhoek	Missionary Vollmer	AP (272)
6	n.d.	Dabes	Mr. Breker (Brincker?)	RMGI (22)[80]
7	8.9.1866	Kubakop	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (24-26)
8	3.11.1866	Kubakop	Willem Swartbooi	RMGI (27-28)
9	3.11.1866	Kubakop	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (29-30)
10	11.1.1867	Zaogab	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (31-33)
11	2.10.1867	Zaogab	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (34-35)
12	27.9.1868	--	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (36-37)

[78] In the appendix (I), Period I is subdivided into Period IA (letters 1-13) and Period IB (letters 14-28) because of the sheer quantity.

[79] Andersson Papers, page numbering as in Lau ed., 1989.

[80] Rheinische Missions Gesellschaft (NA, A237), 2 Vols., indicated here as RMGI and RMGII. There is no page numbering on the originals and the one provided here is an approximation to the sequence of the manuscripts.

LETTER Nº	DATE	PLACE	ADDRESSEE	SOURCE (PAGE Nº.)
13	22.4.1869	Kobus	Gov. Wodehouse	CA[81] GH19/10
14	17.5.	Kobus	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (38-40)
15	n.d.	–	loose page	RMGI (36-37)
16	10.6.1869	Kobus	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (42-45)
17	21.7.1869	Naposib	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (46-49)
18	18.8.1869	–	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (50-53)
19	9.9.1869	Remhoogte	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (54-56)
20	30.10.1869	Oeas	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (57-60)
21	27.11.1869	Oeas	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (61-64)
22	19.12.1869	Zoreseb	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (67-68)
23	5.1.1870	Zoreseb	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (71-74)
24	18.2.1870	Zoreseb	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (75-77)
25	8.4.1870	Zoreseb	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (78-80)
26	18.7.1870	Aries	Missionary Hahn	RMGI (85-87)
27	8.10.1870	Aries	Missionary Hahn	RMGII (1-2)
28	6.121870	Aries	Missionary Hahn	RMGII (3-4)
			PERIOD II[82]	
29	19.4.1871	Windhoek	Captain Kamaharero	Vedder (2)[83]
30	18.8.1871	Windhoek	Captain -	Vedder (3)
31	26.2.1871	Windhoek	Missionary Hahn	RMGII (5-7)
32	28.2.1872	Windhoek	Sir –	RMGII (8-10)
33	15.4.1872	Windhoek	Sir –	RMGII (11-12)
34	17.5.1872	Windhoek	Captain –	Vedder (4)
35	3.1.1874	Windhoek	Captain Kamaharero	Vedder (7)

[81] Cape Archives.

[82] Letters 29 and 30 show a transitional stage from the basilectal to the acrolectal register. In subsequent chapters, where significant, a subdivision is made excluding these two into Period IIA (letters 29-37) and Period IIB (letters 31-37).

[83] Maharero Collection (NA A003). The numbering in brackets refers to the numbering of the letters as provided by dr. Vedder in his index to this corpus.

LETTER Nº	DATE	PLACE	ADDRESSEE	SOURCE (PAGE Nº.)
36	25.1.1875	Windhoek	Captain Kamaharero	Vedder (9)
37	15.2.1875	Windhoek	Captain –	Vedder (10)
			PERIOD III	
38	1.12.1877	Windhoek	Jacobus Izaak	Vedder (22)
39	13.1.1880	Windhoek	Piet Beukes	Vedder (37)
40	18.5.1880	Windhoek	Captain Kamaharero	Vedder (42) -ms[84]
41	3.12.1880	Otjizeva	Chief Kamharero	Vedder (47)
42	31.1.1881	Tsebris	Missionary Eich	Vedder (50) -ms
43	26.3.1881	Tsebris	Kamaharero & Tjinake	Vedder (52)
44	12.8.1881	Rodebank	Piet Beukes	Vedder (58)
45	20.3.1889	Hau-xas	Hendrik Witbooi	Witbooi Papers[85]

Sketched historically, in the 28 letters from 1863 until 1870, Jan Jonker mostly argues and pleads with missionary Hahn to stop interfering in the internal politics and to help him make arrangements to attain a peace with his first and foremost enemy, Kamaharero, the paramount chief of the Beesdamaras. In June and September 1870 this peace is achieved and then Jan Jonker's letters show a fundamental change in grammar and style.

This change would be easily explained assuming that after the peace, Jan Jonker settled down, (which he did, on his father's old *plaas* Windhoek). As can be read from the listing in (6) the only constant factor in Period II is that all the letters were written from Windhoek. One can argue that he engaged a teacher, secretary or a missionary and led a peaceful life, in which he could devote himself to his correspondence etc., with as a result a great improvement in his linguistic competence of the target language: Standard Dutch.

[84] Transcribed according to the original manuscript; not to the typescript of dr. Vedder (see Chapter One, § 1.1, p.6). Samples of these letters, showing Jan Jonker's signature are included in Appendix I, section IV.

[85] Voigts (ed.) 1929.

To explain the change from Period II to Period III is more demanding. Why did Jan Jonker, half a decade later, between the beginning of 1875 and the end of 1877, return to a basilectal variety? Why did he, so to speak 'relapse', throw all his knowledge of 'good Dutch' overboard and fall back on the 'lower' standard? As shown in the table in (5) he discontinues the use of the metropolitan Dutch form for the first person plural, nominative form (*wij*), in favour of the Afrikaans form *ons*. On the assumption that Jan Jonker suffered no mental disabilities and that he was perfectly aware of what he was doing this can only be explained in terms of a switching of register for social or perhaps political reasons. That argument will still stand even if he had been making use of scribes for those five years: for some reason or other the metropolitan register ceased to be en vogue.

Historically the available details fail to coincide. Vedder (1938 [1966]:407) mentions that after the peace treaties were signed (in May 1870, and again in September 1870), Jan Jonker settled in Windhoek, applied for a missionary and engaged a trader. The latter fact is true, in letter Nº. 29, dd. 19.4.1871 (see Appendix I, section II), addressed to Kamaharero, Jan Jonker mentions considering hiring a trader by the name of Babie. Explicit reference to a missionary (to be) stationed in Windhoek is absent from the present corpus. But the second peace treaty (September 1870) includes the condition that the Afrikaners had to hire a missionary as well.

> [Artikel] 3. Dat de Hererohoofden aan Kapitein Jan Jonker Afrikaner de plaats Windhoek op leen geven, dat hy en zyn volk daar op met eenen Leeraar van het Rhynsche genootschap zou wonen.[86] [emphasis in the original] (RMG II, p.56)

Vedder further mentions that missionary Johann Schröder was sent to Windhoek. However, there is only mention of missionary Schröder Snr.'s career or work in the literature.[87] Despite that, I managed

[86] Article 3. That the Herero chiefs give Jan Jonker the place Windhoek on loan, that he and his people will live there with a teacher [missionary] from the Rhenish Society.

[87] From the literature, initially the details around missionary J.G Schröder are conflicting. Vedder (1938:398) notes "When Schröder died in 1868...." Lau ed., (1984-1985:1290) also lists Johann Georg Schröder to have died in 1868. However, it was confirmed that there were two missionary Schröders with the same initials, both working for (continued...)

to confirm that there was a missionary Schröder in Windhoek from 1871 till 1880, and, in letter Nº 28, Jan Jonker makes a vague remark about a letter from Schröder which he is forwarding to Hahn. Yet, again the dates do not coincide with the difference in style, which started between 1875 and1877. If missionary Schröder Jr. stayed in close contact with Jan Jonker until 1880, the observed change in style and register should only have occurred at that date. Note from the dating of the letters in (6) that between 1871 and 1880, Jan Jonker wrote all his letters from Windhoek. Another historical fact is that missionary Hahn left the service of the RMG in 1873.[88] Again this does not coincide with the changes in Jan Jonker's register, which continue in a discernable acrolectal style until 1875-1877. Thus, perhaps J.G. Schröder, although stationed in Windhoek, did not keep in close contact with the Afrikaner leader? The presence or absence of missionary Hahn in Namaland does not have seemed to have affected Jan Jonker's register either. Clearly this issue calls for further historical investigation, and hopefully missionary Schröder Jr.'s diary and letters might provide a better insight in his role in these events.

A similar change of vernacular, style or register has been noted before. Roberge (1994a:153-165) reports on two official letters from Trichardt (1783-1838) written in 1823 and 1827 in a remarkably different form of Hollands than his diary (1836-1838). This change in register however could be due

[87](...continued)
the RMG:

Johann Georg Snr. ✡1803, worked in Wupperthal 1833-1847, in Saron 1847-1849 and in Pella 1849-1868. He died on 25.12.1868.

His son Johann Georg Jr. went to South Africa in 1863, worked in Berseba 1863-1866, in Keetmanshoop 1866-1871, in Windhoek 1871-1880, in Warmbad 1881-1883, in Kommaggas 1883-1894 and left the mission in 1895. He died in 1898. (B.Faulenbach, United Evangelical Mission (Archiv- u. Museumsstiftung), Wupperthal, Germany, p.c.).

[88] Apparently over the failure to convert the Herero and over trade interests: "Hahn had tried to monopolize trade by forming the '*Missionshandelsgesellschaft*' in 1869. His main justification for so doing related to anxieties regarding the success of his mission work in Hereroland, and his conviction that the more of the trade controlled by the mission, the more benefits could be derived for the mission work. However, it soon became apparent that the trading could not expect to achieve a good profit, let alone a monopoly position. Most significant for its subscribers in Germany it had no major effect on the evangelizing efforts" (Lau 1987:144).

to a difference in style, with respect to the addressee, i.e. an official style versus the diary style.[89] Paul Roberge (p.c.) does not exclude the possibility that Trichardt may have called in the help from his private schoolmaster, Mr. Peffer, to write his official letters. Alternatively it may have been significant that the difference in style occurs because Trichardt kept the diary during the family's hazardous trek from the Cape to Lourenço Marques (present-day Maputo in Mozambique). Again, in the case of Jan Jonker the argument of a permanent domicile vs. a migrant life style does not coincide with the date that he abandons his 'good' Dutch.

In the correspondence from Adam Kok III, a Griqua-leader in the nineteenth century, similar facts can be documented. From him there are three letters in Dutch, of which two are in an acrolectal variant and one in a basilectal variant within the space of three months (in 1850). These letters are all addressed to one and the same person: the director of the London Missionary Society, Mr. J.J. Freeman, and thus, these letters cannot be dissimilar due to stylistic differences. However, in the case of the northern Cape Griquas it is uncertain to which extent scribes must have been used, as most of the LMS correspondence is in English,[90] and most certainly the work of scribes.

Without further historical documentation the explanation of the changes in the correspondence of Jan Jonker Afrikaner must be that he, at that time, had both the command and the use of different registers, which he could manipulate at will. This demonstrates that, if the situation resembled anything near a continuum of lects (see § 2.3), this conception must be divorced from the idea of basilectal variety in the mouth of the lower classes of the population, and a metropolitan form of Dutch, predominately in use by the colonizer or elite groups of the society.

[89] A similar reason probably holds for letter Nº. 13 to the Cape governor Sir Philip Wodehouse by Jan Jonker. See the division in (5), p.96 (footnote 76).

[90] Cf. § 3.1.2, p.71.

The question why he makes this abrupt change at a certain point in time is most likely to find an answer in a political motivation.[91] From the contents of the letters in the corpus it becomes clear that around 1875 Jan Jonker grew weary of all the "invaders", both missionary and trader as well as farmer, into Namaland. Despite the fact that it is beyond the scope of the present study to explore the political and historical details further, as far as the history of the Afrikaans language is concerned it may have been significant that the change from Period II to Period III also coincides with the beginning of the standardization movement in the Cape (from around 1870 onwards). Although this can only be a speculation, it could have been that, as in the case of Negerhollands, where the slaves only started to write in the creole after Count Zinzendorf's letter in the vernacular (Stein 1989; see § 2.3, p.42), the Patriot movement gave the go-ahead to abandon the Dutch metropolitan standard, (cf. Van Niekerk 1920). Assuming that governor Wodehouse granted Jan Jonker his request for sending him his newspapers, written in Dutch, (see letter Nº.13), this could have been a decisive factor that informed him of the (politically motivated) differentiation. For Afrikaans, this also means that up until this point in time people attempted to write something different from their spoken language. Moreover, one who learned to read and write,[92] until then, was automatically exposed to the metropolitan Dutch orthographical standard (cf. Carstens 1982:38). Despite the fact that prior to this date there were a few texts published in the vernacular,[93] including the fact that book ownership (also the Bible), was rare (Biewenga 1996, 1999:165-174), only a small part of the population could have had access to the former. This means, that a large part of our documentation would rather be representative for the

[91] The vernacular of Hendrik Witbooi in his dairy (Voigts ed., 1929, Van der Zwan 1986) is of a similar acrolectal standard as Jan Jonker's grammar in Period II. In the light of the present argumentation this would indicate that he had a target language of a similar group as Jan Jonker in Period II. Alternatively he had enjoyed a higher standard of education, although, that again does not explain the changes Jan Jonker makes. Cf. Van der Zwan (1986:50) for an evaluation of the literature on Witbooi's language.

[92] Missionaries made attempts to teach the Nama in their mothertongue as well, (but see comments on the popularity of Nama in § 3.1), orthographically these are based on European languages. Cf. the foreword in Knudsen (1845:3) "Nama A.B.Z., according to the German pronunciation. Z.C.Y.Q like German C.Ch.Ue.Oe. F.L.P.X.Y.Q. are foreign letters, in aid of foreign words."

[93] Vernacular texts from 1826 until around 1865 do not exceed approximately four per year. As printing technologies improved this number changes to over 300 per year in the 1890s. (Based on table 3.1 in Deumert 1999:66.)

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standard of schooling of the author than for developmental factors in the formation of Afrikaans (cf. Smith 1952:21).

3.3 Evaluation of the nineteenth-century Oorlam-Nama sources

The question arises how representative Jan Jonker's speech is for the whole of the Namaland community. Other letters in the corpora that could be consulted in the Namibian archives from Jan Jonker's contemporaries are written by people of a comparable status: chiefs of influence on the Namaland politics (cf. Hahn 1837-1860, Vedder 1938, Lau ed., 1989, Nienaber 1989, Dedering 1997 on the similarities between the various Oorlam-Nama polities). As noted before, also the content of the letters is of a similar, business-like nature. However, in these cases the authorship of the letters is very difficult to establish. From the letters that are annotated or signed with "*zyn teken*" (his sign(ature)) as a cross it is clear that some people had to resort to the services of scribes. To come to definite conclusions, it would require a detailed study of all the nineteenth-century materials, which clearly lies beyond the boundaries of the present study. However, some tentative comparison on limited issues which point to similarities, is included in the discussion.

Letters dated from Namaland by Jan Jonker's colleagues and other indigenous contemporary authors can be subdivided along similar lines as Jan Jonker's own differences in register over time. An analysis of, for example the pronominal paradigm first person singular of the letters in the Vedder collection shows a classification[94] in an acrolectal Dutch register (NOM:*ik*, ACC:mij, POSS:*mijn*), by for

[94] The letters were selected on the criterium that it could be established with reasonable certainty that they were written by the actual authors themselves (i.e. that they bear a signature and not the 'sign' X). All authors are Cape-Oorlam (Baster) chiefs.

example Hermanus van Wyk[95] (attested in eleven letters) and Andreas Lambert[96] (two letters), and a Cape Dutch paradigm, with one form for all non-nominative environments (see Chapter Four for details) by Paul Goliath[97] (one letter), and Paul Visser[98] (one letter, signed "Veld Cornet, Paul Veschter"). Furthermore there are three letters in this collection by Moses Witbooi[99] which fit both classifications: in two letters he uses *mijn* in all non-nominative Case relations; in one letter the correct Dutch paradigm is consistent. It can be assumed that Moses Witbooi, the father of Hendrik Witbooi (author of the Witbooi Papers (Voigts ed., 1929)), was not illiterate, but, as I am not in a position to compare the handwriting of these manuscripts, no further generalizations can be made.

In Chapter Six further comparative details concerning the Verb Phrase in the grammar of Jan Jonker's compatriots will be brought up. From these probes as, for example, the use of the infinitival marker *om...te* in sentential complement clauses (see § 6.3.3), it does not emerge that Jan Jonker's lect represents entirely isolated idiosyncracies.

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[95] ☼Fraserburg District, Cape Colony, 1835 - †Rehoboth 1905. Esteemed leader of the Baster community at Rehoboth (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:249).

[96] ☼1844 - †Naosanabis 1894. Leader of a powerful polity referred to variously in the records as the Gobabis people, Lambert's people, or the Khauas Hottentots (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:241).

[97] ☼Doorn Rivier (northern Cape) c.1790 - †Berseba 1869. A wealthy interpreter and deputy captain at Bethanie, later established himself as independent chief of the community at Berseba with missionary Samuel Hahn in 1850 (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:235).

[98] ☼ ? - †1888. A Witbooi leader. First schoolteacher to the Witboois, later married Lena Witbooi; became a rival to Moses Witbooi (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:249).

[99] ☼1808 (1807, or possibly 1794) - †Gibeon 1888. *De facto* chief of the Witboois after 1870, but officially so after Kido Witbooi's death in 1875 (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:252).

4 The Pronominal Paradigm in the Grammar of Jan Jonker Afrikaner

As it emerged from the characterization of the first person plural in the correspondence of Jan Jonker as discussed in Chapter Three (§ 3.2.1.2), the pronominal paradigm reveals distinctive properties of his grammar. On close examination a strict and consistent pattern can be discerned, dividing the letters in three periods as argued for in Chapter Three. This will be further substantiated in the present chapter. Idiosyncratic innovations show that the paradigm also differs in certain respects from the Cape Dutch sources.

4.1 Pronominal forms in Cape Dutch

From the quantificational analysis that illustrates the use of the first person singular non-nominative pronouns in diachronic data presented in Ponelis (1993:206, 227) it becomes clear how little the nineteenth-century documents reveal about the competition between *mij* (Dutch: objective pronoun) and *mijn* (Dutch: possessive pronoun). Yet the outcome in modern Afrikaans is one form (*my*) in all these environments.[1] From the diachronic record it emerges that the preferences appear to be completely random between the two forms, with some authors scoring 100% *mij* as the objective pronoun, others favoring the Dutch possessive form to the same extent in this environment (cf. Ponelis 1993:205). The inconclusiveness of the data was first brought forward by Scholtz (e.g., 1963:91) who discusses a vast variety of personal and possessive pronouns in use at the end of the seventeenth century in the Cape Colony. From the data in the KT (Van Oordt n.d.) Scholtz observes that two forms, *mij* and *mijn*, were used both as a possessive pronoun and as a personal pronoun in object function (in accusative as well as oblique Case positions). He claims that *mijn* was still attested in the speech of elderly speakers in the beginning of the twentieth century, but only as an objective personal pronoun (see also Ponelis 1993:206). Scholtz therefore concludes that *mijn* as a possessive pronoun disappeared before *mijn* as a personal pronoun, and that the process of leveling the forms

[1] See table (11), p.117, for an overview of the present-day Dutch and Afrikaans paradigms.

to *mij* started with the possessive pronoun. A synoptic investigation of the KT texts from 1750 ([1712]) until 1831[2] discloses a different organization than the one proposed by Scholtz. In general we can discern authors who use *mijn*[3] for all non-nominative Case environments (accusative Case, oblique Case and in possessive constructions), from those who use *mij* in all these environments.[4] As noted by Ponelis (1993: 206) authors who use *mijn* for all non-nominative Case positions outnumber those who prefer *mij* (in number in the surveyed KT material 285 vs. 4). Besides these, some authors follow the correct Dutch usage (*mij* for accusative and oblique Case, *mijn* as the possessive pronoun, 1S). In number, in the KT material there are 17 such texts (out of a grand total of 318 notes and letters surveyed). The number of authors who randomly used *mij* and *mijn* for the different Case distinctions, as the suggested practice was according to Scholtz (*ibid.*), is limited to seven texts. A number of writers deviate in one single instance from 'their' system[5] (in 20 letters).

The fact that completely random usage is this low (2.2%), is intuitively the expected scenario for an unstable system where the spoken language may have differed largely from the orthographical example. Because of the indeterminacy about the distinctions represented by the different forms, perhaps under the impression that a 'longer' form was the more correct written representation, (parallel to the paradigm of verbal inflection), the high percentage of *mijn* for non-nominative[6] pronouns, first person singular is straightforward. A quantification of the deviation that is found in the letters of authors who are characterized by the predominant usage of *mijn* as the non-nominative personal pronoun and possessive pronoun, in percentages, is 14.98% *mij* instead of *mijn* for accusative/oblique Case, and 3.95% in possessive constructions.

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[2] These are the electronic versions of the published KT material, labeled KT1-KT3. See footnote 43, p.34.

[3] And spelling variants *mijn(e)(n), meijn. myn, meyn.* Idem for *mij*.

[4] Including the form *mij heer/ mijheer*, literally: *me lord*, 'Mister, Sir' (Dutch: *mijnheer (*mijheer)*, colloquial *meneer*; Afrikaans *meneer*); in the Jan Jonker Afrikaner corpus this form of address appears indiscriminately as either *mij()heer* or *mijn()heer*.

[5] I.e. those authors who neither follow the Dutch paradigm nor make complete random choices. This data shows that authors were familiar with two orthographical variants (*mij* vs. *mijn*), but that there was little awareness of the Case related differences of their usage.

[6] There are a few cases where *mijn* is also used as a nominative form, both in the KT and in Jan Jonker's correspondence. See footnote 9, p.113.

(1) *MIJ* AS A PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUN, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

	personal pronouns (non-nominative)	possessive pronouns
'*mijn*-authors' in the KT	14.98%	3.95%

From (1) it must be concluded that the present-day Standard Afrikaans form (*my*) took the lead in the syncretism of the metropolitan formal differentiation of the pronominal forms in non-nominative environments of the personal pronouns, and not in possessive constructions as concluded by Scholtz (1963:102). The motivation for a differentiation between the two forms is most likely to be found in orthographic conventions: *mijn* was used as a 'scribal stereotype' according to Ponelis 1993:206, and Scholtz also questions the data (*tog moet my in die spreektaal gewoner gewees het as wat die geskrifte laat blyk.*" *op.cit.*:102). As will be further discussed in the next section the KT data stands in sharp contrast to regularities that are found in the paradigm used by Jan Jonker Afrikaner. For example, in the paradigm of first person plural pronouns in the Jan Jonker corpus (see Chapter Three, § 3.2.1.2, table (5)), idiosyncracies in form single out the possessive pronouns from the non-nominative personal pronouns. Excluding the acrolectal period (Period II), the innovative possessive pronominal compound first person plural (*ons zijn*) scores at 100%; including Period II the percentage does not fall below 95% novel forms. This trend, to reserve a specific form for the possessive pronoun is corroborated by the other paradigms for both the singular and plural forms in this corpus, as will be examined in the next sections.

4.2 The variation in the pronominal paradigm of Jan Jonker Afrikaner

4.2.1 The paradigm of singular pronouns

From the data in the KT is transpires that the written standard in the Cape Colony was *mijn* for non-nominative first person singular pronouns. Turning to the realization of these pronominal forms by Jan Jonker Afrikaner in (2), we see that Case differentiation is still partly observed; the division in three periods as sketched in Chapter Three is again quite clear.

(2) FIRST PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS, JAN JONKER AFRIKANER

1 Singular	NOM	ACC	ACC	ACC/ OBL	OBL	OBL	POSS	POSS	POSS
Period/*year* letter Nº	ik	mij	mijn	ik	mij	mijn	mij	mijn	mijne
I *1863-1870*									
1-12	all occ.	8	21	3	8	18	19	5	4
13	all occ.	3			8	2	24	1	
14-28	all occ. except 1x mijn[7]	9	7	2	34	23	75	2	3
II *1871-1875*									
29-37	all occ.	10	3		13	2	6	13	5
III *1877-1881*									
38-44	all occ.	4	4		7	4	8	2	
Total		34	35	5	70	49	132	23	12
Total I + III		24	32	5	57	47	126	10	7

From the totals of the respective forms in the basilectal stages (Period I and III), added together in the bottom row of the table, the high percentage of *mij*, the Standard Afrikaans form for the possessive pronoun, in contrast to Standard Dutch *mijn*, and, unlike the division in the KT material, is striking. In number 126 times *mij* versus 10 times *mijn*. Excluding the instances of *mijne(n)* this

[7] See p.113, footnote 9 (ii).

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amounts to 7% correct Dutch forms. Including these Case-inflected forms this percentage rises to 11%, but remains to stand in sharp contrast with the KT material, where the appropriate Dutch form is used in 96.05% of the possessive constructions. A minimal conclusion from these figures must be that neither the written Cape colonial language nor the Dutch metropolitan model stood as the example on which Jan Jonker's paradigm was based. We will return to this presently. Secondly, the Dutch nominative form *ik* (Standard Afrikaans *ek*, but regionally also pronounced *ik*) is likewise, almost perfectly regular. Highly irregular, however, is the first person singular accusative/ dative/oblique Case distinction, where *mij* and *mijn* seem to alternate at random. Accusative and oblique Case occurrences counted together for the Periods I and III, add up to 81 times *mij* and 79 times *mijn* – practically an arbitrary choice. This is rather unexpected and, again in sharp contrast with the KT data, where the division between *mijn* and *mij* amounts to 74.2% *mijn* in accusative/oblique environments in the total of the data. Excluding the random usage and correct Dutch speakers, the occurrence of *mijn* in this environment rises to 85%. As in the case of the possessive pronouns, these figures do not make it plausible that Jan Jonker based his usage on the Dutch norm. Neither is the paradigm comparable to the written record of Cape Dutch.

On the presumption that a language learner, who is unfamiliar with a particular paradigm, as in a Second Language Acquisition situation, or, in the development of a grammar from a pidgin where there is null-morphology (see Chapter Two, § 2.2, on the prototypical characteristics of P/Cs), the prediction is that the learner starts out with one form for all the different Case environments. Thereafter differentiation starts taking place as the learner gets familiar with the rules, c.q. innovations occur to disambiguate clause structure (cf. Mühlhäusler 1986:158, 233 and the 'development' of 3PL forms Jan Jonker uses, *infra*). The paradigm first person singular of Jan Jonker as quantified in (2) does not correspond to this scenario.

I briefly make note of the fact that in Period II, when Jan Jonker writes in a far more acrolectal register, he favors the correct Dutch form *mij* for the accusative/oblique Case distinction, although *mijn* is not absent. For the possessive pronouns he similarly shows a higher percentage of *mijn*, the correct Dutch possessive pronoun, in Period II. Notwithstanding, the question rises how to explain his single-minded use of one specific form for possessive pronouns and the apparent random variation in accusative/dative/oblique Case environments in his basilectal register (Period I and III).

Rust (1965:24 & 69) claims that it is inappropriate to make the dative/accusative distinction for Nama, which could account for the fact that such an opposition is absent from Jan Jonker's Hollands. At the same time this makes it all the more inexplicable on which ground Jan uses different forms in these environments. In (3) minimal pairs of sentences are listed from which it becomes clear that it is difficult to detect any syntactic or semantic contrast associated with either form *mij* or *mijn*, in terms of the accusative/dative Case distinction. In (3a,b) there is the minimal pair "...send *mijn* an answer hastily" vs. "you must send *mij* an answer hastily", (3c,d) "...that the Damaras not fear *mijn*" vs. "your Damaras need not fear *mij*". And in (3e,f) "tell *mijn* ..." vs. "tell *mij*" contrast.

(3a) zoo moet <ou> Vader mijn has dig drou antwoor stuuren... IA, ln.245
so must old father my hastily return[8] answer send...

(b) Zoo moet mijn Heer Vollmer hasdelijk antwoort mij stuuren, zoo verzoek... IA, ln.140
so must my mr. Vollmer hastily answer me send, so request...

(c) daarom kom ik nar uwe blaads om de handelen zoo moet mijn Heer Damras IA, ln.152
therfore come I to your place for to trade so must my mr. Damaras
ook latweten lat Damras niet mijn vreesen
also let.know that Damaras not my fear

(d) Hoeft uwe <ol•Damras> niet mij vreesen IA, ln.159
[XP] need your Damaras not me fear

(e) verdel mijn waner zal ik naar uwe blads IA, ln.223
tell my when will I to your place
doe oorlog maak of zal ik mensch uit gestuur ___ ...
to war make or shall I people out sent [PRF] ...

(f) verder vrag ik u <ol•u> is leeraar warom kom niet u naar mij weerf IA ln.268
further ask I you you is teacher why come not you to my werf
doe of zal u mijn vrees. Verdel mij
to or will you my fear tell me

From the examples (3a,b) one could presume that a difference in word order (dative-accusative vs. accusative-dative), by so-called scrambling of the objects (see Chapter Five, § 5.1.2), may account for the form that is used. The pairs in (4) show that this is not the case:

[8] Dutch *terug* 'return', but it could also be *trouw* (<*getrouw*), 'faithfully'.

(4a)	gij zil niet wederom	vrede brief	mijn	schrijfen	IA, ln.331
	You will not again	peace letter	my	write	
(b)	zoo moet <ou> Vader mijn hasdig	drou antwoor		stuuren	(=3a)
	So must old father my hastily	return answer		send	
(c)	dan moed u hasdig	antwoord	mij	schrijven	IB, ln.50
	then must you hastily	answer	me	write	
(d)	door water rede hief hy mij	zooen boschap		gestuurt heeft	IB, ln.61
	by which for reason has he me	such.a message		sent has	

In terms of feature specifications of the Case system (Lumsden 1987, 1998), the form *mijn* seems to be specified for an accusative environment in the nominal phrase. Consider the examples in (5), which illustrate the nominative form *ik* in non-nominative environments in the present corpus.

(5a) Wat zoek u deschen ik en Damras — IA, ln.231
What seek you between I and Damaras

(b) Verder heb ik ook gehoort Engelsman zijn oorlog [schip] is ingekom op Balves Baai
Further have I also heard Englishmen his war (ship) is arrived on Walvis Bay
en [=om] ik, Barnabas en my schon Vader jacobus booi de schieden. — IA, ln.463
and (for) I Barnabas and my father-in-law Jabobus Booi to shoot

(c) of zul gy een dag of jaar zien die twee Kapiteins op stan en hier naa doe kom
or will you one day or year see the two captains rise and here to to come
en vrede sprek deschen ik en Damra: — IB, ln.118
and peace talk between I and Damaras

(d) [de mensen die] naar [-doe] pokeberg doe [zijn,] dat is niet mij menschen dat is
[the people who] to to Bokberg to [are], that is not my people that is
Barnafeas zijn mensch maar hij is weggegaan zonder weet van zyne Kapitein en
Barnabas his people but he is left without know of his captain and
Barnabas en ik dan moed gy niet zeleke rondlopers gelooven. — IB, ln.312
Barnabas and I. Then must you not such walkabouts believe.

(e) dat zal ragkom deschen ik en u dat is de wens van mijn lieve Heer — IB, ln.347
it will right.come between I and you that is the wish of my dear Sir

These examples all involve a conjunction phrase[9] in which (one way or another) the pronominal form is outside the direct domain of 'Case assignment'. Following Lumsden (1987:128) a dialectal difference in English as in (6) can be accounted for in terms of a difference in the default setting for a particular syntactic environment.

(6a) John and I worked hard
I, being a secretary...
(b) John and me dined in London
Me, being a linguist...

Dialect A in the English examples in (6) would have a particular rule assigning nominative Case (= [-accusative]) to arguments in subject position (= in [+Tense] environments), while dialect B has a specific rule that assigns accusative Case (= [+accusative]) to arguments in the verb phrase and preposition phrases (= in [-N] environments). These rules are mirror images of each other and predict exactly the same results, except in the situation where an NP is outside the direct domain of Case assignment. In that case the unmarked[10] form tends to appear.

[9] In the corpus of letters by Jan Jonker there are two more instances of an inappropriate form first pers. sing. as shown in (i), which is perhaps an infelicitous attempt to make a passive construction, and (ii), which I will not attempt to reconstruct here. In (iii) the single instance of nominative *mijn* in the published corpus of the KT is presented.

i. Maar als u niet [als wij] veschten ander blads (plaats) hebben dan zal ik deze keer ziekeer lijk uwe huis verbrande woorden dan moet gij niets mijn schoodig (schuld(ig)?) woorden dat zeg ik u. (Nº.10).

ii. Verder zeg ik ook u ik wel geen Leeraar doeladen (toelaten) om in Wapoland (Ovamboland) de gaan zonder mijn hulle Leeraar vrijheid gegeven dat is ruits (reeds) al zoo veel menschen gedood... (Nº. 14).

iii. Mijn onder Getekende verklaaren den suijferen waarheijd als dat Jakobus Abraham Burger een plaas versogt heeft en de drift van Wilm Burger genamt de ouwen kraal omtrent Johannis Jurgen de Beer seijn kraal welke hij heeft moeten af danken door de heer Landroest in gekommeterden is goet Gefonden dat die felt sou blijfen .... KT Nº. 60. LIEFENBERG (J.) Ao. 1783.

[10] A theory of markedness possibly will assume that the "+" values of binary features are more marked than the "-" values.

(7a) Dialect A

[ ] —> [+accusative] /[+ Tense]

[ ] —> [-accusative]

(b) Dialect B

[ ] —> [-accusative] / [[-N]_____]

[ ] —> [+accusative]

Thus, in dialect-B a nominative pronoun is the specified form, consequently an accusative pronoun appears "elsewhere", in undefined syntactic environments, whereas in dialect-A a nominative form will appear in such cases. Likewise, in Jan Jonker's Hollands the nominative ([-accusative]) form *ik* can be classified as the unmarked ('elsewhere') form, featuring in oblique Case environments, as shown in the examples in (5). Colloquial English likewise allows for (8) and similar constructions exist in other languages.[11]

(8) There is a war between the Damaras and I

Note that this alternation or equivalents in Afrikaans and Dutch (or its dialects) give ungrammatical results. As predicted, in coordinations in subject position in Jan Jonker's letters, the first person pronoun appears in the unspecified form, the nominative form.[12]

(9a) dat is de rede ik en Damras vandag stan stryden IB, ln.142
that is the reason I and Damaras today stand battle

(a) ...dan zal ik en u vaste vrede mak III, ln.173
....then will I and you steady peace make

[11] "Two Albanian prepositions, *nga* (from) and *te(k)* (to), take nominative objects. In substandard Brazilian Portuguese some prepositions take nominative pronouns, rather than the expected obliques. In Russian *za* and *v* can take the nominative in some constructions, although it is not clear whether they both are acting as prepositions in such circumstances. Nominative objects appear with the Spanish prepositions *entre* (between), when the objects are conjoined NPs and with *segun* (according to). The same sort of thing happens in Catalan." Alan Libert Dept. of Linguistics , University of Newcastle. LINGUIST List: Vol-9-1223. Sat Sep 5 1998. ISSN: 1068-4875.

[12] Cf. the English alternation "You and I shall dance tonight." vs. "You and me will dance together."

It has been pointed out in the literature that the form *mijn* was the standard seventeenth-century Dutch pronoun in accusative/oblique Case environments (Scholtz 1963:102), i.e. that therefore the continuation into eighteenth/nineteenth century Afrikaans idiolects is not quite unexpected. It could be thought that the form *mijn* was predominantly a written form, that those who sought to write thought it the better choice, perhaps because it was the longer form, in an hypercorrective mode of judgement. In this light Jan Jonker's arbitrary usage of *mij*, the regular accusative-oblique form in Dutch, as the almost exclusively possessive pronoun, is all the more unexpected.[13] In view of the material from the KT this distinctive preference for *mij* in possessive constructions is equally unexplained. Before I address this issue in detail (in § 4.2.3), in the next section, a survey is presented of the second and third person personal pronouns in the singular (henceforth: 2S, 3S).

As shown in (11) p.117 for the second person singular personal pronoun Jan Jonker uses both the colloquial, or southern Dutch form *gij* and the formal variant *u*.[14] For the possessive pronoun he uses practically only the formal Dutch possessive pronoun *uwe* (contemporary Dutch: *uw*, Afrikaans *u*). The present- day Standard Afrikaans form *jy* (nominative Case) or *jou* (accusative, oblique Case and possessive pronoun; Dutch *jij*[15] (nominative Case), *jou* (accusative, oblique Case) and *jouw* (possessive pronoun)), is not attested in the Jan Jonker corpus. Scholtz (*op.cit.*: 75) characterizes the use of *u* (*UE, uw(e)*) in the Cape Archival letters as chiefly restricted to formal address: "*In 'n aantal formele briewe wissel UE af met u as obj., na prep. en as poss., die laaste veral in afsluitingsformules. Na verhouding gebeur dit selde. Nog seldsamer is die afwisseling in dieselfde brief tussen UE en gij of u as onderwerp.*"[16]

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[13] Note that Scholtz (1963:102) does not make the distinction between people who use both *mij* and *mijn* in different environments (i.e. as distinct forms in a pronominal paradigm) and those who have only one form (either *mij* or *mijn*) for a non-nominative pronoun.

[14] In one instance Jan Jonker uses it doubled *Waarom gy u sprok* (Appendix I, section IA, ln. 104). Hoogenhout (1904:9) still lists *gy* as an alternative for *jy*. In the copy I consulted this alternate is crossed out (cf. footnote 41, p.80).

[15] The difference between *jy* and *jij* is merely orthographical.

[16] In a number of formal letters *UE* alternates with *u* as object, after prepositions and as possessive pronoun, the later mainly in the closing paragraph. In comparison this happens seldom. Even rarer is the alternation in one and the same letter between *UE* and *gij* or *u* as the subject.

Again, the observation is that Jan Jonker makes a clear-cut division between nominative and non-nominative forms in the singular, using *gij* predominantly in subject position and the form *u* as the non-nominative form. *Ue* appears only once in his whole oeuvre (in his acrolectal stage, Period II). In possessive constructions, he exclusively uses the longer form *uwe*, three times spelled *uwen*, and only in his last letters (after 1880) the short form, present-day Afrikaans variant *u* appears (twice). Note that the present-day Dutch personal and possessive pronouns *u* and *uw* are phonologically identical. The nineteenth-century pair apparently was not, as Roelf Samuel Gys explains in an interview in GA84:

> Oupa-goed het Hollants gapraat. Die tal het toe nou veranner maneer en Afrekans in, want onse boeke was ôk Hollandse boeke gawis. Net sôos die ôu Hollander gawas Maneer. [E]s helle praat, es: "Ie" (y) en "Ie-we" (uwe) en so maneer, het helle gaprat. Die ou Hollanders, Nederlands, was die tal van ons gawas, maneer. Oupa-goed het dit nog gaprat.[17] (Van Rensburg 1984, II:79).

For the third person singular, Jan Jonker uses the form *zijn* in possessive constructions, as would be regularly expected. He uses this form also for reference to female gender (10), with the exception of one example in his acrolectal period, where he uses the inflected Dutch form *hare* (Letter Nº. 35, Appendix I, section II, ln.255).

(10) ...mij moeders zijn broeders — IA, ln.18
...me mother's his brothers

Non-nominative forms appear as *hem*, the present-day regular Dutch form, whereas the contemporary Afrikaans form is *hom*. In subject position the expected form *hij(/hy)* also features, although in Period I, we also find *hem* in the subject position of the sentence (four times). In Period III this happens once. Besides this, there are a few occasions where he uses the singular form for third person plural (3PL) reference. To conclude this section, a recapitulating overview of the Dutch, Afrikaans and the predominant pronominal forms in Jan Jonker's paradigm is given in (11). In the next sections we will examine the plural forms in detail.

[17] Grandad (and,) his people, they spoke Dutch. The language now has changed to Afrikaans, as for our books were also Dutch books. Just like the old Dutchy was, sir. When they talked, this was *ie* and *ie-we* and so, sir, did they talk. The old Dutchies, Netherlandic was our language sir. Grandad (and,) his people, they talked it.

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(11) PRONOMINAL PARADIGMS

	Afrikaans	Dutch	Jan Jonker
1s			
nominative	ek (ekke)	ik, ikke ('k)	ik
accusative, oblique	my	mij (me)	mijn/mij
possessive	my	mijn (m'n, me)	mij
2s			
nominative	jy, u	jij, gij, u (je, ge)	gij, u
accusative, oblique	jou	jou (je)	u
possessive	jou	jouw, uw (je)	uwe
3s M			
nominative	hy	hij (ie)	hij (hem)
accusative, oblique	hom	hem ('m)	NP (hem)
possessive	sy	zijn (z'n)	zijn, zyn
3s F			
nominative	sy	zij (ze)	NP
accusative, oblique	haar	haar ('r, eur)	NP
possessive	haar (sy)	haar (d'r, eur)	zijn[18]
3s N			
nominative	dit	het ('t)	dat/hij/het
accusative, oblique	dit	het ('t)	NP
possessive	sy		zijn
1pl			
nominative	ons	wij (we)	ons/wij
accusative, oblique	ons	ons	ons
possessive	ons	ons/onze	ons zijn
2pl			
nominative	julle, u	jullie, u (je)	ulieden, gylieden
accusative, oblique	julle, u	jullie, u (je)	ulieden
possessive	julle, u	jullie, uw	uwe, gylieden zijn, ulieden zijn
3pl			
nominative	hulle	zij (ze)	zij/henne/zul(le)/hulle
accusative, oblique	hulle	hen (hun)	henne (hem)
possessive	hulle	hun ('r, d'r)	zijn (hunne)

[18] Only on one occasion he uses the Dutch pronoun *hare*, see example (10) above.

4.2.2 The paradigm of plural pronouns

In (11) it is shown that the contemporary Standard Afrikaans paradigm for the plural pronouns has non-distinct forms for all Case environments. Jan Jonker's paradigm seems still closer to the Dutch system. As observed in Chapter Three (§ 3.2.1.2), the first person plural, nominative form betrays Jan Jonker's aptitude in different registers (see table (5), p.96). In the second person plural, the forms run largely parallel to the second person singular forms, with the addition of *-lieden* (< Dutch: *lieden, lui(den), lieder*[19] 'persons, people'). The formal form *ulieden* (in Period III also spelled *ulieder*) is the most frequent form, and only on one occasion he uses *gijlieden* in a non-nominative environment (Period III). Period II is again characterized by acrolectal features. Overall the pattern can be characterized as regular, but for the possessive constructions to which we will return shortly. It is noteworthy that again Jan Jonker does not follow the tendencies that prevail in Cape Dutch. *Jijlui* (*jyluyde/ jullij*) the forerunner of the present-day Afrikaans standard form *julle* is altogether absent. Likewise, in the third person plural neither *zijlui* nor the Cape Dutch and present-day ORA pronoun *haarlui* (*/haarlieden)* appear in the letters in this corpus.

The actual forms Jan Jonker uses for 2PL, *gijlieden* and *ulieden* are also found in the correspondence of his contemporaries. All Jan Jonker's colleagues, Abraham Swartbooi, David Christiaan and David Witbooi write these forms,[20] as well as the German missionary Hegner (Hegner of Berseba to Moses Witbooi of Gibeon, 27.7.1881, NA 'Vedder-collection', no. 57). This could mean that these particular forms were entirely a (later) northwestern development amongst Oorlam-Nama speakers. Then again, in the Dutch correspondence from the London Missionary Society (LMS) the form can also be found, as early as 1804. In a letter dated "Cabo den 20 November 1805",[21] missionary A.A. van der Lingen uses *ulieden* addressing the *Directeuren van 't Nederlands Zendelings Genootschap* (the directors of the Dutch Missionary Society). Another instance is attested in a letter (in which also the form

[19] Inflected form of the NP: "Die vaak voorkomende gen.mv. *lieder* as versterking van voornaamwoorde: *haer lieder*, [...] *haer liede*, ens. Hier het die genitief *liede* bowendien die pronominale uitgang *-r* aangeneem." (The genitive plural form *lieder* as reinforcement of plural pronouns: *haer lieder*, [...] *haer liede*, etc. Here the genitive form has also taken on the pronominal affix *-r*.) Le Roux & Le Roux 1935:97, 120.

[20] In this case, regardless of the fact whether they were the authors or used scribes.

[21] CWM/ South Africa/ Incoming Correspondence. Box 3. 1805. Folders 1 + 2.

gijlieden features), by Cornelis A. Kramer in his report to the LMS, dated Klaasvooksrevier den 25 October 1841.[22] Kramer was a colonist who had been appointed as a teacher to the Roodezand district as early as 1799 and had been given permission to join the LMS missionaries as an assistant by his sponsors, the South African Missionary Society (Penn 1995: 419). Thus, this far, the occurrence of this particular form is narrowed down to the contact situation of missionaries with San and Khoekhoe speakers outside the Cape Town area.

In the KT corpus *lieden* (people) is used mostly with a 3PL pronoun (12a). Next to the regular Dutch variants *zij* and *ze*, 3PL is often written *zij lieden* (12b), or *haar lieden* (cf. footnote 19, p.118).

(12a) 1 ...om van die Lieden die zig melden (en) harle pas komt vertoonen of ik van
...for of those people who themselves report and their pass come show whether I of
2 de zelve vier Schelg. mag neemen voor het aanteyken(;)
these four shilling may take for the registration KT 148. W.Js. Odendaal. Ao. 1798

(b) 1 en de Bastaart Jan bekent ook dat zij lieden al dat manlijk is zou vernielen en de vrouluij
and the Bastard Jan confesses also that they all that male is would destroy and the women
2 zullense tot wijven neemen(,) Namelijk dat Gordon(,)de Wet en zijn schoon zoon en Jan
will.they to wives take. Namely that Gordon de Wet and his son-in-law and Jan
3 van Reene een eijder drie van de aanzienlijkste vrouws Perzoone voor haar neemen en
van Reene each three of the most-prominent female persons for them take and
4 de andere vrouwen kunne ze deele onder malkander(,) en die booven gemelde Perzoonre
the other women can they share among them, and the above mentioned persons
5 zoude zij spaare
would they save KT 134. C. Lotter en B. Beester. Ao. 1795

In 2PL there is one instance with *lui* (people), the predecessor to the formation of Afrikaans *julle* (< *jij-lui*) in the KT (13).[23, 24]

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[22] CWM/ South Africa/ Incoming Correspondence. Box 18. 1841 Folder 2.

[23] In a pidgin sentence from a slave, anno 1721, we find one earlier attestation of a contracted form, combined with the possessive pronoun (i). As Raidt (1982:113) argues such instances are too few to draw conclusions from about the origin of the pronominal forms, but "*[w]at ons wel kan aflei is dat dergelike afwykende vorme hoogswaarskynlik ook in die kolonistetaal voorgekom het*" (what we can infer is that it is highly likely that these forms were used by the
(continued...)

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(13) 1 seggende gemde. Moses als doen Jij lui soekt mij altijt alle gaar, ik sal jouluij wel hebben
saying mentioned Moses if do you seek me always all, I will you well have
2 ... (Jan Valk antwoord hierop:) wij soeken geen Reusie teegens u... waerom gaat jijlui
Jan Valk answers to this: we seek no quarrel against you... why go you
3 niet slaapen
not sleep
In Secretaris Masot se skrif. CJ 334, Ao. 1730

The 2PL forms *gijlieden* and *ulieden* are not altogether absent from the KT (14a-d), albeit rare.

(14a) nametlijk ik weet ook dat zijn broeder hem dat verweeten heeft in present van getuijge dat hoofflees in zijn broeder twist hade, zijde zijn broeder tot hem hoofflees U hoer kind die gij aan de Caap Loopen heeft daar heeft gij veel geld mede verkwist gij Lieden mag mijn vrij noemen seijde josua joubert en het vereijst wort zal ik de getuijge noemen
Jb D Villiers
CJ 1111, nr.73. Ao. 1778

(b) Hans brits en neef swart
mijn vraag is of gij die woorden durf staande houden daar geij lieden mijn voor gescholden en mee beschuldig heeft tes te segen voor schelm en voor rakker en voor kanalie en dat ik sou de vader weesen van dat kint dat u doghter heeft gehat
Jan barent van blerck (eie skrif)
CJ 400 bl.378. Ao. 1770

(c) heden Den 16 Deser maent juneij 1787 hebben wy commandanten in onser Rade Goet gevonden uyt naem van onser Edel Heer goeverneur op soo een genaamde togt die door seyn Edel heyd is geordineert omme een togd te doen na Cafferland omme de engelse scheeppelinge uijt handen der caffers te redderen soo word UE Lieden door ons aen

---

[23](...continued)
colonists).

i. [....*dat francis aldaar tegen haar heeft gezegt:*] *ons sal naar buijten loopen,* *jouwluij*
....that Francis there to her has said: us shall to outside walk you
sal geen Cost mancqueeren.
will no food lack
(Cape Archives, CJ 326, p.98; cf. Scholtz 1963:111)

[24] Compare the Negerhollands plural marker *-lie (< lui)* which combines with pronouns, and the plural marker *sender* (3PL, 'they') which combines with NPs. In one text appearing next to the regular Dutch inflectional variant: *die kind sender* next to *die kinders*, 'the children' (Van Rossum & Van der Voort 1996:38). From the occurrence of *vrouluij*, (12b, ln.1), it appears that *lui* was in use as a plural marker in the CDV too.

geschreven en gekommandeert om present te seyn op gemelde datum den eersten zeptember 1784 op de plaets van jacob Erasmus Aen grote visrivier met geweer en koegel teffens twee maenden mont provisie ook wat kruyt en Loot tot voorseyde (togt) KT 73. Botman

(d) U lieder vriend
Dit is geteekend, van D.E.Thaart [Tjaart] van der Walt Den 18 Maijus 1799. KT 150

The WNT emphasizes the fact that in the second person plural the addition of *lieden* in Middle Dutch consists of the combination of a pronoun *gij* plus the NP *lieden* to reinforce the notion of plurality and not of an alternate pronominal form [*gijlieden*].[25] Apparently there are no attestations of *gij* plus *lieden* (*/lui*) where another NP already indicates plurality, as for example (15a), compared to Dutch *gij (*lieden) vorsten,* ('you people kings', WNT 2000 *sub: gijlieden*).

In contrast to the Middle Dutch data the plural pronouns in Jan Jonker's grammar do show the triplet format [PRON. [NP + NP]] (cq. [[$_{PRON.}$ PRON.+NP] + [NP]]). The grammatical structure of this paradigm falls in line with the disjunct address of the appositional structure [PRON. + NP], commonly encountered in the Oorlam-Nama correspondence with both singular and plural forms (15a,b), notably also in possessive constructions (15c).

(15a) ulieden, leraars moet padgee
you-PL teachers must vacate

(b) gij, lieve Heer moet luister
you-S, dear sir must listen

(c) De Damaras wil ons, Afrikaner zijn bloed vergiet
The Damaras want us Afrikaner POSS blood spill

These constructions are likely to have a foundation in the commonplace Nama pronominal paradigm, consisting of the sequence [PRONOMINAL FORM + APPOSITIVE NP + PERSON, GENDER, NUMBER MARKER]. The NP is coindexed with the pronominal forms for person, number and gender (16a,b),

[25] Also Le Roux & Le Roux classify Middle Dutch *liede(n)*$_{NP}$ (people) as a reinforcing element to indicate plurality (1935:120). Goossens (1994:67) mentions the rarity of Flemish *gulder/gunder* (<*gi(j)lieder*) (2PL) in comparison to *under, (n)ulder* (3PL) [also Zeeuws]. This frequency data, relative to Person (primarily with 3PL pronouns) may be an indication of its origin as an appositive structure in the Germanic languages. In contrast to the Germanic data, in the present corpus no 3PL forms, reinforced with *lieden/lui* are attested (*infra*).

(Rust 1965:17-21).

(16a)	sa	khoits				
	you-M-S	man-M-S				
	sa	khois				
	you-F-S	woman-F-S				
(b)	sa	khoikho	ta	ge	go	+gei
	you-M-PL	men-DUALIS	I	IND	PAST	call
	You, both men, I called (you).					

As the attestations in the KT for 2PL are all disjunct (pronoun + *lieden*, example (14)), like the development in Middle Dutch (Le Roux & Le Roux 1935:120), the reanalysis of the reinforcing element *lieden* as a plural marker seems a language-internal continuation, whereby the substrate model for personal address certainly stood as a reinforcing factor. For the third person plural (as well as for the third person singular) initially, in Period I, Jan Jonker chooses to use proper names rather than the pronominal forms, as previously also noted by Scholtz for early Cape Dutch.

> Ontbreking van *hulle* (in teenstelling met *ons*) in vroeë Hottentotte- en slawe-Hollands [...] Die antwoord is: in die staaltjies wat ons het, verskyn glad geen voornaamwoord van die derde persoon meervoud nie, dus selfs nie *zij, zijlui* ens., nie. (Scholtz 1963:115).[26]

When Jan Jonker begins to use pronouns in the third person plural, he starts off with one form for all Cases. Intuitively this would be the expected scenario (cf. § 4.2.1, p.110). At first he chooses *hen(n)e(n)*; in the letter to Governor Wodehouse (letter Nº. 13) he seems to favor *helle/hulle*, whereafter in the letters Nº.'s 14-28 (Period IB), he starts to differentiate forms in relation to their Case environment. Notably the Dutch and Afrikaans 3PL forms, reinforced by elements such as *lieden/lui* are not attested in this corpus. In (17) Jan Jonker's paradigm of the third person plural per periodical division (including spelling variants, such as *zil* for *zul* etc.).

[26] Omission of *hulle* (as opposed to *ons*) in early Hottentots- and Slave-Dutch. The answer is: that in the material we have there is nowhere a third person plural pronoun, not even *zij, zijlui* etc.

(17) THIRD PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

	NOM	NOM	NOM	NOM	ACC/ OBL	ACC/ OBL	ACC/ OBL	POSS	POSS
Period/ *Year/* letter Nº.	zij	zul(ie)	hulle/ helle	hen(n)e(n)	hulle/ helle	hene	hun/hen(d)	hunne	hulle
I *1863-1870*									
1-12				1		1			
13		3	5		6				2
14-28	2		1	13	1	1			
II *1871-1875*									
29-37	21			5			13	4	
III *1877-1881*									
38-44			1	2		1	2		

Period II is again characterized by the high percentage of correct Dutch forms including the contemporary Dutch standard form *zij* for nominative Case, at 77%. In contrast in Period I, the standard form appears in 8% of the nominative Case environments. Including the colloquial Dutch form *zulle* the percentage of correct Dutch forms does not pass the 20% mark. In Period III Jan Jonker seems to have done away with all his 'good' Dutch, and stopped using the form *zij* (or *zulle*) as a nominative form. Further it is noted that although the frequency of third person pronominal forms is quite low in Period III, the form *hen(d)/hun* becomes predominant and not the present-day Standard Afrikaans form *hulle*. Besides this, the Cape-Dutch and ORA variants *haarlieden* (*haarlui*, *haarle*) are altogether absent from Jan Jonker's Hollands. This can be explained following Goosens' (1994:63) argumentation that because *hunlui* never existed at the Cape,[27] *haarlui* in the CDV was a form based on a stylistic difference ("*een etymologiserende verdeftiging*"), made by the gentlefolks at the Cape who sought to avoid *hulle*. Thus, it is not the other way around, as argued by Scholtz, that *hulle* was a subsequent development, out of the contraction of the longer form(s). As these longer forms are absent from the present corpus, obviously then, Jan Jonker was not aware of this sociolinguistic differentiation in stylistic format.

[27] In the KT material (Van Oordt n.d.) I was able to consult, indeed no instances of *hunlui(j)* (*hunluy*) could be found, whereas *haarluij* features in abundance. It is not clear on which documentation Scholtz (1963) based his hypothesis that the form *hunlui* was the forerunner of *hulle*.

I conclude that 3PL forms are a continuation of spoken (i.e. 'unpolished', *onverdeftigde*) CDV forms, at times intermingled with the schoolbook forms of the written Dutch metropolitan standard (note the bias for *hulle* in Period I, towards *hun* in Period III). The latter development is out of line with the general observation that Period III is nearer to a basilectal language format, c.q. closer to Afrikaans than to Dutch. Therefore I conclude that the two forms *hun* (and all its variants) next to *hulle* (in all its variants) persisted in earlier Afrikaans, at least up until the late nineteenth century. The difference between them being perhaps regional, perhaps of a sociolinguistic nature. In the next section I will turn to the format of the possessive pronouns.

4.2.3 Possessive constructions

So far it can be concluded that Jan Jonker observes Case differentiation for nominative and non-nominative Case environments in the singular pronominal paradigm. Most conspicuously he reserves a separate form for the first person singular possessive pronoun (*mij*, see (2), p.109), as well as for the second person singular possessive pronoun (*uwe*, see (11), p.117). In the first person plural (18a) and the second person plural (18b) we encounter a neologism compared to Germanic languages, whereby a possessive structure is created by the addition of the third person singular possessive pronoun *zijn* to a regular plural pronoun.

(18a)	om	ons	zijn	bloed	de	vergoden	IA, ln.372
	for	our	his	blood	to	spill	
(d)	Late	Heere	zal	ulieden	zijn	harden regeren	IA, ln.22
	let	Lord	will	you-PL	his	hearts rule	

I want to emphasize that the correct Dutch possessive pronoun *ons* for 1PL (neuter gender NPs) is entirely absent from the corpus, the one possible instance being ambiguous between a dative personal pronoun and a possessive pronoun (see Appendix I, section IA, ln.123). The Dutch alternate *onze* (1PL, non-neuter NPs) does occur in Period II, but incorrectly with a neuter NP in five out of the seven instances (see § 3.2.1.2, footnote 77, p.96). However, it is not clear if these are wrongly inflected (Dutch) forms or a contraction of the pronominal amalgam $[ons+zijn]_{1POSS}$, as the latter is not absent from Period II.

Both the third person singular[28] and plural possessive constructions fall outside the present generalizations as Jan Jonker tends to make use of full noun phrases rather than the pronominal forms (19a). Thus present-day ORA constructions as in (19b,c) are not attested in his letters (cf. the quotation from Scholtz on Cape Dutch, 3PL forms, p.122 above). In Jan Jonker's paradigm the form $zijn_{[3S,\ masculine]}$, with third person singular NPs takes reference to all gender (whereas for reference to $NP_{[3S,\ feminine]}$ the correct pronoun in Dutch is *haar*, cf. table (11), p.117), with only one exception (see footnote 18, above).

(19a)	Out	Welem	Zwaarbooi	zijn	menschen			IA, ln.349
	old	Willem	Swartbooi	his	people			
(b)	...dis	hulle	se	poppe.				GA84:310, ln.25
	...it.are	they	POSS	dolls				
(c)	Hy	se	tieket ...					GA84:273, ln.25
	he	POSS	ticket ...					
(d)	Wy	deze	lande	Kapiteinen	zyn	verwachting	is	II, ln.308
	we	this	land	captain	POSS	expectation	is	

Besides the addition of *zijn* to 1PL and 2PL pronouns (3S, 3PL noun phrases), in the present corpus the neologism of adding *zijn* to denote possession also occurs with 1PL noun phrases in appositive constructions (19d). If adding *zijn* to denote possession were a syntactic innovation generalising over possessive constructions, 1S and 2S are remarkably ignored in this formation. And, although third person pronouns (both singular and plural) plus the possessive particle *zijn* are absent from Jan Jonker's letters, the consistency in adding *zijn* to denote possession, also in the plural paradigm, is

[28] In Dutch three constructions are available to express possessive relations in 3S: the genitive *-s* (ia), the *van* construction (ib) and a periphrastic construction with the pronoun *zijn, z'n/ haar, d'r* (depending on gender and number of the possessor), as in (ic), (ANS, p.53).

ia.	genitive	*moeders boek*
		mother`s book
b.	*van* construction	*het boek van mijn vriend*
		the book of my friend
c.	*zijn/haar* construction	*mijn vriendin haar/d'r boek*
		my girl-friend her book
		mijn vriend zijn/z'n boek
		my (boy) friend his book

deeply un-Germanic (see footnote 30, below). On the other hand, we are left with an asymmetry in the development of the periphrastic possessive construction between the singular and the plural paradigm, first and second person as shown in (20).

(20) THE POSSESSIVE IN THE GRAMMAR OF JAN JONKER

1S	my	1PL	ons zijn
2S	uwe	2PL	ulieden zijn, gylieden zijn
3S	NP zijn / NP NP	3PL	NP zijn /(hunne[29]) / NP NP

In order to decide on which influence(s) this paradigm was built, I will firstly present a survey of possessive constructions in Nama in the next paragraph.

4.2.3.1 The possessive construction in Nama

Earlier accounts have associated the Afrikaans periphrastic possessive construction[30] with Nama syntax (*infra*). Another source, mentioned in the literature are similar particles signalling possession in Pasar-Malay (21a) and Asiatic Creole Portuguese (21b); both the Malay and Creole Portugese constructions are also grammatical in the case where the NP is a pronoun. Besides this, the presumed Cape Khoekhoe pidgin likewise made use of a particle to denote possession (21c), (cf. Den Besten 1987:31).

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[29] Note that the use of the possessive pronoun 3PL *hunne* only occurs in Period II and in letter Nº. 13, to Governor Wodehouse, thus all instances of his acrolectal register.

[30] The construction has found its continuation outside the pronominal paradigm into present-day Standard Afrikaans, in the so-called 'periphrastic possessive with *se*', as shown in (i), (cf. § 2.5.1.4)

i. die huise se vensters
the houses POSS windows
The windows of the houses.

The Dutch equivalent of (i), **de huizen zijn ramen,* is ungrammatical. Allowing for some regional and diachronic variation in the singular, with plural noun phrases the construction is wholly impossible. For further illustration of the extent of this phenomenon I refer to Roberge (1996a) and the literature mentioned there.

(21a) NP punya N
saya punya rumah
I POSS house
My house.

(b) NP su(a)/ su(o) N
Me sua nomi
I POSS name
My name.

(c) Boeba si bier
Cow POSS milk
milk

Similarly in Nama, the possessive is formed with a particle (*di* (*/ti*)) which can either be pre- or postposed with respect to the possessed NP as shown in (22).

(22a) /hon-khoib . di hāb
man POSS horse

(b) hāb /hon-khoib dib[31]
horse man POSS
The man's horse.

In Nama the possessive particle *di* (or *ti*) is a free form (i.e. unbound).[32] Roberge (1996a) therefore rightly queries the validity of the presupposition that the Afrikaans development is a straightforward

[31] Possibly the sentence in (i) from the present corpus, is constructed on this pattern.

i. Ik wens ik zal leeraar krijgen maar die oonduin gij van heb ik niet uliden nodig hebben
(Letter Nº. 5, Appendix I, section IA, ln.136)

However, the sentence remains obscure as I could not find a satisfactory translation for *oonduin*. If it were a pejorative word the sentence could mean *Ik wil graag een Leraar, maar jullie, van jouw (soort) 'misbaksels'(?), heb ik niet nodig*, "I would like a teacher but you, your type of pranksters I do not need".

[32] Although Afrikaans *se* is not an inflectional (bound) particle its appearance in the possessive construction seems of a functional nature rather than as a (free) lexical element, compared to Nama *ti/di*. See Oosthuizen & Waher 1994 for an analysis within the Minimalist Program of the periphrastic possessive construction with *se* as the Spell-Out of a Functional Phrase.

calque, although he does not dismiss the possibility. Without stating it explicitly the gist of his assessment is that substrate influence might largely have been a secondary reinforcing factor (cf. Siegel 1997). Rust (1965) and Hagman (1977) ascertain that in the genitive (=possessive) phrase the associative particle *di* may be deleted without a change of meaning, as in (23b), (cf. Collins (1983) on this choice in Malay (dialects)).

(23a) //naa !hùúp ti kòpaku
(b) //naa !hùúp kòpaku
The languages of that land.

In the corpus letters from Jan Jonker this option also features; a few examples are shown in (24a-d). In Nieuwoudt (1990:141) the same structure, of bare juxtaposition of the possessor and possessee are attested for Griqua Afrikaans and Blanke Oranje Rivier Afrikaans (24e). In (24f) a Griqua Afrikaans example is shown from the corpus Van Rensburg 1984.

(24a) God woorte
God words
(b) my Vader blads
my father place
(c) ..om de Damaras dienaar te word
..for the Damaras servant to become
(d) by Aiseb werf
at Aiseb werf
(e) Toe ons na Boesmansrust hys toe ankom — Blanke ORA
When we to Boesmansrust house to arrive
(f) Hy tieket is nog...[33] — GA84: 273, ln.25
He ticket is still...

[33] Although this could be a case of ellipsis, but compare example (19c) above from the same narrative.

Crucially, in Nama the suspension of the possessive particle is an obligatory rule in the 1S and the 2S possessive constructions, as shown in (25), (Pastor Eiseb/Haacke p.c.).[34, 35] Nieuwoudt (1990:141) further notes the spread of the possessive *se*-construction in all variants of ORA, as well as the fact, that: "*se* verbind veral met *hulle* [3PL], *julle* [2PL], *hy* [3S] en *ons* [1PL]", (*se* often occurs with 'they', 'you', 'he' and 'us'); notably 1S and 2S are not included in this generalization.

(25a)	ti	(*di)	hab
	my	POSS	horse
(b)	sa	(*di)	hab
	you	POSS	horse

Hence, a priori, constructions like in (26) are not expected to appear in the case this were an innovation based on a calque from Nama.

(26a)	ik/mij	zijn	paard
	I	POSS	horse
(b)	jij/jou	zijn	huis
	you	POSS	house

This is confirmed by the data from Jan Jonker as well as his contemporaries. The construction could not be authenticated in nineteenth-/ early twentieth-century ORA and no examples as in (26) could be found in the Namibian corpora I consulted (see § 1.1). Seeming attestation in synchronic Griqua Afrikaans can be dismissed on interpretative grounds.[36]

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[34] I am grateful to Hans den Besten for pointing me in this direction. Reference to such examples of first person singular and second person singular in the literature (for example Le Roux 1923:98, as well as in Olpp 1964) are seemingly fictitious.

[35] Cf. Honken 1977:146, who stipulates without comment that "The [Nama] 1st sg. and 2nd sg. [pronoun] bases occur without a suffix in possessive constructions, e.g *tíí* - *'oms* (my house), *sáá màmás* (your mother)." To which he adds between brackets: "Possessive *tíí* and *sáá* have the high level TC [tonal contour] rather than high rising, but there doesn't seem to be any reason not to regard them as allomorphs of the same morpheme."

[36] As Hans den Besten (p.c.) pointed out, from the corpus in Van Rensburg (1984), the sentence in (i) can be analyzed as (ia) "the wife of my father", but also as (ib) "my wife, her father".

(continued...)

Although we must allow for a percentage of genuine mistakes in the orthography,[37] the singular possessive forms *my* (1S) and *uwe* (2S) are unexpected, assuming either Cape Dutch or the metropolitan standard as the target.[38] The absence in the present corpus of the acrolectal possessive pronoun *ons* is also highly conspicuous. The consistency in the plural forms on the other hand, is likewise irregular reasoning from the perspective of Nama grammar, in which the possessive particle is an optional element. In Nama the 1PL pronoun without the possessive particle is a perfectly fine construction (27a), (cf. the absence of *ons* in the present corpus, discussed in § 4.2.3, p.124).

(27a)	sada	(di)	hab	Nama
	1PL	POSS	horse	
(b)	ons		paard	Dutch
	Our horse.			

In addition, the emergence of the 2PL possessive *ulieden zijn* as a novel form of its own kind is surprising. However, in view of the syncretic forms available to Jan Jonker, his idiosyncratic paradigm becomes clearer. In the particular mesolect at hand for the Oorlam-Nama speaker, there were presumably very little, or no systematic morphosyntactic markings, giving room for the transfer of alternate syntactic properties to disambiguate the structure.

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[36](...continued)

i. *baas weet, hy, die vrou van my se ta-hulle, die was mos nou oorlog Boer-oorlog toe*
boss knows, he the wife of my POSS father-them, they was MOD now war, Boer-war to

ia. [die vrou [PP van [DP my se ta-hulle]]

ib. [DP die vrou [PP van my]] se ta-hulle

Considering the context, (ib) seems the correct interpretation.

[37] Orthographical errors seem a genuine reality if judged by the variation that Jan Jonker shows in writing his name, varying from Jan Joker to Jahn (<missionary C.H. Hahn?) Jonker Afrik(/c)a(a)n(d)er.

[38] Besides this, a number of cases are classified as idiomatic expressions as, e.g. in the recurring stop-phrase *dat (is) (de) wens van mij(n)* (it is the wish of me/my), and *mij heer* (me mister) next to *mijn heer* (my mister).

4.3 Transfer between languages

As put forward in the earlier chapters in this thesis, it is assumed that Jan Jonker Afrikaner was bilingual in some language(s) from the Khoesan group of languages and Hollands, c.q. some form(s) of the CDV or ORA. It is also clear that this, what he himself calls 'Hoolans'(see Vol. II, Section A, ln.577), was the dominant language. And, although Mufwene (1997) rejects any usefulness left in the working concepts which ought to set apart jargons from pidgins, from creoles and koines, recent debate centers around the dichotomy of language creation (creolization) from a morphological 'null'-variety (pidgin/creole) in contrast to language mixing. In the latter case two established grammars combine, choosing morphosyntactic (functional) categories in terms of markedness from either contributor (cf. Thomason 1997; also Kouwenberg 1992, 1999 on the issue of the convergence of dissimilar language systems). In the case of the development of pidgins and creole language the language user 'invents', 'creates' structural (functional) information to avoid ambigua.[39]

However, the judgement that P/Cs have null morpho-syntactical markings can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, that the language consists only of lexical items with no inflectional structure (c.q. system morphemes (SM; *infra*) /Functional projections (FP)). Secondly, this can be interpreted as a situation in which the speakers of the various mother tongue languages add only their mother tongue's functional material onto the lexical items. In that case their meaning is null, to any other speakers than those who share the same language.

As summarized in Myers-Scotton (1997), the dominance of the 'target' language (the Matrix Language, ML[40]) is of influence on the entire outcome in the context of 'mixing' languages.

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[39] The point, as to whether these 'inventions' are drawn from universal tendencies (Bickerton), from mother-tongue knowledge (substrate influence) or from the target language (superstrate influence) remains unresolved in this discussion, but is of a lesser importance than in the earlier discussions.

[40] Myers-Scotton (1997:154) defines the ML on four criteria: (1) The ML is generally the language of more morphemes for the entire discourse. (2) The ML generally is the language of relatively greater morpheme frequency. (3) The ML is defined by participant judgement. It is the language which subjects engaged in CS will perceive as "the language we are speaking". (4) The structural criterion that the ML is the language from which the lexical-conceptual and predicate-argument structures, as well as the morphological realization patterns of mixed constituents are projected.

> [E]vidence from several types of bilingual speech indicates there is a cognitively-based 'dominant language' mechanism at work when two or more linguistic systems are brought together in production.

An important factor underlying the premises of bilingual speech phenomena such as language acquisition, language attrition, and code-switching (CS), is the distinction between content morphemes and system morphemes.

> [E]vidence from CS indicates that in mixed constituents (containing morphemes from two or more languages), all syntactically-relevant system morphemes come from the ML. The less dominant language, the *Embedded Language* (EL), supplies only content morphemes to such constituents. Prototypical content morphemes are nouns and most verb stems, while prototypical system morphemes are quantifiers (e.g. determiners, demonstratives) and inflections (*op.cit.*:151).

Simplified, the content morphemes translate[41] to the Lexical Projections in the generative framework, the system morphemes correspond with the Functional Projections (cf. § 1.2). In creole formation the ML may shift over time in the process of establishing a consensus over the particular forms of the various interlects that become created (*op.cit.*:158, 163).[42] Thus, the concepts 'content morpheme' and 'system morpheme' may vary over time, over individuals or over speech groups.

From the literature on CS it emerges that the SM are initially always drawn from the mother tongue of the speaker, as for example the Arabic-Dutch CS in (28a). In later stages, functional elements may become mixed, i.e. drawn both from the mother tongue and the target language, as in (28b) from Shona-English, until, in contemporaneous cases of CS, the target language is acquired including its proper functional items (after Myers-Scotton 1997:154).

(28a)	Hna	saknin	f	dorp,...
	1PL	live	PREP $_{[Arab.]}$	village$_{[Dutch]}$

[41] Within creolistic theoretical concepts the lexical projections are subject to relexification, the functional projections can undergo reanalysis (cf. Lumsden 1997).

[42] In the terminology of Myers-Scotton the 'turnover' in matrix language assignment.

(b)	But	ma-day-s	a-no ....
	but	$CL6/PL_{[Shona]}$-day-$PL_{[English]}$	$CL6/DEM_{[Shona]}$...

The influence of the mother tongue that is witnessed in (28a) can be explained quite simply in terms of relexification. The learner makes a copy of the lexical entry of his native language and replaces the original phonological form with a phonological form derived from the data of the second language. The new lexical entry retains the semantic and syntactic properties of the original lexical entry that it was copied from (cf. Lumsden 1999). In the case of ORA the latter factor cannot be determined with certainty, only the fact that (some form of) Hollands was the uncontested target language, and it is clear that metropolitan Dutch was the written standard (see Chapter Three).

For example in a pidgin-situation the pluralization of the word 'X' (e.g., 'book'), in a hypothetical language contact situation, the product may be as in (29):

(29)	speaker one	X-s	(books)	[cf. English morphology]
	speaker two	X-en	(booken)	[cf. Dutch morphology]
	speaker three	ma-X	(mabook)	[cf. Zulu morphology]
	speaker four	di-X	(dibook)	[cf. Setswana morphology]

It is important to note that only 'X' (book) is understood by all the speakers of the pidgin in the contact situation. Thus, inflection is 'meaningless', yet, it is not absent. It is diverse.[43] In CS situations it is attested that at a subsequent stage combinations occur and examples may be found such as "ma-X-s", "ma-X-en", "X-en-s", "di-ma-X-en-s". The addition of 'meaningless' affixes is indeed what we find in the recorded pidgin data.[44] It is not implausible that in the CDV, PGN markers were not absent, but that they were simply not recorded.[45] Sometimes in the translations of name places traces

[43] In this respect Mufwene's (1996b) idea of competition and selection among various features, as articulated in his article in Christie (ed., 1996) is an important dimension.

[44] Assuming pidgins to have null morphosyntactic markings the verbal *-um/-om* suffix in the Cape Dutch pidgin data remains unexplained unless its origin is of a lexical nature. Neither the allomorphy nor the cross categorial usage is explained by the current premise of an initial 'null'-variant (cf. Den Besten 1987, 1999-Aug-12).

[45] Cf. Siegel's comment (1999-Sept-20) on Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE) that "because a particular (continued...)

persist. For example, the Orange River was earlier known as the *Grootrivier* (Great River) or *Gariep (Garieb)*. The former is a literal translation of the Khoekhoe word *charie* (*garie* 'river') plus the masculine gender marker *-b*,[46] indicating it was 'great' (as opposed to smaller streams), (cf. Van Rensburg1998b:14). Another instance is the etymology of the Afrikaans word *hartbeeshuisie* (literally a species of buck (*hartebees: Alcelaphus buselaphus* or *Alselaphus lichtensteini*) plus 'little house'), denoting primitive quarters, square-shaped with a roof of straw, clay or reeds. As analyzed by Nienaber (1994a:185), the answer to the question what a buck may have to do with some sort of housing lies in the combination of Dutch with Khoekhoe. The Khoekhoe word for *biesies* (<Dutch (dim.): *biesjes*, 'reeds' (bul-rush)) being *harub* ("*/haru-b*"), the lemma was duplicated into the construct [harub$_{[Nama: reed]}$ + bies $_{[Dutch: reed]}$]; (cf. other examples of such duplications in Chapter Six, § 6.4.1). As Van Rensburg (1998b:15) comments:

> Dit is goed te bedink dat Afrikaanssprekendes wat nie */harub* verstaan het nie, ook nie sy vertaling biesie in die samestelling verstaan het nie. [...] Verder begin */harub* met 'n klapklank, en het vir die Afrikaanse oor die sinlose genusmerker *-b*. Moeilik om agterna te sê. Saam met bees maak iets wat nagenoeg na hart klink darem sin, nl hartbees.[47]

Where the Afrikaans written record is concerned, the reliance on the orthography of metropolitan Dutch would have obscured any variation at this level, but for deliberate representations. The same can be said of dialectal differences in contemporary Netherlandic varieties which are not reflected in the written language, except in deliberate studies (cf. the West Flemish examples from Haegeman, quoted in Chapter Five) or in order to gain some literary effect. In P/C formation in which, by

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[45](...continued)
feature is not attested does not mean it did not exist. It seems that aspects of emerging MPE that did not make any sense at all from the perspective of English speakers were very rarely reported, if at all. An example is the use of 'stop' as a preverbal marker of progressive aspect."

[46] Cf. Meinhof (1905:125) "... grammatical gender is not permanent with them [the Hottentots (Nama)], but [...] one and the same thing is, according to the requirements of the case, sometimes masculine [Nama suffix *-b*](when big, long), sometimes feminine [Nama suffix *-s*] (when small, broad)". Von Luschan (1905:114) gives as example *hei-b* 'tree', *hei-s* 'bush'. Idem in Schinz 1891:92.

[47] It is easy to imagine that Afrikaans-speaking people who had difficulty understanding */harub*, didn't understand the meaning of the word *biesie* either in this compound. [...] Furthermore */harub* begins with a click-sound and ends with the, for the Afrikaans speaker, meaningless gender marker *-b*. Difficult to produce. However, something which almost sounds like *hart*, together with *bees*, makes sense, i.e. *hartbees*.

comparison to CS the target language is far less accessible, in the course of time different systems may be dominant, eventually, one steady and productive morpheme becomes filtered out (substrate/ superstrate influence), reinvented (grammaticalization), or re-instated (decreolization). With this in mind I argue that the paradigm as attested in this study is the result of at least two distinct functional systems in competition. This led to innovations in the pronominal paradigm which persist today.

4.4 The forms of the ORA pronouns: transfer between Nama and Dutch

As a massive loss of inflectional morphology is virtually universal among languages which are generally classified as pidgin and creole languages (cf. Goodman 1971:253, Mühlhäusler 1986:152, Roberge 1995:79-80), it follows that there arises a tendency in creoles towards disambiguating strategies. 'Innovations' ensue, be it distributional restrictions or new forms (cf. Muysken 1995:344). Witnessing the (contradictory) variation found in the CDV (see e.g., § 4.1), no clear target language model seems to have been available in the nineteenth century, but for the Dutch metropolitan written standard. The fairly undefined variance in word-order of the substrate Nama, based on topic-focus relations (cf. Chapter Six, § 6.2.1.1) plus the indeterminate pronominal forms available, in all likelihood made it difficult to know which Case relation was intended.

In the grammar of Nama, Case distinction is made between non-nominative forms and genitive forms. The suffix *-a* indicates non-nominative Case, whereas genitive Case NPs are left unmarked. In Dutch, the target language of Jan Jonker, in contrast, morphosyntactic marking exists for genitive Case, whereas non-nominative NPs are left unmarked as shown in (30).

(30)

	Accusative/ Dative	Genitive
Dutch		NP-*s*
Nama	NP-*a*[48]	

[48] The pronominal paradigm in Nama is fully consistent, adding the suffix *-a* to form accusative Case. Further note that in the MP framework possessive pronouns, together with articles and demonstratives, are placed on the cline of lexical-functional material towards the end of the functional projections (*the that book, *the his book etc.) whereas personal pronouns are scaled towards the opposite end of having lexical content, for being able to replace full NPs (Haegeman Guéron 1999:59-61)

From the mixed (structurally impoverished) language, which the Oorlam-Nama had as their input, an [N(P) N] sequence became ambiguous between the Nama interpretation of a possessor-possessee relation and the Germanic blue-print, in which the sequence signals an indirect or direct object relation to the verb. Thus, a sequence as (31) would be a NP-N signal for the Nama speaker (31a), whereas it was a NP-NP sequence for the Germanic native speaker (31b). Moreover, because of the levelling of the forms in the pronominal system for nominative Case, theta roles are initially left undefined (31b,c).

(31) ons gee man bees [om te gaan weiden]
us give man cow [for to go graze]

(a) *We give the man's horse ((to X) to let it go graze).*

(b) *We give the man a horse (to let it go graze).*

(c) *The man gives us a horse (to let it graze).*

Accepting that the target language parametrically differed from the substrate, and, given the fact that functional categories are not subject to relexification strategies (Myers-Scotton 1997:152), the [+genitive]-DP was open to reanalysis, and subsequent grammaticalization. In the re-evaluation of the pronominal forms,[49] in order to disambiguate structure, *zijn* emerged as a functional element signalling possession, except where singular pronominal forms in a possessive relationship to an NP retained distinct forms (see (20), p.126). The reason why the development took this course, as opposed to a uniform one can not readily be identified, but may be attributed to substrate influence, as in Nama the first and second person singular do not combine with the (unbound) possessive marker (*di/ti*). That the genitive Case distinction became the morphosyntactically marked category, rather than the accusative/oblique Case relation can be ascribed both to general tendencies in language formation, in that we rarely find bound morphemes transferred to the newly formed variant, as well as to Nama substrate influence, in that this language featured structures consisting of an overt unbound particle. This lexical particle was transferred rather than the bound morphological reflex of the genitive Case marker in the Germanic languages. Subsequently it became reanalyzed as a

[49] A further argument in favour of this assumption might be the fact that in double object constructions Nama prefers to make use of a passive construction to disambiguate the thematic roles as this cannot be made clear by Case-marking. Especially in sentences where the so-called Applicative suffix on the verb introduces the second or third argument (Rust 1965:64). See Chapter Six, § 6.2.1.2.

functional category heading the $DP_{[+genitive]}$ (cf. the analysis in Oosthuizen & Waher 1994). Accepting the claim made in the literature, that the periphrastic possessive construction with *se* was already an established feature of Afrikaans around 1861 (see § 2.5.1.4), the formation of this structure in the CDV in the Cape peninsula may not have varied in essence from the scenario presented here. There are no indications that Khoesan influence was non-essential in the peninsula; the parallel periphrastic construction in Portuguese-based varieties of the languages which the slaves brought in could certainly be seen as a secondary reinforcing factor in the development of this innovation.

5 The Syntax of the Verb Phrase

5.1 The configuration of the Continental West Germanic languages

5.1.1 Introduction

In my approach to the idiosyncrasies of the Verb Phrase (VP) in nineteenth-century ORA, my starting points are language-typical similarities between Standard Afrikaans and its Continental West Germanic counterparts in the composition of the verbal component, rather than the differences. For Dutch and German, since Koster (1975) it has generally been accepted that the order of the elements in the subordinate clause is the basic word order and that in the main clause the rule of verb-second (henceforth: v/2) produces the apparent SVO sequence - even though theoretical assumptions to the contrary are still presented to date for Afrikaans (Feinauer 1987, 1998, AFN211 1993:5), i.e., that the main-clause SVO order is the basic order and that the subordinate verb-final sequence is derived by means of a 'transformation' which moves the verb(s) to reach such a surface arrangement. This argumentation will not be considered and I assume the same structure for Afrikaans as for Dutch.

In recent studies within the syntactic framework of Generative Grammar, specifically within its latest development, the so-called Minimalist Program (MP), (Kayne 1994, Chomsky 1995, 1998, Zwart 1993, 1997) it has been proposed, that all languages, also the Germanic languages should be analyzed from an underlying VO word-order. In the SVO analysis of Dutch the various alternate orders of the constituents are arrived at by leftward movement of phrasal categories to functional nodes for reasons of feature checking (cf. § 1.2). The implications of these different approaches affect mostly the constituents that are complements of the Verb Phrase (VP), and I will discuss these in turn where they provide an alternative analysis of the data. The typical provision in the CWG-languages, identified as verb-second in the main clause (v/2) is not affected by either approach.[1] The initial survey in this chapter will start from the traditional view that the CWG-languages and Afrikaans are underlying (S)OV.

[1] The proposal that regulates verb-second within the MP will be discussed in § 6.3.5, although within the MP this is not uncontroversial, cf. Chomsky 1995:368, who suggests "[that] the V-second property [...] may very well belong to the phonological component".

Motivation for taking the Germanic languages as OV-ordered, is mainly based on the positioning of the NP-complements relative to the verb(s), for which there is only one possibility: on the left side of the VP in the subordinate clause (1).

(1a) (Hij zei) dat Karel het boek heeft gekocht
(b) *(Hij zei) dat Karel heeft gekocht het boek
He said that Karel has bought the book.

In main clauses the finite verb is moved to the second position (2), (the v/2 constraint); this position is traditionally identified as C° (Koster 1975, Den Besten 1977; see also § 6.3.5).

(2) Karel heeft$_i$ het boek aan Paula [t_i gegeven]
Karel has given the book to Paula.

At the same time it is noted that other complements than NP-complements have to appear to the right of the VP. Traditionally this is achieved by rightward movement, by the rule of EXTRAPOSITION of the constituent to the right of the VP (3b,d).

(3a) *..dat ik [dat hij het boek leest] wil
(b) ..dat ik [t_i] wil [dat hij het boek leest]$_i$
..that I want that he reads the book.
(c) *..dat Karel [om te komen] heeft beloofd
(d) ..dat Karel [t_i] heeft beloofd [om te komen]$_i$
..that Karel has promised to come.

Thus, the Germanic languages show contradictory facts with respect to the direction of complementation they allow for. In the MP approach, taking a VO order as the basis, the required order for NP-complements, to the left of the verbal parts, is achieved by movement of the objects to the specifier positions of the respective functional categories associated with the lexical material. In this case the Agreement Object Phrase (AgrOP), (cf. Chapter One, example (2), p.12). In this analysis, clausal complements remain *in situ* (4c,d).

(4a) *..dat Karel heeft gelezen [het boek]
(b) ..dat Karel het boek$_i$ heeft gelezen [t_i]

(c) ..dat ik wil [dat hij het boek leest]
(d) ..dat Karel heeft beloofd [om te komen]

Whereas starting out from an OV sequence there are two directions for movement, the alternative, taking VO as a starting point can claim that there is movement to the left only. For an in depth analysis of the distinctions purported by this analysis, I refer the reader to the discussion in Zwart (1993, 1997).

5.1.2 The syntax of the Dutch Verb Phrase: placement of its complements

The assumption referred to above that the CWG languages (including Afrikaans) are basically head-final (SOV) languages, was arrived at by the observation that the NP-complements of the verb cannot linearly follow the verb, unless the verb is in the second position in the main clause (5a), while, as we saw above in all other structures the verb(s) are realized to the right of NP-complements.

(5a) Hij geeft Paula een boek
(b) ..dat hij Paula een boek geeft
..(that) he gives Paula a book.

This data initially leaves the issue undecided. Nevertheless, when there is more than one verb present in the clause only one of them, the finite verb, is found to the left, all other verbs have to appear to the right of the other phrasal constituents, (6a,b,c) unlike in English (6d).

(6a) ..dat hij [Paula] [een boek] heeft willen geven
(b) Hij heeft [Paula] [een boek] willen geven
(c) *Hij heeft willen geven [Paula] [een boek]
(d) He had wanted to give [Paula] [a book]

However, if we take a look at clausal complements as shown above in (3), repeated here in (7), we see that these in turn, have to appear to the right of the verb(s), thus giving us no further insight in what could be the base order.

(7a) ..dat hij heeft geprobeerd [om het boek aan Paula te geven]

(b) *..dat hij [om het boek aan Paula te geven]$_i$ heeft geprobeerd t$_i$

..that he tried to give Paula the book.

(c) ..dat hij heeft beloofd [dat hij zou komen]

(d) *..dat hij [dat hij zou komen]$_i$ heeft beloofd t$_i$

.that he promised that he would come.

Verbal complement clauses in Dutch appear invariably to the right of the verb. In the Government and Binding framework of Generative Grammar (henceforth: G/B)[2] they were moved to this position by the rule called EXTRAPOSITION.[3] This has never been a really satisfactory account. As shown in (8), extraposed complement clauses are transparent, whereas extraposed adjunct clauses are islands for extraction.

(8a) Wie$_i$ zei je dat Paula dacht [dat Karel t$_i$ kuste]

Who did you say that Paula thought that Karel had kissed.

(b) *Wie$_i$ heeft Paula het verboden [dat Karel t$_i$ kuste][4]

Who did Paula forbid that Karel kissed.

Thus, two contradictory facts can be established: complement NPs cannot appear to the right of the verb *in situ* but must be realized to the left of it, whereas clausal complements must appear to the right and yield an ungrammatical result when in the canonical NP-complement position (to the left of the verb in the subordinate clause). This point is in fact one of the main cornerstones for the description of Dutch as an underlying head-initial language, as is argued for most comprehensively within an MP approach by Zwart (1993:82, 297; 1997).

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[2] With the term "G/B" I will refer to both the theoretical assumptions that are made in the Government and Binding framework (Chomsky 1981) and subsequent work, referred to as the Principles and Parameters Approach (P&P).

[3] There are other categories in Dutch that can undergo EXTRAPOSITION, for example a Prepositional Phrase (PP), a movement termed PP-over-V, but these are always optional movements and do not have the restriction that they can not appear to the left of the verb (i).

ia. ..dat hij de taart met het mes sneed

b. ..dat hij de taart sneed met het mes

..that he cut the cake with the knife.

[4] Cf. Bennis (1986:163) who demonstrates that in these constructions the pronoun *het* is the argument receiving the theta-role and not an empty dummy-pronoun.

Secondly, as shown in (9), the object(s) of finite or infinitival sentential complement clauses can only undergo Ā-movement (WH-movement).

(9a) *[Een liedje]$_i$ heeft hij geprobeerd [om [t$_i$] te zingen]
(b) [Wat]$_i$ heeft hij geprobeerd [om [t$_i$] te zingen]
..that he tried to sing a song./ What did he try to sing.

In contrast, non-complement clausal constituents may surface both to the left and to the right of the verb as shown in (10).

(10a) ..dat Karel Paula kuste, toen de film begon
(b) ..dat Karel Paula toen de film begon kuste
(c) ..dat Karel toen de film begon Paula kuste
(d) ..dat toen de film begon Karel Paula kuste
..that Karel kissed Paula when the film started.

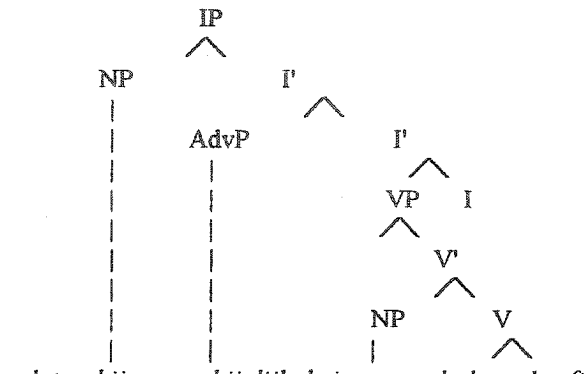
However, neither view can put forward conclusive evidence based on these data alone. From data as presented in (11), where we see an NP-complement realized in nearly every possible position, it has also been assumed that Dutch (and German) are typologically classified amongst the non-configurational languages (cf. Webelhuth 1985).

(11a) Karel heeft waarschijnlijk gisteren Paula het boek gegeven
Karel has probably yesterday Paula the book given
(b) Karel heeft waarschijnlijk Paula gisteren het boek gegeven
(c) Karel heeft waarschijnlijk Paula het boek gisteren gegeven
(d) Karel heeft Paula waarschijnlijk gisteren het boek gegeven
(e) Karel heeft Paula waarschijnlijk het boek gisteren gegeven
(f) Karel heeft Paula het boek waarschijnlijk gisteren gegeven
Karel probably gave Paula the book yesterday.

Within the G/B framework it is assumed that sentence adverbs are in an invariable position, demarcating the boundary of the VP. Sentence adverbs like *waarschijnlijk* (probably) are base generated in a position which is left adjoined to I' as shown in (12). Temporal adverbs, within G/B principles are also peripheral to the VP, in some accounts adjoined to either IP or to VP (cf. Haegeman 1992:157). It is then assumed that the objects can adjoin to different positions relative to the adverbs as exemplified in (11); this movement is referred to as scrambling (cf. Webelhuth

1989, Grewendorf & Sternefeld 1990).

(12)



It is not so that all constituents can scramble; whereas for example indefinite NPs and pronouns are preferred to scramble, particles (13a) and small-clauses (13b) give an ungrammatical result[5] (see Den Besten et al, 1988:18; also Broekhuis 1989, Broekhuis et al, 1995).

(13a) Karel heeft (*op) waarschijnlijk (*op) gisteren (*op) Paula (op)gebeld
Karel has up probably up yesterday up Paula up ring

(b) ..dat ik dat niet kapot gemaakt heb
..that I that not broken made have
*..dat ik dat kapot niet heb gemaakt

The seemingly random ordering possibilities within the Dutch VP as in the examples above, can be captured far more elegantly, for both the SOV and the SVO model if we let go of the assumption that the AdvP has a fixed position in the structure. This idea is put forward in the MP with the presumption that adverbs can in principle be adjoined to any maximal projection (Zwart 1993: 304). Adopting the idea that the placement of adverbs is without regulations or stipulations of any movement, Zwart arrives at the conclusion: "[that] the assumption that adverbs are freely generated is not unattractive" (*op.cit.*:94). It is a reasonable option within the Minimalist Program as the MP approach is in principle unrestrictive in so far that it has no movement rules. The program itself, on the other hand is very restrictive, in that every movement that takes place must be motivated by certain licensing requirements. Capturing such requirements for Adverbial Phrases would seem basically a theory-driven stipulation.

[5] Both in simplex clauses as well as from extraposed clauses ('the third construction'), as discussed in § 5.1.3.2.

To summarize so far, we have looked at the options for positioning the complements of the verb and their relation to adjuncts in the sentence with NP-complements, as well as finite and infinitival sentential complements. In the next paragraph the non-finite verbal complements are further classified.

5.1.3 Classification of non-finite verbal complements

Classifying the verbs for Dutch and Flemish for the type of verbal complements they can occur with, we arrive at four types. In Appendix III (1), the verbs for Dutch are listed per classification of the structural types they combine with.[6] The verbs which are compliant with EXTRAPOSITION, as sketched above, are found in column B, C and D; they exclude the type of verbs that enter exclusively in the so-called VERB RAISING construction (VR), (category A, in Appendix III, (1)). A third class, in the G/B framework, has been identified as the THIRD CONSTRUCTION, while the fourth alternative are verbs that yield VERB PROJECTION RAISING structures (henceforth: VPR). EXTRAPOSITION, in G/B terms, demands the infinitival complement to be moved to the right of the matrix verb, as we have seen in the previous section, resulting in a sequence as in (14a) below. What is termed the THIRD CONSTRUCTION, for further lack of formal descriptive features is a variant of this, whereby the complement NP can surface outside the infinitival clause as shown in the example (14b). The verbs that allow for this construction (identified by the feature [+LDS], Long Distance Scrambling, in Appendix III, (1)), were originally grouped together with the VR-verbs for their similarities to VERB RAISING constructions (Evers 1975). In subsequent work (Den Besten et al, 1988, Den Besten & Rutten 1989, Broekhuis et al, 1995) the construction was isolated as a subcategory of verbs that allow EXTRAPOSITION with the suspension of the complementiser *om*. It is argued that therefore they are transparent for object movement into the higher clause (see further § 5.1.3.2). In the operation known as VERB RAISING in the G/B literature, the verbs cluster together to form one verbal unit as in the example in (14c); this will be discussed in § 5.1.3.1. The fourth instance of verbal infinitival complementation is VERB PROJECTION RAISING, a subcategory of VR. It is not found in contemporary Standard Dutch but amongst others in West Flemish (Haegeman 1992), Southern German dialects, Swiss German (Cooper 1989) and to a certain extent in Afrikaans (see § 5.2.3). VPR is similar to VR, but for the fact that it allows part of the

[6] This list is by no means exhaustive nor claiming to be complete. See Den Besten et al, 1988, Broekhuis et al, 1995 for a discussion of this classification.

projection of the verb to 'raise along', as in the example (14d). This type will be discussed in § 5.1.3.3.

(14a) ..dat hij heeft geprobeerd [om een liedje te zingen]
(b) ..dat hij een liedje$_i$ heeft geprobeerd [___ t_i te zingen]
(c) ..dat hij een liedje t_j t_i [heeft proberen$_i$ te zingen$_j$]
(d) ..dat hij t_j t_i [heeft proberen$_i$ [een liedje te zingen]$_j$]
.. that he has tried to sing a song.

We will return to each of these constructions in turn in relation to their options in Standard Afrikaans in § 5.2. In the next paragraphs an exposition of the standard rule of VR, the THIRD CONSTRUCTION and VPR in the G/B framework is made, whereafter in § 5.1.4, the MP analysis of these will be reviewed.

5.1.3.1 Verb Raising

The mechanism of VERB RAISING in the G/B framework as developed by Evers (1975), and Den Besten and Edmondson (1983) amongst others for Dutch, in its most general form takes place when more than two verbs in a clause, Vx, Vy and Vz, Vx dominating Vy, Vy dominating Vz cluster together and form a new node, constituting one phrasal unit, as for example in (15).

(15) ..dat Karel het boek gisteren aan Paula [$_{VP}$ had willen geven]
..that Karel had wanted to give the book to Paula yesterday.

That the verbs form one clausal unit has foundation in some general observations for a language with verb-second in the main clause, like Dutch. The assumption that only one XP can occupy the sentence initial position provides an explanation for the ungrammaticality of (16b). Clusters made by VR move as a whole to the sentence initial position (16c,d), thus indicating that we are dealing with only one single constituent.

(16a) [Karel] had het boek gisteren aan Paula willen geven
(b) *[Gisteren] [Karel] had het boek aan Paula willen geven

(c) [Willen geven] had hij dat boek aan Paula
(d) *[Geven] had hij dat boek aan Paula gewild [/willen][7]

For Dutch, VR moves the embedded verb to the right of the higher verb while the main verb's objects are left behind clause internally, as shown in the configurational representation in (17).

(17) ..dat Karel [[Paula het boek t_3] t_2] heeft$_1$] proberen$_2$ te geven$_3$
[NP NP t_3] t_2] V_1 V_2 V_3
..that Karel Paula the book has try to give

The result is at surface a VO sequence amongst the participating verbs, the dominating verb appearing to the right of the dependent verb. The mechanism is recursive (18).

(18a) ..dat hij dat [kan begrijpen] [1-2][8]
..that he can understand that.
(b) ..dat hij dat [moet [kunnen begrijpen] [1-2-3]
..that he must be able to understand that.
(c) ..dat hij dat [had [moeten [kunnen begrijpen] [1-2-3-4]
..that he that had must can understand
..that he should have been able to understand that.

In German, possibly the clustering between verbs also takes place but there is no inversion of the relative order of the verbs,[9] except for the verb *hätte* (to have) as in (19c), which demands inversion, whereas inversion is optional for the verb *müssen* (must), (19c,d).

(19a) ..daß er das [verstehen kann] [2-1]
(b) ..daß er das [verstehen können] muss] [3-2-1]
(c) ..daß er das [hätte [[verstehen können] müssen]] [1-4-3-2]

[7] With accompanying intonation and stress the sentence (16d) becomes marginally acceptable; however, only when the participial form of the modal verb is used (ib).

ia. *Géven had hij dat boek aan Maria willen
b. ?Géven had hij dat boek aan Maria gewild

[8] Henceforth the hierarchy of the verbs is indicated by line-final numbering between square brackets.

[9] See p.148 below on the issue of dialectal variation in VR-clusters in the CWG-languages.

(d) ..daß er das [hätte [müssen [verstehen können]]] [1-2-4-3]
..that he that had must understand can
..that he should have been able to understand that.

The most characteristic feature of the mechanism of VR is the fact that when more than two verbs cluster in the perfect tense, the participle form of the depending verb is changed into the infinitival form (20); the so-called Double Infinitive Construction (DIC) is invoked, a phenomena also termed the Infinitivus Pro Participio (IPP)-effect.

(20a) ..dat Karel een boekje heeft willen geven
(b) *..dat Karel een boekje heeft gewild geven
..that Karel wanted to give the booklet.

When the infinitival clause is extraposed as in (21b), or topicalised (cf. footnote 7, p.146) the verb reappears in its participial form.

(21a) ..dat wij haar de rommel [hebben helpen opruimen]
(b) ..dat wij haar [t_i] geholpen hebben [(om) de rommel op te ruimen]$_i$
..that we helped her to clean up the mess.

A second constraint concerns the strict ordering of the verbs in Dutch (22c,d). It has been argued in the literature (Den Besten et al, 1988, Den Besten & Rutten 1989) that when only two verbs are involved in the string, probably there is no VR, or, that VR is optional (22a,b).

(22a) ..dat Karel een boekje heeft gegeven [2-1]
(b) ..dat Karel een boekje gegeven heeft [1-2]
(c) *..dat Karel een boekje heeft geven willen [1-3-2]
(d) *..dat Karel een boekje geven heeft willen [3-1-2]
.. that Karel has given (/has wanted to give) the booklet.

In the G/B analysis of VR it is therefore assumed that the characteristic properties of the mechanism of VR are that:

- There is a strict ordering of the verbal elements.
- In the perfect tense the IPP-effect is obeyed.

Clustering of verbs in the passive voice with the auxiliary *worden* (become), does not show the IPP-effect nor the strict word order. When the verb is in its participial form (when the IPP-effect does not apply), inversion is always optional (23, 24).[10]

(23a) ..dat het knopje moest worden ingedrukt [1-2-3]
(b) ..dat het knopje moest ingedrukt worden [1-3-2]
(c) ..dat het knopje ingedrukt moest worden [3-1-2]
(d) ..dat het knopje ingedrukt worden moest [3-2-1]
that the button pressed down become must
.. that the button had to be pressed down.

(24a) ..dat hij het boek kan hebben gelezen [1-2-3]
(b) ..dat hij het boek kan gelezen hebben [1-3-2]
(c) ..dat hij het boek gelezen kan hebben [3-1-2]
(d) ..dat hij het boek gelezen hebben kan [3-2-1]
that he the book read have can
..that it is possible that he has read the boek.

This constitutes the VR mechanisms available in the CWG-languages in its basic form. A uniform analysis for all CWG-languages is hard to arrive at with this technique alone. Some languages/ dialects allow, others demand leftward movement of the dependent verb, again others decidedly have only rightward movement. In Appendix III, (2) the variation in word order across the CWG-dialects, compared to the standard preferences is schematized. We will return to the Dutch data in § 5.2.2 in a comparison with the options in Afrikaans. The matter seems to bear on whether the IPP-effect is invoked (Vanden Wyngaerd 1994, Wolf 1995, Den Dikken & Hoekstra 1995), but

[10] Where V1 is a modal verb, it is not possible to have a [2-3-1] order in Dutch (ia); a [2-1-3] order seems unacceptable in all variants of the CWG-languages where V2 is a modal verb as in (ib). Where perception or causative verbs are involved in such a three-verb cluster, certain speakers may allow for these.

ia. *..dat hij dat boek hebben gelezen kan [2-3-1]
b. *..dat hij dat boek kunnen heeft lezen [2-1-3]

Cf. Appendix III, (2) on the cross-linguistic word order variation and further Zwart (1995) for discussion of the dialectal options and restriction on VR in the CWG-languages.

as shown in Zwart (1995), cross-linguistically this cannot predict all the variation that must be allowed for.[11]

5.1.3.2 The Third Construction

Thus far we have seen the mechanism of EXTRAPOSITION, which demands the clausal complement to surface on the right of the selecting verb, forming an island for A-movement of its complements. Further we have discussed VERB RAISING which, from the view as put forward within the G/B analysis, leaves all the objects behind sentence internally, while the verbs cluster together in their mirror image word order in Dutch, resulting in a surface order with the most embedded verb as the last one in the cluster. Besides this patterning, certain 'mixed' orders are possible. Consider the next, semantically[12] equivalent sentences:

(25a) ..dat Paula de vogels heeft geprobeerd te fotograferen
(b) ..dat Paula de vogels heeft proberen te fotograferen
that Paula the birds has try to photograph
..that Paula tried to photograph the birds.

Originally, Evers (1975) classified both sentences in (25) as instances of VR, because in both cases the object-NP is realized outside the verb complex. In § 5.1.3.1 it was stipulated that within the G/B analysis of VR the IPP-effect is obeyed: that the verb appears in its infinitival form instead of in its participial form. It was also noted that one characteristic of EXTRAPOSITION is that the objects of the extraposed complement clause remain clause internally as shown in (26) (cf. (11), *supra*).

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[11] Cf. the variation in Swedish and Norwegian which exhibits double participia ("the double supine construction" (i)) as discussed in, for example, Wiklund 1998.

i.	*Jag*	*hade*	*velat*	*läst*	*boken*	Swedish
	I	had	want-PRC	read-PRC	book-D	

[12] A third possibility in Dutch is an EXTRAPOSED clause as in (i) (=26a, in the main text).

i. ..dat Paula heeft geprobeerd om de vogels te fotograferen.

Certain grammarians have weighted the option between (i) and (25a) as standard vs. colloquial usage, socially and stylistically determined, with *om..te* infinitives being widespread in informal registers (De Vooys 1953:163-164, Donaldson 1981:158, ANS:790, Ponelis 1993:292). However, neither I nor any other Dutch native speaker I consulted, agree with such an evaluation. The opinion in the literature is rather interpreted as a prescriptive, schoolteacher's attitude.

(26a) ..dat Paula heeft geprobeerd [om de vogels te fotograferen]
(b) *..dat Paula de vogels$_i$ heeft geprobeerd [om t$_i$ te fotograferen]

Furthermore, as shown in (27), when the IPP-effect is invoked in Dutch, the verbal complex can not be broken up by NP-complements.

(27a) ..dat Paula heeft geprobeerd de vogels te fotograferen
(b) *..dat Paula heeft proberen de vogels te fotograferen

Thus, it is argued that to maintain the IPP-effect as a diagnostic for VR, (25a) cannot be an instance of VR. Therefore (25a) is rather appraised as a 'third' kind of construction, whereby EXTRAPOSITION, with the suspension of an overt complementiser is analyzed as making the clause transparent for A-movement. Thus, the embedded object can move up into the higher clause (Den Besten et al, 1988, De Besten & Rutten 1989, Broekhuis et al, 1995). This type of object movement has been termed 'Long Distance Scrambling' (LDS), (see Appendix III, (1) for the respective verbs that allow this type of construction; see further the publications in Grewendorf & Sternefeld (eds.) 1988 and the references cited there). Note that in this construction the complementiser *om* must be omitted, leaving the status of the extraposed clause undetermined - presumably "something less" than a CP (see also Wurmbrand 1998). In (28a) the analysis of the structure in the THIRD CONSTRUCTION (after EXTRAPOSITION has taken place), is demonstrated, while in (28b) we see how the VR technique moves the clausal elements around from the OV perspective.

(28a) ..dat Paula de vogels$_i$ heeft geprobeerd [t$_i$ te fotograferen]
(b) ..dat Paula [[de vogels t$_j$] t$_i$] heeft proberen$_i$ fotograferen$_j$
.. that Paula tried to photograph the birds.

Anticipating the discussion in the next section on VPR, I make note of the fact that in the dialects that incorporate VPR, the positioning of embedded complement NPs may also be affected by this process.

5.1.3.3 Verb Projection Raising

Summarizing, with strict VR, indicated by a strict ordering of the verbs and the compliance with the IPP-effect, the object-NP(s) are not allowed to penetrate the verbal complex as for example shown in example (27b) in the previous section. In contrast, in the languages and dialects that allow VPR, constructions like the one in (27b) do not give a ungrammatical result. In the G/B analysis VPR basically follows the Dutch VR pattern, but the clustering is not limited to the head of the VP only: part or the whole projection of the VP can be raised along as we can see in an example from West Flemish in (29), (cf. Haegeman 1992, 1995).

(29a) ..dat Karel nen boek an Paula [eet [willen geven]]
(b) ..dat Karel nen boek [eet [willen an Paula geven]]
(c) ..dat Karel [eet [willen nen boek an Paula geven]]
that Karel has want a book to Paula give
..that Karel wanted to give a book to Paula.

In the G/B literature, VPR was first discussed by Haegeman & Van Riemsdijk (1986); to date analyses vary (see for example Den Besten & Edmondson 1983, Haegeman 1992, 1995, Den Dikken 1996). In § 5.2 we will see that Afrikaans allows for this type of construction to a certain extent, depending on the structure of the NP that gets raised along with the verb. Before that, we will first take a look at the treatment of the variation discussed above from the Minimalist point of view, in an analysis of Dutch, not as an SOV, but as an SVO language.

5.1.4 The description of the syntax of the Verb Phrase in the Minimalist approach

In Zwart (1993, 1997) the possibilities of explaining the different word order phenomena of the CWG languages and dialects are discussed within an MP approach (Kayne 1994, Chomsky 1995, 1998). The work by Zwart further differs from the authors mentioned above in that he takes the position that Dutch should be analyzed as a head-initial language (an SVO language). As exemplified in § 1.2 (example (2)), within the MP tree-structures are generated in a bottom-up fashion, whereby the licensing features that have to match with the lexical projections are realized higher (and linearly to the left) in the structure (see § 1.2). Secondly, within the MP approach there are no rules that regulate or restrain movement, but every movement requires to be motivated by certain licensing conditions. These licensing requirements are defined in subsets of

features, which are language-specifically defined as weak or strong.[13] In subsequent sections we will examine more closely how these ideas of strong and weak features operate. From these requirements it follows that there is no optional movement in any specific structure. Schematically sketched, an arbitrary point "Spell-Out" divides the derivation into two separate parts feeding the phonological component (PF) and the LF (semantic) representation. Operations which take place before Spell-Out are visible in the PF representation of the sentence (c.q. there is overt movement), whereas operations which take place after Spell-Out lead only to LF, and form part of the covert syntax (not visible by word order variation).

In contrast with the earlier G/B and P&P approach, which puts demands and restrictions on the lexical categories (the operation termed "move α"), within the MP approach, the hierarchically higher functional projections attract the functional features of the lexical categories in defined terms; merely allowing for the movement of the lexical elements to these positions in overt syntax. The functional components with which the lexical items have to match consist of functional features (F-features) which are language-specifically defined as [+/-strong], to which the lexical item's F-features are attracted (overtly if the FP's feature is [+strong], or covertly if it is [-strong]). The F-features of the functional categories can belong to either one of two types, *viz.* V-features and N-features. The former have to agree with the corresponding F-feature of a lexical head (X°) ("they trigger head movement"), and the latter, the N-features are connected to the checking of features associated with phrases (XPs), ("they trigger XP-movement", cf. Zwart 1993:92). Since feature checking is only possible in a sisterhood relationship, it follows that the V-features of X° can only be checked when this X° is adjoined to the relevant functional head. N-features on the other hand move to the specifier (Spec) position of the functional phrase. Thus, V-features are checked in a head-head configuration, and N-features in Spec-head configurations. For Dutch Zwart (1997) proposes that both the V- and the N-features of the functional agreement phrases (AgrS/AgrO) are strong. This results in 'object-movement', on the assumption that [+strong] features must be checked before the Spell-Out point.

In this section I will review the basic derivation of the elements and their relocation to result in a grammatical (or so-called 'converging') structure.

In the SVO account objectival complements of the verb are base generated to the right of the verb. In this position, as we have seen above, they cannot be overtly realized in Dutch. Within the

[13] But see Chomsky 1998, on re-definitions of these concepts.

MP their movement to the left of the verb is motivated by the requirement that the N-features must be checked (to be technically precise "they are attracted by the checking point"). As the N-feature is defined [+strong] in Dutch, the movement to the functional projection of the Agreement Object Phrase (AgrOP), projected at some point higher up in the structure, must take place in overt syntax, resulting in the correct surface order. In descriptive terms the checking operation of the N-feature, pied-pipes the lexical material along with it (Chomsky 1995), thus, showing the overt movement of an object NP to the specifier of the functional projection (AgrOP, in this case), which is in linear terms, to the left of the verb, basically giving the description the following look:

(30) ..dat Karel $[_{AgrOP}$ $[_{VP}$ koopt $[_{NP}$ het boek]]
..dat Karel $[_{AgrOP}$ het boek$_i$ $[_{VP}$ koopt $[_{NP}$ t_i]]

As mentioned above, all the MP regulates is firstly the generation of elements in head-complement or specifier-head relation. Secondly, it licenses these elements in their functional counterparts. Considering the vast variation in the verb clusters that exists in CWG variants (cf. Appendix III, (2)), the mechanism of triggers that have to allow, c.q. prevent movement is an intricate one, still the subject of further study, but the basic idea, for our purposes is an attractive one. From the viewpoint of Dutch as an SVO language, EXTRAPOSITION no longer exists as all the complements are base-generated to the right. Thus finite or infinitival sentential complement clauses are assumed to occupy their base position (31), with only the objectival NP-complements subject to displacement.

(31) $[_{VP}$ V $[_{CP}$ C $[_{AgrOP}$ NP$_i$ $[_{VP}$ V $t_i]]]]$
[probeer [om [de vogels$_i$ [te fotograferen $t_i]]]]

In Dutch the process of VERB RAISING also leaves the verbal elements in their base position, while the object(s) follow the regular pattern of having to move leftward to the hierarchically higher functional node(s), to be licensed by their respective functional heads (32).

(32) $[_{AgrOP}$ NP$_i$ $[_{VP1}$ V1 $[_{VP2}$ V2 t_i]
[het boek$_i$ [wou [lezen t_i]

The alternative word orders in the various CWG languages and dialects (see the examples in Appendix III, (2)), are derived as a result of raising and adjunction of the infinitive to the modal, perception or causative verb; each dialect or language having its own specifics for triggering or

procrastinating this movement in terms of weak and strong features as the MP specifically does not allow for optional movement.[14] Alternate orderings in the grammar of one speaker are explained in terms of a certain degree of bilingualism, ascribed to purism and normative values (Zwart 1993:338). The THIRD CONSTRUCTION in this framework is likewise explained as an ordinary case of base-generated elements, i.e. the complement clause remains *in situ*, with only the objectival complements subject to movement. In this case however, the AgrOP is chosen outside the embedded clause. Thus, an analysis is proposed whereby the object of the embedded verb is licensed in the functional domain of the matrix verb.

(33) $[_{AgrOP}$ NP $_i$ $[_{VP}$ V $[_{VP}$ V $[_{VP}$ V t $_i]]]]$
[de vogels $_i$ [heeft geprobeerd [te fotograferen t $_i]]]]$

In this same vein VERB PROJECTION RAISING (cf. (29), above) is analyzed in terms of a different distribution of the AgrOP licensing positions for the objectival complements in the structure (Zwart 1995, 1996:11).

(34) $[_{VP}$ V1 $[_{AgrOP}$ NP $_i$ $[_{VP}$ V2 t $_i]]]$
[wou [het boek $_i$ [lezen t $_i]]]$

This basically constitutes the view from a Minimalist approach to the mechanisms that can operate on the verbal complements and their objects. At the same time I must refrain from addressing the implications which arise from this view. Limiting the issue to the idea of the functional domain which attracts the lexical material, it can be established that the AGREEMENT-FP (AgrSP, AgrOP) is restricted to appear in "some place" to the left, (higher) than its lexical associate (cf. Zwart 1995, 1996). Yet, rules which could allow or prevent the generation of FPs across clause boundaries, as in the case of the THIRD CONSTRUCTION and VR in contrast to VPR, are withheld from the logic by which the system functions (see for example the discussion in Zwart 1999, for a proposal accommodating Burzio's Generalization (Burzio 1986:178) within the current principles). To this extent the discussion further continues about the expanse which a VP complement to an auxiliary, modal or causative verb takes, or if the latter are of a (semi-) functional nature themselves. As shown in the VR examples, the verbs cluster together,

[14] Current research about seemingly optional movement tends towards analyses borrowed from Optimality Theory. See for example Broekhuis (1998), Broekhuis & Dekkers (to appear), and Müller (1999).

impenetrable for any other constituent.[15] With this caveat, I will return to the structural possibilities and consequences purported by the view of the CWG languages as SVO configurations adhering to the MP directives in subsequent sections. Before that, I will review the options that exist in Afrikaans for the positioning of verbal non-finite complements in comparison to Dutch according to the outlines sketched above.

5.2 Verbal non-finite complements in Afrikaans

5.2.1 Introduction

In the following sections I will show that the syntax of verbal infinitival complementation in Afrikaans largely follows the Continental West Germanic languages. VERB RAISING exhibits even stricter results in word order than Standard Dutch requires, (to be discussed in § 5.2.2); to a certain extent VERB PROJECTION RAISING (VPR) is an available option too (§ 5.2.3). EXTRAPOSITION occurs with the same regularities as described in the previous section for Dutch: it is an obligatory process (35a,b) and the extraposed clause is an island for A-movement (35c), while Ā-movement is permitted (35d).

(35a)	*..dat hy	[om 'n liedjie te sing]	geprobeer het		
	that he	for a song to sing	tried	has	
(b)	..dat hy	[t_i]	geprobeer het	[om 'n liedjie te sing]$_i$	
(c)	*..dat hy	['n liedjie]$_i$	geprobeer het	[om [t_i] te sing]	
(d)	[Wat]$_i$ het	hy	geprobeer	[om [t_i] te sing]	

At first sight it may appear as if the categories of verbs in Afrikaans can be sorted along the same lines as in Dutch. At closer inspection, a different picture emerges as a number of restrictions seem to hold. Firstly, Afrikaans has developed different strategies for the category of verbs that take an infinitival *te*-complement, for example the equivalents of the Dutch verbs *behoren* (should/ought to/ have to), *schijnen* (seem), *hoeven* (negative hortative), and *staan* (to stand). We will take a look at these structures individually in the paragraphs 5.2.4 (*te*-infinitives), and 5.2.5 where I will discuss the so-called VERBAL HENDIADYS construction. The restrictions on the location

[15] See Wurmbrand (1998:Chapter Six) for argumentation that modal verbs and raising verbs are functional categories that are generated outside the VP in an inflectional head.

of the temporal auxiliary *het* (have) will play a crucial role in some cases. In the previous sections it was shown that in Dutch, both VR and the THIRD CONSTRUCTION give a result whereby the complement object-NPs are realized main clause internally, while both EXTRAPOSITION and VPR result in structures where the nominal constituents materialize in the complement clause. The determining factor for this differentiation was the infinitival form versus the participial form of the complement verb in the cluster. We will see shortly that Afrikaans does not maintain a uniform delineation in this respect. Before I turn to these facts, I will briefly examine one other idiosyncratic aspect in the syntax of Afrikaans about the positioning of complement NPs.

5.2.1.1 NP placement

The free word orders as referred to in the previous section for Dutch in example (11) in § 5.1.2 above, repeated here in Afrikaans in (36) are in principle all available.

(36a)	Karel	het	waarskynlik	gister	vir Paula	die boek	gegee
	Karel	has	probably	yesterday	to Paula	the book	given
(b)	Karel	het	waarskynlik	vir Paula	gister	die boek	gegee
(c)	Karel	het	waarskynlik	vir Paula	die boek	gister	gegee
(d)	Karel	het	vir Paula	waarskynlik	gister	die boek	gegee
(e)	Kare	het	vir Paula	waarskynlik	die boek	gister	gegee
(f)	Karel	het	vir Paula	die boek	waarskynlik	gister	gegee

Karel probably gave Paula the book yesterday.

In the examples in (36) we see that in Afrikaans *vir* is being used with the dative object. Dutch also takes dative object prepositions, *viz. aan* or *voor*, similar, although not quite identical in syntax to English 'to' and 'for'. In Afrikaans the use of *vir* has expanded in this area of the syntax, making *aan* practically redundant. Secondly, *vir* can precede an accusative object NP (cf. § 2.5.1.3). Although generally this is an optional choice (Raidt 1969, 1976, Ponelis 1993:265-266, Molnárfi 1997), one un-Germanic restriction holds in the case where a [+human]-accusative object NP appears in the clause, in what would traditionally be its base position, adjacent to the governing verb (Larson 1988). In this case the object-marker *vir* becomes obligatory as shown in (37a,b). In a scrambled position (see § 5.1.2 for exposition of the term) the object marker is optional (37c,d). Although not acceptable to all speakers, the use of *vir* with a [-human]-object NP gives the NP an affective, personalized value (37e), (cf. Raidt 1976). The use of *vir* with

indefinite object NPs results in an ungrammatical sentence (37f).

(37a)	*Ek	het	gister	Paula (/haar)		gesien
(b)	Ek	het	gister	vir Paula (/haar)		gesien
(c)	Ek	het		Paula (/haar)	gister	gesien
(d)	Ek	het		vir Paula (/haar)	gister	gesien
	I	have		for Paula	yesterday	seen
(e)	Ek	het	gister	(#vir) die blou skoenlappertjie		gesien
	I	have	yesterday	for the blue butterfly		seen
(f)	*Ek	het	gister	vir 'n meisie		gesien
	I	have	yesterday	for a girl		seen

The data in (37a-d) show that a [+human]-object NP consisting of a proper noun or personal pronoun,[16] obligatorily scrambles to a higher position in the clause. It can only surface adjacent to the governing verb (or verb cluster) if preceded by the object marker *vir* (37a,b). Thus far it is unclear what causes this restriction in the grammar, whether the phenomenon is related to Case assignment or to focus, or perhaps to both.[17] In the traditional G/B framework the analysis of this restriction is hard to reconcile with the basic assumption that object-NPs (c.q. all DPs, be it proper nouns, indefinite NPs and definite NPs) must be adjacent to the verb in order to receive Case (cf. Larson 1988, 1990). In an MP analysis the description would seem to be less complicated in terms of the (non)-availability of an AgrOP immediately to the left of the verb for [+human]/[-DEF]-NPs; the core of the problem remains the same of course.

For our present purposes this restriction in the grammar furnishes us with a diagnostic to determine if an object-NP is in its base position or higher in the clause, as the absence of the

[16] Some gradience seems at play as shown in (i) (Hester Waher p.c.; cf. (37f) and footnote 17, below).

ia. Ek het gister (vir) die mense gesien
b. ? (/#) Ek het gister hom gesien

See also the syntactic-semantic characterization of *vir* in Molnárfi 1997. The non-uniformity of judgements in the syntax of Afrikaans also feature in this respect (cf. § 1.1.1), witness Molnárfi (*op.cit.*:93) judges (ib) ungrammatical in Afrikaans.

[17] It could be argued that the determining factor is [+Def] as the object marker *vir* cannot occur with indefinite NPs (cf. (37f)). But this issue is irrelevant to the present discussion. Note that a different intonational pattern or stress as in (i) does not improve the sentence (Hester Waher p.c.), (capitals indicating pitch accent).

ia. *Jan het gister PIET gesien
b. *Jan het GISter Piet gesien

object marker *vir* gives an ungrammatical result in the presence of adverbs in the main clause when it is placed adjacent to its governing verb. Given this datum we have to infer that in a sentence as (38) the accusative-object NP has, likewise, moved to a higher position, non-adjacent to its governing verb.[18]

(38)	Ek	het	$Paula_i$	$[t_i]$	gesien
	I	have	Paula		seen

5.2.1.2 Outline of infinitival complements

To summarize the types of constructions that we can expect to find: one category of verbs will allow only for sentential complements (with both the overt presence of the complementiser *om* and the infinitival marker *te,* (Dutch category B, in Appendix III). A next class of verbs takes on a bare infinitival complement and enters into a VR construction (Dutch category A, in Appendix III). Generally, both in Afrikaans and in Dutch we observe a strict word order and the occurrence of the IPP-effect in the perfect tense. As a sub-type of VR, in VPR certain non-verbal material enters into the cluster. A third class of verbs in Dutch allows for its complement to be extraposed without the complementiser (*om*) overtly realized in the surface string (Appendix III, category C and D). The infinitives in the complement of these verbs are preceded by the infinitival marker *te*. NP-complements that belong to the embedded clause in this construction remain clause internal, as is the case with EXTRAPOSITION of the complement clause. In the instances where the embedded object(s) appear in the higher clause, the analysis is, that LDS up to this position has taken place. This construction is known in the literature as the THIRD CONSTRUCTION (see § 5.1.3.2).

Thus in Dutch, a verb like for example *proberen* (to try), (Appendix III, category C) can enter in all three kinds of constructions, resulting in the following surface strings:

(39a)	..dat Paula heeft geprobeerd om aan Karel de brief te schrijven	Dutch
(b)	*..dat Paula aan $Karel_i$ heeft geprobeerd om t_i de brief te schrijven	
(c)	..dat Paula heeft geprobeerd aan Karel de brief te schrijven	

[18] In traditional Afrikaans grammars this particular phenomenon is described in terms of the obligatory adjacency of the NP to the finite verb in the main clause; in the subordinate clause the requirement holds that the object must be adjacent to the subject, in all other configurations *vir* becomes obligatory. As mentioned in the text it is unclear which module in the syntax imposes this restriction.

(d) ..dat Paula aan Karel$_i$ heeft geprobeerd t_i de brief te schrijven
(e) ..dat Paula aan Karel$_i$ de brief$_j$ heeft geprobeerd t_i t_j te schrijven
(f) ..dat Paula aan Karel de brief t_i [heeft proberen] te schrijven]$_i$]
(g) *..dat Paula t_i [heeft proberen [aan Karel die brief te schrijven]$_i$]
..that Paula tried to write Karel a letter.

(39a) illustrates EXTRAPOSITION of the complement clause, (39b) shows that movement of the object NPs into the higher clause gives an ungrammatical result. (39c) is analyzed as the THIRD CONSTRUCTION, whereby LDS of the object NPs shows a mixed result in surface orders (39d,e). (Recall that the THIRD CONSTRUCTION is a variant of EXTRAPOSTION, whereby the object(s) "scrambles Long Distance", back into the main clause.) In (39f) the VR construction and in (39g) a VPR-construction is illustrated; the latter gives an ungrammatical result in Standard Dutch.

Then again, for example the verb *zeggen* (to say), allows for EXTRAPOSITION of its clausal complement besides having a positive value for the feature [LDS]. Conversely, semantically related verbs like *schreeuwen* (to cry/scream) or *fluisteren* (to whisper), only form a grammatical string if their clausal complement is extraposed. They have a negative value for the feature [LDS]. In the class of verbs that demand VERB RAISING and which do not allow any of the other type of constructions (category A, Appendix III, (1)) we find the modal verbs, auxiliary verbs, the verbs of perception, causative verbs and the semi-aspectual verbs, amongst a few others. This homogenous group in Dutch, has become divided along different lines in Afrikaans, as will be shown in the next sections.

5.2.2 Bare infinitival complements

The classification of the Afrikaans verbs falls out along different lines from Dutch. We will take a look at the operative mechanisms in Afrikaans following the outline of the Dutch classification in the previous sections, starting with those verbs that take bare infinitival complements.

5.2.2.1 The mechanism of Verb Raising implemented for Afrikaans: the positioning of auxiliary verbs

Prima facie, Afrikaans can be classified as being a strict VR[19] language like its Dutch superstrate (§ 5.1.3.1). VR with verbs of perception, causative verbs, control verbs and modal verbs follows the regular model as presented for Dutch, with rightward movement of the most embedded verb, which can take place in a recursive fashion:

(40) ..dat hy die boek [kan [probeer lees]] [1-2-3]
that he the book can try read
_____V____O__
__V_____O____

On closer inspection it exhibits one striking exception to the rule of VR: the auxiliaries *het* (< Dutch: *hebben*, 3S: *heeft*, 'to have'), *is/wees* (<Dutch: *zijn/wezen*, 3S: *is*, 'to be') and *word* (<Dutch: *worden*, 3S: *wordt*, passive auxiliary) always have to appear clause finally (41). Thus, clusters in Afrikaans with these verbs surface in mixed O-V, V-O order.

(41) ..dat hy die boek [[probeer lees] het] [2-3-1]
that he the book try read has
__ V_____O_____
_____O_____ V__

In fact, Afrikaans shows far stricter orders than Dutch, as first noted by Scholtz (1980). When only two verbs cluster Dutch can alternate between an O-V or V-O sequence as I have shown in the previous section; the relevant examples are repeated here in (42).[20]

(42a) ..dat hij het boek kan lezen [1-2]
(b) ..dat hij het boek lezen kan [2-1]
..that he can read the book.

[19] Strict VR in Dutch seems only to apply to clusters of more than two verbs (see § 5.1.3.1), whereas Afrikaans has restrictions even on that level, (examples (42) and (43), *infra*).

[20] This is a regional, dialectal difference known in the literature as the 'red' and the 'green' sequence, after a dialectologist who did a survey of the patterning, and used green and red markers on his map. In Zwart (1993: 338) differences in ordering possibilities are ascribed to bilingualism of the speaker in question, perhaps as a result of purism. This is also suggested by Ponelis (1993:336).

(c)	..dat	hij	het boek	heeft	gelezen	[1-2]
(d)	..dat	hij	het boek	gelezen	heeft	[2-1]

..that he has read the book.

Afrikaans does not have these alternatives; it exhibits strict ordering in opposite directions for regular VR with modal, causative and perception verbs versus VR with the temporal auxiliary as shown in (43) and (44).

(43a)	..dat	hy	die boek	kan	lees	[1-2]
(b)	*..dat	hy	die boek	lees	kan	[2-1]

..that he can read the book.

(44a)	*..dat	hy	die boek	het	gelees	[1-2]
(b)	..dat	hy	die boek	gelees	het	[2-1]

..that he has read the book.

In this respect Scholtz (1980:98) makes note of the fact that, from an historical perspective, the obligatorily sentence final appearance of the temporal auxiliary (*het*) was already an established feature of Afrikaans towards (*al teen*) 1775, whereas the V-O or O-V alternation (as in contemporary Dutch) with the other VR-verbs was still profuse in the nineteenth century. He infers that if this development were the result of an attempt to write correct Dutch, it is strange that it should be managed in the one case, but not in the other.[21]

The little variation that we do find in present-day Afrikaans in choice of O-V or V-O ordering (cf. (46c), (47c), *infra*), is most likely the result of purism of the language which has had its onset at the turn of the twentieth century when Afrikaans became recognized as an official language (cf. a.o. Nienaber ed., 1974, Spruyt 1896, Van Niekerk 1920 for contemporary considerations; Roberge (1992a,b) for an extensive *Rückschau* over events.) The tendency then, was to look back at the Dutch superstrate wherever problems arose, and certain cases are clearly identifiable as *vernederlandsing* (Dutchifications), cf. Uys 1983, De Villiers1971:58, 95.

In Dutch inversion is an optional feature in a two-verb cluster (see example (41) above); clusters

[21] Note that this is a moot point in the case of two-verb clusters to which Scholtz is referring to for Dutch (cf. example (42), above and Appendix III, (2a).

that contain a participial form can also vary in their linear surface order (cf. § 5.1.3.1). And, although certain word orders in the Dutch data in the examples (45)-(47), have a definite colloquial flavor, and are not always possible for all speakers, the generally preferred order being [1-2-3], they are not ungrammatical (cf. Appendix III, (2)).

(45a)	..dat	hy	dit		kon	gelieg	het			Afrikaans [1-3-2]
	that	he	it		can	prevaricate	have			
(b)	*..dat	hy	dit		kon		het	gelieg		[1-2-3]
(c)	..dat	hij	het		kan		hebben	gelogen		Dutch [1-2-3]
(d)	..dat	hij	het	gelogen	kan		hebben			[3-1-2]
(e)	..dat	hij	het		kan	gelogen	hebben			[1-3-2]

(46a)	..dat	dit		ingedruk	moes	word				Afrikaans [3-1-2]
	that	it		pushed in	have to	be				
(b)	*..dat	dit	moes			word		ingedruk		[1-2-3]
(c)	?..dat	dit	moes	ingedruk		word				[1-3-2]
(d)	..dat	het	moest			worden		ingedrukt		Dutch [1-2-3]
(e)	..dat	het		ingedrukt	moest	worden				[3-1-2]
(f)	..dat	het	moest	ingedrukt		worden				[1-3-2]

(47a)	..dat	dit		vertaal	kan		word			Afrikaans [3-1-2]
	that	it		translate	can		be			
(b)	*..dat	dit	kan				word	vertaal		[1-2-3]
(c)	?..dat	dit	kan	vertaal			word			[1-3-2]
(d)	..dat	het	kan				worden	vertaald		Dutch [1-2-3]
(e)	..dat	het		vertaald	kan		worden			[3-1-2]
(f)	..dat	het	kan	vertaald			worden			[1-3-2]

The ordering of the verbs in the passive voice as in (46c) and (47c) can be used by some speakers according to Ponelis (1979:518). However other authors do not mention this option as a possible sequence of the verbs (De Villiers 1971:27) or solely as an irregular choice (Smuts 1967:462). The sequence as in (46c, 47c) can be found in older literary texts (for example in work of the author Boerneef) and is perceived as a scholarly register.

5.2.2.2 Verb Raising with modal verbs

In the previous section we have seen that VR, as far as modal verbs are concerned, strictly follows the rule which adjoins the embedded verb to the right of the higher verb. Unlike in Dutch, Afrikaans strictly obeys the VR-rule also in a two-verb cluster (cf. (43) above). Where two modal verbs plus a main verb enter the mechanism, no deviation from this model has a grammatical result with the same meaning, akin to Dutch, as shown in (48). In the cluster where two or more other verbs are embedded under the modal, again only one word order gives a grammatical result (49).

(48a)	..dat	Karel	sal	kan	kom		[1-2-3]
	that	Karel	will	can	come		
(b)	*..dat	Karel	kan	sal	kom		[2-1-3]

(49a)	..dat	Karel	dit	kan	probeer	doen	[1-2-3][22]
	that	Karel	it	can	try	do	
(b)	*..dat	Karel	dit	probeer	kan	doen	[2-1-3]
(c)	*..dat	Karel	dit	doen	probeer	kan	[3-2-1]

However, in a three-verb cluster containing the temporal auxiliary *het* this regularity of strict V-O succession is disturbed, as there exists only one option for placement of the auxiliary: clause finally. Placement of *het* sentence finally is such a strong feature of Afrikaans, that Dutch sequences like the ones in (50), which differentiate the epistemic from the deontic (root) meaning of the modal verbs, no longer have a syntactic reflection in Afrikaans.

(50a) Karel [kan [hebben gezwommen]
It is possible, it can be the case that Karel was swimming.

(b) Karel [heeft [kunnen zwemmen]
Karel has been able to swim.

Translated into Afrikaans (50a) results in structures as in (51) in the subordinate and main clause, and (50b) is translated in sequences as in (52).

[22] The text in Ponelis (1993:337) with this example (no. 607) gives the impression that the order of the verbs in this cluster is free in Dutch, also in a three verb sequence, contrary to the facts. Cf. § 5.1.3.1.

(51a)	..dat	Karel	het	kan	hebben	gedaan		Dutch [1-2-3]
(b)	*..dat	Karel	dit	kan	het	gedoen		Afrikaans [1-2-3]
(c)	..dat	Karel	dit	kan		gedoen	het	[1-3-2]
(d)	.dat	Karel	dit	kon		gedoen	het	[1-3-2]
(e)	Karel	kon	dit			gedoen	het	[1..-3-2]

(..that) Karel could have done it.

(52a)	..dat	Karel	het	heeft	kunnen	(*ge)doen		Dutch [1-2-3]
(b)	*..dat	Karel	dit	het	kan/kon	(ge)doen		Afrikaans [1-2-3]
(c)	*?..dat	Karel	dit		kan	gedoen	het	[2-3-1]
(d)	..dat	Karel	dit		kon	gedoen	het	[2-3-1]
(e)	..dat	Karel	dit		(*kan)/kon	doen	het	[2-3-1]
(f)	..dat	Karel	dit		(*kan)/kon	doen		[1-2][23]
(g)	?Karel	het	dit		(*kan)/kon	(*ge)doen		[1..-2-3][24]
(h)	Karel	kon	dit			*(ge)doen	het	[2..-3-1]
(i)	Karel	kon	dit			doen		[1..2]

(..that) Karel has been able to do it.

Note the examples in a subordinate clause in (51d) and (52d) have identical surface strings although they convey two distinct meanings, as well as the near impossibility in most Dutch dialects to commence the cluster with the second embedded verb (a [2-1-3] or [2-3-1] order; (cf. footnote 10, p.148). Likewise, (51e) and (52h) show identical surface orders in the main clause. Apart from the fact that this particular idiosyncrasy of Afrikaans is indeed hard to reconcile with any description of the syntax of Germanic languages, imposing and maintaining the VR analysis presented here, this results in the "wrong" verb: the second most embedded verb (i.c. the modal verb *kan/kon* instead of the finite verb, the temporal auxiliary *het*) being moved to the v/2 position. In subsequent paragraphs similar data, in which *het* as the finite verb in the clause seems

[23] In the description of VR construction as in (51), (52), strictly speaking, from the Dutch perspective which distinguishes the structural hierarchy in *Hij kan gezwommen hebben* from *Hij heeft kunnen zwemmen*, it seems that the temporal auxiliary (*het*) somehow gets "absorbed". Besides this, by processes identified as "preterital replacement" and "preterital assimilation "(Ponelis 1979: 270, De Villiers 1971:89ff.) a modal verb in the past tense (e.g. *hy kon kom*) may also "expand" into a string, projecting the temporal auxiliary (*hy kon gekom het*) according to these authors. See also Donaldson 1993:245, who discusses this alternation as sequences "in lieu of" each other. See further § 6.4.2, footnote 89, p.258.

[24] Some speakers (generally those with knowledge of Dutch) qualify this sentence as "grammatical, but not very commonly used". Note the contrast with (52d) in the subordinate clause, in which the participial form of the main verb is not ungrammatical. (52e) is even more marginal and archaic in modern Afrikaans, but is accepted by some speakers and is noted in Scholtz (1963:165).

prevented from reaching the v/2 position, are reviewed. Anticipating that discussion, a sequence as in (52g) is experienced by most speakers of Afrikaans as an archaic or formal style: perhaps under the influence of Dutch, it occasionally occurs in written texts, for example in texts from the author Breyten Breytenbach. The normal, generally preferred expression of the deontic meaning of a modal verb is as in (52i): without the temporal auxiliary present in the clause.

I make further note of the occurrence of what would have to be described as the equivalent of an "infinitive in the imperfective tense", such as the form *kon* (could) in the examples above. The present tense/infinitival form of this modal verb is *kan* (can), but apparently, where the modal verb is embedded under the temporal auxiliary *het* the expected infinitival form gives an ungrammatical result in the embedded clause (52c,d). In the main clause, according to De Villiers (1971:58) the two forms of the modal verb exist next to each other as practically equivalent grammatical lemma. He describes the choice to a difference between the written language (in which the 'imperfective'-form would be preferred), and the spoken language (predominantly using the 'present tense'-form). He notes that the imperfective form can even be used in infinitival clauses introduced by an overt complementiser, as in (53), (De Villiers 1971:30-31).

(53a) Om die werk te kon gee, is geldelike steun ontvang..
For the work to was able give, was financial aid received....
In order to award the work, financial aid was received from...

(b) Sy sou veel eerder dood wou gewees het as om brood te moes bedel
She would much sooner dead wanted been have than for bread to had beg
She had rather died then have had to beg for bread.

Apart from constructions in which the modal verb is used in its epistemic meaning, and in the case where two modal verbs are combined, the modal verb takes on the highest position in the hierarchy of the verbal complex (cf. example (94), p.181). It in turn can select its own complement from all the verbal classes that will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

5.2.2.3 Verb Raising with verbs of perception and causative verbs

The verbs of perception and causative verbs follow essentially the same pattern as described in the previous section for the modal verbs: strict VR with rightward movement of the embedded verb, rendering strict V-O order. Irrespective of the status of the complement verb, the subject

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of the complement verb receives accusative case from the higher verb, by so-called Exceptional Case Marking (ECM).

(54a) ..dat hy haar die liedjie hoor sing [1-2]
.. that he hears her sing a song.

(b) ..dat hy hom sien speel [1-2]
.. that he sees him play.

These verbs themselves in turn can be in the complement of the auxiliary verbs and the modal verbs, resulting in complexes of three or more verbs. Where the latter are concerned, the pattern is strictly V-O. When embedded under the temporal auxiliary (*het*) however, we again see that the temporal auxiliary cannot be realized but in the sentence final position, rendering a mixed surface order:

(55a)	..dat	hy	Paula	die liedjie	hoor	sing	het	[2-3-1]
	..that	he	Paula	the song	hear	sing	has	
(b)	..dat	hy	Karel		sien	speel	het	[2-3-1]
	..that	he	Karel		see	play	has	

Strictly speaking, the IPP-rule is obeyed in the usual way. However, in the subordinate clause sequence, when the finite verb, the temporal auxiliary *het*, is not moved to the v/2 position a participial form can occur with the same ease as the uninflected form (56a,b). In the main clause the use of the participial form (56c,d) is judged as marked.[25]

(56a) ..dat hy Paula die liedjie gehoor sing het
(b) ..dat hy Karel gesien speel het
(c) #Hy het Paula die liedjie gehoor sing
(d) #Hy het Karel gesien speel

[25] On a scale of judgements for the main clause word order with the participial form of the verb (56c,d), (ii) was most often chosen.

i. -ungrammatical
ii. -not used by the informant himself/herself, but perhaps by others
iii. -only possible in non-standard varieties

According to Combrink (1990:221-222) the construction with a participial form is not used in *versorgde taal van Afrikaanssprekendes* (careful speech of Afrikaans-speakers).

Conradie (1969) notices a similar contrast with multiple verb clusters in passive sentences, he as much as concludes that it is ungrammatical in Afrikaans to have the perfect tense of a passive string in a main clause (57b,d) whereas no such restriction seems to hold for the embedded sentences (*op.cit.*:15).

(57a) ..dat hy by die perdekopery ingewikkel geword het
(b) *Hy het by die perdekopery ingewikkel geword
..(that) he got involved in horse trading.*
(c) ..dat hierdie doel ook deeglik bereik geword het
(d) *Hierdie doel het deeglik bereik geword
..(that) this goal was reached well.*

Anticipating the discussion § 5.2.5 of the so-called LINKING VERBS (henceforth: LV; Afrikaans: *skakelwerkwoorde*), an opposition between the main clause and subordinate clause as in (51), (52) and (57) could not be detected. But evidently, the participial morphology in VR-clusters with LVs can be carried by either the Linking Verb or by the Main Verb; in non-standard varieties also on both verbs (see Chapter Six, § 6.3.4).

5.2.3 Verb Projection Raising

Before we turn to infinitival constructions that require what is traditionally called the 'infinitival marker' *te* in their complement, we will look at non-verbal XPs that can break up the verbal cluster. Recall, that VPR is not an option in Standard Dutch (§ 5.1.3.3), but typical of West-Flemish (WF) as illustrated in the examples in (58), (following Haegeman 1992:148).

(58a) *..da Karel woarschijnlijk [$_{VP}$ da boek vuor Paula kuopen] wilt West Flemish
..that Karel probably that book for Paula buy wants
(b) ..da Karel woarschijnlijk wilt [$_{VP}$ da boek vuor Paula kuopen]
that Karel probably wants that boek for Paula buy
(c) ..da Karel woarschijnlijk da boek wilt [$_{VP}$ vuor Paula kuopen]
..that Karel probably that book wants for Paula buy
(d) ..da Karel woarschijnlijk da boek vuor Paula wilt [$_{VP}$ kuopen]
..that Karel probably that book for Paula wants buy
.. that Karel probably wants to buy that book for Paula.

In the SOV analysis of WF (58a) is the underlying order, assuming *will* takes a VP complement, from which the various surface orderings are derived. In (58b) the whole embedded VP, including both the direct and indirect object is raised to the right of the modal verb by VPR; in (58c) the direct object remains *in situ* and a part of the VP, the indirect object PP and the verb are raised to the right of the modal verb, while in (58d) we have an instance of normal VR as found in Standard Dutch where only the embedded verb raises to the modal verb, leaving its objects sentence internally behind. In a traditional analysis this difference is related to XP-movement in the VPR-construction vs. X°-movement of the verb in the VR-construction (Haegeman 1992, Den Dikken 1996; see also Wurmbrand 1998).

To commence this section, I note the fact that it is not so easy to establish whether VPR has applied because Afrikaans also has a (limited) possibility to apply verb-second in subordinate clauses. The examples in (59) thus can be analyzed both ways.

(59a) ..as hulle moet water mors
..if they have to spill water.
(b) ..as hulle probeer water mors
..if they try to spill water.
(c) ..as hulle staan water mors
..if they are (standing) spilling water.

The basic structure (60a) can be analyzed as if VPR took place, as demonstrated in (60b) or that the verb was moved to the v/2-position as shown in (60c):

(60a)	DS[26]	*..as hulle	[VP	water mors]	moet	
(b)	VPR	..as hulle	[VP	t_i]	moet	[water mors]$_i$
(c)	v/2	..as hulle moet$_i$	[VP	water mors]	t_i	

..if they have to spill water.

Capturing these facts within an MP analysis, taking the language to be basically SVO with differences in the distribution of AgrOPs (see § 5.1.4), in principle the following structures could be assigned to (59a):

[26] Government & Binding framework abbreviation for Deep Structure (opposed to SS, Surface Structure) to which the so-called transformation rules (Move α) apply.

DS	[CP as hulle [AgrS		[AgrO		[VP	moet		mors	water]]]	
v/2	[CP as hulle [AgrS moet$_i$		[AgrO	water$_j$	[VP	t_i		mors	t_j	]]]
VPR	[CP as hulle [AgrS				[VP	moet	[AgrO water$_j$	mors	t_j	]]]
VPR&v/2	[CP as hulle [AgrS moet$_i$				[VP	t_i	[AgrO water$_j$	mors	t_j	]]]

Anticipating further discussion in subsequent sections relating to the diagnosis of VPR or v/2, it can be mentioned that in Afrikaans no element can appear between the verb in the v/2-position and the subject, in (main clause) inversion constructions (cf. footnote 18, p.158), whereas in Dutch such examples are not ungrammatical (Zwart 1993:48).

(61a) Paula kussen vandaag de jongens vaak — Dutch
Today the boys often kiss Paula.
(b) Waarom kust altijd Karel Paula?
Why is Karel forever kissing Paula?
(c) *Paula soen vandag die seuns dikwels — Afrikaans
(d) *Hoekom soen altyd Karel (vir) Paula?

Hence, when an adverb intervenes between the verb and the subject in a sequence as in (62) we can be certain that we are dealing with VPR and not with a verb-second structure.[27]

(62) ...[$_{CP}$ as hulle [$_{AdvP}$ nou [$_{VP}$ moet [$_{AgrOP}$ water$_i$] mors] t_i]]]

This is a second diagnostic datum to determine where the elements should be located in Afrikaans structures. Recall that the first was discussed in § 5.2.1.1, namely the requirement that *vir* precedes specific object-NPs when separated from the finite verb in the main clause or from the subject-NP in the subordinate clause.

5.2.3.1 Verb Projection Raising including Noun Phrases

We presently return to the syntax of VPR-constructions. As mentioned above Afrikaans allows for full VPR structures, however with restrictions which seem to depend on the categorial extension

[27] This is simplifying away from various other possible technical solutions to this issue.

of the non-verbal material that is included, as will be reviewed below. The equivalents of the West Flemish VPR ranges as in (58) above, are only partly grammatical in Afrikaans (63).

(63a)	*..dat	Karel	waarskynlik	wil	[daardie boek	vir Paula	koop]
	..that	Karel	probably	wants	that boek	for Paula	buy
(b)	#..dat	Karel	waarskynlik	daardie boek	wil	[vir Paula	koop]
	.. that	Karel	probably	that book	wants	for Paula	buy
(c)	..dat	Karel	waarskynlik	daardie boek	vir Paula	[wil	koop]
	.. that	Karel	probably	that book	for Paula	wants	buy

..that Karel probably wants to buy that book for Paula.

Acceptability seems to bear on the particular matrix verb. Examples with the modal verb *moeten* (must) are more readily accepted than with *willen* (want); for example (63b) with the verb *moeten* instead of *willen* is accepted by all my informants (see example (76), p.174). The direct Linking Verbs, which are discussed in detail in § 5.2.5, allow for this construction most freely. In examples, the division runs along the following lines:

VPR is allowed with bare NPs (64):

(64a) ..as hulle nou moet water mors
(b) ..as hulle nou probeer water mors
(c) ..as hulle nou staan water mors
..if they now must/try/stand spill water.

NPs that are modified by adjectivals (65):

(65a) ..as hulle daar moet goeie onderwys gee
(b) ..as hulle daar probeer goeie onderwys gee
(c) ..as hulle daar staan en goeie onderwys gee
..if they must/try/stand give good education there.

NPs that are modified by prepositional complements (66):

(66a) ..of ons sal kan koeke met vars room verkoop
(b) ..of ons sal probeer koeke met vars room verkoop

(c) ..of ons sal loop koeke met vars room verkoop
..if we shall can/try/walk sell cakes with fresh cream.

But VPR is not allowed when a determiner is present[28]:

(67a) *..as hulle nou moet die koeldrank mors
(b) *..as hulle nou probeer die koeldrank mors
(c) *..as hulle nou staan (en) die koeldrank mors
..if they must/try stand spill the cooldrink.

Within the G/B framework arguments have been brought forward that NPs should be analyzed projecting a Functional Category: the Determiner Phrase (DP) (Abney 1987). In these terms we can settle the differences for VPR in Afrikaans, as far as the nouns are concerned, on excluding an overt lexical element in the DP assuming a structure as in (68).

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[28] Donaldson (1993) states that VPR-structures are limited by a quantificational factor: that only one single lexical word is allowed to be raised along. As shown, it is rather the categorial status of the raised constituent whereby certain DPs seem to be excluded. In Ponelis 1993, who discusses these structures (section 1.1.3.2) we do find examples that include a determiner plus NP. However Ponelis (*op.cit.*: 332) is very unclear about the status of his examples. Firstly he raises the issue that the structures as in (i), (his examples (590)-(592)), could be instances of verb-second in the embedded clause, whereby of course no restrictions hold for the complement NPs. As far as the embedded v/2 structures are concerned, he does note that these are highly colloquial (*op.cit.*: 340). However, he does not rate the examples that he gives of what he calls "open final strings" as in (i), (ex. 590).

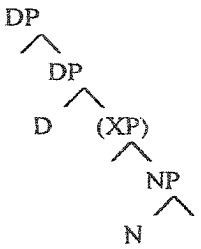
ia. *..dat hulle nie sal die gedagte ondersteun nie*
b. *..dat hulle sal nie die gedagte ondersteun nie*
..that they will not the thought support not

In examples from spoken Afrikaans Feinauer 1987, quotes similar instances. Example (iia) could possibly be a case of VPR but the examples (iib-d) cannot be otherwise explained than as instances of v/2 in the subordinate clause, as these are examples with only one verb, and, thus cannot be instances of V(P)R (from Feinauer 1987, bylae IV).

iia. *Verduidelik hoe werk die besigheid dat ek kan 'n plan maak*
Clarify how works the business that I can a plan make
b. *Sy filosofie is dat ons aanvaar dinge*
His philosophy is that we accept things
c. *Ek sal bly tot ek seker is dat nie een van my seuns stel belang nie*
I will stay till I sure is that not one of my sons shows interest not
d. *'n Mens moet daarom sê dat Laingsburg het 'n unieke ligging*
one must MOD say that Laingsburg has a unique setting

The example from Ponelis as in (ia) is, in any case worse than (ib), (Hester Waher p.c.). I will consider this particular example as an instance of verb-second in the embedded clause as regularly attested with modal verbs in non-standard Afrikaans (see Chapter Six, § 6.4.2).

(68)



In this structure DP is the highest functional projection in the noun phrase, and D the highest functional head. The determiner is taken to be generated in D. XP in (68) can be an Adjectival Phrase or a Degree Phrase (cf. Corver 1991). From this analysis something in the line of an argument that only structures without overt lexical material in the functional projection of DP can enter into a VERB PROJECTION RAISING construction in Afrikaans can be proposed. Abney (1987) argues that the specifier of DP is filled by quantificational elements like *all* in *all the books*. These elements precede the determiner in Dutch as well (*al de boeken*). Adopting the structure in (68), quantificational elements are assumed to be in this position, and hence disallowed to enter the construction. In Afrikaans quantified NPs give a mixed result depending again on the matrix verb that is used (69).

(69a) ..as hulle nou moet baie water mors

(b) ..as hulle nou probeer baie water mors
..if they must/try spill much water now.

(c) *..as hy nou begin baie siek word
..if he now begins to become very ill.

(d) *..as hulle nou staan baie water mors
..if they are spilling much water now.

The same element without the determiner present, as for instance in the case of mass nouns can, arguably, also be analyzed as alternatively occupying the XP position. The issue clearly needs further research, both evaluating the DP analysis as well as the syntax of Afrikaans VPR.

5.2.3.2 Verb Projection Raising with other constituents

On similar conditions as discussed in the previous section, Adjectival Phrases (APs) can occur inside a VPR cluster, firstly as bare adjectival phrases:

(70a) ..of dit nog sal ligter word
(b) ..of dit probeer ligter word
(c) ..of dit staan (en) ligter word
..(as) if it will/try/stands to become lighter.

Secondly, modified adjectival phrases, including APs modified with prepositional phrases allow VPR (71) but modification with grading elements as *te* (too), *as* (as), *soos* (such), *so...dat* (such...as) etc., are excluded (72):

(71a) ..of dit nog sal minder geel word
(b) ..of dit nog probeer minder geel word
(c) ..of dit nog staan minder geel word
..(as) if it will/tries/stands to get less yellow.
(d) ..dat dit nog sal op die ou end goed kom
..that it will turn out alright in the end.

(72a) *..dat dit sal te donker wees
..that it shall be too dark.
(b) *..dat dit begin te moeilik word
..that it begins to become too difficult.

These data confirm the correctness of the basis for an analysis as proposed above in (68). As far as other constituents are concerned, VP-adverbials (AdvP) give a grammatical result (73), whereas sentence adverbials are not allowed to be included (74). But for the observation, I have no further suggestions to this.

(73a) ..of sy nog kan stilletjies verdwyn
(b) ..of sy nog probeer stilletjies verdwyn
(c) ..of sy loop stilletjies verdwyn
..if she still can/tries/walks (to) disappear quietly.

(74a) *..of ek kan miskien hier bly
(b) *..of ek probeer miskien hier bly
..if perhaps I can/try (to) stay here.
(c) *..of ek staan miskien en kyk
..if perhaps I stand looking.

Prepositional predicates are generally allowed (75):

(75a) ..dat hulle moet by die kantoor in kom
(b) ..dat hulle probeer by die kantoor in kom
..that they must/ try to enter in the office.
(c) ..dat hulle loop (en) by die kantoor 'n draai maak
..that they walk visiting the office.

Prepositional objects are also allowed; (indirect) objects without the preposition are not (cf. § 5.2.1.1).

(76a) ..as Karel Paula 'n brief moet skryf
(b) ..as Karel moet *(vir) Paula 'n brief skryf
(c) ..as Karel moet 'n brief *(vir) Paula skryf
..if Karel has to send (for) Paula a letter.
(d) ..as Karel nou moet *(vir) Paula soen
(e) ..as Karel nou moet *(vir) haar soen
..if Karel now has to kiss (for) Paula.

As indicated, in some of the examples the judgements are not always the same for everybody. In this sense, Afrikaans seems to posit a continuum. The prepositional part of a separable compound verb in contemporary Standard Afrikaans is usually included in a V(P)R cluster (76a-f), (cf. Ponelis 1979:517). NPs as part of the separable compound verb still have the choice (77).

(77a) ..om uit te gaan
(b) *..om te uitgaan
(c) ..om te kan uitgaan
(d) %..om uit te kan gaan[29]
(e) *Hy uitgaan
(..for) to go out.

(78a) ..om perd te ry
(b) *..om te perd ry

[29] Ponelis (1979: 518) describes this ordering of the elements as unusual and 'clumsy' Afrikaans.("*Vir deeltjes is dit veel minder gebruiklik om in [die] volgorde voor te kom, en die volgorde word as lomp aangevoel*".)

(c) ..om te kan perd ry
(d) ..om perd te kan ry
(e) *Hy perdry.
(..for) to ride horses.

In West Flemish it is not possible to include the subject of an ECM verb in the embedded clause in the VPR construction (79), in Afrikaans this is relatively acceptable (80).[30]

(79a) ..dat hij Karel laat het huis bouwen West Flemish
(b) *..dat hij laat Karel het huis bouwen
..that he lets Karel build the house.

(80a) #..dat hy laat Karel 'n huis bou Afrikaans
..that he lets Karel build a house.
(b) %..dat hy maak pa sy sondagsklere aantrek
..that he makes dad put on his Sunday clothes.
(c) #..dat hy hoor Paula 'n liedjie sing
..that he hears Paula sing a song.

If we assume the same restriction to hold for Afrikaans, these must be analyzed as instances of embedded v/2, but judgements as to more complicated examples vary widely.

5.2.4 *Te*-Infinitives, the Third Construction

The category of verbs in Dutch that take a "*te*-infinitive" as complement is divided over two classes of verbs (listed in Appendix III, (1), in category C and D). In Afrikaans the verbs in the latter category can generally be said to have become re-listed in category B. In all cases the complementiser (*om*) is no longer optional, but must be overtly realized, blocking LDS per definition. The verbs listed for Dutch in category C divide into two distinct classes in Afrikaans: those that take a bare infinitival complement parallel to Dutch category A verbs, and those that

[30] As remarked earlier, we seem to be dealing with a continuum of lects in these instances. For quite a number of constructions in the remainder of this chapter, there is no unified judgement to be obtained (cf. § 1.1.1). However, none of the examples are ruled out: mostly judgements veer towards "acceptable in the spoken language, but not in school".

have been identified within the Afrikaans philology as taking part in the so-called verbal hendiadys construction. This group takes the morpheme *en* instead of *te* as a preverbal marker and will be discussed separately in § 5.2.5.

Generally speaking *te*-infinitives are becoming rare.[31] To start with, the verbs that appear in category C (Appendix III, (1)), all allow for EXTRAPOSITION, i.e. the construction with the complementiser *om* overtly present (81a, 82a). In Afrikaans this class of verbs, unlike its Dutch counterparts[32] can also take a bare infinitival complement, (81c, 82c):

(81a) Karel probeert om het werk te beginnen — Dutch
(b) Karel probeert het werk te beginnen
(c) *Karel probeert het werk beginnen
Karel tries to start his work.

(82a) Karel probeer om die werk te begin — Afrikaans
(b) %Karel probeer die werk te begin
(c) Karel probeer die werk begin

It appears that in Afrikaans each verb has taken its own route and preferences; thus *versuim* (83) improves when *te* is overtly realized; *begin* en *probeer* become marginalized for most speakers and (82b) is not too readily accepted.

(83a) *..dat hy die boek sal versuim lees
(b) *..dat hy die boek versuim lees het
(c) ?..dat hy die boek sal versuim te lees
(d) ?..dat hy die boek versuim te lees het
..that he missed reading the book.

[31] A few of my informants did not recognize *skyn* (seem) any longer as a verb. They insisted that (i) can only be rendered in Afrikaans with an adverb, as in (ii).

i. *%Hy skyn te kom*
He seems to come
ii. *Hy kom skynbaar*
He comes seemingly

[32] Only under very special circumstances *te* can be omitted in Dutch (see ANS 1984:536); this data is not relevant in the present context.

The verb *begin* (to begin), with a *te*-infinitive as complement clause, is generally accepted by most speakers. In contrast, the verb *probeer* (to try) shows a difference in acceptability between the main and subordinate clause. The construction in the main clause (as in 82b, above) is far more readily accepted than the same construction in an embedded sentence, although, in general, it must be said that the resultant surface orders are judged very formal and archaic. In other words, they are judged as leftover remnants, c.q. imposed instances from the Dutch system.[33] All judgements relating to the intended interpretation are at best "*aanvaarbaar, maar seker ongebruiklik*", (acceptable but certainly unusual, HesterWaher, p.c.), with, in the one case the EXTRAPOSITION structure the preferred option, in the other, VERB RAISING as the favorite choice.

Other verbs that subcategorize for a *te*-complement include *blyk* (appear), *skyn* (seem), *durf* (dare), *behoort* (ought to), *hoef* (negative hortative) and *wens* (wish).[34] Aspectual verbs will be discussed in the next section as they show an innovative structure compared to Dutch. As far as the verbs mentioned above are concerned, the classification has undergone changes, albeit along regular available options. The verb *blyk* (appear), in Dutch allows only for VERB RAISING, (84c), in Afrikaans this option is ruled out (85c) (Ponelis 1979: 224).

(84a) *Deze methode heeft gebleken de beste resultaten (op) te leveren — Dutch
(b) *Deze methode heeft de beste resultaten gebleken (op) te leveren
(c) Deze methode heeft de beste resultaten blijken te leveren
This method appears to have given the best results.

(85a) Hierdie metode het geblyk die beste resultate te lewer — Afrikaans
(b) Hierdie metode het die beste resultate geblyk te lewer
(c) *Hierdie metode het die beste resultate blyk te lewer

Likewise, *skyn* (seem) does not enter into a VR-cluster in Afrikaans (87c); in Dutch there is the

[33] Cf. Pheiffer 1983:46, and Raidt 1984:64, who claims that it is a Dutch dialectal continuation."*Infinitiefsinne met te is relikvorme. [...] Die Afrikaanse infinitiefsin met om te is 'n voortsetting en uitbreiding van 'n versterkingstendensie in die Nederlandse omgangstaal...*" (Infinitival clauses with *te* are relicts. [...]The Afrikaans infinitival clause is a continuation and expansion of Dutch colloquial speech...).

[34] Of these verbs Donaldson (1993) only discusses *behoort*, *durf* and *hoef* as modals (p.247), (also *durf* as a copular verb (p.275); the verbs *skyn* and *blyk* are not discussed in this grammar, which might be an indication of their rarity in Afrikaans (cf. footnote 31, above).

restriction that in the VR complex *schijnen* cannot appear in the complement of the temporal auxiliary (86b), in Afrikaans this restriction does not arise.

(86a) Hij schijnt de hele dag geslapen te hebben — Dutch
(b) *Hij heeft de hele dag schijnen te slapen
He seems to have slept the whole day.

(87a) Hy het geskyn die hele dag te slaap — Afrikaans
(b) Hy het die hele dag geskyn te slaap
(c) *Hy het die hele dag skyn (te) slaap

The obligatory sentence-final positioning of *het*, again gives constructions that combine with the temporal auxiliary an un-Germanic look as it appears that the participle is moved between *te* and the verb (88a). In Dutch the first verb in the complement of *schijnen* must be preceded by *te*. Afrikaans 'excorporating' (c.q. not including) the temporal auxiliary *het* from the VR cluster, surfaces in an order, where *te* precedes the third embedded verb (88b).

(88a)	Zij	schijnen	het	ongeluk		gezien	te	hebben		Dutch [1..3-te-2]
	Hulle	skyn	die	ongeluk	te	gesien		het		Afrikaans [1..te-3-2]
	they	seem	the	accident	to	seen	to	have		
(b)	Zij	schijnen	de	steen	te	hebben	laten	vallen		Dutch [1..te-2-3-4]
	Hulle	skyn	die	steen	te		laat	val	het	Afrikaans [1..te-3-4-2]
	they	seem	the	stone	to	have	let	fall	have	

In the next chapter I will re-address the fact, that the temporal auxiliary *het* shows this exceptional behavior where the mechanism of VERB RAISING is concerned. Further, *blyk* (appear) seems to allow for the THIRD CONSTRUCTION type of complementation (89a), and marginally for VR when not embedded under the temporal auxiliary ((89b), in contrast to (85c)):

(89a) Ek dink dat dit 'n fout blyk te gewees het
I think that this appears to have been a mistake.
(b) Hulle beweer dat hy 'n beter leier sal blyk te wees
They say that he will prove to be a better leader.

The verbs *wens* (to wish), *behoort* (ought to), *hoef* (negative hortative) and *durf* (to dare) that take a *te*-complement, show irregular behavior with respect to the word order in the main clause

versus an embedded clause. In the complement of the temporal auxiliary (*het*) the familiar Afrikaans sequence, featuring *het* clause finally emerges; however, in the main clause the conclusion is forced that the "wrong" verb, i.e. not the finite verb (V1) but the embedded verb (V2) has moved to the v/2 position (90f,g) (cf. § 5.2.2.2). EXTRAPOSITION of the embedded clause (90a) is barely acceptable, while in VR-clusters the IPP seems to be optional (90b,c); VPR gives dubious results (90d,e).

(90a)	*..dat ek behoort het (#om) die boek te koop	Afrikaans
(b)	..dat ek die boek behoort te koop het	[2-te-3-1]
(c)	..dat ek die boek behoort te gekoop het	[2-te-3-1]
(d)	*..dat ek behoort 'n boek te koop het	[1-te-3-2]
(e)	?..dat ek behoort 'n boek te gekoop het	[1-te-3-2]
(f)	*Hy het die boek behoort te koop	[1..2-te-3]
(g)	*Hy het behoort die boek te koop	
(h)	Hy behoort die boek te gekoop het	[2..te-3-1]
(i)	Hij heeft dat boek behoren te kopen	Dutch [1..2-te-3]
(j)	Hij behoorde dat boek gekocht te hebben[35]	[1..3-te-2]
	He ought to have bought that book.	

(91a)	?..dat ek nie gehoef het (#om) die kinders te bad nie	Afrikaans
(b)	..dat ek die kinders nie gehoef te bad het nie	
(c)	?..dat ek nie gehoef die kinders te bad het nie	
(d)	..dat ek nie hoef die kinders te gebad het nie	
(e)	..dat ek die kinders nie hoef te gebad het nie	
(f)	*Hy het nie gehoef die kinders te bad nie	
(g)	?Hy het die kinders nie hoef te bad nie	
(h)	Hy hoef nie die kinders te gebad het nie	
(i)	Hij heeft de kinderen niet hoeven te wassen	Dutch
(j)	Hij hoefde de kinderen niet gewassen te hebben	
	He didn't have to bath the children.	

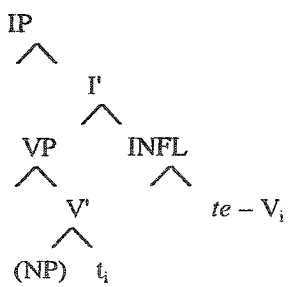
[35] The Dutch difference in word order caries a difference in the semantics, although ANS describes the word order of (90j), (the standard Afrikaans word order) as a colloquial variant in Dutch. I, nor any of my Dutch informants share this opinion.

(92a) ..dat ek gedurf het (om) blomme te pluk — Afrikaans
(b) *..dat ek blomme gedurf te pluk het
(c) *..dat ek gedurf blomme te pluk het
(d) ?..dat ek durf blomme te pluk
(e) ?..dat ek blomme durf te pluk
(f) Hy het nie gedurf blomme te pluk nie
(g) Hy het nie blomme durf (*?te) pluk nie
(h) Hy durf nie blomme te gepluk het nie
(i) Hij heeft geen bloemen durven te plukken — Dutch
(j) Hij durfde geen bloemen te hebben geplukt
He didn't dare to pick flowers.

Summarizing, the description of the data in this section is perhaps best characterized by stating that the Afrikaans system is regularizing towards infinitival complementation by either EXTRAPOSITION (c.q. base generation in the MP account) or by VR. A categorization of the verbs as in Appendix III, (1), for Afrikaans would eventually lead to a re-ordering into category A and category B only.

In the traditional SOV analysis of Dutch, the position of *te* has been accounted for by assuming that it is generated in INFL, and that INFL is located to the right of VP (see for example Evers 1990).On this assumption, the word-order [*te*-V] is shown to be the result of movement of the verb to INFL (cf. Rutten 1991).

(93)



However, *te* might not be generated in INFL (or, in the split INFL analysis adopted here, in a Tense or Agreement head, as for example proposed by Robbers (1997:217)). Firstly the inflectional features of the infinitival verb are expressed by the suffix *-ə* (spelled *-en* in the Standard Dutch orthography). Secondly, as we have seen, not all the verbs that appear in an infinitival complement have to be preceded by *te*. Hence, the association of *te* with INFL (Tense or Agreement) seems unmotivated. The presence of *te* is dependent on the configuration in which the infinitive

appears.[36] There is no direct relation between the tense and agreement features of the infinitive and the presence of *te*. Thus, *te* looks more like a complementiser than like a tense/agreement morpheme. In the SVO account of Dutch from the Minimalist view, only leftward movement is allowed and all functional projections are to the left in the structure. In this view the VERB RAISING analysis as sketched above could be maintained if *te* is generated in a functional head other than INFL. However, since the status of this other functional head would be unclear, we cannot exclude that it would be located to the left of VP.[37] And, in the next section we will see that in Afrikaans a sub-class of the aspectual verbs take the particle *en*, where in Dutch the infinitival marker is used. I will return to this issue in Chapter Six, in view of the ORA data from the present corpus.

The various classes of the verbs that have been discussed so far all can further combine together, whereby the temporal auxiliary, or the modal *zullen* in irrealis function (*zou(den)*), will be the highest in the hierarchy, followed by the modal verbs, the verbs of perception, the semi-aspectual verbs, then the aspectual verbs modifying the main verb as for example in (94), (ANS:609).

(94) Paula zou Karel weleens hebben willen zien durven blijven staan kijken — Dutch
Paula would Karel really once have want see dare remain stand look (at)
Paula would have really liked to have seen Karel daring to remain looking.

In the next section I will discuss the last category in this sequence: the aspectual verbs.

---

[36] Cf. the discussion of the aspectual verbs below (example (103), p.185), in which in Dutch *te* is an optional element depending on the specification of Tense.

[37] In non-standard Afrikaans *te* can appear immediately following the complementiser *om* , besides that it can occur twice in the infinitival clause, in the position following *om* and repeated in the designated position (i), (see further the discussion in § 6.3.2). There is at least one dialect of Dutch, the Groningen dialect, in which *te* appears to the left of the direct object (ii) and the Small Clause predicate (from Schuurman 1987). Schuurman observes that this construction does not have the expected properties of incorporation constructions, as the object can be marked for number, and the intervening constituent can be an entire Small Clause.

i. Ek het in Durban geloop leer om te die taal te praat — GA84:160
I have in Durban walked learn for to the language to talk
I've learned to talk the language in Durban.

ii. Hest volk genog te heu in schuur bringen? — Gronings
have-2S people enough to hay in barn bring
Do you have enough people to bring the hay into the barn?

5.2.5 The verbal hendiadys construction

In Afrikaans the aspectual verbs *sit* (to sit), *lê* (to lay), *loop* (to walk), *staan* (to stand), (also *hang* (to hang)) can enter into a configurational segment which, very unlike any West Germanic language or dialect seems to violate the v/2 constraint. The aspectual verbs take either a bare infinitival complement in Afrikaans, a sub-class takes the particle *en* (referred to as the "binding particle" in the literature, cf. Ponelis 1979:242), where Dutch has the infinitival marker *te*.

(95a)	Hij staat	een glas	water	te	drinken	Dutch
	Hy staan	'n glas	water	en	drink	Afrikaans
	He stand	a glass	water	to	drink	
	He is drinking a glass of water.					
(b)	Hij ligt	naar	de golven	te	kijken	Dutch
	Hy lê	na	die golwe	en	kyk	Afrikaans
	He lies	to	the waves	to	look	
	He is looking at the waves.					

In the Afrikaans philology this structure is known as the Verbal Hendiadys construction. As shown in (96) the aspectual verb combined with the main verb evidently violates the Germanic v/2 constraint:

(96a)	*Hij [staat (te) drinken] een glas water	Dutch
(b)	*Hij [ligt (te) kijken] schielijk naar de golven	
(c)	Hy [staan (en) drink] 'n glas water	Afrikaans
(d)	Hy [lê (en) kyk] skielik na die golwe	

Although the binding particle *en* is homophonous with the conjunction element *en* (and) in Afrikaans, the construction cannot be analyzed as a conjunction (cf. Ponelis 1979:242, Roberge 1994b:46-50). Firstly the characteristics of conjunction structures (97) are absent in the hendiadys construction (98).

(97a) Hy lê en kyk na die golwe
(b) Hy lê. Hy kyk na die golwe.
(c) Hy lê en hy kyk na die golwe
(d) Hy lê maar/of hy kyk na die golwe

(98a) Hy lê na die golwe en kyk
(b) *Hy lê na die golwe en hy kyk
(c) *Hy lê na die golwe. Hy kyk
(d) *Hy lê na die golwe maar/of kyk

Secondly, in a conjunction structure the subject has to follow the first verb of the conjuncts, but can be omitted in the second clause. In the hendiadys construction the subject follows the second verb as shown in (99).

(99a) *Toen zat en breide zij de hele dag — Dutch
(b) Toen zat zij en breide de hele dag
(c) Toe sit en brei sy die hele dag — Afrikaans
Then she sat (down) and knitted the whole day.
(d) *In de middag staat en drinkt zij een glas water — Dutch
(e) In de middag staat zij en drinkt een glas water
(f) In die middag staan en drink sy 'n glas water — Afrikaans
In the afternoons she stands and drinks a glass of water.

Thirdly in a conjunction of this type the conjunctive element cannot be omitted. The binding particle *en* can be omitted:

(100a) *Zij zat breide de hele dag — Dutch
(b) *Toen zat (zij) breide (zij) de hele dag
(c) Sy sit brei die hele dag — Afrikaans
(d) Toe sit brei sy die hele dag
She sat knitting the whole day.

The suggestion that the hendiadys construction is a modelled on the conjoined structure, stems from Middle Dutch and Early Modern Dutch examples of this kind (101).[38] However, it must be noted that in the Early Dutch examples both verbs carry Inflection and Tense[39] and the placement

[38] See Roberge (1994b) for a discussion of this idea; Van der Gaaf (1934) on these aspectual verbs in the Indo-European context.

[39] The complement verb in the hendiadys construction seems to be an infinitival form (c.q. [-Tense]), witness (i).

(continued...)

of the constituents is conform to the restrictions on coordinations as illustrated above in (97)-(100).

(101a) Hy stont ende dachte
He stood and thought
(b) Noë lach ende sliep
Noah lay and slept
(c) hi sat ende at
he sat and ate
(d) hoe legddy so en preutelt
how lies-he so and prattle
(e) ..dat jij hier lecht en tabackt
..that you here lie and (smoke) tobacco

In ORA the hendiadys verbs can further combine with each other:

(102a) Ons het gelê stan gaan na Niemandsland Rademeyer 1938:87
We have layed stand go to Niemandsland
We went to Niemandsland ['No-one's land'].
(b) Ek en broer Oerson het gelê oor na die kantiense toe mit mening
I and brother Oerson have layed across to the canteen to with intention
sam om te lê stan bottel koop, want ons was dors. Rademeyer 1938: 125
together for to lay stand bottle buy, for we were thirsty
I and brother Oerson went over to the canteen in order to buy a bottle (spirits), for we were thirsty.

In Dutch these aspectual verbs are strict VR-verbs which in the present tense require their complement verb to be preceded by the element *te*. In non-standard varieties of Afrikaans and in older texts we also occasionally find *te* as a binding particle in this construction.[40] In Dutch these

[39](...continued)
ia. *Hy staan en wees dokter*
b. **Hy staan en is dokter*
He's being a docter

[40] However, as far as I have been able to ascertain the varieties that have *te* instead of *en* as a binding particle do not allow for a verb-second construction with the particle overtly included as in (i), (cf. 96c).

i. *Hy staan (*te) drink 'n glas water*
He stands to drink a glass water

verbs also form an exceptional group, as the infinitival marker *te* becomes optional, in fact not preferred by most speakers, when the aspectual verb is in the complement of the temporal auxiliary (103c,d).

(103a) Hij staat een glas water te drinken — Dutch
(b) *Hij staat een glas water drinken
(c) Hij heeft een glas water staan drinken
(d) Hij heeft een glas water staan te drinken — regional Dutch
He stood drinking a glass of water.

The verbs always show the IPP-effect in Dutch, in Afrikaans that requirement has been relaxed, although, only when the binding particle is present, as illustrated in (104).[41]

(104a) Hy het staan en lag
(b) Hy het gestaan en lag
(c) Hy het staan lag
(d) *Hy het gestaan lag
He stood laughing.

In ORA the occurrence of participial morphology is much relaxed. It can occur on either verb, as well as on both verbs (see further § 6.3.3).

(105a) Baie van die mense het geloop gesterwe van hartseer — GA84:131
many of the people have walked died of sorrow
Many of the people (went and) died from sorrow.

In VPR constructions the nominal constituents that can be incorporated in the cluster are subject to the same restrictions as typified in § 5.2.3. In the interaction with v/2 neither NPs nor particles can be included (106).

[41] There is quite a clear division amongst speakers who will allow for this construction with the binding particle *en* present and those who will not. The correlation to which grammatical feature this relates, is unclear to me. I conjecture somehow, that to the omission of the particle is perceived as a lower standard of speech.

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(106a) *Hy loop perdry die hele dag
Hy loop ry perd die hele dag
He is horse riding the whole day.

(b) *Hy lê omdraai die hele nag
Hy lê draai die hele nag om
He is turning around the whole night.

Besides the verbs discussed in this section most of the verbs that can be classified as strict VR-verbs in Dutch have the option to appear in the v/2 slot with their (single) complement verb. However, apart from the verbs discussed above, they cannot combine with the binding particle *en*. In the literature they are described as the group of the "direct linking" verbs (as opposed to the verbs described above, which are characterized as the "indirect linking verbs"). Ponelis (1979:244) lists: *basta* (stop), *beter* (better), *laat* (let), *begin* (begin), *aanhou* (continue), *bly* (stay, remain), *ophou* (stop), *gaan* (go), *kom* (come), *help* (help), *leer* (learn) and *probeer* (try). Some examples in (107).

(107a) Kom kuier julle nog
come visit you again
Will you come for a visit?

(b) Gaan draf Hansie elke aand?
go jog Hans every evening
Is Hansie jogging every evening?

(c) Vir wat laat val jy die piesangs
for what let fall you the bananas
Why are you dropping the bananas?

(d) Sy leer ken ons tuinblomme
she learn know our garden-flowers
She is getting to know our garden plants.

With the survey of this innovative pattern in Afrikaans, I conclude this chapter. In the next chapter VP structures as realized in nineteenth-century Orange River Afrikaans are evaluated.

6 The Verb Phrase in Oorlam-Nama Hollands and Orange River Afrikaans

6.1 Introduction

There is no dispute that the major typological feature that sets the Continental West Germanic languages apart is the verb-second constraint. It is also this particular feature that isolates present-day Afrikaans from other creole languages, which almost invariantly have turned to an SVO pattern (see Chapter Two, § 2.2). Den Besten (1978:45) has suggested that the reason that Afrikaans maintained its SOV order, as well as the verb-second rule,[1] must be attributed to substrate influence (see also Den Besten 1986, 1987a, 2000a, 2000b). Since in the Minimalist Program it is assumed that all languages are SVO, this typological property is rephrased into different strategies for constituent movement (see § 1.2 and § 5.1.4). In this chapter I will discuss the argumentation in the light of the data found in the present corpus of letters from the Oorlam-Nama leader Jan Jonker Afrikaner. Before I investigate the ORA data in detail in § 6.3, I present an overview of the basic syntax of Nama, the closest variety of a surviving substrate language of Afrikaans (cf. § 3.2).

6.2 The substrate Nama

As discussed in Chapter Three, it remains hard to determine which other languages the nineteenth-century Oorlam-Nama population had the command of. Moreover, none of the Khoesan languages survive today, but for Nama, a member of the Khoekhoe group of languages (see § 3.2). With the reservations raised in Chapter Three, there is no other choice but to refer back to the syntax of contemporaneous Nama as a comparative source for substrate influence, both with regard to the shaping of the Cape Dutch Vernacular as well as nineteenth-century Orange River Afrikaans.

[1] See § 6.3.4 on the acquisition of the verb-second rule for second language learners of Dutch, and § 6.3.5 for theoretical consideration about the verb-second constraint.

6.2.1 Aspects of Nama syntax

6.2.1.1 Nama word order

Nama, like Dutch, is typologically classified as an SOV language. Although copious permutations of the clausal constituents are possible, the clause-final appearance of, for example, the complementiser characterizes it as a strict OV language (*infra*). The verbal conjugation is primarily determined by Tense, Mood and Aspect particles in the sentence. Nouns are identified by Person-Gender-Number markers (henceforth: PGN markers), and theta roles can also be carried by subject and object clitics on the verb. Otherwise word order is free, basically determined by topic-focus relations, the only restriction being that temporal particles cannot appear clause initially (Rust 1965:101). Declarative sentences center around the particle *GE*[2] which reinforces the prominence of the subject (Rust, *op. cit.*). In certain word orders the particle is optional, sometimes not preferred (indicated by # in (1d)). *GE* leads to ungrammatical results in interrogative sentences and subordinate clauses. In (1) an overview of the general word order variation and clitic placement.

(1a)	SUBJECT -	*GE*	-	OBJECT	- TENSE	- VERB
(b)	SUBJECT -	*GE*	-		- TENSE	- VERB+OBJECTSUFFIX
(c)	OBJECT - SUBJECTSUFFIX	- (*GE*)			- TENSE	- VERB
(d)	VERB -OBJECTSUFFIX -SUBJECTSUFFIX (#*GE*)				- TENSE	

As indicated in Chapter Three (example (2), p.91), Rust (1965:57) distinguishes the word order (*Grundformen der Wortfolge*) in (1a,b) as *Stellung A* (word order A), from (1c,d) as *Stellung B* (word order B). The verb cannot be separated from the object suffix. In double object constructions, when both objects are realized as clitics, the preferred order seems to be dative-accusative. From (1d) it can be read that the temporal particles are stranded clause-finally when the verb is preposed to the sentence-initial position. Because of the restriction on the clause-initial appearance of the temporal particles, this is the only possible word order when the verb is topicalised while both the subject and object are realized as clitics (Rust 1965:103). Thus, unlike in the Germanic languages, finiteness is

[2] The 'GE-subjectivum' (Rust, *op. cit.*); also called 'indicative marker' (Haacke 1992, 1995). For reasons of clarity, as Nama also features a temporal particle *ge* [+remote past] I will transcribe this particle in capital letters in the text or gloss it with IND (indicative).

not expressed by markings on the verb but by isolated morphological items, independent of the main verb. In (2) one of the temporal conjugations (the so-called *ra*-conjugation, *infra*), is shown by example of the verb *mû* (to see).

(2)					
	PRESENT	tita	ge	ra	mû
		I	IND	TNS	see
	RECENT PAST	tita	ge	go	mû
	REMOTE PAST	tita	ge	ge	mû
	FUTURE	tita	ge	nî(ra)	mû

In particular, nothing like the Germanic verb-second phenomena can surface as a grammatical Nama structure, as the sentence hinges on *GE* in the second position in the main clause (3).

(3) XP ge *(T) *(V)

Other grammarians[3] (Haacke, 1992:150, 1995) rather identify *GE* as a clause indicator: [+indicative]. Associating the temporal particles with TP, in structural terms *GE* is situated above TP (cf. § 1.2, example (2), p.12).

[3] From Olpp (1964:92) shown in (i), it would appear that *GE* were a pronominal form; however compared to the subsequent literature on the syntax of Nama these translations appear to be misleading.

ia. *omi ge* ...
huis, dit .. ('house, it...')
b. *khoib ge* ...
man, hy ... ('man, he...')

6.2.1.2 The Tense and Aspect system of Nama/Damara[4]

Verbal transfigurations, as for example the passive, are chiefly formed by suffixes on the verb stem. The passive is formed by the suffix *-he*. The suffix *-ba* introduces a third object in the so-called 'applicative form' of the verb[5] (Rust 1965:24). Although the conjugations chiefly include pre-verbal particles, auxiliary verbs are not altogether absent. Copular sentences are constructed with an auxiliary verb *gei* (to become) and *i* (to be). The conjugation runs parallel to (2) above for the so-called 'active' form of the verb, the *ra*-conjugation. In contrast, the *a*-conjugation expresses a state. Its distinguishing feature is that the present tense is formed with the particle *a*, past and future tenses involve the copula *i*. Again, word order is not fixed as shown in (4).

(4a)	tita	ge	a	gao-ao
	I	IND	PRS	king
(a')	gao-aota		a	
	king-1S		PRS	
	I am king.			

[4] The exposition in this chapter largely follows Rust (1965), which is a description of Nama syntax from the European point of view. The actual make up of the Tense-Aspect system of Nama/Damara is far from undisputably established. Haacke (1990:3) distinguishes four main Tenses (conform to the examples in this survey), besides four Aspectual markers (*viz.*, punctual aspect [0], progressive aspect [*r(a)*], perfective aspect [*hâ*] and stative aspect [*a/i*]). Hagman (1977:62) distinguishes five Tenses with the addition of an 'indefinite tense' (formed with [*ka*]; in Rust (1965, § 29 described as a conjunctive, *die Wunschpartikel 'ga'*). Haacke (*op.cit.*) reclassifies this particle in a 'subsidiary system of tense', which he terms the 'potential tenses' (on the grounds that the indicative and the conjunctive are mutually exclusive). In essence this particle seems to question the validity of a predicate. The conjugation is further differentiated by a positive paradigm and a negative paradigm of the tense/aspect systems. For Mood Nama uses the clause-type markers (*ge* [+indicative], *kha* [interrogative marker] (Rust 1965:45 (*kha*), Hagman 1977:260 (*kxa*)), and *kom....o.* [emphatic/accreditive clause-type marker]). Like *ge* and *kha*, the latter cannot appear in subordinate clauses (Haacke, p.c., May 24, 1996).

[5] Thus 'to do' *dī* plus the suffix *-ba* changes in meaning 'to do something for someone'; double object verbs as *ma* (give) combined with *-ba* introduce a third object (i), although theta relations are not explicitly expressed (ia), (ib). The sentence can only be disambiguated in a passive construction. ("*Der Namasatz legt aber nicht immer den Sinn eindeutig fest und lässt es an sich, wenn der Zsmhang* ['Zusammenhang' -cl] *den Sinn nicht klar ergibt, offen, ob du es für den Bruder empfängst, oder der Bruder für dich. Um solche Unklarheiten auszuschalten, bildet man dann in Nama lieber einen passivischen Satz*" [emphasis in the original]), (Rust 1965:70).

i. *Ti !gâsaba ta ge ne +kanisa ra maba tsi.*
a. For my brother I give you this letter.
b. To my brother I give this letter for you.

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(b)	sats	ge	go	gao-ao	i
	you	IND	PST	king	be
(b')	gao-aots		go	i	
	king-2S		PST	be	
	You were king. [recent past]				
(c)	//êib	ge	ge	gao-ao	i
	he	IND	PST	king	be
(c')	gao-aob		ge	i	
	king-3S		PST	be	
	He was king. [remote past]				
(d)	//êib	ge	nî	gao-ao	i
	he	IND	FUT	king	be
(d')	gao-aob		nî	i	
	king-3S		FUT	be	
	He will be king.				

Thus verbs that enter into the *a*-conjugation express a state of affairs, not an action. For example, the verb *+an* in the *ra*-conjugation will mean 'to recognize, to identify', whereas combined in the *a*-conjugation it translates as 'to know'. Another auxiliary verb in Nama is *hâ*, which primarily expresses durative aspect (but, cf. Haacke (1990), summarized in footnote 4, above). Thus the verb *+gi* (to blind) in the *ra*-conjugation means 'blinding (someone)', in the *a*-conjugation the interpretation is 'to be blind(ed)', and combined with *hâ* 'to be totally blind'. *Hâ* can be connected with NPs in copular constructions according to the pattern in (4) above, whereby it is placed preceding the copula *i* (be). It can also combine with verbs, as exemplified in (5).

(5a)	Tita	ge	/nam	hâ		
	I	IND	love	ASP		
(a')	/nam	ta	hâ			
	love	I	ASP			
	I always love, I have always loved.					
(b)	Tita	ge	/nam	go	hâ	i
	I	IND	love	PST	ASP	be

(b')	/nam	ta	(ge)	go	hâ	i
	love	I	IND	PST	ASP	be
	I have always loved.					
(c)	Tita	ge	/nam	ge	hâ	i
	I	IND	love	PST	ASP	be
(c')	/nam	ta	(ge)	ge	hâ	i
	love	I	IND	PST	ASP	be
	I have always loved.					
(d)	Tita	ge	nî	/nam	hâ	(i)
	I	IND	FUT	love	ASP	(be)
(d')	/nam	ta	nî	hâ	(i)	
	love	I	FUT	ASP	(be)	
	I will always love, I will always have loved.					

Furthermore, according to Rust,[6] *hâ* builds a pluperfect in combination with the past tense particles *ge* (remote past) and *go* (recent past) as shown in (6).

(6a)	tita	ge	go	+nou	hâ	i	(+nou	ta	go	hâ	i)
	I	IND	PST	beat	ASP	be	(beat	I	PST	ASP	be)
	I had beaten (just now).										
(b)	tita	ge	ge	+nou	hâ	i	(+nou	ta	ge	hâ	i)
	I	IND	PST	beat	ASP	be	(beat	I	PST	ASP	be)
	I had beaten (back then).										

Verbs easily combine to form new lemmata (7), which is orthographically indicated by a hyphen. According to Rust (1965:9, Olpp 1964:6) this is a prolific strategy of word formation.

(7a)	//ama	to buy
(b)	xu	to depart from something
(c)	//ama-xu	'to buy-let': to sell

[6] It is evident that Rust (1965) attempted to impose Germanic grammatical distinctions on Nama, as the examples in (6) are syntactically no different from the examples (5b,c); presumably the difference in temporal reference is made clear from the context. Regardless, these examples show that the exact connotation purveyed by the Nama structures do not correspond to Dutch syntax, but rather to the Afrikaans one (cf. § 2.5.1.1).

Verbal incorporation (cf. Baker 1988) is further subject to tonal idiosyncrasies (Haacke 1995:20). The interpretation of (8) as in (8a) is established by a tonal 'flip-flop' on the first root, whereas the translation as in (8b) involves final melody drop.

(8) !kho≠nôa ('catch' + 'sit')
(a) hold someone while one is sitting
(b) catch someone sitting, i.e. arrest someone red-handed

6.2.1.3 Subordinate clauses

With respect to embedded clauses the major differences between Nama and the Germanic languages is that Nama is rigorously SOV. As a result subordinating elements follow the embedded clause rather than introducing it. In the MP framework, incorporating the anti-symmetry hypothesis, this is translated as movement of the subordinated clause into the [spec,CP] (cf. Kayne 1994:93). Secondly, sentences are usually formed beginning with the embedded clause (10b) whereafter the main clause follows (Rust 1963:125, 83). Thus the embedded clause appears in the Topic Phrase position, as in the comparable English sentences in (9).The particle *GE* (or its equivalent counterparts *kha* and *kom...o*, see footnote 4, p.190) cannot appear in the subordinate clause.

(9a) (That) he already married a woman, that, he didn't say.
(b) (Because) I have nothing, therefore I cannot give you anything.

Exemplified from Nama (Rust 1965:26):[7]

(10a)	[Hâ	tita	dawa,	[$_{CP}$ sores		go	+gâ	xuige]]
	stay	1S	with	sun		PST	set	because
(b)	[[$_{CP}$ Sores		go	+gâ	xuige],	hâ	tita	dawa]
	Sun		PST	set	because	stay	1S	with

Stay with me, because the sun has already set.

[7] Cf. (14), p.197 for an example of the word order changes that occur in a free Nama translation of the Cape Dutch pidgin sentences.

6.2.1.4 Interrogative clauses

In Nama interrogative sentences do not differ in word order from the declarative sentences in *Stellung B* (see § 6.2.1.1, (1c,d), p.188). Although Rust (1965:104) mentions that the verb is preferably placed sentence initially, the only marked difference with declarative sentences is the intonation or the presence of a wh-word. In direct questions the interrogative (clause-typing) particle *kha* may be used (Rust 1965:45). In indirect questions both *GE* and *kha* are ungrammatical. As with subordination in finite declarative clauses, in indirect questions the subordinating element appears clause-finally (11).

(11)	//êib	ge	go	tê	te,	tariï	go	mî	!keië?
	3S	IND	PST	ask	1S,	who-PL	PST	say-it[8]	that
	He asked me (that) who said it?								

6.2.1.5 Relative clauses

Rust (1965:88) commences his description of relative clauses in Nama with the remark that the relative clause construction in Nama "*verwirrt zunächst unsere* [German, European-cl] *Begriffe eines solchen; doch darf man sich es nicht zu schwer machen und muss sich von der Vorstellung eines Relativpronomen unserer Art gänzlich losmachen.*"[9] Characteristics are, the obligatory absence of the indicative particle *GE*, the optionality of a relative clause marker (12a), as well as the possibility to realize the relative clause preceding the NP, thus resembling the syntax of adjectives. Translated, most relative clauses would be rendered as appositive constructions in Germanic languages.

(12a)	!anu	ra	khoib
	clean	PRS	man
	The man who is clean.		

[8] In Nama the verb 'to say' does not require an overt object (i), (Rust 1965: 46, 118 (7)).

i.	*Tarië*	*go*	*mî?*
	Who-S	PST	say ('Who said? (it)')

[9] [The concept of a relative clause] in Nama initially obliterates all our notion of such; but one shouldn't make it too hard on oneself. First of all one should do away with the idea of a relative pronoun as in the European languages.

(b)	!anu	go	i	/gôas				
	clean	PST	BE	girl				
	The girl who was clean. [the 'was clean' girl]							
(c)	//êib	ei	ta	go	mâ	i	!homi	
	3S	3S	1S	PST	stand	BE	mountain	
(c')	!homi		//êib	ei	ta	go	mâ	ib
	mountain		3S	3S	1S	PST	stand	BE
	The mountain on which I am standing. [the (/it) 'I stand on it' mountain]							

Anticipating the discussion of relative clause formation in the present corpus, I note that there has not been any mention of bare juxtaposed relative clauses in the literature on diachronic or contemporaneous Afrikaans varieties. Yet, the strategy is not uncommon in the Jan Jonker data.

6.2.2 Evaluation of the (dis)similarities

Comparing the change from the agglutinative Dutch inflectional system of the verbal paradigm to the present-day null-morphology in Afrikaans with Nama, there are three factors of divergence to observe. Firstly, in Nama finiteness is not expressed in the syntax: no structural position is linked to a finite form or an infinitive. Tense and Aspect are signalled by isolated morphemes in appropriated, fixed positions; infinitives go unmarked, or undergo incorporation (cf. Haacke 1995). Secondly, main clauses are overtly distinguished from other clause types by a particle (*GE* etc.). Thirdly, word order is determined by topic-focus constraints not unlike Latin or Old English, as Case relations are also signalled by clitic elements on the verb. In short, no (reinforcing) substrate influence can be perceived which would have promoted the continuation of the Dutch type of inflectional system. A structural comparison of the Afrikaans superstrate Dutch with the substrate language Nama, illustrates that the L1-Nama speaker would have been able to assimilate the clause-final occurrence of the Germanic temporal auxiliaries at sentence surface word order with Nama auxiliaries (cf § 6.2.1.2). For example, the aspectual auxiliary *hâ* in (5), (also in (6)[10]), repeated here in (13a,a'), which transfigures the meaning of the verb into durative aspect (including the notion of an inalienable possession; also a pluperfect) is semantically close to the Dutch perfective auxiliary. Permutation of the word order

[10] Cf. footnote 6, p.192.

retains the aspectual auxiliary sentence final (Rust 1965:54). Haacke (1990:5) describes *hâ* as the perfective aspect marker, derived from the stative auxiliary *hâ* and recognizes that "hence it is embedded with the actual verb in what truly is the stative construction" (*op.cit.*:6). At the surface, the pattern conforms to present-day Afrikaans verb clusters where *het* (have), the equivalent of the Dutch perfect tense marker, obligatorily appears sentence-finally (13b), (cf. § 6.2.2). It may be noted that phonologically Dutch *had* (*heb/ heef(t)*, dialectally also *ət*) in the mouth of non-native speakers was possibly reanalyzed from the Nama nasalized vowel *â* in combination with *i* as a perfective aspect marker. Secondly, it must be kept in mind that Nama can at best only be counted as the closest known variety of the substrate languages that influenced the CDV.[11]

(13a)	Tita	ge	ni	/nam	hâ	Nama
	1S	IND	FUT	love	ASP	
(a')	/Nam-ta	(ge)	nî		hâ	
	love-1S	IND	FUT		ASP	
	I will always have loved (/keep love forever).					
(b)	Hy	sal	dit	gedoen	het	Afrikaans
	He	will	this	done	have	
	He will have done (before then). (Donaldson 1993:240)					

Regardless of such similarities, the Germanic verb-second constraint is an entirely novel rule compared to Nama syntax. The fact that the finite verb in the main clause in the Germanic languages independently undergoes movement sets the two languages apart. Secondly, the Nama speaker had to infer that finiteness is marked on the main verb by bound inflection rather than by unbound morphemes in a fixed positions. Notwithstanding that, structurally at surface word order, the main-clause [+indicative] particle *GE* resembles the Germanic verb-second phenomenon, as both appear linearly after a topicalised constituent. Associating the clause indicator with C° leads to the observation that Nama exhibits 'verb-third' in the main clause rather than verb-second (cf. (3), above). It will become clear from the data presented in the next paragraphs that no such inference occurs in ORA, despite that this is also a common strategy in Dutch Second Language Acquisition (henceforth: SLA, cf. (21), § 6.3.2). Additionally, subordinate clause formation in Nama has a

[11] As argued this remains difficult to demonstrate for the syntax; phonological differences and similarities between Cape Khoe, Nama and !Ora are illustrated in Haacke (1998).

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fundamentally different outcome from the surface word order in Dutch, as complementisers are realized clause-finally. This is shown in (14) by means of two Cape Dutch pidgin sentences translated into Nama.[12]

(14a)	Duijtsman,	een	woord	calm,	ons	u	kelum	Cape Dutch Pidgin
	Dutchman	one	word	speak	we	you	kill	
	‖Khawa+gaetse	|gui	mîsa	!hoa	sage	satsa	!gam	
	If you say one word, Dutchman, we will kill you.							
(a')	‖Khawa+gaetse,	gui	mîsa+ts	ka	!hoa+o,	o	ge	ge	satsa	nî	!gam.	Nama
	Dutchman	one	word-2S	SUBJ	speak if,	then	we	IND	you	FUT kill		
(b)	Wagt om als	gy	die	dubbeltjes	betaald hemme,							Cape Dutch Pidgin
	Wait	if	you	the	pennies	paid	have					
	‖nam	o	sats		mari-e	matare	(nî)					
	ik	ja	strakjes		voort	lopum	zoo					
	I	yes	later		away	walk	so					
	tita	kom	‖nātimîsi		!gûbē	(o)						
	Wait, after you paid the money I will leave your service.											
(b')	‖nam, sats mari-e	ka	matare	hâ i	+o,	o	ta	‖nātimîsi	nî	!gûbē	xuige.	Nama
	wait	you	money	SUBJ	paid	TNS	if,	then I	later	FUT walk away	**because**	

Drawing cross-linguistic parallels as these, the Dutch-acquiring Nama speaker did not have to adapt to 'marking' subordinate clauses in a negative way, by 'not applying' verb-second (parallel to the ungrammaticality of *GE* in all other environments but [+indicative]), but he had to learn to apply an entirely novel syntactic system in non-main clause environments, c.q. to integrate the Dutch subordinating CP into the syntax. As argued by Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000) in the case of L2 acquisition, as well as in creole formation (Myers-Scotton 2000:7), the syntax of the mother tongue plays the dominant role: "It is the substrate language which provides the grammatical frame for the creole, [whereas the] superstrate elements are limited to Content Morphemes (lexical categories) only" (cf. § 4.3). Hence it is not expected that a Dutch Functional Projection as the Complementiser

[12] Translations by courtesy of Mr. Levi Namaseb and Prof. Willy Haacke (p.c. May 1996).

Phrase was transferred into the newly-forming language.[13] This correlation shows in the present corpus of ORA data in exactly this way by the fact that subordinate clause formation on the Dutch pattern does not seem to be an integral part of the grammar.[14] Yet, the similarity that Nama marks the main clause, indicative by a particle, whereas Germanic languages mark the main clause by the placement of the finite verb in this particular position, (in both languages also in inversion constructions), is taken to be of importance in the remainder of the discussion.

6.3 The Verb Phrase in Orange River Afrikaans

6.3.1 Inflection

In (15) the present-day Dutch and Afrikaans inflectional paradigm for regular verbs is presented.

(15)

	DUTCH		AFRIKAANS	
	PRESENT	PAST	PRESENT	PAST
1S	-	-te	-	-
2S	-t	-te	-	-
3S	-t	-te	-	-
1PL	-en	-ten	-	-
2PL	-en	-ten	-	-
3PL	-en	-ten	-	-
Inf.	-en		-	
Partic.	ge-V-d/-t		ge-V	

Compared, Afrikaans only retained a separate inflectional form for the participle, which bears the prefix *ge-*. The entire paradigm, both finite and infinitival, consists of the Dutch equivalent of the bare stem form of the verb. Raidt (1982:190) states that "*rondom 1800 die hedendaagse toestand alreeds bereik was. Teen die tyd is daar nie meer tussen die infinitiefvorm en die finiete werkwoordsvorm*

[13] But, cf. Myers-Scotton (1997:156) on the dualistic status of CP: "although complementisers are syntactically functional projections (system morphemes), on the pragmatic level they can be argued to be lexical elements on their ability to assign discourse-based thematic roles such as Topic, Focus, and contrast."

[14] Cf. Den Besten (2000a:7) adducing that "Khoekhoe Dutch (Cape pidginized, relexified Khoekhoe), circumvented the problem [of creating] subordinating rightbranching CPs."

onderskei nie. Sekere wisselvorme het egter nog lank daarna voorgekom."[15] From an appraisal of the verbal forms in the corpus of this study,[16] it can be said that the first letters feature forms corresponding to the Dutch plural (and infinitival) paradigm, also with singular pronominal subjects (16).

(16a) gy wenschen om...
you wish for
(b) ik melden...., ik weten...
I notify I know

Thereafter, the singular forms are, generally speaking, regular in accordance with the present-day Afrikaans pattern: the bare verb stem.[17] In the plural Jan Jonker generally follows the same convention of writing the bare verb stem rather than an inflected form. However, for the second person singular, first person plural, as well as the third person plural, the paradigm seems to be governed by the pronominal form that is used. Where the correct Dutch pronoun 1PL, 3PL, nominative, (*wij, zij,* respectively) is the subject of the clause, the verb is fully inflected according to the Dutch paradigm (17a,c), with the non-Dutch pronominal forms (see Chapter Four, § 4.2) the verbal forms remain uninflected (17b,d). In 2S distinctions can be observed discerning the formal pronoun *u* (you) from (southern Dutch) *gij* (thee).

[15] Around 1800 the present-day situation was reached. Around that time there was no longer a distinction between finite and infinitival forms of the verb. However, a number of alternate forms persisted for a long time.

[16] Perhaps partly due to the nature of the topics discussed in the letters, such as notifications of people's movements, waging war and making peace, the Nama-Oorlam texts only have a limited number of lexical items (although the letters are neither void of some biblical eloquence). Broadly speaking the main verbs in use are *schrijven* (to write), *zeggen* (say), *gaan* (go), *komen* (come), *trekken* (travel, move), *wensen* (wish), *weten* (know), *werken* (work), *hinderen* (hinder), *geloven* (belief), *sturen* (send), *wachten* (wait), *horen* (hear), *helpen* (help), *zien* (see), *stelen* (steal), *moorden* (murder). His orthography is largely based on the Dutch standards, for example, there are no Afrikaans forms such as *skrywe-* or *skryf-* 'to write' (either as an infinitive or finite verb). The basilectal variant *kry* (Dutch: *krijgen* 'to get') has only one attestation (Period III, ln.172). In this context it is further noted that modern Afrikaans has not always retained the Dutch equivalent of the bare verb stem form, at times the Dutch third person singular form is the prescribed Afrikaans standard (e.g. *behoort* 'ought to have'), at times the (adapted) infinitival (and present tense plural) form of a verb occurs, e.g. *belowe* (Dutch: *beloven - beloof(t)*) 'promise', *bewe* (Dutch: *beven - beef(t)*) 'tremble', *lewe* (Dutch: *leven -leef(t)*) 'live', *grawe* (Dutch: *graven -graaf(t)*), *skrywe* (next to more regular *skryf*) and *ploeë* (Dutch: *ploegen - ploeg(t)*) 'to plough'.

[17] All assessments in this chapter are predominant tendencies in the grammar. Genuine spelling mistakes, uncertainties and hypercorrect forms should be seriously taken into account. Cf. § 4.2.3.1, footnote 37, p.130.

(17a) Ik verstaan, dat zyn wet op dien aard naar wy in vredenstraktaat gesloten hadden II, ln.253
I understand that his law on that way after we a peace-treaty closed had

(b) Ons moet Gabak en ons zyn Gamen uitpluk en weg drek nar Rehoboth II, ln.20
We must pack (?) and our his Gamen pick and away move to Rehoboth

(c) ... daarom verdienen zy te Otjimbingue alleen geweren .... II, ln.125
... therefore earn they at Otjimbingwe only guns...

(d) henen maak zoo henen kom op andere mensch zyn weerf en... II, ln.40
they make so, they come to other people his werf and ....

The division into the three periods as sketched for the pronominal paradigm in Chapter Three and Four is also corroborated by the verbal paradigm. Preterite inflection seems absent, only a few fossilized forms such as *sprok(en)* (speak), from Dutch *spreken* (past: *sprak*, participle: *gesproken*) and *vergoden* (spill), Dutch *vergieten*, (past and participle: *vergoten)* are found. Period II is further characterized by Dutch simple past forms such as *wilde, wilte* (wanted) *moeste* (must), *zoude* (should), *zeide* (said), and hypercorrections as for example in (18).

(18a)	ik	wens	en	volstrek	duidelijkheid	te	vernomen	II, ln.94
	I	wish	in	complete	clarity	to	learn[PST]	
(b)	...tot	hy	zoo	ingesloten	wezen,...			II, ln.250
	...until	he	so	closed-in	be[INF]			

In this respect, the reality that anyone who sought to read and write in nineteenth-century southern Africa was instructed in the Dutch metropolitan orthography, may be of importance. Keeping in mind that written Dutch only existed conform to the metropolitan standard, the question remains what the spoken Hollands may have sounded like on southern African soil, and of what influence it could have been on our written sources. Or, in other words, to what extent does it contort our picture of nineteenth-century written Afrikaans, in this particular instance of ORA? Besides the fact that orthographies unite dialects to be classified as one language, as Thomason (1997:75) indicates, the difference between dialects and languages is often abstruse,

> [m]y usual answer focuses on the criterion of mutual intelligibility: if you have two speech forms and if they are mutually intelligible, then they are dialects of the same language, but, if they are mutually unintelligible, then they are separate languages. Unfortunately this criterion leaks: with

> closely related speech forms, intelligibility is not always symmetrical, for linguistic reasons; it depends on attitudes and so forth.

Regarding the factor 'language attitude', one would say that nineteenth-century ORA ought to be considered as a dialectal variety of Dutch. After all, speaking Hollands was the Oorlams outspoken target to achieve (see Chapter Three). However, it remains unclear to what degree they had access to the metropolitan variant. The consolidating Dutch orthographical example, as noted earlier for the pronominal paradigm (Chapter Four), seems to carry over into a relation between morphosyntax and grammar to the extent that we may have to ask in which respects our written records represent the standard of schooling of the author, rather than developmental factors in the formation of Afrikaans. In the words of Roberge (1993) we have to consider the possibility that we are dealing with orthographic fiction. The spelling of the word *mens(en)* ('person(s)', pronounced *mɛns(ə)*) as now archaic Dutch *mensch(en)* throughout the present corpus is one clear instance of the orthographical conventions playing their role. Besides this, it can be noticed that a number of letters begin in an acrolectal schoolbook format, to change over into a basilectal register in the heat of an argument. Letter № 13, to Cape governor Wodehouse is one of the clearest examples (see § 3.2.1.2, footnote 76, p.96). Thirdly, it must be kept in mind that the standard classroom practices in the nineteenth century consisted predominantly of oral drill and the committing of biblical texts to memory.[18] As it will manifest itself in the remainder of this chapter, differences between Dutch and the vernacular can be noticed along a cline of a continuum, starting with the pronominal forms which show a diversity of innovations (see Chapter Four) and, at the other end of the scale infinitival forms in subordinate clauses, which are closest to the Dutch standard.

[18] Differences between the written schoolbook (biblical) words and the spoken language are for example witnessed by the following grave stone inscription anno 1896, carefully chiseled out and well preserved for more than a century in the Lichtenburg burial ground: "*Gedagtenis van Magtaleena* [Magdalena] *Rensie Maria Leroix* [Le Roux?] *gebooren Baatenhorst* [Badenhorst] *en* [in] *het jaar 1846 de 11 nove, overleeden de 19 feebriari* [februari] *1896. Stille rustplaats van Gods dooden, 'k denk aan u met zoete vreug.*" (NB. the '4' in '1846' is chiseled in its mirror image.)

6.3.2 Finite complement clauses

Overall, the general pattern of finite sentential complements that emerges from the present corpus of nineteenth-century ORA is one of bare juxtaposition of the clauses,[19] while maintaining a main clause word order in the embedded clause, as shown in (19).

(19)	MAIN CLAUSE	SUBORDINATE CLAUSE	
(a)	maar ik zien nu	u hieft gekom om oorlog en kwad de leeren	IA, ln.107
	but I see now	you have come for war and evil to teach	
(b)	Ik wens	ik zal zalf daar komen...	IA, ln.14
	I wish	I will self there come	
(c)	Zoo denk ik,	ik zal maar deze week hem hier in wachten	III, ln.185
	So think I	I will rather this week him here in wait	

In general, subordinate clauses, on the Dutch pattern (of an overt complementiser and the verb(s) clause-finally) are rare in the data of this study. However, the Oorlam-Nama pattern is on a par with present-day SA where verb-second is a (restricted) option in the subordinate clause, depending on the condition that the complementiser is absent (Waher 1982, Den Besten 1989b, Vriends 1998). In ORA and other non-standard varieties of Afrikaans this provision has further been relaxed (cf. Den Besten 1989b:156-160). In (20) examples are given of four types of possible combinations of a complementiser and/or v/2 from the present corpus, whereby it is noted beforehand that (20d) has the highest frequency.

(20)

(a) +C,-v/2 dat kunnen wy in den beginne al zien dat zij eer zy uit ons zijn sommige menschen gedood hadden II, ln.122

We could already see in the beginning that before we got rid of them they had killed some people.

(b) +C,+v/2 Hij zeg zoo de als wanneer zal menschen onwillig [zijn], dat ...

He says so that if when people will be unwilling that... IA, ln.92

[19] Cf. Roberge 1993:81 who gives a similar example from synchronic ORA, inferring that complementation in the Cape Dutch Creole also featured simple juxtaposition of the main and subordinate clause.

(c) -C, -v/2 als ons weer zien, __ de Damaras weer uit de leraars zijn huis uit ons schied, dan...
If we see again, [that] the Damaras shoot at us from the missionaries' houses,... III, ln.149

(d) -C, +v/2 Menschen hief achter my stories gehoor __ Kamaharero hief komando op gestuur...
People heard stories [that] Kamaharero sent a Commando.... IB, ln.565

The overgeneralization of verb-second in the subordinate clause is a typical characteristic of Dutch (and German) Second Language Acquisition. However, in Dutch SLA the main clause word order is not unproblematic either. Although Subject-Verb-Object word order dominates the constructions due to the verb-second rule, inversion constructions, whereby the subject has to follow the verb in the verb-second slot, are acquired only relatively late,[20] resulting in so-called verb-third main clauses. The stages the learner goes through for German are illustrated in (21) with Dutch examples (adapted from Larsson-Freeman 1994:271).

(21) Stage X Canonical order

SUBJECT - VERB- OBJECT

Karel las een boek

Karel read a book

Stage X+1 Adverb Preposing

*ADVERB- SUBJECT - VERB- OBJECT

**Toen Karel las een boek*

Then Karel read a book

Stage X+2 Verb separation (Verb-second rule)

SUBJECT- AUX/MODAL - OBJECT - MAIN VERB

Karel heeft een boek gelezen

Karel has a book read

Stage X+3 Inversion

XP - V/2 - SUBJECT (XP...XP) MAIN VERB

Toen heeft Karel een boek gelezen

Then has Karel a book read

[20] This in contrast to First Language Acquisition data, which show that children do not make mistakes against verb-second with inversion rule. Cf. Poeppel & Wexler (1993), Verrips & Weissenborn (1992).

Stage X+4 Verb-end (Subordinate clause word order)

COMPLEMENTISER -	SUBJECT -	(XP...XP)	VERB(S)	
..dat	*Karel*	*een boek*	*heeft*	*gelezen*
..that	Karel	a book	has	read

From these schemata it would thus seem that Jan Jonker Afrikaner is in Stage X+3, as he makes no mistakes against the inversion rule (Stage X+1), and verb separation structures (Stage X+2) are the major pattern. The acrolectal subordinate clause word order (stage X+4) is minimally realized. Subordinate clause formation on the Dutch pattern (overt complementiser, OV word order, and absence of v/2) in the present corpus is rather assessed as a studied propensity of the grammar (*infra*). Thus, acrolectal subordinate clauses can be deemed to have been (re-)introduced into the language as a result of contact with the metropolitan standard. At this point it is a matter of technicalities to label this stage in Jan Jonker's grammar imperfect SLA or decreolization. Notwithstanding such considerations, the present interest concerns the alternatives of subordinate clause formations which do not conform to the Dutch standard.

The complementiser which introduces declarative finite clauses both in Dutch and Afrikaans, is *dat* (that); interrogative clauses are introduced by *of* (if, whether) or a wh-element (*wie*, 'who'; *wat*, 'what'; *waar*, 'where' etc.). Various linguists have proposed that in Orange River Afrikaans the verb *laten* (Dutch *laten*, 1S, 2S, 3S: *laat*, Afrikaans *laat*, 'to let') has grammaticalized (see Lehman 1995, McMahon 1994) as a complementiser (cf. Rademeyer 1938: 53)[21] in the form of *laat, lat*, alternating with SA *dat*.[22]

(22a) Ek het verscheidene plekke gably..., totlat ek nou hier gakom het GA84, 36, ln.25
I have different places stayed, till.that I now here came have

[21] In contemporary SA written text it is nowadays a near 'classic' signal to indicate vernacular speech. "*Toe [sê] die Kaapse groenteverkoper: "Dis van stywe goed lat jy lyk soos jy lyk"*." (Sarie, 16.6.1999, p.17).

[22] Those who hold this view argue against the position that the variation between *dat* and *lat* is the result of phonological variation as proposed by Le Roux (1910:107-108). An account bearing on a phonological alternation seems implausible as this would be an isolated instance of vowel-shortening as well as lateralisation (c.q. the lenition of a stop to a glide) since there is the third variant *laat*, whereas **daat* is not attested in the Cape archival sources. See Roberge (1993:80) on the assumption that *lat/laat* stem from the grammaticalization of the verb *laten* into a complementiser.

(b) Det was darem so jammer jei weet, lat heele nie daar-ie stuk gront gebewaar het nie
This was but such pity you know that they not that piece ground saved have not
GA84, 44, ln.43

In the corpus of the Jan Jonker Afrikaner correspondence *laten*, mostly realized as *lat* or *lad*, introduces a considerable number of embedded clauses (see for example, Appendix I, section IA, ln.80, 86, 120, 310, 317; section IB, ln.152,216,442,446; section II, ln.10,170, and section III, ln. 61,79). With some of these it is difficult to determine whether this item should be interpreted as a complementiser or as the verb *laten*. Compare the sentences under (23) below. (23a) could be equated to either (23a') in Dutch, which clearly takes a complementiser, or to (23a''), where the embedded sentence starts off with the hortative verb *laten*. As the distinction between hortative and causative *laten* forms a second point of opacity, the former, allowing for both nominative Case or accusative Case in Dutch (23b'', b'''; cf. ANS: 567), it often makes it difficult to know whether the complementiser or the verb was intended, with the result that all instances had to be left out of the analysis of the pronominal paradigm in Chapter Four. The unambiguous example in (23c) shows that *lad* (/*lat*) was fully incorporated in the grammar in the function as complementiser.

(23a) Lat hei u harte regeren — IA, ln.27
(a') dat hij u harten regeert — Dutch
(a'') laat hem u harten regeren — Dutch
that he/let him your hearts govern(s)
(b) ...verzoek ik lad ons liever vrede maak — IA, ln.236
(b') ...verzoek ik, dat wij liever vrede maken — Dutch
(b'') ...verzoek ik, laten wij liever vrede maken — Dutch
(b''') ...verzoek ik, laat ons liever vrede maken — Dutch
...request I that we/let us rather peace make
(c) u hief mijn verzoeken lad ik by jakobes IZaak [ze]lf kom — IB, ln.538
you have my request that I to Jacobus Izaak self come
You asked me that I visit Jacobus Isac myself.
**You have asked me, let me visit myself Jacobus Isac.*

Next to this innovation and bare juxtaposition of the main clause and embedded clause, Jan Jonker also sometimes uses regular *dat*. From the corpus it emerges that the grammaticalization of *lat* into

this area of the grammar may be related to the development of the pronominal form *dat* to serve in a variety of other functions: as a demonstrative (Dutch: *die, dat* 'that'), a determiner (Dutch: *het* 'it'), as an expletive element (Dutch: *het* 'it'; also in existential sentences, Dutch: *er*, 'there'). At the same time the data reveals 'experiments' with auxiliary verb forms as elements marking other types of embedded clauses (*infra* and § 6.4.2); a strategy which has not survived in the present-day outcome of either standard or non-standard varieties of Afrikaans. In this light the grammaticalization of the verb *laat* as a complementiser can be seen to have its source in the general tendency in creoles toward disambiguating structure by the circumvention of lexical homonyms in the functional domain. Unfortunately, for reasons of space, it is beyond the scope of the present study to pursue the investigation of this particular development further.

Since Den Besten (1978) the verb-second phenomena in the CWG languages has been associated with C° (see Weerman 1989:15, and the references cited there; also S. Anderson 1993). Anticipating the discussion about the verb-second constraint in § 6.3.5, according to this argumentation v/2 is in complementary distribution with an overt complementiser. In the present corpus an inflected form of the Dutch temporal auxiliary *hebben* is found in a position that can only be interpreted as a complementiser position (24a-c); (24d) shows a similar instance in a relative clause.

(24a) ik heb ook gehoord heb mijn Heer Brieker wel Barmen drekken IB, ln.80
I have also heard have Mr. Brincker wants Barmen move

(b) my Heer moet zoo goedwesen heb ik altyt my Koorand krygen
Mr. must so good.be have I always my newspaper get
op hoolans gedrooken ben IA, ln.576
on Hollands printed is

(c) diet is waar: heb ik niet uwe naar liesder heb IB, ln.145
it is true have I not you to listened have

(d) gij zijt Die Damras heb u daar had die hief niet myn kwaaddoen IB, ln.267
you say the Damaras have you there have they have not me harm.do

In the correspondence of Jan Jonker, one instance arises in which the contemporary Afrikaans 'temporal auxiliary' *het* can be evaluated as either a subordinating complementiser, rendering *hoe dat,* 'how that' (25a) or as a temporal auxiliary, as in contemporary Afrikaans *hoe het,* 'how has' (25b), (considering that his grammar allows for doubled finite verbs, *infra*). Thirdly *het* can be analyzed as

the Dutch form of a pronominal object (*het*, 'it') preposed of the subject, translating the sentence as (25c), a standard word order in Nama (Rust 1965:57; cf. the discussion in § 3.2.1, example (2)).

(25)	..hoe	het	Kamaharero	gemaak	heeft	IA, ln.118
(a)	..how	that	Kamaharero	done	has	
(b)	..how	has	Kamaharero	done	has	
(c)	..how	it	Kamaharero	done	has	

A similar, though less clear, overlap in the distribution of an overt complementiser and verb-second can be noted in present-day Namaqualand Afrikaans, which realizes both the complementiser (*dat/la(a)t*) and the temporal auxiliary (*het*) as a (cliticized) dental *'t* ((26a), from Kühne 1984:1), rendering many examples in the Griqua Afrikaans corpus opaque between a duplicated verb construction (see § 6.3.4.2.2) or a regular embedded clause (26b).

(26a)	Eers	toe<u>t</u>	ek	die	twaalfde	stert	op	my	hopie	gooi,'n	mooie,	kompleet	mee'	sy
	First	when-that	I	the	twelfth	tail	on	my	stock	throw a	nice (one)	complete	with	its
	kinkel	presies	net	waar	<u>'t</u>	hy	moet	wees,	sê	ek	vir Herklaas:	"Hoe<u>'t</u>	jy	gesê?"
	kink	exactly	just	where	that	he	must	be	say	I	for Herklaas	How have	you	said
(b)	Daai	pent	kan	ek	nou	net	nie	verstan	hoe	<u>het</u>	helle	eitgeroei	gerak	<u>het</u>
	that	point	can	I	now	just	not	understand	how	that/have	they	extinct	become	have

GA84:85, ln.132

Turning to the formation of interrogative clauses, both in Dutch and Afrikaans, these are introduced by a wh-element or the complementiser *of*. Direct questions show an inverted word order (*viz.* verb-first). As mentioned in § 6.2.1.4, in Nama interrogative clauses do not differ in word order from declarative clauses. They are structurally characterized by the obligatory absence of the clause-typing particle *GE*, the optional interrogative clause-type marker *kha* in the main clause, and the complementiser clause-finally in embedded clauses. In the corpus of this study no uniform pattern can be detected. Often only the context makes it clear that the clause is an interrogative. Subordinate interrogative clauses initially follow the correct Dutch usage (Period IA), including the complementiser *of* and subordinate clause word-order (27a). However, because this particular construction appears five times with more or less the same words (IA, ln.32, ln.40, ln.45, ln.48, ln.59) out of a total of six clauses, this could be deemed a formulaic sequence. With a few exceptions,

hereafter the predominating structure is as in (27b-d): bare juxtaposition of the main clause and the subordinate clause as we have seen with declarative clauses. The auxiliary that appears in interrogative clauses is predominantly the Dutch copula *zijn* in its third person singular form *is*; not infrequently it occurs duplicated (27c,d).

(27a)	Verder wel ik weten	of	de Genodschap u	gezonden heeft om ...	IA, ln.32
	Further want I know	whether	the Society you	sent has for...	
(b)	Ik vrag u weer	u heeft gekom	om oorlog de bredek.		IA, ln.105
	I ask you again	you have come	for war to preach		
(c)	...om de vrag	is dat waar is: wij	hebben gehoort...		IB, ln.5
	... for to ask	is it true is: we	have heard		
(d)	zoo weet ik niet	is dat Leeraars of is dat Handelars		of is dat jagders is:	IB, ln.9
	Thus know I not	is it teachers or is it traders		or is it hunters is	

In (27c-d), as in (24) above, a verbal form occurs reanalyzed as the complementiser, to the effect that there appear to be two finite verb forms in the clause. From (28a,b) it becomes clear that the choice between the forms of *hieft* or *is* is unstable; (28c,d) show that the status of *ben/is* in these formations is not that of a mere copula.

(28a)	Aponto [-hief] is niet	gewellig om	hem te vrede sloeten		IB, ln.584
	Aponto has is not	willing for	him to peace make		
(b)	...en ([hebt u]) gezien ons	Afrikaner is Gods	woort verach heeft?		IA, ln.134
	...and [have you] seen us	Afrikaner is God's	word scorned have?		
(c)	hy hief 8 optober	maan gestorven	ben		IB, ln.749
	He has 8 October	month died	am		
(d)	zoo wet ik nog niet is dat	nog diegereschap	heb is of niet	heb is	IB, ln.236
	so know I yet not is that	still the tools	have is or not	have is	

Summarizing, the realization of finite clauses in the present corpus show two more or less expected innovations. Firstly, there is the grammaticalization of a verbal form (causative *laat*) to function as a complementiser. This is similar to developments attested in creole languages (cf. Romaine 1988:140, Mühlhäusler 1986:188 on Tok Pisin, Bruyn 1995:240 on Sranan). Secondly, a form of the temporal auxiliary and copula became reanalyzed as complementisers seemingly confirming the earlier

association in the literature of C° with either verb-second (main clause), or an overt complementiser (subordinate clause). As a result, duplicated finite verbs occur in declarative and interrogative clauses. Relative clauses appear unmarked (as bare juxtapositions) in more than 50% of the cases, at the same time often exhibiting the duplicated finite verb structure. The theoretical implications of this data, considering verb-second within the generative framework, will be discussed in § 6.4.

6.3.3 Sentential infinitival complements

Both in Dutch and in Afrikaans infinitival sentential complements that are introduced by the complementiser *om* contain the infinitival marker *te*, typically adjacent to the infinitival verb (29a) as discussed in § 5.1.3 and § 5.2.1.2. It has been noted in the literature that these structures in ORA underwent reanalyses (cf. Roberge 1993:83-84). The infinitival marker can be absent as in (29b), or appear adjacent to the complementiser as in (29c).[23]

(29a) Jy moet sukkel om daar oor te kom — Afrikaans
you must trudge for there over to come
You trudge to get over that.

(b) Djei moet sekkel om daar oor ___ kom — GA84, 70, ln.155
you must trudge for there over come

(c) Ons moes ok onse vakke slag om te kan vorentoe se klasse kry — GA84, 120, ln.120
Us must also our subject pass for to can further POS class get
We also had to pass our subjects to be able to go on to the next class.

In the latter case *om* and *te* form one unit, which is supported by the fact that in present-day Griqua

[23] Jan Jonker alternates randomly between *te* and *de* as an infinitival marker. Some cases are ambiguous between a plural or an infinitival marker (i) but have been given the benefit of the doubt to be intended as infinitival markers parallel to examples as in (ii).

i. *om Gods woorde verkondigen* — IA, ln.291
for God's word.to gospel

iia. *om darde komen* — IA, ln.15
for there.to come

b. *om regde mak* — III, ln.18
for right.to make

Afrikaans the infinitival marker can surface simultaneously in the position adjacent to the complementiser, and heading the infinitival verb as shown in (30).

(30) Banje moeilik om te hier te kom GA84, 84, ln.103
very difficult for to here to come
It is very difficult to come here.

Structures as presented in (30) seem to be a later development in the formation of Afrikaans, as it is not mentioned in the literature on the Cape Dutch varieties, neither in early twentieth-century ORA. As observed by Du Plessis (1984:160) Rademeyer (1938:72) notes both the omission of the infinitival marker *te* in Griqua Afrikaans in the first decades of the twentieth century, as well as its placement adjacent to the complementiser; he does not comment on the possible doubling of *te*. Roberge (1993:85) sketches this development as a reconstruction of a basilectal format [..*om* ...V] via a mesolectal sequence [..*om te* ... V] to [..*om (te)* ... *te* V] in order to make "basilectal complementation with *om* [...] 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".

In Jan Jonker Afrikaner's letters examples of the type as in (30) do not appear. He neither uses the [..*om te* ...V] construction nor the [..*om te* ...*te* V] construction. The placement of *te* (often spelled *de*) in the corpus mostly conforms to the Dutch/SA use (31a). Examples with omission of the infinitival marker as in (29b) are attested in the corpus (31b-d) but show a gradual decline (32).

(31a) als daar niet menschen is om my Heer Breker de hulp... IB, ln. 246
if there not people is for Mr. Brincker to help...

(b) ..om my werf af schiet:... IA, ln.360
..for my werf off shoot

(c) ..om Damras bees af schieden,... IB, ln.550
..for Damaras cattle off shoot

(d) ..om gansche vrede annemen IB, ln.681
..for whole peace accept

(32) OMISSION OF THE INFINITIVAL MARKER *TE* (/*DE*) IN THE JAN JONKER CORPUS

Period[24]	Total *om..(te)*	*om...* --	% omission of *te*
IA	67	16	23%
IB	58	13	22%
II	50	2	4%
IIb	50	0	-
III	16	0	-

These data support the hypothesis that *te* became reintroduced into the grammar, on the model of Dutch but not to the extent as witnessed in contemporary ORA in which the doubled-*te* pattern is highly common. Van der Zwan (1986:134-135) observes the same idiosyncracy in infinitival clauses as noticeable in Jan Jonker's grammar, in the diary of Hendrik Witbooi: not a trace could be found of the hybrid *..om te...* or the doubled pattern *..om te...te V*, but the absence of *te* (c.q. *..om...–V)* is not at all rare.

Although the structure with duplicated *te* is attested in the literature on ORA as a standard alternative without question, it should be observed that there is a time span of approximately three generations between the data recorded from Jan Jonker (who was born in 1820), in comparison to data recorded in the twentieth century from non-standard speakers who were born in the1890's (for example Links 1983). The absence of the structure in Hendrik Witbooi's diary, dating from the last decades of the nineteenth century (1884-1905), further strengthens the point that it must be concluded that the doubled-*te* construction developed relatively recently. The elder people (i.e. those born at the time Witbooi wrote his diary) who were interviewed in contemporary studies on ORA clearly do not represent the nineteenth-century phase of developments as averred in Oorlam-Hollands. To my knowledge there are no attestations of the construction from before ca. 1890; c.q. it is not attested in the letters from Jan Jonker's contemporaries in the NA corpora either. The obvious account for placing the development at such a late point in time must be ascribed to the hybridization of the variant [*..om (te)* ... V] with [*..om ... te* V] under the renewed contact with the Dutch superstrate during the standardization process since the turn of the century. In this respect it is noteworthy that the Afrikaans grammar as presented by Marais-Hoogenhout (1904) does not mention either of the

[24] Period I, is divided in two sections (IA, IB) because of its quantity. Period IIb is a subdivision which comprises the letters Nº. 31-37, as the letters Nº. 29 and 30, included in Period II can be marked as transitional between the basilectal stage (Period I) and the clearly acrolectal stage (Period II).

two un-Dutch constructions but only reports on the spread of the use of [..*om* ... *te*] infinitives.

Markedly, in the Jan Jonker corpus, in a number of instances when the infinitival marker is left out in Period I, a participial form of the verb instead of the infinitival form appears. We will look at this presently. As observed above (see example (15), p.198), Standard Afrikaans has lost practically all morphology to distinguish finite forms from infinitival forms. Excluding Period II, the present corpus shows a gradual shift from Dutch forms towards the (unmarked) Afrikaans forms in infinitival complements with *om..(te)*, as shown in table (33).[25]

(33) *OM .... (TE)* INFINITIVES

Period	Total infinitival forms	V-[e(n)]	% acrolectal forms
IA	53	34	64%
IB	45	25	55%
II	45	39	86%
IIb	45	42	93%
III	12	5	41%

The proposed division into three periods is again corroborated by this data. Although the number of data for Period III is in fact relatively small, (and the percentage values must be interpreted accordingly), they show a further bias towards preference for the Afrikaans forms.

Verb clusters within a sentential infinitival complement occur in total 16 times, the major part consisting of the phrase *om u (te) lad(en) we(e)tten*, 'to let you know'. In Period II there are the acrolectal sequences *om 'n bestaning te mogen krijgen*, 'to may get an existence', and *om paarden te komen verrulen*, 'to come to barter horses'. Besides these, there are three instances, neither Dutch nor Afrikaans, where an auxiliary follows the infinitival verb clause-finally (34). I have no interpretation for the meaning of the addition of the auxiliary in these environments; I will return to this issue in § 6.4.2, where these structures are further discussed.

(34a) ...om Damras Rad gegeven om ons affricane zijn bloed de vergoden heeft IA, ln.293

[25] Verb forms which in Dutch do not show the infinitival morphology (such as *gaan* (to go), and *doen* (to do), are excluded from this statistic, as well as verb structures where a participial form replaces the infinitival verb (*infra*).

	...for	Damras	advice	given	for	our	Afrikaners	his	blood	to	spill	have
(b)	ik	hebben	niet	nodag	om	uwe	bloed	de	verigodenben:			IA, ln.312
	I	have	no	need	for	your	blood	to	spill.am			
(c)	daarom	mak	ik	deze	brief	aan	u	___	kleederen	devragen	ben	IA, ln.441
	therefore	make	I	this	letter	to	you		clothes	to.ask	am	

And, as noted above, in seven instances a participial form instead of an infinitive fills the verbal slot; in all of these instances the infinitival marker *te* is absent (35a-g).

(35a)	..om uwe bees en vee an u afgenemen	IA, ln.113
	..for you animals and cattle to you taken	
(b)	..om uwe waarde gestoolen	IA, ln.226
	..for your valuables stolen	
(c)	..om hene rad gegeven	IA, ln.280
	..for them advice given	
(d)	..om Damaras Rad gegeven	IA, ln.293[=(23a)]
	..for Damaras advice given	
(e)	..om ons zijn bees ge stolen	IA, ln.386
	..for our his cattle stolen -	
(f)	..om die Damras kroud de geven om roë mensche gedan gemoor[26]	IA, ln.390
	..for the Damaras ammunition to give for red people done murdered	
(g)	..om alles dengen raggedoen	IB, ln.721
	..for all things right-done	

Anticipating the discussion of participial verb forms governed by the temporal auxiliary it could be argued that *ge* is replacing the infinitival marker *te* in these instances. Or rather, as the infinitival marker *te* seems an optional element in ORA, and, as structures such as (35) show a gradual decline from 1863 till 1867, with one last example from 1870 and one more occurrence in a coordination in 1875 (Appendix I, section II, ln.218), it is argued that *te* was reintroduced into sentential infinitival complement clauses (*supra*). The observation that the participial prefix occurs in the correct position with separable compound verbs (35a,g), whereas this is not always the case with separable compound

[26] Also in contemporary ORA co-occurrence of the participial prefix on the embedded verbs is common; cf. example (55), p.226.

verbs preceded by *te* (36a,d,e) in this corpus, could be indicative of a learning curve reintroducing the infinitival marker on the model of the superstrate.

(36a) ..om uwe huis de anraken IA, ln.326
..for your house to touch

(b) ..om die Kar en ossen af de geefen IA, ln.450
..for the cart and oxen to hand over

(c) ..om helle uit te brengen IA, ln.507
..for them to retrieve

(d) ..om [dit] uliden de beken maak IB, ln.320
..for [this] you to known make

(e) ..om die huisen de afbreken IB, ln.738
..for the houses to demolish

(f) ..om uwe menschen terug te nemen II, ln.238
..for your people return to take (=withdraw)

The examples of *ge* apparently replacing the infinitival marker *te* (as in (35)) also show a gradual decline. In Period IA *ge* is added to the verb at a frequency of 37% of the *te*-less infinitival complements, in Period IB, this has lessened to 7%.[27] Thereafter no such examples are found in the letters. This may again be read as an indication of a learning curve in the acquisition of the superstrate infinitival marker *te*. Verbs that take *te* complements in Dutch (see Appendix III, (1)), although sporadically attested in the corpus, occur in all variations. For example *hoeven* (negative hortative) occurs once in the corpus without the infinitival marker (Appendix I, section IA, ln.386); *ophouden* (to stop) appears once taking a bare infinitival complement (Appendix I, section IA, ln.333), once a sentential infinitival complement (Appendix I, section IA, ln.386) and once a *te*-complement (Appendix I, section II, ln.139). *Pogen* (to attempt) appears once, taking a bare infinitival complement. The hendiadys verb *staan* (to stand) appears both with and without *te*, as well as with a participle form of the verb (*ge-V*) in its complement. In the next paragraphs attestations of *ge*+V

[27] This decline in usage makes it all the more unlikely that we would be dealing with an apparent orthographical 'mistake' in which the participial form replaces the infinitive. Both from a syntactic perspective regarding the placement of the elements with separable compound verbs, as well as from a phonological perspective that a voiceless fricative [χ] alternates with a voiceless coronal stop [t], other accounts than the one presented become highly implausible.

as a finite verb, (c.q. the suspension of the auxiliary in the clause),will be documented. Following a proposition by Roberge (1994b), I assume that *ge* could function as an unbound 'tense' marker, but then to mark [+perfect], [+past] or [-finite] 'tense'. As documented in Chapter Five (§ 5.2.5) infinitival *te*-complements, compared to Dutch, have become a greatly reduced phrasal category in SA. This development is apparent in the present data. I will return to the issue after an examination of verb forms in the complement of the modal and auxiliary verbs in the Jan Jonker corpus in the next section.

6.3.4 Verbal complementation under temporal, modal and aspectual verbs

The majority of bare verbal complements in the corpus of this study are conspicuously limited to the mean of two verbs per clause. Verb cluster formation as discussed in Chapter Five is sparse and appears numerically restricted to two verbs per clause. As a result of the overgeneralization of the verb-second rule the data consist chiefly of a modal verb or an auxiliary verb in the verb-second position, and the main verb clause finally (cf. § 6.3.2). However, a numerical restriction (i.e. only two verbs) on the number of verbs that participate in a VR cluster is also a characteristic of Dutch SLA.

> De overgang van 1 naar 2 werkwoorden is vooral bij ongestuurde T2 verwerving een kwestie van ontwikkelingsfase, maar de overgang van 2 naar 3/4 werkwoorden vindt vaak helemaal niet plaats bij ongestuurde verwervers. Ook T2-verwervers die onderwijs volgen hebben moeite met de productie van complexe werkwoordsclusters (Josien Lalleman, p.c., November 1998).[28]

With this in mind, I will first survey the format and structure of the modal verbs in the data of the Jan Jonker correspondence, thereafter the verbal complements governed by the temporal auxiliary (§ 6.3.4.2).

[28] The transition from one to two verbs [in a VR cluster], especially with untutored L2 acquisition is largely a question of developmental phases, but the transition from two to three/four verbs often never takes place with untutored language acquirers. Also L2-acquirers who do follow instruction have trouble with the production of complex verb clusters.

6.3.4.1 Verb clusters with modal verbs and causative verbs

In (37) an overview of the Dutch and Afrikaans paradigm of modal verb forms, present tense.[29]

(37)

	CAN		MUST		WANT		MAY		WILL	
	Dutch	Afr.	Dutch	Afr.	Dutch	Afr.	Dutch	Afr.	Dutch	Afr.
1S	kan	kan	moet	moet	wil	wil	mag	mag	zal	sal
2S	kunt	kan	moet	moet	wilt	wil	mag	mag	zult	sal
3S	kan	kan	moet	moet	wilt	wil	mag	mag	zal	sal
1PL	kunnen	kan	moeten	moet	willen	wil	mogen	mag	zullen	sal
2PL	kunnen	kan	moeten	moet	willen	wil	mogen	mag	zullen	sal
3PL	kunnen	kan	moeten	moet	willen	wil	mogen	mag	zullen	sal
Inf.	kunnen	kan	moeten	moet	willen	wil	mogen	mag	zullen	sal
Part.	gekund	-	gemoeten	-	gewild	(gewil)	gemogen	-	-	-

Except for Period II, when the modal verb *kunnen* (can) is used in Jan Jonker's texts as a finite verb, it appears in its present-day SA invariant form *kan*. However, the subject of these clauses is predominantly the first person singular, which renders it also the correct Dutch choice. In Period I, a participial form of the verb occurs under *kan* (38), (cf. § 6.3.4.2.1).

(38a) zoo kan ik niet tabak gekrijgen ben[30] IB, ln.394
so can I not tobacco get am

(b) Zoo kan ik ook niet weggegaan van huis af van die reigen IB, ln.622
so can I also not away.left from home away for the rain

The distribution of the infinitival and finite forms of *kan* divides up as in table (39).

---

[29] The past tense forms in Afrikaans follow the Dutch imperfectum forms, (*kon, moes, wou, mog, sou*); with the exception of *wil*, the perfect tense forms are not available in Afrikaans (i), (cf. Chapter Two, § 2.5.1.1).

ia. **Hy het dit gekan/gekon* Afrikaans
b. *Hij heeft het gekund* Dutch
He was able to [do] it

[30] The addition of *ben* (to be, 1S) may have triggered the participial form, but this would render it an hypercorrective construction, as in the superstrate the alternate perfect auxiliary *hebben* governs *krijgen* ("*zo kan ik geen tabak hebben gekregen*"), which is also the more common choice in the present corpus.

(39) *KAN*

Period	V-[finite]	V-[infinitive]
I	11	4
II	8	-
III	5	2

The infinitival forms of the verb are always realized as the present-day SA form, *kan/kon* (unfortunately in Period II, *kan/kunnen* only appears as a finite verb, once in a sentential infinitival complement "*...om te leven of leven kunnen*" (Period II, ln.263)); in the few verb clusters that are larger than two verbs VR and VPR alternate (40).

(40a) Haybittle zal kan zegge of ... IA, ln.510
Haybittle will can say whether...

(b) alle menschen die voor my ken, zal kan overteeg [=getuigen] dat... IA, ln.522
all people who for me know, will can convince [=witness] that ...

(c) om die rede hieft uwe kinders niet brief kon schrijfen of geleesen. IA, ln.109
for that reason has your children not letter could write or read

(d) It is niet mogelyk dat de leraar zal kan de menschen onterwysengeven .... IA, ln.530
It is not possible that the teacher will can the people educations-give...

(e) waarom is uliden niet kan een anword brief myn schryven III, ln.160
why is you not can an answer letter my write

(f) zoo moet ulieden niet kan ons verkwaalyk neemen III, ln.188
so must you not can us evil take

The infinitival forms in the complement of *kan* in the main clause vary, in the subordinate clause structure (40d) the Dutch infinitival form (plus the *-en* infinitival suffix) is realized. Moreover, in this instance an [*-en*] suffix is also added onto the NP *onderwijs* (education) in the VPR cluster. Because so far the data are of a limited number, the correlation between subordinate clause structures and infinitival forms will be deferred until after an inventory of their format in the complement of the modal *zal* (will).

The modal *moeten* (must) appears predominantly in its SA form *moet* (also spelled *moed*). In Period II where a plural form is required also in the form *moets* (41a), perhaps analogous to NP-

pluralization, on occasion the past form *moeste* is realized (41b). In total there are only three examples out of a total of 102 occurrences of 'must' (including gapping in coordinated structures) in a subordinate clause structure. Besides that, two examples occur with *moet* as an infinitival complement, on both occasions in the complement of *zal* (41c,d).

(41a) ..dat de Bergdamars bijeen moets gebragt worden en eene statie moets krijgen II, ln.117
..that the Bergdamaras together must brought be and a station must get

(b) ..dat zy niet zo moeste doen. II, ln.140
..that they not so must do

(c) ..maar ik zal moet daarkom IB, ln.494
..but I will must there.come

(d) ik zal moed kom als... IB, ln.547
I will must come if...

In table (42) the realization of the infinitival forms in the complement of *moet* is quantified in the word order of the main clause.[31] The choice between a bare stem form or an inflected Dutch form seems arbitrary. As this verb predominantly occupies the verb-second position (96%) no further generalizations about the form of infinitives in correlation with subordinate clause structures can be made.

(42) INFINITIVAL FORMS IN THE COMPLEMENT OF *MOET*

Period	V[+en]	V-[other]	% Dutch forms[32]
I	44	27	61.87%
II	8	3	72.72%
III	4	4	50%

[31] Note that Jan Jonker predominantly uses main-clause word order, also in subordinate clauses.

[32] There is no correlation with the clausal type (i.e. main clauses vs. subordinate clauses with verb-second), nor with respect to the subject (singular/ plural) of the clause.

Instances of cluster formation (VR/VPR) in which *moeten* dominates more than one verb, mainly involve the verb *laten* (to let), (43).[33]

(43a)	..ulieden	moet	eers	die	omstandugheid	laastan, lat ons eers....	IA, ln.16
	..you	must	first	the	circumstance	let.stand, let/that us first ...	
(b)	zoo	moet	mijn	Heer	Damras ook	latweten	IA, ln.152
	so	must	Mr.		Damaras also	let.know	

In the Jan Jonker Afrikaner corpus there are no instances of the modal verb *willen* (want) occurring in an infinitival position, except in duplicated constructions. As a finite verb it is primarily realized as *wil* or *wel* (*/weel*), which makes it difficult to distinguish it from the adverb *wel* ('well'; in this corpus *wel* is also used as an adjective instead of Dutch/Afrikaans *goed* 'good'), in those instances where this verb appears 'doubled' (44a,b), and where the v/2 constraint is violated (44c).[34]

(44a)	ik	wil	waarlijk	vredee	weel	hebben	IA, ln.252
	I	want	truly	peace	want	have	
(b)	daarom	wel	ik	die	handelar	wel nemen	II, ln.15
	therefore	want	I	the	trader	want take	
(c)	hoe	wel	zal	ik	nu	omklaar...	IB, ln.495
	How	want	will	I	now	turn-around(?)	

In a few cases this modal verb selects a CP complement (45a), besides that, it triggers the infinitival marker *te* (45b).

[33] In the early letters this is often written as a prefix to the main verb, (cf. example (54), p.225).

[34] Cf. examples from Bolandse Afrikaans as in (i) which are similarly ambiguous, as noted by Boonzaier (1982: 216, 1989:§1.1.9.2) .

ia.	*hy sal self wil*	*sien om reg te kom*
	he will self want/well	see for right to come
b.	*hy sal self wil*	*weet hoe dit met die familie gaan*
	he will self want/well	know how it with the family goes

(45a) Barnabas wel om die man doode de mak zoo als hem ge maak heeft IB, ln.755
Barnabas wants for the man dead to make so as him made has
Barnabas wants to kill the man, just as he has done.

(b) ...maar ik wel niet met Leraar de handelen II, ln.14
...but I want not with teacher to trade[35]
..but I don't want to trade with the missionary.

Period II also features the Dutch imperfective form *wilte* (*/wilde*), on one occasion the Afrikaans (and Dutch) preterite form *wou* (IB, ln.222) is realized; the forms of the infinitive in its complement (most often *hebben* in "I want to have...") are 81% correct Dutch infinitival forms.

Sentences including the modal verb *mogen* (may) are sporadic. There are three incidences in Period I, four in Period II, and one in Period III. As a finite verb it is realized as *mag* or *mog(t)*; in an infinitival position, after Period I, in the correct Dutch form *mogen*. Nonetheless, the instances are too few to make steadfast generalizations about which realization was the preferred form.

(46a) of zal ik mag om andere Kapiteins zyn mensch de strafen IB, ln.300
whether will I may for other captain's his people to punish

(b) de zuidelyk Hoofden [....] heb Wens van u te mogen hooren... III, ln.111-114
the southern chiefs [...] have wish from you to may hear...

The modal verb with the highest frequency is *zullen/zal* (will). As a finite verb it is realized in the correct Dutch form, first person singular *zal*, the forerunner of present-day SA *sal*. Examining the occurrences of this modal verb as the finite verb in the sentence, 12% appear in a subordinate clause structure (152/22). Despite the fact that as a result of the lack of complementisers and the scarcity of punctuation etc. it is not easy to tell which verb-second structures were intended as subordinate clauses, I estimate that roughly half of all the main clause structures are intended as subordinate clauses.[36] In table (47) these data are quantified.

[35] Alternatively this could possibly be a plural, witness that in Period II besides his regular plural form *leeraars* the form *leraat* occurs (II, ln. 134, ln 138).

[36] See § 6.3.4.2 on this data for the temporal auxiliary.

(47) WORD ORDER INCLUDING THE MODAL VERB *ZAL*

Period	Verb-second (main and subordinate clauses) [XP zal (XP...XP) V]	Subordinate clause word order ..[(dat) (XP...XP) zal V]	% subordinate clause word order
I	117	7	5.64%
II	13	14	51.85%
III	22	1	4.34%
Total	152	22	12.79%

Again, Period II falls out dramatically with more than 50% subordinate clause structures. As we have seen with other modal verbs, the choice of the Dutch or the Afrikaans form of the infinitive in the clauses where verb-second has applied, cannot be characterized any better than as random. In table (48) the realization of infinitival forms in the complement of *zal* in sentences with a main clause word order (i.e. structures, both intended as a main clause or as a subordinate clause, the latter both with and without an overt complementiser) is quantified.

(48) INFINITIVES IN MAIN CLAUSE STRUCTURES IN THE COMPLEMENT OF *ZAL*

Period	Total infinitives	V-[other]	% of non-infinitival forms[37]
I	117	46	39.31%
II	13	1	7.68%
III	22	11	50%

Again the letters in Period II diverge from the earlier and the later letters. In contrast to these figures, in embedded clauses in which v/2 has not applied, i.e. the canonical Dutch (as well as present-day SA) word order for subordinated clauses, we encounter 100% correct Dutch infinitival forms. In Period II this includes one hypercorrective form *jagden* ('to hunt'; Dutch *jagen* [inf.], *jaagden* [past, 1-3PL], Afrikaans: *jag*). In other words, from these data it becomes clear that subordinate clauses are characterized as metropolitan Dutch-oriented structures in contrast to the verb-second sequences.

[37] Excluding Dutch infinitival forms that do not feature an [+*en*] suffix, such as *gaan* (to go) and *zien* (to see) there is only a marginal difference. For example in Period III the figure changes to 57.89% non-infinitival forms in main clause word order sentences with *zal* as the finite verb.

As with the other modal verbs, *zal* sometimes triggers a participial form of the verb (49a-d),[38] as well as the infinitival marker *te* (49e).

(49a)	Verdel	mijn	oute	Wellen	zal	ik	u	brief	geschrijfe...		IA, ln.227
	tell	me	old	Willem,	will	I	you	letter	written		
(b)	zal	ik	U	in	geroep	in	die	oorloog			IA, ln.229
	will	I	you	in	called	in	the	war			
(c)	.dat	Anderzon	niet		zal	op	my	werf	gekomen	met oorlog om...	IA, ln.358
	..that	Andersson	not		will	on	my	werf	came	with war for...	
(d)	..of	zal	mij	huis	gekom	om	daat....				IB, ln.329
	..or	will	my	house	come	because...					
(e)	..dan [=zodat]	zal	u	die	land	de	krijgen				IA, ln.392
	.. then (/thus)	will	you	the	land	to	get				

Verb Raising with more than two verbs in the complement of *zal* is rare. Out of the 152 occurrences of *zal* as the finite verb in a main clause word order, five instances involve three verbs; on one occasion four verbs (50f) are combined. Overall, clusters exceeding two verbs total only 3.9% of the verbal cluster formations. Note the four-verb cluster is in a 'German' word order, c.q. in the O-V sequence of the verbs. The Dutch is represented in (50g).

(50a)	...dat gy	zal	vrede	zal	stegt				IA, ln.53
	...that you	will	peace	will	make				
(b)	ik wens ik	zal	op	mij land	drak	getroke	komen		IA, ln.199
	I wish I	will	on	my land	return	moved	come		
(c)	of	zal u	vrede	maak	heeft				IA, ln.244
	or	will you	peace	make	has				
(d)	maar	ik	zal	moet	daarkom				IB, ln.495
	but	I	will	must	there come				
(e)	ik zal	laden	Doodschieden	zoo	en	mensch			IB, ln.678
	I will	let	dead-shoot	such	a	person			

[38] The meaning of the addition of *ge* to the verb in these instances seems to be an irrealis. This will be further discussed in § 6.3.4.2.1.

(f) zal ik steel blyfen laden uliden witte menschen die land ons af nemen IB, ln.725
shall I steal stay let you white people the land us away take

(g) Zal ik u, blanke mensen, het land laten blijven stelen, van ons afnemen? Dutch

However, as (50f) would be the sole example of such a multiple verb cluster an alternative interpretation of *steel* as the adjective *stil* (quiet, silent), rendering a sentence "shall I keep quiet, let you, white people take our land away", seems equally plausible. As shown in general, it is clear that Jan Jonker has difficulty with multiple verb constructions including *lat(en)* (cf. (51a) below) on the model of the acrolect.

A further three examples in this corpus could be classified as infelicitous three-verb complexes. In one instance (51a) the addition of the passive auxiliary is superfluous (or, erroneously replaces causative *laten*?), in (51b) *au contraire,* the passive auxiliary is lacking,[39] and (51c) is analyzed[40] as omission of perhaps *raken* (get).

(51a) maar ik zal nog die topenaars straaven worden als ik dereg kom IB, ln.396
but I will yet the Topnaars punish be when I return come

(b) ..niemer zal andere menschen verhender ___ met zyn weegen de looppen III, ln.85
..never will other people hindered with his roads to walk

(c) en ook vele zillen iewegheid geverloren ___. III, ln.170
and also many will eternity lost

In those subordinate clauses which structurally conform to the Dutch superstrate, the frequency of three-verb cluster combinations is higher (18.18% three-verb clusters; 4/22), as well as the grammaticality of the constructions[41] compared to the Standard Dutch example; VR and VPR alternate. Notably (52a-c) originate from letter Nº 13 (to Cape governor Wodehouse) and (52d) from

[39] Alternatively *niemer* (Dutch *nimmer)* is intended as *niemand* (no-one) in an active sentence: "no-one will hinder other people..."

[40] Alternatively this is an even more obscure construction, in which *zillen* is the subject NP *zielen*, 'souls'.

[41] Note that actually only (52d) is an unequivocal subordinate clause; (52a-b) also allow an analysis as verb-second structures (see Chapter Five, § 5.2.3, p.168); (52c) is either a VPR construction or can be analyzed as two modal verbs in the verb-second slot (cf. the hendiadys construction, § 5.2.5).

Period II. All are examples of the more studied style or register.

(52a) ..dat Haybittle zal kan zegge — IA. ln.509
..that Haybittle will can say

(b) ..dat alle menschen [die...], zal kan overteeg — IA. ln.521
..that all people [who...], will can convince (=witness)

(c) ..dat de Leeraar zal kan de menschen onterwysengeven — IA. ln.531
..that the teacher will can the people educations-give

(d) en wanneer hy zich niet zal laten bestraffen,... — II. ln.301
and when he him[self] not will let [be] punished

Besides this, *zal* appears in the complement of other verbs, an option that is not available in either Afrikaans or in Dutch.[42]

(53a) ik moet zal vragen maar dat is niet waar — IA. ln.343
I must will ask but that is not true

(b) zoo weet ik niet, hoe vel ben zal ik u gef voorander klederen — IB. ln.258
so know I not, how much am will I you give for.other clothes

(c) en dan die manen van velschondragers, die hief zal opgegaan om... — IB. ln.549
and then the men of Veldskoendragers, who have will advanced for...

(d) Hoe wel zal ik nu omklaar maar ik moed... — IB. ln.495
Hoe want will I now turn around but I must....

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[42] In Dutch syntax the modal *zullen* is only available with an epistemic meaning (cf. Evers 1979, Van Es & Van Caspel 1974). The epistemically interpreted modal always has to be the governing verb and thus cannot be embedded by another modal (i), (Evers, 1979:6).

i. * Deont. modal + Epist. modal
* Epist. modal + Epist. modal
Epist. modal + Deont. modal
Deont. modal + Deont. modal

In Afrikaans, according to De Villiers (1971:83, 87), the modal *sal* (will) has both a *persoonlike* (deontic) and an *onpersoonlike* (epistemic) value. However, this analysis cannot be accommodated by the structural analysis as presented for Dutch as De Villiers' example of deontic *sal* (*Ek sal wag*, 'I will wait') is also ungrammatical in Afrikaans when preceded by another modal (**Ek kan sal wag*, 'I can shall wait'; **Ek moet sal wag*, 'I must will wait').

As mentioned above cluster formation of more than two verbs appears chiefly with the verb *laten* Initially, as an infinitive Jan Jonker writes *lat(en)* as a prefix to the main verb.[43] Thereafter it occurs also in VPR constructions (54i).

(54a)	..ulieden moet eers die omstandugheid laastan		IA. ln.17
	..you must first the circumstance let-stay		
(b)	zoo moet mijn Heer Damras ook latweten lat...		IA. ln.153
	so must Mr. Damara also let-know, that....		
(c)	..zoo ___ mijn Heer Daniel C ook latweten.		IA. ln.157
	...so Mr. Daniel C. also let-know		
(d)	Daarom heb ik dardie brief Daniel geladschrijfen		IA. ln.314
	therefore have I that letter Daniel let-write		
(e)	en heeft hulle [...] van een werf of stateen gelaat stand		IA. ln.484
	and has them ... from a werf or station let stand		
(f)	maar Persiba zyn menschen wel niet Damras laden dreken		IB. ln.649
	but Berseba his people want not Damaras let move		
(g)	zoo moet mijn Heer mijn daarna lad wetten		IB. ln.666
	so must Mr. my thereof let know		
(h)	ik zal laden doodschieden zoo een mensch		IB. ln.678
	I will let dead-shoot such a person		
(i)	ik moet u en Kamaharero [...] laden daarna bekend maak		IB. ln.688[44]
	I must you and Kamaharero let thereof known make		

In (54d,e) a participial form occurs where in Dutch the IPP effect is invoked (§ 5.1.3.1). As observed in Van Rensburg (1984:151ff.) in ORA the IPP-effect is relaxed (see also Links 1983:164, Fourie 1985:117). Present-day ORA features instances with the participial prefix *ge-* appearing on either verb in the cluster (55a,b), sometimes on both (55c). Notably also in four-verb clusters in a passive[45]

[43] Occasionally as a suffix to the infinitival marker *te* (IA. ln.3); i.e. initially always as a 'bound morpheme' rather than an unbound (auxiliary) verb.

[44] More examples in IB-ln.726, IB-ln.764, II-ln.7, II-ln.301, III-ln.27, II-ln.193. Cf. § 6.3.2.

[45] In the present corpus passives are highly irregular, although not entirely absent, many occur unmarked and I will leave them out of the present considerations, cf. Appendix I, section A, ln.327-328, ln.175, ln.219.

construction, which cannot translate *laten* as a causative (55d).[46]

(55a)	Ons het op dié manier	gelê sukkel en so	gekom aankom	Kharkams, p.162[47]
	We have on that way	lay-trudge and so	came arrive	
(b)	Hy het net sy pa kom	gegroet		Kharkams, p.162
	He has just his dad come	greeted		
(c)	die Kaapse gôwerment	het geloop Captain Blayi hier gestuur...		GA84, 37, ln.53
	the Cape government	has walked Captain Bligh here sent		
(d)	In die Kamneboo so' noo't vark geslag wôre nie, of ou Man			
	In the Kamdeboo would never pig slaughtered be not or old man			
	Mertiens Booyse moet gelaat kom wôre.			Kühne, 1984:3
	Martin Booyse must let come be			

In the three-verb cluster governed by the temporal auxiliary Jan Jonker consistently prefers to prefix the second verb (i.c. *laten*), with the particle *ge*.[48] From the perspective of the process of VR in Dutch this is straightforwardly explained if we assume a particle-like status of *laten*, rendering these verb clusters two-verb clusters, $[\text{Aux}]_{V1} + [la(t)\text{-V}]_{V2}$, in which in Dutch the IPP effect would also not be invoked (§ 5.1.3.1). The verbs to which *laten* is attached appear in their full Dutch infinitival form in 87.5% of the cases. For example, the verb *weten* (to know), which in this corpus ordinarily only appears as a finite verb in constructions selecting a finite complement,[49] is always realized as the present-day SA form, the Dutch singular form *weet*.[50] As a complement to *laten* it is realized in the correct acrolectal form *weten*.

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[46] In German *lassen* passives are possible provided that *lassen* shows up as a participle. Cf. Den Besten (1989b:190ff.) and the literature mentioned there.

[47] From Links 1983.

[48] A possible exception may be "*en duin lad verdrap*" (to let trample on my garden), Appendix I, section III, ln.27. However, the addition of *lad* to this sentence is also contradictory to the context.

[49] Except for in Period II where it appears in sentential complements as *we(e)t(t)e(n)*; cf. Appendix I, section II, ln.67, ln.102, ln.107.

[50] Also realized as *wet(t)*; in Period II hyper-corrective forms occur such as *weete* in 1S: "*omdat ik hunne doel weete*" (Appendix I, section II, ln.128).

Excluding the temporal auxiliary as the finite verb, to which we will turn presently, there are no other examples of V(P)R clusters with more than two verbs in this corpus. From the verbs that participate in the Afrikaans hendiadys construction (§ 5.2.5) only *staan* is attested, but only in two-verb sequences (cf. Appendix I, section IB, ln.143, ln.367, ln.712, ln.734).

Summarizing, inflectional morphology on the finite verb is largely according to present-day Afrikaans convention (the bare stem form). Preterite forms are not observed, except for a few instances in the acrolectal letters (Period II); modal verb forms appear as a bare stem form correlating with the first person singular Dutch forms. Subordinate clause formation merely existed on a pattern provided by the metropolitan Dutch standard, inclusive of the orthographical conventions. From the inventory of verbal complements to the modal verbs, it becomes clear that subordinate clause formation as in Dutch and Afrikaans, must be classified as a studied, acrolectal propensity of Jan Jonker's grammar. The reason for this conclusion is that they are both relatively rare constructions and that in these instances the Dutch infinitival inflectional paradigm still seems fully in place. In contrast, where verbs appear in the main clause word order (i.e where verb-second has applied, be it a structural main clause or a subordinate clause) the infinitival inflection is realized unsystematically at an average of approximately 50% correct acrolectal forms; on occasion a participial form of the verb is realized in the infinitival slot. Maintaining the assumption that the Dutch participial prefix *ge-* functioned as a 'tense' (/TMA) marker in ORA, the verbal paradigm is reduced to two competing forms: the stem form (short form) and the full infinitival form (long form), the Afrikaans form versus the Dutch form, perhaps the spoken form versus the written form. The apparent numerical limitation of two verbs per clause can be attributed both to language transfer in a situation of abrupt language adaptation (creolization), as well as to imperfect SLA. In conclusion, these facts indicate that the nineteenth-century ORA variety as featured in this corpus was based on a basic pattern (56a), as illustrated by the example in (56b).

(56a) XP/(subject) - Aux. - (XP/ negation[51]) - Object - (XP/particles) -(*ge-*)[52] - Main Verb

(b) 1 Altomits zal Bergdamaras daar leugens bring
maybe will Bergdamaras there lies bring

2 ik heben komande naar Otjimbinw komen (,)
I have commando to Otjimbingwe come

3 moet gy e niet gelooven. IB, ln.398-401
must you it/them not believe

In the next paragraph an analysis is presented of verbal complementation under the temporal auxiliary which will further substantiate this assessment.

6.3.4.2 Verbal complementation under the temporal auxiliary

Analyzing the sentences in the correspondence of Jan Jonker which include the temporal auxiliary, I made a division according to the Dutch principle that main clauses are subject to the verb-second constraint and that subordinate clauses show an O(...V)V word order. In number, 79 sentences show the subordinate clause structure whereas verb-second has applied in 335 sentences, i.e. in 80,91% of the sentences which contain the temporal auxiliary and/or a participial form of the verb (*infra*). Slightly less than two-thirds of the latter are authentic main clauses, the remainder are subordinate clauses in which verb-second has applied. Generally speaking, the overt complementiser introducing finite complements is highly irregular. Of the 79 sentences which feature the verb(s) clause-finally (in the OV-order), sixteen (20.25%) lack a complementiser. Nine (56.25%) of these are relative clauses. The remaining seven sentences are complements of verbs like *horen* (to hear), *weten* (to know) and *wensen* (to wish). Of the 63 clauses introduced by an overt complementiser or relative pronoun, 29 are relative clauses (46.03%) and 34 are in the complement of verbs like *vertellen* (to tell), *weten* (to

[51] Also in inversion constructions negation generally appears adjacent to the verb in the v/2 slot, or the subject in inversion constructions (AgrSP), which would translate in Dutch as constituent negation, (cf. § 2.5.1.2 and example (9), § 2.5.2.1, p.55). In example (56b) the object pronoun, considering its form (*e*) is possibly best analyzed as a clitic element. Note that both Nama and Dutch dialects, as well as West Flemish feature subject and object clitics (see Haegeman 1992, Stroop 1987, Zwart 1997).

[52] The Dutch participial prefix as free morpheme, marking 'tense' ([+perfect], [+past] or [-finite] cf. § 6.3.3; also § 6.3.4.2.1).

know), *zeggen* (to say), *zien* (to see) and *schrijven* (to write). Thus, the presence or the absence of a complementiser does not depend on the matrix verb. Although the orthography is irregular, there are only a few mistakes in the choice of a participial verb form. In only three instances in the Dutch canonical subordinate clause structures, the temporal auxiliary precedes the participle (3.79%). Thus, the present-day Afrikaans pattern which demands the temporal auxiliary clause-finally (see § 5.2.2.1) was firmly in place. Overall the structures which include the 'temporal auxiliary' are rendered in a regular format as in (57a) for matrix clause structures, and (57b) for embedded clause structures.

(57a) XP/subject - aux - XP/subject- participle (aux)
(b) (C°) - XP/subject - [...] - participle - (aux)

As indicated by the brackets the temporal auxiliary itself seems to be an optional element as well as an element which can appear twice (duplicated) in the clause. These properties will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

In (58) the present-day Dutch and Afrikaans paradigm of the temporal auxiliary[53] *hebben/hê* (to have) is presented.

[53] The Dutch perfect tense auxiliary *zijn* (to be) does occur in the present corpus but not in the Dutch systematic way. In Afrikaans the use of *zijn* as a perfect tense auxiliary has been discontinued. Hence coordinated structures , which would demand coordination at the level of the auxiliary and not of the verb (i) are left out of the present analysis.

ia.	*Hij is gekomen en *(heeft) gewerkt.*	Dutch
b.	*Hy het gekom en gewerk.*	Afrikaans
	He has come and worked.	

Afrikaans has retained the Dutch forms of *zijn* 3S (*is* and *was*) in the passive voice (see De Villiers 1971:34).

(58)

	DUTCH present tense[54]	DUTCH simple past	AFRIKAANS present & past
1S	heb	had	het
2S	hebt	had	het
3S	heeft	had	het
1PL	hebben	hadden	het
2PL	hebben	hadden	het
3PL	hebben	hadden	het
infinitive	hebben		(hê)
participle	gehad		gehad

The Afrikaans infinitival form *hê* is only available as a main verb (to have, to possess); not in the function of the auxiliary verb. In the latter case only *het* can surface.

In the correspondence of Jan Jonker Afrikaner a regular division of forms for Person and Number is maintained as shown in (59).

(59) CONJUGATION OF *HEBBEN* (TO HAVE) IN THE CORPUS OF LETTERS BY JAN J. AFRIKANER

JJA / Dutch		1S *ik*	2S *gij*	2S *u*	3S *hij/hy*	1PL *wij*	1PL *ons*	2PL *gijlieden/ ulieden*	3PL *zij/hen(n)e zul/hulle*
1S	heb	heb	heb						
2S	hebt								
3S	heeft			hief(t)	hief(t)		hief(t)	hief(t)	hief(t)
1PL	hebben	heb(b)en				heb(b)en			
2PL	hebben								
3PL	hebben								

[54] In inversion constructions 2S is realized as *heb* (ia); the formal pronoun *u* (2S, 2PL) takes the form *heeft* (ib).

ia. *Heb(*t) jij dat gedaan?*
Did you do it?
b. *U heeft waarschijnlijk allen de notulen gelezen.*
You probably all read the minutes.

For 1S both *heb* and *heb(b)en* are in use, the latter chiefly in opening sentences as "*ik heb(b)en uwe brief (ge)ontvangen*" (I have received your letter). The 2S pronoun *gij* usually takes *heb*, whereas *u* combines with the form *hieft*. 3S, 2PL and 3PL are, with the odd exceptions, also realized as *hief(t)*. 1PL is neatly divided depending on the pronominal form that is used: combined with the present-day Afrikaans invariant pronoun *ons* as the subject, *hief(t)* is the dominant form; where the pronoun takes the Dutch nominative form *wij*, the corresponding correct Dutch form *hebben* (also spelled *heben*) features. In his acrolectal period (Period II) *hebben* alternates with *hadden*, on one occasion we see a 3PL form *heeft* crossed out and corrected with *hadden* (Appendix I, section II, ln.124).

Summarizing, the paradigm for the temporal auxiliary still shows distinct inflection for Person and Number, depending on the form of the subject, but not for Tense. The second person singular and first person plural have distinct forms depending on the pronominal form that is used (*gij* vs. *u*; *ons* vs. *wij*). Both 'doubled' auxiliaries, and clauses without a finite verb are not uncommon. In the next section we will examine the latter; in § 6.3.4.2.2 the duplicated forms will be investigated.

6.3.4.2.1 Suspension of the temporal auxiliary

As indicated in previous sections Roberge (1994b), advocates the view that the Dutch participle prefix *ge-* sufficed as a Tense marker in basilectal CDV.

> [T]he standard view [...] ignores pertinent facts, among them the prospect that *ge* (together with its invariant form *ga*) may also have functioned as an unbound tense marker in creolized Cape Dutch; that is, without the Dutch perfect auxiliaries *hebben* and *zijn* (Roberge 1994b:67).

This assessment is predominantly based on the recorded speech of a French immigrant (the *bijwoner* Isaac Albach, a Parisian, quoted in the diary of Louis Trichardt, anno 1837), which may have to be interpreted as an exaggerated representation of the basilectal stratum of the CDV (cf. Chapter Two, p.39). Conradie (2000:34) points out the same phenomenon from other non-L1 "Hollands" speakers in the CDV record, extending the documentation of this usage with the record from nineteenth-century Arabic-Dutch scriptures from the Cape (see also Roberge 1999b:104). The corpus of letters from Jan Jonker Afrikaner further supports the proposed analysis. In the present corpus suspension

of the finite temporal auxiliary occurs in 23% of the subordinate clause structures (60).[55] Fifteen of these are relative clauses ((62), *infra*).

(60a)	1	als	nu	ik	en	u	voor	en	voor					IA, ln.85-87
		if	now	I	and	you	for[56]	and	for					
	2	gesprokenen		dan	zal	ik	u	raguit	verdeelen		hoe	vel		
		GE-speak	[PRF]	then	shall	I	you	straight	tell		how	many		
	3	mannen	gewees		van	mij		dat	ge	vertelen				
		men	GE-be	[PRF]	of	me	[REL]	that	GE-	tell	[PRF]			
(b)		verder hoorde		ik	dat	gij	eenen	vasten	Traaktaat	met	basteren	gemak		III, ln. 230
		Further heard[PST]		I	that	you	a	binding	treaty	with	Basters	made	[PRF]	

In (60a) the temporal frame is clearly a pluperfect, (60b) can either be a perfect tense or a pluperfect. Besides the [+past] temporal reference in both instances, (60a) appears in a conditional clause, (60b) carries the notion 'hearsay'. In the context it is to be interpreted as a conditional threat "if you have done that, then ....". The paragraph ends "[I] am watching the Basters [and you]". Although most often it is the finite form of the temporal auxiliary[57] that is lacking, there are some instances where

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[55] Note that unlike the CDV data and contemporary ORA, suspension of finite auxiliaries (c.q. a participle form of the verb as the 'finite verb') is not attested in main clauses in the present corpus. This will be discussed in § 6.5.

[56] Probably meant as *voorheen*, 'earlier', as the participle form of the verb is used, cf. Afrikaans (ia,b).

ia. *As u en ek voorheen *(sal) praat,..*
If you and I shall talk before...
b. *As u en ek voorheen gepraat het,...*
If you and I had talked earlier...

[57] Of the Germanic languages Swedish optionally has suspension of the temporal auxiliary (in the literature called *ha*-deletion), in restricted environments in embedded clauses (i), (see Zwart 1997:220ff. and the literature mentioned there). It seems also an option in German for both *haben* (to have) and *sein* (to be), in an archaic and stylistically-marked register (nowadays perhaps coming back into fashion in intellectual newspapers). Also in German restrictions hold that *haben/sein* may only delete if it is preceded by a past participle (iia), if it is finite (iib) and when it is not in the main clause verb-second position (iic), (Hans den Besten p.c., February 2000).

ia. *..att han (har) varit sjuk.*
..that he has been ill

(continued...)

a modal verb governs a participial form, which leads one to assume that an infinitival form of the temporal auxiliary is suspended, as shown in (38) and (49) above, partly repeated in (61).

(61a) Zoo kan ik ook niet weggegaan _____ van huis af van die reigen IB, ln.622
so can I also not away.left from home away for the rain

(b) of zal ik mensch uit gestuur _____ om ... IA, ln.225
or will I people out sent for...

(c) Verdel mijn oute Wellen zal ik u brief geschrijfe ____ of boschaap gestuur...
Tell me old Willem will I you letter written or message sent...
IA, ln.227

(d) [dat ...] Welem [...hen...] beroof en wil doodgemaak ___ op Petrus [...] werf
that Willem [...them...] robbed and want dead.make on Petrus werf IB, ln.270

Translated into Dutch the modal verbs in the examples in (61) would be rendered in the simple past tense form of the modal (*kon* (could), *zou* (would), *zou* (would), *wou* (would), respectively), carrying the irrealis meaning (cf. Bosker 1961). Like (60b) above, (61d) is in the complement of *horen* (to hear) carrying the notion of hearsay. From the context it is clear that an interpretation which purports that the divergent participles replace the infinitival forms is difficult to uphold. Notably, unlike other syntactic traits in Jan Jonker's grammar there is no particular decline or increase per divisional period. However, the majority of the examples are found in relative clauses, regardless of the presence or

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[57](...continued)

b.	*Han*	*måste*	*(ha)*	*varit*	*sjuk.*	
	he	must	have	been	ill	
c.	*Han*	**(har)*	*varit*	*sjuk.*		
	he	has	been	ill		
d.	**(Har)*	*han*	*varit*	*sjuk?*		
	has	he	been	ill		
iia.	*..daß*	*er*	*es*	**(hat)*	*fallen*	*lassen.*
a'.	*..daß*	*er*	*es*		*fallen*	*gelassen' (hat).*
	..that	he	it	have	fall	let have
b.	*..daß*	*er*	*gelacht*	**(haben)*	*mag.*	
	..that	he	laughed	have	may	
c.	*Er *(hat) es nicht gelesen.*					
	He has it not read					
c'	**(Hat)*	*er es gelesen?*				
	Has	he it read?				

absence of the relative clause marker (62).

(62) PERIOD I (A):

(a) (dan zal ik u raguit verdeelen) hoe vel mannen gewees __ van mij dat ge vertelen ___
then will I you straight tell how many men been of me that told IA, ln.87

(b) ...die dag wat ons eerste oorlog gemaak ____ naar Otyimbingw
...the day that we first war made to Otjimbingwe IA, ln.172

PERIOD I (B):

(c) en die tabak my Heer my gezenden ___die hief topenaars op te pad Berg Damras afgenemen
and the tobacco Mr. me sent that have Topnaars on the path Bergdamaras taken
IB, ln.392

(d) Ik hebben uwen brief, die u vijfde July geschryven____, die heb ik 20 Julij geontvangen
I have your letter which you five July written, that have I 20 July received
IB, ln.165

PERIOD II:

(e) ..om u de lat wetten die dengen dien gy daarghooreen ____,... II, ln. 32
..for you to let know the things that you there-heard,...

(f) en voorste drek van hun is nu al naby van II, ln.7
and first move from them is now already near of
#Noozop welke hy vooruit geladen drekken: ____
Nossob REL 3S in front.GE-let move

PERIOD III:

(g) Heermanus va Wyk is eerste Kaptein van bloed vergoden[58] ___ in ander kaptein zyn grond
Hermanus van Wyk is first captain of blood spilled in other captain his ground
III, ln.20

(h) ...in de brieven van my die ik aan Kap. Mannasa en Paul visser geschreven ___
...in the letters of me which I to Capt. Mannasa and Paul Visser written III, ln.218

Clearly, the bare participle in the context of the relative clauses expresses perfective aspect. In certain

[58] Irregular verb, Dutch *vergieten* (infinitive, present tense plural form), *vergoot* (past tense 1S-3S), *vergoten* (past tense 1Pl-3PL, participle). Present-day Afrikaans retains *vergiet* as a verbal form. *Vergote* is listed in the HAT only as an adjectival past participle (p.1173: *vergote bloed*, 'spilled blood'). An alternative interpretation of *van bloed vergoden* is possible with *van* read as *met*, in a participial phrase rather than an instance of ellipsis.

contexts it could be argued that the participle simply replaces a Dutch simple past tense form (63).[59]

(63a) Verdel mijn [...] waner heb u een keer hier gekom vandat u hier in die land gekomen om...
Vertel me, wanneer bent u een keer hiergekomen (/kwam...), sinds u in het land kwam (/bent gekomen om...)
Tell me, when did you once visit me since you came here in this country to... IA, ln.131

(b) zien die is Damras welte nasis gewees doe hief mij vader vrede gemaak.
Zie, dat zijn Damaras, die een natie waren (/*zijn geweest), toen mijn vader vrede maakte (/?[en] toen heeft mijn vader vrede gemaakt. IA, ln.542
*See, those are the Damaras, who were (/*have been) a nation, when (?/then) my father made peace.*

As argued above the participial form [*ge(-)V*] could function as a pluperfect as, for example, in (60a) witnessed by the temporal adverb *voorheen* (previously). In the previous sections *ge* was also encountered replacing the infinitival marker *te*, as well as occurring in the complement of modal verbs in conditional clauses or with an irrealis meaning. All that can be concluded so far is that *ge* did serve as a verbal marker, but in a variety of functions, all of which contain a notion associated with INFL, be it Tense ([+past],[-finite]), Aspect ([+perfect]), or Mood ([+irrealis]).

Although it cannot always unequivocally be distinguished from sheer ellipsis (cf. § 1.1, footnote 15, p.10), the suspension of finite verbs is also a prominent feature of present-day Griqua Afrikaans (64).

(64a) Want die oumense ____ nie vir ons entlek mooi uitgalê nie
because the old people not for us actually nicely explained not GA84, 57, ln.58

(b) ..dat hy gasê het det leik nou hom vrou ___ nou met anner mans galôp angan
...that he said has it seems now him wife now with other men went cheat
GA84, 70, ln.137

(c) Net sôos die ôu Hollander gawas ___ Maneer.
just as the old Dutchman been Sir GA84, 79[60]

[59] Note that Dutch varies in this respect from English (Traas, n.d.:10).

i. Vorige week heb ik hem een brief geschreven,...
**Last week I have sent him a letter, ...*
ii. *Vorige week schreef ik hem een brief,..
Last week I sent him a letter,...

[60] From a quotation of Roelf Samuel Gys, see Chapter Four, p.116.

The continuance of this particular feature of nineteenth-century ORA is prevalent, yet, in diachronic comparison the option to suspend the auxiliary seems to have spread in contemporary ORA. This will be further discussed in § 6.5 after the survey and analysis of duplicated auxiliary verbs in the next section.

6.3.4.2.2 Duplication of auxiliary verbs

Double occurrence of main verbs as in (65a) is a regular innovative pattern in Afrikaans in imperatives, generic statements and other constructions in which the verb is fronted (65c) (topic fronting), similar to verb movement strategies in creole languages (65d), (after Muysken & Veenstra 1995:158).

(65a) Eet moet jy eet. — Afrikaans
eat must you eat
Eat!/ You must eat/ You better eat/ One has to eat.

(a') Werk, sal hy nie werk nie.
work will he not work not

(b) Eten moet je (*eten). — Dutch
You must eat.

(b') Werken zal hij niet (*werken).
He (definitely) will not work.

(c) C: Sit jy nog goed daar Klaas? Is jou rug nie seer nie? A: Nee ek sit — GA84, 336, ln.5-7
sit you still good there Klaas is your back not sore not no I sit
orrait, Baas. C: Issit? A: Sit, ik sit lekker, lekker, lekker. C: Ja.
alright boss is it sit I sit nice nice nice yes

(d) Rive Jan rive Mari pati. — Haitian
arrive John arrive Mary leave
As soon as/ because John arrived, Mary left.

Besides these, another type of 'doubled' verbs occur with regular frequency in ORA amongst various verbal categories. (66) presents examples of verbs which are 'spelled out' at surface structure both, in the verb-second position and *in situ* (cf. § 6.3.5). This type of duplication (non-topic doubling)

occurs typically with the aspectual verbs (66a-b), but also with modal verbs (66c-d) and the temporal auxiliary (66e-f).[61] (Examples from various sources.)

(66a) Die vrôu gaan ôk nie grôt dorpe toe gan werk. (Hei gan werk tessen die plase en,....)
The woman does not go to work in the big cities. (She goes to work on the farms....) GA84, 69, ln.133

(b) Daarvanaf sit ek mar soo soo peeseldjoppies sit en doen waar ek darem kan 'n tiekie vang en so. GA84, 418, ln.106
There, I just sit and do occasional small jobs, which earns me a little money.

(c) dat is de handelar altyt zam met die Leeraar wonen daaromwel ik die handelar wellen aannemen. II, ln.12
...(it is so) that the traders always live near the priests, therefore I want to hire a trader.

(d) ...zoo dat ik kan nachtwerk kan doen. L. Bosman 2.1.1900[62]
...so that I can do nightwork.

(e) Ons het nie sommer op een plek gebly het nie. GA84, 289, ln.17
We didn't just stay in one place.

(f) Helle was geseegent gewes om die rede alles het so voorspoediglek gewes het.
They were blessed because of the reason that everything looked so prosperous. GA84, 165, ln.7

In the present corpus of the Jan Jonker letters the temporal auxiliary *heb/heeft* occurs in this type of doubling in 10% of sentences in the 'perfect tense' in subordinate clauses,[63] irrespective of the presence or absence of a complementiser (67).

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[61] There are numerous instances with modal verbs as in (i) which should rather be analyzed as instances of sentences where both VR as well as VPR have taken place (see § 5.2.3, p.168 on the criteria for v/2 vs. VPR). I have nothing to say about these in the present context.

i. ..ik doe u weeten als dat ik niet kaan op die kommande kan reijde want...
...I must notify you that I cannot ride the commando because...
1785, A. Van Renssenburg, Kaapse Taalargief 75. Cf. Waher 1994b.

[62] From the corpus Cape Archival private letters as quoted in Deumert 1999 (see footnote 60, p.47).

[63] The example in (i) could be deemed a counter example as it is analyzed as such an occurrence in the main clause. However, the sentence occurs as a summary afterthought over a number of events that have been narrated, on a new sheet of paper. Therefore, the association with a relative clause ('[all] that, which I have found out now') is a pertinent reading.

i. *Dat heb ik ook nu gevienden heeft.* IB, ln. 439
That have I also now found have

(67a) U sprok ook van mijn, ik heb noch niet kwat gedan heeft. IA, ln.110
You talked also of my, I have yet not evil done have

(b) Gesteer heb ik uwee brief ontvangen en alles welgeverstan die hief u mijn geschrijfen heeft.
Yesterday have I your letter received and all understood that have you my written have
IB, ln.72

In contrast to the present-day Griqua Afrikaans examples (e.g. (66e) above), Jan Jonker makes a specific orthographic distinction between the verbal form *in situ* and the duplicated one in the verb-second position, in accordance with the outline of his paradigm sketched above ((59), p.230), e.g., 1S *heb* as in (67a), 3PL *hief(t)* (68a), and 3S *hief(t)* as in (68b), whereas *heeft* is the regular form *in situ*.

(68a) maar nu heb ik uitgevinden ulieden alle wittemenschen hief mij nam slaggabrou heeft
But now have I found-out you all white people has my name misused has
IB, ln.12

(b) Daarom hief Anderzon nog deschen Damras oproer gedan heeft
Therefore has Andersson still between Damaras rebellion done has IA, ln.360

The same 'addition' of *heeft* sentence-finally occurs with modal verbs (though less frequent), and, although (69a) and (69b) below are possible Dutch structures (abstracting away from the orthography) to form the future perfect tense, it is highly unlikely that this temporal relation was intended. The context of (69c) clearly indicates a future time reference. The distinctive form of the clause-final instance of the 'temporal' auxiliary (as *heeft*) further corroborates the fact that the verb does not function in the sentence to establish temporal relations.

(69a) ...strakies zal Topenars$_i$ zijne$_j$ ossen of beesden gestoolen heeft. IB, ln.87
...later will Topnaars his oxen or cattle stolen have

(b) zeg mijn Raguit oute Vader zal u och oorlog maak of zal u vrede maak heeft IA, ln.241
tell my straight old father will you still war make or will you peace make have

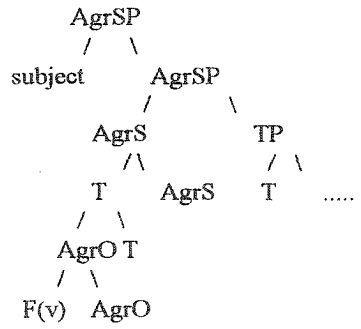
(c) en daarom wel ik niet meer vrede brief gelooven heeft IA, ln.340
and therefore want I not more peace letter believe have

Following the exposition of the verb-second phenomenon within the MP framework in the next paragraph, a structural analysis will be detailed in § 6.4.

6.3.5 Verb Second

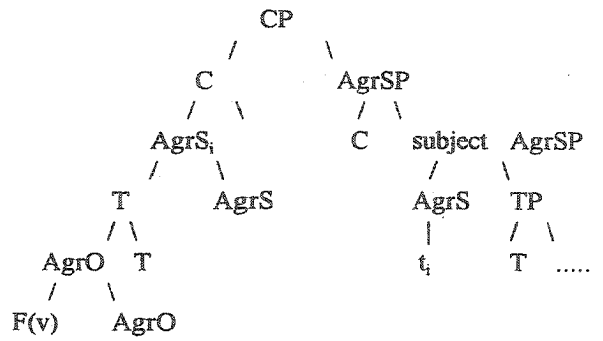
Recent proposals within the MP framework have analyzed the verb-second phenomenon as a Last Resort operation as a result of the absence of any Lexical-Categorical features in the AGRSP-node in the Germanic main clause (Zwart 1997). As discussed in § 6.4.1, in the Germanic languages AGRS is deemed to be strong. As a result the functional features of the finite verb (F[v]) are attracted by AGRS, but, according to the theory proposed by Zwart, whether the verb is spelled out in AGRS or *in situ* depends on whether the AGRS amalgam moves further up to C. In a simplified exposition this line of thought comprises the following assumptions. Lexical elements enter the derivation initially as bundles of features of different types. On the Verb, at least two types are identified: Functional features (F [v]) and Lexical-Categorical features (LC[v]). As the functional category AGRS, which is associated with the features of [v] is strong in the Germanic languages, F[v] is attracted by AGRS. Crucially, in the subject-initial main clause[64] this is the topmost projection that is realized. AGRS being a Functional Projection has no Lexical-Categorial features of its own. As a Last Resort solution the LC-features of the verb pied-pipe to AGRS to satisfy MORPHOLOGY, resulting in AGRS spelled out as the Verb. In contrast in subordinate clauses the unit [AGRS ... [F [v]] moves on to C and the complementiser in C° satisfies morphological conditions (cf. 71, *infra*). Thus, in the main clause F-movement to AGRS yields a morphosyntactic object as in (70a), whereas the embedded clause generates (70b).

(70a)



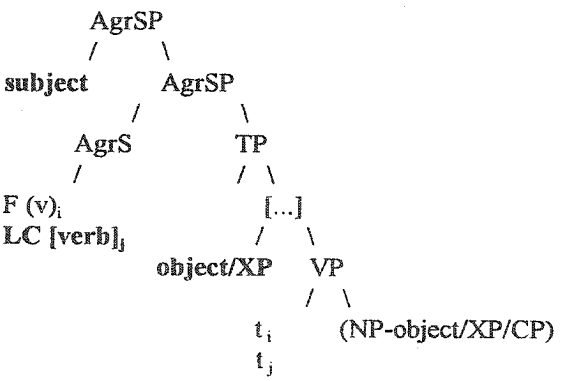
[64] In inversion constructions a Topic Phrase (TopP) or a Wh-Phrase (WhP) heads the structure (see Zwart 1993, 1997) and p.244, below.

(b)



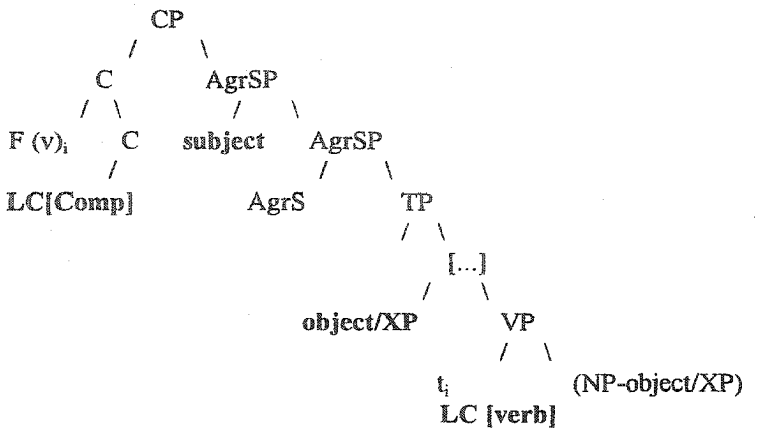
In the embedded clause the LC-features of the complementiser (LC[c][65]) are present in the structure, and these, together with the F[v] are fed to the morphological component to create an interpretable object, which is thus realized as the complementiser. The LC-features of the verb remain in the VP and the verb is thus spelled out in this position (cf. (71b), below). In the main clause, however there are no lexical elements generated in, or associated with either T or AGRS. Thus, it is argued that as a Last Resort operation the LC-features of the verb move overtly to AGRS, realizing AGRS as the finite verb in second position as (highly simplified) sketched in (71a,b); at the same time verb-second is dissociated from the C° projection. (Positions where Spell-Out takes place are printed in bold.)

(71a) Main clause



[65] In finite clauses *als* (as), *of* (if), *dat* (that); in non-finite clauses *om* (for), see (75), p.244.

(b) Subordinate clause



In this copy theory of movement, duplicated finite verbs, as surveyed in the present corpus and as encountered in Orange River Afrikaans as (66e), repeated here in (72), could be seen as instances of doubly spelled out LC[v]'s.

(72) Ons het nie sommer op een plek gebly het nie GA84: 289, 17
we have not just on one place stayed have not
We didn't just stay in one place.

Thus, in these instances, the verb would seem phonetically realized both *in situ* (in the VP) and in a position in the Functional domain (C or AgrS). Two anomalies arise from the present data. As shown in § 6.3.4.2.2, in nineteenth-century ORA the two copies of the temporal auxiliary in these structures are orthographically different. Thus, per definition these structures are excluded as instances of LC-[verb]-'doubling', as the two copies are non-identical forms. In generative terms the LC-features of the verb are distinct in each instance. Secondly, returning to Jan Jonker's data as examined in the previous section, some subordinate clauses show a word order which cannot be accounted for by the above analysis. The presence of a complementising element does not seem to prevent the application of v/2, i.e. to pied pipe the LC-features of the verb to AGRS, which is unmotivated from the theoretical perspective.

Adhering to the mechanism of v/2 as sketched above, in terms of learnability conditions it means that the Dutch language learner has to learn the pied-piping movement of the verbal Lexical-Categorial features to the functional checking domain AGRS in the cases where CP is not projected. From the

perspective of the Nama grammar the verb-second mechanism is a novel, but perhaps a relatively simple rule to learn, prone to overgeneralization because it is a Last Resort rule, not restricted by other modules of the grammar, as Last Resort is called for by MORPHOLOGY to spell out a functional projection which would otherwise be left open. As shown in § 6.2.1.1, Nama has an overt marker for the main clause by a merged[66] lexical element (e.g., $GE_{[+IND]}$), in a fixed position: the second element in the main clause, which types the clause as such. At first sight it may look attractive to associate the Nama clause-typing particle *GE* with C°, parallel to the Dutch (merged) subordinate clause indicator: the complementiser.[67] On the evidence presented in this chapter, I propose that the Nama main clause XP is of a different quality than the embedded clause XP which does not (cannot) host such a particle. As discussed in § 6.2.1.3, following Kayne's Antisymmetry Hypothesis, when the equivalent of the Germanic complementiser appears in the clause, Nama grammar demonstrates movement of the full embedded clause into the specifier of the overt X°, resulting in the clause-final appearance of the equivalent of the Germanic overt complementiser (73).

(73) $[_{XP}\,[_{AgrSP}$ subject-object-particles-verb$]_{-i}$ $[\ X^{\circ}\ [_{AgrSP}$ ……$]_{-i}]]$

Thus, the embedded XP is deemed to have [+strong] N-features in Nama, subjecting the clause to be 'attracted' to [spec,XP]. It is clear that in the main clause no such permutation takes place, hence the topmost main clause XP cannot be equal to the subordinate clause topmost projection.

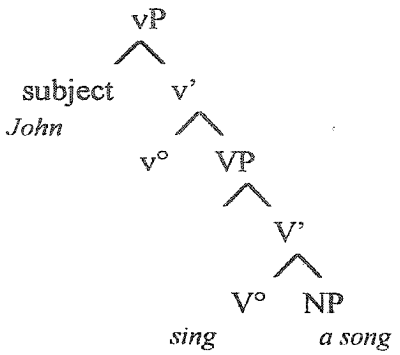
I propose that the Nama clause-typing particles (henceforth: CT) represent functional features associated with v°, following recent analyses within the Minimalist Program which have elaborated on the internal structure of the verbal projection of a clause. Based on earlier proposals of a layered VP (the VP shell of Larson, 1988) these analyses suggest that the lexical 'VP' includes nodes that host aspect, event and/or voice phrases (see Wurmbrand 1998:112 and the references mentioned there). It is assumed that the VP is embedded in a functional category, vP, which is postulated as a 'light verb phrase' and which hosts the external argument of the clause (see Koopman & Sportiche

[66] I.e. not a *moved* lexical item. Cf. Chomsky 1998 on the precedence of *merge* over *move* in Minimalist terms.

[67] This, in line with Cheng's (1997:22 (9)) proposal in his analysis of wh-constructions for a clausal type node: "Clausal Typing Hypothesis. Every clause needs to be typed. In the case of typing a wh-question, either a wh-particle in C is used or else fronting of a wh-word to the Spec of C is used, thereby typing a clause through C by Spec-head agreement."

1988). The basic configuration is presented as in (74).

(74)



I assume the head of the light verb phrase, v°,[68] to be associated in a checking relation with a projection in the functional domain.[69] Applying this to the clause structure of Nama the vP in a main clause (c.q. $vP_{[-subordinate]}$) will project a functional phrase in which a particle, for example, *GE* is merged as its head. The vP in the subordinate clause in Nama is not associated with such overt clause- typing information.[70] Dutch, in typological contrast, specifies a complementiser when vP has a positive value for [α subordinate], otherwise this functional phrase is not projected (75). As a result verb-second is forced as a Last Resort operation (*supra*).

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[68] I assume the specifications of v° to be universal, but that the strength of the functional projection attracting these inherent features may differ parametrically. Based on (77) it cannot be said that clause-typing information is projected in general; both its presence in the structure and its values may fluctuate cross-linguistically. Cf. Iatridou 1990, on the intuitively disagreeable notion of positing all cross-linguistically found functional projections in IP, language universally; Veenstra (1994) on the assumption that FPs only gradually (re-)emerge in creole languages and Lumsden (1997) for a similar point of view, but arguing that FPs become rediscovered over time by creole speakers. I refrain from choosing between the technicalities involved in these assumptions.

[69] The 'quality' of v°, whether it itself might be a (semi-)functional projection is also an issue in current MP debates. However, first language acquisition data show it as a firmly established lexical element, which is "easy to acquire [...], and that light verbs are core verbs in learning the linking system between lexicon and syntax." (Hollebrandse & Van Hout 1995). Typical instances of light verbs are *maak* (to make) and *doen* (to do).

[70] The light verb phrase (v°) may be specified as a clause-type indicator for values as for example, [indicative],[α event type], [+/- negative], [α truth value]. Recall from § 6.2.1 that Nama has three different clause-type markers. The present approach will also provide for the Afrikaans double negation, assuming that v° will project a NegP in the functional domain if it has the clause-type value [+negative], with *nie* (=*nie-2*) as its head. A strong value of NegP will ensure movement of the entire phrase into its specifier as proposed by Oosthuizen (1998).

(75a) ..*(als)/*(of)/*(dat)/(*om) Karel Paula zoent
if or that for Karel Paula kisses

(b) ..*(om)/ (*als)/(*of)/(*dat) Paula te zoenen
for if or that Paula to kiss

As argued by Zwart, the topmost projection of the Dutch subject-initial main clause is the AgrSP node, which means that subject-initial main clauses in Dutch do not project a CP. Topicalised constituents, or Wh-phrases enlarge the structure with a TopP, or WhP respectively. The topicalised constituent itself is base-generated as a satellite to a so-called *d*-word[71] in the specifier of the TopP (76), or the wh-word in the specifier of the WhP (Zwart 1997:247-251). From this analysis[72] it follows that in Dutch C° is reserved for a base-generated (merged) complementiser[73] only.

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[71]The *d*-words (following Koster 1978) are always present in the structure, but they may be silent, sometimes have to be (see Zwart *op.cit.*). The d-words and wh-words in Dutch are:

place:	*daar* (there)	*waar* (where)
time:	*dan* (then)	*wanneer* (when)
person:	*die* (that)	*wie* (who)
thing:	*dat* (that)	*wat* (what)
manner:	*zo* (so)	*hoe* (how)

[72] Base-generation of a topicalised clause as a satellite is particularly attractive in the case when a VP is topicalised, which may show differences in word order from its non-topicalised position as in (i), (after Geilfuß 1988:59), notwithstanding that the question why [... V - CP] is ungrammatical in many (but not all) more deeply embedded contexts may be of a more general nature (ii) as pointed out by Hans den Besten (p.c.).

ia. [Einen Film zeigen, der es in sich hat], sollten wir den Kindern.
*..daß wir den Kindern [einen Film zeigen, der es in sich hat], sollten.
(that) we should show the children a movie which 'does the trick'.

b. [Leugnen, daß die Straße naß ist], wuerde ich nicht.
*..dass ich nicht [leugnen, daß die Straße naß ist], wuerde.
(that) I would never deny that the streets are wet.

iia. *Hij kan gezegd [dat hij ziek is] hebben.
It could be that he mentioned that he was sick.

b. *..daß er wissen [ob sie krank war] moechte.
that he would like to know if she were ill.

c. ..daß er [zu erklaeren [warum dieser Satz grammatisch ist]] nie versucht hat.
that he has never tried to explain why this sentence is grammatical.

[73] Apparent asymmetries in embedded clause verb-second data in Afrikaans are explained on the assumption that TopP and CP are generated in a specific order. As pointed out by Biberauer (2000) in non-standard varieties of
(continued...)

(76a) [Piet] - [$_{TopP}$ die$_i$ [$_{Top}$ ken [$_{AgrSP}$ ik niet t_i]]]
Piet, I don't know him.

(b) [het boek] - [$_{TopP}$ dat$_i$ [$_{Top}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ ik gisteren las t_i]]]
The book that I read yesterday.

On language-typological grounds, such as the fact that "real" CPs always must be extraposed (in SOV terms which means in essence that in typologically typical SOV languages they have to appear linearly to the right), Den Besten (2000a:5) has suggested that Nama embedded clauses do not project a CP as Nama embedded clauses do not show this restriction. Secondly, there is the observation that the Khoesan languages in general do not have C°-type lexical items but rather derived nominals in this position (Rainer Vossen, p.c., January 2000). Thirdly, as noted above, the head of the Germanic equivalent of a complementiser in an embedded clause attracts its complement into its specifier. Refraining from deliberating the details of these considerations, I emphasize the contrastive parallel between Dutch and Nama, that the former has no CP projection in the main clause and therefore pied-pipes the verbal LC-features into the functional domain. In the latter, on the assumption that it does not project a CP in embedded clauses, a (perhaps) nominal element is inserted into the topmost functional slot (*infra*). Even if we were to hold on to the assumption that all clauses are headed by a CP, the observation is that the CP with as its head a merged complementiser (c.q. a clause-type marker in the main clause in Nama, or an overt complementiser in the subordinate clause in Dutch), is of a different quality than the CP with a lexical item that has been moved into the head-position.

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[73](...continued)
Afrikaans an overt complementiser does not affect applying v/2 in embedded subject-initial clauses (ia) nor in inversion constructions (ib), but the restriction that seems to hold is one of the 'nature' of the fronted topic. [+wh], [+neg] and [+focus] constructions ("non-subject elements which are associated with interpretable features" *op.cit.*: 2) always give an ungrammatical result (ic), whether v/2 has applied or not (id).

ia.	[$_{CP}$	[$_C$	dat	[$_{IP}$	Andre	het	die artikel		geskryf]						
			that		*Andre*	*has*	*the article*		*written*						
b.	[$_{CP}$	[$_C$	dat	[$_{IP}$	gister		was	ek	net	te	moeg]				
			that		*yesterday*		*was*	*I*	*just*	*too*	*tired*				
c.	*[$_{CP}$	[$_C$	dat	[$_{TopP}$	hierdie artikel$_i$		[$_{Top}$	het]	[$_{IP}$ jy	goed	geskryf	t_i]			
			that		*this article*			*have*	*you*	*well*	*written*				
d.	*[$_{CP}$	[$_C$	dat	[$_{TopP}$	hierdie artikel$_i$		[$_{Top}$	]	[$_{IP}$ jy	baie goed	geskryf	het	t_i]		
			that		*this article*				*you*	*very well*	*written*	*have*			

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The language-typological difference of the main clause CP projection *vis-à-vis* an embedded clause CP generated with a merged C° as sketched, can be formalized as in (77):

(77a) [CP] —> [+C°] / [vP [+main clause CT]] Nama
[ ] —> [-CP]
(b) [CP] —> [+C°] / [vP [+subordinate clause CT]] Dutch
[ ] —> [-CP]

The initial outcome in terms of generating a CP with a merged head as the overt complementiser will be the same for main clauses and subordinate clauses, as these two rules are mirror images of each other. Yet, typologically the default values differ in opposite direction. This is taken to be of relevance in the process of the convergence (see McMahon 1994:213, Kouwenberg 1999) of two contesting grammars, in terms of the two systems imposing conflicting structural requisites (see § 6.4).

On the basis of an analysis of the Noun Phrase in Nama as (sentential) clauses (Haacke 1992, and the references cited there), witnessed by apparent tensed nouns as in (78) (from Haacke 1992:159), I assume TP to have [+strong] N-features which attract the complement XP into the [Spec, TP].

(78a) $[_{AgrSP}\ [_{TP}\ [_{NP}$ gao-ao $]_i\ [_T$ ge i] ts] ... t_i
chief were 2S
You who were chief.
(b) $[_{AgrSP}\ [_{TP}\ [_{NP}$ gao-ao $]_i\ [_T$ ~~a~~] ts] ... t_i
chief ~~is~~ 2S
You (who are) chief.

For the moment, not having any deeper insight into the grammar of Nama embedded clauses, but for the observation that the lemmata that translate into Dutch complementisers occur clause-finally (cf. (14), p.197), I will assume the topmost projection in the embedded clause in Nama is TP, onto which specifier the clause is attracted. This is further corroborated by the observation that the Tense particles are always stranded clause-finally. Although I have no further data about the optionality of the CT particle in *Stellung B* (cf. (1c,d), p.188) perhaps this is an indication why *GE* is preferably not projected when this permutation takes place.

6.4 Conversion of Functional Categories

6.4.1 The main clause

Recall from § 4.3 that in a language contact situation it is argued that the substrate provides the grammatical framework, it is the 'coat hanger' from which the newly forming language initially draws the projections in the Functional domain[74] onto which the superstrate's lexical items are "fitted". As argued in Chapter Four on the level of the lexical entries, PGN-markers may very well have been in use in the early contact situation but were hardly recorded anywhere for the reason that they were meaningless to the non-Nama speaker. The examples from Code Switching data as presented in Chapter Four, (example (28), p.132-133, partly repeated here in (79a)) further show a subsequent stage in which the 'system morphemes' on the morphological level have become duplicated. On the level of the Lexical projections this seems also a confirmed choice, as shown in (79b) from contemporary Standard Afrikaans,[75] and in (79c) from the present corpus. Duplicated relexifications[76] of this type occur both with NPs, APs as well as VPs and are attested since the Cape Dutch pidgin data (79d).

(79a) But ma-day-s a-no ....
but CL6/$PL_{[Shona]}$-day-$PL_{[English]}$ $CL6/DEM_{[Shona]}$...
but in those days

(b) 'n tamaai-groot boom SA
a big - big tree[77]

---

[74] In Myers-Scotton's 4-M-model called the System Morphemes (see Myers-Scotton 2000, Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000).

[75] Other examples include the name of the town *Leeu-Gamka* (Afrikaans *leeu* 'lion'+ Nama *gam* 'lion'+ Nama *ka* 'river'); *skoppelmaai* 'a swing': *skommel*, (<Dutch *schommel*,archaic *schoppel*, 'a swing' + English *to swing* literally translated into Afrikaans as *swaai* (or perhaps Dutch intransitive *maai* 'to swing arms or legs backwards and forwards')); from the KT: *orlamze schelme bosmans*, 'the cunning-cunning bushmen': *oorlamse* (clever, cunning, savvy) + *skelm* (<Dutch *schelm* (cunning person, thief), (KT 260, 1817, after Roberge 1997).

[76] Cf. Lumsden 1999 for argumentation that 'double signals' as these are to be regularly expected (*infra*).

[77] Creole of Batavia *tamanjoe* (big < Portuguese *tamanho* (size), (cf. Leal 1978:28)) combined with Dutch *groot* (big).

(c) U sprok Damras en Namaquas en Owambos /Nawis. IA, In.102
You spoke Damaras and Namaquas and Ovambo's Ovambo's..[78]

(d) ghemare Cape Dutch pidgin
give-give-IMP[79]

In these examples no change of meaning, as featured in regular reduplicated forms, seems involved.[80] On the assumption that in the case of abrupt language change functional nodes are typically not transferred, but are present on the pattern of the substrate grammar (Kamwangamalu 1999, Myers-Scotton 2000), these examples are regularly expected, accepting an articulated theory of the lexicon. In this theory form (phonology), function (grammar) and meaning (semantics) are autonomous entities within a lexical entry, and thus can be independently drawn from different languages (see Lumsden 1999).

Further Code Switching data show that duplication also occurs on the level of IP with copular verbs in non-adjacent positions (80).[81]

(80) Il y a trois cocotiers man[82]
there is [French] three trees it/there is [Kali'na]
there are three trees

[78] European ethnonym for a northern Namibian people, combined with the Nama name for *Ovambo* (*Nawis* being the female form; */INawen* indicating the collective, meaning 'the danglers'; info. Haacke, in: Lau ed., 1989:271).

[79] Dutch *gee(f)*, (give) + Nama *ma* (give) + *re*, (Nama hortative/imperative particle); source: Étienne de Flacourt's vocabulary from Saldanha Bay (1655), cf. Den Besten 1987a.

[80] In SA adjectival reduplication is restricted to plural nouns (ia); (ib) shows that the multilingual compound is fully grammatical modifying a singular noun (cf. Botha 1984, Den Besten et al, to appear).

ia. Die groot-groot huis*(e)
b. Die tamaai-groot huis(e)

[81] See Romaine (1988:166-173) on the distribution of the copula across the creole continuum.

[82] From CS French-Kali'na (an amerindian language spoken in French Guiana, from the Carib family [an SOV language-cl]; noted by Sophie Alby, Linguist List 10-1787, 11.24.1999).

From this data it is not unexpected that the 'Hollands grammar' of the Nama speaker includes Nama functional projections, c.q. that Nama forms the 'coat hanger' in the functional domain.

Concurrently Dutch, or rather some form of the CDV as the uncontested target to achieve, also imposed its structural specifications. In accordance with the Dutch syntax, the main clause verb-second rule rendered a surface-identical string to the Nama structures centering around the CT particle, both in subject-initial sentences and in inversion constructions (position 2 in (81) *infra*). This led to the cognitive association of these two projections because they exclusively signal main clause, declarative word order in both languages.

(81) MAIN CLAUSE

1	2		3	4	[...] 5	
XP	C° [CT]		XP(/subject)	XP(/object)	V	Nama
XP		AgrS-V_i°	XP(/subject)	XP(/object)	V_i	Dutch

From (81), in terms of structural notions as proposed in the Minimalist Program, I argue that in the grammar of nineteenth-century ORA, as featured in the Jan Jonker corpus, competing Functional Projections became simultaneously operative at some point. In a subsequent stage fluidity in the matrix language (when neither the substrate (Nama), nor the superstrate (Dutch) overruled as a matrix language) resulted in both languages' stipulated values being included in the structure, as will be discussed in the next section.

6.4.2 The subordinate clause

Recall from § 6.3.2 that acrolectal embedded clause structures are typically absent; in the small number of subordinate clauses that are formed on the acrolectal pattern an analogous intrusion as observed in (81), interpreted as the result of conflicting information in the functional domain, can be witnessed. Dutch syntax requires the CP projection to be overtly realized in the embedded clause as an indication of this status (cf. (75), p.244). Nama syntax, in contrast, types the main clause, accreditive or interrogative clause by a merged functional element, leaving the embedded clause as the unmarked type. As shown in the previous sections, in Jan Jonker Afrikaner's texts the selection of a complementiser is highly irregular. Often a zero complementiser is chosen (82a), but at the same

time infinitival complements to modal verbs can also occur with an overt complementiser (§ 6.3.4.1). This leads to the observation that as a functional node, the superstrate paradigm of complementisers was only partly acquired. Instead of a C° Dutch lexical item (cf. (75), p.244), a verbal element typically in the vicinity (c.q. in the place) of C° is found in this position. As discussed in § 6.3.2, on the one hand there is the emergence of *laat* as a complementiser in the C° position (82b), besides instances in which an auxiliary verb appears in this function (82c,d).

(82a) ik Melden u deze baarregels ___ an u de lad weden ___ ik zoo veer gekom op Dabes
I mention you these few lines to you to let know I so far come on Dabes IA. ln.145-146

(b) Zien lieve Heer, verteel uwe menschen lad henen niet vreesten, als IB. ln.333
see dear sir tell your people that they not fear, if...

(c) ik heb ook gehoord heb mijn Heer Brieker wel Barmen drekken IB. ln.80
I have also heard have Mr. Brincker wants Barmen move

(d) om de vrag is dat waar is: IB. ln.5
for to ask is that true is

Thus we observe that CT/AgrS became associated with C, which in its extreme manifestation led to the realization of multiple "CPs" (83).

(83a) Hij zeg zoo de als waner zal$_i$ menschen onwelieg _t_i_ ___ (,) dat zal... IA, ln.92
he say so the/that if when will people unwilling [be] that will...

(b) hoe is$_i$ dat gyliden soo steemeg _t_i____ (?) III. ln. 161
how is that you so moody

Comparably, two verbs in the verb-second position are the result of the same structural option to duplicate this node. Following proposals about CP recursion involving CPs with distinct feature specifications, the so-called *articulated CP recursion* (Vikner 1994:135, 1995), I will use the term ZP for the duplicated occurrence.

(84a) zoo weet ik niet [$_{CP}$ hoe vel [$_{C}$ ben [$_{ZP}$ [$_{Z}$ zal [ik u gef]]]] IB. ln.258
so know I not how much am will I you give

(b) die manen [$_{CP}$ [$_{C}$ hief [$_{ZP}$ [$_{Z}$ zal [opgegaan om Damras bees af schieden]]] IB. ln.550
the men have will moved to Damaras cattle off shoot

Assuming that a relative clause projects to the level of CP,[83] the duplicated structure (see (86), below) appears to be the rule rather than the exception.[84] It is noticeable that a large number of the relative clauses feature duplicated finite verbs as in (85b,d), below (cf. the structural representation in (86)). It can be observed that as a rule, when a relative pronoun does occur in the clause, and verb-second has applied (the pattern as in example (85d)), then the temporal auxiliary is doubled.[85] In the absence of an overt pronoun no contrast in frequency occurs between sentences with verb doubling (85b) and those without (85a).

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[83] Abstracting away from the status of *wat* in Afrikaans as either a relative pronoun or a specialized complementiser; cf. Den Besten 1996and the references cited there.

[84] In this respect I note that there are few examples such as (85c), whereas there are many instances of the duplicated structure as in (85d). In fact there is only one clear one, (85c), besides a number of dubious cases, most of which involve a resumptive pronoun.

[85] Generally speaking only auxiliary verbs are duplicated. There is one example of main verb duplication by Jan Jonker's father, Jonker Afrikaner coincidentally with *hebben* used as a main verb (i). On one occasion from the present corpus the verb *kom* is duplicated in such a construction (ii).

i. *Verder zal ik u melden laat ik hebben geen rijtui heben Want Die osen Van*
Further will I you notify that I have no wagon have because the oxen of

mijn Die zijn te laats dood en ik hepe geen paart ook om u te sien.
my they are to ? dead and I have no horse also for you to see
(Jonker Afrikaner to Andersson, 18 May 1861. Reproduced in Lau (ed.) 1989:255).

ii. *zulks dengen die kom moes ook een kan van my gront gekom* III, ln.11
such things they come MOD also one side of my land come

In general the tendency seems to be that innovative patterns in language change, at first appear involving auxiliary verbs (iiib) (from Den Besten 1996:21, after Ponelis 1985a,b), rather than main verbs (ivb).

iiia. *By wie het jy vannoggend 'n wyntjie gedrink?*
With who have you this morning a [glass of] wine drunk
b. *Wie het jy vanoggend 'n wyntjie by gedrink?*

iva. *By wie drink jy vanoggend 'n wyntjie?*
With who drink you this morning a [glass of] wine
b. #? *Wie drink jy vanoggend 'n wyntjie by?*

Likewise, in the literature examples of embedded verb-second in Afrikaans are always contrasted including an auxiliary verb as the finite verb (*infra*).

(85a)	de blasd	0	hief	ons	nog voor	stan stryten		IA, ln.425
	the place		have	we	still over	standing arguing		
(b)	die oorzak	0	heb	ik	voor u	ge dan	heeft	IA, ln.208
	the cause		have	I	to you	donc	have	
(c)	schansen	dien	heb	ik	hier [...]	gemak		III, ln.80
	redoubts	which	have	I	here	made		
(d)	mijn raad	die	heb	ik	u	gegeven	heeft	IB, ln.99
	my advice	which	have	I	you	given	have	

Constructions as in (85) are ruled out in Standard Afrikaans grammars, although verb-second in the embedded clause with an overt complementiser may not be uncommon in spoken Afrikaans (cf. Feinauer 1987), and also appear in ORA (albeit with a different syntax, *infra*). Du Plessis remarks on the aberrant verb-second structures in subordinate clauses and relative clauses in contemporary Griqua Afrikaans (Du Plessis 1984:174ff.),[86] but, in his attempt to find an explanation in terms of verb movement ("to the left", -c.q. V(P)R-) the connection with the substrate format (see § 6.2.1.5) is not laid.[87] Neither is the fact taken into account that bare juxtaposition of the relative clause to its antecedent is also a common strategy in creole languages (Romaine 1984, Bruyn 1995). A diachronic structural comparison will be discussed below.

Although the historical details are scarce, it has to be assumed that Jan Jonker Afrikaner was a bilingual Hollands-Khoekhoe (/Nama) speaker and that these structures formed part of the actual nineteenth-century ORA grammar. If there was SLA interference, it remains undetermined if Hollands was his mother tongue or Nama (cf. Amraal Lambrecht reported to not to have (yet) mastered Nama, Chapter Three, p.87). Notwithstanding, from the data I construe that the production of the Dutch subordinate clause structure met with conflicting structural requirements. Dutch, demanding a clause indicator (/CP) to signal [+subordinate], stood in opposition to Nama which does not project a clause indicator (/CP) in the subordinate clause. This resulted in the topmost clausal projection becoming opaque, forfeiting its differentiating function to distinguish between clausal types.

[86] See further the discussion of differences between nineteenth and twentieth-century ORA in § 6.5.

[87] Du Plessis (1984:179) seeks to make a connection with the Dutch free word order in two-verb clusters *dat hij de trein gemist heeft /heeft gemist*, (the latter of which is ungrammatical in all varieties of Afrikaans: *dat hy die trein gemis het/*het gemis*). As shown in Chapter Five, § 5.2.3, v/2 and V(P)R are entirely unrelated mechanisms.

A second factor of intrusion would have been the conflicting values assigned to the status of the subordinating 'complementiser'. On the pattern of Nama syntax, a subordinating element retains a [+strong] N-feature. From the data in this corpus it appears that the invariant verbal form *heeft* was attributed this feature, attracting the clause in its entirety into the specifier, realizing the head sentence-finally (86).

(86) uwee brief $[_{CP}$ $[_{ZP}$ die $[_{Z}$ hief $[_{IP}$ u mijn geschrijfen$]_i$ $[_{C}$ heeft $[t]_i]]$ IB, ln.72
your letter which have you me written have

Earlier examples that were encountered in infinitival clauses (e.g., in (34), p.213) are also straightforwardly explained, assuming a duplicated CP (/sentence typing FP) connected to the Nama CP status, attracting the entire clause into its specifier (87).

(87) ...$[_{CP}$ $[_{ZP}$ om ons affricane zijn bloed de vergoden$]_i$ $[_{C}$ heeft $[t]_i]]$ IA, ln.293
for us Afrikaners his blood to shed have

There is no change in frequency in this data of duplicated auxiliary verbs throughout the periodical division that was made. The (almost) invariant distinct format of the auxiliary in sentence-final position (*heeft*) from the lexical equivalent in verb-second position (i.e. inflected for Person and Number, see (59), p.230) further corroborates the analysis of a conflicting status of two clause-typing elements (/CPs), rather than an analysis in which the verb is spelled out twice (88). This also indicates that this feature was a core part of the grammar and not the result of a learning process.

(88)

CP		ZP	subject	v° V
C	C/CT	CT/AgrS		
(dat)	heeft	hieft	hij	gedoen

In the Jan Jonker corpus relative clauses (henceforth: RC) initially appear as in (89a), the regular Nama pattern of bare juxtaposition, or as in (89b) showing *wat* as the RC-marker which could be argued to have its foundation in the CDV. As shown in earlier examples the finite verb replacing an RC-marker seems a general option. From letter № 13 onwards, in which the first fifty lines are written in a studied register (see § 3.2.1.2, footnote 76, p.96), the Dutch RC-marker *die* appears to have been

added to his vocabulary, resulting in a percentage of correct acrolectal relative clauses. However, hereafter as a rule, in those RCs in which both acrolectal *die* is used and the finite verb is fronted. *heeft* appears clause-finally (89d).

(89) RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION

		RC-marker	Vfin	XP	participium	
a	NP			[...]	✓	(heeft)
b	NP	wat		[...]	✓	(heeft)
c	NP		hief(t)/heb(be)	[...]	✓	
d	NP	die	hief(t)/heb(be)	[...]	✓	heeft

Den Besten (p.c.) has suggested that the structure including the fronted verb in the relative clause could have its origin in the Dutch parallel of a resumptive pronoun structure (90a) to Nama RC formation, in which the object may be fronted (90b).

(90a) [die(n)$_i$ - Vfin - subject - [....] t_i] Dutch, resumptive pron.

(b) [XP$_i$ - subj.clitic - (subject) - [....] t_i] Nama RC formation

Plausible though this may be as a pattern on which language transfer can take place, it does not explain the addition of a finite form of the auxiliary verb clause-finally. Moreover in the few sentences in the corpus which include a resumptive pronoun, *heeft* never occurs added clause-finally (91).

(91a) ik heb die wagens van oute Heer op de weerf gelaat maar goed ___ in de wagen
I have the wagons of old Mr. on the werf left but goods in the wagon
is, die hief mensch uit maakar gemaak al wat ik gekrijg die is Boeke.... IA. ln.192
are, those have people out each other made, all what I gotten that is books

(b) Gij zijt Die Damaras ____ heb u daar had, die hief niet myn kwaaddoen
You said the Damaras have you there had those have not my ill do
of my menschen .... IB. ln.267
or me people

(c) En die Berg Damaras ___ altyt met u mij poschap by u gebriengen,
and the Bergdamaras always with you me message to you brought
die moed gy ook niet geloofen. IB. ln. 321
those must you also not believe

That the duplicated CP structures are unlike the Germanic embedded verb-second structures is further supported by the fact that in the Germanic languages, as well as in Afrikaans, v/2 in embedded clauses is never of the type of 'verb-second', but rather exhibit the verb in the third position (the pattern as in (92c), also in embedded finite clauses). In fact the GA84 corpus has only one example of a relative clause comparable to those featuring in the present corpus (see (85), p.252 partly repeated here in (92a)), in which the finite verb is adjacent to the relative pronoun (92b). All other examples are of the format (92c), (cf. Du Plessis 1984:177).

(92a)	schansen	dien	heb	ik	hier [...]	gemak	III, ln.80
	redoubts	which	have	I	here	made	
(b)	(die pille)	wat	moet	ek	inniemore	gebruik	
	the pills	which	must	I	in themorning	use	

(c) $[_{DP}$ ...N $[_{CP}$ *wat*$_i$ $[_{XP}$ subject (/XP) $\underline{\text{Verb}}_{fin.}$ ...t_i....]]]

This would be evidence for the hypothesis that the structures that are found in the present corpus belong to an earlier grammar which has been replaced. A second point of difference between nineteenth-century ORA and the present-day varieties of ORA is that relative clauses with verb-second are not possible with the temporal auxiliary (93b), but as Du Plessis stresses (*op.cit.*:177), the rule has hardly any exceptions when a modal verb is concerned:

> Sodra die bysin in GA egter 'n modale hulpwerkwoord as spilwerkwoord bevat, word hierdie spilwerkwoord nie uit die tweede posisie nader na die sentrumgrens toe verskuif in die afhankelike sin nie. Op hierdie variante sintaktiese reël is daar in GA byna geen uitsondering nie. Die werkwoord-tweede-beginsel bly dus in GA geld vir afhankelike sinne wat 'n modale hulpwerkwoord as spilwerkwoord bevat.[88]

Thus we find the contrast that a modal verb in the verb-second slot in embedded clauses as in (93a) appears to be the rule in all clauses, whereas in contrast, the relative clause becomes ungrammatical when the 'temporal auxiliary' *het* is moved to this position (93b). One and the same speaker (also of

[88] "As soon as the embedded clause in GA contains a modal verb as the finite verb, then this finite verb is not moved from the verb-second to the clause-final position. This variation of the syntactic rule is almost exceptionless. Thus the verb-second rule is enforced in GA embedded clauses which feature a modal verb as the finite verb." It is noted however that most of the examples of this type in GA84 are rather analyzed as VPR constructions than embedded verb-second.

Standard Afrikaans) may well accept *het* in the verb-second slot in a finite clause with an overt complementiser (93c), but not in the relative clause.

(93a)	Die boek	wat	ek	kon	gister	lees	
	The book	which	I	could	yesterday	read	
(b)	*Die boek	wat	ek	het	gister	gelees	
	The book	which	I	have	yesterday	read	
(c)	Hy sê dat	hy	het	die	boek	gister	gelees
	He says that	he	has	the	book	yesterday	read

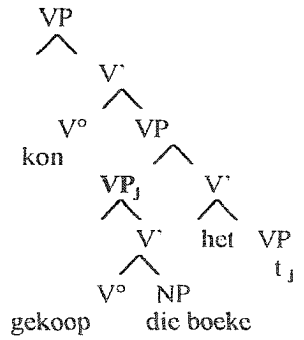
From this evidence I infer that in present-day Afrikaans (in all its varieties) the etymological Dutch temporal auxiliary did not fully reanalyze as a complementiser (it retained some of its verbal character). However, as a result of the preponderant earlier association with CP, cq. a sentence typing function, the auxiliary *het*, in all present-day varieties of Afrikaans acquired the Nama-based [+strong] N-feature, attracting XP movement into its specifier, resulting in the observed sentence-final appearance, also in verb raising clusters (94), (cf. the examples in (51) and (52), Chapter Five, § 5.2.2.2).

(94a) *..dat hy die boeke kon (/kan) het gekoop — Afrikaans

..dat hij de boeken kan hebben gekocht — Dutch

..that he could have bought the books — (cf. example (51), p.164)

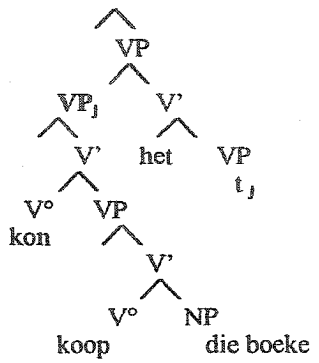
(b)



(b') ..dat hy die boeke kon gekoop het

(c) *..dat hy die boeke het kon koop — Afrikaans
..dat hij die boeken heeft kunnen kopen — Dutch
..that he has been able to buy the books — (cf. example (52), p.164)

(d)



(d') ..dat hy die boeke kon koop het

Thus the modal verb is always in a position which is linearly to the left of the auxiliary *het*, and, in the application of verb-second, it is observed that the modal verb is easier accessed than the auxiliary (see Chapter Five, § 5.2.2.2).

Summarizing, two functional nodes overlapping in distribution, at the same time varying in strength in the two languages, resulted in the assignment of conflicting values. As a result the functional information associated with typing the clause became opaque, ensuing in the collapse of the main clause and embedded clause formal structure, as tentatively sketched above. The association of the 'auxiliary' *het* with an earlier status as complementiser, signalling clause-type, this time on the Dutch requirement to overtly indicate a [+subordinate]-clause status, but given the Nama value of a subordinating element [+strong], would have given strong support to the emergence of the present-day pattern of its strictly clause-final positioning as a core part of the earlier grammar. Its invariant form in the function of auxiliary compared to the formal distinctions that are available for 'have' as a main verb (see (58), p.230) further supports an analysis that reverts back to an origin of *het* as a functional element.

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6.5 ORA grammars from a diachronic perspective

In contrast to present-day ORA, the suspension of the temporal auxiliary in the Jan Jonker Afrikaner corpus is an exclusively subordinate clause phenomenon. As shown in (59), p.230, in the application of verb-second Person and Number information was still partly available, although on the wane, but significantly not Tense. In the corpus of this study, in general the association of the temporal auxiliary (*heeft* > *het*) with Tense as a [+past] marker is ambivalent at best, at least not a prerequisite to signal [+past], nor perfective aspect.[89] For example in (95), the 'temporal auxiliary' features in a sentence which, from the context, has to be interpreted with a future time reference. Jan Jonker, having forwarded a letter containing the notification of the arrival of missionaries without reading it, is unsure if and when the missionaries will come.

(95)	zo wett ik nu	niet wanener	hief die Leeraars	op Rehoboth	komen	IB, ln.664
	so know I now	not when	have the teachers	on Rehoboth	come	

In this respect I defend the hypothesis that because finiteness and Tense were not related to the verb by morphosyntactic markings, on a calque[90] of the Nama preverbal Tense particles, the Dutch participle prefix *ge* came in use as an unbound TMA marker, presumably not primarily associated with [+past].

On the contention that in basilectal CDV the participle form was equivalent to a Dutch simple past form, i.e that *gekom* ('come', past participle) was in use as an equivalent to Dutch *kwam* ('came',

[89] The a-temporal value of the Afrikaans 'perfect tense' applies to all contemporary Afrikaans narratives. Conradie (1997) associates the difference between the stemform [*V*] and the amalgamated form [*het...ge*] with pragmatic factors: "while certain narrators (oral in particular) preferred the present tense, [...] often, however the two tense categories were used contrastively. Generally speaking, the contrast could be related to backgrounding and foregrounding, but more precisely, [with reference to Labov 1972], the present tense was the preferred tense in the *narrative* mode and used for Complicating Actions in particular but also for aspects of Orientation and Result/Resolution, while the perfect/preterite was the tense combination preferred in the *meta-narrative* mode and used for Abstract, Evaluation and Coda as well as for aspects of Orientation and Result/Resolution."

[90] Note that the Nama remote past tense particle *ge* is identical, and the recent past particle *go* almost identical, to the Dutch participle prefix *ge-*. Secondly, that little can be said about the vowel quality of these particles in the nineteenth-century Khoekhoe languages or the CDV. In the CDV the participle prefix *ge-* is orthographically rendered as *ge-, ga-, ke-, ka-* (cf. Roberge, 1994b:67, 71).

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simple past), as in the example (96a,b), it is significant that there are no structures[91] of the type (96c), parallel to Dutch (96d) in either the Jan Jonker corpus or other Namibian corpora I have had access to.

(96a) ik ook gehelp daar zoo, ou Lowies, ik warrem gemaak de eijser; das waar, ou Lowies. Ik nie keslaan; ou Hendrik keslaan mijn wiel. ... ouwe Hendrik keslaan, ou Lowies; ik nie keslaan
I helped over there, too, old Louis, I heated the iron; that's true, old Louis. I didn't beat; old Hendrik beat [i.e., hammered] my wheel. Old Hendrik beat, old Louis, I didn't beat.
(Trichardt diary, 25 May, 1837, quoted speech of the Alsation *bijwoner* Albach, after Roberge 1994a:67, example 48a.)

(b) Ik kaloop die dag; ik zoo kaloop. Ouw Lowies weet....
I went that day; I went thus; Old Louis knows...
(Trichardt diary, 3 August, 1837, quoted speech of the Alsation *bijwoner* Albach, after Roberge 1994a:67, example 48b.)

(c) *Hy gekom ons doodskiet

(d) Hy kwam ons doodschieten Dutch
He came us dead shoot

In present-day Griqua Afrikaans examples such as (96a,b) are not absent. Although some occurrences of the suspension of the finite verb may be due to phonetic reduction (97a,b),[92] the rule seems rather that the finite verb is optional in all environments, including the verb-second position as it is unlikely that /t/ will not survive between two vowels (97c). This is affirmed by (97d), which is not from a spoken corpus. Besides *het* there are a number of cases in which a copular verb (*is/was*) has been suspended in the verb-second position (97e).

[91] Unless one argues that the absence of these is a direct calque on Nama, parallel to the restriction that the Nama TMA particles cannot move up when the verb is topicalised either, but then attestations of a "stranded" particle *ge* would have been expected.

[92] As Hans den Besten (p.c.) has pointed out, in all cases where *het* precedes *ge-* the sound sequence [tχ] resulting from the reduction of *het* to (*ə*)*t* (cf. (26), p.207) may have been reduced or simplified to χ, or was perhaps not noticed by the transcriber. Likewise (97b) may involve a phonetic reduction of *oumense-t-nie*.

(97a) Ek het gehoor my ouma Elle ___ gepraat van die ghoemag heis GA84:85, ln.111
I have heard my granny Elle talked of the ghoemag house[93]

(b) Want die oumense ___ nie vir ons entlik mooi uitgalê nie GA84:57, ln.58
Because the old people not for us actually nicely explained not

(c) Altwee ou ...my ma en ma en hulle ___ an ammekaar gatrek. GA84:120, ln.136
all-two [both] old [elders?] my mum and mum-and-them constantly *trekked*

(d) Kan myher glo eek ____ nie maklik gebang nie Van Zijl,1947:46
Can mister belief I not easily frightened not

(e) Hy se seen ___ laas nog hierso, ma die't ok weggegaan. GA84,112, ln.62
He his son lately still here, but he has also left

Therefore, the phenomenon of the suspension of the verb in nineteenth-century ORA should be set apart from the present-day data in which a structural rule seems to be applied rendering the finite auxiliary verb optional in all syntactic environments (cf. footnote 57, p.232 on Swedish and German optional auxiliary verbs).[94] For one reason, in nineteenth-century ORA we find *hebben/zijn* suspended in an infinitival position, c.q. we find participial forms in the complement of a modal verb. As shown in (61), p.233, these examples translate to an irrealis meaning in Dutch. At the same time *ge(-)* was also found replacing the infinitival marker *te* in infinitival *om...te* complements (see (35), p.213). Initially three variants are attested, *om...[0]*, *om...ge* and *om...de(/te)*. Following the characterization by Ponelis: "*Dat te inderdaad 'n modale element is, spreek uit parafrases soos die volgende,* [(98)], *waar die modale partikel telkens met 'n modale hulpwerkwoord korreleer*"(1979:247),[95] I propose that *te* was reinstated on a par with the modal verbs.

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[93] Prof. C.J. Conradie has suggested that *ghoemag heis* may be *gemakhuis(tje)*, 'convenience, toilet'.

[94] Ana Deumert (p.c., June 2000) informed me that suspension of the temporal auxiliary is not uncommon in the non-standard varieties of German, as still spoken in Namibia with examples from her recent field research as in (i).

ia. *Der* ___ *soviele Jahre gearbeitet fuer Herr C.*
The$_{[masc.]}$ (he) so many years worked for Mr. C.
b. *..wenn ich verkehrt gelesen* ___
when I wrong read

[95] That *te* is indeed a modal particle follows from the paraphrases below, in which the modal particle correlates in each instance with a modal verb.

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(98a) Hy bied aan om met hulle saam te werk
(b) Hy bied aan dat hy met hulle saam sal werk
He offers to cooperate/that he will cooperate.

Following the parallel to modal verbs and auxiliary verbs which generally appear in the verb-second position, in infinitival complements *te* was reanalyzed as an element equivalent to modal verbs in finite complements appearing in the ZP slot, rendering the adjacent sequence *om te* encountered in ORA (99b).

(99a) [$_{CP}$ dat [$_{ZP}$ sal [hy met u saamwerk]]]
that will he with you cooperate
(b) [$_{CP}$ om [$_{ZP}$ te [met u saamwerk]]]
for to with you cooperate

As noted in § 6.3.3 (p.210), duplicated *te* is not attested in ORA before the 1940s at the earliest. Therefore the reintroduction of *te* as an infinitival marker is probably a product of a process of decreolization (perhaps under the influence of the twentieth-century standardization and the concomitant *vernederlandsing* that took place) whereas in the hendiadys construction (see § 5.2.5) the development took an independent route where *en* became reanalyzed to function as a verb category marker.[96]

On the contention that *om ... ge V* shows a gradual decline, and that *ge* always appears in the right slot of the equivalent superstrate infinitival marker, whereas this is clearly not the case with the superstrate lemma *te* (see § 6.3.3), this data is interpreted as a learning process, c.q. that *ge* had become closely associated with TMA marking, (in this case [-finite]), and that *te* was re-introduced into the grammar. This demonstrates that the addition of *ge* to the clause in nineteenth-century ORA was a periphery phenomenon, a strategy which was ventured based on the grammar of Nama, but which could not be felicitously integrated with the other modules of the grammar; therefore found

[96] Decisive substrate influence may not be absent in this development. As Haacke 1995:26 remarks on incorporated verb structures in Nama: "It is conspicuous that most, albeit not all of the incorporated verbs are verbs that do not take overt tense/aspect markers, *viz. !goaxa* 'approach', *ga(r)u* 'move on', *mâ* 'stand', ||*goe* 'lie(down)', ǂ*nôa* (< ǂ*nû hâ*) 'sit'. All incorporated verbs are intransitive." This classification coincides remarkably with the Afrikaans hendiadys verbs (see §5.2.5). Unfortunately a deeper investigation is beyond the scope of the present study.

no continuation into twentieth-century ORA.

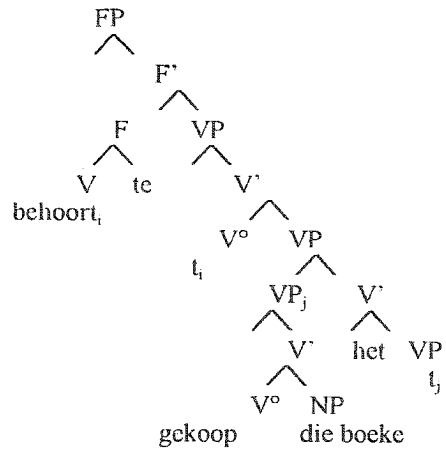
From this analysis the restrictions in the distribution of the remaining acrolectal *te*-infinitives in combination with the auxiliary (*het*) as in the examples (90)-(92) in Chapter Five (pp.179-180), superficially summarized here in (100), can be explained as differences in functional projections heading the VP

(100a) ..dat hy die boeke behoort te (ge)koop het
(b) Hy behoort die boeke te gekoop het
(c) *Hy het die boeke behoort te (ge)koop
..(that) he ought to have bought the books.

Whereas bare infinitival complements consist of only one VP and do not project a functional domain associated with each lexical item, a *te*-infinitive such as *behoort* includes a Functional Phrase in an immediately dominating position. Assuming *te* is merged as the head of this FP, in this structure the associated V° adjoins to the head of the projected FP, as shown in (101). As argued above, the element *het* attracts the VP into its specifier, rendering *het* in a clause-final position in both configurations.

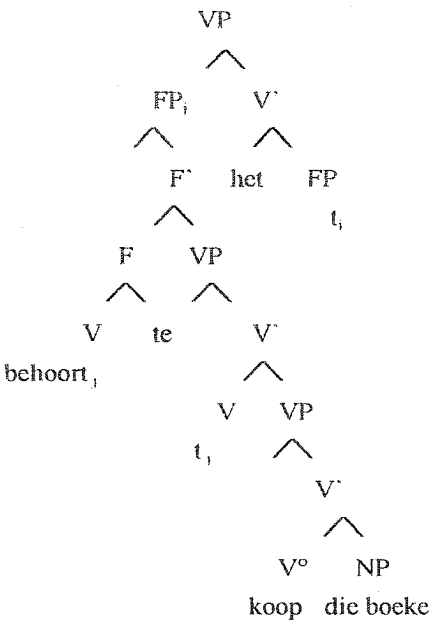
(101a) *..dat hy [die boeke] $_i$ ... [$_{FP}$ te [$_{VP}$ behoort [$_{VP}$ het [$_{VP}$ gekoop t_i] (Cf. example (90), p.179)

(b)



(c) * ..dat hy [die boeke] $_i$ ... [$_{VP}$ het [$_{FP}$ te [$_{VP}$ behoort [$_{VP}$ koop t_i]

(d)



And, as earlier observed with the modal verbs (cf. (93) above), the embedded verb being linearly to the left of *het*, the latter is prevented from reaching the v/2 position[97] (cf. Chapter Five, p.179).

In Afrikaans syntactic differences between modal verbs and *het* persist to date. As shown in (102), those varieties of Afrikaans that allow for verb-second in embedded clauses may accept such sequences with modal verbs, whereas *het* in this position renders a judgement of ungrammaticality (102b) [98]

[97] Recall that from a theory internal perspective v/2 is a Last Resort operation (see § 6.3.5).

[98] Cf. footnote 73, p.244, quoted from Biberauer 2000 (her examples (21a) and (22)). A similar discrepancy arises in SA with the participle form of 'to be' (*is*, PRC: *gewees*) as shown in (i) for which I have no explanation. Noticeably there are duplicated occurrences, not unlike the types discussed in this chapter in GA84 (ii).

ia. *..dat hy voorheen Griekwa gewees het/was.*
that he before Griqua been has/was
b. **Hy het voorheen Griekwa gewees.*
c. *Hy was voorheen Griekwa gewees.*

(continued...)

(102) Ek dink dat hierdie onderwerp sal ek nogal lekker kan bewerk.
I think that this subject will I rather nicely can work [on]
(b) *Ek dink dat hierdie artikel het jy baie goed geskryf.
I think that this article have you very well written

As noted above in (93), repeated here in (103)) the distribution of *het* in the verb-second position in subordinate clauses including an overt complementiser also differs from relative clauses. Whereas speakers may accept (103a), the same speakers reject (103b,c). In contrast, if the finite verb is a modal verb, also in relative clauses, verb-second seems an obligatory rule in ORA (Du Plessis 1984:177 (quoted above, p.255)).

(103a)	Ek weet	dat	hy	het	die artikel		geskryf.
	I know	that	he	has	the article		written
(b)	*Die mense	wat	ek	het	nie	gesien	nie.
	The people	which	I	have	not	seen	not
(c)	*Die boek	wat	ek	het	gister		gelees.
	The book	which	I	have	yesterday		read

Overgeneralization of the verb-second rule was found to be a pervasive characteristic of nineteenth-century ORA in all syntactic environments. Comparing this with modern ORA, generalizations over the verbal category involved (auxiliary vs. modal verbs) in a particular syntactic environment rather point in opposite directions. In the nineteenth century the frequency of the auxiliary in the verb-second position is higher than that of the modal verbs in subordinate clauses; modal verbs in v/2 in relative clauses are absent whereas this seems to be the rule in present-day ORA. Duplicated structures, which are indeed practically limited to auxiliary verbs in the nineteenth century, became apparently incorporated as a general rule ranging over most non-main verbs.

The data from the present corpus may show how old these phenomena may be, at the same time pointing in the direction of their origin. Possibly, because the syntactic structures discussed above are

[98](...continued)
ii. *Maar ek mIn voorheen was ons maar Griekwas gewis het die tyd van myn oupa.*
but I mean before were us only Griqua been have the time of my grandad
GA84, 177, ln.7

at odds with the Germanic grammars, in all likelihood authors have avoided these constructions in their written language. As a result the occurrences in ORA of VP-structures as described in this chapter have basically gone unnoticed in the literature. Parallels can be drawn with the occurrence of *lat* as a complementiser which in synchronic Afrikaans texts expressly signals non-standard varieties.[99] Similarly reduplications are very common in everyday spoken language (Bouman 1939:319, Scholtz 1963:149, Kempen 1982:184, Raidt 1981[1994:149]) but relatively infrequent in writing, unless deployed to achieve some specific literary effect. In the non-standard varieties this syntactic phenomenon seems to only have spread. Besides the doubling of auxiliary verbs, GA84 features this same strategy with the modal verbs, and the hendiadys verbs; also in other non-standard varieties the double occurrence of hendiadys verbs as in (105) is a widespread phenomenon (see for example Kühne 1984 for an assortment of instances in Namaqualand Afrikaans, Boonzaier 1989: § 1.1.9.5 on Bolandse Afrikaans examples).

(105a) Hy staan so na die golwe staan en kyk.
He stand so to the waves stand and look

(b) Plaas van sy werk doen, sit hy aanmekaar sit en rook.
Instead of his work do, sit he continuously sit and smoke

The fact that the phenomena, described in this thesis are highly pervasive in ORA, although they differ in frequency, raises questions whether the historical development ought to be equated to a situation of 'competing grammars', or if these were mere accretions to what constitutes the core part of a novel grammar. Yet again, we cannot be sure which influence orthographical conventions have had on our earlier written record, whereas for contemporary non-standard texts it must be cautioned that a certain amount of bilingualism on the part of the author may overshadow the actual situation.[100]

[99] See p.204, footnote 21.

[100] Cf. De Wet 1998, who assesses the use and functionality of non-standard Afrikaans forms of language in literary works, reaching the overall conclusion that stereotyping is a predominant factor.

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Summary and Conclusions

In this dissertation I presented the results of an inquiry into the influence of the languages of the indigenous population on the outcome of the contact situation which transformed seventeenth-century Dutch into Afrikaans. On the premise that initial language contact at the Cape of Good Hope was between the indigenous Khoesan people and the Dutch a comprehensive new corpus of nineteenth-century texts by people of a mixed heritage was presented and I provided an analysis of the structures that are found in this corpus.

The corpus contains a series of letters by a single author, the Oorlam-leader Jan Jonker Afrikaner (1820-1889), over a considerable period of time. All were written in Dutch in an area where the Khoekhoen languages still survived, and where the present-day variety of Afrikaans known as Orange River Afrikaans (ORA) originated. It is argued that Jan Jonker Afrikaner's lect can be seen as a representative parallel to, or a continuation of, earlier stages in the development of Afrikaans in the western Cape area.

In the discussion methodological and theoretical aspects concerning the assessment of the written record from the Cape Town archives were reviewed and it was established that the sociolinguistic and political-economic setting of the authors that represent this linguistic record obscure the full spectrum of developments that can be discerned from extralinguistic factors. In this respect the reliance of the literate part of the population on the metropolitan Dutch norm is attributed its perceptible weight. Despite the reality that most of the languages, as well as the people that took part in the earlier developments have since become extinct, it was averred that the absence of real data does not warrant the conclusions that have been propagated in the South African literature on the origins of Afrikaans. From the evaluation of the available historical and demographic details which are discussed in the chapters preceding the linguistic examination, it proves that there are no contradictory indications that warrant the dismissal of the proposal that the newly presented corpus is representative for the basilectal stratum of the Cape Dutch Vernacular (CDV). The received interpretation of the diachronic record by the representative scholars of Afrikaans historical linguistics was ranked as largely being driven by theory-internal motivation. Moreover, in the comparative sections it is shown that the linguistic characteristics of nineteenth-century Oorlam-Hollands, although varying in frequency, also feature in the traditional record but have largely gone unnoticed.

Theoretical issues concerning pidginization and creolization of languages are put in the perspective of the story of Afrikaans. Special attention was paid to two points that have formed the

core of much of the debate, *viz.* the date at which this extraterritorial variety of Dutch can be named 'Afrikaans', and, whether or not it is justified to classify earlier stages and/or the present-day result as a creole, semi-creole (or creoloïd), or to which degree processes of decreolization may have taken their toll. Given the one-sidedness of earlier accounts regarding these questions the conclusions, based on a single corpus, can only tentatively be formed. However, the minimal result from this investigation has been a broadening of the discussion; more positively, the validity of the questions that have been raised by the traditional philologists is addressed and opened up for re-examination. Accordingly, as I did not try to bring the lect of Jan Jonker Afrikaner in connection with the dating of Afrikaans, I focused on the contribution that the Khoekhoe languages made to the formation of Afrikaans. Salient structural aspects of Jan Jonker's language, such as the realization of the pronominal forms and infinitival complements, proved consonant with both the diachronic record and the testimony of his contemporaries and associates. Comparative probes into other corpora confirmed that the idiosyncracies that draw the attention are not isolated incidents (see Chapter three, § 3.3); such distinctive aspects of the grammar neither proved to be defined by sociolinguistic criteria (see §§ 4.2.2, 6.3.3).

Seen in the totality of textual material on the research on Afrikaans, it has to be conceded that there are issues in this corpus that remain unresolved. Quite unexpectedly, the correspondence of Jan Jonker Afrikaner is not homogenous, but clearly shows variation in register over time. Despite the fact that the origin or motivation for this variation could not be determined, it becomes clear that linguistic competency in various strata of the CDV might have been the rule rather than the exception as such heterogeneity has been demonstrated from the oeuvres of other authors in our records (see p. 100-102).

In this respect, the basilectal sections of the corpus show a continuity with the spoken CDV where we find pronominal forms that are characterized as 'unpolished' (*onverdeftigde*) CDV-forms prevailing (cf. p. 124). The innovative patterns in this area of the grammar, specifically the realization of the possessive pronouns can be clearly identified with Khoekhoe influence. Even if there are other factors to be pointed out, Khoekhoe which allows for zero marking in possessive constructions as found in the Oorlam-Hollands data (see p. 128), is argued to be the primary cause for the emergence of the 'periphrastic possessive construction with *se*' which persists in modern Afrikaans.

The most important result of the analysis of the letters by Jan Jonker Afrikaner point in the direction of substrate influence of Khoekhoe in the functional domain of the grammar, and the effects of creole-typical innovations in the 'Hollands' of the Khoekhoe speakers. It is argued that the features

that are seldom found in the Cape Dutch record, but which typify most non-standard varieties of Afrikaans, must be classified as a core part of the earlier grammar. The striking consistency in the application of the verb-second rule, both in subject-initial main clauses and in inversion construction, as well as in embedded clauses with or without an overt complementiser, is one example that is typical of the data in this corpus and modern non-standard varieties, but which is barely attested in the CDV record. This is analyzed as an integral part of the basilectal stratum of the CDV. The fact that Afrikaans has retained the verb-second rule, in contrast to a typical creole language, is argued to have its cause in Khoekhoe. Theoretically speaking it is a novel, yet perhaps relatively simple rule to apply for Khoekhoe speakers because of the surface similarity between verb second in the Germanic main clause and the main-clause-typing particles in this very position in Khoekhoe languages. The analysis of the Oorlam-Hollands in this study support the hypothesis advanced by Den Besten that the retention of the verb-second rule in Afrikaans is not a direct transfer from the superstrate, but may have been more or less accidental due to the influence of Khoekhoe.

From the investigation it also became clear that the production of the more complex features of the Germanic languages, such as subordinate clauses and verbal cluster formation, borders on the periphery of Jan Jonker's grammatical competence. It becomes apparent that the structure of the Germanic embedded clause was not directly transferred. As there is no clear evidence of this kind of restriction in either the Cape corpora or modern ORA this finding was associated with the contradictory parameter setting in the functional domain of the complementiser (CP) between Dutch and Khoekhoe. The key to this claim comes from the evidence concerning the reanalysis of verbs in the function of complementisers. The phenomenon was identified in three basic alterations: auxiliary verbs functioning as the complementiser in finite clauses, an equivalent of Dutch hortative/imperative *laten* ('to let') in this position, and novel combinations of the infinitival CP-marker *om (...) te* to signal embedded infinitival clauses. It was observed that part of these earlier patterns (cq. hortative-imperative *la(a)t* in the function of complementiser in embedded finite clauses) did find continuation in the modern varieties, as well as being acceptable in the spoken standard language, whereas, for example, there is no such continuation observable for the auxiliary verbs in this function. That this area of the grammar was subject to fundamental restructuring was further explicated by the fact that some of the variation that exists in modern ORA concerning the realization of the infinitival marker (as *om (te) (...) (te)*) in sentential clauses is absent from the diachronic record. Part of the novel structures were identified as a twentieth-century development, to be imputed to a process of decreolization (see p.210).

Contrasts in grammaticality on a morpho-syntactic level between the dominating main clause word order and subordinate clause formation were further related to the influence of Khoekhoe. In comparison with Khoekhoe the Germanic subordinate clause is an entirely novel syntactic system which entails the integration of a lexical complementiser into the grammar at clause level. As a functional element current theory predicts that the transfer of the functional material into a grammar (also termed system-morphemes in the terminology used in Code Switching analyses) hardly ever occurs, but that the speaker's mother-tongue functional categories are retained as the basis. In Chapter Six it is shown that this aspect of the theoretical assumptions is borne out by the data from the present corpus.

The fact that particular restrictions pertaining to word order in the verbal cluster have become the rule in present-day Afrikaans as opposed to the variation that exists in the Continental West-Germanic languages, is argued to be a linear development also resulting from the resetting of the parameters in the functional domain of the complementiser. Whereas the Dutch temporal auxiliaries are seen to function as complementisers in the present corpus, no clear evidence could be found in the modern varieties.[101] However, the fact that e.g., the placement of the Afrikaans auxiliary verb *het* ('to have') is limited to occur only in the clause-final position in the verb cluster is brought in connection with its earlier alternate function. That this placement restraint was already an established part of the Afrikaans grammar by 1775 (Scholtz 1980:98, see § 5.2.2.1, p. 161) invalidates the argument that this is a particular trait of Oorlam-Hollands, but reinforces the premise that the nineteenth-century variety in this study is a parallel, or further continuation, no different from the developments that took place in the contact situation between the Dutch and the Khoekhoe in the first decennia at the settlement in the Cape of Good Hope. Notwithstanding that the etymological status of Afrikaans *het* will always retain its Dutch origin, the need for a revision of its syntactical derivation from rather something else than a temporal auxiliary is made evident.

The most striking divergence concerning the VP attested in this corpus of texts is the doubling of verbs (appearing *in situ* and in the verb-second position), and, the suspension of the auxiliary verb, or, in other words the participle form of the main verb functioning as the finite verb, cq. that the participial prefix (*ge*) functioned as an unbound Tense marker. This is interpreted as a further consequence of a parametrical resetting of the values for the functional category of CP. It is demonstrated that such structures were also part of the basilectal CDV. Furthermore it is shown that

[101] Note that there are cases in which there is a phonological overlap between reduced *lat* and *het* to *et* (> *'t*), (see p. 207).

both phenomena have found their continuation into modern ORA, where both structural options seem to have gathered even more ground. The absence of such structures in the standard language is tentatively imputed to prescriptivism.

The fact that not all of the idiosyncracies of nineteenth-century ORA have found their continuation into the twentieth-century non-standard varieties was attributed to two factors. Either certain syntactic innovations belonged to the periphery of what constitutes the core grammar of ORA, or certain developments were overtaken by the process of *vernederlandsing* which started at the turn of the century. In conclusion, further investigation of both the acceptability and the profuseness of non-standard Afrikaans structures, as surveyed in this thesis, is an evident prerequisite to come to a fuller understanding of the historical developments. At the same time such a survey is clearly profitable to our understanding of the composition of the grammar of Afrikaans in its ongoing development under the influence of the vast heterogeneity that makes up the Afrikaans-speaking peoples.

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The Realisation of Syntactic Principles in Non-Standard Afrikaans: The Correspondence of Jan Jonker Afrikaner (1820-1889)

by

CATHARINA ADRIANA DIMPHINA MARIA LUIJKS

Volume Two
Appendices

Appendices

Preface

Appendix I (sections IA, IB, II and III) consists of the transcription of the manuscripts in chronological order including Dutch and English glosses according to the key outlined below (v-vi). Section IV contains photocopied specimens of the manuscripts which were submitted to handwriting experts for authentication of the author (see Volume I, Chapter Three: 93-94).

Appendix II contains free translations of the letters into English, preceded by a brief historical overview of the events that took place during the years Jan Jonker Afrikaner wrote his letters. The translations into English are of an unpolished form, as I have tried to approach the style of the originals. Thus, appositions in address, repetitions etc., approaching the spoken language are as much as possible retained.

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

1S	first person personal pronoun, singular (irrespective of Case)
2S	second person personal pronoun, singular (irrespective of Case)
3S	third person personal pronoun, singular (irrespective of Case)
1PL	first person persona
l pronoun, plural (irrespective of Case)	
2PL	second person personal pronoun, plural (irrespective of Case)
3PL	third person personal pronoun, plural (irrespective of Case)
1POS	first person possessive pronoun, (irrespective of Number)
2POS	second person possessive pronoun, (irrespective of Number)
3POS	third person possessive pronoun, (irrespective of Number)
ACC	accusative Case
CDV	Cape Dutch Vernacular
CWG	Continental West Germanic
D	determiner or demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
GE-[verb]	perfective participle
GEN	genitive Case
IND	indicative
MOD	modal adverb
NEG	negative element
NOM	nominative Case
OBL	oblique Case
ORA	Orange River Afrikaans
POS	possessive
PRF	perfective auxiliary
PST	past-morphology
REL	relative pronoun
SA	Standard Afrikaans
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
TMA	Tense-Mood-Aspect
VP	verb phrase
v/2	verb-second

Additions:	< >
<a>	*a* added on the line
<ol•a>	*a* added over the line
<ul•a>	*a* added under the line
<lm•a>	*a* added in left margin
<rm•a>	*a* added in right margin
<tm•a>	*a* added in top margin
<bm•a>	*a* added in bottom margin as a footnote
<*.*>	something is added, but illegible
<a>	*a* possibly added on the line
<rs•a>	*a* added on the reverse side of the paper
[a]	*a* added by the editor

Omissions:	[-]
[-a]	a deleted
[-*.*]	deleted and illegible

Uncertain readings: * *

a	a is uncertain
a*b*	b behind a is uncertain
word	whole word is uncertain
..word	uncertain how the word begins (damaged left margin edge)
word..	uncertain how the word ends (damaged right margin edge)

APPENDIX I

Windhoek, July de 9, 1863
1 *Windhoek, 9 juli 1863*

	An	mijne	geliefthebbende	oute	Vader	Willem	Swartbooi		
2	*Aan*	*mijn*	*liefhebbende*	*oude*	*vader*	*Willem*	*Swartbooi,*		
	to	1POS	GE-dear.having	old	father	Willem	Swartbooi		

	ik	maak	detze	baar	regelen	om	uliden	delad	weetten	die
3	*Ik*	*maak*	*deze*	*paar*	*regels*	*om*	*u*	*te.laten*	*weten*	*[P]*	*de*
	1S	make	D	few	lines	for	2PL	to.let	know		D

	Zwaare	Nood		detze	tijt	oover	ons	gekomen.		Dat	lijk	mij	zoo	God
4	*zware*	*nood*	*[REL]*	*deze*	*tijd*	*over*	*ons*	*gekomen*	*[PRF].*	*Het*	*lijkt*	*me*	*zo,*	*God*
	heavy	distress		D	time	over	1PL	GE-come		It	seems	1S	so	God

	hief	van	ons	detze	Yaar	verlaaden,	deschen	Damras	late	
5	*heeft*	*[-]*	*ons*	*dit*	*jaar*	*verlaten;*	*tussen*	*[D] Damaras*	*gelaten,*	
	PRF	from	1PL	D	year	GE-leave	between	Damaras	let	

		Damras	onsen	vermoort	heeft.	ons	Afrikaner	is	alleen	in	detze	
6	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*[REL]*	*ons*	*vermoord*	*hebben.*	*Wij*	*Afrikaners*	*zijn*	*alleen*	*in*	*deze*
		Damaras		1PL-3POS	GE-murder	PRF	1PL	Afrikaners	are	alone	in	D

	oorlog;	7manen		gedood en	Jan	zam	and	mij	broeder	Christian
7	*oorlog.*	*7 Mannen*	*[zijn]*	*gedood en*	*Jan*	*samen*	*en*	*mijn*	*broeder*	*Christian*
	war	7 men		GE-kill	and Jan	together	and	1S	brother	Christian

	en	ook	Jaar	en	oom Jonas	en	ook	3 broeders	Jaar	en	Jan
8	*en*	*ook*	*Jager*	*en*	*oom Jonas*	*en*	*ook*	*3 broers,*	*Jager*	*en*	*Jan*
	and	also	Jager	and	Uncle Jonas	and	also	3 brothers	Jager	and	Jan

	en	Tomotheus.
9	*en*	*Timotheus.*
	and	Timotheus

Windhoek Agudus de 5, 1863
10 *Windhoek, 5 augustus 1863*

	An	mijne	lief hebbende	oom,	Jakobus Booi
11	*Aan*	*mijn*	*liefhebbende*	*oom,*	*Jacobus Booi,*
	to	my	loving	Uncle	Jacobus Booi

	Ik	melden	u	deze	brief	an	u	de	verzoeken	en	hoefrad.	Ik	hebben	
12	*Ik*	*meld*	*u*	*deze*	*brief*	*aan*	*u [met]*	*het*	*verzoek*[1]	*en*	*hoofd*[2]*.raad.*	*Ik*	*heb*	
	1S	mention	2S	D	letter	to	2S	D	requests	and	chief.advice	1S	PRF	

	gehoor	u	en	uwe	broeder	Jonas	hieft	deschenin		fijaanschap	is	en		
13	*gehoord*	*u*	*en*	*uw*	*broer*	*Jonas*	*hebben*	*tussen.[u].[-]*		*vijandschap*	*[-V]*	*en*		
	GE-hear	2S	and	2POS	brother	Jonas	PRF	between	in	enmity	is	and		

	ook	uwe	zons.	Ik	wens	ik	zal	zalf	daar	komen	en	deschen	ulieden	
14	*ook*	*uw*	*zoons.*	*Ik*	*wens*	*ik*	*zou*	*zelf*	*daar*	*komen*	*en*	*tussen*	*u*	
	also	2POS	sons	1S	wish	1S	will	self	there	come	and	between	2PL	

	vrededesbrookeen		maar	ik	heb	togt	niet	tijt	om	darde	komen.	Zoo		
15	*vrede.te.spreken,*		*maar*	*ik*	*heb*	*toch*	*geen*	*tijd*	*om*	*daar.te*	*komen.*	*Zo*		
	peace.to.speak		but	1S	have	MOD	NEG	time	for	there.to	come	so		

	zeet	ik	nu	sbijt	ik	zal	ulieden	radgeven	Ik	dank	zoo	ulieden	moet	
16	*zit*	*ik*	*nu [met]*	*spijt.*	*Ik*	*zal*	*u*	*raad.geven.*	*Ik*	*denk*	*zo,*	*u*	*moet*	
	sit	1S	now	regret	1S	will	2PL	advice.give	1S	think	so	2PL	must	

	eers	die	omstandugheid	laastan,	lat	ons	eers	die	grode	omstandug-				
17	*eerst*	*de*	*omstandigheid*	*laten.staan,*	*laat*	*ons*	*eerst*	*de*	*grote*	*omstandig-*				
	first	D	circumstance	let.stand	let	1PL	first	D	big	circumstance				

	heit	rag	sbookeen	diesaardes	ontwel		gekomen	mij	moeders	zijn				
18	*heid*	*recht*	*spreken,*	*deze.aarde*	*omwille*[3]		*gekomen*	*mijn*	*moeders*	*3POS*				
	-	right	speak	D.earth-GEN	sake		GE-come	1S	mother-GEN	3POS				

	broeders;	wanneer	zal	ulieden	zeeleke	braikies	rag	sbooken	heef	en				
19	*broeders;*	*wanneer*	*zult*	*u*	*zulke*	*praatjes*	*recht*	*gesproken*	*hebben*	*en*				
	brothers	when	will	2PL	such	stories	right	speak	PRF	and				

	verlaaden	als	ulieden	mijn	gelief	hebben	ooms	zelieke	braikes	rag				
20	*verlaten.*	*Als*	*u,*	*mij*	*lief*	*hebt*	*om*[4]	*zulke*	*praatjes*	*recht*				
	leave	if	2PL	1POS	GE-love	have	for	such	stories	right				

	sbookeen	en	vrede	makar,	dan	zal	alte	blij	wes	en	dakbar.	Late		
21	*[te] spreken*	*en*	*vrede [te] maken*		*dan*	*zal [ik]*	*al.te*	*blij*	*wezen*	*en*	*dankbaar.*	*Laat*		
	speak	and	peace	make	then	will	very	glad	be	and	grateful	let		

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[1] Alternatively: *om (u) te verzoeken*, 'to request (you)'.

[2] Innovation: *hoofd*, 'chief', important advice.

[3] Could also be *ontvallen*, 'slip away, lost'. It is not clear how to interpret this phrase, or in which relation the verb *gekomen* is added.

[4] Alternatively it reads: *Als u, mijn liefhebbende ooms, zulke praatjes recht spreken...*, 'If you, my loving uncles, talk such stories right...'

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	Heere	zal	ulieden	zijn	harden	regeren		en	deschen		vrede	in	briegen						
22	*[D] Heer*	*[-V] u*		*3POS harten*	*regeren*			*en*	*tussen*	*[u]*	*vrede*	*[-]*	*brengen*						
	Lord	will	2PL	3POS hearts	rule			and	between		peace	in	bring						
	en	ulieden	dog	wederon	broeder	makar	door	God	wood	warom	zal	liefe							
23	*en u*		*toch*	*weer*	*broeders*	*maken,*	*door*	*Gods woord.*		*Waarom*	*zal*	*liefde*							
	and 2PL		MOD	again	brothers	make	through	God	word	why	will	love							
	oom	god	woort	verladen,	dat	lijk	mijn	zoo.	Ik	dank	zoo	wanner	zal						
24	*om*[5]	*God worden*		*verlaten?*	*Dat*	*lijkt*	*mij*	*zo.*	*Ik*	*denk*	*zo,*	*wanneer*	*zullen*						
	for	God become		leave	that	seem	1POS	so	1S	think	so	when	will						
	zoo	en	degensboetig	woorten	deschen	ulieden	komen	dan	zal	ulieden									
25	*zo*	*een*	*tegenspoedige*	*woorden*	*tussen*	*u*	*komen*	*dan*	*zult*	*u*									
	such	an	adverse	words	between	2PL	come	then	will	2PL									
	god	onthouden	dat	is	hoop	van	mijn,	darom	zeg	ik	nu:		bid	hem	aan,				
26	*God onthouden*		*dat*	*is*	*[D] hoop*	*van*	*mij,*	*daarom*	*zeg*	*ik*	*nu:[aan<]*		*bid*	*hem*	*[<--],*				
	God	remember	that	is	hope	of	1POS	therefore	say	1S	now		pray	3S	to				
	lat	hei	uwe	harden	raageren	en	zeegen	lat		niet	dog	zoo	wes	dat	is				
27	*dat*[6]	*hij*	*uw*	*harten*	*regeren*	*en*	*zegenen,*	*laat*	*[het]*	*niet*	*toch*	*zo*	*zijn.*	*Dat*	*is*				
	let	3S	2POS	hearts	rule	and	bless	let		NEG	MOD	so	be	that	is				
	de	wens	van	mij,	ik	bid	ook	zoo	ik	hoop	hei	zal	mij	heelpen.					
28	*de*	*wens*	*van*	*mij.*	*Ik*	*bid*	*ook*	*zo.*	*Ik*	*hoop,*	*hij*	*zal*	*mij*	*helpen.*					
	D	wish	of	1S	1S	pray	also	so	1S	hope	3S	will	1S	help					

Went Hoek, de 25 September 1863
29 *Windhoek, 25 September 1863*

	Wel	mijn	Eedelijk	Heer	Kleinschmidt
30	*Wel,*	*mijn*	*edele*	*heer*	*Kleinschmidt,*
	well.	1POS	honorable	Mr.	Kleinschmidt

	wel	ik	weten	uwe	Raad	en	uwe	smekinge	over	onst	Afrikaner								
31	*Wel,*	*ik*	*weet*	*uw*	*raad*	*en*	*uw*	*smeekbedes*	*over*	*ons,*	*Afrikaners,*								
	well	1S	know	2POS	advice	and	2POS	supplications	about	1PL	Afrikaner								

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[5] Alternatively: *Waarom zou [jij] lieve oom, Gods woord verlaten.* 'Wy would (you), dear uncle leave God's word'.

[6] In non-standard varieties *la(a)t* has developed into a complementiser (see Roberge 1993:80, and Volume I, Chapter Six, § 6.3.2, p.204-205). Alternatively this sentence could be glossed: *laat hem u harten regeren*, 'let him rule your hearts'.

	dat Gij	wenschen	om	ons	de	vernietig	wel.	Verder	wel	ik
32	*dat gij*	*wenst*	*om*	*ons*	*te*	*vernietigen*	*wel.*	*Verder*	*wil*	*ik*
	that 2S	wish	for	1PL	to	destruct	well	further	want	1S

	weten	of	de	Genodschap	u	gezonden heeft		om	onsen	bloed	te
33	*weten*	*of*	*het*	*Genootschap*	*u*	*gezonden heeft*		*om*	*ons*	*bloed*	*te*
	know	whether	D	society	2S	GE-send	PRF	for	1PL-.3POS	blood	to

	vergiet.	Wel Gij	heben	vele	Zielen	vergieten	door	uwe	Raad	en
34	*vergieten?*	*Wel, gij*	*hebt*	*vele*	*zielen*	*vergoten*[7]	*met*	*uw*	*raad*	*en*
	spill	well 2S	PRF	many	souls	GE-spill	by	2POS	advice	and

	verder	wel u	nogt	vergieten.	
35	*verder*	*wilt u*	*nog [meer]*	*vergieten?*	
	further	want 2S	still	spill	

	Ik	kan u	bewijsen	dat	Gij	liestig	is	als	slaangt.	Ik	kan	u	
36	*Ik*	*kan u*	*bewijzen*	*dat*	*gij*	*listig*	*bent*	*als [D]*	*slang.*	*Ik*	*kan*	*[het] u*	
	1S	can 2S	prove	that	2S	sly	is	as	snake	1S	can	2S	

	bewijsen:	en	de	dag	van	overlede	oute	Kapitein	kan	ik	u	ook	bewijsen
37	*bewijzen.*	*En*	*de*	*dag*	*van [D]*	*overlede*	*oude*	*kapitein*	*kan*	*ik*	*u*	*ook*	*bewijzen*
	prove	and	D	day	of	deceased	old	captain	can	1S	2S	also	prove

	dat Gij	en	liestige	Leeraart	zijn.	De groote	omstandigheid	van	de	
38	*dat gij*	*een*	*listige*	*leraar*	*bent.*	*De grote*	*omstandigheid*	*van*	*het*	
	that 2S	a	sly	teacher	are	D big	circumstance	of	D	

	Land	wat	de	land	niet	tot	vrede	is	uwe	Liestigheid.	Daarom
39	*land,*	*wat*	*het*	*land*	*niet*	*tot*	*vrede [V],*	*is*	*uw*	*listigheid.*	*Daarom*
	country	REL	D	country	NEG	to	peace	is	2POS	slyness	Therefore

	zal ik	verder	dat	onderzoek	of	de	Genodschap	u	gezonden	heeft	om	onsen		
40	*zal ik*	*verder*	*dat*	*onderzoeken*	*of*	*het*	*genootschap*	*u*	*gezonden*	*heeft*	*om*	*ons*		
	will	1S	further	this	research	whether	D	society	2S	GE-send	PRF	for	1PL-3POS	

	bloed	vergiet	want	het	is	niet	vandag	dat gij	over	onsen	bloet
41	*bloed [te]*	*vergieten,*	*want*	*het*	*is*	*niet*	*vandaag*	*dat gij*	*over*	*ons*	*bloed*
	blood	spill	because	it	is	NEG	today	that 2S	about	1PL-3POS	blood

	beden	en	smeken,	het	is	ende	dag	van	overlede	oute	Kaptij	dat	gij	dorstig
42	*bidt*	*en*	*smeekt,*	*het*	*is*	*en.de*	*dag*	*van*	*overleden*	*oude*	*kapitein*	*dat*	*gij*	*dorstig*
	pray	and	plead	it	is	also.D	day	of	deceased	old	captain	that	2S	thirsty

[7] *Vergieten* requires the object to be of a liquid substance; rather *bedorven*, 'wasted'.

	zijn	over	onsen	bloed.
43	*bent*	*over*	*ons*	*bloed.*
	are	over	1PL-3POS	blood

	Zoo	zal	ik	verder	naar		Genodschap	dat	onderzoeken	om	de	weten	of
44	*Zo*	*zal*	*ik*	*verder*	*bij*	*[D]*	*genootschap*	*dat*	*onderzoeken*	*om*	*te*	*weten*	*of*
	so	will	1S	further	to		society	this	research	for	to	know	whether

	u	gezonden	is	om	ons	de	vernietig	wan	het	is	niet	vandag.	Daarom	
45	*u*	*gezonden*	*bent*	*om*	*ons*	*te*	*vernietigen*	*want*	*het*	*is*	*niet*	*vandaag.*	*Daarom*	
	2S	sent	is	for	1PL	to	destroy	for	it	is	NEG	today	therefore	

	zal	ik	verder	onderzoeken	om	de	weten	hoe	ik	mijn	zal	bedragen	wan
46	*zal*	*ik*	*verder*	*onderzoeken*	*om*	*te*	*weten*	*hoe*	*ik*	*mij*	*zal*	*gedragen*	*want*
	will	1S	further	research	for	to	know	how	1S	1POS	will	behave	for

	ik	men	dat	u	gezonden	is	om	Evangielie	te	Preken.	Wel	verder
47	*ik*	*meen*	*dat*	*u*	*gezonden*	*bent*	*om*	*[D] Evangelie*	*te*	*preken.*	*Wel*	*verder*
	1S	think	that	2S	GE-sent	are	for	gospel	to	preach	well	further

	wel	ik	nog	zegen	of	u	over	onsen	bloed	gezonden	is		dat	gij	de	traktat
48	*wil*	*ik*	*nog*	*zeggen*	*of*	*u*	*over*	*ons*	*bloed*	*gezonden*	*bent,*		*dat*	*gij*	*het*	*traktaat*
	want	1S	also	say	whether	2S	about	1PL-3POS	blood	sent	are		that	2S	D	treaty

	van	de	nasi	ook	hinder,	dat	gij	al	de	goede	zaak	hinder
49	*van*	*de*	*natie*	*ook*	*hindert,*	*dat*	*gij*	*al*	*de*	*goede*	*zaken*	*hindert*
	of	D	nation	also	hinder	that	2S	all	D	good	cause	hinder

	van	de	nasi.	Wij	zijn	en	nasi.	Zoo	is	dat	niet	nodig	om	de	draktat	van
50	*van*	*de*	*natie.*	*Wij*	*zijn*	*een*	*natie.*	*Dus*	*is*	*het*	*niet*	*nodig*	*om*	*het*	*traktaat*	*van*
	of	D	nation	1PL	are	a	nation	So	is	it	NEG	necessary	for	D	treaty	of

	de	nasi	te	hender,	en	het	is	niet		vandag.	Gij	zijt	en	Leeraar	wat
51	*de*	*natie*	*te*	*hinderen,*	*en*	*het*	*is*	*niet*	*[alleen]*	*vandag.*	*Gij*	*zijt*	*een*	*Leeraar*	*die*
	D	nation	to	hinder	and	it	is	NEG		today	2S	are	a	teacher	REL

	met	deze	lant	begenen	heeft;	daarom	moet	gij	goed	doen	wij	zijn
52	*met*	*dit*	*land*	*begonnen*	*is.*	*Daarom*	*moet*	*gij*	*goed*	*doen,*	*wij*	*zijn*
	with	D	land	GE-begin	PRF	therefore	must	2S	good	do	1PL	are

	en	groode	verwacht		dat	gij	zal	vrede	zal	stegt	maar	dat	lijk
53	*in*	*grote*	*verwachting,*		*dat*	*gij*	*[-V]*	*vrede*	*zult*	*stichten*	*maar*	*het*	*lijkt*
	in	big	expectations		that	2S	will	peace	will	establish	but	it	seem

	of	gij	kwat	opstek.
54	*of*	*gij*	*kwaad*	*opstookt.*
	whether	2S	evil	instigate

Went Hoek, de 26 September 1863
Windhoek, 26 september 1863

	wel	mijn	Edelijk	Heer	Weebert
56	*Wel,*	*mijn*	*edele*	*heer*	*Weber,*
	well	1POS	honorable	Mr.	Weber

	wel	ik	Wet	uwe	Raat	en	uwe	smeking	over	ons
57	*Wel*	*ik*	*weet*	*uw*	*raad*	*en*	*uw*	*smeekbedes*	*over*	*ons,*
	Well,	1S	know	2POS	advise	and	2POS	supplications	about	1PL

	Afrikaners	dat	gij	wenschen	om	ons	te	vernietieg	wel.
58	*Afrikaners,*	*dat*	*gij*	*wenst*	*om*	*ons*	*te*	*vernietigen*	*goed.*
	Afrikaners	that	2S	wish	for	1PL	to	destroy	well

	Verder	wel	ik	weten	of	de	Genodschap	u	gezonden	heeft	om
59	*Verder*	*wil*	*ik*	*weten*	*of*	*het*	*genootschap*	*u*	*gezonden*	*heeft*	*om*
	further	want	1S	know	whether	D	society	2S	GE-send	PRF	for

	onsen	bloed	te	vergiet	wan	veele	Zielen	heben	wij	verliesen	door
60	*ons*	*bloed*	*te*	*vergieten*	*want*	*vele*	*zielen*	*hebben*	*wij*	*verloren*	*door*
	1PL-3POS	blood	to	spill	for	many	souls	PRF	1PL	GE-lose	by

	uwe	Raad	en	verder	hinder	Gij	ook	de	traktat	wat	de
61	*uw*	*raad*	*en*	*verder*	*hindert*	*gij*	*ook*	*het*	*traktaat*	*dat*	*de*
	2POS	advise	and	further	hinder	2S	also	D	treaty	REL	D

	operhoofen	van	de	lant	uitgedag	heeft.
62	*opperhoofden*	*van*	*het*	*land*	*uitgedacht*	*hebben,*
	paramount.chiefs	of	D	land	out.GE-think	PRF

	En verder	wel	gij	nog	onsen	bloed	vergiet.
63	*en verder*	*wilt*	*gij*	*nog*	*ons*	*bloed*	*vergieten.*
	and further	want	2S	still	1PL-3POS	blood	spill

	Haben	de	genodschap	u	gezonden	over	onsen	bloed?	Dat	zal	ik
64	*Heeft*	*het*	*genoodschap*	*u*	*gezonden*	*over*	*ons*	*bloed?*	*Dat*	*zal*	*ik*
	PRF	D	society	2S	GE-send	about	1PL-3POS	blood	that	will	1S

	verder	onderzoeken	om	de Wet	hoe	ik	mijn	zal	bedragen	voor u,	
65	*verder*	*onderzoeken*	*om*	*te weten*	*hoe*	*ik*	*me*	*zal*	*gedragen*	*voor u,*	
	further	research	for	to know	how	1S	1POS	will	conduct	for	2S

	wan	dat	is	niet	vandag,	dat	is ende	dag	van	overlede	oute Kaptij
66	*want*	*het*	*is*	*niet*	*vandaag,*	*het*	*is ook.de*	*dag*	*van*	*overleden*	*oude kapitein.*
	for	it	is	NEG	today	that	is and.D	day	of	deceased	old captain

	Daarom	is	ik	zeer	Eertig	daar	op	wan	ik	men	dat	u
67	*Daarom*	*ben*	*ik*	*zeer*	*ernstig*	*daar*	*op*	*want*	*ik*	*meen*	*dat*	*u*
	therefore	is	1S	very	serious	there	on	for	1S	think	that	2S

	gezonden	is	om	Eevangilie	te	Predeken	onder	de volk		stammen.
68	*gezonden*	*bent*	*om [D]*	*evangelie*	*te*	*prediken*	*onder*	*de volks.stammen*		*-,*
	sent	is	for	gospel	to	preach	under	D people		tribes

	Daarom	is	dat	mijn	te	Wonder	dat	gij	de	verbendenis	van	de	nasi
69	*daarom*	*is*	*het*	*mij*	*te*	*wonder[lijk]*	*dat*	*gij*	*de*	*verbintenis*	*van*	*de*	*natie*
	therefore	is	it	1POS	too	miracle	that	2S	D	alliance	of	D	nation

	verva..	Wij	zijn	en	nasi.	Zoo	is	dat	niet	nodig,	daarom	moet	u
70	***[8].	*Wij*	*zijn*	*een*	*natie,*	*zo*	*is*	*dat*	*niet*	*nodig.*	*Daarom*	*moet*	*u*
	***	1PL	are	a	nation	so	is	it	NEG	need	therefore	must	2S

	uitblijven	uite	de	verbendenis	van	die	nasi	wan	dat	Kom	u	niet toe.
71	*uitblijven*	*uit*	*de*	*verbintenis*	*van*	*de*	*natie*	*want*	*dat*	*komt*	*u*	*niet toe.*
	away.stay	away	D	alliance	of	D	nation	for	that	come	2S	NEG to

	Daarom	moet	gij	uit	blijven	en	als	u	niet	zal	uit	blijven	daan
72	*Daarom*	*moet*	*gij*	*uitblijven*	*-*	*en*	*als*	*u*	*niet*	*zult*	*uitblijven*	*-*	*dan*
	therefore	must	2S	away	stay	and	if	2S	NEG	will	away	stay	then

	zal ik	daar	in	werken	wan	gij	Werken	waar	u	niet	toekomen.		
73	*zal ik*	*daar*	*aan*	*werken*	*want*	*gij*	*werkt*	*waar [het]*	*u*	*niet*	*toekomt.*		
	will	1S	there	in	work	for	2S	work	REL	2S	NEG	due	

	Ende	nasi	vereennigen	traktat	werk	gij	dat	ons	niet	ensgezijn	wort;
74	*Aan.de*	*natie's*	*vereenigd*	*traktaat*	*werkt*	*gij*	*dat*	*wij*	*niet*	*eensgezind*	*worden.*
	and.D	nation	united	treaty	work	2S	that	1PL	NEG	unanimous	become

	wel	wij	zijn	en	natie	zoo	is	dat	niet	nodig	om	daar	in	de werken.
75	*Wel,*	*wij*	*zijn*	*een*	*natie*	*zoo*	*is*	*het*	*niet*	*nodig*	*om*	*daar*	*aan*	*te werken.*
	well	1Pl	are	a	nation	so	is	that	NEG	need	for	there	in	to work

	Zoo	zal	ik	mijn	nou	daarin	nou	wan	wij	zijn	en	natie.
76	*Zo*	*zal*	*ik*	*mij*	*nu*	*daarin [V]*	*[-]*	*want*	*wij*	*zijn*	*een*	*natie.*
	So	shall	1S	1POS	now	therein	now	for	1PL	are	a	nation

[probably unfinished]

Windhoek, de 29 Optober 1863
77 *Windhoek, 29 oktober 1863*

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[8] Quite clear what he means to say, but hard to imagine which word he actually had in mind.

| | | |

	zoo gezegt	hene	hooften	Zal	net	maken	zoos allen		
90	*zo gezegd,*	*hun*	*hoofden*	*zullen*	*net*	*maken*	*zoals allen, [volgens]*		
	so said	3PL	chiefs	will	just	make	as all		
	Artikel 3.	Ik	vrag u	wederom	wat	zeg	de Artikel		
91	*artikel 3?*	*Ik*	*vraag u*	*wederom*	*wat*	*zegt*	*het artikel*		
	article 3	1S	ask 2S	again	what	say	D article		
	zijn	lees	de reegels.	Hij	zeg	zoo	de als	waner	
92	*3POS*	*lezing [van]*	*de regels?*	*Het*	*zegt*	*zo:*	*[-] als,*	*wanneer*	
	3POS	read	D rules	3S	say	so	that if	when	
	zal	menschen	onwelieg		dat	zal	alle	andere	hooften
93	*zullen*	*mensen*	*onwillig*	*[zijn],*	*[-] [dan]*	*zullen*	*alle*	*andere*	*hoofden*
	will	people	unwilling		that	will	all	other	heads
	bijmalkaner	Komen	en	die	menschen	bestrafe	met		
94	*bij.elkaar*	*komen*	*en*	*de*	*mensen*	*bestraffen*	*met*		
	together	come	and	D	people	punish	with		
	wapen.	Zien	Vollmer,	ik	zeg	niet	u	moet	hiernadoe	oute
95	*wapens.*	*Zie,*	*Vollmer,*	*ik*	*zeg*	*niet*	*u*	*moet*	*hiernaartoe*	*oude*
	weapon	see	Vollmer	1S	say	NEG	2S	must	hereto	old
	Cornelis	Stuur	lat	hij	ons	zijn	ploet	te	verGoden,	luisder
96	*Cornelius*	*sturen*	*dat*	*hij*	*ons*	*3POS*	*bloed*	*[-]*	*vergiet;*	*luister*
	Cornelius	send	let	3S	1PL	3POS	blood	to	spill	listen
		mijn,	maar	ik	zeg	zoo	latstaan	de	Kapiteins,	late
97	*[P]*	*mij,*	*[-]*	*ik*	*zeg*	*zo:*	*laat.staan*	*de*	*kapiteinen,*	*laat*
		1POS	but	1S	say	so	let.stand	D	captains	let
		Kapiteins	Kom	om	mijn	de	hulp	of	land	land	stan
98	*[D]*	*kapiteinen*	*komen*	*om*	*mij*	*te*	*helpen,*	*[-]*	*[-] [D]*	*land*	*staat*
		captains	come	for	me	to	help	or	land	land	stand
	nu	ontfijleg,	lat	de	Kapiteins	Kom	en	in	die	land	vrede	in
99	*nu*	*onveilig.*	*Laat*	*de*	*kapiteinen*	*komen*	*en*	*in*	*het*	*land*	*vrede*	*[-]*
	now	unsafe	let	D	captains	come	and	in	D	land	peace	in
	sproken.	Dat	is	twee		huilpen:	kwad	is	ook	huilp,	vreede	
100	*spreken.*	*Er*	*zijn*	*twee*	*[soorten]*	*hulp:*	*kwaad*	*is*	*ook*	*hulp,*	*vrede*	
	speak	that	is	two		helps:	evil	is	also	help.	peace	
	is	ook,	dat	is		weens	van	mijn.				
101	*[-]*	*ook.*	*Dat*	*is*	*[D]*	*wens*	*van*	*mij.*				
	is	also.	that	is		wish	of	1POS				
	U	sprok	Damras	en	Namaquas	en	Owambos	/Nawis				
102	*U*	*sprak, [D]*	*Damaras*	*en*	*Namaquas*	*en*	*Ovambo's*	*Ovambo's*[12]				
	2S	speak	Damaras	and	Namaquas	and	Ovambo's	Ovambo's				

[12] Nama name for *Ovambo* (*/Nawis* being the female form; */INawen* indicating the collective, meaning 'the danglers'; info. Haacke, in: Lau ed., 1989:271).

	en	mij	oorlete	Vader	en	ook	mij	oorlete		broeder			
103	*en*	*mijn*	*overleden*	*vader*	*en*	*ook*	*mijn*	*overleden*		*broeder.*			
	and	1S	deceased	father	and	also	1S	deceased		brother			
	waarom	sprok	gij	u	die	goeder	u	is	moes	leeraart.			
104	*Waarom*	*sprak*	*gij*	*[-]*	*die*	*goederen*[13]	*u*	*bent*	*immers*	*leraar.*			
	why	speak	2S	2S	D	goods	2S	is	MOD	teacher			
	Ik	vrag	u	weer	u	heeft	gekom	om	oorlog	de	bredek.		
105	*Ik*	*vraag*	*u*	*weer: [bent<]*	*u*	*[<--]*	*gekomen*	*om*	*oorlog*	*te*	*prediken?*		
	1S	ask	2S	again	2S	PRF	GE-come	for	war	to	preach		
	Antwoort	mijn,	Vollmer,	ik	denk	zoo	u	heeft	gezonden	om	God		
106	*Antwoort*	*mij,*	*Vollmer!*	*Ik*	*denk*	*zo,*	*u*	*bent*	*gezonden*	*om*	*Gods*		
	answer	1POS	Vollmer	1S	think	so	2S	PRF	sent	for	God		
	word	de	verkondigen	maar	ik	zien	nu	u	hieft	gekom	om		
107	*woord*	*te*	*verkondigen*	*maar*	*ik*	*zie*	*nu*	*u*	*bent*	*gekomen*	*om*		
	word	to	preach	but	1S	see	now	2S	PRF	GE-come	for		
	oorlog	en	kwad	de leeren.	Ik	zien	nu	omdeereede		hieft			
108	*oorlog*	*en*	*kwaad*	*te leren.*	*Ik*	*zie*	*nu*	*om.die.rede*		*hebben*			
	war	and	evil	to teach.	1S	see	now	for.D.reason		PRF			
	niet	uwe	leerkieners		brief	kon	schrijfen	of	geleesen.				
109	*niet*	*uw*	*leerkinderen*	*[D]*	*brief*	*kunnen*	*schrijven*	*of*	*lezen.*				
	NEG	2POS	pupils		letter	can	write	or	GE-read				
	U	sprok	ook	van	mijn,	ik	heb	noch	niet	kwat	gedan	heeft.	
110	*U*	*sprak*	*ook*	*van*	*mij,*	*ik*	*[-V]*	*nog*	*geen*	*kwaad*	*gedaan*	*heb.*	
	2S	speak	also	of	1POS	1S	PRF	yet	NEG	evil	GE-do	PRF	
	U	sprok	orlede	Vader	zijn	dag	ook	orlete	broeder				
111	*U*	*sprak [P]*	*overleden*	*vader*	*3POS*	*dag,*	*ook*	*overleden*	*broeder*				
	2S	speak	deceased	father	3POS	day	also	deceased	brother				
	zijn	dag;	ik	vrag	nu	u	als	ik	nu	uwe	blads	door	
112	*3POS*	*dag.*	*Ik*	*vraag*	*nu*	*u,*	*als*	*ik*	*nu [P]*	*uw*	*plaats*	*[-]*	
	3POS	day;	1S	ask	now	2S	if	1S	now	2POS	place	by	
	manschap	uit	stuuren	of		Coomante	mak	om	uwe	bees			
113	*manschappen*	*uit*	*stuur*	*of*	*[D]*	*commando*	*maak*	*om*	*uw*	*beesten*			
	forces	out	send	or		commando	make	for	2POS	animals			
	en	vee	an	u	afgenemen,	zal u	vrede	verdel					
114	*en*	*vee*	*van*	*u*	*af.[te].nemen,*	*zal u*	*vrede*	*vertellen*					
	and	cattle	to	2S	away.GE-take,	will2S	peace	tell					

[13] Dutch rather: *dingen* 'things', as *goederen* is reserved for material objects. However, in present day SA the meaning of *goed* has extended to immaterial objects: *Waarom sê jy sulke goed?* 'Why do you say such things'.

| | | |

	vragen.	Doe	schied	de	Damras		eers	van	ons:	vertel	
125	*vragen.*	*Toen*	*schieten*	*de*	*Damaras,*	*[als]*	*eerste*	*van*	*ons.*	*Vertel*	
	ask.	Then	shoot	D	Damaras		first	of	us	tell	
	mijn,	wat	is	ons	zijn	schuld	waat	u	ons	verschuldigen	
126	*mij,*	*wat*	*is*	*onze*	*3POS*	*schuld.*	*Wat*	*[bent<]*	*u*	*ons*	*verschuldigd*[21]
	1POS	what	is	1POS	3POS	guilt	what		2S	1PL	GE-owe
	is?	Ik	sprok	niet	oute	dag	zijn	goeder	maar u	sprok	out
127	*[<--]?*	*Ik*	*sprak*	*niet*	*oude*	*dag*	*3POS*	*goederen*	*maar u*	*sprak*	*oude*
	PRF	1S	speak	NEG	old	day	3POS	goods	but 2S	speak	old
	dag	zijn.	Verder	u	sprok	ook	ons	Afrikaner		hieft	God
128	*dag*	*3POS.*	*Verder*	*u*	*sprak*	*ook,*	*wij*	*Afrikaners*		*hebben*	*Gods*
	day	3POS	Further	2S	speak	also	1PL	Afrikaners		PRF	God
	woort	verach.	Verdel	mijn	waner	heb	ik	u	geverdel		
129	*woord*	*veracht.*	*Vertel*	*mij,*	*wanneer*	*heb*	*ik*	*u*[22]	*verteld*		
	word	GE-scorn	tell	1POS	when	PRF	1S	2S	GE-tell		
	heb	ik	Gods	woort	verach	heeft;	waner	heb	u	een	
130	*[-V] [dat]*	*ik*	*Gods*	*woord*	*veracht*	*heb?*	*Wanneer*	*bent*	*u*	*een*	
	PRF	1S	God-GEN	word	GE-scorn	PRF	when	PRF	2S	one	
	keer	hier	gekom	vandat	u	hier	in	die	land	gekomen	
131	*keer*	*hier*	*gekomen*	*sinds*	*u*	*hier*	*in*	*het*	*land*	*gekomen*	*[PRF]*
	time	here	GE-come	from.that	2S	here	in	D	country	GE-come	
	om	Gods	woorte	verkondigen,	of	heb	u	eeneege	keer		
132	*om*	*Gods*	*woord.te*	*verkondigen?*	*Of*	*bent*	*u*	*enige*	*keer*		
	for	God-GEN	word.to	preach	or	PRF	2S	one	time		
	op	deze	weerf	gekom	om	God	woort	de	bredek	en	gezien
133	*op*	*deze*	*werf*	*gekomen*	*om*	*Gods*	*woord*	*te*	*prediken*	*en*	*gezien*[23]
	on	D	werf	GE-come	for	God	word	to	preach	and	GE-see
	ons	Afrikaner	is	Gods	woort	verach	heeft?	Verdel	mijn,		
134	*wij*	*Afrikaners*	*hebben*	*Gods*	*woord*	*veracht*	*[-V]?*	*Vertel*	*mij!*		
	1PL	Afrikaner	PRF	God-GEN	word	GE-scorn	PRF	tell	1POS		
	ik	heb	niet	God	woort	verach.	Ik	wens	ik	zal	leeraar
135	*Ik*	*heb*	*niet*	*Gods*	*woord*	*veracht.*	*Ik*	*wens*	*ik*	*zal* *[D]*	*leraar*
	1S	PRF	NEG	God	word	GE-scorn	1S	wish	1S	will	teacher

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[21] Perhaps he rather meant: *Waarvan beschuldigt u ons,* 'what are you accusing us of'. Or, *Wat verschuldigen wij aan u,* 'what do we owe to you'. Object-subject-verb word order is a standard option in Nama, see § 6.2.1.1.

[22] Perhaps another instance of object-subject inversion as the sentence makes more sense with an interpretation where Vollmer has accused Jan of neglecting God's word, cf. footnote 21, above.

[23] In contemporary Dutch an unergative verb cannot be coordinated in the perfect tense with an ergative verb, as the choice of auxiliary differs (*hebben* and *zijn*, respectively). Afrikaans no longer makes this distinction and the construction would be grammatical.

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	krijgen	maar	die	oonduin	gij	van	heb	ik	niet
136	*krijgen*	*maar*	*de*	***[24]	*gij*	*van*	*heb*	*ik*	*niet*
	get	but	D	***	2S	of	have	I	NEG

	uliden	nodig	hebben	ulieden	Riensch	zeendelien	uliden
137	*u*	*nodig*	*[-V].*	*U,*	*Rijnse*	*zendelingen,*	*u*
	2PL	need	have	2PL	Rhenish	missionaries	2PL

	schrijf	altijt	in	uliden	zijn	brief	leegens.	Darom	heb
138	*schrijft*	*altijd*	*in*	*uw*	*3POS*	*brief*	*leugens.*	*Daarom*	*heb*
	write	always	in	2PL	3POS	letter	lies	therefore	have

	ik	niet	uliden	duisders	nodig	hebben.	Zoo	moet	mijn
139	*ik*	*niet*	*u,*	*Duitsers*	*nodig*	*[-V].*	*Zo*	*moet*	*mijn*
	1S	NEG	2PL	Germans	need	have	so	must	1POS

	Heer	Vollmer	hasdelijk	antwoort		mij	stuuren,	zoo	verzoek
140	*heer*	*Vollmer*	*haastig*	*antwoord*	*[P]*	*mij*	*sturen,*	*zo*	*verzoek*
	Mr.	Vollmer	hastily	answer		1S	send,	so	request

	ik	u,	ik	ben
141	*ik*	*u.*	*Ik*	*ben,*
	1S	2S	1S	am

	J. Jonker Afrikaner,	Hoof	van	Damaraland
142		*Hoofd*	*van*	*Damaraland.*
		chief	of	Damaraland

Dabes

	Aan	myn	gelief hebbene
143	*Aan*	*mijn*	*liefhebbende*[25]
	to	1POS	GE-loving

	Heer	Breker
144	*Heer*	*Breker,*
	Mr.	Breker

	ik	Melden	u	deze	baarregels		an	u
145	*Ik*	*meld*	*u*	*deze*	*paar.regels*	*[om]*	*aan*	*u*
	1S	mention	2S	D	few.lines		to	2S

	de	lad	weden		ik zoo	veer	gekom		op
146	*te*	*laten*	*weten*	*[dat]*	*ik zo*	*ver*	*gekomen*	*[PRF]*	*op*
	to	let	know		1S so	far	GE-come		on

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[24] Most likely an abusive word, where the Dutch would be: een 'oonduin' als gij heb ik niet nodig, (a 'oonduin' as you are, I can do without). Perhaps Afrikaans *ondeund* (*/ondeug*, <Dutch *ondeugend)*, 'naughty'.

[25] The form of address Jan uses is a combination of two formulae in Dutch: *mijn geliefde heer B.* and *mijn liefhebbende heer B.*

	Dabe*s*	ik	heb	gehoor	U	hief	han-	
147	*Dabes.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*gehoord*	*u*	*heeft*	*han-*	
	Dabes	1S	PRF	GE-hear	2S	have	trade	

	del	goed	daarom	heb	ik	zoo	veer
148	*dels*	*goed,*	*daarom*	*ben*	*ik*	*zo*	*ver*
	-	goods	therefore	PRF	1S	so	far

	gekom	naar	uwe	blaads	doe	ik
149	*gekomen*	*naar*	*uw*	*plaats*	*toe.*	*Ik*
	GE-come	to	2POS	place	to	1S

	hebben	zeer	veerlee<ol•gen>	en	nakan	<ol•nac*k*and>
150	*ben*	*zeer*	*verlegen*	*en*	***	*nakend*[26]
	have	very	pressed.for	and	***	naked?

	van	kleederen	daarom	kom	ik	nar
151	*van*	*kleding*	*daarom*	*kom*	*ik*	*naar*
	of	clothes	therefore	come	1S	to

	uwe	blaads	om	de	handelen	zoo	moet
152	*uw*	*plaats*	*om*	*te*	*handelen.*	*Zo*	*moet*
	2POS	place	for	to	trade	so	must

	mijn Heer	Damras	ook	latweten	
153	*mijnheer*	*[D] Damaras*	*ook*	*laten.weten,*	
	1POS Mr.	Damaras	also	let.know	

	lat	Damras	niet	mijn	vreesen	
154	*dat*	*[D] Damaras*	*niet*	*mij*	*vrezen.*	
	let	Damaras	NEG	1POS	fear	

	ik	<heb>	niet	gekom	om	kwade	doen
155	*Ik*	*ben*	*niet*	*gekomen*	*om*	*kwaad [te]*	*doen.*
	1S	PRF	NEG	GE-come	for	mischief	do

	ik	heb	gekom	om	de	handel	zoo	
156	*Ik*	*ben*	*gekomen*	*om*	*te*	*handelen.*	*Zo*	*[V]*
	1S	PRF	GE-come	for	to	trade	so	

	mijn Heer	Daniel C	ook	latweten
157	*mijnheer*	*Daniel C.*	*ook*	*laten.weten.*
	1POS Mr.	Daniel C.	also	let.know

	Ik	zal	mooro	op	uwe	blads	kom
158	*Ik*	*zal*	*morgen*	*op*	*uw*	*plaats*	*komen,*
	1S	will	tomorrow	on	2POS	place	come

		hoeft	uwe	<ol•Damras>	niet	mij		vreesen
159	*[XP]*	*hoeven*	*uw*	*Damaras*	*niet*	*mij*	*[te]*	*vrezen.*
		need	2POS	Damaras	NEG	1S		fear

[26] Colloquial Dutch variant of *naakt*, 'nude', Van Oordt (n.d.) makes note of the two forms co-existing in the 1770s Cape Criminal records, (CJ 400, 1770, opp. p. 244 and on p. 254).

	hardelijk	Groetenis	an	u	en	
160	*Hartelijke*	*groeten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*	
	warm	regards	to	2S	and	

	Jevrouw	ik	ben	uwe
161	*juffrouw,*	*ik*	*ben*	*uw*
	Miss	1S	am	2POS

	vrient	Jan Jonker Africaners
162	*vriend,*	
	friend	

	Geeert	de	oper	Hoof	van
163	*geëerd*	*[-]*[27]	*opperhoofd*	-	*van*
	honoured	D	paramount	chief	of

		Africaners
164	*[D]*	*Afrikaners.*

Goepakoeb 8 Sept*..* 1866
165 *Kubakop, 8 september 1866*

	Eerwaar	Heer	Hahn
166	*Eerwaarde*	*heer*	*Hahn,*
	honorable	Mr.	Hahn

	ik	hebben	uwe	brief	geont
167	*Ik*	*heb*	*uw*	*brief*	*ont-*
	1S	PRF	2POS	letter	GE-receive

	vangen	en	gehoort	wat	is		uwe
168	*vangen*	*en*	*gehoord*	*wat*	*[-V]*		*uw*
	-	and	GE-hear	what	is		2POS

	menen	is	daarom	mak	ik	u	en
169	*mening*	*is.*	*Daarom*	*maak*	*ik*	*u*	*en*
	opinion	is	therefore	make	1S	2S	and

	Kamaharero	deze	aantwoort	zien
170	*Kamaharero*	*dit*	*antwoord.*	*Zie,*
	Kamaharero	D	answer	see

	Heer	Hahn	ik	zal	u		waarheid	ver
171	*Heer*	*Hahn,*	*ik*	*zal*	*u*	*[D]*	*waarheid*	*ver-*
	Mr.	Hahn	1S	will	2S		truth	tell

	del	die	dag	wat	ons		eerste	oorlog	gemaak
172	*tellen:*	*de*	*dag*	*dat*	*wij*	*[D]*	*eerste*	*oorlog*	*gemaakt*
	-	D	day	REL	1PL		first	war	GE-make

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[27] Jan Jonker could also have intended: *Het geëerde opperhoofd*, omitting the determiner, with the correct inflection on the adjective.

		naar	Otyimbingw	die	is	niet	mij
173	*[PRF]*	*naar*[28]	*Otjimbingwe*	*dat*	*was*	*niet*	*mijn*
		towards	Otjimbingwe	that	is	NEG	1S

	dag	dat	is	Schrectiaan	zijn	dag	zoo
174	*dag,*	*dat*	*was*	*Christians*	*3POS*	*dag.*	*Zo*
	day	that	is	Christian	3POS	day	so

	hieft	Schrecktian	die	dag	gedood	en	
175	*heeft*	*Christian*	*die*	*dag*	*gedood*	*en*	*[zijn]*
	PRF	Christian	D	day	GE-die	and	

	vele	manen	gedood	doe	heb	ik
176	*vele*	*mannen*	*gedood.*	*Toen*	*heb*	*ik*
	many	man	GE-die	then	PRF	1S

	niet	weens	op	mij	dag	meer
177	*niet*	*gewenst*	*op*	*mijn*	*dag*	*meer*
	NEG	wish	on	1S	day	more

	bloed	de	vergoden		heeft	
178	*bloed*	*[-->]*	*vergoten*	*[>te]*	*hebben.*[29]	
	blood	to	GE-spill		PRF	

	daarom	heb	ik	achter	die	oorlog	vrede
179	*Daarom*	*heb*	*ik*	*achter*[30]	*de*	*oorlog*	*vrede*
	therefore	PRF	1S	after	D	war	peace

	gemaak	doe	hief	Kamaharero	niet	mij
180	*gemaakt.*	*Toen*	*heeft*	*Kamaharero*	*niet*	*mij*
	GE-make	then	PRF	Kamaharero	NEG	1S

	gehoort	ik	heb	daar	naa	mij	moeder
181	*gehoord.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*daarna*	-	*mijn*	*moeder*
	GE-hear	1S	PRF	afterwards	-	1S	mother

	gezenden	doe	hief	Kamaharero	mij
182	*gezonden.*	*Toen*	*heeft*	*Kamaharero*	*mijn*
	GE-send	then	PRF	Kamaharero	1S

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	moeder	afgerooft	en	ook	Damra	van	
183	*moeder*	*beroofd*		*en*	*ook*	*Damaras*	*van*
	mother	off.GE-rob	and	also	Damaras	van	

	mijn	dood	maak		heb	ik			blaast	af
184	*mij*	*dood*	*gemaakt.*	*[XP]*	*ben*	*ik*	*[van]*	*[D]*	*plaats*	*af*
	1POS	dead	make		PRF	1S			place	off

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[28] *Op* or *in* would be the correct preposition in Dutch.

[29] This infinitival perfect is quite superfluous in this sentence; *te vergieten* would do. If at all, *te hebben vergoten* would be the (standard Dutch) preferred word order.

[30] *Na* would be the correct preposition in Dutch.

	wegedrek	door	vrede	ontwil	doe	kom		
185	*weggetrokken*	*der*	*vrede*	*omwille*[31].	*Toen*	*komt*		
	away.GE-move	through	peace	sake	then	come		

	oorlog	van	harero	achter	mij	drak	en	
186	*[D] oorlog*	*van [D]*	*Herero*	*achter*	*mij [aan]*	*trekken*	*en*	
	war	of	Herero	after	1S	move	and	

	mij	afgeschood	en	mij	vrouw	gemoor		
187	*[PRF] mij*	*beschoten*	*en*	*mijn*	*vrouw*	*vermoord.*		
	1S	off.GE-shoot	and	1S	wife	GE-murder		

	zoo	heb ik	noch	niet	oorlog	gemaak		
188	*Zo*	*heb ik*	*nog*	*niet*	*oorlog*	*gemaakt*	*[P]*	
	so	PRF 1S	yet	NEG	war	GE-make		

	Damras	d[-oe]	door	vredes	ontwel	veder		
189	*[D] Damaras,*	-	*der*	*vrede*	*omwille.*[32]	*Verder,*		
	Damaras	-	through	peace-GEN	sake	further		

	ik hebben	geen	een	vee	gekrijgen			
190	*ik heb*	*geen*	*enkel [stuks]*	*vee*	*gekregen*			
	1S PRF	NEG	one	cattle	GE-get			

	van	Heer	Kleinschmidt	om	u	de		
191	*van*	*heer*	*Kleinschmidt*	*om*	*u*	*te*		
	from	Mr.	Kleinschmidt	for	2S	to		

	stuiren	ik	heb die wagens	van	oute			
192	*sturen.*	*Ik*	*heb de wagens*	*van [D]*	*oude*			
	send	1S	PRF D wagons	of	old			

	Heer	op	de weerf gelaat	maar	goed			in
193	*heer*	*op*	*de werf gelaten*	*maar [D]*	*goederen [REL]*			*in*
	sir	on	D werf GE-leave	but	goods			in

	de wagen	is	die	hief	mensch	uit		
194	*de wagen*	*waren,*	*die*	*hebben [D]*	*mensen*	*uit*		
	D wagon	are	those	PRF	people	out		

	maakar	gemaak	al	wat	ik	gekrijg		
195	*elkaar*	*gemaakt.*[33]	*Al*	*wat*	*ik*	*gekregen*	*[PRF]*	
	each.other	GE-make	all	REL	1S	GE-get		

	die	is	Boeke	die	zal	ik u	stuiren.	
196	*dat*	*zijn*	*boeken,*	*die*	*zal*	*ik u*	*sturen.*	
	that	are	books	those	will	1S 2S	send	

	ik ben	uwe	vriend					
197	*Ik ben*	*uw*	*vriend,*					
	1S am	2POS	friend					

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[31] *Omwille der vrede* is the correct Dutch formulation.

[32] Cf. line 185, above.

[33] *Uit elkaar halen* or *door elkaar maken* would be the correct Dutch expression.

	de	Damaraland									
198	*te*	*Damaraland.*									
	to	Damaraland									

	ik	wens	ik	zal	op	mij	l[-*.*]	<ol•*land*>			
199	*Ik*	*wens*	*ik*	*zal*	*op*	*mijn*	***	*land*			
	1S	wish	1S	will	on	1S	***	land			

	drak	<ol•*getroke*>	komen	dan	zal	ik	zalf	daar		
200	*terug*[34]	*[-getrokken]*	*komen,*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*zelf*	*daar*		
	return	GE-move	come	then	will	1S	self	there		

	kom	en	vrede	de spreken	daar	op	uwe	
201	*komen*	*om*	*vrede*	*te spreken,*	*daar*	*op*	*uw*	
	come	for	peace	to speak	there	on	2POS	

.....

	<rs•blaast		mond	tot	mond	de	sp*.*erken>	
202	*plaats;*	*[2S]*	*mond*	*tot*	*mond*	*te*	*spreken.*	
	place		mouth	to	mouth	to	speak	

Goepakoeb 3 de Nopenab 1866
203 *Kubakop, 3 november 1866*

	Aan	Kapitien	Welem	Zwaarbooi	
204	*Aan*	*Kapitein*	*Willem*	*Swartbooi,*	
	to	captain	Willem	Swartbooi	

	ik	maak	deze	paar	reegelen	aan	u	en	uwe
205	*Ik*	*maak*	*deze*	*paar*	*regels*	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*uw*
	1S	make	D	few	lines	to	2S	and	2POS

	zon	PeTRus	zoo	is	de	vrag	van	mijn	wat	is
206	*zoon*	*Petrus.*	*Zo*	*is*	*de*	*vraag*	*van*	*mij*	*wat*	*is*
	son	Petrus	so	is	D	question	of	1POS	what	is

	de	oorzak	hieft	u	van	mij	geschieden	verdel	
207	*de*	*oorzaak,*	*bent*	*u*	*van*	*mij*	*gescheiden?*	*Vertel*	
	D	cause	PRF	2S	from	1S	GE-separate	tell	

	mijn	dan	zal	ik	weet	die	oorzak		heb	ik
208	*mij*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*weten*	*de*	*oorzaak*	*[REL]*	*[-V]*	*ik*
	1POS	then	will	1S	know	D	cause		PRF	1S

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[34] Could also be *strak(s)*, 'later'.

	voor	u	ge	dan	heeft	ik weet	zalf	niet	waat
209	*voor*[35]	*u*	*gedaan*		*heb.*	*Ik weet*	*zelf*	*niet*	*wat*
	for	2S	GE-do		PRF	1S know	self	NEG	what

	heb	ik	uliden	gedan	heeft	ik	weet	ook	niet
210	*[-V]*	*ik*	*jullie*	*gedaan*	*heb.*	*Ik*	*weet*	*ook*	*niet*
	PRF	1S	2PL	GE-do	PRF	1S	know	also	NEG

	wat	hieft	uliden	ons	gedaan	heeft	daarom	
211	*wat*	*[-V]*	*jullie*	*ons*	*gedaan*	*hebben.*	*Daarom*	
	what	PRF	2PL	1PL	GE-do	PRF	therefore	

	heb	ik	niet	<ol•naar>	uwe	werf	oorloog	maaken	ik
212	*heb*	*ik*	*niet*	*naar*	*uw*	*werf*	*oorlog*	*gemaakt.*	*Ik*
	PRF	1S	NEG	to	2POS	werf	war	make	1S

	heb		ulieden	neeks	dedoen	omdat	uliden
213	*heb*	*[P]*	*u*	*niks*	*te.doen*	*omdat*	*u*
	have		2PL	NEG	to.do	because	2PL

	mij	moeder	zijn	ploed	is	maar	ik	heb	*in*
214	*mijn*	*moeders*	*3POS*	*bloed*	*zijn.*	*Maar*	*ik*	*heb*	*in-*
	1S	mother	3POS	blood	are	but	1S	PRF	in

	gezien	hoedanig	zal	u	geveinsd	is	ik	verz*oek*
215	*gezien*	*hoedanig*	*zal*	*u*	*geveinsd*	*zijn.*	*Ik*	*verzoek*
	GE-see	how.much	will	2S	hypocritical	be	1S	request

	u	vriendelijk	verstan		mij	weel	ik	haad	niet
216	*u*	*vriendelijk,*	*versta*		*mij*	*goed,*	*ik*	*had*	*geen*
	2S	friendly	understand		1S	well	1S	had	NEG

	leeraar	op	mij	weerf	u	haad		leeraar	op	uwe
217	*leraar*	*op*	*mijn*	*werf,*	*u*	*had*	*[D]*	*leraar*	*op*	*uw*
	teacher	on	my	werf	2S	had		teacher	on	2POS

	blads	waner	zal	uwe	kwaadheid	verneder	en
218	*plaats.*	*Wanneer*	*zal*	*uw*	*kwaadheid*	*vernederen*[36]	*en*
	place	when	will	2POS	anger	humble	and

	alle	bedrog	en	geveinsdheid	en	nijdigheid	en
219	*alle*	*bedrog*	*en*	*geveinsdheid*	*en*	*nijdigheid*	*en*
	all	deceit	and	hypocrisy	and	spitefulness	and

[35] In Standard Afrikaans the preposition *vir* (<Du. *voor*) has largely replaced the Dutch alternation *aan/voor* with dative objects. It is attested since the earliest written records of the Cape Colony. See Volume I, Chapter Two, § 2.5.1.3.

[36] Rather meant: *verminderen*, 'to lessen'.

	alle	achderklappingen[37]	verladen	verder	ik		
220	*alle*	*kwaadsprekerij [V]*	*verlaten?*	*Verder,*	*ik*		
	all	backbiting	left	further	1S		
	heb	de	doen	naar	Anderzon	en	Kamaharero
221	*heb*	*te*	*doen*	*naar*[38]	*Andersson*	*en*	*Kamaharero*
	have	to	do	to	Andersson	and	Kamaharero
	van	dat		Anderzon	en	Kamaharero	die
222	*van*	*dat*[39]	*[P]*	*Andersson*	*en*	*Kamaharero*	*de*
	since	that		Anderson	and	Kamaharero	D
	omstaandig<ol•heid>	gepuur	heeft	verdel	mijn		
223	*omstandigheid*	*gebeurd*	*is.*	*Vertel*	*mij*		
	circumstance	GE-happen	PRF	tell	1POS		
	waner	zal	ik	naar	uwe	blads	doe	oorlog
224	*wanneer*	*zou*	*ik*	*naar*	*uw*	*plaats*	*[-]*	*oorlog*
	when	will	1S	to	2POS	place	to	war
	maak	of	zal	ik	mensch	uit	gestuur	
225	*maken*	*of*	*zou*[40]	*ik*	*mensen*	*uit*	*gestuurd [PRF]*	
	make	or	shall	1S	people	out	GE-send	
	om	uwe	waarde		gestoolen	verdel	mijn	
226	*om*	*uw*	*waren*	*[te]*	*stelen?*	*Vertel*	*mij,*	
	for	2POS	goods		GE-steal	tell	1POS	
	oute	Wellen	zal	ik	u	brief	geschrijfe	of
227	*oude*	*Willem*	*zou*	*ik*	*u [D]*	*brief*	*geschreven [PRF]*	*of*
	old	Willem	will	1S	2S	letter	GE-write	or
		boschaap	gestuur	u	moet		Damaras	helpen
228	*[D]*	*boodschap*	*gestuurd [PRF],*	*u*	*moet*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*helpen?*
		message	GE-send	2S	must		Damaras	help
	zal	ik	u	in	geroep	in	die	oorloog	u	is
229	*Zou*	*ik*	*u*	*in*	*roepen*	*in*	*de*	*oorlog?*	*U*	*bent*
	will	1S	2S	in	GE-call	in	the	war	2S	is
		onpaartijdige	man							
230	*[D]*	*onpartijdige*	*man.*							
		neutral	man							

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[37] Novel compound from Dutch *achter* (behind) and Southern Dutch *klappen* (talk/tell), probably based on the Nama compound *!hoa-!gâ*, 'speak+ back', meaning "talk behind someone's back" or "re-discuss; again talk about (someone)", depending on the melody of the compound (Haacke 1995:20). Cf. section IB, ln.461.

[38] *Met* 'with' would be the appropriate preposition.

[39] Flemish alternative for *sinds*.

[40] The combination of future auxiliary (*zal*) with the participial form of the verb seems to indicate an irrealis, throughout this letter.

	wat	zoek	u	deschen	ik		en	Damras
231	*Wat*	*zoekt*	*u*	*tussen*	*mij*		*en [D]*	*Damaras*
	what	seek	2S	amongst	1S		en	Damaras

	zijn	oorloog	verdel	mijn	wat	is	
232	*3POS*	*oorlog?*	*Vertel*	*mij*	*wat*	*[-V]*	
	3POS	war	tell	1POS	what	is	

	mij	schield	is	ik	heb	niet	u	ingeroep
233	*mijn*	*schuld*	*is.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*niet*	*u*	*[-in]geroepen*
	1S	guilt	is	1S	PRF	not	2S	in.GE-call

	maar	u	hieft	zalf	daarin	gegaan
234	*maar*	*u*	*bent*	*zelf*	*daarin*	*gegaan*
	but	2S	PRF	self	there.in	GE-go

	door	uwe	[-onde]	ondegheid	verder
235	*door*	*uw*		*ondeugendheid.*	*Verder*
	through	2POS		mischievousness	further

	verzoek		lad	ons	livers	vrede
236	*verzoek*	*[1S]*	*laat*	*ons*	*liever*	*vrede*
	request		let	1PL	rather	peace

	maak	dat	is	de	weens	van
237	*maken.*	*Dat*	*is*	*de*	*wens*	*van*
	make	that	is	D	wish	of

	mijn	mijne	<ol•lif>	hebbende	oute
238	*mij,*	*mijn*	*lief*	*hebbende*	*oude*
	1POS	1POS	love	having	old

	Vader	wel	uliden	och
239	*vader.*	*Wilt*	*u*	*nog*
	father	want	2PL	still

	niet	vrede	hebben	of	zal
240	*niet*	*vrede*	*hebben*	*of*	*zult*
	NEG	peace	have	or	will

	uliden	och	oorlog	maak	zeg
241	*u*	*nog*	*oorlog*	*maken?*	*Zeg*
	2PL	still	war	make	say

	mijn	Raguit	oute	Vader
242	*mij*	*rechtuit*	*oude*	*vader.*
	1POS	straight	old	father

	zal	u	och	oorlog	maak	of
243	*Zal*	*u*	*nog*	*oorlog*	*maken*	*of*
	will	2S	still	war	make	or

	zal	u	vrede	maak	heeft
244	*zal*	*u*	*vrede*	*maken*	*[-V]?*
	will	2S	peace	make	PRF

	zoo	moet	<ou>	Vader	mijn	has
245	*Zo*	*moet*	*oude*	*vader*	*mij*	*haas-*
	so	must	old	father	1POS	hastily

	dig	drou	antwoor	stuuren
246	*tig*	*terug*[41]	*antwoord*	*sturen,*
	-	return	answer	send

	zoo	verzoek	ik	u	hardelijk
247	*zo*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*hartelijk.*
	so	request	1S	2S	warmly

Goebiakoep 3De Nofenber 1866
248 *Kubakop, 3 november 1866*

	Aan	mijn	Eerwaar	de	Heer	Hahn
249	*Aan*	*mijn*	*eerwaarde*	-	*heer*	*Hahn,*
	to	1POS	honorable	-	Mr.	Hahn

	iK	heb	uwe	brief	gekrijgen
250	*Ik*	*heb*	*uw*	*brief*	*gekregen*
	1S	PRF	2POS	letter	GE-get

	en	gelees	en	alles	wel	geverstaan
251	*en*	*gelezen*	*en*	*alles*	*wel*	*verstaan.*
	and	GE-read	and	all	well	GE-understand

	ik	wil	waarlijk	vredee	weel
252	*Ik*	*wil*	*waarlijk*	*vrede*	*[-V]*
	1S	want	truly	peace	want

	hebben	maar	ik	hoor	noch		oute
253	*hebben*	*maar*	*ik*	*hoor*	*nog*	*[dat]*	*oude*
	have	but	1S	hear	also		old

	Welem	Zwaarbooi	niet	vrede
254	*Willem*	*Swartbooi*	*geen*	*vrede*
	Willem	Swartbooi	NEG	peace

	wel	hebben	voordat	zijn	wagen
255	*wil*	*hebben*	*voordat*	*zijn*	*wagen*
	want	have	before	3POS	wagon

	achder	uit	de	krijgen	heeft:	zoo	moet
256	*achter*	*uit*	*te*	*krijgen*	*is.*[42]	*Zo*	*moet*
	after	out	to	get	have	so	must

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[41] Could also be *trouw* (<*getrouw*), 'faithfully'.

[42] Unclear passage; probably Willem wants the wagons back, which were taken by the Afrikaner commando when they raided Rehoboth in August 1864 (see Appendix II).

	u	eerst	daar		oute	Zwaarbooi	zam				
257	*u*	*eerst*	*daar, [P]*		*oude*	*Swartbooi*	*samen,*				
	2S	first	there		old	Swartbooi	together				

		vrede	sproken	dat			zal	ik	vrede	
258	*[P]*	*vrede*	*spreken,*	*[-]*	*[dan]*		*zal*	*ik*	*vrede*	
		peace	speak	that			will	1S	peace	

	maak	ik	zeg	u	voordat	oute	
259	*maken.*	*Ik*	*zeg*	*u,*	*voordat*	*oude*	
	make	1S	say	2S	before	old	

	Welem	vrede	maak	zal	ik	niet	
260	*Willem*	*vrede*	*maakt*	*zal*	*ik*	*niet*	
	Willem	peace	make	will	1S	NEG	

	vrede	maak	zien	Heer	Hahn		
261	*vrede*	*maken.*	*Zie,*	*meneer*	*Hahn,*		
	peace	make	see	Mr.	Hahn		

	ik	gelof	niet	oute	Welem	en	
262	*ik*	*geloof*	*[->]*	*oude*	*Willem*	*en*	
	1S	belief	NEG	old	Willem	and	

	Kamaharero			als		Kapiteinse	
263	*Kamaharero*	*[>niet].*		*Als*	*[D]*	*kapiteinen,*	
	Kamaharero			if		captains	

	oute	Welem	en	harero			maak	zoo	
264	*oude*	*Willem*	*en*	*Kamaharero*		*[zo<]*	*maken*	*[<--].*	
	old	Willem	and	Kamaharero			make	so	

	hij	<ol•mak>		een	kan	vrede	en	een	kan	orlog	
265	*Hij*[43]	*maakt*	*[P]*	*een*	*kant*	*vrede*	*en*	*een*	*kant*	*oorlog,*	
	3S	make		one	side	peace	and	one	side	war	

	daarom	bedrou	ik	niet	die	twee	
266	*daarom*	*vertrouw*	*ik*	*niet*	*die*	*twee*	
	therefore	trust	1S	NEG	D	two	

	manen	als	Kapiteins	ben	
267	*mannen*	*als*	*kapiteinen*	*[-V].*	
	men	as	captains	is	

	verder	vrag	ik	u	<ol•u>	is	leeraar	warom	
268	*Verder*	*vraag*	*ik*	*u,*	*u*	*bent*	*leraar,*	*waarom*	
	further	ask	1S	2S	2S	is	teacher	why	

	kom	niet	u		naar	mij	weerf	doe	
269	*komt*	*[->]*	*u*	*[>niet]*	*naar*	*mijn*	*werf*	*toe*	
	come	NEG	2S		to	1S	werf	to	

[43] Although the handwriting is clear, rather 3PL: *zij*.

	of	zal	u	mijn	vrees.	Verdel	mij
270	*of*	*zal*	*u*	*mij*	*vrezen?*	*Vertel*	*mij,*
	or	will	2S	1POS	fear	tell	1S

	zien	Heer	Hahn	ik	zal	u
271	*zie*	*meneer*	*Hahn,*	*ik*	*zal*	*u*
	see	Mr.	Hahn	1S	will	2S

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	waarlijk	anzeg		ik	weens	niet
272	*waarlijk*	*[-aan].zeggen,*[44]		*ik*	*wens*	*niet*
	truly	notify		1S	wish	NEG

		vrede	de	sprooken	met	briefen
273	*[P]*	*vrede*	*te*	*spreken*	*met*	*brieven,*
		peace	to	speak	with	letters

	ik	wens	ons	moet	livers	mont	tot
274	*ik*	*wens*	*wij*	*moeten*	*liever*	*mond*	*tot*
	1S	wish	1PL	must	rather	mouth	to

	mont		vrede	sproken	dan	<ol•zal>	ons		wel
275	*mond*	*[P]*	*vrede*	*spreken*	*dan*	*zullen*	*wij [elkaar<]*		*goed*
	mouth		peace	speak	then	will	1PL		well

	verstaan	makar	dat	is	de	wens
276	*verstaan*	*[<-],*	*dat*	*is*	*de*	*wens.*
	understand	each.other	that	is	D	wish

	ik	hat	niet	leeraar	daarom	heb	ik
277	*Ik*	*had*	*geen*	*leraar,*	*daarom*	*heb*	*ik*
	1S	had	NEG	teacher	therefore	PRF	1S

	niet	orlog	gemaak	naar	oute	Welem
278	*geen*	*oorlog*	*gemaakt*	*naar*	*oude*	*Willem*
	NEG	war	GE-make	to	old	Willem

	en	harero	zijn	werf:	maar	oute	Wele
279	*en*	*Kamahareros*	*3POS*	*werf.*	*Maar*	*oude*	*Willem*
	and	Kamaharero	3POS	werf	but	old	Willem

	en	Kamaharero	hat		leeraar	om	hene
280	*en*	*Kamaharero*	*hadden*	*[D]*	*leraar*	*om*	*hen*
	and	Kamaharero	had		teacher	for	3PL

	Rad		gegeven	om	ons	zijn	<ol•bloed>	de	vergoden
281	*raad*	*[te]*	*geven,*	*om*	*ons*	*3POS*	*bloed*	*te*	*vergieten.*
	advise		GE-give	for	1POS	3POS	blood	to	spill

	verdel	mijn	Heer	Hahn	wat
282	*Vertel,*	*mijnheer*	-	*Hahn,*	*wat*
	tell	1POS	Mr.	Hahn	what

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[44] *Aanzeggen*, 'notify', archaic, formal Dutch.

	bedoug	die	bleek	Kamaharero	had							
283	*bedoelt*[45]	*de*	*plek?*	*Kamaharero*	*had*							
	mean	D	place	Kamaharero	had							
		leeraar	oute	Welem	had	ook		leeraar				
284	*[D]*	*leraar,*	*oude*	*Willem*	*had*	*ook*	*[D]*	*leraar.*				
		teacher	old	Willem	had	also		teacher				
	waarom	krijg	ik	oorlog	van							
285	*Waarom*	*krijg*	*ik*	*oorlog*	*van*							
	why	get	1S	war	from							
		leeraar	af	warom	maak	u	niet					
286	*[D]*	*leraren*	*af?*	*Waarom*	*maakt*	*u*	*niet*					
		teacher	off	why	make	2S	NEG					
	eerst	die	blek	Rag	voor	dat	u	mijn				
287	*eerst*	*die*	*plek*	*recht*	*voordat*	-	*u*	*mij*				
	first	D	place	right	before	that	2S	1POS				
	ont	Rag	waarom	zien		niet	uwe					
288	*ontrecht*	-.	*Waarom*	*ziet*	*[2S]*	*niet*	*uw*					
	deprive	-	why	see		NEG	2POS					
	kan	doe:	darom	lyk		mijn	zoo					
289	*kant*	*toe.*	*Daarom*	*lijkt*	*[het]*	*mij*	*zo,*					
	side	to	therefore	seem		1POS	so					
	uliden	leeraar	hief	niet	uit	gezien						
290	*u,*	*leraren*	*zijn*	*niet*	*uitgezon-*	-						
	2PL	teachers	PRF	NEG	out	GE-send						
	den	om	Gods	woorde	verkondigen							
291	*den*	*om*	*Gods*	*woord.te*	*verkondigen,*							
	-	for	God-GEN	word.to	preach							
	uliden	hief	uit	gezeenden	om							
292	*u*	*bent*	*uitgezonden*		*om*							
	2PL	PRF	out	GE-send	for							
		Damras	Rad		gegeven	om	ons	affricane				
293	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*raad*	*[te]*	*geven*	*om*	*ons,*	*Afrikanen*				
		Damaras	advice		GE-give	for	1PL	Afrikanen				
	zijn	bloed	de	vergoden	heeft:	als	u					
294	*3POS*	*bloed*	*te*	*vergieten*	*[-V].*	*Als*	*u*					
	3POS	blood	to	spill	PRF	if	2S					
	vrede	wel	hebben:	dan	moet							
295	*vrede*	*wilt*	*hebben,*	*dan*	*moet*							
	peace	want	have	then	must							

[45] Equivalent words in correct Dutch: *wat betekent die plaats (positie)* `what does the position entail`.

	u	zaf	naar	mij	komen	dat	is
296	*u*	*zelf*	*naar*	*mij*	*komen.*	*Dat*	*is*
	2S	self	to	1S	come	that	is

	de	wens	van	mijn:	dan	moet	ik	en
297	*de*	*wens*	*van*	*mij.*	*Dan*	*moet*	*ik*	*en*
	D	wish	of	1POS	then	must	1S	and

	u	mont	tot	mont	<ol•vrede>	sproken
298	*u*	*mond*	*tot*	*mond, [P]*	*vrede*	*spreken.*
	2S	mouth	to	mouth	peace	speak

	Zoo	veer
299	*Zo*	*ver,*
	so	far

Zaogab 11de januwaari 1867
300 *Zaogab, 11 januari 1867*

	Aan	eerwaar
301	*Aan*	*eerwaarde*
	To	honorable

	Heer	Hahn,
302	*Heer*	*Hahn,*
	Mr.	Hahn

	Ik	hebben	uwe	antwoord	brief
303	*Ik*	*heb*	*uw*	*antwoord*	*brief*
	1S	PRF	2POS	answer	letter

	gekrijgen	en	alle	wel	geverstaan	dat	is	nu	lad
304	*gekregen*	*en*	*alles*	*goed*	*verstaan.*	*Het*	*is*	*nu*	*dat*
	GE-get	and	all	well	GE-understand	that	is	now	let

	door	die	werk	van	uwe	vriend
305	*door*	*het*	*werk*	*van*	*uw*	*vriend.*
	by	D	work	of	2POS	friend

	daarom	maak	ik	u	deze	brief	om u		de	aan	zegen
306	*Daarom*	*maak*	*ik*	*u*	*deze*	*brief*	*om u*	*[aan<]*	*te*	*[<-]*[46]	*zeggen*
	therefore	make	1S	2S	D	letter	for 2S		to	notify	-

	en	verzoeken	maak	doch	scheken	blads	af	zoo	
307	*en [te]*	*verzoeken:*	*maak*	*toch [D]*	*schikking*	*plaats*	*af,*	*zo*	*[dat]*
	and	request	make	MOD	arrange	place	off	so	

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[46] *Aanzeggen*, 'notify', archaic, formal Dutch, separable compound verb.

	veer	Heer	behou	zijn	blads	dat	is	de	wens	van
308	*[-][47]*	*heer*	*behoudt*	*3POS*	*plaats.*	*Dat*	*is*	*de*	*wens*	*van*
	for	sir	keep	3POS	place	that	is	D	wish	of

	mijn	u	en	jevrouw	Kliensmid	en	Daniel	en	ook
309	*mij;*	*U*	*en*	*juffrouw*	*Kleinschmidt*	*en*	*Daniel*	*en*	*ook*
	1POS	2S	and	Miss	Kleinschmidt	and	Daniel	and	also

	Zamiel	Gerse		lad	ik	niet	een	dag	ver
310	*Samuel*	*Gertze,*	*[zo]*	*dat*	*ik*	*niet*	*een*	*dag*	*be-*
	Samuel	Gertze		let	1S	NEG	one	day	blamed

	schooldig	woort	als	uliden	een	dag		ongelek
311	*schuldigd*	*word,*	*als*	*u*	*een*	*dag*	*[D]*	*ongeluk*
	-	be	if	2PL	one	day		accident

	krijg	heeft	ik	hebben		niet	nodag	om	uwe
312	*krijgt*	*[-V].*	*Ik*	*heb*	*[het]*	*niet*	*nodig*	*om*	*uw*
	get	PRF	1S	have		NEG	need	for	2POS

	bloed	de	verigodenben:	daarom	heb	ik	dardie[48]
313	*bloed*	*te*	*vergieten.[-V].*	*Daarom*	*heb*	*ik*	*daar.die*
	blood	to	spill.are	therefore	PRF	1S	there.D

	brief	Daniel	geladschrijfen:	om	uliden		lad
314	*brief*	*Daniel[49]*	*laten.schrijven,*	*om*	*u*	*[te]*	*laten*
	letter	Daniel	GE-let.write	for	2PL		let

	weten	wat	is	my	voornemen	is	waarom		u
315	*weten*	*wat*	*[-V]*	*mijn*	*voornemen*	*is.*	*Waarom*	*[blijft<]*	*u*
	know	what	is	1S	intention	is	why		2S

	niet	uit	blijf	van		oorlog	af	of	Damras	Zoo
316	*niet*	*uit*	*[<--]*	*van*	*[D]*	*oorlog*	*af*	*of*	*Damaras?*	*Zo*
	NEG	out	stay	from		war	off	or	Damaras	so

	lang	lad	de	oorlog	verbijgaan		ik	maak	u
317	*lang, [tot]*	*dat*	*de*	*oorlog*	*voorbij.gaat.*		*Ik*	*maak*	*u*
	long	let	D	war	past.go		1S	make	2S

	nu	deze	voorrag	als	u	niet	deze	keer:		Damras
318	*nu*	*dit*	*voorrecht*	*als*	*u*	*niet*	*deze*	*keer*	*[van] [D]*	*Damaras*
	now	D	privilege	as	2S	NEG	D	time		Damaras

	af	weg	blijfen	dan	zal	ik	ander	keer	geen
319	*af*	*weg*	*blijft*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*[D] andere*	*keer*	*geen*
	off	away	stay	then	will	1S	other	time	NEG

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[47] Possibly *voor*, 'for' or *ver*, 'far'.

[48] Standard Afrikaans demonstrative 'that' next to *hierdie* (this), which has replaced the Dutch paradigm which distinguishes between Gender (*deze, dit* (this), *die, dat* (that)). The latter (*hierdie*) does not appear in this corpus. The former (*daardie*) occurs on five occasions; in the examples the deictic reference of *daar* can still be observed in the combination, (cf. Roberge 1996b).

[49] This could be a dative object: *aan Daniel*.

	onderscheiden	maak	zien	dat	is	niet	vandag	
320	*onderscheid*	*maken.*	*Zie,*	*dat*	*is*	*niet*	*vandaag*	
	distinction	make	see	that	is	NEG	today	

	heb	ik	briefengeschrijfen	naar	uliden	leeraar	
321	*heb*	*ik*	*brieven.geschreven*	*naar*	*jullie*	*leraars*	
	PRF	1S	letters.GE-write	to	2PL	teacher	

	of	alle	andere	vrede	menschen	moet	uit	blijfen	
322	*of*	*alle*	*andere*	*vredes*	*mensen.*	*[2S]* *moet*	*weg*	*blijven*	
	or	all	other	peace	people	must	out	stay	

	van		Damras	of	Otjimbingw	af	dan	zal	ik
323	*van*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*of*	*Otjimbingwe*	*af,*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*
	from		Damaras	or	Otjimbingwe	away	then	will	1S

	weet	wie	is	vrede	menschen	is	en	wie	is	onvrede
324	*weten*	*wie*	*[-V]*	*vredes*	*mensen*	*zijn*	*en*	*wie*	*[-V]*	*onvrede*
	know	who	is	peace	people	is	and	who	is	dissension

	menschen	is:	zien	lief	vrind	ik	hebben	niet
325	*mensen*	*zijn.*	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*vriend,*	*ik*	*heb*	*niet*
	people	is	see	dear	friend	1S	PRF	NEG

	<ol•beegerd>	om	uwe	huis	de	anraken		maar	als	u	niet
326	*begeerd*	*om*	*uw*	*huis*	*[->]*	*aan.[>te].raken,*		*maar*	*als*	*u*	*niet,*
	GE-desire	for	2POS	house	to	touch		but	if	2S	NEG

		veschten	ander	blads	hebben	dan	zal		ik	
327	*[als wij]*	*vechten,*	*[D]* *andere*	*plaats*	*heeft,*	*dan*	*zal*	*[door]*	*mij*	
		fight	other	place	have	then	will		1S	

	deze	keer	ziekeer lijk	uwe	huis	verbrande	woorden	
328	*deze*	*keer*	*zekerlijk -*	*uw*	*huis*	*verbrand*	*worden.*	
	this	time	surely -	2POS	house	burned.down	be	

	dan	moet	gij niets	mijn	schoodig	woorden	dat		
329	*Dan*	*moet*	*gij niet*	*mijn*	*schuld*	*worden,*	*dat*		
	then	must	2S NEG	1POS	guilt	be	that		

	zeg	ik	u:	verder	gij	zil	niet	wederom		vrede
330	*zeg*	*ik*	*u.*	*Verder,*	*gij*	*zult*	*niet*	*weer*	*[D]*	*vredes*
	say	1S	2S	further	2S	will	NEG	again		peace

	brief		mijn	schrijfen	zien	dat	niet		vandag
331	*brief*	*[P]*	*mij*	*schrijven.*	*Zie,*	*dat*	*niet*	*[net]*	*vandaag,*
	letter		1POS	write	see	that	NEG		today

	hief	ons		vrede	de	spreeken	maar		Damras	hief
332	*hebben*	*wij*	*[P]*	*vrede*	*te*	*spreken,*	*maar*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*zijn*
	PRF	1PL		peace	to	speak	but		Damaras	PRF

	niet	door	ons	zijn	vrede	op gehouden		oorlog		maake
333	*niet*	*door*	*onze*	*3POS*	*vrede,*	*opgehouden*		*oorlog*	*[te]*	*maken.*
	NEG	through	1POS	3POS	peace	-	GE-seize	war		make

	zien	ons	spreek		een	kan	vrede	hy	Damras	mak	
334	*Zie,*	*wij*	*spreken [P]*		*een*	*kant*	*vrede;*	*hij, [D]*	*Damaras*	*maken*	
	See	1PL	speak		one	side	peace	3S	Damaras	make	
	moord		een	kan	ons	zijn	menschen	en	ook	[-ons]	
335	*moord*	*[P]*	*een*	*kant [P]*	*onze*	*3POS*	*mensen*	*en*	*ook*		
	murder		one	side	1POS	3POS	people	and	also	1POS	
	al	dag	ons	zijn	waarde[50]	af	schied	ons	stan	vrede	
336	*alle*	*dagen*	*onze*	*3POS*	*waarden*	*af*	*schieten.*[51]	*Wij*	*staan [P]*	*vrede*	
	all	days	1POS	3POS	possessions	off	shoot	1PL	stand	peace	
	en	dan	hoe	zal	ons	die	vrede	gelooven			
337	*en*	*dan,*	*hoe*	*zullen*	*wij [P]*	*die*	*vrede*	*geloven?*			
	and	then	how	will	1PL	D	peace	believe?			

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	dat	lijk	mijn	Zoo	Damras	hat		een	kan	
338	*Het*	*lijkt*	*mij*	*zo [D]*	*Damaras*	*hadden*	*[P]*	*een*	*kant*	
	That	seem	1POS	so	Damaras	had		one	side	
	vuur	en	u	hat	een	kan	koud	water	om	die
339	*vuur*	*en*	*u*	*had [P]*	*een*	*kant*	*koud*	*water*	*om*	*het*
	fire	and	2S	had	one	side	cold	water	for	D
	vuur	dood	de	maak	en	daarom	wel	ik	niet	
340	*vuur*	*dood*	*te*	*maken*	*en*	*daarom*	*wil*	*ik*	*niet*	
	fire	dead	to	make	and	therefore	want	1S	NEG	
	meer		vrede	brief	gelooven	heeft.				
341	*meer*	*[P]*	*vredes*	*brieven*	*geloven*	*[-V].*				
	more		peace	letter	believe	PRF				
	gij	zeg	dat	is	niet	Anderzon		hief	die	op
342	*Gij*	*zegt*	*dat*	*is*	*niet*	*Andersson*	*[REL]*	*heeft*	*de*	*op-*
	2S	say	that	is	NEG	Andersson		PRF	D	rebellion
	roer	gemaken		ik	moet	zal	vragen		maar	
343	*roer*	*gemaakt.*		*Ik*	*moet*	*zal*	*vragen*		*maar*	
	-	GE-make		1S	must	will	ask		but	
	dat	is	niet	waar	ik	weet	dat	is	Anderzon	
344	*dat*	*is*	*niet*	*waar.*	*Ik*	*weet*	*dat*	*is*	*Andersson*	
	that	is	NEG	true	1S	know	that	is	Andersson	
	en	uliden			hief	die	oproer	gemaak		
345	*en*	*jullie*		*[REL]*	*hebben*	*de*	*oproer*	*gemaakt.*		
	and	2PL			PRF	D	rebellion	GE-make		

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[50] Could also be *waren* 'goods, assets'.

[51] Note the absence of verb-second, implying the omission of an auxiliary or aspectual verb (perhaps *staan*). It could also be a passive sentence. Cf. the passive construction in ln.327-328, above.

	daat	heb	ik		overlede	Feliebes	gehoord	voor	zijn
346	*Dat*	*heb*	*ik*	*[P]*	*overleden*	*Phillipus*	*gehoord,*	*voor*	*zijn*
	that	have	1S		deceased	Phillipus	GE-hear	before	3POS

	dood	en	ook	Kamaharero	en alle	andere	
347	*dood*	*en*	*ook [P]*	*Kamaharero*	*en alle*	*andere*	
	death	and	also	Kamaharero	and all	other	

	Damras	zien	mijne	lief	hebbende	leeraar	door	uwe
348	*Damaras.*	*Zie,*	*mijn*	*liefhebbende*	-	*leeraar,*	*door*	*uw*
	Damaras	see	1POS	loving	-	teacher	by	2POS

	brief	hief	out	Welem	Zwaarbooi	zijn	
349	*brief*	*hebben*	*oude*	*Willem*	*Swartbooi*	*3POS*	
	letter	PRF	old	Willem	Swartbooi	3POS	

	menschen	mijn	werf	geschieden	dat	weet	ik
350	*mensen*	*mijn*	*werf*	*beschoten*	*dat*	*weet*	*ik*
	people	1POS	werf	GE-shoot	that	know	1S

	ook	maar	daarom	spreek	ik	nog	niet	daar	die[52]
351	*ook*	*maar*	*daarom*	*spreek*	*ik*	*nog*	*niet*	*daar*	*die*
	also	but	therefore	speak	1S	still	NEG	there	D

	kan	warom	blijf	gij	niet	weeg		oorlog	blads
352	*kant.*	*Waarom*	*blijft*	*gij*	*niet*	*weg*	*[van] [D]*	*oorlogs*	*plaats?*
	side	why	stay	2S	NEG	away		war	place

	ik zien	gijliden	hief		Damras	die	rad	gegeven
353	*Ik zie*	*jullie*	*hebben*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*de*	*raad*	*gegeven,*
	1S see	2PL	PRF		Damaras	D	advice	GE-give

	daarom	blijf u	niet	weeg	van		oorlog	af
354	*daarom*	*blijft*	*u niet*	*weg*	*van*	*[D]*	*oorlog*	*af.*
	therefore	stay	2S NEG	away	from		war	off

	is	dat	niet		die	oorlog	uit gezenden		die	waat
355	*Is*	*het*	*niet*	*[2PL, REL]*	*de*	*oorlog*	*uitgezonden*	*[PRF],*	*die*	*wat*
	is	that	NEG		D	war	out GE-send		D	REL

	orlede	oute	Ambral	Lamer	zijn	vrouw	en
356	*overlede*	*oude*	*Amraal*	*Lambert*	*3POS*	*vrouw*	*en*
	deceased	old	Amraal	Lambert	3POS	wife	and

	kinderen	gedan	gemoor	daarom	hief	Anderzon
357	*kinderen*	*gedaan*[53]	*gemoord [PRF].*	*Daarom*	*is*	*Andersson*
	children	GE-do	GE-murder	therefore	is	Andersson

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[52] See footnote 48, p.27.

[53] *Gedaan* occurs as a completive marker (cf. ln.391, *infra*), but also in the sense of 'to be finished': "[he rather wanted] *dood gaan, gedaan raken"* (to die, to be destroyed), (Jonker Afrikaner to Hahn, 1853, see Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.2, p.86) in which case this is a coordination: "...to destroy and murder."

	nog	vandag	onschooldag	is			dat	Anderzon		niet	
358	*nog*	*vandaag*	*onschuldig*	*[-V],*		*[om?]*	*dat*	*Andersson*		*niet*	
	still	today	innocent	is			that	Andersson		NEG	
	zal	op	mij	werf	gekomen	met	oorlog	om			
359	*zal*	*op*	*mijn*	*werf*	*komen*	*met*	*oorlog*	*om*			
	will	on	1S	werf	GE-come	with	war	for			
	mij	werf	af		schiet:	daarom	hief	Anderzon	nog		
360	*mijn*	*werf*	*af*	*[te]*	*schieten,*	*daarom*	*heeft*	*Andersson*	*nog*		
	1S	werf	off		shoot	therefore	PRF	Andersson	still		
	deschen	Damras	oproer	gedan	heeft						
361	*tussen*	*[D] Damaras*	*oproer*	*gedaan*	*[-V].*						
	between	Damaras	rebellion	GE-do	PRF						
	alwat	zeg	zoo dat	is	<ol•die>	rad	van	oute	Heer	Hahn	
362	*Allen.die*	*zeggen*	*zo, dat*	*is*	*de*	*raad*	*van*	*oude*	*heer*	*Hahn*	
	all.REL	say	so that	is	D	advice	of	old	Mr.	Hahn	
	en	Anderzon	hief	ons	stan	dood	zag	die			
363	*en*	*Andersson*	*heeft*	*ons*	*staan*	*doden,*	*zeggen*	*de*			
	and	Andersson	PRF	1PL	stand	kill	say	D			
	Damras		voor	ons	allen						
364	*Damaras*		*voor*	*ons*	*allen.*						
	Damaras		to	1PL	all						
	ik	ziet	nu	dat	is	warlijk	uwe	rad	is	dit	
365	*Ik*	*zie*	*nu*	*dat [het]*	*[-V]*	*waarlijk*	*uw*	*raad*	*is,*	*dat*	
	1S	see	now	that	is	truly	2POS	advice	is,	that	
	hief		Damras	deze	op roergemaak		heeft				
366	*[-V]*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*deze*	*oproer.gemaakt*		*hebben.*				
	PRF		Damaras	D	rebellion.GE-make		PRF				
	ons	u		voor		uwe	Groode	gad	gemaak	ons	
367	*[-->]*	*U*	*[PRF]*	*voor*	*[>ons][54]*	*uw*	*groot*	*gat*	*gemaakt.*	*Wij,*	
	1PL	2S		for		2POS	big	hole	GE-make	1PL	
	vechden	moet	daar	in:	blijfen	dat	heb	ik	[-zien]		
368	*vechters*	*moeten*	*daarin*	-	*blijven,*	*dat*	*heb*	*ik*			
	fighters	must	there	in	remain	that	PRF	1S	see		
	zalf	gezien	met	mij	ogen	ik		nu	andere	leeraar	
369	*zelf*	*gezien*	*met*	*mijn*	*ogen.*	*Ik*	*[V]*	*nu*	*andere*	*leraren,*	
	self	GE-see	with	1S	eyes	1S		now	other	teacher	
	Heer	Krolen	en	Heer	Cref	uw	hahn	hief			
370	*heer*	*Krönlein*	*en*	*heer*	*Kreft.*	*U,*	*Hahn,*	*heeft*			
	Mr.	Krönlein	and	Mr.	Kreft	2POS	Hahn	PRF			

[54] Nama word-order, see footnote 21, 22, above.

		Genotschaap	gezunden	om		Damras	de				
371	*[D]*	*genootschap*	*gezonden*	*om*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*te*				
		society	GE-send	for		Damaras	to				
	ver	zamel	om	ons	zijn	bloed	de	vergoden	door		
372	*verzamelen*	-	*om*	*ons*	*3POS*	*bloed*	*te*	*vergieten*	*door*		
	unite	-	for	1POS	3POS	blood	to	spill	by		
	ons	zijn	land	niet	ge	zunden		om	God	woorte	
373	*ons*	*3POS*	*land [en]*	*niet*	*gezonden*	-		*om*	*Gods*	*woord.te*	
	1POS	3POS	land	NEG	GE-send	-		for	God	word.to	
	verkondigen.	Zien	mijne	gelief	de	<ol•oute>	leeraar	ik			
374	*verkondigen.*	*Zie,*	*mijn*	*geliefde*	-	*oude*	*leraar,*	*ik*			
	preach	See	1POS	beloved	-	old	teacher,	1S			
	is	in	uwe	school	gewes	en	door	uwe	leer	heb	
375	*ben*	*in*	*uw*	*school*	*geweest*	*en*	*door*	*uw*	*leer*	*heb*	
	am	in	2POS	school	GE-be	and	by	2POS	lessons	PRF	
	ik	vandag	die	brief	zalf	geschrijfen					
376	*ik*	*vandaag*	*deze*	*brief*	*zelf*	*geschreven.*					
	1S	today	D	letter	self	GE-write					
	daarom	heb	ik	niet	noodag	om	uwe	bloedde			
377	*Daarom*	*heb*	*ik [het]*	*niet*	*nodig*	*om*	*uw*	*bloed.te*			
	therefore	have	1S	NEG	need	for	2POS	blood.to			
	verigoden	daarom	Zoepad	ik	u	weer	deze				
378	*vergieten.*	*Daarom*	*soebat*	*ik*	*u*	*weer*	*deze*				
	spill	therefore	plead	1S	2S	again	D				
	keer	liefe	Hahn	drak	weg		Otjimbingw	af			
379	*keer:*	*lieve*	*Hahn*	*trek*	*weg*	*[P]*	*Otjimbingwe*	*af,*			
	time	dear	Hahn	move	away		Otjimbingwe	off			
	of	vechten	moet	andere	blads	hebben	als		uwe	hiis	
380	*of [D]*	*vechten*	*moet*	*[D] andere*	*plaats*	*hebben*	*als [P]*		*uw*	*huis.*	
	or	fight	must	other	place	have	as		2POS	house	
	als	u	niet	weggegaan	schrijf	mijn	hasdag				
381	*Als*	*u*	*niet*	*weg.gaat,*	*schrijf*	*mij*	*haastig*				
	if	2S	NEG	away.GE-go	write	1POS	hastily				
	dereg	antwoort,	als	ublif	dat	heb	ik	u	hardelijk		
382	*terug*	*antwoord,*	*alstublieft -.*		*Dat*	*heb*	*ik*	*u*	*hartelijk*		
	return	answer	please	-	that	PRF	1S	2S	warmly		
	verzoeken	gyliden	zeg		Damras	hief	die	dag			
383	*verzocht.*	*Jullie*	*zeggen [D]*		*Damaras*	*zijn*	*die*	*dag*			
	request	2PL	say		Damaras	PRF	D	day			
	uitgegaan	om	vrynasis	de	woor		waarom	zal			
384	*uitgegaan*	*om [D]*	*vrije.natie*	*te*	*worden,*		*waarom*	*zullen*			
	out.GE-go	for	free.nation	to	become		why	will			

		Damras	niet	steel	leegen	g	op		vryland			
385	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*niet*	*stil*	*liggen*	*	*op*	*[D]*	*vrije.land?*			
		Damaras	NEG	quiet	lie	*	on		free.land			

	wanner	zal	Damras	op	hou	om	ons	zijn	bees
386	*Wanneer*	*zullen [D]*	*Damaras*	*ophouden*	-	*om*	*onze*	*3POS*	*beesten*
	when	will	Damaras	stop	-	for	1POS	3POS	animals

	ge	stolen	u	is	moes		Hof	van	de	Damras
387	*[-ge] [te]*	*stelen?*	*U*	*bent*	*immers*[55]	*[D]*	*hoofd*	*van*	*de*	*Damaras,*
	GE	steal	2S	is	MOD		head	of	D	Damaras

	u	stan	moes	in	de	Damras	om	Gods	woorte
388	*u*	*staat*	*immers*	*in*[56]	*de*	*Damaras*	*om*	*Gods*	*woord.te*
	2S	stand	MOD	in	D	Damaras	for	God-GEN	word.to

	verkondigen	maar	ik	zien	nu	u	hief
389	*verkondigen?*	*Maar*	*ik*	*zie*	*nu*	*u*	*heeft*
	preach	but	1S	see	now	2S	PRF

	in	die	gestan	om	die	Damras	Kroud	de	geven
390	*in*	*dit*	*gestaan*	*om*	*de*	*Damaras*	*kruid*	*te*	*geven*
	in	D	GE-stand	for	D	Damaras	gunpowder	to	give

	om	Röe	mensche		gedan	gemoor	dan	zal
391	*om*	*Rode*	*mensen*	*[te]*	*doen*[57]	*vermoorden,*	*dan*	*zal*
	for	Red	people		GE-do	GE-murder	then	will

	u	die	land	de	krijgen
392	*u*	*dit*	*land*	*[-]*	*krijgen.*
	2S	D	land	to	have

		Zoo	doed	ik	besde	Comdmen	
393		*Zo*	*doe*	*ik*	*[D]*	*beste*	*complimenten*
		So	do	1S		best	compliments

	an	u	en	alle	Creesde	menschen	op	Otjimbingw
394	*aan*	*U*	*en*	*alle*	*Christen*	*mensen*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*
	to	you	and	all	Christian	people	on	Otjimbingwe

		Ik	ben	uwe	vriend
395		*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*vriend*
		1s	am	2POS	friend

K J Jonker Afrikaner

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[55] Present day Afrikaans: *mos.*

[56] *Tussen,* 'between, amongst' is the correct preposition in Dutch.

[57] Alternatively *gedaan* can be read as a completive marker (cf. Den Besten 1987:19-20, Roberge 1993:75).

...om [als] de rode mensen gedaan gemoor [zijn], dan zal u dit land krijgen
'...for, when the red people are done murdered, then you will obtain this land'.

1867
Zaogab 2 de Opdober
396 *Zaogab, 2 oktober 1867*

	Aan	de	Eerwaarde
397	*Aan*	*de*	*eerwaarde*
	to	the	honourable

Heer Hahn
398 *Heer Hahn,*
Mr. Hahn

		Dad	is	lang	tijt		heb	ik	niet
399		*Dat*	*is*	*lange*	*tijd*	*[geleden].*	*heb*	*ik*	*niet*
		that	is	long	time		PRF	1S	NEG

	uwe	brief	gekrijgen	en	ook	niet	i*is*t
400	*uw*	*brief*	*gekregen*	*en*	*ook*	*niet*	*iets*
	2POS	letter	GE-get	and	also	NEG	something

	gehooren	of	zal	u	nog	mijn	vriendschap
401	*gehoord*	*of*	*zal*	*u*	*nog*	*mijn*	*vriend*[58]
	GE-hear	or	will	2S	still	1POS	friendship

	is	of	niet		vriendschap	is	ik	heb	nu
402	*zijn*	*of*	*niet*	*[1POS]*	*vriend*	*zijn.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*nu*
	be	or	NEG		friendship	be	1S	PRF	now

	ge hoort	u	is	niet	meer	mijn	vriendschap
403	*gehoord*	*u*	*bent*	*niet*	*meer*	*mijn*	*vriend.*
	GE-hear	2S	is	NEG	more	1POS	friendship

	Welen	hebben		hardelijke	Groetenes	an
404	*Goed,*[59]	*heb*	*[D]*	*hartelijke*	*groeten*	*aan*
	Well	have		warm	greetings	to

	U	en	Jevrouw	en	kinderen	en	ook
405	*u*	*en*	*juffrouw*	*en*	*kinderen*	*en*	*ook*
	2S	and	Miss	and	children	and	also

	Jevrouw	Kliensmede	en	zijn	dochderen
406	*juffrouw*	*Kleinschmidt*	*en*	*haar*	*dochters.*
	Miss	Kleinschmidt	and	3POS	daughters

	Ik	maak	u	deze	brief
407	*Ik*	*maak*	*u*	*deze*	*brief*
	1S	make	2S	this	letter

	om	an	u	de	vragen	vrag	is	vrij	daarom
408	*om*	*aan*	*u*	*te*	*vragen,*	*vragen*	*is*	*vrij,*	*daarom.*
	for	to	2S	to	ask	ask	is	free	therefore

[58] Alternatively used as an adjective "*Is u my nog vriendschappelijk [gezind]*".

[59] Alternatively *welen* is a verb (to want) an he intended: *ik heb gehoord dat u niet meer mijn vriendschap wil hebben*. 'I have heard that you do not want my friendship any more'.

	ik	hebben	nu	hoor	u	hief	veele	we*.*de			
409	*Ik*	*heb*	*nu*	*gehoord*	*u*	*heeft*	*vele*	*witte*			
	1S	PRF	now	hear	2S	PRF	many	white			
	menschen	op	Otjimbingw	gebrengen	ik						
410	*mensen*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*	*gebracht.*	*Ik*						
	people	on	Otjimbingwe	GE-bring	1S						
	wed	niet	is	dat	waar	is	<ol•of>	niet	waar	is	
411	*weet*	*niet*	*[of]*	*[-V]*	*dat*	*waar*	*is*	*of*	*niet*	*waar*	*is,*
	know	not	is	that	true	is	or	NEG	true	is	
	maar	ik	vrag	daarom	om		hoor				
412	*maar*	*ik*	*vraag*	*daarom,*	*om*	*[dat]*	*[1S]*	*hoor*			
	but	1S	ask	therefore	for			hear			
	en	ook	gehoor	u	is		meer	niet	leeraar		
413	*en*	*ook*	*gehoord*	*[PRF]*	*u*	*bent*	*[niet<]*	*meer*	*[<--]*	*leeraar,*	
	and	also	GE-hear	2S	is		more	NEG	teacher		
	u	is	Kapitein	<ol•van>	Otjimbingw						
414	*u*	*bent*	*kapitein*	*van*	*Otjimbingwe.*						
	2S	is	captain	of	Otjimbingwe						

	Daarom	maak	u	nu	weede	menschen	
415	*Daarom*	*maakt*	*u*	*nu*	*witte*	*mensen*	
	therefore	make	2S	now	white	people	
	<ol•de>	ver	zamel	op	Otjimbingw	als uwe	blas.
416	*te*	*verzamelen*[60]		*op*	*Otjimbingwe,*	*als uw*	*plaats.*
	to	collect		on	Otjimbingwe	as 2POS	place
	Zien	waarde	Heer	u	is	leeraar van	Bamen
417	*Zie,*	*waarde*	*heer*	*u*	*bent*	*leraar van*	*Barmen*
	See	worthy	sir	2S	are	teacher of	Barmen
	dat	wet	ons	algar	wie	hief u	Otjimbingw
418	*dat*	*weten*	*we*	*allemaal.*	*Wie*	*heeft u*	*Otjimbingwe*
	that	know	1PL	all	who	PRF 2S	Otjimbingwe
	gegeven	wie	hief	u	vrijheid	gegeven	om
419	*gegeven?*	*Wie*	*heeft*	*u*	*[D]*	*vrijheid*	*gegeven*	*om*
	GE-give	who	PRF	2S		freedom	GE-give	for
	U	op	Otjimbingw	Kapitein		woorden	
420	*[-]*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*	*kapitein*	*[te]*	*worden,*	
	2S	on	Otjimbingwe	captain		become	

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[60] Although Dutch **maken te verzamelen*; Jan Jonker frequently makes use of a 'light verb' such as *maken* to express himself.

	om	vriemde	mensche	bijmalkander						
421	*om*	*vreemde*	*mensen*	*bij elkaar*						
	for	strange	people	together						
		maaken	op	die	[-t..b]	blasd	heb	ik	niet	
422	*[te]*	*maken*	*op*	*de*	***	*plaats?*	*Heb*	*ik*	*niet*	
		make	on	D	***	place	PRF	1S	NEG	
	u		gegeven	heeft:	aan	woort	mijn			
423	*u*	*[dit]*	*gegeven*	*[-V]?*	*Antwoord*		*mij*			
	2S		GE-give	PRF	answer	-	1POS			
	hasdig		alsublief	[-z...p]	zien		lief Heer			
424	*haastig,*[61]		*alstublieft.*	***	*Zie*		*lieve*	*heer*		
	hastily		please	***	see		dear	sir		
	gij	weet	dat	is	de blasd		hief	ons		
425	*gij*	*weet*	*dat*	*is*	*de plaats, [REL]*		*hebben*	*we*		
	2S	know	that	is	D place		PRF	1PL		
	nog	voor	stan	stryten	zal	u	vriende			
426	*nog*	*voor*	*staan*	*strijden.*	*Zult*	*u, [D]*	*vreemde*			
	still	for	stand	argue	will	2S	strange			
	menschen	wat		niet	weeten		en			
427	*mensen*	*die*	*[dit]*	*niet*	*weten*	*[dit]*	*in-*			
	people	REL		NEG	know		inform			
	brugen	gij	weet	dat	is	blasd		heb		
428	*brengen.*	*Gij*	*weet*	*dat*	*is [D]*	*plaats, [REL]*		*heb*		
	-	2S	know	that	is	place		PRF		
	<ol•ik>	nog	niet		mensch	gegeven	of	ook		
429	*ik*	*nog*	*niet*	*[P]*	*mensen*	*gegeven*	*of*	*ook*		
	1S	yet	NEG		people	GE-give	or	also		
	niet	verkopen:	en	wat	zeg					
430	*niet*	*verkocht.*	*En*	*wat*	*zegt*					
	not	sell	and	what	say					
	de	Kamaharero	deeen my							
431	*[-]*	*Kamaharero*	*tegen*	*mij?*						
	D	Kamaharero	to	1S						
	Zal	hij	vrede	maak	of	niet				
432	*Zal*	*hij*	*vrede*	*maken*	*of*	*geen*				
	Will	3S	peace	make	or	NEG				
	vrede	maaken.								
433	*vrede*	*maken?*								
	peace	make								

[61] He rather would have meant *spoedig* (an early reply).

Setamper 27 de 1868
434 *27 september 1868*

Wel Eerwaarte
435 *Wel* *eerwaarde*
well honourable

Heer Hahn
436 *Heer* *Hahn,*
Mr. Hahn

ik Melten u deze brief
437 *Ik* *meld* *u* *[P]* *deze* *brief,*
1S report 2S D letter

Namelijk van mij nakheid
438 *namelijk* *vanwege* *mijn* *naaktheid.*
namely of 1S nakedness

ik wens bij u de kom maar liefe
439 *Ik* *wens* *bij* *u* *te* *komen* *maar* *lieve,*
1S wish to 2S to come but dear

ik is zeer Naken als klienkin
440 *ik* *ben* *zeer* *nakend,*[62] *als* *[D]* *klein kind.*
1S is very naked as small.child

daarom mak ik deze bief aan u
441 *Daarom* *maak* *ik* *deze* *brief* *aan* *u*
therefore make 1S D letter to 2S

kleederen devragen ben: liefe Heery
442 *[om]* *kleren* *te* *vragen* *[-V].* *Lieve* *heer*
clothes to ask PRF Dear sir

stuurt mijn vier Baaikis en zes hemten
443 *stuur* *mij* *vier* *baadjies*[63] *en* *zes* *hemden*
send 1POS four jackets and six shirts

en ook twee Rol dabak met deze brief
444 *en* *ook* *twee* *rollen* *tabak* *met* *deze* *brief*
and also two rolls tobacco with D letter

en ook een hood
445 *en* *ook* *een* *hoed.*
and also a hat

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[62] Southern Dutch colloquial variant of *naakt*, 'nude'. Cf. footnote 26, p.14.

[63] Afrikaans loanword from Malay. Dutch: *jasje*, pronounced as Jan Jonker writes it.

	dragers	als	u	Kan	liefe	Heer	ik	<is>	dog
446	*Draag.[het]*[64]	*als*	*u*	*kunt,*	*lieve*	*heer,*	*ik*	*ben*	*toch*
	Carry	if	2S	can	dear	sir	1S	is	MOD

	nu*ie?*	bekwam	om	zoo	velgoeders		de
447	*niet*	*bekwaam*	*om*	*zo*	*veel.goederen*		*te*
	NEG	capable	for	so	many.goods		to

	badalen:	zien	liefe	Heer	ik	had	noog	
448	*betalen.*	*Zie*	*lieve*	*heer*	*ik*	*had*	*nog*	
	pay	look	dear	sir	1S	had	still	

	uwe	Karukie	en	ossen	maar	ik	heben	
449	*uw*	*karretje*[65]	*en*	*ossen*	*maar*	*ik*	*heb*	
	2POS	cart-DIM	and	oxen	but	1S	PRF	

	nog	niet	tijt	gekrijgen	om	die	Kar	en	
450	*nog*	*geen*	*tijd*	*gekregen*	*om*	*de*	*kar*	*en*	
	still	NEG	time	GE-get	for	D	cart	and	

	ossen	af	de	geefen	ik	wel	die	Karukie
451	*ossen*	*af*	*te*	*geven.*	*Ik*	*wil*	*het*	*karretje*
	oxen	-	to	deliver	1S	want	D	cart-DIM

	hou	doe	dat	ons	by	malkander	kom
452	*houden*	*tot*	*dat*	*wij*	*bij*	*elkaar*	*komen.*
	keep	till	that	1PL	together	-	come

.....

	ik	is	nog	vresegosonheid		door	God
453	*Ik*	*ben*	*nog [in]*	*frisse*	*gezondheid*	*door*	*Gods*
	1S	am	still	fresh	health	by	God

	genade:	hoe	is	de	welvaar	van
454	*genade.*	*Hoe*	*is*	*de*	*welvaart*	*van*
	mercy	how	is	D	prosperity	of

	Otjimbingw:	of	zal	u	op	de	blas
455	*Otjimbingwe*	*of*	*zult*[66]	*u*	*op*	*de*	*plaats?*
	Otjimbingwe	or	will	2S	on	D	place

	u	goede	vard	is	dat	Damras	nag	
456	*U*	*goede*	*vaart*	*is*	*dat*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*nog*	
	2S	good	fare	is	that		Damaras	still	

	op	die	blads	is	dat		Damras	nog	niet
457	*op*	*de*	*plaats*	*zijn,*	*dat*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*nog*	*niet*
	on	D	place	is.	That		Damaras	yet	NEG

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[64] 'On credit', new formation likely parallel to the religious idiom *schuld dragen*, 'to carry guilt' where Dutch *schuld* also means financial debt.

[65] Note the spelling conform the synchronic Afrikaans pronunciation of diminutives. But, cf. IB, ln. 598.

[66] Perhaps he meant to write *sukkelen* (3S: *sukkelt*), 'to struggle'.

	wel	vrede	maaken	met	mijn
458	*willen*	*vrede*	*maken*	*met*	*mij.*
	want	peace	make	with	1POS

	hoe	vaar	nog	my	vriendes	Daniel	en
459	*Hoe*	*varen*	*nog*	*mijn*	*vrienden*	*Daniel*	*en*
	how	fare	still	1S	friends	Daniel	and

	Zameel	dat	moed	u ook	mijn	beken	
460	*Samuel?*	*Dat*	*moet*	*u ook*	*mij*	*bekend*	
	Samuel	that	must	2S also	1POS	known	

	maken	waat	zeg	Kamaharero	deëen	
461	*maken.*	*Wat*	*zegt*	*Kamaharero*	*tegen*	
	make	what	say	Kamaharero	to	

	my	of	zal	hij	vrede	mak	met	mij	of	niet
462	*mij*	*of*	*zal*	*hij*	*vrede*	*maken*	*met*	*mij*	*of*	*niet*
	1S	or	will	3S	peace	make	with	1S	or	NEG

	vred	mak	met	mijn	verder	heb
463	*vrede*	*maken*	*met*	*mij?*	*Verder*	*heb*
	peace	make	with	1POS	further	PRF

	ik	ook	gehoort		Engelsman	zijn	oorlog
464	*ik*	*ook*	*gehoord*	*[dat] [D]*	*Engels[-man]*	*3POS*	*oorlog [schip]*
	1S	also	GE-hear		Englishman	3POS	war

	is	ingekom	op	Balves	Baai	en	ik	
465	*is*	*ingekomen*	*op*	*Walvis*	*Baai*	*om*	*mij,*	
	PRF	in GE-come	on	Walvis	Bay	and	1S	

	Barnabas	en	my	schon Vader	jakobes	
466	*Barnabas*	*en*	*mijn*	*schoonvader*	*Jacobus*	
	Barnabas	and	1S	father.in.law	Jacobus	

	booi	de	schieden	is	dat	waar	of	niet	waar
467	*Booij*	*te*	*schieten.*	*Is*	*dat*	*waar*	*of*	*niet*	*waar?*
	Booij	to	shoot	is	that	true	or	NEG	true

	zoo	lad	ik	besde	Combelemenden	
468	*Zo*	*laat*	*ik [D]*	*beste*	*complimenten*	
	so	let	1S	best	compliments	

	aan	u	en	allen	
469	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*allen*	
	to	2S	and	all	

		ik	ben	uwe	vrien
470		*ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*vriend*
		1S	am	2POS	friend

Kapitein J Jonker Afrikaner

Kabes Groot Namggualan 1869 22 de Aprel
471 *Kobus, Groot Namaqualand, 22 april 1869*

	Aan	de	Heer	Wood House
472	*Aan*	*de*	*heer*	*Wodehouse,*
	to	D	Mr.	Wodehouse

	Ik	heb	de	Heer	te	zijn	om	u	beken	de
473	*Ik*	*heb*	*de*	*eer*	*[-]*	*[-][67]*	*om*	*u*	*bekend*	*te*
	1S	have	D	honour	to	be	for	2S	known	to

	maak	dat	uw	Brief
474	*maken,*	*dat*	*uw*	*brief*
	make	that	2POS	letter

	van	11de jany 1869	heb	ik	ontvangen
475	*van*	*11- januarie 1869,*	*heb*	*ik*	*ontvangen.*
	of	11th January 1869	PRF	1S	GE-receive

	U	zeg	dat	u	gehoord	heeft	dat	in	de	maan..
476	*U*	*zegt*	*dat*	*u*	*gehoord*	*heeft*	*dat*	*in*	*de*	*maand*
	2S	say	that	2S	GE-hear	PRF	that	in	D	month

	maart 1865		zeker	oliphant	jager	door	Samuel	een
477	*maart 1865*	*[D]*	*zekere*	*olifant*	*jager*	*door*	*Samuel,*	*een*
	March 1865		certain	elephant	hunter	by	Samuel	one

	Kapitein	van my	was	naargevolgd
478	*kapitein*	*van mij,*	*was*	*na.gevolgd*
	captain	of 1S	was	pursued

	en	afgezet	van	goederen	tot	een	groote	zomen	van	waarde
479	*en*	*afgezet*	*van*	*goederen*	*tot*	*een*	*grote*	*somma*	*van*	*waarde.*
	and	GE-deprive	of	goods	to	a	big	sum	of	value

	en	verder	dat	de	zelvede	Samuel	heeft	in	de	maan	van	my
480	*En*	*verder*	*dat*	*dezelfde*	-	*Samuel,*	*heeft*	*in*	*de*	*maand*	*van*	*mei*
	and	further	that	D	same	Samuel	PRF	in	D	month	of	May

	1866	drie	andere	witte	menschen	afgezet	en	hulle	wagen
481	*1866*	*drie*	*andere*	*witte*	*mensen*	*afgezet*	*en*	*hun*	*wagen,*
	1866	three	other	white	people	GE-remove	and	3POS	wagon

	paarden	geweren	en	kliederen	gestole	en	heeft	hulle	in
482	*paarden,*	*geweren*	*en*	*kleding*	*gestolen*	*en*	*heeft*	*hen*	*in*
	horses	guns	and	clothes	GE-steal	and	PRF	3PL	in

	een	slecht	toestand	volle	300	milen	van	een	werf	of
483	*een*	*slechte*	*toestand, [D]*	*volle*	*300*	*mijl*	*van*	*een*	*werf*	*of*
	a	bad	situation	full	300	miles	from	a	werf	or

[67] Non-sense combination of official-style, introductory formulae.

	stateen	gelaat	stand	en	dat	een	van	de	drie	was	gewond
484	*station*	*laten*	*staan,*	*en*	*dat*	*een*	*van*	*de*	*drie*	*was*	*gewond.*
	station	GE-let	stand	and	that	one	of	D	three	was	wounded

	verder	dat	in	de zelvede	maand	Samuels	volk	heeft	een
485	*Verder*	*dat*	*in*	*dezelfde -*	*maand*	*Samuels*	*volk*	*heeft*	*een*
	further	that	in	D same	month	Samuel-GEN	people	PRF	an

	andere	Handelar	gemolesteerd	en	dat	zul	was	verplegt te
486	*andere*	*handelaar*	*gemolesteerd*	*en*	*dat*	*zij*	*waren*	*verplicht te*
	other	trader	GE-molest	and	that	3PL	was	forced to

	vlug	maar	zulle	heeft	6 menschen	verloren	Op	antwoord	moet
487	*vluchten*	*maar*	*zij*	*hebben*	*6 mensen*	*verloren.*	*In*	*antwoord*	*moet*
	flee	but	3PL	PRF	6 people	GE-lose	On	answer	must

	ik	u	beken	maak	dat	Samuel	is	niet	een	van	mij
488	*ik*	*u*	*bekend*	*maken*	*dat*	*Samuel*	*is*	*niet*	*een*	*van*	*mijn*
	1S	2S	known	make	that	Samuel	is	NEG	one	of	1S

	Kapiteins	en	verder	dat	ik	heb	hem	niet	gezien	of	iets met
489	*kapiteinen*	*en*	*verder*	*dat*	*ik*	*[-V]*	*hem*	*niet*	*gezien*	*of*	*iets met*
	captains	and	further	that	1S	PRF	3S	NEG	GE-see	or	something with

	hem	te	doen	heeft	de	zalvede	Samuel	heeft	my	Vader
490	*hem*	*te*	*doen*	*heb.*	*Dezelfde*	*-*	*Samuel*	*heeft*	*mijn*	*vader*
	3S	to	do	PRF	D	same	Samuel	PRF	1S	father

	vrydom	gegeven	te gaan	en	werk	voor	zyn zeleve	dit
491	*vrijheid*	*gegeven*	*te gaan*	*en*	*[te][68] werken*	*voor*	*zichzelf -*	*dit*
	freedom	GE-give	to go	and	work	for	3POS self	this

	was	in	de	jaar	1855	toen	heeft	hij	naar
492	*was*	*in*	*het*	*jaar*	*1855*	*toen*	*is*	*hij*	*naar*
	was	in	D	year	1855	then	PRF	3S	to

	wampoeland	met	zyn	vrouw	en	kinderen	gegaan	dus	kan
493	*Ovamboland*	*met*	*zijn*	*vrouw*	*en*	*kinderen*	*gegaan*	*dus*	*kan*
	Ovamboland	met	3POS	wife	and	children	GE-go	so	can

	ik	niet aansprukelyk	gehoud	woord	voor	wat	hij	doet
494	*ik*	*niet aansprekelijk*	*gehouden*	*worden*	*voor*	*wat*	*hij*	*doet.*
	1S	NEG responsible	GE-keep	be	for	what	3S	does

	Omtrent	Green	en	anderson	moet	ik	uw	Excellentie	bekend
495	*Omtrent*	*Green*	*en*	*Andersson*	*moet*	*ik*	*uwe*	*excellentie*	*bekend*
	About	Green	and	Andersson	must	1S	2POS	excellency	known

	maak	dat	my	volk	heeft	hulle	ossen	niet	gestolen	en waarom
496	*maken*	*dat*	*mijn*	*volk*	*heeft*	*hun*	*ossen*	*niet*	*gestolen*	*en waarom*
	make	that	1S	people	PRF	3POS	oxen	NEG	GE-steal	and why

[68] Possibly *om te gaan werken* instead of a coordination.

	zulle	zo*u*	op	my	werf	komen	om	molest			te	doen	ik	
497	*zij*	*zouden*	*op*	*mijn*	*werf*	*komen*	*om*	*molesteringen*			*te*	*doen?*	*Ik*	
	3PL	should	on	1S	werf	come	for	molest			to	do	1S	
	heb	nog te	leeren		naar	de	eerste	oorlog	met	de	Damras			
498	*heb*	*nog te*	*leren.*		*Na*	*de*	*eerste*	*oorlog*	*met*	*de*	*Damaras*			
	have	still to	learn		after	D	first	war	with	D	Damaras			
	op	Ojembengue	heeft	Green	Deck	Haybittle	Harry	Haybittle	en					
499	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*	*zijn*	*Green,*	*Dick*	*Haybittle,*	*Harry*	*Haybittle*	*en*					
	on	Otjimbingwe	PRF	Green	Dick	Haybittle,	Harry	Haybittle	and					
	Jonathen	gekomen				my	*?*[69]	vrouw	Dochterje					
500	*Jonathan*	*gekomen,*	*[3PL]*	*[PRF]*		*mijn*		*vrouw,*	*dochtertje*					
	Jonathan	GE-come				1S		wife	daughter-DIM					
	en	drie andere	vrouw	gedood	Jonathen	heeft	alle							
501	*en*	*drie andere*	*vrouwen*	*gedood.*	*Jonathan*	*heeft*	*al*							
	and	three other	women	GE-kill	Jonathan	PRF	all							
	my	Besten	weggedreiven	ik	heb		achter	naar	gevolg		om	de	Besden	
502	*mijn*	*beesten*	*weggedreven.*	*Ik*	*ben*	*[3PL]*	*achterna*	-	*gevolgd*		*om*	*de*	*beesten*	
	1S	animals	away.GE-drive	1S	PRF		after	after	GE-follow		for	D	animals	
	terug	te	krygen	en	dan	was	Jonathen	gedood	maar	ik	had			
503	*terug*	*te*	*krijgen*	*en*	*toen*	*is*	*Jonathan*	*gedood.*	*Maar*	*ik*	*was*			
	return	to	get	and	then	was	Jonathan	GE-kill	but	1S	PRF			
	de	daag	te	voor	weggegaan	met	de	ossen	die	ik	van			
504	*de*	*dag*	*tevoren*	-	*weggegaan*	*met*	*de*	*ossen,*	*die*	*ik*	*van*			
	D	day	before	-	away.GE-go	with	D	oxen	REL	1S	of			
	Jonathen	genomen	heb	naardat	dit	gebeerd	had	heb						
505	*Jonathan*	*genomen*	*had.*	*Nadat*	*dit*	*gebeurd*	*was*	*heb*						
	Jonathan	GE-take	PRF	after.that	this	GE-happen	PRF	PRF						
	ik	gehoord	dat	twee	witte	menschen	was	in	de	Berg				
506	*ik*	*gehoord*	*dat [er]*	*twee*	*witte*	*mensen*	*waren*	*in*	*de*	*berg.*				
	1S	GE-hear	that	two	white	people	were	in	D	mountain				
	doen	heeft	ik	gestuurd	om	helle	uit	te	brengen	en	heeft			
507	*Toen*	*heb*	*ik [PRO]*	*gestuurd*	*om*	*hen*	*uit*	*te*	*brengen*	*en*	*heb*			
	then	PRF	1S	GE-send	for	3PL	out	to	bring	and	PRF			
	een	schaap	gegeven	en	hulle	weggestuurd	wand	ik	kon	noit				
508	*een*	*schaap*	*gegeven*	*en*	*hen*	*weggestuurd*	*want*	*ik*	*kon*	*nooit*				
	one	sheep	GE-give	and	3PL	away.GE-send	because	1S	could	never				
	oorlog	maak	op	witte	menschen	ik	denk	dat	Haybittle	zal				
509	*oorlog*	*maken*	*tegen*	*witte*	*mensen.*	*Ik*	*denk*	*dat*	*Haybitlle*	*zal*				
	war	make	on	white	people	1S	think	that	Haybittle	will				

[69] Hole in the paper.

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	kan	zegge	of	dit	niet	waar	is	Naar	dit		anderson	
510	*kunnen*	*zeggen*	*of*	*dit*	*niet*	*waar*	*is.*	*Na*	*dit,*		*Andersson*	
	can	say	whether	this	NEG	true	is	after	this		Andersson	

	en	Green	kom	op	my	werf	en		acht	van	mij	volk
511	*en*	*Green*	*komen*	*op*	*mijn*	*werf*	*en*	*[PRF]*	*acht*	*van*	*mijn*	*volk*
	and	Green	come	on	1S	werf	and		eight	of	1S	people

	doodgeschieden	my	wagens	verbrant	en	my	ossen	en	schaap	
512	*doodgeschoten,*	*mijn*	*wagens*	*verbrand*	*en*	*mijn*	*ossen*	*en*	*schapen*	
	dead.GE-shoot	1S	wagons	GE-burn	and	1S	oxen	and	sheep	

	wegge dreven	de	zelvede	dag	twee	vrouw	van	my	werf
513	*weggedreven -,*	*dezelfde*	*-*	*dag*	*twee*	*vrouwen*	*van*	*mijn*	*werf*
	away.GE-drive -	D	same	day	two	woman	of	1S	werf

	gedoo	ik	heb	niet	van	de	zaak	over	de	Handelar	die
514	*gedood.*	*Ik*	*heb [het]*	*niet*	*over*	*de*	*zaak*	*over*	*de*	*handelaar*	*die*
	GE-kill	1S	have	NEG	of	D	case	about	D	trader	REL

	verleeden	jaar	afgezed	was	en	w*i*ens
515	*verleden*	*jaar*	*afgezet*	*was*	*en*	*wiens*
	last	year	robbed	was	and	who-GEN

	gedoren	gestolen	was	omtrent	charles	Collins	it	is	niet	
516	*goederen*	*gestolen*	*waren.*	*Omtrent*	*Charles*	*Collins:*	*het*	*is*	*niet*	
	goods	stolen	were	about	Charles	Collins	it	is	NEG	

	regt	dat	ik	zou	de	schuld	van	andere	menchen	draage
517	*recht*	*dat*	*ik*	*zou*	*de*	*schuld*	*van*	*andere*	*mensen*	*dragen*
	right	that	1S	should	D	blame	of	other	people	carry

	wand	de	Roi	Nasi	heeft	met	mij	niet	de	doen	ik	moet
518	*want*	*de*	*Rooi*	*Natie*	*heeft*	*met*	*mij*	*niets*	*te*	*doen.*	*Ik*	*moet*
	for	D	Red	Nation	have	with	1S	NEG	to	do	1S	must

	nu	verder	uw	Excellentie	bekend	maak	dat	my	Vader	altoos
519	*nu*	*verder*	*uwe*	*excellentie*	*bekend*	*maken*	*dat*	*mijn*	*vader*	*altijd*
	now	further	2POS	excellency	known	make	that	1S	father	always

	was	een	vriend	voor	de	witte	man	nog			toen	ben
520	*was*	*een*	*vriend*	*voor*	*de*	*witte*	*man.*	*Nog.[steeds]*		*[als]*	*toen*	*ben*
	was	D	friend	for	D	white	man	still			then	am

	ik	en	ik	geloof	dat	alle	menschen	die	voor	my	ken	zal
521	*ik,*	*en*	*ik*	*geloof*	*dat*	*alle*	*mensen*	*die*	*[-][70]*	*mij*	*kennen,*	*zullen*
	1S	and	1S	believe	that	all	people	REL	for	1S	know	will

	kan	overteeg	dat	die	waar	is	Ojimbigw	was	my	Vader
522	*kunnen*	*getuigen*[71]	*dat*	*dat*	*waar*	*is.*	*Otjimbingwe*	*was*	*mijn*	*vaders*
	can	convince	that	that	true	is.	Otjimbingwe	was	1S	father

[70] A rare case of the object marker *vir* in Jan Jonker's speech. See Chapter Two, § 2.5.1.3.

[71] Dutch: *overtuigen*, 'to convince', rather *getuigen* 'to witness'.

	blads	naar	zyn	dood	my	oute	broeder	was	Kapitein			
523	*plaats.*	*Na*	*zijn*	*dood*	*mijn*	*oude*	*broer*	*was*	*kapitein*			
	place	after	3POS	dead	1S	old	brother	was	captain			
	en	nu	dat	hij	dood	is	ben	ik	de	Kapitein	ik	*J*
524	*en*	*nu*	*dat*	*hij*	*dood*	*is*	*ben*	*ik*	*de*	*kapitein.*	*Ik*	*J.*
	and	now	that	3S	dead	is	am	1S	D	captain	1S	J.
	zeer	blyve	zyn	als	daar	vrede	was in		land	maar	ik	moet
525	*zeer*	*blij(de)*	*zijn*	*als*	*daar*	*vrede*	*was in [D]*		*land*	*maar*	*ik*	*moet*
	very	happy	be	if	there	peace	was	in	land	but	1S	must
	my	blads	dereg	krygen	en	zo	za..					
526	*mijn*	*plaats*	*terug*	*krijgen*	*en*	*zo*	*zal*					
	1S	place	return	get	and	so	will					
	ik	te	vrede	zijn	my	Vader	en	alle	van	onse		lange
527	*ik*	*tevreden*	-	*zijn.*	*Mijn*	*vader*	*en*	*allen*	*van*	*ons*	*[PRF<]*	*lange*
	1S	content	-	be	1S	father	and	all	of	1PL		long
	tijt	geleede	verzoek	heb	om	een	Leeraar	de	Kreege	maar		
528	*tijd*	*geleden*	*verzocht*	*[<--]*	*om*	*een*	*leraar*	*te*	*krijgen*	*maar*		
	time	ago	request	PRF	for	a	teacher	to	get	but		
	hy	moet	een	Englescheman		zyn	en	niet	een	Diutscher	wand	
529	*hij*	*moet*	*een*	*Engelsman*		*zijn*	*en*	*niet*	*een*	*Duitser*	*want*	
	3S	must	an	Englishman		be	and	NEG	a	German	because	
	it	is	niet	mogelyk	dat	de	Leeraar	zal	kan	de	menschen	
530	*het*	*is*	*niet*	*mogelijk*	*dat*	*de*	*leraar*	*zal*	*kunnen*	*de*	*mensen*	
	it	is	NEG	possible	that	D	teacher	will	can	D	people	
	onterwysengeven		derwyl	hy		houd	meer	van	Handel	dan		
531	*onderwijs.geven*		*terwijl*	*hij [meer<]*		*houdt*	*[<--]*	*van*	*handel*	*dan*		
	education.give		while	3S		like	more	of	trade	than		
	de	Bybel	daarom	welik	niet	een	van	die	Leeraars	aannemen		
532	*de*	*Bijbel.*	*Daarom*	*wil.ik*	*niet*	*een*	*van*	*die*	*leraren*	*aannemen.*		
	D	Bible	therefore	want.1S	NEG	one	of	D	teachers	accept		
	zoe	moet	u	die	Leeraars	wegnemen	van	my	land	af	ik	
533	*Zo*	*moet*	*u*	*die*	*leraren*	*wegnemen*	*van*	*mijn*	*land*	*af.*	*Ik*	
	so	must	2S	D	teachers	away.take	of	1S	land	off	1S	
	en	die	Leeraer	heeft	niet	ore/ins	zijn	door	de			
534	*en*	*de*	*leraar*	*zijn [het]*	*niet*	*overeens*	*[-V].*	*Door*	*het*			
	and	D	teacher	have	NEG	agree	are	by	D			
	werkschaap		van die Leeraars		ben	ik	is	altijd	vriendelijk	en		
535	*[-schap][72]*		*van de leraren*		*[-V].*	*Ik*	*ben*	*altijd*	*vriendelijk*	*en*	*[P]*	
	work.ship		of	D teachers		am	1S	is	always	friendly	and	

[72] Rather: *vakmanschap*, 'competence', the responsibilities of the missionary.

	vrede	met	die	Leeraars	maar	ik	heb	nu	uit gevinden	zoo
536	*vrede*[73]	*met*	*de*	*leraren*	*maar*	*ik*	*heb*	*nu*	*uitgevonden,*	*zo*
	peace	with	D	teachers	but	1S	PRF	now	GE-discover	so

	van	my	nam	heeft	die	Leeraars	*gebeelde*
537	*van,*	*mijn*	*naam*	*hebben*	*de*	*leraren*	***[74]
	of	1S	name	PRF	D	teachers	***

	en	alle	schulden	op	mij	geleegen	is:	laden		alle
538	*en*	*alle*	*schuld*	*op*	*mij*	*gelegd*	*[-].*	*Dat*	*[V]*	*alle*
	and	all	blame	on	1S	GE-put	is	let		all

	andere	menschen	of	Governor	dien	my	verloorlogen[75]	heeft:	en	hulle		
539	*andere*	*mensen,*	*[-]*	*goeverneur,*	*die*	*mij*	*be-oorlogd*	*hebben.*	*En*	*zij*		
	other	people	or	governor	REL	1S	GE-war	PRF	and	3PL		

	zeg	ons	hief		Damra..
540	*zeggen*	*wij*	*hebben*	*[D]*	*Damaras [tot]*
	say	1PL	PRF		Damaras

	slaawegemaak	hieft;	maar		niet	waar	waat	hulle	
541	*slaven.gemaakt*	*[-V];*	*maar*	*[het] [V]*	*niet*	*waar*	*wat*	*zij*	
	slave.GE-make	PRF	but		NEG	true	what	3PL	

	zeg	zien	die	is	Damras	welte	nasis	gewees		doe	hief	mij	
542	*zeggen.*	*Zie,*	*dat*	*zijn*	*Damaras,*	*welke*	*[D] natie*	*geweest*	*[PRF].*[76]	*Toen*	*heeft*	*mijn*	
	say	see	that	is	Damaras	REL	nation	GE-be		then	PRF	1S	

	Vader	vrede	gemaak	zoo	staan		Damras	onder	ons	en	ook
543	*vader*	*vrede*	*gemaakt.*	*Zo*	*staan*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*onder*	*ons*	*en*	*ook*
	father	peace	GE-make	so	stand		Damaras	under	1PL	and	also

	ons	staan	onder		Damra..
544	*wij*	*staan*	*onder*	*[D]*	*Damaras,*
	1PL	stand	under		Damaras

	om	dat	ons	twee	vrede	nasis	is:	als	Damras	iets	orkom
545	*omdat*	*wij*	*twee*	*vreedzame*		*naties*	*zijn.*	*Als [D]*	*Damaras*	*iets*	*overkomt*
	for	that	1PL	two	peace	nations	is	if	Damaras	something	befall

	heelp	ons		Damras	als	ons	iets	orkom	heelp	Damras	ons
546	*helpen*	*wij*	*[D]*	*Damaras;*	*als*	*ons*	*iets*	*overkomt*	*helpen [D]*	*Damaras*	*ons.*
	help	1PL		Damaras	if	1PL	something	befall	help	Damaras	1PL

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[73] Alternatively: *vreedzaam*, 'peacefull', cf. ln.545, (*infra*) where *vrede* functions as an adjective.

[74] Perhaps: *beledigd,* 'insulted'.

[75] Also possible: *verloochend hebben*, 'have renounced, repudiated'

[76] Clearly the perfect participle serves as simple past (imperfectum) and *was* would be the better translation; Jan cannot mean they have been a nation, that that state of being had ceased.

	zoo was		gewees	niet	slawegemaak	en	doe	hief	Leeraar
547	*Zo is*	*[het]*	*geweest,*	*niet [tot]*	*slaven.gemaakt.*	*En*	*toen*	*heeft*	*leraar*
	so PRF		GE-be	NEG	slave.GE-make	and	then	PRF	teacher

	Hahn	Damras	Radgegeven	laden	Damras	op	stan	en	teën
548	*Hahn [D]*	*Damaras [D]*	*raad.gegeven*	*dat [D]*	*Damaras*	*opstaan*		*en*	*tegen*
	Hahn	Damaras	advice.GE-give	let	Damaras	up	stand	and	against

	ons	vechten	of	ons	wegdryven	dan	zal	hulle
549	*ons*	*vechten*	*of*	*ons*	*wegdrijven,*	*dan*	*zullen*	*zij*
	1PL	fight	or	1PL	away.drive	then	will	3PL

	die land	krygen	zoo	is de Rad	gewees	zoo	kom	die	
550	*het land*	*krijgen.*	*Zo*	*is de raad*	*geweest,*	*zo*	*kwam*	*de*	
	D land	get	so	PRF D advice	GE-be	so	come	D	

	oorlog	deschen	ons	door	die Rad	van	Leeraa..
551	*oorlog*	*tussen*	*ons,*	*door*	*de raad*	*van [D]*	*leraar.*
	war	between	1PL	by	D advice	of	teacher

	Gy zijt	Welle Zwaar Booi		is	altos	vriendelyk	en	vrede	met
552	*Gij zegt,*	*Willem Swartbooi*		*is*	*altijd*	*vriendelijk*	*en*	*vredig*	*met*
	2S say	Willem Swartbooi		is	always	friendly	and	peace	with

	alle	witte	menschen	Leeraar*en*	en	ook	Handelars	en	Damaras
553	*alle*	*witte*	*mensen, [D]*	*leraren*	*en*	*ook [D]*	*handelaars*	*en [D]*	*Damaras.*
	all	white	people	teachers	and	also	traders	and	Damaras

	waarom	hieft	Zwaar Booi	een van	Handelars	John	smed	
554	*Waarom*	*heeft*	*Swartbooi*	*een van [D]*	*handelaars,*	*John*	*Smit*	
	why	PRF	Swartbooi	one of	traders	John	Smit	

	zyn	goedren	afneemen	Croed	en	Lood en	Kleederen	waarom	
555	*3POS*	*goederen*	*afgenomen,*	*kruid*	*en*	*lood*	*en kleding?*	*Waarom*	
	3POS	goods	away.take	powder	and	lead	and clothes	why	

	hieft	ZwaarBooi	Fraans Biesenther	zyn	waad	af	schied	*zyn*
556	*heeft*	*Swartbooi*	*Frans Biesenther*	*zijn*	*waarden*[77]	*afgeschoten,*		*zijn*
	PRF	Swartbooi	Frans Biesenther	3POS	valuables	off	shot	3POS

	paar	en	Beesten	dat	is	ook	witteman	Waarom		ZwaarBooi
557	*paard*	*en*	*beesten?*	*Dat*	*is*	*ook*	*[D] witte.man.*	*Waarom [PRF]*		*Swartbooi*
	horse	and	animals	that	is	also	white.man	Why		Swartbooi

	nu	uitmaalkanergaan		met	Damras	en	3	van		besde
558	*nu*	*uit.elkander.gegaan*		*met [D]*	*Damaras*	*en [PRF]*	*3*	*van [D]*		*beesten*
	now	out.one.another.go	with	Damaras	and	3	of	animals		

	doodgeschied
559	*doodgeschoten?*
	dead.GE-shoot

[77] Could also be intended to be *wagen*, 'wagon'.

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	is	dat	vriendelyk		daar	die	dat	is	ook	waar	Jakobe
560	*Is*	*dat*	*vriendelijk?*		*[-]*	*[-]*[78]	*Dat*	*is*	*ook*	*waar*	*Jacobus*
	is	that	friendliness		there	that	that	is	also	where	Jacobus

	Booi	witte	menschen	zyn	wagen	en	osse	gestoolen	heeft
561	*Booi*	*witte*	*mensen*	*3POS*	*wagens*	*en*	*ossen*	*gestolen*	*heeft.*
	Booi	white	people	3POS	wagon	and	oxen	GE-steal	PRF

	maar	ik	was	niet	daar	by	en	die	Jakobes Booi	hoort	altyt
562	*Maar*	*ik*	*was*	*niet*	*daarbij*	*-*	*en*	*deze*	*Jacobus Booi*	*hoort*	*altijd*
	but	1S	was	NEG	there	with	and	D	Jacobus Booi	hears	always

		Damras	en		witte	zamschied
563	*[dat] [D]*	*Damaras*	*en*	*[D]*	*witten*	*samen.schieten*
		Damaras	and		whites	together.shoot

		mijn	doe	komt	Jakobes	om
564	*[P]*	*mij.*	*Toen*	*kwam*	*Jacobus*	*om*
		1POS	to	comes	Jacobus	for

	my	heelp	doe	hoord	hij	witte	menschen	zyn	wagen	doe
565	*mij [te]*	*helpen,*	*toen*	*hoorde*	*hij*	*witte*	*mensen*	*3POS*	*wagens.*	*Toen*
	1S	help	then	hears	3S	white	people	3POS	wagon	then

	heeft	hy	Kloommaanen	voor	uit	gezenden	om	die
566	*heeft*	*hij [D]*	*klomp mannen*	*vooruit*	*-*	*gezonden*	*om*	*die*
	PRF	3S	bunch.of.men	in.advance	-	GE-send	for	D

	menschen	ondmoeden	en	vragen	wie	zyn	wagen	is	zoo
567	*mensen [te]*	*ontmoeten*	*en [te]*	*vragen*	*wie*	*3POS*	*wagen [het]*	*is.*	*Zo*
	people	meet	and	ask	who	3POS	wagon	is	so

	hief	die	manen	die	Kwaad	maar	hy	was	niet	daar	by
568	*hebben*	*die*	*mannen*	*dat*	*kwaad [V]*	*maar*	*hij*	*was*	*niet*	*daarbij*	*-*
	have	D	men	D	evil	but	3S	was	NEG	there	with

	gewees
569	*geweest.*
	GE-be.

	Verder	verzoek	ik	vriendelyk
570	*Verder*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*vriendelijk,*
	Further	request	1S	friendly

	als	myn	Heer		brief	krijgen	van	Damaraland	of	Groot
571	*als*	*mijnheer*	*-*	*[D]*	*brief*	*krijgt*	*van*	*Damaraland*	*of*	*Groot*
	if	1POS	Mr.		letter	get	from	Damaraland	or	Groot

	Namaqwaland	die	heb	my	nam	an	is	dan	moet	u
572	*Namaqualand,*	*die*	*heeft*	*mijn*	*naam*	*aan*	*[-V],*	*dan*	*moet*	*u*
	Namaqualand	REL	have	1S	name	on	is	then	must	2S

[78] See footnote 48, p. 27.

	altyd	myn	vragden	als	u	brief	myn	schryfen	dan
573	*altijd*	*mij*	*vragen.*	*Als*	*u [D]*	*brief [P]*	*mij*	schrijft	dan
	always	1POS	ask	if	2S	letter	1POS	write	then

	moet		myn	hoolans	zoo	ik	kan	verstan,	dat
574	*moet*[79]	*[het] [P]*	*mijn*	*Hollands,*	*zo[dat]*	*ik [het]*	*kan*	*verstaan,*	*dat*
	must		1POS	Dutch	so	1S	can	understand	that

	verzoek	ik	u
575	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u.*
	request	1S	2S

	my	Heer	moet	zoo	goedwesen	heb	ik	<ol•al>tyt	my	Koorand	krygen
576	*Mijnheer*		*moet*	*zo*	*goedwezen*	*[-V][dat]*	*ik*	*altijd*	*mijn*	*kourant*	*krijg,*
	1S	Mr.	must	so	good.be	PRF	1S	always	1S	newspaper	get

		op	hoolans	gedrooken	ben	dan	zal	ik	alles	hoort	die	hieft
577	*[REL]*	*op*	*Hollands*	*gedrukt*	*is.*	*Dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*alles*	*horen, [zij<]*	*die*	*[-V]*
		on	Dutch	GE-print	is	then	will	1S	all	hear	REL	PRF

	hulle	my	nam	slaggebruik	hieft,	ik	wens	als		Handelars
578	*[<--]*	*mijn*	*naam*	*slecht.gebruikt*	*hebben.*	*Ik*	*wens [dat]*	*als*	*[er]*	*handelaars*
	3PL	1S	name	bad.GE-use	PRF	1S	wish	when		traders

	hier	in	my	land	kom	hulle	moet	niet		eigenwillen	kom
579	*hier*	*in*	*mijn*	*land*	*komen,*	*zij*	*moeten*	*niet*	*[P]*	*eigenwil*	*komen,*
	here	in	1S	land	come	3PL	must	NEG		self-willed	come

	hulle	moet	onder	my	kom	dan	zal	ik	hulle	naazien	en	heelp
580	*zij*	*moeten*	*onder*	*mij*	*komen*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*hen*	*nazien*	*en*	*helpen*
	3PL	must	under	1S	come	then	will	1S	3PL	after.look	and	help

	als	hulle	iets	orkom	<zo	is	de		van my>
581	*als*	*hen*	*iets*	*overkomt.*	*Zo*	*is*	*de [NP]*[80]		*van mij.*
	if	3PL	something	befall	so	is	D		of 1S

	ik	zal	hulle	heelp	dat	is	van	my
582	*Ik*	*zal*	*hen*	*helpen,*	*dat*	*is*	*van*	*mij.*[81]
	1S	will	3PL	help	that	is	of	1S

		ik	heb	de	Eer	te	zyn
583		*Ik*	*heb*	*de*	*eer*	*te*	*zijn,*
		1S	have	D	honour	to	be

		uw	Excellentie
584		*uwe*	*excellentie,*
		2POS	excellency

J J Afrikaner

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[79] Alternatively: *met,* 'with', in a prepositional phrase.

[80] Jan usually clarifies his intentions with "*dat is (de) wens van mij(n)*".

[81] Cf. previous line and previous footnote.

Kabes 17 de My
1 *Kobus, 17 mei*

	Aan	de	Eerwaar							
2	*Aan*	*de*	*eerwaar-*							
	To	D	honorable							
	de	Heer	Hahn							
3	*de*	*heer*	*Hahn,*							
	-	Mr.	Hahn							
		Wel	ik	maak						
4		*Wel,*	*ik*	*maak*						
		well	1S	make						
	u	deze	brief	om	de	vrag	is		dat	
5	*u*	*deze*	*brief*	*om*	*te*	*vragen,*	*[-V]*	*[of]*	*het*	
	2S	D	letter	for	to	ask	is		that	
	waar	is:	wij	hebben	gehoort					
6	*waar*	*is.*	*Wij*	*hebben*	*gehoord*					
	true	is	1PL	PRF	GE-hear					
	van		Barg Damras	daar	is	veel				
7	*van [D]*		*Bergdamaras,*	*er*	*zijn*	*veel*				
	of		Bergdamaras	there	PRF	many				
	witte	menschen	gekom	op	Ojimbingu					
8	*witte*	*mensen*	*gekomen*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe.*					
	white	people	GE-come	on	Otjimbingwe					
	zoo	weet	ik	niet	is	dat	Leeraars	of		
9	*Zo*	*weet*	*ik*	*niet,*	*zijn*	*dat*	*leraren*	*of*		
	now	know	1S	NEG	is	that	teachers	or		
	is	dat	Handelars	of	is	dat	jagders			
10	*zijn*	*dat*	*handelaren*	*of*	*zijn*	*dat*	*jagers*			
	is	that	traders	or	is	that	hunters			
	is:	maar	ik	is	altijt		vrienschap		deur	
11	*[-V]?*	*Maar*	*ik*	*ben*	*altijd*		*vriendschappelijk*		*door*[1]	
	is	but	1S	is	always		friendship		through	
	wittemenschen		maar	nu	heb		ik	uit-		
12	*witte mensen.*		*Maar*	*nu*	*heb*		*ik*	*uit-*		
	white.people		but	now	PRF		1S	out		
	gevinden			ulieden	alle		wittemenschen			
13	*gevonden*	*[dat]*		*u,*	*alle*		*witte mensen,*			
	GE-find			2PL	all		white.people			

[1] Rather: *met*, 'with'.

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	hief	mij	nam	slaggabrou	heeft	zoo	
14	*[-V]*	*mijn*	*naam*	*slecht.gebruikt*	*heeft,*	*zo*	
	PRF	1S	name	badly.GE-use	PRF	so	

	ik	in	governor	zijn	brief	gehoord	ben	
15	*ik*	*in*	*[D] goeverneur*	*3POS*	*brief*	*gehoord*	*heb.*	
	1S	in	governor	3POS	letter	GE-hear	PRF	

	en	alle	andere	menschen		schult	op	
16	*En*	*[dat] alle*	*andere*	*mensen*	*[D]*	*schuld*	*op*	
	and	all	other	people		blame	on	

	mij	geleeg	heeft	
17	*my*	*gelegd*	*hebben.*	
	1S	GE-lay	PRF	

		Zoo	heb	ik	nu	niets	
18		*Zo*	*heb*	*ik*	*nu*	*niets*	
		So	have	1S	now	NEG	

	meer	deëen	uliden		vrede	of	vrienschap	
19	*meer*	*[om] tegen*	*jullie*	*[P]*	*vrede*	*of*	*vriendschap*	
	more	against	2PL		peace	or	friendship	

		ben;	dat	zeg	ik	u	liefe	Hahn
20	*[te]*	*zijn.*	*Dat*	*zeg*	*ik*	*u,*	*lieve*	*Hahn.*
		am	that	say	1S	2S	dear	Hahn

	ik	wel	meer	niet	doeladen		een	van
21	*Ik*	*wil [niet]*	*meer*	*[<--]*	*toelaten*	*[dat]*	*een*	*van*
	1S	want	more	NEG	permit		one	of

	de	Leeraar	of	Jagders	verbijgegaan	
22	*de*	*leraren*	*of*	*jagers*	*voorbij.gaan*	
	the	teacher	or	hunters	pass.GE-go	

	in	Wapoland	zonder	my	vrijhyd	
23	*in*	*Ovamboland*	*zonder*	*mij*	*vrijheid*[2]	
	in	Ovamboland	without	1S	freedom	

		gevragen	ik	wel			meer	niet
24	*[te]*	*vragen.*	*Ik*	*wil*	*[het]*	*[niet<]*	*meer*	*[<--]*
		GE-ask	1S	want			more	NEG

	doeladen	nu	u	nog	op	Ojimbingw
25	*toelaten,*	*nu*	*u*	*nog*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*
	permit	now	2S	still	on	Otjimbingwe

---

[2] Rather: *toestemming*, 'consent'.

	blijfen	ik	wel	niet	meer	doeschter
26	*blijft.*	*Ik*	*wil*	*niet*	*meer*	*toestaan*[3]
	stay	1S	want	NEG	more	permit

		Leeraars	zamen	blijfen	in	my	
27	*[dat] [D]*	*leraren*	*samen*	*blijven*	*in*	*mijn*	
		teachers	together	stay	in	1S	

	Vader	zyn	land.	Zoo	moet	u
28	*vader*	*3POS*	*land.*	*Dus*	*moet*	*u*
	father	3POS	land	so	must	2S

	als	u	deze	brief	krygen	wegdrak
29	*als*	*u*	*deze*	*brief*	*krijgt*	*wegtrekken*
	as	2S	D	letter	get	away.move

	van		bladj	als	u	niet	wegdrak	van
30	*van*	*[D]*	*plaats.*	*Als*	*u*	*niet*	*wegtrekt*	*van*
	from		place	if	2S	NEG	away.move	of

	de	blads	af,	hoewel	u	Leeraar	
31	*de*	*plaats*	*af, [dan],*	*hoewel*	*u*	*leraar*	*[V],*
	D	place	off	although	2S	teacher	

	ik	zal	u	afzed	van	de	bladj	af
32	*ik*	*zal*	*u*	*afzetten*	*van*	*de*	*plaats*	*af.*
	1S	will	2S	evict	from	D	place	off

	Verder	zeg	ik	ook
33	*Verder*	*zeg*	*ik*	*ook*
	further	say	1S	also

	u	ik	wel	geen	Leeraar	doeladen
34	*u,*	*ik*	*wil*	*geen*	*leraar*	*toelaten*
	2S	1S	want	NEG	teacher	permit

	om	in	Wapoland	de	gaan	zonder	
35	*om*	*in*	*Ovamboland*	*te*	*gaan*	*zonder*	*[dat]*
	for	in	Ovamboland	to	go	without	

	mijn	hulle	Leeraar	vrijheid	gegeven	
36	*ik*	*hen, [D]*	*leraren,*	*vrijheid*	*gegeven*	*[PRF]*
	1POS	3PL	teacher	freedom	GE-give	

	dat	is	ruits	al	zoo	veel	menschen
37	*Daar*	*zijn*	*reeds*	*al*	*zo*	*veel*	*mensen*
	that	is	already	-	so	many	people

[3] Could also have been *Duitser*, 'German'. (In spoken Afrikaans often corrupted to *Duister*.)

	gedood	door	die	Leeraars	zyn	in	ze*...*
38	*gedood*	*door*	*de*	*leraren*	*3POS*	*in*	***[4]
	GE-kill	by	D	teachers	3POS	in	***

	ik wens	als	wittemenschen	
39	*Ik wens,*	*als*	*witte.mensen*	
	1S wish	if	white.people	

	daar	kom	dan	zal	henen	mijn
40	*daar*	*komen*	*dan*	*zullen*	*zij*	*mij*
	there	come	then	will	3PL	1POS

		brief	geven	voor	henen	op
41	*[D]*	*brief*	*geven,*	*voor*	*zij*	*op*
		letter	give	before	3PL	on

	Ojimbingw	kom	alwats
42	*Otjimbingwe*	*komen.*	*Allen.-*
	Otjimbingwe	come	all.REL

	dat	Leeraar	alwas	dat	jagders
43	*die*	*leraar,*	*allen.-*	*die*	*jager,*
	REL	teacher	all.REL	REL	hunters

	alwas		Hadelars		dat		de	wens
44	*allen.-*	*[REL]*	*handelaar*	*[V].*	*Dat*	*[V]*	*de*	*wens*
	all.REL		traders		that		D	wish

	van	myn	zoo	veer
45	*van*	*mij.*	*Zo*	*ver.*
	of	1POS	so	far

	Ik	ben	oper	Hoof
46	*Ik*	*ben*	*opperhoofd*	-
	1S	am	paramount	chief

	van	Damaraland
47	*van*	*Damaraland.*
	of	Damaraland

Kapitein J Joker Afrikaner

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	als	u	wel	my	antwoorden
48	*Als*	*u*	*wilt*	*mij*	*antwoorden*
	if	2S	want	me	answer

	dan	moed	u	hasdig	antwoord
49	*dan*	*moet*	*u*	*haastig*	*antwoord*
	then	must	2S	hastily	answer

---

[4] *Zeggen*, 'talk'? From the preceding preposition it is clear that something like *inmenging*, 'meddling, interference' is intended.

		my	schrijven	dat	verzoek	ik	u	
50	*[P]*	*mij*	*schrijven,*	*dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	
		1S	write	that	request	1S	2S	

	vriendelyk
51	*vriendelijk.*
	friendly

[....][5]

	die	niet	vrede	wellen	naar	de	volle	regt	
52	*die*	*geen*	*vrede*	*willen*	*naar*	*het*	*volle*	*recht,*	
	REL	NEG	peace	want	after0	D	full	right	

	moet	ons	zoomaak:	zoo	is	myne	gedachtenes	is	
53	*moeten*	*wij*	*zo. maken.*	*Zo*	*zijn*	*mijn*	*gedachten*	*[-V]*	
	must	1PL	so.make	so	is	1POS	thoughts	is	

	en	begeerte:	ik kom	altoos	op	Otjimbingw	
54	*en*	*begeerten.*	*Ik kom*	*altijd*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*	
	and	desire	1S come	always	on	Otjimbingwe	

	en ben	vrede	met	die	menschen	altoos:	en	zyn	
55	*en heb*	*vrede*	*met*	*de*	*mensen,*	*altijd.*	*En*	*zij*	
	and have	peace	with	D	people	always	and	3POS	

	wellen	ook	vrede	tegen	my	altoos	maar	om
56	*willen*	*ook*	*vrede*	*tegen*	*mij,*	*altijd.*	*Maar*	*om*
	want	also	peace	against	1S	always	but	for

	Kamaharero	wil	zyn	zy	niet	vrede	tegen	my		
57	*Kamaharero,*	*willen*[6]	*[-->]*	*zij*	*geen*	*vrede*	*tegen*	*mij*	*[V].*	
	Kamaharero	want	are	3PL	NEG	peace	against	1S		

	daaro	hief	Azab	menschen	niet	heel	wel
58	*Daarom*	*hebben*	*Atsâbs*	*mensen*	*niet*	*heel*	*wel*[7]
	therefore	have	Atsâb	people	NEG	very	well

	my	vrede:	daarom	hief	Paul	my		botschap	ge-
59	*[P] mij*	*vrede.*	*Daarom*	*heeft*	*Paul*	*mij*	*[D]*	*boodschap*	*ge-*
	1S	peace	Therefore	PRF	Paul	1S		message	GE-send

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[5] A lose page in the RMG-files.

[6] Alternatively this could be an NP: *vanwege Kamaharero's wil, hebben zij geen vrede...*, 'because of Kamaharero's will, they are not at peace...'

[7] Obscure sentence. This could also be a verb *willen* 'to want': *daarom hebben Atsâbs mensen niet [?] willen mijn vrede*, 'therefor Atsab's people didn't want [?] my peace'.

	stuurt:	zoo	moet	my	Heer	in	die	Paul	na *[-by]*
60	*stuurd.*	*Zo*	*moet*	*mijnheer*	-	*indien*	-	*Paul*	*[-]*
	-	so	must	1S	Mr.	in	case	Paul	after near

	navrag	door	water	rede	hief	hy	mij	zooen	boschap
61	*navraagt*	*door*	*wat.voor*	*rede*	*heeft*	*hij*	*mij*	*zo.een*	*boodschap*
	inform	by	which	reason	PRF	3S	1S	such.a	message

	gestuurt	heeft		zal	ik	vloiet	naar	Grood ravuur		zyn
62	*gestuurd*	*[-V],*	*[XP][8]*	*zal*	*ik*	****[9]*	*naar*	*Grootrivier[10]*		*zijn.*
	GE-send	PRF		will	1S	***	to	Great	river	PRF

	en	ik	spreek	de	vrede	met	u	en	Kamaharero
63	*En*	*ik*	*spreek*	*[P] de*	*vrede*	*met*	*u*	*en*	*Kamaharero*
	and	1S	speak	D	peace	with	2S	and	Kamaharero

	en	niet	tot	de	burgers	zoo	sluit	ik	my	brief
64	*en*	*niet*	*tot*	*de*	*burgers.*	*Zo*	*sluit*	*ik*	*mijn*	*brief.*
	and	NEG	to	D	citizens	so	close	1S	1S	letter

	Zoo	dad	ik		besde	Combemenden	an	u	en	
65	*Zo*	*doe*	*ik*	*[D]*	*beste*	*complimenten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*	
	so	do	1S		best	compliments	to	2S	and	

	alle	vrienden	en	alle	Leeraars	en	ook	alle	
66	*alle*	*vrienden*	*en*	*alle*	*leraren*	*en*	*ook*	*alle*	
	all	friends	and	all	teachers	and	also	all	

	jevrouw
67	*juffrouwen.*
	Miss

		iK	ben	uwe	vriend
68		*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*vriend,*
		I	am	2POS	friend

Kapt J Jonker Afrikaner

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[8] Unclear what his intention to say is: it could be *dan*,'then I will have ...', or it could be an irrealis: *of zou ik...*, 'whether I would have...'

[9] *Vlucht (gevlucht zijn)*, 'flee'?

[10] Nineteenth century name for the Orange River.

Kabes de 10 juny 1869
69 *Kobus, 10 juni 1869*

.an den Erwaar
70 *Aan de eerwaarde*
to D honorable

Heer Hahn
71 *heer Hahn,*
Mr. Hahn

Gesteer heb ik uwee brief
72 *Gisteren heb ik uw brief*
yesterday PRF 1S 2POS letter

..tvangen en alles Welgeverstan die hief u mijn
73 *ontvangen en alles goed.verstaan, dat [-V] u mij*
GE-receive and all well.GE-understand REL PRF 2S 1POS

..schrijfen heeft: en ook u mijn verzoek ik
74 *geschreven heeft en ook [REL] u mij verzoekt, ik*
write PRF and also 2S 1POS request 1S

..l u weer dereg antwoord schrijven: lieve Heer
75 *zal u weer terug antwoord schrijven. Lieve heer*
will 2S again return answer write dear sir

.aar ik weit niet wat zal ik u nog antwoord
76 *maar ik weet niet wat zal ik u nog antwoorden,*
but 1S know NEG what will 1S 2S still answer

... is nog vrede met u en alle witte menschen
77 *[1S] ben nog [P] vrede met u en alle witte mensen,*
is still peace with 2S and all white people

... vrienschap zoo als vroedagen daarom schrijf
78 *[P] vriendschap zoals - vroeger.dagen. Daarom schrijf*
- friendship so as former.days therefore write

... altijt briefen nar u om de vragen als ik iets van
79 *[1S] altijd brieven naar u om te vragen als ik iets van*
always letters to 2S for to ask as 1S something of

... kan hoor ik heb ook gehoord heb mijn Heer Brieker
80 *[D] kant hoor. Ik heb ook gehoord [-V] mijn heer Brincker*
- side hear 1S PRF also GE-hear PRF 1POS Mr. Brincker

.el Barmen drekken dat zou <ol•ook> by mij goed gewes
81 *wil [P] Barmen trekken, dat zou ook bij mij goed geweest*
want Barmen move that would also by 1S goed GE-be

	...	hem	op	Barmen	woonen	maar	als	myn	Heer	
82	*[PRF] [als]*	*hij*	*op*	*Barmen*	*woonde*	*maar*	*als*	*mijnheer*	-	
	-	3S	on	Barmen	live	but	as	1POS	Mr.	
	... diten	tijt	op	Barmen	kom	dan	zal	dien	Damras	
83	*[P] deze*	*tijd*	*op*	*Barmen*	*komt*	*dan*	*zullen*	*de*	*Damaras*	
	- D	time	on	Barmen	come	then	will	D	Damaras	
	.ederom	af	drekken	naar	Barmen	doe	dat	wel		
84	*wederom*	*af*	*trekken*	*naar*	*Barmen*	*toe,*	*dat*	*wil*		
	again	away	move	to	Barmen	to	that	want		
	.k niet nodig	hebben:	en	dan		Topnars	is	ook		
85	*ik .niet nodig*[11]	*hebben.*	*En*	*dan*	*[D]*	*Topnaars*	*zijn*	*ook*		
	1S NEG need	have	and	then		Topnaars	is	also		
	.aar nu bij	als my	Heer	Brinker	op Barmen					
86	*daar nu [-].*	*Als mijnheer*	-	*Brincker*	*op Barmen [V],*					
	there now at	as 1S	Mr.	Brincker	on Barmen					
	...n	strakies	zal	Topenars	zijne	ossen	of	beesden		
87	*dan,*	*strakjes*	*zullen [D]*	*Topnaars*	*zijn*	*ossen*	*of*	*beesten*		
	then	later	will	Topnaars	3POS	oxen	or	cattle		
	...toolen	heeft	zoo	wel	ik	deze	tijt	niet		
88	*gestolen*	*hebben.*	*Zo*	*wil*	*ik*	*deze*	*tijd*	*niet*		
	steal	PRF	so	want	1S	D	time	NEG		

	[-dezen tijd]		doeladen	myn	Heer	moed	op	Barmen		
89	-	-	*toelaten*	*mijneer*	-	*moet*	*naar*	*Barmen*		
	D	time	permit	1POS	Mr.	must	on	Barmen		
	drek	kom	die Damras		is	nog	naby	zoo	moed	myn
90	*terug*[12]	*komen.*	*De Damaras*		*zijn*	*nog*	*nabij,*	*zo*	*moet*	*mijn-*
	return	come	D Damaras		are	still	close	so	must	1POS
	Heer	eers	gedolt	nem	laten	Damras	veer	wegdrek		
91	*heer*	*eerst*	*geduld*	*nemen,*	*laat [D]*	*Damaras*	*ver*	*wegtrekken*		
	Mr.	first	patience	take	let	Damaras	far	away.move		
	van	de	land	af	dat	is	de	wens	van	mij:
92	*van*	*het*	*land*	*af.*	*Dat*	*is*	*de*	*wens*	*van*	*mij.*
	from	D	land	off	that	is	D	wish	of	1S
	ik wens	ulieden	Leeraars	moet	eers	een	kan			
93	*Ik wens*	*u,*	*leraren*	*moeten*	*eerst*	*een*	*kant*			
	1S wish	2PL	teachers	must	first	one	side			

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[11] Double formation from Dutch *dat wil ik niet hebben*, 'I don't want it', combined with: *dat heb ik niet nodig*, 'I don't need it'.

[12] Alternatively: *trekken* 'to trek', in a VR cluster in German word order (see Volume I, Chapter Five).

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	blijven	doe	dat		land	helitemal		vrede	ben:		waarom			
94	*blijven,*	*totdat -*		*[D]*	*land*	*helemaal*	*[P]*	*vrede*	*is.*		*Waarom*			
	stay	till	that		land	totally		peace	are		why			
	blijven	uliden	Leeraars	<ol•niet>		een	kan	als		vescheplek				
95	*blijft*	*u,*	*leraren*	*niet*		*een*	*kant*	*als*[13]	*[D]*	*vecht.plek*				
	stay	2PL	teachers	NEG		one	side	of		fighting.place				
	af	waarom	volg	uliden	Leeraars	altyt	nar		vesch					
96	*af,*	*waarom*	*volgt*	*u ,*	*leraren*	*altijd*	*naar*	*[D]*	*vecht-*					
	off	why	follow	2PL	teachers	always	to		fight					
	blads	doe	zien	liefe	Heer	om	dat	ik	nog	vriensch*ap*				
97	*plaats*	*toe?*	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer*	*omdat*	*-*	*ik*	*nog*	*vriendschappelijk*				
	place	to	see	dear	sir	for	that	1S	still	friendschip				
	deëen	uliden		daarem	zeg	ik	uliden	moed	uit					
98	*tegen*	*u*	*[V],*	*daarom*	*zeg*	*ik*	*u*	*moet*	*uit*					
	against	2PL		therefore	say	1S	2PL	must	out					
	bly	van	Damras	af:	waarom	luder	u	niet		mijn				
99	*blijven*	*van [D]*	*Damaras*	*af.*	*Waarom*	*luistert*	*u*	*niet*	*[P]*	*mijn*				
	stay	from	Damaras	off	why	listen	2S	NEG		1POS				
	raad	die	heb	ik	u	gegeven	heeft	dat	is	niet				
100	*raad*	*die*	*[-V]*	*ik*	*u*	*gegeven*	*heb.*	*Het*	*is*	*niet*	*[slechts]*			
	advice	REL	PRF	1S	2S	GE-give	PRF	that	is	NEG				
	vandag	heb	ik	u	gezey:	bly	weg	van		oorlog	blads			
101	*vandaag*	*[dat][-->]*	*ik*	*u*	*gezegd [>heb]:*	*blijf*	*weg*	*van*	*[D]*	*oorlogsplek*				
	today	PRF	1S	2S	GE-say	stay	away	from		war	place			
	af:	maar	u	hief	niet	een	kier	doen	zoo	ik				
102	*af!*	*Maar*	*u*	*heeft*	*niet*	*een*	*keer*	*gedaan*	*zo*	*ik*				
	off	but	2S	PRF	NEG	one	time	do	so	1S				
	u	zeg:	daarom	denk	ik	u	is	een	van	my	vijanden			
103	*u*	*zeg.*	*Daarom*	*denk*	*ik*	*u*	*is*	*een*	*van*	*mijn*	*vijanden*			
	2S	say	therefore	think	1S	2S	is	one	of	1S	enemies			
	openaard:	daarom	geloof	ik		als	andere	menschen						
104	***[14]	*Daarom*	*geloof*	*ik*	*[het]*	*als*	*andere*	*mensen*						
	***	therefore	belief	1S		as	other	people						
	mij	iets	verdel	die	u	my	nam	slegemaak						
105	*mij*	*iets*	*vertellen*	*dat*	*u*	*mijn*	*naam*	*slecht.gemaakt*		*[PRF].*				
	1S	some	tell	that	2S	1S	name	bad.GE-make						

[13] Unclear, perhaps *van*, 'from'.

[14] Maybe intended as: *u heeft zich als een van mijn vijanden geopenbaard*, 'you revealed yourself as one of my enemies'.

	u	zeg	nog	vandag	ik <ol•heb>	niet	goed	gedoen
106	*U*	*zegt*	*nog*	*vandaag*	*ik heb*	*niet*	*goed*	*gedaan.*
	2S	say	still	today	1S PRF	NEG	good	GE-do

	.ie	is		eers	man		hief	ons	zyn	vrede	afgebrek
107	*Wie*	*is*	*[D]*	*eerste*	*man*	*[REL]*	*heeft*	*onze*	*3POS*	*vrede*	*gebroken*
	who	is		first	man		PRF	3POS	3POS	peace	off.GE-break

	.chter	my	Vader	zyn	dood	is		dat	ik	of	is	dat
108	*achter*[15]	*mijn*	*vader*	*3POS*	*dood?*	*Ben*	*[ik<]*	*dat*	*[<--]*	*of*	*is*	*dat*
	behind	1S	father	3POS	dead	is		that	1S	or	is	that

	niet	Kamaharero		daat	gedaan	heeft	of	zal	ik	daar
109	*niet*	*Kamaharero*	*[REL]*	*dat*	*gedaan*	*heeft*	*of*	*zal*	*ik*	*daar*
	NEG	Kamaharero		that	GE-do	PRF	or	will	1S	there

	<ol•.oor>	schuuldag:		woevel	maal	heb	ik	deëen	Kama-
110	*over*	*schuldig*	*[V]?*	*Hoeveel*	*maal*	*heb*	*ik*	*tegen*	*Kama-*
	for	guilty		how.many	times	PRF	1S	against	Kamaharero

	harero:	vrede	gevrag	achter	de	eerste	oorlog
111	*harero*	*vrede*	*gevraagd*	*achter*	*de*	*eerste*	*oorlog*
	-	peace	GE-ask	behind	D	first	war

	van	Ojimbingw	zal	u	nog	deëen	myn
112	*van*	*Otjimbingwe?*	*Zult*	*u*	*nog*	*tegen*	*mij*
	of	Otjimbingwe	will	2S	still	against	1POS

	zeg	ik	heb	niet	goed	gedoen	om	dat	ik
113	*zeggen*	*ik*	*heb*	*niet*	*goed*	*gedaan*	*omdat*	-	*ik*
	say	1S	PRF	NEG	good	GE-do	for	that	1S

	niet deëen		Damras	vrede	vragden	
114	*niet tegen*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*vrede*	*vroeg.*	
	not against		Damaras	peace	ask-PST	

	hoe	weet	u	hoeveel	jaar	heb	ik	die
115	*Hoe*	*weet*	*u*	*hoevele*	*jaren*	*heb*	*ik*	*[-D]*
	how	know	2S	how.many	year	PRF	1S	D

	David Christian	en	Paul goliath	onder-	
116	*David Christian*	*en*	*Paul Goliath*	*ver-*[16]	
	David Christiaan	en	Paul Goliath	GE-research	

	zoek	en	zoepat	door		die	vrede	ontwil	of
117	*zocht*	*en*	*gesoebat*	*[-]*	*[omwille<]*	*der*	*vrede*	*[<--].*	*Of*
	-	and	plea	through		D	peace	sake	or

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[15] *Na*, 'after'.

[16] He confuses the words *verzoeken*, 'request' and *onderzoeken*, 'research'.

	zul	gy	een	dag	of jaar	zien	die	twee	Kapiteins
118	*zult*	*gij*	*een*	*dag*	*of jaar*	*zien*	*die*	*twee*	*kapiteinen*
	will	2S	one	day	or year	see	D	two	captains

	op stan	en	hier	naa	doe	kom	en	vrede	sprek
119	*opstaan*	*en*	*hier*	*naartoe*	-	*komen*	*en [D]*	*vrede*	*bespreken*
	raise	and	here	to	to	come	and	peace	speak

	deschen	ik	en	Damra:	alssie	waarachtigge	
120	*tussen*	*mij*	*en [D]*	*Damaras.*	*Als.zij*	*waarachtige*	
	between	1S	and	Damaras	As.3PL	true	

	Kapitein	is:	dan	zulen		opstan	en	in	gaan	waar
121	*kapiteinen*	*zijn,*	*dan*	*zullen*	*[3PL]*	*opstaan*	*en*	*in*	*gaan*	*waar*
	captain	is	then	will		raise	and	in	go	where

	hem	kwaad	geschied	is:	houd	u	nog	zoo	en		Kapiteins
122	*hen [D]*	*kwaad*	*geschied*	*is.*	*Houdt*	*u*	*nog*	*zo,*	*en*	*[D]*	*kapiteinen,*
	3S	ill	GE-befall	is	keep	2S	still	so	and		captains

	waarachtige	Kapiteins	die	hief	niet	zijn	Kapitein	
123	*waarachtige*	*kapiteinen,*	*die*	*[-V]*	*niet*	*3POS*	*kapiteins*	
	true	captains	REL	PRF	NEG	3POS	captain	

	bleg	voldoen	heeft	die	kapiteins	zal	nog	op	staan
124	*plicht*	*voldaan*	*hebben,*	*die*	*kapiteinen*	*zullen*	*nog*	*opstaan*	
	duty	GE- fulfill	PRF	D	captains	will	still	up	stand

	en	vrede	maak	nu	hoord	ik	Paul Goliath	is	gestoorven
125	*en*	*vrede*	*maken.*	*Nu*	*hoor*	*ik*	*Paul Goliath*	*is*	*gestorven*
	and	peace	make	now	hear	1S	Paul Goliath	is	GE-pass.away

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	van	waterpoekis:	verder	verzoek	u	myn	ik	
126	*van [D]*	*waterpokken.*	*Verder*	*verzoekt*	*u*	*mij,*	*ik*	
	of	chicken-pox	further	request	2S	1POS	1S	

	moed	u	daar van	antwoorden	van	de	Leeraars	in	de	
127	*moet*	*u*	*daarvan*	*antwoorden,*	*van*	*de*	*leraren*	*in*	*[-D]*	
	must	2S	there of	answer	of	D	teachers	in	D	

	Ovambo land		de	gaar:	zien	lieve	Heer	ik	beled	niet
128	*Ovamboland*		*te [laten]*	*gaan.*	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer*	*ik*	*belet*	*niet [dat]*
	Ovamboland		to	go	see	dear	sir	1S	prevent	NEG

	God	woort	voortgaar:	maar	ik	hoort	nu	Kavers
129	*Gods*	*woord*	*voort.gaat,*	*maar*	*ik*	*hoor*	*nu [D]*	*kaffers*
	god	word	continue	but	1S	hear	now	kaffers

	driek	ook	nar	wambo land	doe	en	Damras	driek	ook
130	*trekken*	*ook*	*naar*	*Ovamboland*	*toe*	*en [D]*	*Damaras*	*trekken*	*ook*
	move	also	to	Ovamboland	to	and	Damaras	move	also

	daar	in:	dat	lijk	mijn		alle	zwaar	nasis	een	kan	kom
131	*daar*	*in.*	*Het*	*lijkt*	*mij*	*[dat]*	*alle*	*zwarte*	*naties*	*een*	*kant*	*komen*
	there	in	that	seem	1POS		all	black	nations	one	side	come

	en	all	rode	nasis	heel	een	kan	toe	dan	zal	die	veschten
132	*en*	*alle*	*rode*	*naties*	*helemaal*	*een*	*kant*	*toe.*	*Dan*	*zal*	*het*	*vechten*
	and	all	red	nations	totally	one	side	to	then	will	D	fighting

	meer	erger	woort	en	wambo	land	daarom	wel	ik
133	*meer*[17]	*erger*	*worden*	*in*	*Ovamboland.*		*Daarom*	*wil*	*ik*
	more	worse	become	in	Ovamboland		Therefore	want	1S

	niet	Leeraat	eers	doeladen	in	dat	gaan	waarom	zeenden	
134	*niet*	*leraren*	*[voor]eerst*[18]	*toelaten*	*in*	*dat [te]*	*gaan.*	*Waarom*	*zendt*	
	NEG	teacher	first	permit	in	that	go	why	send	

	u	altijt	Leeraar	oorlog	kan	doe	als	die	Leeraar	eendag	
135	*u*	*altijd*	*leraren*	*[D] oorlogskant -*		*toe?*	*Als*	*de*	*leraar*	*een dag*	
	2S	always	teacher	war	side	to	as	D	teacher	one.day	

	verentgeloek	in	slag	wat zal	u	zeg	of wie zal		u	ver-	
136	*verongelukt*	*in [D]*	*slag,*	*wat zal*	*u*	*zeggen*	*of wie zal [door]*		*u*	*be-*	
	meet.with.accident	in	battle	what will	2S	say	or who will		2S	-	

	schuldig	woort	of zal	ik daar	voor	<ol•niet>	schuldig	woord		
137	*schuldigd*	*worden*	*of zal*	*ik daarvoor*	-	*niet*	*schuldig*	*worden?*		
	blamed	become	or will	1S therefor	-	NEG	blame	become		

	daarom	wel	ik niet	Leeraat	doelad	om daar	indrek		
138	*Daarom*	*wil*	*ik geen*	*leraren*	*toelaten*	*om daar*	*in.[te].trekken.*		
	therefore	want	1S NEG	teacher	permit	for there	in.move		

	die	wambo	dat	is	ook	de	nasis	onter	my	Vader
139	*De*	*Ovambo*	*dat*	*is*	*ook*	*een*	*natie* *[REL]*	*onder*	*mijn*	*vaders*
	D	Ovambo	that	is	also	D	nation	under	1S	father

	vrede	was:	als	uliden	nu	daar	kom	dan	zulen	
140	*vrede*	*was.*	*Als*	*jullie*	*nu*	*daar*	*komen*	*dan*	*zullen*	*[3PL]*
	peace	was	if	2PL	now	there	come	then	will	

	straakis	zeg	ons	rode	nasis	hief	die	wambo	slawe
141	*strakjes*	*zeggen:*	*wij,*	*rode*	*naties*	*hebben*	*de*	*Ovambo*	*slaven*
	later	say	1PL	red	nation	PRF	D	Ovambo	slave

	gemaak	dat	is	de	rede	ik	en	Damras	vandag	
142	*gemaakt.*	*Dat*	*is*	*de*	*rede* *[REL]*	*ik*	*en [D]*	*Damaras*	*vandaag*	
	GE-make	that	is	D	reason	1S	and	Damaras	today	

	stan	stryden
143	*staan*	*stryden.*
	stand	argue

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[17] Double comparative, Dutch: *nog erger.*

[18] 'For the time being'.

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	an	u	in	alle	jevrouw	en	uwe	kinderen	
158	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*alle*	*juffrouwen*	*en*	*uw*	*kinderen*	
	to	2S	and	all	Miss	and	2POS	children	
	en	ook	alle		Leeraarse		daar	by	was
159	*en*	*ook*	*alle*		*leraren*	*[REL]*	*daar*	*bij*	*waren.*
	and	also	all		teachers		there	by	were
			ik	ben	Vr.	Ka.		J.	Jonker Africaner
160			*Ik*	*ben*	*vriend*	*kapitein*			
			1S	am	friend	captain			

		ik	is	nu	<ol•op>	zalfde	blats	heb		
161		*Ik*	*ben*	*nu*	*op*	*dezelfde*	*plaats,*	*ben*		
		1S	am	now	on	same	place	PRF		
						Naposib	gekom	<ul•ben>		
162						*Naposib*	*gekomen*	*[-V].*		
						Naposib	GE-come	PRF		
	Aan	den	Edele	Eerwaarde						
163	*Aan*	*de*	*edele*	*eerwaarde*						
	to	D	noble	honorable						
	Heer	Hahn						21 de julij 1869		
164	*heer*	*Hahn,*						*21 juli, 1869*		
	Mr.	Hahn								
		ik	hebben	uwe	brief	die	u	vijfde		
165		*Ik*	*heb*	*uw*	*brief*	*die*	*u*	*vijf*		
		1S	PRF	2POS	letter	REL	2S	fifth		
	.uly	geschryven			die	heb	ik	20 Julij	geontvangen	
166	*juli*	*geschreven [PRF],*			*die*	*heb*	*ik*	*20 juli*	*ontvangen.*	
	July	GE-write			die	PRF	1S	20 July	GE-receive	
	.oe	heb	ik	als	gevienden	die	gij	mijn	geschrijven	
167	*Toen*	*heb*	*ik*	*alles*	*gevonden*	*dat*	*gij*	*mij*	*geschreven*	*[PRF].*
	then	PRF	1S	all	GE-find	REL	2S	1POS	GE-write	
	..in	lieve	Heer	ik	poo	niet	vrede		maaken	deëen
168	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer,*	*ik*	*poog*	*niet*	*vrede*	*[te]*	*maken*	*tegen*[19]
	see	dear	sir	1S	try	NEG	peace		make	against
		.amras	en	Damras	hieft	nog niet		mij	gewen	ik
169	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*en [D]*	*Damaras*	*hebben*	*nog niet*		*mij*	*gewonnen.*	*Ik*
		Damaras	and	Damaras	PRF	yet	NEG	1S	GE-win	1S
	.ien	nog niet		Kamaharero		hief	mij	pasgeraak		ben
170	*zie*	*nog niet*	*[dat]*	*Kamaharero*		*[-V]*	*mij*	*baas.geraakt*		*heeft*
	see	still	NEG	Kamaharero		PRF	1S	GE-conquer		PRF
	.o	heb	ik	nog	hoogmoedig	om	vrede	de	maak	
171	*Zo*	*ben*	*ik*	*nog*	*hoogmoedig*	*om*	*vrede*	*te*	*maken*	
	so	am	1S	still	haughty	for	peace	to	make	
	.eëen		Damras:	maar	alle	menschen		hief	mijn	
172	*tegen*	*[D]*	*Damaras,*	*maar*	*alle*	*mensen*		*hebben*	*mij*	
	against		Damaras	but	all	people		PRF	1POS	
	.l	jaaren		raad	gegeven	ik	moed	vrede	maak	dat
173	*al*	*jaren [D]*		*raad*	*gegeven,*	*ik*	*moet*	*vrede*	*maken.*	*Dat*
	already	years		advice	GE-give	1S	must	peace	make	that

[19] Rather: *met*, 'with'.

	..	de	reede	heb	ik	af	gestan	heel	wel	myne	vrede
174	*is*	*de*	*reden*	*heb*	*ik*	*afgestaan*	-	*heel*	*wel*	*mijn*	*vrede*
	-	the	reason	PRF	1S	away	GE-do	very	well	1POS	peace

	..voul	in	menschen	zyn	woorden	u	zeg	ook:	alle
175	*gevoel*	*in*	*mensen*	*3POS*	*woorden.*	*U*	*zegt*	*ook*	*al*
	feeling	in	people	3POS	words	2S	say	also	all

	.aaren	ik	moed	vrede	maak	om	dat	u	als	weel
176	*jaren*	*ik*	*moet*	*vrede*	*maken*	*omdat*	-	*u*	*alles*	*goed*
	year	1S	must	peace	make	for	that	2S	all	well

	.ehoord		met	Kamaharero	of	Kamaharero	is	heel
177	*gehoord*	*[PRF]*	*met*	*Kamaharero.*	*[-]*	*Kamaharero*	*is*	*heel*
	GE-hear		with	Kamharero	or	Kamaharero	is	very

	wel	vrede	met	myn	of	goede	hard	deëen	my
178	*goed*	*vrede*	*met*	*mij*	*of*	*goed*	*hart*	*tegen*	*mij.*
	well	peace	with	1POS	or	good	heart	against	1S

	daarom	zeg	u	altyt	ik	moed	vrede	maak	en
179	*Daarom*	*zegt*	*u*	*altijd*	*ik*	*moet*	*vrede*	*maken*	*en*
	therefore	say	2S	always	1S	must	peace	make	and

	.ok	alle	andere	Kapiteins	zeg	zoo	ik	moed	vrede
180	*ook*	*alle*	*andere*	*kapiteinen*	*zeggen*	*zo;*	*ik*	*moet*	*vrede*
	also	all	other	captains	say	so	1S	must	peace

	.aak	met	Damras	D	Chreertian	P	Golith
181	*maken*	*met [D]*	*Damaras;*	*D.*	*Christian,*	*P.*	*Goliath*
	make	with	Damaras	D.	Christian	P.	Goliath

	..	K.	WitBooi	en	ook		Governor	daarom [-ik]
182	*en*	*K.*	*Witbooi*	*en*	*ook*	*[D]*	*goeverneur.*	*Daarom*
	-	K.	Witbooi	and	also		governor	therefore 1S

	maak	ik	deze	vrede	ik	heb	gedog[20]	dat	is	goede	
183	*maak*	*ik*	*deze*	*vrede.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*gedacht*	*dat*	*is*	*goed*[21]	*[REL]*
	make	1S	D	peace	1S	PRF	GE-think	that	is	goods	

	.. hief		menschen	mijn	gegeven	daarom	maak	ik
184	*hebben*	*[D]*	*mensen*	*mij*	*gegeven.*	*Daarom*	*maak*	*ik*
	PRF		people	1POS	GE-give	therefore	make	1S

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[20] *Dog:* originally the simple past form of Dutch *dunken* (refl.; 'think, seem'). The HAT opposes this form as archaic, formal speech, to the regular perfective form *het gedink*, without mentioning *het gedog* as an option. However, WAT lists *gedog* as a participle form for the dubitative verb and mentions *dog* also in use as a present tense form: "*Jy dog glad te veel*", "*Moenie dog nie*". See Volume I, Chapter Two , § 2.5.1.1, p.50.

[21] Perhaps *goederen* 'goods, things'; Dutch: *iets, een ding*.

	deze	vrede		heel		brede	hard	van	myn
185	*deze*	*vrede*	*[P]*	*heel*	*[D]*	*brede*[22]	*hard*	*van*	*mij.*
	D	peace		whole		wide	heart	of	1POS

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	warom	hiefs	Kamaharero	mijn	vreesden	als	ik	
186	*Waarom*	*heeft*	*Kamaharero*	*mij*	*gevreesd*	*als*	*ik*	
	wherefor	PRF	Kamaharero	1POS	GE-fear	if	1S	

	vrede	maaken	waarom	hief	Kamaharero	[-no]	
187	*vrede*	*maak?*	*Waarom*	*heeft*	*Kamaharero*		
	peace	make	why	PRF	Kamharero	yet	

	niet	mij	woord	geloof:	waner	heb	ik	Kamaharero
188	*niet*	*mijn*	*woord*	*geloofd?*	*Wanneer*	*heb*	*ik*	*Kamaharero*
	NEG	1S	word	GE-believe	when	PRF	1S	Kamaharero

		bedrog	vrede	brief	geschryven	die	hief	niet	mij
189	*[D]*	*bedrieglijke*	*vredes*	*brief*	*geschreven,*	*die*	*heeft*	*niet*	*mijn*
		deceive	peace	letter	GE-write	REL	PRF	NEG	1S

	woord	geloofen	waner	hief	Kamaharero	myn
190	*woord*	*geloofd?*[23]	Wanneer	heeft	Kamaharero	mij
	word	GE-believe	when	PRF	Kamaharero	1POS

		vrede	brief	geschryven	of	mensch	die	hief	hy niet
191	*[D]*	*vredes*	*brief*	*geschreven*	*of*	*mensen*	*dat*	*heeft*	*hij niet*
		peace	leter	GE-write	or	people	that	has	3S NEG

	my	woord	geloofen:	waner	hief	Kamaharero
192	*mijn*	*woord*	*geloofd.*	*Waneer*	*heeft*	*Kamaharero*
	1S	word	GE-believe	when	PRF	Kamaharero

	.... mijn	mensch	gestuur	om vrede	wil	heb	ik
193	*mij*	*mensen*	*gestuurd*	*om vredes*	*wil?*	*Heb*	*ik*
	1POS	people	GE-send	for peace	want	have	1S

	die mensch	dood	gemaak	door	die menschen	
194	*die mensen*	*dood*	*gemaakt?*	*Door*	*die mensen*	
	D people	dead	GE-make	by	D people	

	hief	Kamaharero	niet	mij	vrede	woord	gelooften
195	*heeft*	*Kamaharero*	*niet*	*mijn*	*vredes*	*woord*	*geloofd.*
	PRF	Kamaharero	NEG	1S	peace	word	GE-believe

	zien	lieve	heer	als	ik	vrede	maak	ik	wel	niet
196	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer*	*als*	*ik*	*vrede*	*maak:*	*ik*	*wil*	*geen*
	see	dear	lord	if	1S	peace	make	1S	want	NEG

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[22] Could have been intended as *vrede*, 'with my peaceloving heart'.

[23] Rather: *beloofd*, 'promised'.

	vrede	om	onder	de	Damras		stan	om		Damaras	dienaar		
197	*vrede*	*om*	*onder*	*[-->]*	*[D] Damaras*	*[>te]*	*staan*	*om*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*dienaar*		
	peace	for	under	to	Damaras		stand	for		Damaras	servant		
	de	woord	als	ik	vrede	maak	ik	zal	in	die	vrede		
198	*te*	*worden.*	*Als*	*ik*	*vrede*	*maak,*	*ik*	*zal*	*in*	*die*	*vrede*		
	to	become	if	1S	peace	make	1S	will	in	D	peace		
	levende	woorden	en	ook	my	vrouwen	en	kienderen					
199	*levend*	*worden*	*en*	*ook*	*mijn*	*vrouwen*	*en*	*kinderen.*					
	alive	become	and	also	1S	wifes	and	children					
	daarom	heb	ik	u	deze	diens	geven	in	uwe	handen			
200	*Daarom*	*heb*	*ik*	*u*	*deze*	*dienst*	*gegeven*	*in*	*uw*	*handen,*			
	therefore	PRF	1S	2S	D	service	give	in	2POS	hands			
	vrede	in	waarheid	ik	krijgen	heeft							
201	*vrede*	*en*	*waarheid*	*ik*	*gekregen*	*heb.*[24]							
	peace	and	truth	1S	get	PRF							
				zien	lieve	Heer							
202				*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer,*							
				see	dear	sir							
	die	dag	heb	Damras	uit	gegaan	doe	hief	Damras				
203	*die*	*dag*	*zijn*	*[D] Damaras*	*uitgegaan -*		*toen*	*zijn*	*[D] Damaras*				
	D	day	PRF	Damaras	out	GE-go	then	PRF	Damaras				
	[-om]	uitgegaan	om	bij	de	woord	en	Eigen	land	de	legen		
204		*uitgegaan*	*om*	*bij*	*het*	*woord*	*een*	*eigen*	*land*	*te*	*leggen.*		
	for	out.GE-go	for	by	D	word	an	own	land	to	establish		
	waarom	hief	nog	Damras	om	ons	zyn	land	de	wenen			
205	*Waarom*	*hebben*	*nodig*[25]	*Damaras*	*om*	*ons*	*3POS*	*land*	*te*	*winnen?*			
	why	have	need	Damaras	for	1POS	3POS	land	to	win			
	waarom	leeg		Damras	niet	in	Eigen	land	als	my	land		
1	*Waarom*	*liggen*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*niet*	*in*	*eigen*	*land*	*als*	*mijn*	*land?*		
	why	lie.down		Damaras	NEG	in	own	land	as	1S	land		
	ik	dank	zoo	tyt	is	nu	naby	om	zaujen	ik		ook	
2	*Ik*	*denk*	*zo,*	*[D] tijd*	*is*	*nu*	*nabij*	*om*	*[te] zaaien.*	*Ik*	*[V]*	*ook*	
	1S	think	so	time	is	now	near	for	sow	1S		also	
	van	jaar	zanjooblads	zaajan	dat	is	de	wens	van	my			
3	*van [het]*	*jaar [op]*	*Zanjoo.plaats*	*zaaien.*	*Dat*	*is*	*de*	*wens*	*van*	*mij*			
	this	year	Zanjoo.place	sow	that	is	D	wish	of	1S			
	maar	Damras	hief	nu	daar	in	gedraak	naby	de				
4	*maar*	*[D] Damaras*	*zijn*	*nu*	*daarin -*		*getrokken*	*nabij*	*de*				
	but	Damaras	PRF	now	there	in	GE-move	near	D				

[24] Unclear, from the context the intention is rather analysed as the future tense.

[25] Correct word order: *Waarom hebben de Damaras [het] nodig om ...*, 'Why need the Damaras to...'

	blads:	daat	is	de	dengen		hif	ons	die	kan
5	*plaats.*	*Dat*	*zijn*	*de*	*dingen,*	*[REL]*	*hebben*	*wij*	*die*	*kant*
	place	that	is	D	things		PRF	1PL	D	side

	vrede	sproken	en	andere	kan	oorlog	maaken
6	*vrede*	*gesproken*	*en*	*andere*	*kant*	*oorlog*	*gemaakt.*
	peace	speak	and	other	side	war	make

	dat	verzoek	ik	u	lieve	Heer	vriendelijk	zeg
7	*Dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*lieve*	*heer*	*vriendelijk,*	*zeg*
	that	request	1S	2S	dear	sir	friendly	say

	de	Kamaharero	laden	Kamaharero	die	Damras	
8	*[-]*	*Kamaharero,*	*dat*	*Kamaharero*	*de*	*Damaras*	
	to	Kamaharero	let	Kamaharero	D	Damaras	

	wegenemen	van	my	land	af	lad	ik	niet
9	*wegneemt*	*van*	*mijn*	*land*	*af, [zo]*	*dat*	*ik*	*geen*
	away.take	of	1S	land	off	let	1S	NEG

	kwaad	doen	door	my	land:	en	zeg	de	Kamaharero
10	*kwaad*	*doe*	*voor*	*mijn*	*land,*	*en*	*zeg*	*[-]*	*Kamaharero*
	evil	do	for	1S	land	and	say	to	Kamaharero

	lad	Kamaharero	alle	zijn	menschen	by	maalkander
11	*dat*	*Kamaharero*	*al*	*zijn*	*mensen*	*bij*	*elkaar*
	let	Kamaharero	all	3POS	people	together -	

	maaken	op	een	blads	hy	is	Hoof	van	alle	Damras
12	*maakt*	*op*	*een*	*plaats.*	*Hij*	*is [D]*	*hoofd*	*van*	*alle*	*Damaras.*
	make	on	one	place	3S	is	head	of	all	Damaras

	ik	maak	vrede	lad	die	vrede	niet	vergaan
13	*Ik*	*maak*	*vrede,*	*laat*	*die*	*vrede*	*niet*	*vergaan,*
	1S	make	peace	let	D	peace	NEG	wither

	die	hief	ons	nu	sproken		heeft:	dat	is		wens
14	*die*	*[-V]*	*wij*	*nu*	*[af].gesproken*		*hebben.*	*Dat*	*is*	*[D]*	*wens*
	REL	PRF	1PL	now	GE-speak		PRF	that	is		wish

	van	my:	ik	gien	niet	de	Damras		heelle
15	*van*	*mij.*	*Ik*	*gun*	*niet*	*de*	*Damaras*	*[D]*	*hele*
	of	1S	1S	grant	NEG	D	Damaras		whole

	Zwaakgoup	Ravier	tot	Otjimbingw	af	
16	*Swakop*	*rivier*	*tot*	*Otjimbingwe*	*af*	
	Swakop	river	until	Otjimbingwe	from	

	Weenhoek	doe:	daar	in	wou:	henen		moed	uit
17	*Windhoek*	*toe.*	*Daar*	*in*	*wilden*	*zij,*	*[3PL]*	*moeten*	*uit*
	Windhoek	to	there	in	wanted	3PL		must	out

	blijf	van	Rabur	af		lad	ons	vamakar	leeg											
18	*blijven*	*van*	*Rabur*	*af,*	*[zo]*	*dat*	*wij*	*van.elkaar*	*liggen.*											
	stay	of	Rabur	off		let	1PL	from.each.other	lie											
	dan	zal	ons	roode	nasis	pad	krygen	om	bij	u										
19	*Dan*	*zullen*	*wij,*	*Rode*	*naties*	*pad*	*krijgen*	*om*	*bij*	*u*										
	then	will	1PL	red	nations	way	get	for	with	2S										
		kom	houd	uliden	Leeraars		Damras	andere	kan											
20	*[te]*	*komen.*	*Houdt*	*u,*	*leraren,*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*andere*	*kant*											
		come	Keep	2PL	teachers		Damaras	other	side											
	lad	ons	die	kan	pad	krijge	dan	zal	ik	of	mij									
21	*dat*	*wij*	*die*	*kant*	*pad*	*krijgen,*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*of*	*mijn*									
	let	1PL	D	side	way	get	then	will	1S	or	1S									
	menschen	bij	u	kom	voor	dat	ons	by	u	kom										
22	*mensen*	*bij*	*u*	*komen.*	*Voor*	*dat*	*wij*	*bij*	*u*	*komen,*										
	people	with	2S	come	before	that	1PL	with	2S	come										
	dan	zal	ons	meeschen	ons	roode	menschen	en	Damras											
23	*dan*	*zullen*	*wij*	*misschien,*	*wij,*	*rode*	*mensen*	*en [D]*	*Damaras*											
	then	will	1PL	maybe	1PL	red	people	and	Damaras											
	krijgmalker			dan	zal	niet	bedrouw		malkar	b...										
24	*[-->].elkaar.[>krijgen],*			*dan*	*zal [er]*	*geen*	*vertrouwen*	*[in]*	*elkaar*	*zijn.*										
	get.each.other			then	will	NEG	trust		each.other	be										
	lad	den	Damras	andere	kan	kom	en	ons												
25	*Laat*	*de*	*Damaras*	*andere*	*kant*	*komen*	*en*	*wij*												
	let	D	Damaras	other	side	come	and	1PL												
	die	kan	kom	lad	ons		op	uwe	weerf	zien										
26	*die*	*kant*	*komen*	*dat*	*wij*	*[elkaar]*	*op*	*uw*	*werf*	*zien.*										
	D	side	come	let	1PL		on	2POS	werf	see										
	dat	is	de	wens	van	my	lieve	Heer												
27	*Dat*	*is*	*de*	*wens*	*van*	*mij,*	*lieve*	*heer.*												
	that	is	D	wish	of	1S	dear	sir												

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	zien	lieve	Heer	ik	laang	tijt	een	manger
28	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer*	*ik [PRF]*	*lange*	*tijd*	*een*	*'messenger'[?]*
	see	dear	sir	1S	long	time	a	messenger[?]
	stuur	nar	Hendrek	Africaner	doe	om	die	
29	*gestuurd*	*naar*	*Hendrik*	*Afrikaner*	*toe*	*om*	*die*	
	send	to	Hendrik	Afrikaner	to	for	D	

	affen[26]	mal	zyn	geereschap	dereg	de	krygen	maar	
30	***	*maal*	*3POS*	*gereedschap*	*terug*	*te*	*krijgen*	*maar*	
	***	time	3POS	tools	return	to	get	but	
	ik	hebben	nog niet	gekrijgen	zoo	wet	ik	nog	niet
31	*ik*	*heb*	*nog niets*	*gekregen*	*dus*	*weet*	*ik*	*nog*	*niet*
	1S	PRF	still NEG	GE-get	so	know	1S	yet	NEG
	is	dat	nog die	gereschap	heb	is	of	niet	heb is
32	*is*	*dat*	*nog het*	*gereedschap*	*heb*	*[-V]*	*of*	*niet*	*heb [-V].*
	is	that	still D	tools	have	is	or	NEG	have is
	ik	is	gawellig	om	die	gereschap	afgeven		maar
33	*Ik*	*ben*	*gewillig*	*om*	*het*	*gereedschap*	*af.[te].geven*		*maar*
	1S	am	willing	for	D	tools	hand.over		but
	ik	heb	nog niet	gekrijg					
34	*ik*	*heb*	*nog niets*	*gekregen*					
	1S	PRF	still NEG	GE-get					
			verder	als	nog	mij	Heer		
35			*Verder*	*als*	*nog*	*mijnheer*			
			further	if	still	1S	Mr.		
	Breker		wel	Barmen	dreken	zeg	hem	lad	hem
36	*Brincker*		*wil [P]*	*Barmen*	*trekken*	*zeg*	*hem*	*dat*[27]	*hij*
	Brincker		want	Barmen	move	say	3S	let	3S
	drek	hij	en	Daniel Cloede	als	henen	op	Barmen	
37	*trekt.*	*Hij*	*en*	*Daniel Cloete,*	*als*	*zij*	*op*	*Barmen*	
	move	3S	and	Daniel Cloete	when	3PL	on	Barmen	
	kom	dan	moet	hem niet	zam	met	bees Damras		
38	*komen*	*dan*	*moet*	*hij*[28] *niet*	*samen*	*met [D]*	*Beestdamaras*		
	come	then	must	3S NEG	together	with	Beestdamaras		
	op Barmen	blijfen	dat	moed	hij	eers	my	beloofen	
39	*op Barmen*	*blijven*	*dat*	*moet*	*hij*	*eerst*	*mij*	*beloven*	
	on Barmen	stay	that	must	he	first	1S	promise	
	dan	zal	ik	hem	doeladen	als	daar	niet	menschen
40	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*hem*	*toelaten.*	*Als*	*daar*	*geen*	*mensen*
	then	will	1S	3S	permit	if	there	NEG	people
	is	om my	Heer	Breker	de	hulp	daar	is	zoovel Berg Damr(as)
41	*zijn*	*om mijnheer*		*Brincker*	*te*	*helpen, er*		*zijn*	*zoveel Bergdamaras*
	is	for 1S	Mr.	Brinkcer	to	help	there	is	so.many Bergdamaras

[26] Could be a proper name: 'Mr. Affenmal's tools'? Alternatively it is a corruption of liturgic word *avondmaal*, 'the last supper'.

[27] Alternatively: *laat hem trekken*, 'let him move'.

[28] Could also be intended *'hen'* (3PL, NOM), Dutch: *zij* 'they'. Cf. Volume I, Chapter Four, § 4.2.2.

	om	hem	de	helpen	niet	Kaalbees	Damras				
42	*om*	*hem*	*te*	*helpen,*	*geen*	*Kaalbeestdamaras.*[29]					
	for	3S	to	help	NEG	Barren.beesdamaras					
			<ol•zoo	doet	ik	hardelijke>					
43			*Zo*	*doe*	*ik [D]*	*hartelijke*					
			so	do	1S	warm					
	Groete	nes	van	ons	allen	u	en	alle			
44	*groeten*	-	*van*	*ons*	*allen [aan]*	*u*	*en*	*alle*			
	greetings	-	from	1PL	all	2S	and	all			
	Leeraars	en	je	vrouwen	en	kinderen					
45	*leraren*	*en*	*juffrouwen*		*en*	*kinderen*					
	teachers	and	Miss		and	children					
		ik	ben	uwe	vriend						
46		*ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*vriend*						
		I	am	2POS	friend						
Kapitein		J	Jonker	Afrikaner							
			Verder	verzoek	ik	u	vriendelyk				
47			*Verder*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*vriendelijk*				
			further	request	1S	2S	friendly				
	als	u	kan	ik	hop	[-gij]	mij	Heer	zal	mij	stuuren
48	*als*	*u*	*kunt,*	*ik*	*hoop*		*mijnheer*		*zal*	*mij*	*sturen*
	if	2S	can	1S	hope	2S	1S	Mr.	will	1S	send
	en	jevrouw		zal	ook	my	vrouw	stuuren			
49	*en*	*juffrouw*		*zal*	*ook*	*mijn*	*vrouw*	*sturen,*			
	and	Miss		will	also	1S	wife	send			
	Namelijk	tapak	en	schrijf	enk	en		doesij	bampier		
50	*namelijk*	*tabak*	*en*	*schrijf*	*inkt*	*en*	*[D]*	*dozijn*	*papier*		
	namely	tobacco	and	writing	ink	and		dozen	paper		
	en	thee	en	kofie	en	jevrouw	hief	my	vrouw	een	bampier
51	*en*	*thee*	*en*	*koffie*	*en*	*juffrouw*	*[-V]*	*mijn*	*vrouw*	*een*	*papier*
	and	tea	and	coffee	and	Miss	have	1S	wife	a	paper
	nald	*e nomer*		en	een	vingergoed	en	vier	roolekis	witte	
52	*naalden*	***		*en*	*een*	*vingerhoed*	*en*	*vier*	*rolletjes*	*wit*	
	needle	***		and	a	thimble	and	four	rolls-DIM	white	
	gareife	zoo	weet	ik	niet	hoe	vel	ben	zal	ik <ol•u>	gef	voorander	klederen
53	*garen.*	*Zo*	*weet*	*ik*	*niet*	*hoeveel [-V]*[30]		*zal*	*ik*	*u*	*geven*	*voor.andere*	*kleding.*
	thread	so	know	1S	NEG	how	much	am	will	1S 2S	give	for .other	clothing

[29] Cf. Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.1.2, footnote 9, p.67, and Appendix II, letter 17, footnote 97.

[30] Perhaps a combination of: *hoeveel het is,* 'how much it costs' and *hoeveel zal ik u geven*, 'how much shall I pay you; how much do I owe you'.

18 Agudus 1869
54 *18 augustus 1869*

Eewade Heer Hahn
55 *Eerwaarde heer Hahn,*
honorable Mr. Hahn

ik maak u deze
56 *Ik maak u deze*
1S make 2S D

brief om u ladweetten lieve
57 *brief om u [te] laten.weten, lieve*
letter for 2S let.know dear

Heer ik is altijt vrede met u en
58 *heer, ik ben altijd vrede met u en*
sir 1S is always peace with 2S and

uwe menschen maar dat lyk mijn
59 *uw mensen. Maar het lijkt mij,*
2POS people but that seem 1POS

uwe menschen hieft niet vrede en
60 *uw mensen hebben niet vrede en*
2POS people have NEG peace and

vrienschap deëen mij en my menschen
61 *vriendschap tegen mij en mijn mensen.*
friendship against 1S and 1S people

gij zijt Die Damras heb u daar had
62 *Gij zegt de Damaras [REL] [-V] u daar had,*
2S say D Damaras have 2S there had

die hief niet myn kwaaddoen
63 *die hebben niet mij kwaad.gedaan*
REL PRF NEG 1POS ill.do

.. of my menschen maar nu heb ik
64 - *of mijn mensen, maar nu heb ik*
- or 1S people but now PRF 1S

..ehoort uwe wagen drijver Welem
65 *gehoord [dat] uw wagen drijver Willem*
GE-hear 2POS wagon driver Willem

my menschen roers af nam en
66 *mijn mensen geweren afnam en*
1S people fire-arms away take-PST and

..eroof en wil doodgemaak op
67 *beroofd en willen dood maken [PRF] op*
GE-rob and want dead.GE-make on

	Petrus	Cloede	zyn	werf	doen			
68	*Petrus*	*Cloete*	*3POS*	*werf.*	*Toen*			
	Petrus	Cloete	3POS	werf	then			
	hief	ons	zijn	Heer	God	die	mensche	
69	*heeft*	*onze*	*3POS*	*Heer*	*God*	*de*	*mensen*	
	PRF	1POS	3POS	Lord	God	D	people	
	..ater	vrijgespaar	daat	hief	uwe			
70	*later*	*gespaard.*	*Dat*	*hebben*	*uw*			
	later	free.GE-save	that	PRF	2POS			
	menschen	nu	gedan	daat	maak			
71	*mensen*	*nu*	*gedaan.*	*Dat*	*maak*			
	people	now	GE-do	that	make			
	ik	u	bekend	lieve	Heer	Zoo		
72	*ik*	*u*	*bekend,*	*lieve*	*heer.*	*Zo*		
	1S	2S	known	dear	sir	so		
	..oed	mijn	Heer	die	8	roers	mij	af
73	*moet*	*mijn*	*heer*	*de*	*8*	*geweren*	*mij*	*af*
	must	1POS	Mr.	D	8	fire-arms	1S	off
	..even	met	deze	brief	dragers			
74	*geven*	*met*	*deze*	*brief*	*dragers.*			
	give	with	D	letter	carriers			
	..dere	wy	henen	[-ge]	wagen	dryvers		
75	***	*wij*	*hen*		*wagen*	*drijvers,*		
	***	1PL	3PL		wagon	drivers		
	*Z*oogedan:		dat	verzoek	ik	u	vriene	
76	*zo.gedaan*[31].		*Dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*vriende-*	
	so.GE-do		that	request	1S	2S	friendly	
	..ik	ik	wel	niet	zoo	lyke	werk	
77	*lijk.*	*Ik*	*wil*	*niet*	*zo*	*lijken*[32],	*werk*	
	-	1S	want	NEG	so	seem	work	
	..oodig		hebben	in	deze	vrede	maak	
78	*nodig*	*[te]*	*hebben,*	*in*	*deze*	*vrede*	*[-V].*	
	need		have	in	D	peace	make	

.....

	verder	heb	ik	ge	oner	zoek	[-die]
79	*Verder*	*heb*	*ik*	*onderzocht*	-		
	further	have	1S	GE	investigate	-	D

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[31] Unclear what he means to say in this sentence.

[32] Alternatively *zoo-lyke* is *zulke:* 'I don't need such work'

	wader	menschen		is	dat	die	hief
80	*wat.voor*[33]	*mensen*	*[het]*	*zijn*	*[-]*	*die*	*hebben*
	what.kind	people		are	that	REL	PRF

	altijt	uliden	zijn	vee	gestoolen	ik
81	*altijd*	*uw*	*3POS*	*vee*	*gestolen.*	*Ik*
	always	2PL	3POS	cattle	GE-steal	1S

	..	daarna	uitgevienden	wader
82	*[PRF]*	*daarna*	*uitgevonden*	*wat.voor*
		after	GE-find.out	what.kind

	kan	zijn	Dopenars		is	die	menschen
83	*kant*	*3POS*	*Topnaars*	*[het]*	*zijn,*	*de*	*mensen*
	side	3POS	Topnaars		are	D	people

	waat	jevrouw	klienschmits	Vee
84	*die*	*juffrouw*	*Kleinschmidts*	*vee*
	REL	Miss	Kleinschmidt-GEN	cattle

	gestoolen	heeft:	dat	is	Abram
85	*gestolen*	*hebben.*	*Dat*	*zijn*	*Abram*
	GE-steal	PRF	that	is	Abram

	zyn	mensche	doorgekom		van
86	*3POS*	*mensen* *[REL]*	*doorgekomen*	*[PRF]*	*van*
	3POS	people	through.GE-come		from

	poke	berg	af	dat	is	niet	mij
87	*Piketberg*[34]	-	*af,*	*dat*	*zijn*	*niet*	*mijn*
	Piket	mountain	off	that	is	NEG	1S

	menschen	en	die	hief	valede	jaar
88	*mensen.*	*En*	*die*	*hebben*	*verleden*	*jaar*
	people	and	D	PRF	last	year

	Samuel	Geerse	zyn	vee	en	beeste
89	*Samuel*	*Gertze*	*3POS*	*vee*	*en*	*beesten*
	Samuel	Gertze	3POS	cattle	and	animals

	gestoolen	dat	is	ook	daar	die
90	*gestolen*	*dat*	*zijn*	*ook*	*daar*	*die*[35]
	GE-steal	that	is	also	there	D

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[33] Cf. Standard Afrikaans *watter*, 'which'.

[34] Considering the systematic [p] - [b] alternation at the onset, alternatively: *Bokke(veld)berge*, (31.09S- 18.58E) which is closer to the Orange River than Piketberg (32.55S-18.45E). Cf. the mention of Topnaars who came from the *Bokberg* in Section II, ln.137. Hahn mentions the *Bokkeveld*, but not mountains (Lau 1984-1985:87). Another possibility is the Erongo mountain range, north of Karibib (21.59S-15.51E) referred to by Lau ed., 1989:299, as well as a certain peak in it, as Bokberg.

[35] Note in Afrikaans *daardie* is the standard form for demonstratives. See section IA, footnote 48, p.27.

	Dobenar	Kapitein	Zijne	menschen					
91	*Topnaar*	*kapitein*	*3POS*	*mensen,*					
	Topnaar	captain	3POS	people					
	die	waat	daar	in	poke	Berg	was		
92	*die*	*wat*	*daar*	*in*	*Piketberg*	-	*waren.*		
	D	REL	there	in	Piket	mountain	were		
	dat	is	niet	mij	kender	zyn	menschen		
93	*Dat*	*zijn*	*niet*	*mijn*	*kinderen*	*3POS*	*mensen.*		
	that	are	NEG	1S	children	3POS	people		
	zoo	heb	ik	uit	ge	vinden	of	zal	
94	*Zo*	*heb*	*ik*	*uit*	*gevonden*	-.	*Of*	*zal*	
	So	PRF	1S	out	GE-find	-	or	will	
	ik	mag	om		andere	Kapiteins	zyn		
95	*ik*	*mogen*	*om*	*[D]*	*andere*	*kapiteins*	*3POS*		
	1S	may	for		other	captain-GEN	3POS		
	mensch	de	strafen	of	zal	ik	niet		
96	*mens*	*te*	*straffen*	*of*	*zal*	*ik*	*niet*		
	people	to	punish	or	will	1S	NEG		
	schuuldig		als	ik	andere	Kapiteins			
97	*schuldig*	*[V]*	*als*	*ik*	*andere*	*kapiteins*			
	guilty		if	1S	other	captain-GEN			
	zyn	mensche	strafen	zoo	moed	mij			
98	*3POS*	*mensen*	*straf?*	*Zo*	*moet*	*mijn*			
	3POS	people	punish	so	must	1S			
	Heer	als	u	deze	brief	krygen		brief	
99	*heer*	*als*	*u*	*deze*	*brief*	*krijgt,*	*[D]*	*brief*	
	Mr.	as	2S	D	letter	get		letter	
	schryf	naar	Abram	Zwaarbooi	en				
100	*schrijven*	*naar*	*Abram*	*Swartbooi*	*en*				
	write	to	Abram	Swartbooi	and				
		topenaars	Kapitein	doe:	lad	henen			
101	*[D]*	*Topnaar*	*kapitein*	*toe,*	*dat*	*zij*			
		Topnaar	captain	to	let	3PL			
	die	menschen	wegnemen	van	my				
102	*de*	*mensen*	*wegnemen*	*van*	*mijn*				
	D	people	away.take	from	1S				
	konder	af	dat	verzoek	ik	u	lieve		
103	*kinderen*	*af,*	*dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*lieve*		
	children	away	that	request	1S	2S	dear		
	Heer	een	is	Pid	broekoros	en	een		
104	*heer.*	*Een*	*is*	*Piet*	*Broekeros*	*en*	*een*		
	sir	one	is	Piet	Broekeros	and	one		

	Dielo	topenars
105	*Tilo*	*Topnaar.*
	Tilo	Topnaar

	En die	menschen		nu	verbijgaar	
106	*En de*	*mensen*	*[REL]*	*nu*	*voorbij.gaan*	
	and the	people		now	pass.go	

	naar	[-doe]	pokeberg	doe	dat	is	niet
107	*naar*		*Piketberg*[36]	*toe*	*dat*	*zijn*	*niet*
	to	to	Piketmountain	to	that	is	NEG

	mij	menschen	dat	is	Barnafeas
108	*mijn*	*mensen*	*dat*	*zijn*	*Barnebas*
	1S	people	that	are	Barnebas

	zijn	mensch	maar	hij	is	weggegaan
109	*3POS*	*mensen.*	*Maar*	*zij*	*zijn*	*weggegaan*
	3POS	people	but	3S	PRF	away.GE-go

	zonder	weet	van	zyne	Kapitein	en
110	*zonder*	*[mede].weten*	*van*	*hun*	*kapitein*	*en*
	without	know	of	3POS	captain	and

	Barnabas	en	ik	dan	moed	gy
111	*Barnabas*	*en*	*mij.*	*Dan*	*moet*	*gij*
	Barnabas	and	1S	then	must	2S

	niet	zeleke	rondlopers	gelooven
112	*niet*	*zulke*	*rondlopers*	*geloven*
	NEG	such	scoundrels	believe

	dat	is	die	mensch		hieft	liegens
113	*dat*	*zijn*	*de*	*mensen*	*[REL]*	*hebben*	*leugens*
	that	is	D	people		PRF	lies

	rondrag	daarom	mak	ik	deze	brief
114	*rondgedragen.*	*Daarom*	*maak*	*ik*	*deze*	*brief*
	spread	therefore	make	1S	D	letter

	om	uliden	de	beken		maak
115	*om [dit]*	*u*	*[-->]*	*bekend*	*[>te]*	*maken.*
	for	2PL	to	known		make

	En die	Berg	Damaras		altyt	met
116	*En de*	*Berg*	*Damaras*	*[REL]*	*altijd*	*met*
	and D	mountain	damaras		always	with

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[36] Or *Bokberg*, see footnote 34, p.73.

	u	mij	poschap		by	u	gebriengen		
117	*u*	*mijn*	*boodschap*		*bij*	*u*	*gebracht*	*[PRF],*	
	2S	1S	message		to	2S	GE-bring		

	die	moed	gy	ook	niet	geloofen	heb
118	*die*	*moet*	*gij*	*ook*	*niet*	*geloven.*	*Heb [1S]*
	REL	must	2S	also	NEG	believe	PRF

	naar	u	mensch	ge	zenden	om	uwe
119	*naar*	*u*	*mensen*	*ge.zonden*	-	*om*	*uw*
	after	2S	people	GE-send		for	2POS

	beesten	de	stolen	dat	is	niet
120	*beesten*	*te*	*stelen?*	*Dat*	*is*	*niet [waar].*
	animals	to	steal	that	is	NEG

		Damras	een	dag	op	my	huis	gekom
121	*[Als] [D]*	*Damaras*	*een*	*dag*	*op*[37]	*mijn*	*huis*	*komen,*
		Damaras	one	day	on	1S	house	GE-come

	als	helle	weer	zoo-en	poschapen
122	*als*	*zij*	*weer*	*zo-een*	*boodschap*
	if	3PL	again	so-one	messages

	by	u	briengen	vrag	hem	is	dat
123	*bij*	*u*	*brengen*	*vraag*	*hem,*[38]	*was*	*het*
	to	2S	bring	ask	3S	is	that

	eendag	op	mij	weerf	of	zal
124	*een.dag*	*op*	*mijn*	*werf*	*of*	*IRR/PRF*[39]
	one.day	on	1S	werf	or	will

	mij	huis	gekom	om	daat		gehoord
125	*mijn*	*huis*	*komen,*	*om*	*dat*	*[3S/PL]*	*gehoord [PRF]*
	1S	house	GE-come	for	that		GE-hear

	[-af]	van	my	af	dan	zal	u	uit vienden
126	-	*van*	*mij*	*af?*	*Dan*	*zal*	*u*	*uitvinden*
	off	from	1S	off	then	will	2S	find.out

	dat	is	legens		die	Damras	rondrag
127	*dat*	*zijn*	*leugens*	*[REL]*[40]	*de*	*Damaras*	*ronddragen.*
	that	are	lies		D	Damaras	spread

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[37] Rather: *bij*, 'at'.

[38] Possibly 3PL, dative: *hen*, 'them'.

[39] PRF: *zijn zij van mijn huis af gekomen*, 'did they come from my house to...'
IRR: *zouden zij uit mijn huis komen*, 'would they come out of my house and...'

[40] Alternatively : *die*, ([REL]) and the article omitted.

	zien	lieve	Heer	verteel	uwe	menschen
128	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer,*	*vertel*	*uw*	*mensen*
	see	dear	sir	tell	2POS	people

	lad	henen	niet	vreesten	als
129	*dat*	*zij*	*niet*	*vrezen*	*als*
	let	3PL	NEG	fear	if

	henen	Mij	menschen	op	pad
130	*zij*	*mijn*	*mensen*	*op [D]*	*pad*
	3PL	1S	people	on	path

	krijgen	laden		niet	weer	zoo	kom
131	*krijgen.*	*Laat*	*[het]*	*niet*	*weer*	*zo*	*komen*
	get	let		NEG	again	so	come

	deschen	uwe	menschen	en	mij	menschen
132	*tussen*	*uw*	*mensen*	*en*	*mijn*	*mensen.*
	between	2POS	people	and	1S	people

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	ik	denk	zoo u	moet	lievers	die	
133	*Ik*	*denk*	*zo u*	*moet*	*liever*	*de*	
	1S	think	so 2S	must	rather	D	

	Damras	en	die	Kaffer	heb	u	daar	had
134	*Damaras*	*en*	*de*	*Kaffers [REL]*	*[-V]*	*u*	*daar*	*had,*
	Damaras	and	D	Kaffer	have	2S	there	had

	af	geven	naar	Kamaharero	doe
135	*af*	*geven*	*naar*	*Kamaharero*	*toe,*
	away	give	to	Kamaharero	to

		Oijiimbingw	af	dan	is	meer	[-van]
136	*[P]*	*Otjimbingwe*	*af.*	*Dan*	*is*	*meer*	
		Otjimbingwe	off	then	is	more	off

	beder	van	mij	en	als	scheb	kom
137	*beter*	*van*[41]	*mij*	*en*	*als [er] [D]*	*schip*	*komt,*
	better	of	1S	and	as	ship	come

	als	u	mensch	nodig	om	de	dranspoor
138	*als*	*u*	*mensen*	*nodig [V]*	*om*	*te*	*transporteren,*
	if	2S	people	need	for	to	transport

	dan	moet	u	livers	my	mensch	vragen
139	*dan*	*moet*	*u*	*liever*	*mijn*	*mensen*	*vragen*
	then	must	2S	rather	1S	people	ask

	of	Abram	Zwaarbooi	zyn	menschen
140	*of*	*Abraham*	*Swartbooi*	*3POS*	*mensen*
	or	Abraham	Swartbooi	3POS	people

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[41] Rather: *voor*, 'for'.

	vragen	of	Cloedes	hier	om	de	dranspor	
141	*vragen*	*of*	*Cloetes*	*hier,*	*om*	*te*	*transporteren.*	
	ask	or	Cloete-GEN	here	for	to	tranport	

..	niets	Damras	dat		zal	ragkom
142 -	*Niet [D]*	*Damaras.*	*Dat*	*[het]*	*zal*	*recht.komen*
-	NEG	Damaras	that		will	right.come

	deschen	ik	en	u	dat	is	de	wens
143	*tussen*	*ik*	*en*	*u*	*dat*	*is*	*de*	*wens*
	between	1S	and	2S	that	is	D	wish

	van	mijn	lieve	Heer	ik	wens	my
144	*van*	*mij,*	*lieve*	*heer.*	*Ik*	*wens*	*mijn*
	of	1POS	dear	sir	1S	wish	1S

	Eigen	rode	menschen	zal		brief	daar
145	*eigen*	*Rode*	*Mensen*	*zullen*	*[D]*	*brief*	*daar*
	own	red	people	will		letter	there

	bringen	maar	ik	vrees	nog	van
146	*brengen,*	*maar*	*ik*	*vrees*	*nog*	*van*
	bring	but	1S	fear	still	of

	uwe	Leeraar	zyn	menschen	waarom
147	*uw*	*leraar*	*3POS*	*mensen.*	*Waarom*
	2POS	teacher	3POS	people	why

	blyf	uwe	mensch	niet	uit	van	
148	*blijven*	*uw*	*mensen*	*niet*	*uit*	*van*	*[D]*
	stay	2POS	people	NEG	out	of	

	oorlog	uit	u	[-a]	zege	zoo	goed	maar
149	*oorlog*	*uit?*	*U*		*zegt*	*zo*	*goed*	*maar*
	war	out	2S		say	so	good	but

	<ol•uwe>	..schen	blijf	niet	uit	van	kwaadoener		uit
150	*uw*	*mensen*	*blijven*	*niet*	*uit*	*van*	*kwaad.doeners*		*uit.*
	2POS	people	stay	NEG	out	of	mischief.maker		out

	daarom	vrees	ik	nog	by	u	de komen
151	*Daarom*	*vrees*	*ik*	*nog*	*bij*	*u*	*te komen,*
	therefore	fear	1S	still	to	2S	to come

	of mij	menschen	daar	komen	
152	*of mijn*	*mensen*	*daar*	*komen.*	
	or 1S	people	there	come	

	Groetenes	an	u	en	allen
153	*Groeten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*alle*
	greetings	to	2S	and	all

	vrien	des		daar	by	u	zyn
154	*vrienden*	-	*[REL]*	*daar*	*bij*	*u*	*zijn*
	friends	-		there	with	2S	are

	iK	ben	uwe	vriend
155	*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*vriend,*
	1S	am	2POS	friend

Kapitein
Jahn Joker Afrikaner

1869
Remhog 9 Sepdam
156 *Remhoogte, 9 september*

	Wel	Edeleke	Eerwaarde
157	*Wel*	*edele*	*eerwaarde*
	well	noble	honorable

	Heer	Hahn
158	*heer*	*Hahn,*
	Mr.	Hahn

	ik	heben	uwe	brief	die
159	*Ik*	*heb*	*uw*	*brief*	*die*
	I	PRF	2POS	letter	REL

	gy	u	14de	Agutus	geschryfen	heeft
160	*gij*	*u*	*14e*	*augustus*	*geschreven*	*hebt*
	2S	2S	14th	August	GE-write	PRF

	zoo	lad	geontvangen	hier	op	te	blasd
161	*zo*	*laat*	*ontvangen*	*hier*	*op*	*de*	*plaats*
	so	late	GE-receive	here	on	D	place

	waromwater	ik	stan	schonmak	de
162	*Warmwater.*	*Ik*	*staan*	*schoon.[te].maken*	*de*
	Warmwater	1S	stand	clean.make	D

	grond	om	diendemak	doe	heb	ik	die
163	*grond*	*om*	*tuin.te.maken,*	*toen*	*heb*	*ik*	*de*
	ground	for	garden.to.make	then	PRF	1S	D

	brief	gekrygen	doe	kom	ik	daar	van
164	*brief*	*gekregen.*	*Toen*	*kom*	*ik*	*daar*	*van-*
	letter	GE-get	then	come	1S	there	from

	dan,	hier naa	doe:	daarom	mak	ik
165	*daan*	*hier naar*	*toe.*	*Daarom*	*maak*	*ik*
	-	here to	to	therefore	make	1S

	deze	brief	om	u	de	laden	weetten
166	*deze*	*brief*	*om*	*u*	*te*	*laten*	*weten*
	D	letter	for	2S	to	let	know

	my	paarten	is		voed	zeer	ook	zwak	van
167	*mijn*	*paarden*	*zijn*	*[D]*	*voeten*	*zeer;*	*ook*	*zwak*	*van*
	1S	horses	are		feet	sore	also	weak	from

	daar	te	kom	maar	ik heb	daarom	zoo-	
168	*daar*	*te*	*komen*	*maar*	*ik ben*	*daarom*	*zo-*	
	there	to	come	but	1S PRF	MOD[42]	so	
	ver		remhag		gekom	zoo	moet	my Heer
169	*ver*	*[als]*	*Remhoogte*		*gekomen.*	*Zo*	*moet*	*mijnheer*
	far		Remhoogte		GE-come	so	must	1S Mr.
	ook	uwe	bloegt		doen	hiernaa	doe	
170	*ook*	*uw*	*plicht*		*doen [en]*	*hiernaar*	*toe [V],*	
	also	2POS	duty		do	here.to	to	
	lad	ons	dog	zien	malkaner	dat	bid	ik
171	*dat*	*wij*	*toch*	*zien*	*elkaar,*	*dat*	*bid*	*ik*
	let	1PL	MOD	see	each.other	that	pray	1S
	u	ik is	geen	Koos	om	my	bescham	
172	*u.*	*Ik heb*	*geen*	*kost*	*om*	*mijn*	*bestaan*[43]	
	2S	1S have	NEG	food	for	1S	existence	
	de	versterk	en	ook	geen	schied	goedere	
173	*te*	*versterken*	*en*	*ook*	*geen*	*schiet*	*goederen,*	
	to	strengthen	and	also	NEG	shooting	goods	
	Kroeid	en	Lood	en	ook	dabies	om	peel
174	*kruid*	*en*	*lood*	*en*	*ook*	*dopjes*	*om*	***[44]
	gunpowder	and	lead	and	also	shells	for	***
	de	schieden	om	Koos	de	krygen	om	zoo
175	*te*	*schieten*	*om*	*kost*	*te*	*krijgen*	*om*	*zo*
	to	shoot	for	food	to	get	for	so
	vel	dagen	te	stan	zoo	wag	ik	mij
176	*veel*	*dagen*	*te*	*staan.*	*Zo*	*wacht*	*ik*	*mijn*
	many	days	to	stand	so	wait	1S	1S
	Heer	zoo	hasdig	als	u	deze	brief	
177	*heer*	*zo*	*haastig*[45]	*als*	*u*	*deze*	*brief*	
	Mr.	so	hastily	as	2S	D	letter	
	krygen	dan	moed	my	Heer	niet	uit	
178	*krijgt*	*dan*	*moet*	*mijnheer*		*geen*	*uit-*	
	get	then	must	1S	Mr.	NEG	delay	

[42] Afrikaans: *darem*, 'nevertheless' (<Dutch: *daarom*, 'therefore', 'hence', 'just because').

[43] Perhaps: *beschaamdheid*, 'humiliating existence'.

[44] Perhaps *bul*, 'bull'.

[45] Rather: *gauw*, 'soon'.

	steelen	maaken	dat	verzoek	ik	u
179	*stel*	*maken,*	*dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u.*
	-	make	that	request	1S	2S

---

	als	my	Heer	[-en]	verloegt	om	hier	naa
180	*Als*	*mijnheer*			*verlangt*	*om*	*hier*	*naar*
	if	1S	Mr.		desires	for	here	to

	doe	de	kom	dan	moed	my	Heer	daar	an
181	*toe*	*te*	*komen*	*dan*	*moet*	*mijnheer*		*daar*	*aan*
	to	to	come	then	must	1S	Mr.	there	to

	zien	als	myn	Heer	my		schied	goederen
182	*zien,*	*als*	*mijnheer*		*mij*	*[aan]*	*schiet*	*goederen,*
	see	as	1POS	Mr.	1S		shooting	goods

	mij	alsublief		helpen	als	u	kan	my	helpe
183	*mij*	*alstublieft*		*helpt,*	*als*	*u*	*kan*	*mij*	*helpen.*
	1S	please		help	if	2S	can	1S	help

	als	mij	Heer	kwam	om	hier	te	kom
184	*Als*	*mijnheer*		*kwam*	*om*	*hier*	*te*	*komen,*
	if	1S	Mr.	come-PST	for	here	to	come

	dan	moed	my	Heer	tabak	ook
185	*dan*	*moet*	*mijnheer*		*tabak*	*ook*
	then	must	1S	Mr.	tobacco	also

	..am[46]	briengen	en	ook	slaggoederen
186	*samen*	*brengen*	*en*	*ook*	*slacht.goed.*
	together	bring	and	also	slaughter.goods

	en	die	tabak		my	Heer	my	gezenden
187	*En*	*de*	*tabak*	*[REL]*	*mijnheer*		*mij*	*gezonden [PRF]*
	and	D	tobacco		1S	Mr.	1S	GE-send

	die	hief		topenaars	op	te	pad
188	*die*	*hebben*	*[D]*	*Topnaars*	*op*	*het*	*pad*
	REL	PRF		Topnaars	on	D	road

	Berg	Damras	af	genemen	zoo	kan
189	*[D] Bergdamaras*		*af*	*genomen.*	*Zo*	*kan*
	Bergdamaras		away	GE-take	so	can

	ik	niet	tabak	gekrijgen	ben
190	*ik*	*geen*	*tabak*	*krijgen*	*[-V].*
	1S	NEG	tobacco	GE-get	PRF

	maar	ik	zal	nog	die	topenaars
191	*Maar*	*ik*	*zal*	*nog*	*de*	*Topnaars*
	but	1S	will	still	D	Topnaars

---

[46] Perhaps spelled: *zam*, as in line 403, below.

	straaven	woorden	als	ik dereg	kom		
192	*straffen*	*[-V][47],*	*als*	*ik terug*	*kom.*		
	punish	be	as	1S return	come		
	altomits	zal		Bergdamras	daar		
193	*Altemet*	*zullen*	*[D]*	*Bergdamaras*	*daar*		
	maybe	will		Bergdamaras	there		
	leugens	brieng	ik	heben		komande	
194	*leugens*	*brengen, [dat]*	*ik*	*ben*	*[P] [D]*	*kommando*	
	lies	bring	1S	PRF		commando	
	naar	Ojimbingw	komen	moed	gy		
195	*naar*	*Otjimbingwe*	*gekomen,*	*moet*	*gij*		
	to	Otjimbingwe	come	must	2S		
	e	niet	gelooven				
196	*hen*	*niet*	*geloven.*				
	3PL	NEG	believe				
	ik het	6 of 8 manen					
197	*Ik ben [P]*	*6 of 8 mannen*					
	1S PRF	6 or 8 men					
	en	24 Berg Damras	zam	gekom			
198	*en*	*24 Bergdamaras*	*samen*	*gekomen.*			
	and	24 Bergdamaras	together	GE-come			
	Zoo	doet	ik	besdel			
199	*Zo*	*doe*	*ik [D]*	*beste*[48]			
	So	do	1S	best			
	Combelmenden	aan	u	en	allen		
200	*komplimenten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*alle*		
	compliments	to	2S	and	all		
	menschen		daar	by	zyn;		
201	*mensen*	*[REL]*	*daar*	*bij*	*zijn.*		
	people		there	at	are		

K J Jonker Afrikaner

	Verder	bed	ik U	vriendelijk
202	*Verder*	*bid*	*ik u*	*vriendelijk*
	further	pray	1S 2S	friendly

---

[47] Unclear as a passive construction. Could perhaps be: *straffe woorden*, 'severe words', with omission of the main verb.

[48] Alternatively the verb *bestel*, Dutch: *de groeten bestellen*, 'to give/send kind regards'.

	als	my	Heer	Hier	naa	doe	kom	en
203	*als*	*mijnheer*		*hier*	*naar*	*toe*	*komt*	*en*
	if	1S	sir	here	to	to	come	and

	moet	my	Heer	my	bambaam
204	*moet*	*mijnheer*		*mij*	*pompoen*
	must	1S	sir	1S	pumpkin

	beede	en	Badele	moen	beeden
205	*pitten*	*en*	*watermeloen*		*pitten*
	pips	and	watermelon	-	pips

	spaanspik	beeden	en	mulus	zad
206	*spanspek*[49]	*pitten*	*en*	*mielie*[50]	*zaad*
	melon	pips	and	corn	seed

	en	ook	zoedRied	en	tabak	zad
207	*en*	*ook*	*zoetriet*	*en*	*tabak*	*zaad [V],*
	and	also	sweet-reed	and	tobacco	seed

	daat	verzoek	ik	u	vriendelijk	
208	*dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*vriendelijk.*	
	that	request	1S	2S	friendly	

[49] Afrikaans word for *meloen,* 'melon'.

[50] Afrikaans word for *mais,* 'corn' .

1869
OEAS, 30 Optober
209 *Oeas, 30 oktober 1869*

.an de edle
210 *Aan de edele*
To D noble

eerwaarde He Hahn
211 *eerwaarde Heer Hahn,*
honorable Mr. Hahn

ik Melden u deze
212 *Ik meld u deze*
1S announce 2S D

..ief an u de laden wetten lieve
213 *brief aan u te laten weten lieve*
letter to 2S to let know dear

.eer die dangen heb ik hier gezien
214 *heer, de dingen [REL] heb ik hier gezien*
sir D things PRF 1S here GE-see

.n van Damras zijn werkschap
215 *en van [D] Damaras 3POS werk.*
and from Damaras 3POS work

..rste mal hief Damras 10 de Septam
216 *[D] eerste maal zijn [D] Damaras 10 septem-*
first time PRF Damaras 10 September

.er maan op gekom en Basders
217 *ber maand op gekomen en [PRF] [D] Basters*
- month on GE-come and Basters

..ngevallen doe hief dog alle
218 *aangevallen. Toen zijn toch alle*
GE-attack then PRF MOD all

.asders vrij gaan door God genade
219 *Basters vrij gegaan door Gods genade.*
Basters free go by God grace

.oo heb ik gehoord en hennen
220 *Zo heb ik gehoord en zij*
so PRF 1S GE-hear and 3PL

.erlooren hief een paar en een
221 *[-->] hebben een paard en een*
GE-lose PRF a horse and a

	.aadel	en		doebelte	loop	geweer			en	
222	*zadel*	*en*	*[D]*	*dubbel-loops*	*-*	*geweer [>verloren]*			*en*	
	saddle	and		double	barrel	gun			and	
	..u	bestoo*k*	met	vyf	schooden					
223	***	*bestookt*	*met*	*vijf*	*schoten*					
	***	harassed	with	five	shots					
	.mtren	&	Berg Damras	verlooren						
224	*omtrent*	*&*	*[D] Bergdamaras*	*verloren*						
	about	&	Bergdamaras	lost-PST						
	.et	vrouw	en	kiendes	en	een				
225	*net*	*vrouwen*	*en*	*kinderen*	*en*	*een*				
	just	woman	and	children	and	a				
	.ousman:	doe	hief		Damras	twee				
226	*bosjesman.*	*Toen*	*zijn*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*twee*				
	bushman	then	PRF		Damaras	two				
	...	tag	weer	opgekom	en		heele	weerf		
227	-	*dagen [later]*	*weer*	*opgekomen*	*en [PRF] [D]*		*hele*	*werf*		
	-	days	again	up.GE-come	and		whole	werf		
	.an	Berg Damras	gedangemoor							
228	*van*	*Bergdamaras*	*gedaan*[51]*.gemoord.*							
	of	Bergdamaras	GE-do.GE-murder							
	.u	die	hief	Damras		derde	mal	wer		
229	*Nu*	*[-]*	*zijn [D]*	*Damaras*	*[voor] [D]*	*derde*	*maal*	*weer*		
	now	D	PRF	Damaras		third	time	again		
	.p	gekom		vuur	de	optober	maan			
230	*op*	*gekomen [op] [D]*		*vierde*	*-*	*oktober*	*maand*			
	up	GE-come		fourth	-	October	month			
	.n	drie	van	my	doopenaars	dood				
231	*en [PRF]*	*drie*	*van*	*mijn*	*Topnaars*	*dood*				
	and	three	of	1S	Topnaars	dead				
	.e	maak	in	de	[-vol]	vogelstries				
232	*gemaakt*		*in*	*de*		*struisvogel*				
	GE-make		in	the		ostrich				
	jaagden									
233	*jacht.*									
	hunt									

.....

	dat	heb	ik	ook	nu	gevienden
234	*Dat*	*heb*	*ik*	*ook*	*nu*	*gevonden*
	that	PRF	1S	also	now	GE-found

[51] Cf. section IA, footnote 57, p.33.

	heeft	zo	maak	de	Damras	in
235	*[V].*	*Zo*	*maken*	*de*	*Damaras*	*in*
	PRF	so	make	D	Damaras	in

	deze	vrede	maak		zoo	moet	mijn
236	*deze*	*vrede*	*[-V].*		*Zo*	*moet*	*mijn*
	this	peace	make		so	must	1POS

	Heer	Kamaharero	anzeg	lad
237	*heer*	*Kamaharero*	*aanzeggen*	*dat*
	Mr.	Kamaharero	notify	let

	hij	zyne	menschen	verdel	en	ook
238	*hij*	*zijn*	*mensen*	*vertelt*	*en*	*ook*
	3S	3POS	people	tell	and	also

	verpood	laden		Damras	niet	hier
239	*verbiedt*	*dat*	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*niet*	*hier*
	prohibit-PST	let		Damaras	NEG	here

	naadoe	jaagden	en	ook	all	Reeroo
240	*naartoe*	*jagen*	*en*	*ook*	*alle*	*Herero*
	to	hunt-PST	and	also	all	Herero

	menschen	verdelen	lad	hennen
241	*mensen*	*vertelt*	*dat*	*zij*
	people	tell	let	3PL

	niet	my	menschen	aldag	dood
242	*niet*	*mijn*	*mensen*	*alle.dagen*	*dood*
	not	1S	people	all.days	dead

	maak	in	deze	vrede	zoo	als
243	*maken*	*in*	*deze*	*vrede,*	*zo*	*als*
	make	in	this	peace	so	as

	vroedagen	dat	moet	Kama
244	*vroeger.dagen.*	*Dat*	*moet*	*Kama-*
	former.days	that	must	Kamaharero

	harero	niet	doe	laden	dat
245	*harero*	*niet*	*toelaten*	*-.*	*Dat*
	-	NEG	condone	-	that

	verzoek	ik	u	lieve	Heer	vrien	
246	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*lieve*	*heer*	*vrien-*	
	request	1S	2S	dear	sir	friendly	

	delijk
247	*delijk.*
	-

	maar	ik	heb	daarom	niet	<ol•nog>		andere	
248	*Maar*	*ik*	*heb*	*daarom*	*niet*	*nog*		*andere*	
	but	1S	PRF	therefore	NEG	yet		other	
	gedagdenes	gekrygen	ik	stan	nog				
249	*gedachten*	*gekregen.*	*Ik*	*sta*	*nog*				
	thoughts	GE-get	1S	stand	still				
	op my	woord		heb	ik	voor	u	en	
250	*op mijn*	*woord.*	*[XP]*	*heb*	*ik*	*voor*	*u*	*en*	
	on 1S	word		PRF	1S	for	2S	and	
	voor	alle	menschen	gezeg	ik	zal			
251	*voor*	*alle*	*mensen*	*gezegd.*	*Ik*	*zal*			
	for	all	people	GE-say	1S	shall			
	vrede	maak	dat	is		heel	wel	van	
252	*vrede*	*maken,*	*dat*	*is*	*[D]*	*hele*	*wil*	*van*	
	peace	make	that	is		whole	will	of	
	mij	ik	wel		vrede	eers	voldoen		
253	*mij.*	*Ik*	*wil*	*[P] [D]*	*vrede*	*eerst*	*voldoen,*		
	1S	1S	want		peace	first	comply		
	dat	is		heel	wens	van	mijn		
254	*dat*	*is*	*[D]*	*hele*	*wens*	*van*	*mij.*		
	that		is	whole	wish	of	1POS		
	zoo	moet	my	Heer	niet	achter			
255	*Zo*	*moet*	*mijn*	*heer*	*niet*	*achter-*			
	so	must	1S	Mr.	NEG	behind			
	Klaapers	gelooften	stooris	dragers					
256	*klappers*[52]	*geloven,*	*storie*	*dragers.*					
	talkers	believe	story	carriers					
	Verder	kan	ik	ook	u	bekien	stelen		
257	*Verder*	*kan*	*ik*	*ook*	*u*	*bekend*	*stellen*		
	further	can	1S	also	2S	known	put		
	grood	Namaqwland		zijn					
258	*Groot*	*Namaqualand*		*3POS*					
	Great	Namaqualand		3POS					
	Kapiteins	is	zoo	veer		Rehopor			
259	*kapiteinen*	*zijn*	*zo*	*ver*	*[als]*	*Rehoboth*			
	captains	PRF	as	far		Rehoboth			
	gekom	Jakobes	Izaak	is	ook				
260	*gekomen:*	*Jakobus*	*Izaak*	*is*	*ook*				
	GE-come	Jakobus	Izaak	is	also				

[52] Cf. section IA, ln.220 and footnote 37, p.20.

	op	Rehoport	en	ook		andere
261	*op*	*Rehoboth*	*en*	*ook*	*[D]*	*andere*
	in	Rehoboth	and	also		other

	Kapitein	Davad	Chreestian
262	*kapiteinen.*	*David*	*Christian*
	captain	David	Christian

	is	nog	achter	zoo	waag	ons	nog
263	*is*	*nog*	*achter.*	*Zo*	*wachten*	*wij*	*nog*
	is	still	behind	so	wait	1PL	still

		Daviet	Chreestian	om			ons	alle
264	*[op]*	*David*	*Christian*	*[-]*	*[zodat]*		*wij,*	*alle*
		David	Christian	for			1PL	all

	kapiteins		malkanderen	kom
265	*kapiteinen,*	*[bij]*	*elkaar*	*komen.*
	captains		each.other	come

	zoo	moet	uliden	niet	<ol•ons>	zoo
266	*Zo*	*moet*	*u*	*niet*	*ons*	*zo*
	so	must	2PL	NEG	1PL	so

	hasdig	waagden	lieve	Heer	
267	*haastig*	*[ver].wachten*	*lieve*	*heer.*	
	hastily	wait	dear	sir	

	Zoo	Doed	ik		besde	Combel-
268	*Zo*	*doe*	*ik*	*[D]*	*beste*	*kompli-*
	so	does	1S		best	compliments

	mend
269	*menten*
	-

	an	u	en	alle	vriendes	
270	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*alle*	*vrienden*	*[REL]*
	to	2S	and	all	friends	

	op	Otjimbingw	zijn
271	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*	*zijn.*
	in	Otjimbingwe	are

	ik	ben	uwe	lief
272	*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*lief-*
	I	am	2POS	loving

	hebben	vriend
273	*hebbende*	*vriend,*
	-	friend
	Kapitein Afrikaner	J Jonker

OEAS 1869
de 27 Nofember
274 *Oeas, 27 november 1869*

Aan de Edele Erwaar
275 *Aan de edele, eerwaar-*
To D noble honorable

de Heer Hahn
276 *de heer Hahn,*
- Mr. Hahn

ik heben brief van
277 *Ik heb [D] brief van*
1S PRF letter of

.apitein Daviet chreestian gekrijgen
278 *kapitein David Christian gekregen.*
captain David Christian GE-get

..oo wach ik nog die kapiteins zyn
279 *Zo wacht ik nog [P] de kapiteins 3POS*
so wait 1S still D captain-GEN 3POS

... koms hij zeg ik moed hem in
280 - *komst. Hij zegt ik moet hem in*
- coming 3S say 1S must 3S in

..achten daarom wach ik nog
281 *wachten, daarom wacht ik nog [P]*
wait therefore wait 1S still

..? DaViet zijn in koms heeft
282 - *Davids 3POS in komst [-V].*
- David 3POS in coming PRF

..k wens om alle kapiteins moet
283 *Ik wens [-] alle kapiteinen moeten*
1S wish for all captains must

..aar kom in deze vrede vast
284 *daar komen en deze vrede vast*
there come and D peace solid

..aaken dan zal henen ook zien
285 *maken, dan zullen zij ook zien*
make then will 3PL also see

.ie is eerste schooltenars is: dichen
286 *wie [-V] [D] eerste schuldenaren zijn tegen*
who are first offenders are against

	..?	in		Damras	dat	is		heel	wens	van
287	-	*[-]*	*[D]*	*Damaras.*	*Dat*	*is*	*[D]*	*heel*	*wens*	*van*
	-	in		Damaras	that	is		whole	wish	of

---

	mijn	zoo	moed	u	niet	hasdig	mij
288	*mij.*	*Zo*	*moet*	*u*	*niet*	*haastig*	*mij*
	1POS	so	must	2S	NEG	hastily	1S

	wachten	lieve	Heer:	maar	ik	
289	*[ver].wachten,*	*lieve*	*heer,*	*maar*	*ik*	
	wait	dear	sir	but	1S	

	zal	moet	daarkom	hoe	wel	zal
290	*zal*	*moeten*	*daar.komen.*	*Hoe*	*wil*	*zal*
	will	must	there.come	how	want	shall

	ik	nu	[-nu]	omklaar	maar	ik	moed		
291	*ik*	*nu*		*onklaar*[53]	*maar*	*ik*	*moet*	*[aan]*	*[D]*
	I	now		not-ready	but	1S	must		

	vrede	voldoen	met	mij	person
292	*vrede*	*voldoen*	*met*	*mijn*	*persoon.*
	peace	comply	with	1S	person

	ik	heben	hier	op	mij	werf	jakobes
293	*Ik*	*heb*	*hier*	*op*	*mijn*	*werf*	*Jacobus*
	1S	PRF	here	on	1S	werf	Jacobus

	I Zaak	gekrijgen	zoo	heb	ik	gehoord		
294	*Izaak*	*gekregen,*	*zo*	*heb*	*ik*	*gehoord*	*[dat]*	
	Izaak	GE-get	so	PRF	1S	GE-hear		

	die	ou	jakobes	I Zaak	meen	om
295	*de*	*oude*	*Jacobus*	*Izaak*	*meent*	*om*
	the	old	Jacobus	Izaak	intend	for

	rag	vardige	vrede	maken	door
296	*rechtvaardige*		*vrede [te]*	*maken*	*door*
	just	-	peace	make	by

	chreestes	wellen
297	*Christus'*	*wil.*
	Christ	will

	en	klien	kido	hief	ook	op	gekom
298	*En*	*kleine*	*Kido*	*is*	*ook*	*op*	*gekomen*
	and	little	Kido	PRF	also	up	GE-come

---

[53] Unclear, could also be *omkeren*, 'turn around'.

	om	zalften	vrede	gebrag		heb
299	*om*	*zelf.de*[54]	*vrede*	*gebracht*	*[te]*	*hebben*
	for	self.D	peace	GE-bring		PRF

	maar	hy	hief	zonder	by	my	de	
300	*maar*	*hij*	*is*	*zonder*	*bij*	*mij*	*te*	*[V]*
	but	3S	PRF	without	by	1S	to	

	ver by	gegaan	naar	Kamaharero	
301	*voorbij*	*gegaan*	*naar*	*Kamaharero,*	
	pass-by	GE-go	to	Kamaharero	

---

	zonder	<ol•by>	myn	de	hoord	wat	is	
302	*zonder*	*bij*	*mij*	*te*	*horen*	*wat*	*[-V]*	
	without	by	1POS	to	hear	what	is	

	my	menen	is:	zoo	wett	ik	niet
303	*mijn*	*mening*	*is.*	*Zo*	*weet*	*ik*	*niet*
	1S	opinion	is:	so	know	1S	NEG

	wader	vrede	hief	Klien	Kido		maken
304	*wat.voor*[55]	*vrede*	*heeft*	*kleine*	*Kido*	*[te]*	*maken*
	what.kind	peace	PRF	small	Kido		make

	of	ragvardige	vrede	is	of	onragde	
305	*of [het]*	*rechtvaardige*	*vrede*	*is*	*of*	*onrecht-*	
	or	just	peace	is	or	unjust	

	vardige	vrede	is	zoo	wett	ik	niet
306	*vaardige*	*vrede*	*is.*	*Zo*	*weet*	*ik*	*niet*
	-	peace	is	so	know	1S	NEG

	waat	is	Kido	zyn	mene	is;
307	*wat*	*[-V]*	*Kido*	*3POS*	*mening*	*is.*
	what	is	Kido	3POS	opinion	is;

	zoo	moet	mijn	Heer	niet	alles
308	*Zo*	*moet*	*mijn*	*heer*	*niet*	*alles*
	thus	must	1POS	lord	NEG	everything

	geloofen	u	moet	Eis	nar	mijn	
309	*geloven,*	*u*	*moet*	*eerst*	*naar*	*mij*	*[V].*
	believe	2S	must	first	to	1POS	

	Soul	hief	ook	zonder	by	mijn		
310	*Saul*	*is*	*ook*	*zonder*	*bij*	*mij*	*[te]*	*[V]*
	Saul	PRF	also	without	by	1POS		

---

[54] Alternatively: *dezelfde*, 'the same'.

[55] Afrikaans: *watter*, cf. footnote 33, p.73.

verbygegaan
311 *voorbijgegaan.*
pass by.GE-go

Verder verzoek ik
312 *Verder verzoek ik*
Further request 1S

u lieve Heer hoe is heb ik niet
313 *u lieve heer hoe is [het], heb ik niet*
2S dear sir how is PRF 1S NEG

briefen van u gekrygen en gehoor
314 *brieven van u gekregen en gehoord?*
letters from 2S GE-get and GE-heard

hoe is de welvaren van daar kan
315 *Hoe is het welvaren van daar kant*
how is D prosper from there side

---

of waat is nuves van daar kan
316 *of wat is nieuws van daar kant?*
or what is news from there side

of waat zegde menschen achter
317 *Of wat zeggen.de mensen achter*
or what say.D people behind

mij zoo moet lieve Heer mijn
318 *mij? Zo moet lieve heer mij*
1S so must dear lord 1POS

hasdig antwoord brif mijn schrijfen
319 *haastig antwoord brief mij schrijven,*
hastily answer letter 1POS write

dat verzoek ik u vriendelijke
320 *dat verzoek ik u vriendelijk*
that request 1S 2S friendly

Zoo Doed ik beste Combel
321 *zo doe ik [D] beste compli-*
so do 1S best compliments

menden anu en je vrouw
322 *menten aan.u en je vrouw*
- to.2S and 2POS wife

en uwe dochter Magrida
323 *en uw dochter Margarita,*
and 2POS daughter Margarita

	en	alle	Leeraars		daar	op	Otjimbin
324	*en*	*alle*	*leraren*	*[REL]*	*daar*	*op*	*Otjimbin-*
	and	all	teachers		there	in	Otjimbingwe

	gw	zyn;
325	*gwe*	*zijn.*
	-	are

	ik	ben	uwe	vriend
326	*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*vriend*
	1S	am	2POS	friend

	Kapitein	
J	Jonker	Afrikaner

	ik	heben	gehoord	oute	Petrus	is	gestorfen
327	*Ik*	*heb*	*gehoord*	*oude*	*Petrus*	*is*	*gestorven.*
	1S	PRF	GE-hear	old	Petrus	PRF	GE-die

1869
Zoreseb d 19 D
328 *Zoreseb, 19 december 1869*

	Aan	de	Edele	waarde	Heer
329	*Aan*	*de*	*edele*	*waardige*	*heer*
	To	D	noble	honorable	Mr.

Hahn,

	ik	maak	u	deze	par	
330	*Ik*	*maak*	*u*	*deze*	*paar*	
	1S	make	2S	D	few	
	..egelen	om	u	de	laden	wetten	en
331	*regels*	*om*	*u*	*te*	*laten*	*weten*	*en*
	lines	for	2S	to	let	know	and

	..	daar	naa		vragen	ben:	u	hief	mijn
332	-	*daar*	*naar*	*[te]*	*vragen*	*[-V].*	*U*	*heeft*	*mij*
	-	there	after		ask	PRF	2S	PRF	1POS

	..	verzoeken	lad	ik	by	jakobes	IZaak
333		*verzocht*	*dat*	*ik*	*bij*	*Jacobus*	*Izaak*
		GE-request	let	1S	at	Jacobus	Izaak

	..lf	kom	en	waar	hij	stan	en	hasdig	af
334	*zelf*	*kom*	*in*	*waar*	*hij*	*staat*	*en*	*haastig*	*af*
	self	come	and	where	3S	stand	and	hurriedly	off

	..m	naar	Otjimbingw	maar	die
335	*kom*	*naar*	*Otjimbingwe,*	*maar*	*die*
	come	to	Otjimbingwe	but	D

	jakobes	IZaak	hief	weer	naar	zijn	huis
336	*Jacobus*	*Izaak*	*is*	*weer*	*naar*	*zijn*	*huis*
	Jacobus	Izaak	PRF	again	to	3POS	house

	.egaan	zoo	heb	ik	gehoord	door	die	woor
337	*gegaan*	*zo*	*heb*	*ik*	*gehoord*	*door*	*het*	*woord*
	GE-go	so	PRF	1S	GE-hear	by	D	word

	..an	Kamaharero	die	hief	Kamaharero
338	*van*	*Kamaharero,*	*die*	*[-V]*	*Kamaharero*
	of	Kamaharero	REL	PRF	Kamaharero

	.ëen	oude	Jacob	Vliedermoos	gezeg	heeft
339	*tegen*	*oude*	*Jacob*	*Vleermuis*	*gezegd*	*heeft*
	to	old	Jacob	Vleermuis	GE-say	PRF

	..ie	woord	van	Kamaharero	is	niet
340	*Het*	*woord*	*van*	*Kamaharero*	*is*	*niet*
	D	word	of	Kamaharero	is	NEG

[page missing?]

	laden	hy	mijn	in	wachten	daar	op		
341	*dat*	*hij*	*mij*	*in*	*wacht*	*daar*	*op*		
	let	3S	1POS	in	wait	there	at		
	Otjimbingw	ik	zal	moed		kom			
342	*Otjimbingwe,*	*ik*	*zal*	*moeten*		*komen*			
	Otjimbingwe	1S	shall	must		come			
	als ik	aals		rag	hoord van	alle	kande		
343	*als ik*	*alles*		*recht*	*hoor van*	*alle*	*kanten.*		
	if 1S	everything		right	hear from	all	sides		
	en	dan	die	manen	van	velschondragers			
344	*En*	*dan*	*de*	*mannen*	*van [D]*	*Veldschoendragers*			
	and	then	D	men	of	Veldschoendragers			
	die	hief	zal	opgegaan	om	Damras			
345	*die*	*zijn*	*[-V]*	*opgegaan*	*om [D]*	*Damaras*			
	REL	PRF	will	up.GE-go	for	Damaras			
	bees	af		schieden	henen	wel	niet	vrede	
346	*beesten*	*af*	*[te]*	*schieten.*	*Zij*	*willen*	*geen*	*vrede*	
	animals	off		shoot	3PL	want	NEG	peace	
	hebben	deëen		Damras	daarom	hief			
347	*hebben*	*tegen [D]*		*Damaras*	*daarom*	*zijn*			
	have	against		Damaras	therefore	PRF			
	henen	opgegaan	en	beesden	de	krygen			
348	*zij*	*opgegaan*	*om*	*beesten*	*te*	*krijgen,*			
	3PL	up.GE-go	and	animals	to	get			
	daat	is	de	rede:					
349	*dat*	*is*	*de*	*rede.*					
	that	is	D	reason:					
		zoo	doed	ik					
350		*Zo*	*doe*	*ik [D]*					
		so	do	1S					
	best	Combelmenden		an	allen				
351	*beste*	*komplimenten*		*aan*	*allen.*				
	best	compliments		to	all				
	ik	ben	uwe	liehebben					
352	*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*liefhebbende*					
	1S	am	2POS	loving					

vriend
353 *vriend,*
friend

Kapitein
J. Jonker Afrikaner

Zoreseb J 5 1870
354 *Zoreseb, 5 januari 1870*

..an de lief hebben
355 *Aan de liefhebbende,*
To D loving -

...waarde Heer Hahn
356 *eerwaarde heer Hahn,*
honorable Mr. Hahn

ik heben vrydag
357 *Ik ben vrijdag*
1S PRF Friday

..vend op my werf gekom daar is
358 *avond op mijn werf gekomen, daar is*
evening on 1S werf GE-come there is

..imaan heb ik op werf gekrygen
359 *niemand, [REL] heb ik op [D] werf gekregen.*
no-one PRF 1S on werf GE-get

..enschen hief achter myn stories gehoor
360 *Mensen hebben achter mij stories*[56] *gehoord,*
people PRF behind 1POS stories GE-hear

Kamaherero hief komando op gestuur
361 *Kamaharero heeft [D] commando op gestuurd*
Kamaharero PRF commando up GE-send

..aar my oom jakobes Booi de blender
362 *[-] [om] mijn oom Jacobus Booi te plunderen.*
to 1S Uncle Jacobus Booi to plunder

..oo hief menschen uitmalkargevlug
363 *Zo zijn [D] mensen uit.elkaar.gevlucht*
thus PRF people out.each.other.GE-flee

..m Jakobes B weer naar zyn land de
364 *om [met] Jacobus B weer naar zijn land te*
for Jacobus B again to 3POS land to

..vlugt maar ik heb dog zomegi my
365 *vluchten. Maar ik heb toch sommige [van] mijn*
flee but 1S PRF MOD some 1S

menschen gekrygen maar ik heb nog
366 *mensen gekregen, maar ik heb nog*
people GE-get but 1S PRF still

---

[56] Anglicism in Dutch. Standardly accepted in Afrikaans, also as a verb: *hy sit en storie* (HAT:1030).

	niet	zomige	vrouwen	omdren	20	nog	
367	*niet*	*sommige*	*vrouwen,*	*omtrent*	*20,*	*nog*	
	NEG	some	women	about	20	still	

	niet	gekrygen
368	*niet*	*gekregen.*
	NEG	GE-get

---

	ik	heb	ook	weer	its			vienden	nu	deze
369	*Ik*	*heb*	*ook*	*weer*	*iets*		*[uit]*	*gevonden.*	*Nu*	*deze*
	I	PRF	also	again	something			find	now	D

	tijt	doen	mal	ik	daar	op	Ozembengw
370	*tijd,*	*toen*	*maals*	*ik*	*daar*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*
	time	when	time	1S	there	on	Otjimbingwe

	waaren	door	die	angande	vrede	zeer	klar
371	*was,*	*daar*	*de*	*aangaande*	*vrede*	*zeer*	*klaar*
	was by	D	ongoing		peace	very	clear

	liggen	mogt	doen	hief		<ol•klom>	herero	opgekom
372	*liggen*	*mag,*	*toen*	*zijn*	*[D]*	*klomp*	*Herero*	*opgekomen*
	lie	may	then	PRF		party	Herero	up.GE-come

	en	een	van	de	Berg Damras		weerf
373	*en [PRF]*	*een*	*van*	*de*	*Bergdamaras'*		*werven*
	and	one	of	D	Bergdamaras		werf

	angeval	en	stok	19	menschen	dood
374	*aangevallen*	*en*	*staken*	*19*	*mensen*	*dood,*
	GE-attack	and	stab	19	people	dead

	gemoor	dat	is	ook	Berg Damras		by
375	*vermoord.*	*Dat*	*zijn*	*ook*	*Bergdamaras*	*[REL]*	*bij*
	GE-murder	That	are	also	Bergdamaras		with

	mij	hoord:	zien	lieve	Heer	ik	mak
376	*mij*	*horen.*	*Zie*	*lieve*	*heer,*	*ik*	*maak*
	1S	belong	see	dear	sir	1S	make

	angande	vrede	om	in	die	vred	leven
377	*aangaande*	*vrede*	*om*	*in*	*de*	*vrede*	*levend*
	ongoing	peace	for	in	D	peace	live

		woorden	en	ook		gedood	de	manen
378	*[te]*	*worden*	*en*	*ook*	*[D]*	*gedode*	-	*mannen*
		become	and	also		killed	-	men

	zyn	kinderen	grod		maken	in	deze
379	*3POS*	*kinderen*	*groot*	*[te]*	*maken*	*in*	*deze*
	3POS	children	big		make	in	D

	<ol•hy	*ha*	maharero	dood	manen	hiendes		grod..>
	hij	*Ka?*	*Maharero*	*dode*	*mannen*	*kinderen*		*groot..*
	3S	-	Maharero	dead	men	children		big....
	vrede	ik	denk	zoo	als	ik	leven	dan
380	*vrede.*	*Ik*	*denk*	*zo*	*als*	*ik*	*leef*	*dan*
	peace	1S	think	so	as	1S	live	then
	zal	mij	bloed	vriendes	ook	leven		
381	*zullen*	*mijn*	*bloed*	*vrienden*[57]	*ook*	*leven.*		
	will	1S	blood	friends	also	live		
	maar	ik	denk	al	Kamaharero		degen	
382	*Maar*	*ik*	*denk*	*als*	*Kamaharero*		*tegen*	
	but	1S	think	if	Kamaharero		against	

---

	my	vrede	mak	dan	zal	hy		alle
383	*mij*	*vrede*	*maakt*	*dan*	*zal*	*hij*	*[P]*	*al*
	1S	peace	make	then	will	3S		all
	my	menschen	of my	bloed	menschen			
384	*mijn*	*mensen*	*of mijn*	*bloed*	*mensen*			
	1S	people	or 1S	blood	people			
	ook	vrede	maaken	dat		wens	van	my
385	*ook*	*vrede*	*maken,*	*dat*	*[is] [D]*	*wens*	*van*	*mij.*
	also	peace	make	that		wish	of	1S
	waar om	is	dat zoo	mogt				
386	*Waarom*	*is*	*het zo*	*mag.*[58]				
	why	is	it so	may				
	zien	lieve	Heer	Berg Damras			ook	my
387	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer, [D]*	*Bergdamaras*	*[zijn]*		*ook*	*mijn*
	see	dear	sir	Bergdamaras			also	1S
	menschen		Topenars	ook	poesmans			
388	*mensen,*	*[D]*	*Topnaars*	*ook, [D]*	*Bosjesmannen*			
	people		Topnaars	also	Bushmen			
	ook	leven	woord	Namelyk	my	oom		
389	*ook,*	*levend*	*worden,*[59]	*namelijk*	*mijn*	*oom*		
	also	live	become	namely	1S	uncle		

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[57] Dutch: *bloedverwanten*, 'relatives'.

[58] Unclear, perhaps: *Waarom ik het zo mag*, 'Why I like it this way' or, *Dat het zo mag wezen*, 'That it may be that way'.

[59] Unclear, perhaps: *zij moeten levend worden*, 'they must come alive' or, *zij zijn levend geworden*, 'they have come alive'. Another possibility is: *[zij ook] leven naar het woord, namelijk bij...*, 'they also live according to the word, namely at....'

jakobes Booi
390 *Jacobus Booi.*
Jacobus Booi

Kamarero hief erst
391 *Kamaharero heeft eerst*
Kamaharero PRF first

zoo ge mak hy spreek met ....
392 *zo gemaakt: hij spreekt met*
so GE-make 3S speak with

Weelekem zwaar Booi niets vrede
393 *Willem Swartbooi [af]*[60] *geen vrede [te]*
Willem-DIM[61] Swartbooi NEG peace

mak dëen my doe kom niet vrede
394 *maken tegen mij. Toen komt [er] geen vrede*
make against 1S to come NEG vrede

op ragde weg hy hief vrede gemaak
395 *op rechte weg. Hij heeft [weer<] vrede gemaakt*
on right way 3S PRF peace GE-make

<ol•weer> met orlede out Cornelles doe kom
396 *[<--] met overleden oude Cornelis, toen komt [er]*
again with deceased old Cornelis then come

niet vred op ragde weg daarom
397 *geen vrede op [D] rechte weg, daarom*
NEG peace on right way therefore

---

heb ik niet deze angande vrede
398 *heb ik niet deze aangaande vrede*
have 1S NEG D ongoing peace

nodig degen my vrede mak en
399 *nodig. Tegen mij vrede [te] maken en*
need against me peace make and

niet vrede mak deëen Jakobes Booi
400 *geen vrede [te] maken tegen Jakobus Booi.*
NEG peace make against Jacobus Booi

ik denk deschen alle menschen m...
401 *Ik denk tussen alle mensen moet*
1S think between all people must

---

[60] Dutch: *afspreken*, 'agree upon', separable compound verb.

[61] *Willempke*, southern Dutch diminutive variant to standard Dutch *Willempje, Willempie*. Note that this is not in line with the Afrikaans development of diminutives (cf. Raidt 1982:183).

	vrede	in	kom	als	vroedagen	dat
402	*vrede*	*[-]*	*komen,*	*als*	*vroeger.dagen.*	*Dat*
	peace	in	come	as	former.days	that

	bit	ik	ulieden	Leeraars	moet	daar
403	*bid*	*ik.*	*U*	*leraren*	*moeten*	*daar*
	pray	1S	2PL	teachers	must	there

	overspreken	deëen	Kamaharero
404	*over.spreken*	*tegen*	*Kamaharero.*
	about.speak	to	Kamaharero

	zoo	ver	ik		myn	briefen	ginden
405	*Zo*	*ver,*	*ik*	*[V]*	*mijn*	*brief.ein-digen.*	
	so	far	1S		1POS	letters	finish

	hardelyke	Groetenes
406	*Hartelijke*	*groeten,*
	warm	greetings

	ant	u	en	Jevrouw	en	Magrida
407	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*juffrouw*	*en*	*Margarita*
	to	2S	and	Miss	and	Margarita

	en	ook	Kamaharero	Kapitein
408	*en*	*ook*	*Kamaharero*	*kapitein.*
	and	also	Kamaharero	captain

	ik
409	*Ik,*
	1S

Kapitein J. jonker Afrikaner

1870
Zoreseb 18de Feeberwaari
410 *Zoreseb, 18 februari 1870*

	Aan	de	Edele	Heer	Hahn
411	*Aan*	*de*	*edele*	*heer*	*Hahn,*
	To	D	noble	Mr.	Hahn

	ik	maak	u	deze	brief
412	*Ik*	*maak*	*u*	*deze*	*brief*
	1S	make	2S	D	letter

	lieve	Heer	om	u	de	laden	wetten
413	*lieve*	*heer*	*om*	*u*	*te*	*laten*	*weten*
	dear	sir	for	2S	to	let	know

	mijne	paarden	is	nog	bra	zwak	om
414	*mijn*	*paarden*	*zijn*	*nog*	*braaf*[62]	*zwak*	*om*
	1POS	horses	are	still	rather	weak	for

	dezen	tijt	af	de	gaan	zoo	heb	ik
415	*deze*	*tijd*	*af*	*te*	*gaan,*	*zo*	*ben*	*ik*
	D	time	off	to	go	so	have	1S

	nu	oom	Klaar	al	dag	kryg	ons	ook	reigen
416	*nu*	*onklaar*	-[63]	*Alle*	*dagen*	*krijgen*	*wij*	*ook*	*regen.*
	now	not	ready	all	day	get	1PL	also	rain

	Zoo	kan	ik	ook	niet	weggegaan	van
417	*Zo*	*kan*	*ik*	*ook*	*niet*	*weggaan*	*van*
	so	can	1S	also	NEG	away GE-go	from

	huis	af	van	die	reigen	zoo	zal	ik	nu
418	*huis*	*af*	*van[wege]*	*de*	*regen.*	*Zo*	*zal*	*ik*	*nu*
	house	away	from	D	rain	so	shall	1S	now

	wach	tot	dat	reigen	verbygaan	
419	*wachten*	*tot*	*dat*	*[D] regen*	*voorbij.gaat.*	
	wait	till	that	rain	pass.by.go	

	Zoo	moet	my	Heer	my	zeker	tijt	bestel
420	*Zo*	*moet*	*mijn*	*heer*	*mij*	*zekere*	*tijd*	*bestellen*
	so	must	1S	Mr.	1S	certain	time	order

	en	zal	ik	af	kom	ik	is	zoo	hasdig
421	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*af*	*komen.*	*Ik*	*ben*	*zo*	*haastig*
	then	shall	1S	off	come	1S	is	so	hurried

[62] Afrikaans adverb which consistently developed into an adverb of degree or focus particle. Dutch: *tamelijk, nogal*; Dutch *braaf* is 'virtuous, good'; *braaf* as an adverb of degree is uncommon in modern Dutch.

[63] Alternatively: *zo ben ik nu omgekeerd[?]*, 'thus I turned around'. Cf. ln.496, above.

	by	Kamaharero		kom	en	vrede	
422	*bij*	*Kamaharero*	*[te]*	*komen*	*en*	*vrede*	
	to	Kamaharero		come	and	peace	

	klaar	te	krygen	maar	die	reigen
423	*klaar*	*te*	*krijgen*	*maar*	*de*	*regen*
	ready	to	get	but	D	rain

---

	hief	my	zoo	vasgekeert		om	zo
424	*heeft*	*mij*	*zo*	*vast.gekeerd*[64]		*om*	*zo*
	PRF	me	so	GE-stuck		for	so

	weg	te	gaan	van	huis
425	*weg*	*te*	*gaan*	*van*	*huis.*
	away	to	go	from	house

	daarom		deze	Berg	Damras	naar	u	lieve
426	*Daarom*	*[V]*	*deze*	*Bergdamaras*		*naar*	*u*	*lieve*
	therefore		D	Bergdamaras		to	2S	dear

	Heer	u	moed	dog	die	Berg Damras
427	*heer.*	*U*	*moet*	*toch*	*de*	*Bergdamaras*
	sir	2S	must	MOD	D	Bergdamaras

	een	week	tijt	daar	houd	in	onteerweis
428	*een*	*week*	*tijd*	*daar*	*houden*	*in*	*onderwijs*
	one	week	time	there	keep	in	education

	en	ook	hem	hesud	en	proek	geven	door
429	*en*	*ook*	*hen*	*hemd [?]*	*en*	*broek*	*geven*	*voor*
	and	also	3S	shirt	and	trouser	give	for

	my	reken	ik	zal	een	dag	af	reken	dat
430	*mijn*	*rekening.*	*Ik*	*zal*	*een*	*dag*	*af*	*rekenen,*	*dat*
	1S	account	1S	shall	one	day	settle.account		that

	verzoek	ik	u	lieve	Heer	u	zal	daar	uit
431	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*lieve*	*heer.*	*U*	*zal*	*daar*	*uit*
	request	1S	2S	dear	sir 2S	shall	there	out	

	hoord	van	die	Damras	waat	hief	[-hij]
432	*horen,*	*van*	*de*	*Damaras,*	*wat*	*heeft*	
	hear	from	D	Damaras	which	PRF	3S

	God	gedan	dechen	ongeleerde	menschen
433	*God*	*gedaan*	*tegen*	*ongeleerde*	*mensen.*
	Good	GE-do	against	uneducated	people

---

[64] Afrikaans idiom: *vast*, 'stuck' and *keren*, 'turn'; Dutch: *tegenhouden*.

	en	wy	heben	ook	nu	skade	storis	ge
434	*En*	*wij*	*hebben*	*ook*	*nu*	*schade*	*stories*	*ge-*
	and	1PL	PRF	also	now	damage	stories	GE-

	hoor		van	Persiba	zyn	menschen	gedoen
435	*hoord*	*[REL]*	*van*	*Berseba*	*3POS*	*mensen*	*gedaan*
	hear		from	Berseba	3POS	people	GE-do

	heeft	ik	hoor	jakobes Izaak		is	nog	by
436	*zijn.*[65]	*Ik*	*hoor*	*Jakobus Izaak*		*was*	*nog*	*bij*
	PRF	1S	hear	Jakobus Izaak		is	nog	at

	Jeren*.*eik	zyn	kan	doe	hief	die	menschen
437	***	*3POS*	*kant*	*toen*	*hebben*	*de*	*mensen*
	***	3POS	side	then	PRF	D	people

---

	op	Damras	angevallen	maar		
438	*op [D]*	*Damaras*	*aangevallen*	*maar*		
	on	Damaras	GE-attack	but		

	Soul	en	zyn	vrouw	en	kiendes	is	dog	vry
439	*Soul*	*en*	*zijn*	*vrouw*	*en*	*kinderen*	*zijn*	*toch*	*vrij*
	Soul	and	3POS	wife	and	children	are	MOD	free

	gerak	zoo	heb	ik	gehoord	maar	ik	weet
440	*geraakt.*	*Zo*	*heb*	*ik*	*gehoord*	*maar*	*ik*	*weet*
	GE-get	so	PRF	1S	GE-hear	but	1S	know

	nog	niet	is		dat	waar	is	of	niet	waar	is
441	*nog*	*niet*	*[-V]*	*[of]*	*dat*	*waar*	*is*	*of*	*niet*	*waar*	*is.*
	yet	NEG	is		that	true	is	or	NEG	true	is

	die Damras	wel	om	naar	Kamaharero	
442	*De Damaras*	*willen*	*[-]*	*naar*	*Kamaharero*	
	D Damaras	want	for	to	Kamaharero	

	de dreken	maar	Persiba	zyn	menschen	
443	*[-] trekken*	*maar*	*Berseba*	*3POS*	*mensen*	
	to move	but	Berseba	3POS	people	

	wel	niet	Damras	laden	dreken	
444	*willen*	*niet*	*[D] Damaras*	*laten*	*trekken.*	
	want	NEG	Damaras	let	move	

	zoo	veer	heb	ik	gehoord	van	oute	Petrus
445	*Zo*	*ver*	*heb*	*ik*	*gehoord*	*van*	*oude*	*Petrus,*
	thus	far	PRF	1S	GE-hear	from	old	Petrus

---

[65] Ambiguous between an active sentence (that the Berseba people did something), or a passive one (that something was done by them). See the context further down this letter.

	Petrus	Zwaarbooi	zyn	schoonvader	af
446	*Petrus*	*Swartbooi*	*zijn*	*schoonvader*	*af.*
	Petrus	Swartbooi	3POS	father-in-law	from

	verder	heb ik	niets	gehoord	
447	*Verder*	*heb ik*	*niets*	*gehoord.*	
	further	PRF 1S	NEG	GE-hear	

	zoo	doet	ik	hardelyk	groetens	aan
448	*Zo*	*doe*	*ik*	*hartelijke*	*groeten*	*aan*
	so	do	1S	warm	greetings	to

	jevrouw	en	Magrieda
449	*juffrouw*	*en*	*Margrita.*
	Miss	and	Margrita

		ik	ben	uwe	vriend
450		*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*vriend,*
		1S	am	2POS	friend

Kapitein j jonker Africaner

Zoreseb d 8 April 1870
451 *Zoreseb, 8 april 1870*

Aan den Wel Edele
452 *Aan de weledele*
To D honorable

Heer Hahn
453 *heer Hahn,*
Mr. Hahn

ik heben vandag
454 *Ik heb vandaag*
1S PRF today

brieven van Grod Namaqwaland zyn Leeraar
455 *brieven van Groot, Namaqualand 3POS leraar*
letter from Great Namaqualand 3POS teacher

geontvangen maar ik heb zalfte dag weer
456 *ontvangen maar ik heb [de].zelfde dag weer*
GE-receive but 1S PRF same day again

die brieven weggestuur naar Otjimbingw
457 *de brieven weggestuurd naar Otjimbingwe*
D letters away. GE-send to Otjimbingwe

doe zoo wett ik niet te die brieven
458 *toe. Zo weet ik niet [wat] [-] de brieven*
then so know 1S NEG to D letters

zegen zoo wett ik nu niet wanener
459 *zeggen, zo weet ik nu niet wanneer*
say so know 1S now NEG when

hief die Leeraars op Rehoboht komen
460 *zijn de leraren op Rehoboth gekomen.*
PRF D teachers in Rehoboth come

zoo moet mijn Heer mijn daarna lad
461 *Zo moet mijn heer mij daarna laten*
so must 1POS Mr. 1POS thereafter let

wetten daat verzoek ik u lieve Heer
462 *weten, dat verzoek ik u lieve heer*
know that request 1S 2S dear sir

Verter mak ik u ook beken stelen die
463 *verder maak ik u ook bekend stellen*[66] *de*
further make 1S 2S also known put D

---

[66] Dutch either *bekend maken* or *bekend stellen;* (**bekend maken stellen*, cf. section IA, footnote 60, p.35, on the usage of light verbs).

	toepenaars	is	weer	uit	gevlieg	nar	Opab	
464	*Topnaars*	*zijn*	*weer*	*uit*	*gevlogen*	*naar*	*Opab*	
	Topnaars	PRF	again	out	GE-fly	to	Opab	
	doe	om	beesten	te	stoolen	of	drekossen	
465	*toe*	*om*	*beesten*	*te*	*stelen*	*of*	*trekossen*	
	to	for	animals	to	steal	or	pulling-oxen	

---

	van	dranpoorwagens	ook	te	stoolen		
466	*van*	*transportwagens*	*ook*	*te*	*stelen,*		
	from	transport-wagons	also	to	steal		
	maar	ik	heb	daarna	kienders	van	my
467	*maar*	*ik*	*heb*	*daarna*	*kinderen*	*van*	*mij*
	but	1S	PRF	afterwards	children	of	1S

	achter	nagezed	om	die	topenaars	de	
468	*achter.*	*na.gezet*	*om*	*de*	*Topnaars*	*te*	
	after	GE-pursue	for	D	Topnaars	to	
	laden	strafen	ik	heben	niet		
469	*laten*	*straffen.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*niet*		
	let	punish	1S	PRF	NEG		
	weer	een	van	de	topenaars	of	Berg Damrs
470	*weer*	*een*	*van*	*de*	*Topnaars*	*of*	*Bergdamaras*
	again	one	of	the	Topnaars	or	Bergdamaras

	doe	laden	om	beesten	te[-n]	stoolen	als	
471	*toe*	*gelaten*	*om*	*beesten*	*te*	*stelen.*	*Als*	*[D]*
	enter	let	for	animals	to	steal	if	
	topenaars	of	Berg Damras		weer beesten		stolen	
472	*Topnaars*	*of*	*Bergdamaras*		*weer beesten*		*stelen,*	
	Topnaars		or Bergdamaras		again animals		steal	

	ik zal	laden	Doodschieden	zoo	en	mensch	
473	*ik zal*	*laten*	*doodschieten*[67]	*zo*	*een*	*mens.*	
	1S will	let	dead.shoot	so	a	person	
	Verder	heb	ik ook	brief	van	Feredreik	Vlirder
474	*Verder*	*heb*	*ik ook [D]*	*brief*	*van*	*Frederik*	*Vleer-*
	further	PRF	1S also	letter	from	Frederik	Vleermuis

	moes	geontvangen	en	hy	zeg	hy	Feredreik	
475	*muis*	*ontvangen*	*en*	*hij*	*zegt,*	*hij*	*Frederik,*	
	-	GE-receive	and	3S	say	3S	Frederik	

---

[67] SVO-order; Dutch: *ik zal zo 'n mens laten doodschieten.*

	heb	Wel	gewelleg	om	gansche	vrede	annemen	
476	*is*	*wel*	*gewillig*	*om*	*ganse*	*vrede*	*aan [te] nemen*	
	is	indeed	willing	for	whole	peace	accept	

	tichen	alle	Damrar	Kapiteins	<ol•mar>	hy	zeg	hy
477	*tegen*	*alle*	*Damara*	*kapiteinen*	*maar*	*hij*	*zegt*	*hij*
	against	all	Damara	captains	but	3S	say	3S

	hief	gehoord	van	ou	jakop	Vlerdermoes
478	*heeft*	*gehoord*	*van*	*oude*	*Jacob*	*Vleermuis*
	PRF	GE-hear	from	old	Jacob	Vleermuis

	Aponto	[-hief]	is	niet	gewellig	om		hem
479	*Aponto*	*[-heeft]*	*is*	*niet*	*gewillig*	*om*	*[met]*	*hem*
	Aponto	[-PRF]	is	not	willing	for		3S

	<ol•te>	vrede	sloeten	of	zijne	<ol•[-niet]>	vrede	<ol•niet>	annemen
480	*[-->]*	*vrede [>te]*	*sluiten*	*of*	*zijn*		*vrede*	*niet*	*aan.[te].nemen*
	to	peace	make	or	3POS		peace	NEG	accept

---

	die	hy	Feredreik	zeg	naar	my	doe	ik	moet
481	*die*	*hij,*	*Frederik,*	*zegt*	*naar*	*mij*	*toe.*	*Ik*	*moet*
	REL	3S	Frederik	say	to	1S	to	1S	must

	u	en	kamaharero	en	ook	Abrahm
482	*u*	*en*	*Kamaherero*	*en*	*ook*	*Abrham*
	2S	and	Kamaherero	and	also	Abraham

	Zwaarbooi	laden	<ol•daarna>	bekend	maak
483	*Swartbooi*	*laten*	*daarna*	*bekend*	*maken*
	Swartbooi	let	thereafter	known	make

	lad	uliden	ook	daarna	wetten	die
484	*dat*	*u*	*ook*	*daarna*	*weet*	*het*
	let	2PL	also	thereafter	know	D

	woord	van	Aponto	en	uliden	daarna
485	*woord*	*van*	*Aponto*	*en*	*u*	*daarna*
	word	from	Aponto	and	2PL	there.after

	zien	is	dat	rag	is	of	niet	rag	is:
486	*ziet*	*is*	*dit*	*recht*	*[-V]*	*of*	*niet*	*recht*	*is.*
	see	is	that	right	is	or	NEG	right	is

	hardelyke	groetenes	an	u	en
487	*Hartelijke*	*groeten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*
	warm	greetings	to	2S	and

	ook	jevrouw	en	Magrida	en	alle	Leeraars
488	*ook*	*juffrouw*	*en*	*Margarita*	*en*	*alle*	*leraren*
	also	Miss	and	Margarita	and	all	teachers

...exhibited without permission

	op	Otjimbingw		van	ons	allen
489	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*		*van*	*ons*	*allen.*
	in	Otjimbingwe		from	1PL	all

	ik	ben	uwe	vriend	
490	*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*vriend*	
	1S	am	2POS	friend	

Kapt. Jahn Afrikamer

Aries de 18 July 1870
491 *Aries, 18 juli 1870*

	Aan	den	lieve	Heer	Hahn
492	*Aan*	*de*	*lieve*	*heer*	*Hahn,*
	To	D	dear	Mr.	Hahn

	ik	heben	Uwe	
493	*Ik*	*heb*	*uw*	
	1S	PRF	2POS	

	brief	zoo	laat	geontvangen	gesdiraven
494	*brief*	*zo*	*laat*	*ontvangen*	*gisteravond,*
	letter	so	late	GE-receive	yesterday.evening

	ik	is	nog	in	de	drek	ik	was		nog
495	*ik*	*was*	*nog*	*in*	*de*	*trek.*	*Ik*	*was*		*nog*
	1S	is	still	in	D	move	1S	was	still	

	niet	op	blats	gekom	zoo	heb	ik	nu	
496	*niet*	*op*	*[D] plaats*	*gekomen,*	*zo*	*ben*	*ik*	*nu*	
	NEG	on	place	GE-come	so	PRF	1S	now	

	om	klar	om	daar	has	by	u		komen	gy
497	*on*	*klaar*[68]	*-om*	*der*[69]	*haast*	*bij*	*u*	*[te]*	*komen.*	*Gij*
	un-	ready	for	D-GEN	haste	with	2S		come	2S

	zeg	ook	ik	zal	straks	schuldig	rak	hoe
498	*zegt*	*ook*	*ik*	*zal*	*straks*	*schuldig*	*raken.*	*Hoe*
	say	also	1S	will	later	guilty	get	how

	dink	u	daarvan	zal	ik	jaar	ver	jaar
499	*denkt*	*u*	*daarvan?*	*Zal*	*ik*	*jaar*	*voor*	*jaar*
	think	2S	this	shall	1S	year	for	year

	schuldig	gaan:	doo	my	lant:	voor	in
500	*schuldig*	*gaan*	*door*	*mijn*	*land*	*voor*	*in-*
	guilty	go:	through	1S	land:	for	in-

	kom	mers:	als	ik	its	zeg	voor my	land
501	*komers?*		*Als*	*ik*	*iets*	*zeg*	*voor mijn*	*land,*
	coming.[people]		if	1S	something	say	for 1S	land

	als	in	kommer	hier	in dit	land	menschen
502	*als*	*in.komers*	-	*hier*	*in dit*	*land*	*mensen*
	of	incoming.[people]		here	in D	land	people

[68] Cf. ln.496 and ln.620, above.

[69] Dutch: *inderhaast*.

	dood	schieden	dat	is	my	schuld	als	in
503	*dood*	*schieten,*	*dat*	*is*	*mijn*	*schuld?*	*Als*	*in-*
	dead	shoot	that	is	1S	guilt	if	in-

	kommers		hier	in	deet	land	blats	vat
504	*komers*		*hier*	*in*	*dit*	*land [D]*	*plaats*	*vatten*
	coming.[people]		here	in	this	land	place	take

	zonder	land	zyn	Kapitein		vragen	dat	
505	*zonder [D]*	*land*	*3POS*	*kapitein*	*[te]*	*vragen,*	*dat*	
	without	land	3POS	captain		ask	that	

	is	ook	my	schuld	als	in	kommers
506	*is*	*ook*	*mijn*	*schuld?*	*Als*	*in.komers -*	
	is	also	1POS	guilt	if	incoming.[people]	

.....

	hier	in	dit	land	kom	en	stan
507	*hier*	*in*	*dit*	*land*	*komen*	*en*	*staan*[70]
	here	in	D	land	come	and	stand

	blatsen	uitdeel	zonder	my	bermisi
508	*plaatsen*	*uitdelen*	*zonder*	*mijn*	*permissie*
	places	give away	without	1S	permission

	dad	is	ook	my	schuld	voor	u
509	*dat*	*is*	*ook*	*mijn*	*schuld*	*voor*	*u?*
	that	is	also	1S	guilt	for	2S

	om	dat	gyliden	witte	mensche
510	*Omdat*	-	*gij*	*witte*	*mensen [V]?*
	because	-	2PL	white	people

	zien	lieve	Heer	u	is	Leraar	dit	waar	zul
511	*Zie*	*lieve*	*heer*	*u*	*bent*	*leraar,*	*dit [V]*	*waar.*	*Zult*
	See	dear	sir	2S	is	teacher	this	true	will

	gy	waarachtige	Leeraar	is:	maar	
512	*gij [D]*	*waarachtige*	*leraar*	*zijn?*	*Maar*	
	2S	truthful	teacher	is:	but	

	daarom	waar	zul	gy	mensch	is:	gy	zal
513	*daarom*	*waar*	*zult*	*gij*	*mens*	*zijn?*	*Gij*	*zult*
	therefore	true	will	2S	person	are:	2S	will

	ook	its	verkeerdoen		om	dat	u	mensche
514	*ook*	*iets*	*verkeerd.doen*		*omdat*	-	*u*	*[D]*	*mense-*
	also	something	wrong.do		for	that	2S		human

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[70] Afrikaans Verbal Hendiadys Construction, see Volume I, Chapter Five, § 5.2.5. Dutch: *staan uit te delen*, Afrikaans: *staan (en) uitdeel*.

	lijke	naadur		u	is	niet	Leeraar		
515	*lijke*	*natuur*	*[V].*	*U*	*is*	*niet*	*leraar*		
	-	nature		2S	is	NEG	teacher		
	van	hemel	afgekom	om	alles				
516	*van*	*[D] hemel*	*afgekomen*	*om*	*alle*				
	from	heaven	off.GE-come	for	all				
	dengen	raggedoen:	u	moed	<ol•ook>	verzegdid			
517	*dingen*	*recht.[te].doen.*	*U*	*moet*	*ook*	*voorzichtig*			
	things	right.GE-do:	2S	must	also	careful			
	wes	gy	zalt	ook	schuldig	wesen			
518	*wezen.*	*Gij*	*zult*	*ook*	*schuldig*	*wezen*			
	be	2S	will	also	guilty	be			
	voor	ons	zwaarnasis	hoe	menrekent				
519	*voor*	*onze*	*zwarte.naties.*	*Hoe*	*meent-rekent*[71]				
	for	our	black.nations	how	judge-account				
	u	myn	af	denk	gy	zal	ik	steel	
520	*u*	*mij*	*af*	*denkt*	*gij?*	*Zal*	*ik*	*stelen*	
	2S	1POS	off	think	2S	will	1S	steal	
	blyfen	laden	uliden	witte	menschen				
521	*blijven*	*laten*[72]	*U,*	*witte*	*mensen,*				
	stay	let	2PL	white	people				
	die land		ons	af nemen	zonder	its			
522	*het land [van]*		*ons*	*[laten]*	*afnemen,*	*zonder*	*iets*		
	the land		1PL		off take	without	something		
	de	zeggen	om	dat	u	Leeraar	is		
523	*te*	*zeggen*	*omdat -*		*u*	*leraar*	*bent?*		
	to	say	for	that	2S	teacher	is		

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	ik	heben	u	betrouw	daarom			
524	*Ik*	*heb*	*u*	*vertrouwd*	*daarom*			
	1S	PRF	u	GE-trust	therefore			
	schryf	ik	altyt	naar	u	brieven		
525	*schrijf*	*ik*	*altijd*	*naar*	*u*	*brieven.*		
	write	1S	always	to	2S	letters		
	wanner	zal	ik	dog	door	my	werk	
526	*Wanneer*	*zal*	*ik*	*toch,*	*door*	*mijn*	*werk,*	
	when	will	1S	MOD	through	1S	work	

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[71] Alternatively: *hoe min rekent u my af*, 'how little respect do you return'.

[72] Note the SVO order in the verb-cluster. Dutch: *Zal ik u laten blijven stelen?* See Volume I, Chapter Five.

	zal	ik	schuldig	woord				
527	*zal*	*ik*	*schuldig*	*worden?*				
	will	1S	guilty	be				
	hier	is	ook	twee	handelars	op	Rehoper	
528	*Hier*	*zijn*	*ook*	*twee*	*handelaren*	*op*	*Rehoboth [REL]*	
	here	are	also	two	traders	in	Rehoboth	
	stan	huisen	van	Rehopor	afbrek			
529	*staan*	*huizen*	*van*	*Rehoboth*	*af.[te].breken*			
	stand	houses	of	Rehoboth	off.break			
	om	Baablen	weg	de	nemen	en	[-al]	
530	*om*	***[73]	*weg*	*te*	*nemen*	*en*		
	for	***	away	to	take	and	all	
		andere	blek		huis	de	maaken	
531	*[P] [D]*	*andere*	*plek*	*[D]*	*huis*	*te*	*maken.*	
		other	place		house	to	make	
	als	nu	die	manen	niet	doeladen		
532	*Als [1S]*	*nu*	*de*	*mannen*	*niet*	*toelaat*		
	if	now	D	men	NEG	allow		
	om die	huisen		de	afbreken	dan		
533	*om de*	*huizen*	*[af<]*	*te*	*[<--]breken*	*dan*		
	for D	houses		to	off.break	then		
	zal	ik	ook	schuldig	voor	u		om
534	*zal*	*ik*	*ook*	*schuldig*	*voor*	*u*	*[V]*	*om-*
	will	1S	also	guilty	for	2S		for
	dat	die	twee	manen	witt*e*	menschen		
535	*dat*	*de*	*twee*	*mannen*	*witte*	*mensen*	*[V]?*	
	that	D	two	men	white	people		
	zoo	doed	ik		besde	Combelmen		
536	*Zo*	*doe*	*ik*	*[D]*	*beste*	*complimenten*		
	so	do	1S		best	compliments		
	an	alle	Vrienden	op	*A*zab.			
537	*aan*	*alle*	*vrienden*	*op*	*Azab.*			
	to	all	friends	in	Azab.			

[73] Possibly: *palen*, 'poles'.

Aries d 8 Optober 1870
538 *Aris, 8 oktober 1870*

	Aan	de	Edele	Heer	Hahn
539	*Aan*	*de*	*edele*	*heer*	*Hahn*
	to	D	noble	Mr.	Hahn

	of	alle	Leeraars	van	Damaraland
540	*of*	*alle*	*leraren*	*van*	*Damaraland.*
	or	all	teachers	of	Damaraland

		ik	schryf	ulieden	al	mijne
541		*Ik*	*schrijf*	*u,*	*al*	*mijn*
		1S	write	2PL	all	1POS

	Vriendes	deze	brief	om	uliden	de	laten	hooren
542	*vrienden*	*deze*	*brief*	*om*	*u*	*te*	*laten*	*horen*
	friends	D	letter	for	2PL	to	let	hear

	my	schoonvader	Jakobes	Booi	is	niet	meer	op	de
543	*mijn*	*schoonvader*	*Jacobus*	*Booi*	*is*	*niet*	*meer*	*op*	*de*
	1S	father-in-law	Jacobus	Booi	is	NEG	more	on	D

	wantelen	hy	hief	8 optober	maan	gestorven	ben
544	*wereld.*	*Hij*	*is*	*8 oktober*	*maand*	*gestorven*	*[-V].*
	world	3S	PRF	8 October	month	GE-decease	is

	ik	hebben	daarvaan	niet	its	gehooren	die	oute
545	*Ik*	*heb*	*daar van*	*niet*	*iets*	*gehoord*	*de*	*oude*
	1S	PRF	from it	NEG	something	GE-hear	D	old

	man	hief	sternag	gestorven	geen	its	uit	te	spreken
546	*man*	*is*	*gisternacht*	*gestorven*	*geen*	*iets*	*uit*	*te*	*spreken.*
	man	PRF	yesterday night	GE-die	NEG	something	out	to	speak

	Verter	Barnabas	hief	my	geroepen	ik	gaat	nu	naar
547	*Verder,*	*Barnabas*	*heeft*	*me*	*geroepen,*	*ik*	*ga*	*nu*	*naar*
	verder	Barnabas	PRF	1S	GE-call	1S	go	now	to

	zyn	werf	en	hy	Barnabas	hief	nu	die	man	uit	gobien
548	*zijn*	*werf*	*en*	*hij,*	*Barnabas,*	*heeft*	*nu*	*de*	*man*	*uit*	*Gobabis*
	3POS	werf	and	3S	Barnabas	PRF	now	D	man	from	Gobabis

	die	hief	baleede	jaar	een	van	w[-a]itte	manen	doodgemaak
549	*die*	*[-V]*	*verlede*	*jaar*	*een*	*van [D]*	*witte*	*mannen*	*dood.gemaakt*
	REL	PRF	last	year	one	of	white	men	dead.GE-make

	heeft:	my	Barnabas	wel	om	die	man	doode	de	mak	
550	*heeft.*	*Mijn*[74]	*Barnabas*	*wil*	*[-]*	*de*	*man*	*dood*	*[-]*	*maken*	
	PRF:	1S	Barnabas	want	FOR	D	man	dead	to	make	
	zoo als	hem	ge maak	heeft	daarom	riep	hy	myn			
551	*zo als*	*hij*	*gemaakt*	*heeft,*	*daarom*	*riep*	*hij*	*mij*			
	so as	3S	GE-make	PRF	therefore	call-PST	3S	1POS			
	met	nog	outerlengen	of	my	outer	Kapiteinen				
552	*met*	*nog*	*ouderlingen*	*of*	*mijn*	*oude*	*kapiteinen.*				
	with	more	elders	or	1S	old	captains				
	en	Feredereik Vledermoes			zyn	kan	heb	ik	gehoor	[-kalf]	
553	*En [P]*	*Frederik Vleermuis*			*3POS*	*kant*	*heb*	*ik*	*gehoord*		
	and	Frederik Vleermuis			3POS	side	PRF	1S	GE-hear	calf	
	hal	Damras	hieft	twee	menschen	van	Frederiek	dood			
554	*[D] half*[75]	*Damaras*	*hebben*	*twee*	*mensen*	*van*	*Frederik*	*dood*			
	half	Damaras	PRF	two	people	of	Frederik	dead			
	gemaak	en	Frederik	Wel	om	de	hal	Damras	dood		
555	*gemaakt*	*en*	*Frederik*	*wil*	*[-]*	*die*	*half*	*Damaras*	*dood*		
	GE-make	and	Frederik	want	for	D	half	Damaras	dead		
	de maak	door	de	Dood	van	zijne	menschen	maar			
556	*[-] maken,*	*voor*	*de*	*dood*	*van*	*zijn*	*mensen,*	*maar*			
	to make	through	D	dead	of	3POS	people	but			

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	ons	zal	nog	verder	hooren	van	die	deek	zoo	moet
557	*wij*	*zullen*	*nog*	*verder*	*horen*	*van*	*de*	*daad [?].*	*Zo*	*moet*
	1PL	will	still	further	hear	of	the	deed[?]	so	must
	my	Heer	die	dingen	Kapt.	Abraham	zwaarbooi			
558	*mijn*	*heer*	*die*	*dingen*	*kapitein*	*Abraham*	*Swartbooi*			
	1S	Mr.	D	things	captain	Abraham	Swartbooi			
	laten	hooren	dat	verzoek	ik	u	lieve	Heer		
559	*laten*	*horen.*	*Dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*lieve*	*heer*		
	let	hear	this	request	1S	2S	dear	sir		
	Zoo	doed	ik	hardelyke	Groetenes	an	u	en		
560	*Zo*	*doe*	*ik [D]*	*hartelijke*	*groeten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*		
	so	do	1S	warm	greetings	to	2S	and		
	JeVrouw	en	Magrietha	en	alle	vriedes		op		
561	*juffrouw*	*en*	*Margarita*	*en*	*alle*	*vrienden*	*[REL]*	*op*		
	Miss	and	Margarita	and	all	friends		on		

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[74] Alternatively: *Barnabas wil mij, om* ... 'Barnabas wants me for [to]..', cf. section IA, footnote 18, p.11.

[75] Could be *kaal*, 'bare, bald', cf. the omission of *kalf* in the previous line. In other letters he speaks about Kaalbeesdamaras. Cf. Volume I, Chapter Three, footnote 9, p.67.

	Othimbingw	ben
562	*Otjimbingwe*	*zijn.*
	Otjimbingwe	are

	ik	ben
563	*Ik*	*ben*
	I	am

Kapitein Jan Jonker Afrikaner

Aris 6 Dezemper 1870
564 *Aris, 6 december 1870*

Wel Eerwaarde
565 *Wel* *eerwaarde*
well honorable

Heer Hahn
566 *heer* *Hahn,*
Mr. Hahn

ik hebben uwen
567 *Ik* *heb* *uw*
I PRF 2POS

brief zoo lad ge ontvangen: die
568 *brief* *zo* *laat* *ontvangen.* *De*
letter so late GE-receive: D

Berg Damras hief hulle maand
569 *Bergdamaras* *hebben* *[D]* *hele* *maand*
Bergdamaras PRF 3POS month

op padgeleeg ben zien lieve Heer
570 *op* *pad.gelegen* *[-V].* *Zie,* *lieve* *heer,*
on path .GE-lie PRF see dear sir

ik heb nog niet niewes of briefen
571 *ik* *heb* *nog* *niets* *nieuws of* *brieven*
1S PRF still NEG news or letters

gekrygen van Grod Namaagw lan zyn
572 *gekregen* *van* *Groot* *Namaqualand* *3POS*
GE-get from Great Namaqualand 3POS

Kapiteins zoo weett ik niet vandag
573 *kapiteinen.* *Zo* *weet* *ik* *niet* *vandaag*
captains so know 1S NEG today

hoe is ondersde weerlt is: ik heb ook
574 *hoe* *[-V]* *[D]* *onderste* *wereld* *is.* *Ik* *heb* *ook*
how is under-side world is: 1S PRF also

nog Heer schroder zyn brief gekrygen
575 *nog* *heer* *Schröder* *3POS* *brief* *gekregen*
also Mr. Schröder 3POS letter GE-receive

maar ik zoo en dingen daar vaan ge hooren
576 *maar* *ik* *[PRF]* *zo* *een* *dingen* *daarvan* *gehoord.*
but 1S so a things there of GE-hear

ik zenden u zalte brief van myn Heer
577 *Ik* *zend* *u* *[D].zelfde* *brief* *van* *mijn* *heer*
1S send 2S same letter of 1POS Mr.

	Schroder	U	moet	ook	daar	zalf	zin
578	*Schröder.*	*U*	*moet*	*ook*	*daar*	*zelf*	*zien*
	Schröder	2S	must	also	there	self	see

	wat	is	de	brief	zyn	menen	is	ik
579	*wat*	*[-V]*	*de*	*brief*	*3POS*	*mening*	*is.*	*Ik*
	what	is	D	letter	3POS	mean	is	1S

	vir wach	ook	zoo	als		brief		daar
580	*verwacht*	*ook*	*zo*	*als*	*[D]*	*brief*		*daar*
	expect	also	so	as		letter		there

	Looü:	ik		nu	klar	om	zalf	daar
581	*luidt.*	*Ik*	*[V]*	*nu*	*klaar*	*om*	*zelf*	*daar*
	sounds:	1S		now	ready	for	self	there

	op	Otjimbingw	de	komen	en	
582	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*	*te*	*komen*	*en*	
	on	Otjimbingwe	to	come	and	

	ik	wens	Daniel	Cloede	en	die
583	*ik*	*wens*	*Daniel*	*Cloete*	*en*	*de*
	1S	wish	Daniel	Cloete	and	D

	Berg Damra	daar	op	Otjimbingw	
584	*Bergdamaras*	*daar*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*	
	Bergdamaras	there	on	Otjimbingwe	

	de	ontmoeden	en	alle	dingen	daar		sp....
585	*te*	*ontmoeten*	*en*	*alle*	*dingen*	*daar*	*[te]*	*[be].spreken*
	to	meet	and	all	things	there		speak

	dat	is	vele	deng	om	de		sprek	ik	wens
586	*dat*	*zijn*	*vele*	*dingen*	*om*	*te*	*[be].spreken.*		*Ik*	*wens*
	that	is	many	things	for	to		speak	1S	wish

		Berg Damra	onter	my	de	stan	maar
587	*[D]*	*Bergdamaras*	*onder*	*mij*	*te*	*staan*	*maar*
		Bergdamaras	under	1S	to	stand	but

	altemied	zal		Berg Damras	niet
588	*altemet*	*zullen*	*[D]*	*Bergdamaras*	*niet*
	maybe	will		Bergdamaras	NEG

	gewellig		om	onter	my	de	stan
589	*gewillig*	*[V]*	*om*	*onder*	*mij*	*te*	*staan.*
	wanting		for	under	1S	to	stand

	daar	moed	ons	eers	alle	dengen		maar
590	*Daar[om]*	*moeten*	*wij*	*eerst*	*alle*	*dingen*		*maar*
	there	must	1PL	first	all	things		only

	mondelyk	sprekken	en	eenstemig		
591	*mondeling*	*bespreken*	*en*	*eenstemmig*		
	orally	speak	and	unanimous		

	woord	dat	is	wens	van	my
592	*worden.*	*Dat*	*is*	*wens*	*van*	*mij.*
	become	that	is	wish	of	1S

	En	Dopenaars	bigen	weer	om	Berg
593	*En [D]*	*Topnaars*	*beginnen*	*weer*	*om [D]*	*Berg-*
	and	Topnaars	begin	again	for	Berg-

	Damras	de	moord	henen	hief	riets
594	*damaras*	*te*	*vermoorden.*	*Zij*	*hebben*	*reeds*
	damaras	to	kill	3PL	PRF	already

	veel	Damras	doodgeschieden	dat	is
595	*veel*	*Damaras*	*dood.geschoten*	*dat*	*is*
	many	Damaras	dead.GE-shoot	that	is

	ook	de	dengen	nodag	om	raagmaaken
596	*ook*	*de*	*dingen,*	*nodig*	*om*	*recht.[te].maken*
	also	D	things	necessary	for	right. make

	Zoo	doed	ik	besde	Combelmenden	
597	*Zo*	*doe*	*ik [D]*	*beste*	*complimenten*	
	So	do	1S	best	compliments	

	an	u	en	JeVrouw	en	Magrid.
598	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*juffrouw*	*en*	*Margrita*
	to	2S	and	Miss	and	Margrita

	en helle	Otjimbingw	
599	*en heel*	*Otjimbingwe.*	
	and whole	Otjimbingwe	

Went Hoek April d 19 1871

1 *Windhoek, 19 april 1871*

	Wel	Edele	Kapitein	Kamaharero
2	*Wel*	*edele*	*kapitein*	*Kamaharero*
	well	noble	captain	Kamaharero

	ik	maak	u	deze	paar	regelen	om	an	u	de
3	*Ik*	*maak*	*u*	*deze*	*paar*	*regels*	*om*	*aan*	*u*	*[-->]*
	1S	make	2S	D	few	lines	for	to	2S	to

	beken	maak		wy heben	gehoord	out	Wet	Booi	hief
4	*bekend*	*[>te] maken*	*[dat]*	*wij hebben*	*gehoord [dat]*	*oude*	*Witbooi*		*is*
	known	make		1PL PRF	GE-hear	old	Witbooi		PRF

	gedrek	met	zyn	volk	naar	Wader Berg	doe:
5	*getrokken*	*met*	*zijn*	*volk*	*naar*	*Waterberg*	*toe,*
	GE-move	with	3POS	people	to	Waterberg	to

	en	voorste	drek	van	hun	is	nu	al	naby	van
6	*en [D]*	*voorste*	*trek*	*van*	*hen*	*is*	*nu*	*al*	*nabij*	*van*
	and	first	move	from	3PL	is	now	already	near	of

	#Noozop	welke	hy	vooruit	geladen	drekken:
7	*Nossob*	*welke*	*hij*	*vooruit*	*laten*	*trekken [PRF].*
	Nossob	REL	3S	in front	GE-let	move

	dat	maak	ik	ulieden	beken.	en	ik	maak	u	nog	ienigen
8	*Dat*	*maak*	*ik*	*u*	*bekend.*	*En*	*ik*	*maak*	*u*	*nog.enigen*[1]	
	that	make	1S	2PL	known	and	1S	make	2S	more.some	

	beken	heir	is	een	handelar	gekom	en	by	my
9	*bekend,*	*hier*	*is*	*een*	*handelaar*	*gekomen*	*en [PRF]*	*bij*	*mijn*
	known	here	PRF	D	trader	GE-come	and	with	1S

	ontvangs	vragen	lad	ik	hem	annemen	als	my	handelar	ben
10	*ontvangst*	*gevraagd*	*dat*	*ik*	*hem*	*aan neem*	*als*	*mijn*	*handelaar*	*[-V],*
	reception	GE-ask	let	1S	3S	accept	as	1S	trader	are

	hier	op	diet	blads	verkopwenkel	maak	dat	maak	ik	u	
11	*[om] hier*	*op*	*deze*	*plaats [D]*	*verkoopswinkel [te]*	*maken.*	*Dat*	*maak*	*ik*	*u*	
	here	on	D	farm	shop	make	that	make	1S	2S	

[1] Dutch: *enigiets*, 'something'.

	beken	dat	is		de	handelar		altyt	zam	met		
12	*bekend.*	*Het*	*is*	*[zo]*	*[dat]*	*de*	*handelaar*		*altijd*	*samen*	*met*	
	known	that	is		D	trader		always	together	with		
	die	Leeraar	wonen	daaromwel		ik	die	handelar		wellen		
13	*de*	*leeraar*	*woont,*	*daarom.wil*		*ik*	*de*	*handelaar*		*[-V]*		
	D	teacher	live	therefore.want		1S	D	trader		want		
	annemen		maar	ik	wel	niet	met		Leeraar	de	handelen	daarom
14	*aan.nemen*		*maar*	*ik*	*wil*	*niet*	*met*	*[D]*	*leraar*	*[-]*	*handelen.*	*Daarom*
	accept		but	1S	want	NEG	with		teacher	to	deal	therefore
	wel	ik	die	handelarwel		nemen	voor	ons	algaar	dat	vrag	ik
15	*wil*	*ik*	*de*	*handelaar*	*[-V]*	*nemen*	*voor*	*ons*	*allemaal.*	*Dat*	*vraag*	*ik*
	want	1S	D	trader	want	take	for	1PL	all	that	ask	1S
	u	en	Aponda	zyn	nam	is	Babie:	ik	wel	niet		
16	*u*	*en*	*Aponda.*	*Zijn*	*naam*	*is*	*Babie,*	*ik*	*wil*	*niet*		
	2S	and	Aponda	3POS	name	is	Babie	1S	want	NEG		
	its	doen	zonder	uliden		wetten	zoo	verwach	ik	tereg		
17	*iets*	*doen*	*zonder*	*uw*	*[mede]*	*weten,*	*zo*	*verwacht*	*ik*	*terug*		
	something	do	without	2PL		know	thus	expect	1S	return		
	antworden	daar	vaan:	liebe	Kapitein							
18	*antwoord*	*daar*	*van,*	*lieve*	*kapitein.*							
	answer	there	from	dear	captain							
	Verder	die	Damras		onder	op	kom	hief	hier	gekom		en
19	*Verder.*	*de*	*Damaras*	*[REL]*	*[van]*	*onder*	*op,*	*komen*[2]	*zijn*	*hier*	*gekomen*	*en*
	further	D	Damaras		under	up	come	PRF	here	GE-come		and
		hier	uitlaad	voor	ons	ons	moet		Gabak	en	ons	zyn
20	*[PRF]*	*hier*	*uitgeladen*[3]	*voor*	*ons.*	*Wij*	*moesten*		*Gabak*[4]	*en*	*ons*	*3POS*
		here	unload	for	1PL	1PL	must		Gabak	and	1PL	3POS

[2] Difficult to decide if this is a locative phrase or a relative clause: *De Damaras die van onderop komen, zijn hier gekomen*, 'The Damaras who came from down under, have come here'. The sentence is excluded from analysis.

[3] Alternatively: *uitlaten*, 'said, proclaimed', cf. the translation in Vedder (1938) in footnote 4, below.

[4] Unclear, perhaps some sort of plant (*tabak*, 'tobacco'?) or *ga(an)-pak, inpakken* 'pack up'; Vedder 1938 [1966:408] translates the sentence "Herero's who come here tell us that we ought to pull out our dagga [cannabis sativa] and tobacco and leave this place and go to Rehoboth."

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	Gamen	uit	pluk	en	weg	drek	nar	Rehoboth	doe	van	diet
21	*Gamen*[5]	*uit*	*plukken*	*en*	*weg*	*trekken*	*naar*	*Rehoboth*	*toe*	*van*	*deze*
	Gamen	out	pick	and	away	move	to	Rehoboth	to	from	D

	blads	af:	maar	ik zal	nog	die	Damras	uit	vrag
22	*plaats*	*af,*	*maar*	*ik zal*	*nog*	*de*	*Damaras*	*uit*	*vragen,*
	place	off	but	1S will	still	D	Damaras	out	question

	dan	zal	ik	u	waarheid	geven	welke	Damras	is:	zoo
23	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*u*	*[D] waarheid*	*geven*	*welke*	*Damaras[het]*	*zijn.*	*Zo*
	then	will	1S	2S	truth	give	which	Damaras	are	so

	en	verklien	kryg	ons	hier:	ons	wel	niet	van	jaar
24	*een*	*kleinering*	*krijgen*	*wij*	*hier.*	*Wij*	*willen*	*niet*	*van [D]*[6]	*jaar*
	D	belittling	get	1PL	here	1PL	want	NEG	of	year

	vogelstrous	jag	en	ook	niet	van	jaar	op	de	blads	Gam
25	*struisvogels*[7]	*jagen*	*en*	*ook*	*niet*	*van [D]*	*jaar*	*op*	*de*	*plaats*	*Gam*[8]
	ostrich	hunt	and	also	NEG	this	year	on	D	place	Gam

	maak	zoo	is	de	woord	hardelyk	Groetenis	ons	allen
26	*maken.*	*Zo*	*is*	*het*	*woord.*	*Hartelijke*	*groeten [van]*	*ons*	*allen*
	make	so	is	D	word	sincere	greetings	1PL	all

	an	u	en	uwe	velk	lieve	vriendes
27	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*uw*	*volk,*	*lieve*	*vrienden.*
	to	2S	and	2POS	people	dear	friends

	ik	ben	uwe	bemende	vriend
28	*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*beminde*	*vriend,*
	1S	am	2POS	belovedfriend	

Kapitein Jan Jonker Afrikaner
Went Hoek

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[5] Wikar (1935: 111) talks about *gammis*, which he explains as Hottentot's beans. Haacke (p.c.) could not confirm or deny Vedder's (footnote (4), above) nor Wikar's explanation. Alternatively Gamen could perhaps be the plural of *Gam*, 'bandanna', see ln.25, below.

[6] Dutch expression: *van 't jaar*, ('of the year', Afrikaans: *vanjaar* 'of year'): 'this year'.

[7] Afrikaans: *volstruis*.

[8] Wikar (1935: 125) mentions the Hottentots making *kams*, a sort of bandanna made of the tail from a jackal or other animal, pulled over a thin stick which they use to wipe the sweat off their brow. They also made these of small ostrich feathers which they artistically braided together and wound around a stick.

Went Hoek 18 Agutes1871
Windhoek, 18 augustus 1871

29

Aan edele Kapitein
30 *Aan [D] edele kapitein,*
to noble captain

ik maak u deze paar regelen om u de lat
31 *Ik maak u deze paar regels om u te laten*
1S make 2S D few lines for 2S to let

wetten die dengen dien gy daarghooreen, de Fretreck Vledermoes
32 *weten de dingen die gij daar.gehoord [PRF]. [Dat][-]Frederik Vleermuis*
know D things REL 2S there.GE-hear D Frederik Vleermuis

naar u oorlog maakken niet waar gy moet niet zoleke dengen
33 *naar u oorlog maakt, [is] niet waar, gij moet niet zulke dingen*
to 2S war make NEG true 2S must NEG such things

gelooffen de menschen drag veel legens die Karugab
34 *geloven. De mensen dragen veel leugens. [-] Karugab*
believe D people carry many lies D Karugab

is vrede hy blyf op zyn werf Jakobes Izaak blyf ook
35 *heeft vrede, hij blijft op zijn werf. Jakobus Izaak blijft ook [P]*
is peace 3S stay on 3POS werf Jacobus Izaak stay also

zyn weerf daar is niman om deegen u oorlog maaken
36 *zijn werf, daar is niemand om tegen u oorlog [te] maken.*
3POS werf there is nobody for against 2S war make

de bees Damaras bugert nu Berg Damaras nemen van ons
37 *De Beestdamaras begeren[9] nu Bergdamaras [te] nemen van ons*
the Beestdamaras desire now Bergdamaras take from 1PL

af met zyn drekken al en Barnabas is ook vrede tegen
38 *af met 3POS trek [-] en Barnabas is ook vrede tegen*
away with 3POS move all and Barnabas is also peace against

[9] Could also be *beginnen*, 'begin'.

	u	lieve	Kapitein	ik	denk	gy	moet	dog	ook	uwe
39	*u,*	*lieve*	*kapitein.*	*Ik*	*denk*	*gij*	*moet*	*toch*	*ook*	*[-][10]*
	2S	dear	captain	1S	think	2S	must	MOD	also	2POS

	op	bleet	hoe is	uwe	mensch	zyn	naadur	is	henen
40	*opletten*	-	*hoe [-V]*	*uw*	*mensen*	*3POS*	*natuur*	*is.*	*Zij*
	attend	-	how is	2POS	people	3POS	nature	is	3PL

	maak	zoo	henen	kom	op	andere	mensch	zyn	weerf
41	*maken*	*zo:*	*zij*	*komen*	*op*	*andere*	*mensen*	*3POS*	*werf*
	make	so	3PL	come	on	other	people	3POS	werf

	en	daar	its	doen	en	ik	maak	slagbraje
42	*en [doen<]*	*daar*	*iets*	*[<--][11]*	*en*	*ik*	*maak*	*slacht.braaien*
	and	there	something	do	and	1S	make	slaughter.barbecue

	En	waner	henen	voor	u	kom	dan	brat	henen	voor	zoo	mooi
43	*en*	*wanneer*	*zij*	*voor*	*u*	*komen*	*dan*	*praten*	*zij*	*[-]*	*zo*	*mooi.*
	and	when	3PL	for	2S	come	then	talk	3PL	for	so	beautiful

	hier	is	ook	een	Berg Damra	ǂhyrob	en	paar	van
44	*Hier*	*is*	*ook*	*een*	*Bergdamara*	*ǂhyrob*	*en [D]*	*paar*	*[-]*
	here	PRF	also	a	Bregdamara	ǂhyrob	and	few	of

	Rero	manen	doorgekom	en		een	van	my	Berg Damras
45	*Herero*	*mannen*	*door.gekomen*	*en*	*[PRF]*	*een*	*van*	*mijn*	*Bergdarmaras*
	Herero	men	through.GE-come	and		one	of	1POS	Bergdamaras

	zyn	weerf	af	schied	drie	vrouwen	en	een	man	gemoord
46	*3POS*	*werf*	*af*	*geschoten;*	*drie*	*vrouwen*	*en*	*een*	*man*	*vermoord*
	3POS	werf	off	shoot	three	women	and	one	man	GE-murder

	op	die	weg	dat	is	de	menschen		onder	u	stan
47	*op*	*de*	*weg.*	*Dat*	*zijn*	*de*	*mensen*	*[REL]*	*onder*	*u*	*staan.*
	on	D	way	that	is	D	people		under	2S	stand

	zoo	moet	u	niet	zonder	straf	laten
48	*Zo*	*moet*	*u [3PL]*	*niet*	*zonder*	*straf*	*laten,*
	so	must	2S	NEG	without	punishment	let

	dat	verzoek	ik	u liefe	broeder	kapitein	Kamaharero
49	*dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u lieve*	*broeder,*	*kapitein*	*Kamaharero.*
	that	request	1S	2S dear	brother	captain	Kamaharero

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[10] Alternatively formal Dutch: *de uwen*, 'your [people]'.

[11] Alternatively an infinitival complement: *om daar iets te doen*, 'to do something there'. Cf. ln.52, below.

	my	menschen	gaan	moes	niethier		van	dan	naar
50	*Mijn*	*mensen*	*gaan*	*immers*	*niet*	*hier*	*vandaan*	-	*naar*
	1S	people	go	MOD	NEG	here	from	-	to

	Rero	zyn	werf	om	its	te	doen:	maar	henen	Rero
51	*Herero*	*3POS*	*werf*	*om*	*iets*	*te*	*doen*	*maar*	*zij,*	*Herero*
	Herero	3POS	werf	for	something	to	do	but	3PL	Herero

	kom	moes	naar	my	mensch	werf	doe	en	
52	*komen*	*immers*	*naar*	*mijn*	*mensens*	*werf*	*toe*	*[-]*	*[om]*
	come	MOD	to	1S	people	werf	to	and	

	sleg	its	te	sprek	en	daen	en	dan	myn
53	*slecht*	*iets*	*te*	*spreken*	*en*	*doen,*	*en*	*dan*	*mij*
	bad	something	to	speak	and	do	and	then	1POS

	en my	menschen	de	beschuuldig	zoo	maak	die	
54	*en mijn*	*mensen*	*te*	*beschuldigen.*	*Zo*	*maken*	*de*	
	and 1S	people	to	accuse	so	make	D	

	bees Damras	lieve	kapitein	dat	mak	ik	u	bekend
55	*Beestdamaras*	*lieve*	*kapitein,*	*dat*	*maak*	*ik*	*u*	*bekend.*
	Beestdamaras	dear	captain	that	make	1S	2S	known

	hardelyke	Groetines		u	en	allen		volk	van	u
56	*Hartelijke*	*groeten*	*[P]*	*u*	*en*	*al*	*[D]*	*volk*	*van*	*u,*
	warm	greetings		2S	and	all		peopleof	2S	

	ik	ben	uwe	liefe	jongbroeder	
57	*ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*lieve*	*jonge.broeder,*	
	1S	am	2POS	dear	young.brother	

Kapitein
Jan Jonker Afrikaner

Winthoek den 26 Febuarij 1872
58 *Windhoek, 26 februari 1872*

	Wel	eerwaarde	Heer
59	*Wel*	*eerwaarde*	*heer*
	Well	honorable	Mr.

	Hahn	Gode	zij	dank	ik	ben	nog	Wel
60	*Hahn.*	*God*	*zij*	*dank,*	*ik*	*ben*	*nog*	*wel*
	Hahn	God	be	thanked	1S	am	still	well

	met	Alle	die	mijn	angat
61	*met*	*alles*	*wat*	*mij*	*aangaat*[12]
	with	all	REL	1POS	concerns

	en	wens	[- uEdle]	u	Eewaarde	ok	het	Zelfde
62	*en*	*wens*		*u*	*eerwaarde*	*ook*	*hetzelfde*	-.
	and	wish	2S noble	2S	honorable	also	D	same

	daar	ik	u	Eerwaarde	de	Eere	toe Schrijf
63	*Daar*	*ik*	*u*	*eerwaarde*	*de*	*eer*	*toeschrijf*
	for	1S	2S	honorable	D	honor	subscribe

	Als	die	door	welke	ik	en	Kamaharero	
64	*als*	*die*	*door*	*welke*	*ik*	*en*	*Kamaharero*	
	as	that	by	REL	1S	and	Kamaharero	

	weder	tod	vrienden	geworden		is	weel	ik
65	*weer*	*tot*	*vrienden*	*geworden*		*zijn,*	*wil*	*ik*
	again	to	friends	became		PRF	want	1S

	en	gewag	maken	om	deze	leter	tod	u
66	*een*	*gewag*	*maken*	*om*	*deze*	*letters*	*tot*	*u*
	a	mention	make	for	this	letter	to	2S

	Eerwaarde	te	zenden	ik	wens	tog	te	weten
67	*eerwaarde*	*te*	*zenden.*	*Ik*	*wens*	*toch*	*te*	*weten*
	honorable	to	send	1S	wish	MOD	to	know

	Hoedanig	hoedanig	de	leen	van	de
68	*hoedanig*	*[-]*	*de*	*leen*	*van*	*de*
	how	how	D	loan	of	D

	Plaats	Winthoek	aan	mij	is	daar
69	*plaats*	*Windhoek*	*aan*	*mij*	*is*	*daar*
	place	Windhoek	to	1S	is	as

	het u	Eerwaarde	en	Alle	niet	onbekent
70	*het u*	*eerwaarde*	*en*	*allen*	*niet*	*onbekend*
	it 2S	honorable	and	all	NEG	unknown

	is van	mijn	tegenwordig		toestant	waar
71	*is van*	*mijn*	*tegenwoordige*		*toestand*	*waarin*
	is of	1POS	present		situation	REL

[12] It could also have been meant: *met allen die mij aangaan*, 'with all those of my concern'.

	en	ik	thans	verkere	daar	het	mij	zeer			
72	-	*ik*	*thans*	*verkeer.*	*Daar*	*het*	*mij*	*zeer*			
	in	1S	now	live	as	it	1S	very			

	ontzaklijk	is	mijn	krag	met	Alle	ijver	en	te	
73	*onzakelijk*	*is,*	*mijn*	*kracht*	*met*	*alle*	*ijver*	*in*	*te*	
	unbusiness	is	1POS	strength	with	all	diligence	-	to	

	spanen	om	te	Arbij*d* <ol•den>en	om	tog	weeder		
74	*spannen*	*om*	*te*	*arbeiden*	-	*om*	*toch*	*weer*	
	deploy	for	to	work		for	MOD	again	

	en	bestaning	te	mogen	krijgen	vor	mij	en
75	*een*	*bestaan*	*te*	*mogen*	*krijgen*	*voor*	*mij*	*en*
	an	existence	to	may	get	for	1S	and

	mijn	volk	maar	door	de	onduidelijkheid	
76	*mijn*	*volk.*	*Maar*	*door*	*de*	*onduidelijkheid*	
	1POS	people	but	through	D	unclarity	

	van	de	Regten		op	de	plaats	gebonden	
77	*van*	*de*	*rechten*	*[REL]*	*op*[13]	*de*	*plaats*	*gebonden*	
	of	D	rights		on	D	place	bound	

	zijnde	kan	ik	en	gen	deel	mijn	
78	*zijn,*	*kan*	*ik*	*in*	*geen*	*deel*	*mijn*	
	being	can	1S	in	none	part	1POS	

	zwaakheid	verhelpen	
79	*zwakheid*	*verhelpen.*	
	weakness	remedy	

	En	plaats	mog	tog	bearbijd	worden	
80	*Een*	*plaats*	*mag*	*toch*	*bearbeid*	*worden*	
	a	place	may	MOD	worked	become	

	en	zulke	Arbijd	die	voor	niemant	
81	*en*	*zulke*	*arbeid,*	*dat*[14]	*voor*	*niemand*	
	and	such	work	that	for	nobody	

.....

	angenam	[-is]	Zou	Weesen	om	en	Wijnig
82	*aangenaam*		*zou*	*wezen,*	*om*	*een*	*weinig*
	pleasant	is	would	be	for	a	little

---

[13] The target may have been: *de aan de plaats verbonden zijnde rechten.*

[14] Intended: *om zulke arbeid te moeten verlaten, dat zou voor niemand aangenaam zijn (/wezen).*

	teid	na	gearbijd	te	hebben	te	verlaten						
83	*tijd*	*na*	*gearbeid*	*te*	*hebben*	*te*	*verlaten.*						
	time	after	GE-work	to	PRF	to	leave						
	en	daar	mijn	gansche	levens	omstandig	heid						
84	*En*	*daar*	*mijn*	*ganse*	*levens*	*omstandigheid*							
	and	there	1POS	whole	life-GEN	circumstance	-						
	meer	door	de	jag	bestan	is	het	mij	ok	en			
85	*meer*	*door*	*de*	*jacht*	*bestaat*	*is*	*het*	*mij*	*ook*	*een*			
	more	by	D	hunt	exist	is	it	1S	also	a			
	zeer	grote	leed	om	ok	zelf	daren	verhindert					
86	*zeer*	*groot*	*leed*	*om*	*ook*	*zelfs*	*daarin*	*verhinderd*					
	very	big	grief	for	also	even	thereto	prevent					
	te	woorden	dus	voel	ik	mij	verplig	om	te				
87	*te*	*worden,*	*dus*	*voel*	*ik*	*mij*	*verplicht*	*om*	*te*				
	to	become	so	feel	1S	1S	obliged	for	to				
	vernemen	hoedanig	is	de leen	van	de	plaats						
88	*vernemen*	*hoe*	*is*	*de lening*	*van*	*de*	*plaats.*						
	learn	how	is	the loan	of	D	place						
	ek	Beschouw	u	Eerwarde	Als	en	vader	en					
89	*Ik*	*beschouw*	*u*	*eerwaarde*	*als*	*een*	*vader*	*en*					
	1S	consider	2S	honorable	as	D	father	and					
	medelaar	Tusken	ons	dus	Wag	ik	om	vaan					
90	*bemiddelaar*	*tussen*	*ons,*	*dus*	*verwacht*	*ik*	*om*	*van*					
	mediator	between	1PL	so	expect	1S	for	from					
	u	Eerwarde	te	vernemen	hoe	de	Leen	van	de				
91	*u*	*eerwaarde*	*te*	*vernemen,*	*hoe*	*de*	*lening*	*van*	*de*				
	2S	honorable	to	learn	how	D	loan	from	D				
	Plaats	is	Want	op	zulke	wijs	zo	Als	het				
92	*plaats*	*is.*	*Want*	*op*	*zulke*	*wijze*	*zo*	*als*	*het*				
	place	is	for	in	such	way	so	as	it				
	nu	Stad	is	het	mij	gans	onbestanbaar						
93	*nu*	*staat*	*is*	*het*	*mij*	*gans*	*onbestaanbaar*						
	now	stands	is	it	1S	totally	unliveable						
	en	ik	Wens	en	Volstrek	duidelijkheid	te						
94	*en*	*ik*	*wens*	*in*	*volstrekte*	*duidelijkheid*	*te*						
	and	1S	wish	in	complete	clearness	to						

	vernomen	toen	Wij	met	de	grote	vergadering
95	*vernemen.*	*Toen*	*wij*	*met*	*de*	*grote*	*vergadering*
	learn	when	1PL	with	D	big	meeting

	op Okahanya	waas	is	uitgesproken		dat
96	*op Okahandja*	*waren*	*is*	*uitgesproken*		*dat*
	in Okahandja	were	is	proclaimed		that

	dat	de	vreede	is dat	Elke	en	vrij	en
97	*[-]*	*de*	*vrede*	*is dat*	*elkeen*	*-*	*vrij*	*en*
	that	D	peace	is that	every	one	free	and

	gerus	zoude	Arbijden	en	Pazeren	maar
98	*gerust*	*zou*	*arbeiden*	*en*	*paseren*	*maar*
	easy	would	work	and	pass	but

	Aan	mij	is	het	niet	gescheid
99	*aan*	*mij*	*is*	*het*	*niet*	*geschied*
	to	me	PRFit	not	GE-happen	

	ik	blijf	en	de	beleten	nog
100	*Ik*	*blijf*	*in*	*het*	*belijden*[15]	*nog*
	1S	stay	in	D	avowal	still

	Van	dien	teid	tod	nu	toe
101	*van*	*die*	*tijd*	*tot*	*nu*	*toe,*
	from	D	time	till	now	till

	dus	verlang	ik	om	liever	te	weten
102	*dus*	*verlang*	*ik*	*om*	*liever*	*te*	*weten*
	so	desire	1S	for	rather	to	know

	Welke	grond	mijn	toe	komt	en	
103	*welke*	*grond*	*mij*	*toe*	*komt*	*en*	
	which	ground	1POS	to	come	and	

	hoever	ik	kan	en	mag	Arbijden
104	*hoever*	*ik*	*kan*	*en*	*mag*	*arbeiden*
	howfar	1S	can	and	may	work

	om	nimand	te	Henderen		en	te
105	*om*	*niemand*	*te*	*hinderen*		*en*	*te*
	for	nobody	to	impede		and	to

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[15] Perhaps *belet*, 'prevented, hindered', thus: "I am still being prevented".

	storen		darom		vrag	ik	om	te
106	*storen.*		*Daarom*		*vraag*	*ik*	*om*	*te*
	disturb		therefore		ask	1S	for	to
	weten	en	mij	te	Weeten	te	gedrag	en
107	*weten*	*en*	*mij*	*te*	*weten*	*te*	*gedragen*	*en*
	know	and	1S	to	know	to	behave	and
	om	niet	Schuldig	te	Worden	voor		
108	*om*	*niet*	*schuldig*	*te*	*worden*	*voor*		
	for	NEG	guilty		to become	before		
	de	Ry en	Hoofden	des	lands			
109	*de*	*rijen -*	*hoofden*	*des*	*lands.*			
	D	rows -	chiefs	D-GEN	land-GEN			
	ik	Eindig	en	Doen	Mijn	Compelmenten		
110	*Ik*	*eindig*	*en*	*doe*	*mijn*	*complimenten,*		
	1S	end	and	do	1POS	compliments		
	En	nom	Mijn	Mijns	Heeren	onderdanig		
111	*en*	*noem*	*mij*	*mijns*	*heren*	*onderdanige*		
	and	call	1POS	1POS-GEN	lord	humble		
	Dienaar							
112	*dienaar,*							
	servant							

JJ Africander
Kapitijn

32

Windhoek 28 Febr / 72
113 *Windhoek, 28 februari 1872*

	Eerwaarde	heer!						
114	*Eerwaarde*	*heer,*						
	honorable	Mr.						
		Ik	ben	genootzaak	om	tot		
115		*Ik*	*ben*	*genoodzaakt*	*om*	*tot*		
		1S	am	obliged	for	to		
	u		paar	regelen	te	schrijven.	Wij	hebben al
116	*u*	*[D]*	*paar*	*regels*	*te*	*schrijven*	*Wij*	*hebben al*
	2S		few	lines	to	write	1PL	PRFalready

	te	vooren	daarvan	gesproken,			dat	de	Bergdamars			
117	*te*	*voren*	*daarvan*	*gesproken*			*dat*	*de*	*Bergdamaras*			
	before	-	of.this	GE-speak			that	D	Bergdamaras			

	bijeen	moets	gebragt	worden,			en	eene	statie	moets		
118	*bijeen*	*moeten*	*gebracht*	*worden*			*en*	*een*	*station*	*moeten*		
	together	must	brought	be			and	one	station	must		

	krijgen,	maar	nu	wilte	zij	niet,	dat	ik	hend	[-h]eene		
119	*krijgen*	*maar*	*nu*	*willen*	*zij*	*niet*	*dat*	*ik*	*hen*	*een*		
	get	but	now	wanted	3PL	NEG	that	1S	3PL	one		

	plaats	zoude	geven,	zij	willen	nu	op	de	zelfde	wyze		
120	*plaats*	*zou*	*geven.*	*Zij*	*willen*	*nu*	*op*	*dezelfde*	-	*wijze*		
	place	would	give	3PL	want	now	on	D	same	way		

	begonnen,	zich	vry	te	maken,	als		beest	damaras			
121	*beginnen*	*zich*	*vrij*	*te*	*maken*	*als*	*[D]*	*Beesdamaras*	-,			
	begin	REFL	free	to	make	as		Beesdamaras	-			

	(namelyk	met	oorlog)	dat	kunnen	wy	in	den	beginne			
122	*namelijk*	*met*	*oorlog.*	*Dat*	*kunnen*	*wij*	*in*	*het*	*begin*			
	namely	with	war	that	can	1PL	in	D	begin			

	al	<ol•zien>	dat	[-hy]	<ol•zy>	eer	[-a]	zy	uit	ons	zyn,	sommige	menschen
123	*al*	*zien*	*dat*	*zij,*		*eer*		*zij*	*uit*	*ons*	*zijn*	*sommige*	*mensen*
	already	see	that	3S	3PL	before	?	3PL	out	1PL	are	some	people

	gedood	hadden,	dat	[-heeft]	hadden	zy	uitgesproken,	dat				
124	*gedood*	*hebben,*	*dat*		*hadden*	*zij*	*uitgesproken,*	*dat*				
	GE-kill	PRF	that	PRF	PRF	3PL	GE-speak,	that				

	zy	door	oorlog	zich	zal	bevryden,	daarom	verdienen				
125	*zij*	*door*	*oorlog*	*zich*	*zullen*	*bevrijden,*	*daarom*	*verdienen*				
	3PL	by	war	REFL	will	free	therefore	earn				

	zy	te	Otjimbingue	alleen	geweren,	met	dit	doel.				
126	*zij*	*te*	*Otjimbingwe*	*alleen*	*geweren,*	*met*	*dit*	*doel.*				
	3PL	to	Otjimbingwe	only	guns	with	D	purpose				

	Ik	wil	volstrek	niet	hebben,	dat	zy	volop	de	geweren		
127	*ik*	*wil*	*volstrekt*	*niet*	*hebben*	*dat*	*zij*	*volop*	*[-]*	*geweren*		
	1S	want	at.all	NEG	have	that	3PL	plenty	D	guns		

	zoude	hebben,	omdat	ik	hunne	doel	weete					
128	*zouden*	*hebben,*	*omdat*	*ik*	*hun*	*doel*	*weet.*					
	would	have	for	1S	3POS	purpose	know					

	Daarom	lyk	het,	dat	diegeenen	die	voor	[-*het*]	*h*en	
129	*Daarom*	*lijkt*	*het*	*dat*	*diegenen*	*die*	*voor*		*hen*	
	therefore	seem	it	that	D-3PL	REL	for	it	3PL	

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	de	geweren	geven	als	te	versterkers	van	hen,	zy	zullen	
130	*de*	*geweren*	*geven*	*[-]*	*ter*	*versterking*	*van*	*hen, [dat]*	*zij*	*zullen*	*[het]*
	D	guns	give	as	to	strengtheners	of	3PL	3PL	will	

	misschien	niet	weten,	daarom	laat	ik	hen	nu	weten,	
131	*misschien*	*niet*	*weten.*	*Daarom*	*laat*	*ik*	*hen*	*nu*	*weten*	
	maybe	NEG	know	therefore	let	1S	3PL	now	know	

	waarom	ik		niet	wilte	hebben.	Ik	zoude	niets	zeggen
132	*waarom*	*ik*	*[het]*	*niet*	*wil*	*hebben.*	*Ik*	*zou*	*niets*	*zeggen*
	why	1S		NEG	wanted	have.	1S	would	NEG	say

	als	zy	hunne	geweren	verdienen,	om	daarvan	te	leven
133	*als*	*zij*	*hun*	*geweren*	*verdienen*	*om*	*daarvan*	*te*	*leven*
	if	3PL	3POS	guns	earn	for	thereof	to	live

	en	zich	te	kleeden,	maar	juist	omdat	<ol•zij>	hunne	geweren	wil*len*
134	*en*	*zich*	*te*	*kleden,*	*maar*	*juist*	*omdat*	*zij*	*hun*	*geweren*	*willen*
	and	REFL	to	cloth	but	exactly	for	3PL	3POS	guns	want

	hebben	om	my	Aferkaner	of	roode	mensche	de	schiden
135	*hebben*	*om*	*mijn*	*Afrikaners*[16]	*of*	*rode*	*mensen*	*te*	*schieten*
	have	for	1S	Afrikaner	or	red	people	to	shoot

	wilte	ik		niet	hebben.
136	*wil*	*ik*	*[het]*	*niet*	*hebben.*
	wanted	1S		NEG	have

	Daar	zyn	ook	Toopnaars	welke	van	Bokberg	
137	*Daar*	*zijn*	*ook*	*Topnaars*	*welke*	*van*	*Bokberg*	
	There	are	also	Topnaars	REL	from	Bokberg	

	gekomen			zyn	nu	[-ik]<ol•in>	!Huiseb	revier,	die	willen	ook
138	*gekomen [PRF],*		*[REL]*	*zijn*	*nu*	*in*	*Kuiseb*	*rivier,*	*die*	*willen*	*ook*
	GE-come			are	now	1S in	Kuiseb	river	D	want	also

	niet	ophouden	bergdamaras	te	dooden,	ik	heb	hen
139	*niet*	*ophouden*	*Bergdamaras*	*te*	*doden.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*hen*
	NEG	stop	Bergdamaras	to	kill	1S	PRF	3PL

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[16] Considering Jan Jonker's paradigm of pronominal forms (see Volume I, Chapter Four) *my* is rather interpreted as a possessive pronoun. Also, because in similar appositive constructions he uses 1PL forms (*ons Afrikaner(s)*). Cf. section IA: ln.6, ln.31, ln.57,ln.81, ln.84, ln.128, ln.134, ln.293.

	dikwyls	gezegt.	dat	zy	niet	zoo	moeste	doen.	[-wa]	maar	
140	*dikwijls*	*gezegd*	*dat*	*zij*	*niet*	*zo*	*moesten*	*doen,*		*maar*	
	often	GE-say	that	3PL	NEG	so	must	do	-	but	

	wille	niethooren.		
141	*[3PL]*	*willen*	*niet*	*horen.*
		want	NEG	hear

	Daarom	vraagt	ik	nu	by	mynheer	<ol•aangezimals		Oudste>	een	e
142	*daarom*	*vraag*	*ik*	*nu*	*bij*	*mijnheer*	*aangezien.maals [D]*		*oudste,*	*een*	-
	therfore	ask	1S	now	by	1POS-Mr.	as		oldest	one	-

	raad,	hoe	ik	nu	met	deze	byde [-dien]	dingen	welke	
143	*raad,*	*hoe*	*ik*	*nu*	*met*	*deze*	*beide*	*dingen*	*welke*	
	advice	how	1S	now	with	D	both -	things	REL	

	lykte	naderhand	eene	groote	op roer	te	verwekken	zal	
144	*lijken*	*naderhand*	*ene*	*grote*	*oproer -*	*te*	*verwekken,*	*zal*	
	seem-PST	later on	one	big	revolt	to	start	will	

	doen.	Zoo	verzoek	ik	nu	op	laats	de	Kapitein	van	hen
145	*doen.*	*Zo*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*nu*	*oplaatst*	*-,*	*de*	*kapitein*	*van*	*hen,*
	do	so	request	1S	now	at	last	D	captain	of	3PL

	welke	ik	hoorde	dat	daar	i*s*,	met	zyn	Leeraar	hier	te
146	*welke*	*ik*	*hoorde*	*dat*	*daar*	*is*	*met*	*zijn*	*leraar*	*hier*	*te*
	REL	1S	hear-PST	that	there	are	with	3POS	teacher	here	to

	wezen,	om	van	bergdamaras	in	de	aanwyzigheid	
147	*wezen,*	*om*	*van*[17] *[D]*	*Bergdamaras,*	*in*	*de*	*aanwezigheid*	
	be	for	of	Bergdamaras	in	D	presence	

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	van	onze	leeraars	te spreken.	Want	ik	wilte	niet	hebben	
148	*van*	*onze*	*leraren,*	*te spreken.*	*Want*	*ik*	*wil*	*niet*	*hebben*	
	of	1POS	teachers	to speak	for	1S	wanted	NEG	have	

	dat	het	tusschen	ons	weder	zoo	als	met	beestdamara
149	*dat*	*er*	*tussen*	*ons*	*weer*	*zo*	*als*	*met [D]*	*Beestdamaras*
	that	it	between	1PL	again	so	as	with	Beesdamaras

	veele	bloedvergoeting	zal	plaatsvinden,	enz.
150	*veel*	*bloedvergieting*	*zal*	*plaatsvinden,*	*enz.*
	many	blood-shed	will	place.take	etc.

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[17] Rather: *over*, 'about'.

		Hartelyke	groetenis	van	uw	u
151		*Hartelijke*	*groeten*	*van*	*uw*	*[-]*
		warm	regards	of	2POS	2S

liefhebben
152 *liefhebbende,*
loving

Kapitein Jan Jonker Averkaner

Went Hoek de 15 Aprel 1872
153 *Windhoek, 15 april 1872*

	Wel	myn	gliefe	Eerwaarde	Heer
154	*Wel*	*mijn*	*geliefde*	*eerwaarde*	*heer.*
	well	1POS	beloved	honorable	Mr.

		ik	mak	u	wederom	deze	weinige
155		*Ik*	*maak*	*u*	*wederom*	*deze*	*weinige*
		1S	make	2S	again	D	few

	u	regelen	om	u	daar	mede	de	vrag	of	verzoeken
156	*[-]*	*regels,*	*om*	*u*	*daar*	*mee*	*te*	*vragen*	*of*	*verzoeken*
	2S	lines	for	2S	there	with	to	ask	or	request

	de	antwoorden	van	myne	leste	brieffen	die	wacht	
157	*te*	*antwoorden*	*van*[18]	*mijn*	*laatste*	*brieven*	*die*	*wachten*	
	to	answer	of	1POS	last	letters	REL	wait	

	hasdig	noch	lieve	Heer	zien	die	Damaras	zegt
158	*haastig*	*nog.*[19]	*Lieve*	*heer,*	*zie*	*de*	*Damaras*	*zeggen*
	hasty	still	dear	sir	see	D	Damaras	say

	nog	ons	zal	niet	daar	in	jagden	daarom	heb
159	*nog,*	*wij*	*zullen*	*niet*	*daar*	*in*	*jagen.*	*Daarom*	*heb*
	still	1PL	will	NEG	there	in	hunt	therefore	PRF

	ik	die	brief	naar	u	geschryven	om	uwe	antwoorden
160	*ik*	*die*	*brief*	*naar*	*u*	*geschreven*	*om*	*uw*	*antwoord*
	1S	D	letter	to	2S	GE-write	for	2POS	answer

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[18] Rather: *op*, 'on'.

[19] Incorrect sequence. Dutch: *die nog haastig wachten.*

	hasdig	de	horen	zien	die	Damaras	zyn	werffen	legt
161	*haastig*	*te*	*horen.*	*Zie,*	*de*	*Damaras*	*3POS*	*werven*	*liggen*
	hasty	to	hear	see	D	Damaras	3POS	settlements	lie

	daar	in	ons	zyn	jag	vel	en		beled	ons	daar	in de
162	*daar*	*in*	*ons*	*3POS*	*jachtveld*	*-*	*en*	*[3PL]*	*beletten*	*ons*	*daar*	*in te*
	there	in	1POS	3POS	hunting	field	and		prevent	1PL	there	in to

	jagden	zoo	moed	u	myn	rad	geven	hoe	zal	
163	*jagen.*	*Zo*	*moet*	*u*	*mij*	*raad*	*geven.*	*Hoe*	*zal*	
	hunt-PST	so	must	2S	1POS	advice	give	how	will	

	ik	daar	vaan	maaken:	zien	lieve	Heer	doen	was	ik	
164	*ik*	*daar*	*van*	*maken?*	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*heer*	*toen*	*was*	*ik*	
	1S	there	from	make	see	dear	sir	when	was	1S	

	nog <ol•a>	op	Aris	nade	vrede	begien	die	Damras	ons	vas	
165	*nog*	*op*	*Aris.*	*Na.de*	*vrede,*	*begonnen*	*de*	*Damaras*	*ons*	*vast*	
	still	at	Aris	after.D	peace	begin	D	Damaras	1PL	stuck	

	de	keer	ik	heb	velmal	Kapitein	Kamharero	
166	*te*	*keren.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*[het]*	*vele.malen*	*kapitein*	*Kamaharero*
	to	turn	1S	PRF		many.times	captain	Kamaharero

	verdel	maar	hy	Roep	niet	die	menschen	wegt
167	*verteld*	*maar*	*hij*	*roept*	*niet*	*de*	*mensen*	*weg*
	GE-tell	but	3S	call	NEG	D	people	away

	daar	uit	of		ook	niet	die	menschen	verpie
168	*daar*	*uit*	*of*	*[verbiedt<]*	*ook*	*niet*	*de*	*mensen*	*[<--]*
	there	out	of		also	NEG	D	people	forbid

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	om	zulleke	dengen	de	doen	daarom	mak	ik		ook	
169	*om*	*zulke*	*dingen*	*te*	*doen.*	*Daarom*	*maak*	*ik*	*[dit]*	*ook*	
	for	such	things	to	do	therefore	make	1S		also	

	beken		lad	u	ook	daar	vaan	weetten	om	dat	u
170	*bekend,*	*[zo]*	*dat*	*u*	*ook*	*daar*	*van*	*weet,*	*om*	*dat*	*u,*
	known		let	2S	also	there	of	know	for	that	2S

	oute	Leeraar	van	ons	allen	lad	niet	nader	han
171	*oude*	*leraar*	*van*	*ons*	*allen,*	*[-]*	*niet*	*naderhand*	-
	old	teacher	of	1PL	all	let	NEG	afterwards	-

	zegt	dat	is	door	Afrikaner	hief	die	kwad	gekom	zien
172	*zegt*	*dat*	*[-V]*	*door*	*Afrikaners*	*is*	*het*	*kwaad*	*gekomen.*	*Zie*
	say	that	is	by	Afrikaner	PRF	D	evil	GE-come	see

	myne	Heer	ons	is	mensch	ons	is	ook	verblargd	om	
173	*mijn*	*heer*	*wij*	*zijn*	*mensen,*	*wij*	*zijn*	*ook*	*verplicht*	*om*	
	1POS	Mr.	1PL	are	people	1PL	are	also	obliged	for	
	de	arby	in	daar	uite	leven	ons	zal	dog	niet	hier op
174	*te*	*arbeiden*	*en*	*daar*	*uit.te*	*leven.*	*Wij*	*zullen*	*toch*	*niet*	*hier op*
	to	work	and	there	from.to	live	1PL	shall	MOD	NEG	here on
		blads	zit	en	vergaan	met	hongeren	ik	wens	dog	niet
175	*[D]*	*plaats*	*zitten*	*en*	*vergaan*	*met*[20]	*honger.*	*Ik*	*wens*	*toch*	*niet*
		place	sit	and	perish	with	hunger	1S	wish	MOD	NEG
	hier	op	de	blads	stel	zit	en	Damaras <ol•waarde>		steelen	of
176	*hier*	*op*	*de*	*plaats*	*stil*	*[te] zitten*	*en*	*[D] Damaras*	*waarden*	*[te] stelen*	*of*
	here	on	D	place	quiet	sit	and	Damaras	possessions	steal	or
	my	Leeraar	zyn	waarde		stoolen	door	hongeren			
177	*mijn*	*leraar*	*3POS*	*waarden*	*[te]*	*stelen*	*door*	*honger*			
	1S	teacher	3POS	possessions		steal	by	honger			
	en	schuldig		rakken	dat	wel	ik	niet	hebben		
178	*en*	*schuldig*	*[te]*	*raken?*	*Dat*	*wil*	*ik*	*niet*	*hebben*		
	and	guilty		become	that	want	1S	NEG	have		
	zoo	moet	dog	u	myn	Heer	hasdig	tereg	antwod		
179	*Zo*	*moet*	*toch*	*u*	*mijn*	*heer*	*haastig*	*terug*	*antwoord*		
	so	must	MOD	2S	1POS	Mr.	hasty	return	answer		
	schrijven	dat	verzoek	ik	u	vriendelyk	Eerwaar*de*				
180	*schrijven,*	*dat*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*u*	*vriendelijk*	*eerwaarde*				
	write	that	request	1S	2S	friendly	honorable				
	Heer	hardelyke	Groetenes	an	u	en	jevrouw	en			
181	*heer.*	*Hartelijke*	*groeten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*juffrouw*	*en*			
	sir	warm	greetings	to	2S	and	Miss	and			
	Magrida	en	ook	alle	menschen		daar	op	Ojim*b..*		
182	*Margrita*	*en*	*ook*	*alle*	*mensen*	*[REL]*	*daar*	*op*	*Otjimbingwe*		
	Margrita	and	also	all	people		there	in	Otjimbingwe		
	wond										
183	*wonen.*										
	live										

[20] Dutch: *vergaan van de honger*, 'perish'.

		iK	ben	uwe <ol•leer>	kind	
184		*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*leer*	*kind,*
		1S	am	2POS	learn	child

Kapiteinjan Afrikan*..*

34

Windhoek, 17 Mei /72
185 *Windhoek, 17 mei 1872*

		Wel	Eerwaarde	Kaptein!
186		*Wel*	*eerwaarde*	*kapitein.*
		well	honorable	captain

	Wat	gy	daar	zeide,	dat	ik	voor	de	onderste
187	*Wat*	*gij*	*daar*	*zei,*	*dat*	*ik*	*voor*	*de*	*onderste*
	what	2S	there	say-PST	that	1S	for	the	under

	Kapiteinen	geschreven	had,	om	op	Rehoboth	met	hen	
188	*kapiteinen*	*geschreven*	*had*	*om*	*op*	*Rehoboth*	*met*	*hen*	
	captains	GE-write	PRF	for	at	Rehoboth	with	3PL	

	te	vergaderen	is	niee	waar.	En	zullen	dan	menschen	komen
189	*te*	*vergaderen*	*is*	*niet*	*waar.*	*En*	*zouden [er]*	*dan*	*mensen*	*komen*
	to	meet	is	NEG	true	and	will	then	people	come

	van	onderen,	dan	zyn	zy	degenen	welke	gy	geroepen	had,
190	*van*	*onder,*	*dan*	*zijn*	*zij*	*degenen*	*welke*	*gij*	*geroepen*	*had,*
	from	under	then	are	3PL	D-3PL	REL	2S	GE-call	PRF

	om	paarden	te	komen	verrulen,	want	gy	had	toenmals
191	*om*	*paarden*	*te*	*komen*	*verruilen,*	*want*	*gij*	*had*	*toenmaals*
	for	horses	to	come	exchange	because	2S	PRF	then

	gevraagd,	dat	menschen	met	paarden	zou	komen	om	te
192	*gevraagd*	*dat*	*mensen*	*met*	*paarden*	*zouden*	*komen*	*om*	*te*
	GE-ask	that	people	with	horses	would	come	for	to

	verrulen.	En	wanneer	buitendien	de	Kapiteinen	zullen
193	*verruilen.*	*En*	*wanneer*	*buitendien*	*de*	*kapiteinen*	*zullen*
	exchange	and	when	moreover	D	captains	will

	komen,	dan	zullen	zy	komen	om	de	vrede	de	bevestigen.
194	*komen*	*dan*	*zullen*	*zij*	*komen*	*om*	*de*	*vrede*	*te*	*bevestigen,*
	come	then	will	3PL	come	for	D	peace	to	acknowledge

	dat	weten	wy	allen,	dat	zy	dat	gestemd	hadden,	want
195	*dat*	*weten*	*wij*	*allen*	*dat*	*zij*	*dat*	*gestemd*	*hadden*	*want*
	that	know	1PL	all	that	3PL	that	GE-vote	PRF	because

	het	eerste	was	maar	zoo	als	tot	wapenstilstaan,	en
196	*de*	*eerste*	*was*	*maar*	*zo*	*als*	*tot*	*wapenstilstand*	*en*
	D	first	was	but	so	as	to	cease-fire	and

	is	niet	het	ware	regte	vrede,	was	de	eerste	vrede
197	*is*	*niet*	*de*	*ware,*	*rechte*	*vrede.*	*Was*	*de*	*eerste*	*vrede,*
	is	NEG	D	true	right	peace	was	D	first	peace

	regte	volle	vrede	dan	zoude		met	my	niet	zoostaan,	dat	
198	*rechte,*	*volle*	*vrede*	*dan*	*zou*	*[het]*	*met*	*mij*	*niet*	*zo*	*staan,*	*dat*
	right	full	peace	then	should		with	1S	NEG	so	stand	that

	ik	altoos	teruggejaagt	word	van		jagt	veld.	zoo	hadden
199	*ik*	*altijd*	*terug.gejaagd*	*word*	*van*	*[D]*	*jachtveld*	- .	*Zo*	*hadden*
	1S	always	back.chased	become	from		hunting	field	so	PRF

	de	Kapiteinen	ingezien	dat		nog	eene	ordenlyke	vrede	zal
200	*de*	*kapiteinen*	*ingezien*	*dat*	*[er]*	*nog*	*een*	*ordelijke*	*vrede*	*zal*
	D	captains	in GE-see	that		still	an	orderly	peace	will

	zyn,	en	zyn	te zamen	daar		in	gestemd	om	weder	te
201	*zijn*	*en*	*hebben*	*tesamen*	*daar.[mee]*		*ingestemd*	-	*om*	*weer*	*te*
	be	and	PRF	together	there		in	GE-vote	for	again	to

	komen.	Maar	wanneer	zy	nu	komen,	en	ik	weet	dat	zy	aan
202	*komen.*	*Maar*	*wanneer*	*zij*	*nu*	*komen,*	*en*	*ik*	*weet*	*dat*	*zij*	*aan [het]*
	come	but	when	3PL	now	come	and	1S	know	that	3PL	-

	komen	zyn,	dan	zalik	u		van	bekent	maken.	Zoo	denk	ik	niet
203	*komen*	*zijn,*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*u [daar]*	*van*	*bekend*	*maken.*	*Zo*	*denk*	*ik*	*niet*
	coming	are	then	will	1S	2S	of	known	make	so	think	1S	NEG

	om	aan	oorlog	te	maken	myn	vriend,	dat,	wat	gy	my
204	*[-]*	*aan*	*oorlog*	*[-]*	*maken*	*mijn*	*vriend.*	*Dat*	*wat*	*gij*	*mij*
	for	to	war	to	make	1POS	friend	that	REL	2S	1S

	gevraagt	had	in	uwen	brief,			weet	ik	niet	van,	dat ik
205	*gevraagd*	*had*	*in*	*uw*	*brief,*	*[daar]*		*weet*	*ik*	*niet*	*van.*	*Dat ik*
	GE-ask	PRF	in	2POS	letter			know	1S	NEG	of	that 1S

	mynen	menschen	van	+Nosob	uit	geroepen	had		om	tegen u
206	*mijn*	*mensen*	*van*	*Nosob*	*uit*	*geroepen*	*had*		*om*	*tegen u*
	1POS	people	of	Nosob	out	GE-call	PRF		for	against 2S

	te	oorlogen.		dat	weet	ik	niet						
207	*te*	*oorlogen,*[21]		*dat*	*weet*	*ik*	*niet.*						
	to	war		that	know	1S	NEG						
	Nog	een	stuk,	dat	gy	my	in	uwen	brief	vraagt	is	deze.	
208	*Nog*	*een*	*stuk*[22]	*wat*	*gij*	*mij*	*in*	*uw*	*brief*	*vraagt*	*is*	*dit:*	
	Another	-	piece	REL	2S	1S	in	2POS	letter	ask	is	D	
	Abraham	Swartbooi	heb	ik	geroepen		om	ons	drie	zyn			
209	*Abraham*	*Swartbooi*	*heb*	*ik*	*geroepen*		*om*[23]	*ons*	*drieen*	*3POS*			
	Abraham	Swartbooi	PRF	1S	GE-call		for	1PL	three	3POS			
	zaken,	over	Rehoboth,	want	Maans	van	Weik	is	niet				
210	*zaken*	*over*	*Rehoboth,*	*want*	*Manus*	*van*	*Wijk*	*is*	*niet*				
	business	about	Rehoboth	because	Manus	van	Wijk	is	NEG				
	die	plaats	gegeven,	tot	zyn	eigendom,	maar	toen	de				
211	*de*	*plaats*	*gegeven*	*tot*	*zijn*	*eigendom,*	*maar*	*toen*	*de*				
	D	place	GE-give	till	3POS	ownership	but	then	D				
	plaats	hem	nu	aanstaat,	wilde	hy	nu	volstrekt	niet	weg,			
212	*plaats*	*hem*	*nu*	*aanstaat*	*wilde*	*hij*	*nu*	*volstrekt*	*niet*	*weg.*			
	place	3S	now	pleases	wanted	3S	now	at.all	NEG	away			

[remainder is missing]

Windhoek 3 Jan 1874

213 *Windhoek, 3 januari 1874*

	Myn	broeder	Kapitein	Kamaharero!
214	*Mijn*	*broeder*	*kapitein*	*Kamaharero,*
	1POS	brother	captain	Kamaharero

	Ik	had	vrede	om	stille	en	gerust	leven	te	leiden,	om
215	*Ik*	*had*	*vrede*	*om [D]*	*stil*	*en*	*gerust*	*leven*	*te*	*leiden;*	*om*
	1S	had	peace	for	quiet	and	easy	life	to	lead	for

[21] Not a verb; Dutch: *oorlog te maken*, 'to make (wage) war'.

[22] Rather: *ding*, 'thing'; *een ding*, 'something'.

[23] Rather: *vanwege*,'because of'.

	vry	myne	wegente	gaan,	jagten	te	maken,	ointjas	te	
216	*vrij*	*mijn*	*wegen te*	*gaan,*	*jacht*	*te*	*maken,*	*uintjes*[24]	*te*	
	free	1POS	ways	to go	hunt	to	make	uintjes	to	
	graven,	kinderen in	de leesing van		Gods	woord	op	te voeten,		
217	*graven,*	*kinderen in*	*de lezing van*		*Gods*	*woord*	*op*	*te voeden,*	*[D]*	
	dig	children in	D reading of		God-GEN	word	-	to educate		
	Leeraar	genomen.	Na dit	vrede	zyn	dingen		gebeurt,		
218	*leraar*	*[te] nemen.*	*Na de*	*vrede*	*zijn*	*dingen*		*gebeurd*		
	teacher	GE-take	after D	peace	PRF	things		GE-happen		
	welke	schynt	roeringen	tusschen	ons	te	bringen	van	welke	gy
219	*welke*	*schijnen*	*beroering*	*tussen*	*ons*	*te*	*brengen*	*van*	*welke*	*gij*
	REL	seem	disturbance	between	1PL	to	bring	of	REL	2S
	door	myn	bekent	making	aan	u,	niet	van	onwetende	zyt,
220	*door*	*mijn*	*bekend*	*making*	*aan*	*u,*	*niet*	*[-]*	*onwetend*	*bent,*
	by	1POS	known	making	to	2S	NEG	of	unaware	are
	en	welke	nu	hier	in	niet	noodig	zyn	te	noemen,	hoopende
221	*en*	*welke*	*nu*	*hier*	*in*	*niet*	*nodig*	*zijn*	*te*	*noemen.*	*Hopende*
	and	REL	now	here	in	NEG	needed	are	to	mention	hoping
	dat gy	magt	had	over	uwe	onderdanen,	als	eene	hoofd	om te	gebieden
222	*dat gij*	*macht*	*had*	*over*	*uw*	*onderdanen,*	*als*	*een*	*hoofd,*	*om te*	*gebieden*
	that 2S	power	had	over	2POS	subjects	as	a	chief	for to	order
	en te	verbieden,	en wat		zal	doen	naar	uwe	bevelen	hoewel	
223	*en te*	*verbieden,*	*en [-][25]*	*[dat 3PL]*	*zouden*	*doen*	*naar*	*uw*	*bevelen.*	*Hoewel*	
	and to	forbid	and REL		will	do	to	2POS	orders	although	
	zy	heidenen	zyn,	geloof	ik	dat zy	dat kunnen		doen,	en	
224	*zij*	*heidenen*	*zijn,*	*geloof*	*ik*	*dat zij*	*dat kunnen*		*doen*	*en*	
	3PL	heathens	are	belief	1S	that 3PL	that can		do	and	
	zal	doen,	naar u	woord.	Maar	in	dat	alles	is	niets	
225	*zullen*	*doen,*	*naar uw*	*woord,*	*maar*	*in*	*dat*	*alles*	*is*	*niets*	
	will	do	to 2S	word	but	in	this	all	is	NEG	
	beters	met by	totop	dit4te jaar	toe.	Hoe	meer	ik			
226	*verbeterd*	*[-] [-]*	*totop*	*dit4e jaar*	*toe.*	*Hoe*	*meer*	*ik*			
	improved	with by	till on	D 4th year	till	how	more	1S			

[24] Edible bulbs: Morgea edulis longifolia.

[25] Or a relative clause: *uwe onderdanen, die zullen handelen naar* ..., 'your subjects, who will act...'

	glagten	tot	u	bring	des	te	meer	wordt	het	my	moeyelyker,
227	*klachten*	*tot*	*u*	*breng*	*deste*	-	*meer*	*wordt*	*het*	*me*	*moeilijker.*
	complaints	to	2S	bring	the-		more	becomes	it	1S	difficult-COMP

	hoe	meer	ik	naar	vryheid	vraagt,	des	te	meer	wordt	het
228	*Hoe*	*meer*	*ik*	*naar*	*vrijheid*	*vraag*	*deste*	-	*meer*	*worden*	*[-]*
	the	more	1S	after	freedom	ask	the	-	more	become	it

	my	alle	wegen	van	alle	kanten	toegesloten	oplaats		is	het
229	*mij*	*alle*	*wegen*	*van*	*alle*	*kanten*	*toegesloten*	*Op.het.laatst*		*is*	*het*
	1S	all	roads	from	all	sides	closed	in.the.end		is	it

	zoo	ver;	dat	ik	in	geheel	en	al	niet	wete	waar	ik	uit
230	*zo*	*ver*	*dat*	*ik*	*[-]*	*geheel*	*en*	*al*	*niet*	*weet*	*waar*	*ik*	*uit*
	so	far	that	1S	in	total	and	all	NEG	know	where	1S	out

	kan	gaan.	Nu	moet	gy	my	wel	verstaan.	wat	ik	denk	en
231	*kan*	*gaan.*	*Nu*	*moet*	*gij*	*mij*	*goed*	*verstaan,*	*wat*	*ik*	*denk*	*en*
	can	go	now	must	2S	1S	well	understand	what	1S	think	and

	zeggen	wil:	Gy	weet	van	zich	zelfs	ondervindingen,	dat	een
232	*zeggen*	*wil.*	*Gij*	*weet*	*van*	*uw*	*zelf*[26]	*ondervindingen*	*dat*	*een*
	say	want	2S	know	from	REFL	self	experiences	that	a

	vogel	mak	worde	wanneer	men	het	niet	toelied	te	vliegen,
233	*vogel*	*mak*	*wordt*	*wanneer*	*men*	*het*	*niet*	*toelaat*	*te*	*vliegen*
	bird	tame	become	when	one	it	NEG	allow-PST	to	fly

	zoo	word	het	ook	met	een	menschals	men	hem	dagelyks
234	*zo*	*wordt*	*het*	*ook*	*met*	*een*	*mens*	*als men*	*hem*	*dagelijks*
	so	become	it	also	with	an	human	if one	3S	daily

	vermaakt[27],	dan	wordt	hy	ook	gerust.	Zoo	zegt	het	my	nu
235	*vermaakt*	*dan*	*wordt*	*hij*	*ook*	*gerust.*	*Zo*	*zeg*	*het*	*mij*	*nu*
	divert	then	become	3S	also	easy	so	tell	it	1S	now

	of	gy	weet	wat	die	uiteinde	van	dat	alles	zal	zyn,	als
236	*of*	*gij*	*weet*	*wat*	*het*	*uiteinde*	*van*	*dit*	*alles*	*zal*	*zijn*	*als*
	whether	2S	know	what	the	(final)end	of	this	all	will	be	if

	gy	een	uitweg	voor	deze	dingen	weet	tot	myn	vredenheid,
237	*gij*	*een*	*uitweg*	*voor*	*deze*	*dingen*	*weet*	*tot*	*mijn*	*tevredenheid,*
	2S	a	way out	for	D	things	know	to	1POS	satisfaction

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[26] *Uit uw eigen*, 'from your own'.

[27] Dutch: *vermaken*, 'to amuse', 'to divert'. The nuance seems to be: If you divert a man's attention [from violent impulses?], men will be reconciled/pacified. In Vedder (1938 [1966:409]) this is translated "treated kindly".

	zonder	om	uwe	menschen	terug	te	nemen,	dan	zal	ik	ook	
238	*zonder*	*[-][28]*	*uw*	*mensen*	*terug*	*te*	*nemen,*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*ook*	
	without	for	2POS	people	back	to	take	then	will	1S	also	

	daar	mede	te vreden zyn,	maar als	gy	ook	zelvers	niet		
239	*daar*	*mee*	*tevreden*	*zijn.*	*Maar*	*als*	*gij*	*ook*	*zelf*	*niet*
	there	with	satisfied	be	but	if	2S	also	self	NEG

	weet	wat te	doen,	maar	laat	hen	betje	achter	uit	trekken,	
240	*weet*	*wat te*	*doen,*	*maar*	*laat*[29]	*hen*	*beetje*	*achteruit*	-	*trekken*	
	know	what to	do	but	let	3PL	little	backwards	-	move	

	van	myn	wege		kan	ik	u	niets zeggen,	wat	die uit	
241	*van*	*mijn*	*wege*	*[dan]*	*kan*	*ik*	*u*	*niets zeggen*	*wat*	*het uit*	
	from	1POS	ways		can	1S	2S	NEG say	what	D out	

	einde	van dat	zal worden.	
242	*einde*	*van dit*	*zal worden.*	
	end	of this	will become	

	Waterbokjes	is	hier in niette	verstaan,	omdat		zulke		
243	*Waterpokken*	*zijn*	*hier in niet*	*te verstaan,*	*omdat*	*[daar<]*	*zulke*		
	chicken pox	is	here in NEG	to understand	because		such		

	ongemakelykheden	daar	in	zyn,	daar	van	neem	ik	u	niet	
244	*ongemakkelijkheden*	*[<--]*	*[-]*	*zijn,*	*daar [voor<]*	*[-]*	*neem*	*ik*	*u*	*niets*	
	inconveniences	there	in	are	there	from	take	1S	2S	NEG	

	voor	ver kwalyk,	dat	is	naar	regt,	want	het	is	ook	nietbehoorlyk,	
245	*[<--]*	*[-][30] kwalijk.*	*Dat*	*is*	*naar*	*recht*	*want*	*het*	*is*	*ook*	*niet*	*behoorlijk*
	for	- amiss	that	is	to	rights	because	it	is	also	NEG	proper

	zulke	ziekten	tot	veiliegen	te	bringen.	U	had	my	eens	gezegt,	
246	*zulke*	*ziektes*	*tot*	*veiligen*	*te*	*brengen.*	*U*	*had*	*mij*	*eens*	*gezegd*	
	such	diseases	to	safe[people]	to	bring	2S	PRF	1S	once	GE-say	

	gy wilte	alleen	wat	Governeur	u	had	geraden	daarna	handelen		
247	*gij wilde*	*alleen*	*wat [D]*	*gouverneur*	*u*	*had*	*geraden,*	*daarna*	*handelen*		
	2S wanted	only	what	governor	2S	PRF	GE-advise	after.REL	act		

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[28] *Zonder om* has developed as the only correct form in Afrikaans; it is ungrammatical in Dutch.

[29] Infelicitous word order: *hen maar een beetje achter uit laten trekken* ..., 'just let them do as they please...' or '..let them move away from my grounds...' (?).

[30] Either *kwalijk nemen* or *verkwalijken*, 'take amiss'.

en leven. Nu vraag ik u, wat had hy gezegt, had hy gezegt,
248 *en leven. Nu vraag ik u wat had hij gezegd? Had hij gezegd,*
and live now ask 1S 2S what PRF 3S GE-say PRF 3S GE-say

gy moet u niet met Jan zyn moeyelykke leven aan steuren, maar
249 *gij moet u niet [-] [aan<] Jan 3POS moeilijke leven [<--] storen, maar*
2S must 2S NEG with Jan 3POS difficult life to disturb but

laat hem nog zwaae maken tot hy zoo ingesloten wezen, en
250 *laten [1PL] [het] hem nog zwaarder maken tot hij zo ingesloten is en*
let 3S still heavier make till 3S so closed.in be and

als hy iets daarin zal doen, zoo zullen wy tegen hem op staan
251 *als hij iets daaraan zal doen, zo zullen wij tegen hem opstaan*
if 3S something there.in will do so will 1PL against 3S stand.up

en hem daarover slaan? Ik geloof zulks zal hy niet zeggen.
252 *en hem daarover slaan? Ik geloof zoiets zal hij niet zeggen.*
and 3S there.about hit 1S belief such will 3S NEG say

Ik verstaan, dat zyn wet op dien aard naar wy in vredenstraktaat
253 *Ik verstaan [-] zijn wet op deze aard, naar wij een vredestraktaat*
1S understandthat 3POS law on this kind to 1PL in peace.treaty

gesloten hadden, dat eene vrouw van Colony tot Ovampoland
254 *gesloten hadden dat een vrouw van [D] Kolonie tot Ovamboland*
GE-close PRF that a woman from Colony to Ovamboland

alleen met eene staf in hare hand kan gaan, zoo is myn
255 *alleen met een staf in haar hand kan gaan. Zo is [het] mij*
alone with one staff in 3POS.F hand can go so is 1POS

verstaan. Maar op dat alles is nu niet op zich te verlaten,
256 *verstaan. Maar op dat alles is nu niet op zich te verlaten,*
understanding but on that all is now NEG on REFL to rely

dat is alles te vergeefst. Nu zegt het my, of gy met
257 *dat is alles tevergeefs. Nu zeg het mij of gij met*
that is all in.vain now tell it 1S whether 2S with

my in het geheel niet te vreden zyt, want als gy met
258 *mij in het geheel niet tevreden bent want als gij met*
1S in D total NEG satisfied are because if 2S with

my te vreden is, dan geloof ik dat uwe onderdanen dat
259 *mij tevreden - bent dan geloof ik dat uw onderdanen het*
1S satisfied - are then belief 1S that 2POS subjects D

	zelve	zullen	doen,	maar	daaruit	moet	ik	zeggen,	dat	gy	
260	*zelfde*	*zullen*	*doen,*	*maar*	*daaruit*	*moet*	*ik*	*zeggen*	*dat*	*gij*	
	same	will	do	but	therefrom	must	1S	say	that	2S	

	het	zyt,	want	hoe	de	leidsman	is	daar	na	doen	ook	te
261	*het*	*bent,*	*want*	*hoe*	*de*	*leider*	*is*	*daar*	*na*	*doen*	*ook*	*de*
	it	are	because	how	D	leader	is	there	after	do	also	D

	onderdanen.	Zoo	zegt	het	my	nu	wat	my	te	doen	staat,	om
262	*onderdanen.*	*Zo*	*zeg*	*het*	*mij*	*nu*	*wat*	*mij*	*te*	*doen*	*staat*	*om*
	subjects	so	tell	it	1S	now	what	1S	to	do	stand	for

	te	leven,	of	leven	kunnen.	Arikana[31]	
263	*te*	*leven*	*of*	*leven*	*[te] kunnen.*		
	to	live	or	live	can		

	laat	my	leven.
264	*Laat*	*mij*	*leven!*
	let	1S	live

	Hier	mede	sluit	ik	myn	brief.	Na	groetenis	blyfik	
265	*hier*	*mee*	*sluit*	*ik*	*mijn*	*brief.*	*Na*	*groeten*	*blijf*	*ik*
	here	with	close	1S	1POS	letter	after	greetings	remain	1S

		U	broeder
266		*uw*	*broeder*
		2S	brother

Kapten J. Jan Afrikaner

	Hierby	maak	ik	u	bekent	tegelyk	met	eene	vraag,	daar
267	*hierbij*	*maak*	*ik*	*u*	*bekend*	*tegelijk*	*met*	*een*	*vraag,*	*daar*
	herewith	make	1S	2S	known	together	with	a	question	as

	gy	hoofd	zyt.	Wat	ik zal	doen	met	die	bergdamaras,
268	*gij*	*hoofd*	*bent,*	*wat*	*ik zal*	*doen*	*met*	*de*	*Bergdamaras*
	2S	chief	are	what	1S shall	do	with	D	Bergdamaras

	hetwelk	mal	kanderen	vermoorden	hadden	op	Aris.
269	*die*	*elkaar*		*vermoord*	*hebben*	*op*	*Aris.*
	REL	each other		GE-murder	PRF	in	Aris.

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[31] Herero word: *Ich bitte dringlichst*, 'I ask you urgently', according to the typescript of the manuscript by dr. Vedder.

Windhoek den 25 january 1875
Windhoek, 25 januari 1875

| | | |

	Het	Staat	zeer	Moelyk	voor	ons	dewyl	ok	verschide	Menschen
282	*Het*	*staat*	*zeer*	*moeilijk*	*voor*	*ons*	*terwijl*	*ook*	*verscheidene*	*mensen*
	It	stand	very	difficult	for	1PL	while	also	various	people

	vol	En	onse	land	is	Wetgeleerde	Menschen	van	de	Coloni	juis
283	*vollop*	*in*	*ons*	*land*	*zijn,*	*wet.geleerde*[32]	*mensen*	*van*	*de*	*Kolonie.*	*Juist*
	full	in	1POS	land	are	law.learned	people	of	D	colony	exactly

	zulke	dienger	Als	u	gezien	heb	van	Dok Hahn	Meer	zulke	diengen	zyn en
284	*zulke*	*dingen*	*als*	*u*	*gezien*	*hebt*	*van*	*dr. Hahn,*	*meer*	*zulke*	*dingen*	*zijn in*
	such	things	as	2S	GE-see	PRF	of	dr. Hahn	more	such	things	are in

	onse	land	die	ons	verys	om	Regte	vreind	Schap
285	*ons*	*land,*	*die*	*ons*	*vereisen*	*om*	*rechte*	*vriendschap*	-
	1POS	land	REL	1PL	demand	for	right	friendship	-

	Met	Elkander	te	houden	tod	Welzyn	van	onse Land	en Volk
286	*met*	*elkaar*	*te*	*houden,*	*tot*	*welzijn*	*van*	*ons land*	*en volk.*
	with	each.other	to	keep	for	well-being	of	1POS land	and people

	Hier	Mede	Eindigik	
287	*Hier*	*mee*	*eindig*	*ik*
	here	with	end	1S

	en doen	de	Hartelyk	groetenes
288	*en doe*	*de*	*hartelijke*	*groeten,*
	and do	D	warm	greetings

	Aan	u	en	Alle
289	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*allen,*
	to	2S	and	all

	U	Dienaar
290	*uw*	*dienaar,*
	2S	servant

J. Jonker Afriacaner
Kapeteyn

37

Windhoek 15 Febr 1875
291 *Windhoek, 15 februari 1875*

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[32] *Schriftgeleerden*, 'erudite people'; alternatively *witte, geleerde mensen* 'white, learned people'.

| | | |

	die	moordenaars,	want	wy	hebben	hen	in	de	handen,	wy	hadden		
304	*de*	*moordenaars,*	*want*	*wij*	*hebben*	*hen*	*in*	*de*	*handen.*	*Wij*	*hadden*		
	D	murderers	because	1PL	have	3PL	in	D	hands	1PL	PRF		

	hen	toch	gekregen,	zoo	zyn	zy	tot	nu	toe	vast.
305	*hen*	*toch*	*gekregen,*	*zo*	*zijn*	*zij*	*tot*	*nu*	*toe*	*vast.*
	3PL	MOD	GE-get	so	are	3PL	till	now	till	stuck

	Na	dit	alles	kun	ik u	niets	nieuws	verhalen,	wy	zyn	
306	*Na*	*dit*	*alles*	*kan*	*ik u*	*niets*	*nieuws*	*verhalen*	*wij*	*zijn*	
	after	this	all	can	1S 2S	NEG	news	tell	1PL	are	

	toch	allen	wel	ins	Heeren	genade,	en	hopen	hetzelve	van	u	allen.
307	*toch*	*allen*	*wel,*	*in.des*	*heerens*	*genade*	*en*	*hopen*	*hetzelfde*	*van*	*u*	*allen.*
	MOD	all	well	in-GEN	Lord	mercy	and	hope	the.same	of	2PL	all

	Wy	deze	lande	Kapiteinen	zyn	verwachting	is	deze
308	*Wij,*	*dit*	*lands*	*kapiteinen*	*3POS*	*verwachting*	*is*	*deze.*
	1PL	D	land	captain	3POS	expectation	is	this

	Na	hartelyke	groetenis	aan	U	allen	blyf	ik
309	*Na*	*hartelijke*	*groeten*	*aan*	*u*	*allen*	*verblijf*	*ik,*
	after	warm	greetings	to	2PL	all	remain	1S

	Uw	liefhebbende
310	*uw*	*liefhebbende,*
	2POS	loving

Kapitein Jan Jonker Afrikaner

Wend Hoek eerste Deeseber 1877

1 *Windhoek, 1 december 1877*

| | | |

	moes	ook	een	kan	van	my	gront	gekom			kaptein	van	Rehoboth
12	*immers*	*ook*	*een*	*kant*	*van*	*mijn*	*grond*	*gekomen*	*[PRF].*	*[D]*	*kapitein*	*van*	*Rehoboth*
	MOD	also	one	side	of	1S	land	GE-come			captain	of	Rehoboth

	en	Piet	Bukus	heef	ook	in	my	gront	zoo	veer	is	Kransnus
13	*en*	*Piet*	*Beukes*	*zijn*	*ook*	*op*	*mijn*	*grond,*	*zo*	*ver*	*als*	*Kranzneus*
	and	Piet	Beukes	PRF	also	on	1S	land	so	far	as	Kranzneus

	by	!Aiseb	weerf	gekom	met	zyn	klom	manen	als	oorlog	bees
14	*bij*	*!Aisebs*	*werf*	*gekomen*	*met*	*3POS*	*klomp*	*mannen.*	*Als*	*oorlog*	*Bees-*
	at	!Aiseb	werf	GE-come	with	3POS	bunch	men	as	war	Bees-

	Damaras	is	ook	daar	in	zoo	hief	daar	onnodige	drie	vrouwen	
15	*damaras*	*zijn*	*ook*	*daar*	*[-],*	*zo*	*hebben*	*daar*	*onnodig*	*drie*	*vrouwen*	
	damaras	are	also	there	in	so	PRF	there	unnecessary	three	women	

	kewees	gekrygen	in	die	schiet	maakar.	daar	leg	de	mensch
16	*kwetsingen*	*gekregen*	*in*	*de*	*schiet*	*elkaar.*	*Daar*	*ligt*	*de*	*mens*
	injury	GE-get	in	D	shoot	each.other	there	lie	D	person

	zyn	bloed	op	de	aarde	uit	de	handen	van	Heermanis	v	Wyk
17	*3POS*	*bloed*	*op*	*de*	*aarde*	*uit*	*de*	*handen*	*van*	*Hermanus*	*van*	*Wijk.*
	3POS	blood	on	D	earth	out	D	hands	of	Hermanus	van	Wijk

	zulks	dengen	hief	ons	Traktat	Hooften	ook	verplugt	om
18	*Zulke*	*dingen*	*zijn*	*wij,*	*traktaat*	*hoofden*	*ook*	*verplicht*	*om*
	such	things	PRF	1PL	treaty	heads	also	GE-oblige	for

	regde	maak	volgens	de	weet	by	ons	Hooften	Eiest	Heer-
19	*recht.te*	*maken*	*volgens*	*de*	*wet*	*bij*	*onze*	*hoofden.*	***[2],	*Her-*
	right	make	according	D	law	by	1PL	heads	***	Her-

	manus	va	Wyk	is	eerste	Kaptein	van	bloed	vergoden		in
20	*manus*	*van*	*Wijk*	*is [D]*	*eerste*	*kapitein [REL]*	*[-]*	*bloed*	*vergoten*	*[PRF]*	*in*
	manus	van	Wijk	is	first	captain	of	blood	GE-shed		in

	ander	kaptein	zyn	grond	daat	het	1877		eerste	Deesember	
21	*andere*	*kapitein*	*3POS*	*grond.*	*Dat*	*is*	*1877,*	*[D]*	*eerste*	*december*	
	other	captain	3POS	land	that	PRF	1877		first	December	

	geschie	en	!Aiseb	zyn	kan	is	drie	vrouwen	gekwes	gekryg
22	*geschied.*	*Aan*	*!Aiseb*	*3POS*	*kant*	*hebben*	*drie*	*vrouwen*	*kwetsingen*[3]	*gekregen.*
	GE-happen	at	!Aiseb	3POS	side	PRF	three	women	GE-injure	GE-get

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[2] Could perhaps be a contraction: *Hij is het*, (he is it), 'it is him' or, Afrikaans *einste* (<Dutch *eigen+ste*), superlative of 'own, self': 'the very person'. Cf. ln.140, below.

[3] Cf. ln. 15, *supra*; however, Dutch: **gekwetst gekregen zijn.*

	en	baasder	zyn	kan	is	niemand	kwes	gekryg	door	ons	zyn
23	*Aan*	*Basters*	*3POS*	*kant*	*heeft*	*niemand*	*kwetsingen*	*gekregen*	*door*	*onze*	*3POS*
	on	Baster	3POS	side	PRF	nobody	injuries	GE-get	through	1POS	3POS

	Heer	God	zyn	bystan
24	*Heer*	*God*	*3 POS*	*bijstand.*
	Lord	God	3POS	assist

	Zien	lieve	oom	in	deze	jaar	hief	meste	del	van	
25	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*oom*	*in*	*dit*	*jaar*	*zijn [D]*	*meeste*	*delen*	*van [D]*	
	see	dear	Uncle	in	this	year	PRF	most	part	of	

	bees	Damras	hier	in	ons	zyn	veel	doegetrek	en	ons	zyn
26	*Beestdamaras*		*hier*	*in*	*ons*	*3POS*	*veld*	*toegetrokken*	*en [PRF]*	*onze*	*3POS*
	Beestdamaras		here	in	1POS	3POS	field	to.GE-move	and	1POS	3POS

	plaasen	en	duin	lad	verdrab	zoo	zet	ons	in	de	verdrekking
27	*plaatsen*	*en*	*tuin*	*laten*	*vertrappen.*	*Zo*	*zitten*	*wij*	*in*	*de*	*verdrukking*
	grounds	and	garden	let	trample on	so	sit	1PL	in	D	oppression

	teschen	Damras	en	basders	zoo	moed	gyliden	dog	deze
28	*tussen*	*Damaras*	*en*	*Basters.*	*Zo*	*moeten*	*jullie*	*toch*	*deze*
	between	Damaras	and	Basters	so	must	2PL	MOD	D

	keer	hasdig	als	uliden	mogilik	kan	voorja	erdat	die
29	*keer, [zo]*	*haastig*	*als*	*jullie*	*mogelijk*	*kunnen,*	*voortjagen*	*eerdat*	*het*
	time	hastily	as	2PL	possibly	can	hurry	before.that	D

	kwaad	grooder	woord	kom	hasdig	lad	ons	op	stan	en	ons
30	*kwaad*	*groter*	*word.*	*Kom*	*haastig.*	*Laat*	*ons*	*opstaan*		*en*	*ons*
	evil	larger	become	come	hastily	let	1PL	up.stand		and	1POS

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	zyn	land	help	lad	niet	kwaad	verder	eerger	woord	riets	
31	*3POS*	*land*	*helpen,*	*laat*	*niet [D]*	*kwaad*	*verder*	*erger*	*worden.*	*Reeds*	
	3POS	land	help	let	NEG	evil	further	worse	become	already	

	is	omtren	byna	honnert	menschen	in	deze	jaar	gedood	hoe	
32	*zijn*	*omtrent*	*bijna*	*honderd*	*mensen*	*in*	*dit*	*jaar*	*gedood.*	*Hoe*	
	are	about	almost	hundred	people	in	D	year	GE-kill	how	

	zal	ons	bestan	als	uliden	niet	ons	heelpsam	de	wes	als	gyliden
33	*zullen*	*wij*	*bestaan*	*als*	*u*	*niet*	*ons*	*behulpzaam*	*[-]*	*bent?*	*Als*	*jullie*
	will	1PL	exist	if	2PL	NEG	1PL	helpful	to	be	if	2PL

	deze	brieven	kryg	moet	uliden	hasdig	komen	zonder	uit	steel
34	*deze*	*brieven*	*krijgen*	*moet*	*u*	*haastig*	*komen,*	*zonder*	*uitstel,*	
	D	letter	get	must	2PL	hastily	come	without	delay	

	en	hoe	lang	zal	ons	bestan	en	hoe	lang	zal	ons
35	*en*	*hoe*	*lang*	*zullen*	*wij*	*bestaan*	*en*	*hoe*	*lang*	*zullen*	*wij*
	and	how	long	will	1PL	exist	and	how	long	will	1PL

	uithou	dat	is	uliden	bemende	Hooften	zyn	raaden	zet	ons		
36	*uithouden.*	*Dat*	*is,*	*[door]*	*u*	*beminde*	*hoofden*	*3POS*	*raad,*	*zitten*	*wij*	
	out.hold	that	is		2PL	beloved	heads	3POS	advice	sit	1PL	

	vandag	in	die	anks	terwyl	gylde	die	dag	naar	vreede	doe	ons
37	*vandaag*	*in*	*de*	*angst,*	*terwijl*	*jullie*	*de*	*dag*	*naar*	*vrede*	*toe*	*ons*
	today	in	D	fear	while	2PL	D	day	to	peace	to	1PL

	raaden	nu	is	de	tyt	uliden	Hooften	ons	verluchderen	ons	is	
38	*raden.*	*Nu*	*is*	*het*	*tijd [dat]*	*u,*	*hoofden*	*ons*	*verlichten,*	*wij*	*zijn*	
	advise	now	is	D	time	2PL	heads	1PL	relieve	1PL	are	

	raaop	en	niet	meergedeel	daarom	vrag	ons	raad	naar	uliden.
39	*raadop*	*en*	*niet*	*meer.verdeeld.*	*Daarom*	*vragen*	*wij*	*raad*	*aan*	*u.*
	at.wits.end	and	NEG	more.divided	therefore	ask	1PL	advice	from	2PL

	waner	ons	bemalkar	kom	dan	zal	ons	meer	goederen	verhal
40	*Wanneer*	*wij*	*bij.elkaar*	*komen*	*dan*	*zullen*	*wij*	*meer*	*goederen*[4]	*verhalen*
	when	1PL	to .each.other	come	then	will	1PL	more	goods	tell

		maakar	zoo	ver	wach	ik	een	antwoord	niet	door	de brief
41	*[aan]*	*elkaar.*	*Zo*	*verwacht*	-	*ik*	*een*	*antwoord*	*niet*	*door*	*de brief [maar]*
		each.other	so	expect	-	1S	an	answer	NEG	by	D letter

	door	de	Amdenaar	zyn	bersoonen	met	paarten		hasdig	als
42	*door*	*de*	*ambtenaar*	*zijn*	*persoon*	*met*	*paarden, [zo]*		*haastig*	*als*
	by	D	civil.servant	3POS	person	with	horses		hastily	as

	moogeluk	kan.	by	ons	is	nog	wel	door	God	genade
43	*mogelijk*	*kan.*	*Bij*	*ons*	*is [het]*	*nog*	*wel, door*		*Gods*	*genade.*
	possible	can	with	1PL	is	still	well	by	God	mercy

	zoo ver	ent	ik	my	woorden	met	Groetenes	U	en	allen	vrienden
44	*Zo ver*	*eindig*	*ik*	*mijn*	*woorden*	*met*	*groeten [aan]*	*u*	*en*	*alle*	*vrienden.*
	so far	end	1S	1S	words	with	greetings	2S	and	all	friends

	ik	ben	uwe	Neef
45	*Ik*	*ben*	*uw*	*neef*
	1S	am	2POS	nephew

Kapitein Jan Jonk
Afrikaner

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[4] Rather: *dingen*, 'things'. Cf. Section IA, ln.104.

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Wend Hoek 13 Janwari 1880.

46 *Windhoek, 13 januari 1880*

	Wel	myn	live	broeder	Pit	Beikus
47	*Wel*	*mijn*	*lieve*	*broeder*	*Piet*	*Beukes,*
	well	1POS	dear	brother	Piet	Beukes

	ik	maak	deze	paar	regel,	om	u	daar	mede
48	*Ik*	*maak*	*deze*	*paar*	*regels*	*om*	*u*	*daar*	*mee*
	1S	make	these	few	lines	for	2S	there	with

	bekend		hoe	wel	ik	de	wagen	laad	gekryg	maar	kan
49	*bekend*	*[te V],[dat]*	*hoewel*	-	*ik*	*de*	*wagen*	*laat*	*gekregen[PRF]*	*[-]* ,	*ben*
	known		although	-	1S	D	wagon	late	GE-get	but	can

	ik	daarom	klaar	om	te	gaan.	maar	ik	zin	niet	van		weerf
50	*ik*	*daarom*[5]	*klaar*	*om*	*te*	*gaan.*	*Maar*	*ik*	*zin*	*niet*	*van*	*[D]*	*werf*
	1S	MOD	ready	for	to	go	but	1S	desire	NEG	of		werf

	de	gaan	de	Bees	Damras	is	nu	kande	klar	degen	my	om
51	*te*	*gaan.*	*De*	*Beestdamaras*		*zijn*	*nu*	*kant.en*	*klaar*	*tegen*	*mij*	*om*
	to	go	D	Beestdamaras		are	now	more.than	ready	against	1S	for

	my	de	schied.	maar	ik	weet	niet	wat	is	de	orzaak	die
52	*mij*	*te*	*schieten.*	*Maar*	*ik*	*weet*	*niet*	*wat*	*is*	*de*	*oorzaak*	*dat*
	1S	to	shoot	but	1S	know	NEG	what	is	D	cause	that

		Damras	degen	my	op	stantig	is.	maar	dit	is	de	oorzoek
53	*[D]*	*Damaras*	*tegen*	*mij*	*opstandig*		*zijn.*	*Maar*	*dit*	*is*	*de*	*oorzaak*
		Damaras	against	1S	rebellious		are	but	this	is	D	cause

	dat	is	ik		wat	die	Bergdamras	veel	paarden
54	*dat*	*ben*	*ik*	*[het]*	*die*	*de*	*Bergdamaras,*	*veel*	*paarden*
	that	am	1S		REL	D	Bergdamaras	many	horses

	en	beesden	in	#Kans	Berg	verzamel	dan	zal	ik	daarna	doe
55	*en*	*beesten,*	*in*	*Gamsberg*		*verzamelt,*	*dan*	*zal*	*ik*	*daar.naar*	*toe*
	en	beesten	in	Gamsberg		gather	then	will	1S	thereto	to

	treekken	zoo	zeg	de	Bees	Damras	zoo	beschuldig	henen	my
56	*trekken,*	*zo*	*zeggen*	*de*	*Beestdamaras.*		*Zo*	*beschuldigen*	*zij*	*mij*
	move	so	say	D	Beestdamaras		so	accuse	3PL	1S

[5] Afrikaans: *darem*, 'nevertheless' (<Dutch: *daarom*, 'therefore', 'hence', 'just because').

	maar	ik	weett	ik is	onschuldig	zoo	zien		niet	kans	om		
57	*maar*	*ik*	*weet*	*ik ben*	*onschuldig.*	*Zo*	*zie*	*[1S]*	*niet*	*kans*	*om*		
	but	1S	know	1S am	innocent	so	see		NEG	chance	for		
	van	weerf	de	gaan.	ons	verwag	al	dag	hier	Damras	zyn		
58	*van [D]*	*werf*	*te*	*gaan.*	*Wij*	*verwachten*	*alle*	*dagen*	*hier*	*[D]Damaras*	*3POS*		
	off	werf	to	go	1PL	expect	every	day	here	Damaras	3POS		
	oorlog	ik	zal	niet	deze	keer	Damars	doe	lad	om	myn	de	
59	*oorlog.*	*Ik*	*zal*	*niet*	*deze*	*keer [D]*	*Damaras*	*toelaten*	*om*	*mij*	*te*		
	war	1S	will	NEG	D	time	Damaras	allow	- for	1POS	to		
	verklien	op	my	werf.	zoo	verzoek	ik	oute	Kaptein	Jacobes	Izaak		
60	*verkleinen*	*op*	*mijn*	*werf.*	*Zo*	*verzoek*	*ik*	*oude*	*kapitein*	*Jacobus*	*Izaak*		
	diminish	on	1S	werf	so	request	1S	old	captain	Jacobus	Izaak		
	lad hy	maar	hasdig	naar	zyn	huis	gaan	en	alles	daar	reg		
61	*dat hij*	*maar*	*haastig*	*naar*	*zijn*	*huis*	*gaat*	*en*	*alles*	*daar*	*recht*		
	let 3S	but	hastily	to	3POS	house	go	and	everything	there	right		
	hou	daar	die	kant	en	zyn	menschen	of	manschap		bymalkaner		
62	*houdt,*	*daar*	*die*	*kant,*	*en*	*zijn*	*mensen*	*of*	*manschappen*		*bij elkaar*		
	keep	at	D	side	and	3POS	people	or	men		together		
	mak	en	ook	ander	Cooften	beken	daarvan	verder	die	Damras			
63	*maakt*	*en*	*ook*	*andere*	*hoofden*	*bekend [V]*	*daarvan.*	*Verder*	*de*	*Damaras*			
	make	and	also	other	heads	known	thereof	further	D	Damaras			
	zyn	ooflog	stan	nu	op	aris	om	my	de	keer	zoo	klar	de
64	*3POS*	*oorlog*	*staat*	*nu*	*op*	*Aris*	*om*	*mij*	*te*	*keren.*	*Zo*	*****	*de*
	3POS	war	stand	now	in	Aris	for	1S	to	stem	so	*****	D
	Damras	degen	myn		Zoo	veer							
65	*Damaras*	*tegen*	*mij.*		*Zo*	*ver.*							
	Damaras	against	1POS		so	far							
		Groetenes	an	uliden									
66		*Groeten*	*aan*	*u.*									
		greetings	to	2PL									
		ben ik	uwe	bemende	Kaptein								
67		*Ben ik,*	*uw*	*beminde*	*kapitein*								
		am 1S	2POS	beloved	captain								

Jan Jonker Afrikaner

Wend Hoek 18 Mei 1880.
68 *Windhoek, 18 mei 1880*

	Wel	lieve	en	waarde	Kaptein	Kamaharero
69	*Wel*	*lieve*	*en*	*waarde*	*kapitein*	*Kamaharero,*
	well	dear	and	worthy	captain	Kamaharero

	ik	heb	uwe	brief	gekryg	
70	*Ik*	*heb*	*uw*	*brief*	*gekregen*	
	1S	PRF	2POS	letter	GE-get	

	en	gy	vrag	mijn	een	vrag.	daar	op
71	*en*	*gij*	*vraagt*	*mij*	*een*	*vraag.*	*Daarop*	-
	and	2S	ask	1POS	a	question	there	on

	die	vrag	antwoord	ik	u	hier	mede
72	*die*	*vraag*	*antwoord*	*ik*	*u*	*hiermee*	-
	D	question	answer	1S	2S	here	with

	met	koorde	woorden.	daar	is	niet	een
73	*met*	*korte*	*woorden.*	*Daar*	*is*	*niet*	*een*
	with	short	words	there	is	NEG	one

	van	mij	menschen	daar	in	die	#Kans	Berg
74	*van*	*mijn*	*mensen*	*daar*	*in*	*de*	*Gamsberg*	-
	of	1S	people	there	in	D	Gamsberg	-

	of	een	van	my	Bergdamras.	ik	zal	u
75	*of*	*een*	*van*	*mijn*	*Bergdamaras.*	*Ik*	*zal*	*u*
	or	one	of	1S	Bergdamaras	1S	will	2S

	nog	naderhand	duidelijk	schrijfven
76	*nog*	*naderhand*	*duidelijk*	*schrijven.*
	still	afterwards	clearly	write

	dat	schien	my	zoo,	gy	verstan	mij	
77	*Het*	*schijnt*	*mij*	*zo,*	*gij*	*verstaat*	*mijn*	
	that	seem	1S	so	2S	understand	1S	

	brief	<ol•niet>	wel.	daarom	stuur	ik	nu	Eig
78	*brief*	*niet*	*wel.*	*Daarom*	*stuur*	*ik*	*nu*	*Eich*[7]
	letter	NEG	well	therefore	send	1S	now	Eich

[6] Transcribed according to the original manuscript (see Volume I, Chapter One, p.6).

[7] In all likelihood missionary Eich, cf. Jan Jonker's letter to Eich, dd. 31.1.1881 (№ 42, included here).

	naar	lad	u	uit	zyn	monden	hooren	
79	*naar [2S]*	*dat*	*u*	*uit*	*zijn*	*mond*	*hoort.*	
	to	let	2S	out	3POS	mouth	hear	
	En	gij	schryf	ook	van	schansen	dien	heb
80	*En*	*gij*	*schrijft*	*ook*	*van*	*schansen*	*die*	*heb*
	and	2S	write	also	of	redoubts	REL	PRF
	ik	hier op	de	plaas	Wend Hoek		gemak	
81	*ik*	*hier op*	*de*	*plaats*	*Windhoek*		*gemaakt.*	
	1S	here on	D	place	Windhoek		GE-make	
	maar	ik	scham		daar	op u	antwoord	
82	*Maar*	*ik*	*schaam [me]*		*daarop*	*- u*	*antwoord*	
	but	1S	shame		there	on 2S	answer	
	de	geven.	daarom	ons	hief	vrede		
83	*te*	*geven,*	*daarom,*	*wij*	*hebben*	*vrede*		
	to	give	therefore	1PL	PRF	peace		
	gemaak	en	in	die	vrede	gezegt	niemer	
84	*gemaakt*	*en*	*in*	*die*	*vrede*	*gezegd*	*niemand*	
	GE-make	and	in	D	peace	GE-say	no-one	
	zal	andere	menschen	verhender		met	zyn	
85	*zal*	*andere*	*mensen*	*verhinderen*[8]		*[-]*	*hun*	
	will	other	people	prevent		with	3POS	
	weegen	de	looppen.	waarom	kom	uwe		
86	*wegen*	*te*	*lopen.*	*Waarom*	*komen*	*uw*		
	roads	to	walk	wherefore	come	2POS		
	menschen	hier	op	deze	Keerk	plaas		
87	*mensen*	*hier*	*op*	*deze*	*kerk*	*plaats*		
	people	here	on	D	church	place		
	met	zijn	Comado	zonder	uwe	oorder		
88	*met*	*hun*	*commando*	*zonder*	*uw*	*orders?*		
	with	3POS	commando	without	2POS	order		
	daarom	heb	ik	deze	schansen	gemak		
89	*Daarom*	*heb*	*ik*	*deze*	*schansen*	*gemaakt*		
	therefore	PRF	1S	these	redoubts	GE-make		

[8] Alternatively a passive sentence: *nimmer zullen andere mensen verhinderd [worden]*, 'never will other people be prevented'.

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	door	Eie zinigheid	van	uwe	menschen	
90	*door*	*[D] eigenzinnigheid*	*van*	*uw*	*mensen*	
	through	obstinacy	of	2POS	people	

	niet	door	u.	hier	is	nog	niet	geen een
91	*niet*	*door*	*u.*	*Hier*	*heeft*	*nog*	*niet*	*geeneen -*
	not	through	2S	here	PRF	yet	NEG	no one

	man	4 ossen	gebrieg	dien	ik	hier	bang
92	*man*	*4 ossen*	*gebracht*	*die*	*ik*	*hier*	*bang*
	man	4 oxen	GE-bring	REL	1S	here	afraid

	maak	voor	mij	huis.	hier	by	ons	is		nog
93	*maak*	*voor*	*mijn*	*huis.*	*Hier*	*bij*	*ons*	*is*	*[het]*	*nog*
	make	for	1S	house	here	with	1PL	is		still

	wil	ik	wens	bij	uliden	zelven	de	wezen
94	*wel.*	*Ik*	*wens*	*bij*	*jullie*	*[het].zelfde*	*te*	*wezen.*
	well	1S	wish	at	2PL	same	to	be

	Groetenes	an	u	en	an	allen
95	*Groeten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*aan*	*allen.*
	greetings	to	2S	and	to	all

		ik	denk	waner	M Peel-
96		*Ik*	*denk*	*wanneer*	*M. Palgrave*
		1S	think	when	M. Palgrave

	grave	kom	op	Okahanja	dan	zal
97	-	*komt*	*op*	*Okahandja*	*dan*	*zal*
	-	come	at	Okahandja	then	shall

	ik	zelf	by	u	kom	dan	zal	ons
98	*ik*	*zelf*	*bij*	*u*	*komen,*	*dan*	*zullen*	*wij*
	1S	self	to	2S	come	then	will	1PL

	twee	verder	ons	zyn	vre	bekragdig
99	*twee*	*verder*	*onze*	*3POS*	*vrede*	*bekrachtigen*
	two	further	1POS	3POS	peace	confirm

	of	reg	mak	ons	zyn	vrede	is	niet
100	*of*	*recht*	*maken.*	*Onze*	*3POS*	*vrede*	*is*	*niet*
	or	right	make	1POS	3POS	peace	is	NEG

	goed	ons	zyn	vrede	is	makeer	om	reg
101	*goed,*	*onze*	*3POS*	*vrede*	*[-V]*	*mankeert*	*om*	*recht*
	good	1POS	3POS	peace	is	lack	for	right

te maak
102 *te maken.*
to make

ben ik uwe medebroeder
103 *Ben ik uw medebroeder*
am 1S 2POS with.brother

Jan Jonker Afrikaner
Kaptein

ik [-wag] vr[-g]<a>g U nog eene vrag
104 *Ik - vraag u nog een vraag:*
1S wait ask 2S still one question

Aanderias Slamber is ons geroep
105 *Andries Slamber heeft ons geroepen*
Andries Slamber PRF 1PL GE-call

in de brief wat zeg U voor die roep
106 *in de brief. Wat zegt u voor deze roep*
in D letter what say 2S for D call

angaan de van Aanderias
107 *aangaande - van Andries?*
concerning - of Andries

Otiseva den 3 Desembr 1880
108 *Otjizeva, 3 december 1880*

Opper Hoof Kamaharero
109 *Opperhoofd - Kamaharero,*
paramount chief Kamaharero

Met de volgende regelen vrag ik u Wat uwe Mening
110 *Met de volgende regels vraag ik u wat uw mening*
with D following lines ask 1S 2S what 2POS opinion

is met orlog te voleindigen of vreede de zuidelyk
111 *is, met oorlog te voleindigen of vrede? De zuidelijke*
is with war to end or peace D southern

	Hoofden	die	1870	Hier	te	Okahanya	vergaaert	Was	om			
112	*hoofden*	*die*	*[in] 1870*	*hier*	*te*	*Okahandja*	*vergaard*[9]	*waren*	*om*			
	chiefs	REL	1870	here	to	Okahandja	GE-collect	PRF	for			

	tusken	ons	vrede	te	maken	en	verkrygen	heb		Wens	van	
113	*tussen*	*ons*	*vrede*	*te*	*maken*	*en*	*verkrijgen,*	*hebben*	*[D]*	*wens*	*van*	
	between	1PL	peace	to	make	and	get	have		wish	of	

	u	te	mogen	hooren	Wie	van	ons	U	of	ik	de	vrede	gebroken
114	*u*	*te*	*mogen*	*horen*	*wie*	*van*	*ons,*	*u*	*of*	*ik,*	*de*	*vrede*	*gebroken*
	2S	to	may	hear	who	of	1PL	2S	or	1S	D	peace	GE-break

	heb	van	1870	En	heele	verlang	van	u	en	Antwoord	
115	*heeft*	*van*	*1870.*	*En*	*zij*	*verlangen*	*van*	*u*	*een*	*antwoord.*	
	PRF	of	1870	and	3PL	desire	of	2S	an	answer	

	verpleg	ven	de	Hoofden	hun	om	te	Weeten	uwe	Mening.	
116	*Verplicht*	*van*	*de*	*hoofden*	*hun*[10]	*om*	*te*	*weten*	*uw*	*mening.*	
	obligation	of	D	heads	3PL	for	to	know	2POS	opinion	

	Gy	heb	my	zonder	orzak	Schandelyk	behandelt	en			
117	*Gij*	*hebt*	*mij*	*zonder*	*oorzaak*	*schandelijk*	*behandeld*	*en*			
	2S	PRF	1S	without	reason	disgracefully	GE-treat	and			

	niet	alein	Myn	Menschen	vermord	mar	myn	met	orlog	vervolg	
118	*niet*	*alleen*	*mijn*	*mensen*	*vermoord*	*maar*	*mij*	*met*	*oorlog*	*vervolgd*	
	NEG	only	1POS	people	GE-murder	but	1POS	with	war	GE- persecute	

	verscheide	ryse[11]	dus	vrag	ik	u	nu	zeg	my	uwe	vole	
119	*verscheidene*	*keren.*	*Dus*	*vraag*	*ik*	*u*	*nu,*	*zeg*	*mij*	*uw*	*volle*	
	various	times	so	ask	1S	2S	now	say	1S	2POS	full	

	mening	de	onvrede	met	vrede	te	veranderen	of	met	orlog	
120	*mening:*	*de*	*onvrede*	*met*	*vrede*	*te*	*veranderen*	*of*	*met*	*oorlog?*	
	opinion	D	unrest	with	peace	to	change	or	with	war	

	ik	ben	Gans	gereet	om	my	te	verdedigen	op	Alle
121	*Ik*	*ben*	*gans*	*gereed*	*om*	*mij*	*te*	*verdedigen*	*op*	*alle*
	1S	am	totally	ready	for	1S	to	defend	on	all

---

[9] Could also be *vergaderen,* 'to meet'.

[10] Unclear, could be a reflexive *de hoofden zijn zich verplicht* or an early instance of an associative plural as is common in present day Afrikaans (*pa-hulle,* 'father-them').

[11] *Reyse, reijse* (obsolete in modern Dutch). Cf. 'Daghregister, Jan van Riebeeck, April 1654, ln.2433, Van der Merwe 1969:75; also attested in the KT, a.o. in no. 172, Hilletjie Kervel, dd. 31 August 1748 (st.6/1).

	moglyk	Wysen	dus	mak	ik	u	bekent	en	Wens	uwe
122	*mogelijke*	*wijzen.*	*[Al].dus*	*maak*	*ik*	*u*	*bekend*	*en*	*wens*	*uw*
	possible	ways	so	make	1S	2S	known	and	wish	2POS

	mening	te	hooren
123	*mening*	*te*	*horen.*
	opinion	to	hear

		Met	Achting	de	uwe
124		*Met*	*achting*	*de*	*uwe,*
		with	esteem	D	2POS

J Jonker Afrikander
Kapitein

42[12]

tseberes laste Janiwari 1881
125 *Tsebris, laatste januari 1881*

	We	Eerwaarde	Heer	Eich
126	*Wel*	*eerwaarde*	*heer*	*Eich,*
	well	honorable	Mr.	Eich

	ik	zend	deze	leders	naar	u	en
127	*Ik*	*zend*	*deze*	*letters*[13]	*naar*	*u*	*en*
	1S	send	D	letters	to	2S	and

	alle	Leeraars	van	Damaraland	daar	mede	vriendlijk
128	*alle*	*leraren*	*van*	*Damaraland,*	*daar*	*mee*	*vriendelijk*
	all	teachers	of	Damaraland	there	with	friendly

	verzoek	en	die	raad	an	uliden	geven.	als	uwe	vriend
129	*verzoekende*	*en*	*[-]*	*raad*	*aan*	*u*	*gevende,*	*als*	*uw*	*vriend.*
	request	and	D	advice	to	2PL	give	as	2POS	friend

	waner	uliden	Leeraars	die	brief	kryg	maak	klaar	en
130	*Wanneer*	*u,*	*leraren*	*deze*	*brief*	*krijgt,*	*maak*	*klaar*	*en*
	when	2PL	teachers	D	letter	get	make	ready	and

	padgeef	zoorver		Otjimbingw.	wad	maak	gyliden
131	*pad.geef*[14]	*zover*	*[als]*	*Otjimbingwe.*	*Wat*	*maken*	*jullie,*
	way.give	so.far		Otjimbingwe	what	make	2PL

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[12] Transcribed according to the original manuscript; not to the typescript of dr. Vedder (see footnote 6).

[13] Dutch: *letter*: 'character', (although the formal or archaic plural noun *letteren* also means 'letter'); possibly an Anglicism (English:'letter', Dutch: *brieven*).

[14] Not a Dutch lemma but contemporary Afrikaans for 'give way, withdraw, move'.

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	Leeraars	in	de	oorlog.	dat	is	niet	by	my	angenaam	dat				
132	*leraren*	*in*	*de*	*oorlog?*	*Dat*	*is*	*niet*	*bij*	*mij*	*aangenaam*	*dat*				
	teachers	in	D	war	that	is	NEG	by	1S	pleasant	that				
	gy<ol•liden>		Leeraars		teschen	de	oorlog	blyven.		ons	zyn		Leeraars		
133	*jullie,*		*leraren*		*tussen*	*de*	*oorlog*	*blijven.*		*Onze*	*3POS*		*leraren*		
	2PL		teachers		between	D	war	remain		1POS	3POS		teachers		
	zegt	ons	zoo	waner	ons	met	ons	zyn	oorlog	op		stasi	kom		
134	*zeggen*	*ons*	*zo:*	*wanneer*	*wij*	*met*	*onze*	*3POS*	*oorlog*	*op*	*[D]*	*statie*	*komen*		
	say	1PL	so	when	1PL	with	1POS	3POS	war	on		station	come		
	dan	moet	ons	volstrak	niet		Leeraars	of	een	witt-					
135	*dan*	*moeten*	*wij*	*volstrekt*	*niet*	*[D]*	*leraren*	*of*	*een*	*wit-*					
	then	must	1PL	absolutely	NEG		teachers	or	a	white					
	man	anrakken	of zelf	te	kerk	huis.	daarom								
136	*man*	*aanraken*	*of zelfs*	*het*	*kerk*	*huis.*	*Daarom*								
	man	touch	or even	D	church	house	therefore								
	houd	ons	gy	Leeraars	of	alle	witt	manen	als	ons	zyn				
137	*houden*	*wij*	*jullie,*	*leraren*	*of*	*alle*	*witte*	*mannen*	*als*	*onze*	*3POS*				
	keep	1PL	2S	teachers	or	all	white	men	as	1POS	3POS				
	vriend.	waarom	steek	uliden	Damras	in	uliden	zyn							
138	*vriend.*	*Waarom*	*steekt*	*u*	*Damaras*	*in*	*uw*	*3POS*							
	friend	why	stick	2PL	Damaras	in	2PL	3POS							
	huis,	die	Damras	schied	ons	uit	uliden	zyn	huis.						
139	*huis?*	*De*	*Damaras*	*schieten*	*ons*	*uit*	*uw*	*3POS*	*huis*						
	house	D	Damaras	shoot	1PL	out	2PL	3POS	house						
	uis.	daarom	zeg	ik	zoo	die	Eiste	zaderdag		dien		ons			
140	*uit.*	*Daarom*	*zeg*	*ik*	*zo,*	*de*	*eerste*[15]	*zaterdag*		*dat*		*wij*			
	out	therefore	say	1S	so	D	first	Saturday		REL		1PL			
	op	Barmen	kom.	zien	ons	zelf		ons	zyn	oogen			de		
141	*op*	*Barmen*	*komen,*	*zien*	*wij*	*zelf*	*[met]*	*onze*	*3POS*	*ogen*	*[dat]*		*de*		
	on	Barmen	come	see	1PL	self		1POS	3POS	eyes			D		
	Damras		schied	ons	uit	de	Leeraars	zyn		huis.	daar				
142	*Damaras*	*[be-]*	*schieten*	*ons*	*vanuit*	*de*	*leraren*	*3POS*		*huis.*	*Daar*				
	Damaras		shoot	us	from	D	teachers[16]	3POS		house	there				

[15] Alternatively Afrikaans *einste* 'the very (Saturday)', cf., ln.19, above.

[16] *Leeraars* could both be a genitive form, or a plural form. I treat this instance as the latter. Cf. ln.150, below.

	van	schied	de	Damras	een	van	ons	zyn	man	
143	*van*	*schieten*	*de*	*Damaras*	*een*	*van*	*onze*	*3POS*	*mannen*	
	from	shoot	D	Damaras	one	of	1POS	3POS	man	
	dood	genaame		Davit Golith		is	dat	regt	daarom	
144	*dood,*	*genaamd*		*David Goliat.*		*Is*	*dat*	*recht?*	*Daarom*	
	dood	named		David Goliat		is	that	right	therefore	
	zeg	ik	zoo.	gyliden	moed	livers	padgeef,		anders	
145	*zeg*	*ik*	*zo:*	*jullie*	*moeten*	*liever*	*pad.geven*		*anders*	
	say	1S	so	2PL	must	rather	way.give		otherwise	
	zal	ik	niet	uliden	onzien	en	ulide	als	onpartijdig	
146	*zal*	*ik*	*niet*	*u*	*ontzien*	*en*	*u*	*als*	*onpartijdig*	
	will	1S	NEG	2PL	spare	and	2PL	as	impartial	
	houden.	als	ons	weer	deze	maal	daar	kon	dan	
147	*houden.*	*Als*	*wij*	*weer*	*dit*	*maal*	*daar*	*komen*	*dan*	*[V]*
	keep	if	1PL	again	D	time	there	come	then	
	ons	niet	een	van	wettemenen	of	Leeraars	onpaartydig		
148	*wij*	*niet*	*een*	*van [D]*	*witte.mannen*	*of*	*leraren*	*onpartijdig*		
	1PL	NEG	one	of	white.men	or	teachers	impartial		
	houden.	als	ons	weer	zien	de	Damaras	weer	uit	de
149	*houden.*	*Als*	*wij*	*weer*	*zien*	*[dat]*	*de*	*Damaras*	*weer*	*uit*	*de*
	keep	if	1PL	again	see	D	Damaras	again	out	D
	Leeraars	zyn	huis	uit	ons	schied	danverzeker	ik	u	
150	*leraren*	*3POS*	*huis*	*uit*	*ons*	*[be-]schieten.*	*Dan.verzeker*	*ik*	*u*	*[...][17].*
	teachers	3POS	house	out	1PL	shoot	then.assure	1S	2S	
	hoor	en	verstan	myn	wel.	ik	smeek	uliden		
151	*Hoort*	*en*	*verstaat*	*mij*	*goed.*	*Ik*	*smeek*	*jullie*		
	hear	and	understand	1POS	well	1S	pray	you		
	met	vriendlyk	verzoek	geef	ons	dog	pad	lad	ons	
152	*met*	*vriendelijk*	*verzoek:*	*geef*	*ons*	*toch*	*pad.*	*Laat*	*ons*	
	with	friendly	request	give	1PL	MOD	way	let	1PL	

[17] There is another possible interpretation of this sentence (i), which could be put forward as evidence of Nama word-order, where the object pronoun is moved sentence initially (*IS 2S hoor*, '2S hear 1S', see Volume I, Chapter Six), relexified with Dutch vocabulary. However the sentence is too cryptic to decide either way.

i. *Als wij weer zien dat de Damaras weer uit het leraars huis uit [V], wij schieten dan verzekerd. Mij u hoort en verstaat mij goed.*
'If we see again that the Damaras [V] from the teachers house, we [will] shoot then for certain. You hear and understand me well.'

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	niet	schuldig	raak	voor	uliden	zoo	veer.	doed	ik		beesde
153	*niet*	*schuldig*	*raken*	*voor*	*u.*	*Zo*	*ver,*	*doe*	*ik*	*[D]*	*beste*
	NEG	guilty	become	for	2PL	so	far	do	1S		best

	Combelmende	an	u	en	an	alle	Leeraars	van	Damaraland
154	*komplimenten*	*aan*	*u*	*en*	*aan*	*alle*	*leraren*	*van*	*Damaraland.*
	compliments	to	2S	and	to	all	teachers	of	Damaraland

	ben	ik	uwe	vriend
155	*Ben*	*ik,*	*uw*	*vriend,*
	am	1S	2POS	friend

Jan Jonker Afrikaner
Kapitein

Aseberes 26 Mart 1881.
156 *Tsebris, 26 maart 1881*

	Wel	live	vriend	of	broeder	Kamaharero	
157	*Wel*	*lieve*	*vriend*	*of*	*broeder*	*Kamaharero*	
	well	dear	friend	or	brother	Kamaharero	

	en	ook	Tjinake	of	|apa Dama
158	*en*	*ook*	*Tjinake*	*of*	*|apa Dama,*
	and	also	Tjinake	or	|apa Dama

	Dad	is	niet	vandag	heb	ik	u	brieften	geschryf
159	*Dat*	*is*	*niet*	*vandaag*	*heb*	*ik*	*u*	*brieven*	*geschreven.*
	It	is	NEG	today	PRF	1S	2S	letter	GE-write

	waarom	is	uliden	niet	kan	een	anword	brief	myn	
160	*Waarom*	*zijn*	*jullie*	*niet*	*kunnen*[18]	*een*	*antwoord*	*brief*	*mij*	
	why	are	2PL	NEG	can	an	answer	letter	1POS	
	schryven	hoe	is	dat	gyliden	zoo	steemeg.	zien	lieve	vriend
161	*schrijven?*	*Hoe[zo]*	*zijn*	*[-]*	*jullie*	*zo*	*stemmig?*	*Zie,*	*lieve*	*vriend*
	write	how	is	that	2PL	so	moody	see	dear	friend

	|apa Damap	ik	zal	niet	meer		brief	aan	u.	hier	ben	ik
162	*|apa Damap,*	*ik*	*zal*	*niet*	*meer*	*[D]*	*brief*	*aan*	*u*	*[V]*[19]	*Hier*	*heb*	*ik*
	|apa Damap	1S	will	NEG	more		letter	to	2S		here	PRF	1S

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[18] Dutch: **jullie zijn kunnen*, however, semantic equivalent of *in staat zijn* 'to be able to'.

[19] Alternatively: *brieven* is used as a verb cf. English 'to brief someone'.

	een brief	ge kryg		dien	Leeraar	daar	in	wy	ons	gevrag
163	*een brief*	*gekregen*	*[P]*	*de*	*leraar*	*waarin*	*-*	*hij*[20]	*ons*	*vraagt*
	a letter	GE-get		D	teacher	REL	in	1PL	1PL	GE-ask

	aangaande	vrede	ons	is	altyd	gewelig	om	vrede	de	
164	*aangaande*	*[D] vrede.*	*Wij*	*zijn*	*altijd*	*gewillig*	*om*	*vrede*	*te*	
	about	peace	1PL	is	always	willing	for	peace	to	

	behouden	maar	daar	is	een	man	daar	in	de	Damaraland
165	*behouden*	*maar*	*daar*	*is*	*een*	*man*	*daar*	*in*	*[-]*	*Damaraland*
	keep	but	there	is	one	man	there	in	D	Damaraland

	wad	niet	vrede	hebben	ge	naam	Kamaharero	en	ook	Anirop.
166	*die*	*geen*	*vrede*	*heeft*	*genaamd -*		*Kamaharero*	*en*	*ook*	*Anirop.*
	REL	NEG	peace	have	named		Kamaharero	and	also	Anirop

	als gy	neig	is	om	vrede	de	maak	ik	zeg	u	als	uwe
167	*Als gij*	*geneigd*	*bent*	*om*	*vrede*	*te*	*maken,*	*ik*	*zeg*	*u,*	*als*	*uw*
	if 2S	inclined	is	for	peace	to	make	1S	say	2S	if	2POS

	broeder	geef	ik	u	deze	raad	maak	maar	eers die
168	*broeder*	*geef*	*ik*	*u*	*deze*	*raad:*	*maak*	*maar*	*eerst die*
	brother	give	1S	2S	D	advice	make	MOD	first D

	twee	manen	dood	stek	met		asagae	dat	is	door	die
169	*twee*	*mannen*	*dood.*	*Steek*	*met*	*[D]*	*assegai.*	*Het*	*zijn*	*[-]*[21]	*die*
	two	men	dead	stab	with		assegai	it	is	by	D

	twee	manen	wat	die	vele	ploed	storten.	en	ook	vele	zillen
170	*twee*	*mannen*	*die*	*het*	*vele*	*bloed*	*storten*	*en*	*nog*	*vele*	*zullen [in]*
	two	men	REL	D	many	blood	shed	and	still	many	will

	iewegheid	geverloren.		henen	twee	begeerd	niet	vrede	de	leven	
171	*eeuwigheid*	*verloren*	*[V].*	*Zij*	*twee*	*begeren*	*niet*	*[P] vrede*	*te*	*leven.*	
	eternity	GE-lose		3PL	two	wish	NEG	peace	to	live	

	zoo	moet	u	als	u	deze	brief	kry	alle	menschen	by	roep
172	*Zo*	*moet*	*u*	*als*	*u*	*deze*	*brief*	*krijgt*	*alle*	*mensen*	*by[een]*	*roepen*
	so	must	2S	if	2S	D	letter	get	all	people	together	call

	en	die	twee	manen	eers	dood	mak	dan	zal	ik	en	u
173	*en*	*die*	*twee*	*mannen*	*eerst*	*dood*	*maken*	*dan*	*zullen*	*ik*	*en*	*u*
	and	D	two	men	first	dead	make	then	will	1S	and	2S

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[20] Alternatively an infelicitous passive construction: *een brief waarin wij worden gevraagd over de vrede*. 'a letter in which we were asked about peace'.

[21] Alternatively an infelicitous passive construction: *Het is door die twee mannen dat het vele bloed gestort wordt*, 'It is because of (by) those two men that so much blood is spilled'.

	vaste	vrede	mak	als	u	henen	dooden	mak	myn	
174	*vaste*	*vrede*	*maken.*	*Als*	*u*	*hen*	*doodt,*	*maak*	*mij*	*[dit]*
	steady	peace	make	if	2S	3PL	dead	make	1POS	

	hasdig	beken	de	zal	ons	bede	vrede	maaken	zonder oorlog
175	*haastig*	*bekend,*	*dan*	*zullen*	*wij*	*beide*	*vrede*	*maken,*	*zonder oorlog*
	hasty	known	then	will	1PL	both	peace	make	without war

	de	mak	dat	is	de	goede raade		heb	ik	u	gegeven	zoo	veer
176	*te*	*maken.*	*Dat*	*is*	*de*	*goede raad [REL]*		*heb*	*ik*	*u*	*gegeven*	*zo*	*ver*
	to	make	that	is	D	good	advice	PRF	1S	2S	GE-give	so	far

	ben	ik	uwe	broeder
177	*Ben*	*ik,*	*uw*	*broeder,*
	am	1S	2POS	brother

Jan Jonker Afrikaner
Kaptein

Rodebank 12 augustus 1881
178 *Rooibank, 12 augustus 1881*

	Wel	live	broeder
179	*Wel*	*lieve*	*broeder*
	well	dear	brother

P. B u k u s
180 *P. Beukus*

	hier	mede	maak	ik	u	beken	zaderdag	heb	op	Rodebank	
181	*Hier*	*mee*	*maak*	*ik*	*u*	*bekend,*	*zaterdag*	*ben [1S]*	*op*	*Rooibank*	
	here	with	make	1S	2S	known	Saturday	PRF	on	Rooibank	

	gekom	doen	hoor	ik	hier	by de menschen		dat	Mr. Jordan
182	*gekomen*	*toen*	*hoor*	*ik*	*hier*	*bij de mensen*		*dat*	*mr. Jordaan*
	GE-come	then	hear	1S	here	by D	people	that	Mr. Jordan

	is	naar	Rehoboth	doe	voor	by	gegaan.	die	weis	kryg
183	*is*	*naar*	*Rehoboth*	*toe*	*voorbij*	-	*gegaan. [Op]*	*die*	*wijze*	*krijg*
	PRF	to	Rehoboth	to	past	-	GE-go	D	way	get

	ik	niet	Mr. Jordan	op	zyn	huis	en	die	menschen	verhal	my
184	*ik*	*niet*	*mr. Jordaan*	*bij*	*zijn*	*huis*	*en*	*de*	*mensen*	*verhalen*	*mij [dat]*
	1S	NEG	Mr. Jordaan	on	3POS	house	and	D	people	tell	1S

	Mr. Jordan	zal	deze	week	in	kome	op	zyn	huis.	Zoo	denk
185	*mr. Jordaan*	*zal*	*deze*	*week*	*[-]*	*komen*	*bij*	*zijn*	*huis*	*Zo*	*denk*
	Mr. Jordaan	will	D	week	in	come	on	3POS	house	so	think

	ik, ik	zal	maar	deze	week		hem	hier	in	wachten	terwyl
186	*ik, ik*	*zal*	*maar*	*deze*	*week*	*[op]*	*hem*	*hier*	*[-]*	*wachten.*	*Terwijl*
	1S 1S	will	MOD	D	week		3S	here	in	wait	while

	ik zoo ver	gekom	ben.	Hy		is	de	eenigste	man	wat	ommuni-
187	*ik zo ver*	*gekomen*	*ben.*	*Hij*		*is*	*de*	*enigste*	*man*	*die*	*ammuni-*
	1S so far	GE-come	PRF	3S		is	D	only	man	REL	ammunition

	tie heeft.	zoo	moet	ulieden		niet	kan	ons	verkwaalyk	
188	*tie heeft.*	*Zo*	*moeten*	*jullie*		*niet*	*kunnen*[22]	*ons*	*kwalijk*	
	- has	so	must	2PL		NEG	can	1PL	amiss	

	neemen verder	hier	by		baai	is	niet	schiedgoederen		zegt
189	*nemen. Verder,*	*hier*	*bij*	*[D]*	*baai*	*zijn*	*geen*	*schiet.goederen*		*zegt*
	take further	here	by		bay	is	NEG	shoot.goods		says

	de Mr. Cocht.	zoo	zien	ik	niet	kans		om	zonder	
190	*[-] mr. Koch.*	*Zo*	*zie*	*ik*	*geen*	*kans*		*om*	*zonder*	
	D Mr. Koch	now	see	1S	NEG	chance		for	without	

	schiedgoederen	tueis	de	gaan.	zoo	moet	uliden	niet	
191	*schiet.goederen*	*thuis*	*te*	*gaan.*	*Zo*	*moeten*	*jullie*	*niet*	
	shoot.goods	home	to	go	so	must	2PL	NEG	

	myn	hasdig	wachten.		En	maak	u	ook	andere	Hooften	
192	*mij*	*haastig*	*[ver]wachten*		*en*	*maakt*	*u*	*ook*	*[D] andere*	*hoofden*	
	1S	hastily	wait		and	make	2S	also	other	chiefs	

	daar	vaan		lad	weden		Zoo	ver.	
193	*daarvan*	-	*[te]*	*laten*	*weten.*		*Zo*	*ver.*	
	there	of		let	know		so	far	

	hier	by	ons	is	nog	alles	wel	door		genade	van	ons
194	*Hier*	*bij*	*ons*	*is*	*nog*	*alles*	*wel*	*door*	*[D]*	*genade*	*van*	*onze*
	here	by	1PL	is	still	all	well	by		mercy	of	1POS

	Heere	God		hoop	ik	by	uliden	ook		zulfte		zyn.
195	*Heer*	*God.*	*[XP]*	*hoop*	*ik*	*bij*	*jullie*	*ook*	*[het]*	*zelfde*	*[te]*	*zijn.*
	Lord	God		hope	1S	by	2PL	also		same		be

	Groet	ik	an	u
196	*Groet*	*ik*	*aan*	*u,*
	greet	1S	to	2S

---

[22] Dutch: **moeten kunnen kwalijk nemen*, 'must can take amiss'. Cf. *kan* in ln. 160, above.

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	ben	ik	uwe	Vriend
197	*Ben*	*ik*	*uw*	*vriend*
	am	1S	2POS	friend

Jan Jonker Africaner
Kapitein

Hau-xas 20ste Maart. 1889

198 *Hau-xas, 20 maart 1889*

	Lieve	Neef	Kapitein	Hendrik Witbooi
199	*Lieve*	*neef,*	*kapitein*	*Hendrik Witbooi.*
	dear	nephew	captain	Hendrik Witbooi

	Goede	en	lieve	Neef !
200	*Goede*	*en*	*lieve*	*neef,*
	good	and	dear	nephew

	Met	deze	regelen	ben	ik	dis	mijne	weinige	woorden
201	*Met*	*deze*	*regels*	*begin*	*ik*	*[-]*[23]	*mijn*	*weinige*	*woorden*
	with	D	lines	am	1S	it.is	1POS	few	words

	de	schreven.	Dr. Goering	heef	mij	eenën	Poodschap
202	*te*	*schrijven.*	*Dr. Göring*	*heeft*	*mij*	*een*	*boodschap*
	to	write	Dr. Göring	PRF	1S	one	message

	gezonden,	laat		vrede	tusschen	Ulieder	de	spreken	U
203	*gezonden*	*[-]*	*[om]*	*vrede*	*tussen*	*u*	*te*	*spreken.*	*U*
	GE-send	let		peace	between	2PL	to	speak	2S

	en	Cap. Manasa,		en	laat	ik	de	vrede	aan	Ulieder
204	*en*	*kapitein Manasse.*		*En*	*dat*	*ik*	*de*	*vrede*	*aan*	*u*
	and	captain Manasse		and	let	1S	D	peace	to	2PL

	spreek,	En	als	de	Mas:	of	u	Edl.	Dat	aannem	dan
205	*spreek*	*en*	*als*	*[-]*	*Manasse*	*of*	*u*	*edele*	*dat*	*aanneemt*	*dan*
	speak	and	when	D	Manasse	or	2S	honor	that	accept	then

	zal	ik	hem	ook	uitnoodigen,	als	onpartijdig	man
206	*zal*	*ik*	*hem*	*ook*	*uitnodigen,*	*als*	*onpartijdig*	*man.*
	will	1S	3S	also	invite	as	impartial	man

---

[23] Alternatively *dus*, 'thus'.

	Daarom	ben	ik	Manasa	geroep	over	dat	vrede	om			
207	*Daarom*	*heb*	*ik*	*Manasse*	*geroepen,*	*over*	*de*	*vrede,*	*opdat*			
	therefore	PRF	1S	Manasse	GE-call	about	D	peace	for			
	hem	ook	komen	En	ik	toch	aan	hem	ook	spreek	En	
208	*hij*	*ook*	*komt*	*en*	*ik*	*toch*	*[-]*	*hem*	*ook*	*spreek.*	*En*	
	3S	also	come	and	1S	MOD	to	3S	also	speak	and	
	spreek	tusschen	Ulieder	als	een	Midelaar	van	de				
209	*spreek*	*tussen*	*u*	*als*	*een*	*bemiddelaar*	*van*	*de*				
	speak	between	2PL	as	D	mediator	of	D				
	vrede;	Zoo	kunt	u	Eers	Luister	hoe	ik	zal	maken		
210	*vrede.*	*Zo*	*kunt*	*u*	*eerst*	*luisteren*	*hoe*	*ik*	*zal*	*maken*		
	peace	so	can	2S	first	listen	how	1S	will	make		
	als	de	Kap.	Mas.	kom,	Want	Manssa	komt	door	mijn		
211	*als*	*[-]*	*kapitein*	*Manasse*	*komt,*	*want*	*Manasse*	*komt*	*op*	*mijn*		
	if	D	captain	Manasse	come	for	Manasse	come	by	1POS		
	roep,	niet	om	u	de	schiet,		op	verlede	tyd	heb	ik	aan
212	*roep,*	*niet*	*om*	*u*	*te*	*schieten.*	*[In het]*	*[-]*	*verleden*	*[-]*	*heb*	*ik*	*aan*
	call	NEG	for	2S	to	shoot		on	past	time	PRF	1S	to
	u	gezegt	mijn	zoon	wach	eers	maar	gij	heb	niet			
213	*u*	*gezegd:*	*mijn*	*zoon*	*wacht*	*eerst,*	*maar*	*gij*	*hebt*	*niet*			
	2S	GE-say	1POS	son	wait	first	but	2S	PRF	NEG			
	dat	gedaan	zoo	heb	ik	u	niet	van	dag	verstaan	Ik		
214	*dat*	*gedaan.*	*Zo*	*heb*	*ik*	*u*	*niet*	*vandaag*	*-*	*verstaan.*	*Ik*		
	this	GE-do	so	PRF	1S	2S	NEG	today	-	understand	1S		
	weet	dat	de	man	u	veiand	is	maar	gij	zou	wach		
215	*weet*	*dat*	*de*	*man*	*uw*	*vijand*	*is*	*maar*	*gij*	*zou*	*wachten*		
	know	that	D	man	2S	enemy	is	but	2S	would	wait		
	en	zien	hoe	ik	met	u	maken	Want	ik	weet	dat	gy	tegen
216	*en*	*zien*	*hoe*	*ik*	*met*	*u*	*maak,*	*want*	*ik*	*weet*	*dat*	*gij*	*tegen*
	and	see	how	1S	with	2S	make	for	1S	know	that	2S	against
	mij	valsche	getuige	heeft	in	debrieven	van	mij	die				
217	*mij*	*vals*	*getuigd*	*hebt*	*in*	*de.brieven*	*van*	*mij*	*die*				
	1S	false	GE-witness	PRF	in	D.letters	of	1S	REL				
	ik	aan	Kap.	Mannasa	en	Paul	visser	gescheven			Zoo		
218	*ik*	*aan*	*kapitein*	*Manasse*	*en*	*Paul*	*Visser*	*geschreven*	*[PRF].*		*Zo*		
	1S	to	captain	Manasse	and	Paul	Visser	GE-write.			so		

	kan	u	eers	wach	en	zien	Daarom	geloof	ik	niet	of		
219	*kunt*	*u*	*eerst*	*wachten*	*en*	*zien.*	*Daarom*	*geloof*	*ik*	*niet*	*dat*		
	can	2S	first	wait	and	see	therefore	believe	1S	NEG	whether		
	dat	waarachtig.		Die	u	aan	my	zeg	Ik	heb	geen		
220	*dat*	*waarachtig*	*[is]*	*wat*	*u*	*aan*	*mij*	*zegt.*	*Ik*	*heb*	*geen*		
	it	true		REL	2S	to	1S	say	1S	have	NEG		
	oorloog	tegen	u	dit	Woord	geloof	ik	niet	Dit	is			
221	*oorlog*	*tegen*	*u.*	*Dit*	*woord*	*geloof*	*ik*	*niet.*	*Dat*	*is*			
	war	against	2S	D	word	believe	1S	NEG	that	is			
	de	verzoek	van	ontverstaand	Verder	lieve	Neef	staat					
222	*het*	*verzoek*	*van*	*onverstand.*	*Verder*	*lieve*	*neef,*	*sta*					
	D	request	from	misunderstand	further	dear	nephew	stand					
	nu	stil	maak	toch	de	vrede,	zoo	zeg	ik	aan	u	nog-	
223	*nu*	*stil,*	*maak*	*toch*	*[-]*	*vrede,*	*zo*	*zeg*	*ik*	*aan*	*u*	*nochtans*	
	now	still	make	MOD	D	peace	so	say	1S	to	2S	nevertheless	
	thans	zoover	met	deze	weinige	regelen	met		vriendelyk				
224	- .	*Zover,*	*met*	*deze*	*weinige*	*regels*	*met*	*[D]*	*vriendelijk*				
	-	so.far	with	D	few	lines	with		friendly				
	verzoek	antwoord	my	haast	verder	zal	ik	niet	vrede				
225	*verzoek,*	*antwoordt*	*mij*	*haastig.*	*Verder*	*zal*	*ik*	*geen*	*vrede*				
	request	answer	1S	hasty	further	will	1S	NEG	peace				
	spreek	nu	de	woorden	en	verder	zal	ik	niet	Mannasa			
226	*spreken*	*[dan] nu*		*deze*	*woorden*	*en*	*verder*	*zal*	*ik*	*niet*	*Manasse*		
	speak	now	D	words	and	further	will	1S	NEG	Manasse			
	ophouden	als	hij	wil	naar	u	gaan	morgen	of	ormorgen			
227	*ophouden*	*als*	*hij*	*wil*	*naar*	*u*	*gaan*	*morgen*	*of*	*overmorgen*			
	detain	if	3S	want	to	2S	go	tomorrow	or	the.day.after.tomorrow			
	Zoo	zal	u	mijne	menschen	van	u	uit	Afrikaners	en			
228	*Zo*	*zult*	*u*	*mijn*	*mensen*	*van*	*u*	*uit,*[24]	*Afrikaners*	*en*			
	so	will	2S	1POS	people	from	2S	out	Afrikaners	and			

[24] Dutch: *uitsturen, wegsturen, terugsturen*, 'send out, send away, return'. The multifunctional usage of prepositions as verbs as in (i) has generally become possible in non-standard Afrikaans, although I have not been able to attest instances with *uit*.

ia. *Hy oor die berg*
He overs the mountain
'He crosses the mountain'

b. *Hy het geaf*
He has off-ed
'He has died'

	Boois	laat	hun	op	één	zijde	blyf	verder	hoorde	ik	dat
229	*Boois,*	*laat*	*hen*	*op*	*een*	*zijde*	*blijven.*	*Verder*	*hoorde*	*ik*	*dat*
	Boois	let	3PL	on	one	side	stay	further	hear-PST	1S	that

	gij	eenen	vasten	Traaktaat	met		basteren	gemak			zoo
230	*gij*	*een*	*vast*	*traktaat*	*met*	*[D]*	*Basters*	*gemaakt*	*[PRF].*		*Zo*
	2S	one	binding	treaty	with		Basters	GE-make			so

	heef	die	basteren	ook	in	u	oorlog	gekomen	de	Kap'
231	*zijn*	*de*	*Basters*	*ook*	*in*	*uw*	*oorlog*	*gekomen.*	*De*	*kapitein*
	PRF	D	Basters	also	in	2S war		GE-come	D	captain

	zien	ook	de	basters	met	Zijne	oogen.
232	*ziet*	*ook*	*de*	*Basters*	*met*	*zijn*	*ogen.*
	sees	also	D	Basters	with	3POS	eyes.

		Groetenis	ik	ben	U Oom
233		*Groeten,*	*ik*	*ben*	*uw oom,*
		greetings	1S	am	2S uncle

		En	Capitein	
234		*en*	*kapitein*	
		and	captain	

Jan Jonker Afrikaner.

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Authentication of the manuscripts

To authenticate the authorship of the letters in the present corpus a graphologist and an expert in paleography have examined photocopies of the original documents, all including Jan Jonker Afrikaner's signature. Their observations are discussed in Chapter Three (Volume I, p.93-94). To illustrate their findings, photocopies of the letters are included here as follows:

Specimen A, from letter no 10, dated 11.01.1867, Period I, section IA, lines 371-395 177
Specimen B, from letter no 18, dated 18.8.1869, Period I, section IB, lines 338-360 179
Specimen C, from letter no 33, dated 15.4.1872, Period II, lines 169-184 181
Specimen D, from letter no 40, dated 18.5.1880, Period III, lines 68-107 183
Specimen E, from letter no 42, dated 31.1.1881, Period III, lines 125-155 185

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SPECIMEN A

Genootschaap gij Leeuwen van Daniel
Der Heeren ons en zijn Heiligen Gij gedenk dese
ons Zijn Land niet te zenden ons Godvruchte
Verkondigers in Zijn uitgelegen gebied daarom ik
is in onze school gewees en deze nuwe Lere heb
ik Maandag die brief Zelf geschreven
daarom heb ik niet verdag nuwe Heiligen
Heergoden daarom Zoeked ik u weer dese
Heer liefs Kahn dat wij Afgrijselijkheden op
of Bedrogen meer andere Heiligen hebben wij
als u niet weggegaan schrijven wij dag
dezen antwoord, als blijft het ik u Kardelij
Verkeerd gelijden Leg Daniel hier die dag
niet gegaan van Cryrasis de wet Commune Leo
Daniel niet stel liegen op Cryland
Nieuwer Leo Daniel op dese van ons Zijn bees
Ge stolen u is onze Hof van de Daniel
u stan niet in de Daniel van Ly Support
Verkondigen niemand ik Zijn nuwe u hier
in die gestan ons die Daniel Koning de gewen
ons Rôcwensche ge stán gewoon dan Zal
u dis Land de Krijgen

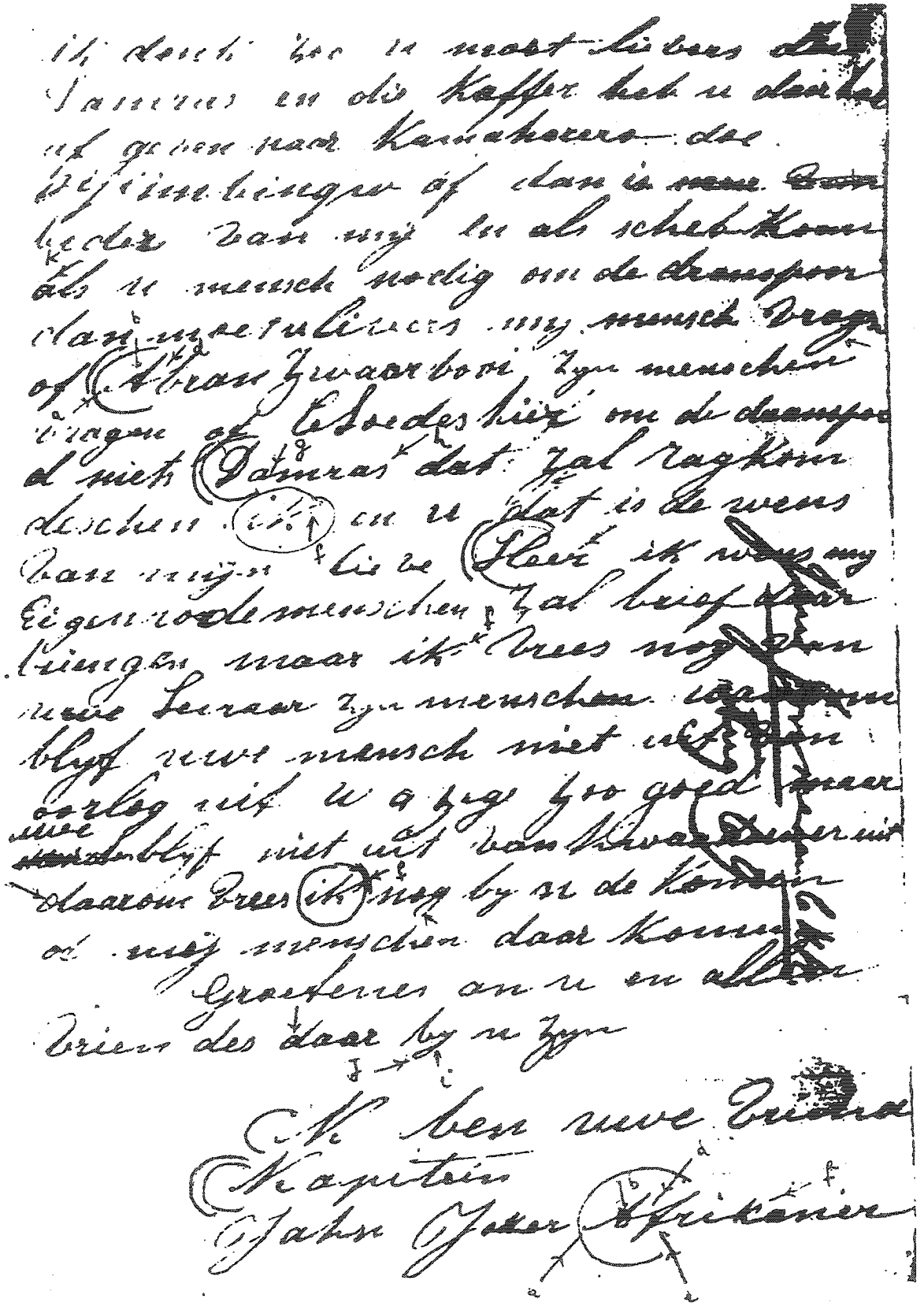
Ja Jood ik bes de Conden
u u en alle Creu de nuwsten op Zijn Leeuwen

Ik bes uwe Vriend

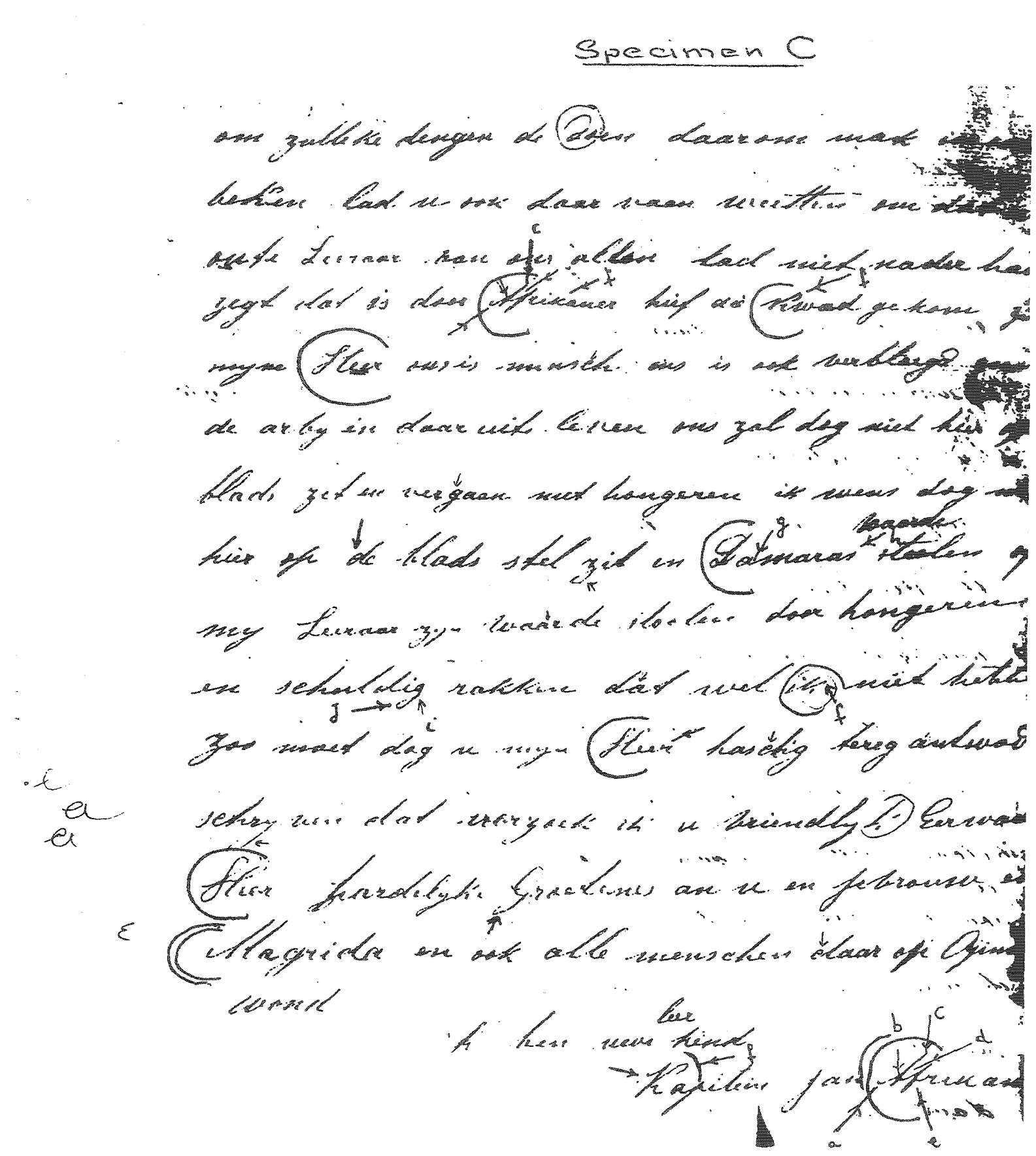
F. J. Jonker
Afrikaner

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SPECIMEN B



Specimen C



Specimen D

Wendtlock 18 Mei 1880

Mijn lieve en waarde
Kapitein Kannahaneo

Ik heb uwe brief ge krege
en gij vrag mijn een vrag. daar op
die vrag antwoord ik u hier mede
met Kaarde woorden. daar is niet een
van mij menschen daar in die Kans Berg
of een van my Bergdamras. ik zal u
nog naderhand duidelijk schrijven
dat schien mij zoo. gij verstaan mij
brief niet wel. daarna stuur ik uw Eig
naar land u niet zyn monden hooren
En gij schryft ook van schimmen die
het ik hier op de plaas Wendtlock. gemaa
Maar ik schaam daar op u antwoord
de ge ben. daarom ons brief wrede
gemaak en in die Wrede gezegt nimmer
Zal andere menschen verkender met zyn
Kregen de Kapiten. waarom Kom uw
mannen hier na deze Kerk plaas

met Zijn Canneda Zonder meer onder
daarom het ik deze getuigen gemaakt
door die Kinigheid van mijn menschen
niet door u . hier is nog niet geen een
man of ossen gebring dier ik hier bang
maak voor mijn huis . hier by ons is nog
veil ik wens by uluden Zelven de meeste
Groetenes an ze en an allen

in dents naamen Ds Joel-
graive Thaan op Okahandja dan Zal
ik self bey u koma dan Zal ons
Heer verder ons Zyn Ore bekragelig
of reg maak ons Zyn Vrede is niet
goed ons Zyn Vrede is maker an reg
de maats

Een ik mine mede broeder
Jan Jonker Afrikaner
Keetstein

ik hoog brugge nog eene Brugg
Aanderias Hamaker is ons geroep
in de brief wat reg is voor die moep
aangaan de van Aanderias

Specimen E

Ryckevorsel 1e dezer laste januari 1881

Aan Eerwaarde Heer Eich

U. Zend deze leden naar u en alle Leeraars van Drenthe land daar wel te brandbij verzoek en die raad aan te liden geven. als nwe Leeraar naar te liden Leeraars die brief krijg maakt klaar en stadgeef Leeraar Rijmbergen. wad waard gy liden Leeraar in de oorlog. dat is niet by my aangenaam dat gy liden Leeraars tegen de oorlog blijven. aan zyn Leeraar zegt ons zyn wij een met ons zyn oorlog ofstasi kan, dan moet ons volstrak niet Leeraars of een uitt-waar aanraakten of zelf te Kerk huis. daarom houd ons gy Leeraars of uitt uitt waarden als aan zyn vriend. waarom steek u liden Daniras in u liden zyn huis, die Daniras schied ons uit u liden zyn huis. huis. daarom zeg ik zoo die Eirste Zaterdag dien ons op Barmen kom. zien ons zelf ons zyn oogen de Daniras schied ons uit de Leeraars zyn huis, dan van schied de Daniras een van ons zyn man dood gemaakt David Goliath is dat regt daarom zeg ik zoo. gy liden moed liners stadgeef, anders zal ik niet u liden ansien en u liden als onpertijdig houden. als ons nwe daze maal daar kom dan ons niet een van welkomen of Leeraars onpaarty dig houden. als ons nwe zien de Daniras nwe uit de Leeraars zyn huis uit ons schied dan vergeten ik u

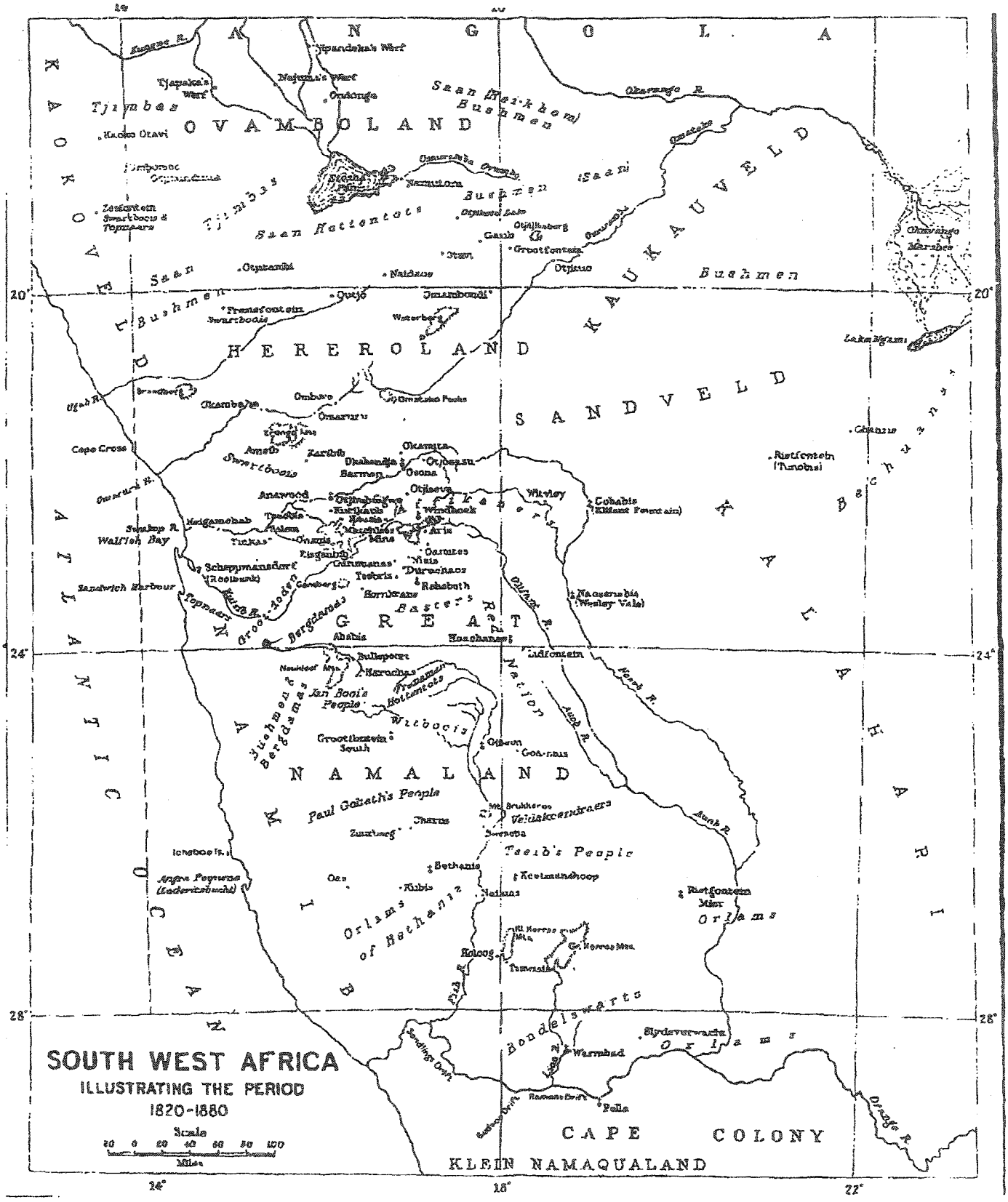
hoor en verstaan mogen met U. U. zeer welde-
met vriendelijk verzoek geef ons dog spoedig laat ons
niet verlangen naar uwe weder komst, doet ik heyde
Vermelmende aan u en aan alle Leeraars van Damaraland

Uw ik uw Broeder

Jan Jonker Afrikaner

Kapitein

APPENDIX II



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1863

After Jan Jonker's father, Jonker Afrikaner, had died[1] in August 1861, his brother Christian took over the leadership of the Oorlam Afrikaner polity, but he died only shortly afterwards (June 15, 1863) in a confrontation between his commando and Andersson's Herero army. Notwithstanding that the positions of the various parties involved in this battle remain vague (whether and how much Andersson was involved, what instigated the battle etc. (cf. Lau ed., 1989:236ff.), the present correspondence gives an impression of what it all meant to Jan Jonker Afrikaner.

Letter Nº 1 is a short note to Willem Swartbooi, chief of the Swartboois at Rehoboth, notifying him of the battle casualties in which his brother had died. He writes him an imploring, almost panick-stricken letter, addressing Willem as 'father' although they were neither relatives, friends or even a close allies (see footnote 3). Two missives to missionaries in the same tone follow, in which Jan blames them for his misfortune. Letter Nº 3 (25.9.1863) and Nº 4 (26.9.1863), to missionary Kleinschmidt and missionary Weber respectively, are almost identical in wording: "you, my dear missionary, are the cause of the death of my brother (and father), and of all my troubles. You have been sent to spill our blood - not to preach." These letters are not signed, perhaps unfinished, but Jan Jonker must have written similar letters to others too, as the next entry is a letter (Nº 5, dated 29.10.1863) in reply to missionary Vollmer, who defends himself against Jan's accusations.[2] It explicates further why Jan Jonker would think that the missionaries are the main source of his troubles. The letters give one the impression that Jan took on the leadership of his people quite unprepared, but with a certain amount of fixed ideas about his contemporaries. In between these is a letter (Nº 2, dd. 5.8.1863) to quarrelling relatives. It is hard to place it in the history of the developments as nothing further is known about the people mentioned and addressed in this letter. It may perhaps show that Jan was a religious man at heart; of an empathetic nature, or, bound to meddling in other people's affairs.

All five of these letters are from a collection with the heading "Sundry correspondence from the Hottentots at the battle of the 22nd of June 1864 when I was crippled for life by a gunshot wound. [signed] Charles John Andersson." (NA AP Vol.11); the entire collection is reproduced in Lau ed., 1989:249ff.

---

[1] Jonker Afrikaner died of an inflammation he had contracted on a trip to Ovamboland (Lau 1987:127).

[2] The letter from missionary Vollmer to Jan Jonker in answer to these accusations, dd. 15.10.1863, is included here, between letter Nº 4 and Nº 5, p.193-195.

1 [Appendix I, Section A, ln.1-9]

Windhoek, July 9, 1863

To my dear old father Willem Swartbooi,[3]

I write you these few lines, to let you know that this time a terrible disaster has struck us. It seems that God has left us this year, left us between the Damaras. The Damaras have killed us and we, Afrikaners stand alone in this war. Seven men have been killed, including Jan, and my brother Christiaan, as well as Jager, Uncle Jonas and three brothers, Jager, Jan and Timothy.

2 [Appendix I, Section A, ln. 10-28]

Windhoek, August 5, 1863

To my loving Uncle, Jacobus Booi,[4]

I write you this letter with a request, and important advice. I have heard that you and your brother Jonas[5] have enmity between you, and, also between your sons. I wish I were able to come down and mediate peace, but I have no time to come. I am sorry. I will give you advice. I think this: you must first let other matters rest, let us work out the important matters, dear brothers of my mother. How will you justify such speech? Stop that. If you care for me then vindicate such stories and make peace, then I will be very happy and grateful. Let the Lord reign in your heart and bring peace amongst you and make you brothers in God's word, once more. Why should love be abandoned before God? That is how it seems to me. I think this: when such adverse words come between you, then you both must remember God. That is my hope. Therefore I say now: pray to him,

---

[3] Leader of the Swartboois, a powerful Nama-Hottentot polity at Rehoboth under missionary Kleinschmidt. The address 'father' is rather used as a term of endearment, as Jan Jonker and Willem were sooner life-time enemies then friendly because Willem most often sided with Kamaharero (Lau ed., 1989:314). Because of this, Jan Jonker ousted the Swartboois and their missionary from Rehoboth a year later, in August 1864. However, also in subsequent letters (cf. Nº 8, dd 3.11.1866) Jan Jonker addresses Willem as 'father' and refers to a kinship relation ("for you are my mother's blood"). At the same time this casts doubt on who Jan's actual mother was, as his father's wife is mentioned only as Beetje Booi, from the Oorlam polity of the Bethany people (see footnote 4 and 5).

[4] Likely the brother of Jan's father's wife, Beetje Booi (see footnote 3). There is another Jacobus Booi(s), who is a brother of Jan Booi(s), not to be confused with Jacobus Booi(s) (also Frederiks) the eldest son of Jan Booi(s), who was the chief of the Boois people from the 1860s (see footnote 5). Then again, in letter Nº 27 Jan writes about the death of Jacobus Booi as his father-in-law (Appendix I, Section B, ln. 748).

[5] Jan (John) Boois, also called Jan Frederiks, leader of the Bethany people until the mid 1840s when his son David Christian (Boois/Frederiks) succeeded him. There is some confusion about their name: *Boois* is reportedly a change from *Buys* which they made when they fled the Cape Colony to avoid persecution; they lived with missionary Knudsen. David Christian split from the Bethany people for good in the mid-1850s dropping their surname altogether.

let him reign in your hearts and bless you, do not let it be the way it is now. That is my wish. I also pray and hope, that he will help me.

3 [Appendix I, Section A, ln. 29-54]

Windhoek, 25 September, 1863

The Honorable Mr. Kleinschmidt,[6]

Well, I do know about your advice and supplications to us, Afrikaners, I know very well that you wish to destroy us. Further, I wanted to know if the Society[7] has sent you here in order to spill our blood? Well, you have spoiled many souls with your advice, and yet, you want to spill some more? I can prove to you that you are as sly as a snake. I can prove it to you. Also on the day of the deceased old captain,[8] I can prove that you were a sly teacher. The big problem of the country, which prevents the country from enjoying peace, is your slyness. Therefore I will research this further and find out whether the Society has sent you to spill our blood, for it is not just today[9] that you pray and plea over our blood, it was also on the day of the deceased old captain that you were thirsting over our blood.

So I will inquire further with the Society to learn whether you were sent to destroy us. For it was not just today. Therefore I will inquire. So that I can know how to behave, for I had thought that you were sent to preach the Gospel? Well, further I will want to know whether you were sent over our blood, as well as tell them that you hinder the treaty of the nation, that you hamper all the good causes of the nation. We are a nation. So, it is unnecessary to hinder the nation's treaty; and it is not just only today. You are a teacher who started this country, therefore you must do good, we have great expectations that you will establish peace, but it seems you rather instigate trouble.

---

[6] Franz Heinrich Kleinschmidt, Rhenish missionary under the Swartboois at Rehoboth from 1845 till his death (2.9.1864). He died of exposure after fleeing from Rehoboth, when it was attacked by Jan Jonker's commando in August 1864.

[7] *Rheinische Missions Gesellschaft*, Germany.

[8] Refers to the death of his father, Jonker Afrikaner, two years earlier (18.8.1861).

[9] Refers to the death of his brother, Christian Afrikaner who died in battle a few months earlier (15.6.1863).

Windhoek, 26 September 1863

The Honorable Mr. Weber,[10]

Well, I know your advice and your supplications to us, Afrikaners, that you wish to destroy us very well. Further I want to know if the Society has sent you in order to spill our blood, for many souls have been lost by your advice. Further, also that you obstruct the treaty which the paramount chiefs of this country have formulated. And further, that you just wish to spill our blood. Did the Society send you to spill our blood? I will research this further, so I know how to behave towards you, for it is not just today, it was also on the day of the deceased old captain. Therefore I am very serious, for I presumed that you were sent to preach the Gospel to the people. Therefore it is unbelievable to me that you obstruct the union of the nation. We are a nation. Thus, it is not needed, therefore, you must stay away from the alliance of the nation, for that is none of your business. Therefore you must stay away; if you will not stay away then I will sort this out further, for this is none of your business. You work on the nation's treaty in order to make us in discord. Well, we are a nation and do not need your work on this. So, now, I will keep myself to this, for we are a nation.

In reply to an obviously similar letter (not traced), missionary Vollmer wrote Jan Jonker Afrikaner:[11]

---

[10] Friedrich Wilhelm Weber. Factory worker and general assistant before he entered the Rhenish mission seminary in 1854; he was a missionary at Berseba 1857-1860, in Gobabis 1860-1885, in Warmbad 1867-1880, then he left for the Cape.

[11] Hoachanas, de. 15 Oktober 1863 Aan Jan Afrikaner
Met verwondering heb ik uwen brief gelezen deen gij aan mijn geschreven hebt. Het lijk mijn dat gij het welt nog erger maken dan uwe overleden Vader. Zeg mijn toch: met welke redenen en regt kunt gij mijn beschuldigen dat ik uwe bloed vergiet? Wanner hebt gij gezien oft gehoord dat ik iemand doot gemakt hebt of eenen anderen den rad gegeven om dood te maken? Schamt gij u niet om zulke dingen in de wereld te Schreven? Ment gij dat u dat zal eere bregen? Nun, Jan, dien hebt gij uit gedacht. Ook beschuldigt gij mijn dat gij door mijnen Raad al veele zielen verloren hebt. Zeg mij tocht Jan, wanner hebt ik ulieden eenen raad gegeven om oorlogt te maken? Hebt ik ulieden naar Azab gestuurt om daar menschen te moorden, was dat mijne raad? Hebt ik ulieden zulk eenen raad gegeven?

Toen ik met u gespreken hebt toen hebt ik met u over het word gods gespreken en niet over oorlogt. Gij beroept u ook op de Traktat dien de Hoofden van het Land uitgedacht heben. Maar waarom zijt gij dan een overtreder van die Traktat? En uwen overleden broeder heeft hun ook overtreden. Waarom hebt gijlieden dan niet naar die Traktat gedaan, wan die Traktaat zegt in Artikel 3 als volgt: Geen Hoofd word toegelaaten kommando te doen of te laaten doen naar de Damras, zoo staat en de Traktaat; en nu hebt gijlieden het zonder wettelijk oorzak [overtreden] en zijt daar over aan stukken geslagen worden. Was dat nu mijn schuld dat gijlieden het verbond gebraken hebt? Hebt ik ulieden zulk een raad gegeven? Was het met ulieden eigen boosheid dat gij gegaan zijt om bloed te vergieten en dat nogt met bedriegerij en list.

Gijlieden hebt voor eenen anderen enen kuil gegraven maar gijlieden zijt in den kuil gevallen dien gij gemakt hebt; zoo zegt het word gods in Psalm 7 vers 16. Maar het is dat ulieden het word Gods veracht en gedurig van u weg staat; daarom heeft God de almachtige ulieden nu ook eens in de handen von uwe vijanden overgegeven. Bij God is het een

(continued...)

Hoachanas, October 15, 1863. To Jan Afrikaner

In amazement I read the letter that you sent me. It seems that you want to make it even worse then your deceased father did. Tell me for which reason and with which right can you accuse me of spilling your blood? When did you see, or have you heard that I killed someone, or, that I have given others the advice to kill? Aren't you ashamed to write such things into the world? Do you think it is going to give you honor? Now, Jan you are mistaken. Also you accuse me of having lost many souls through my advice. Tell me Jan, when did I give you advice to wage war? Did I send you to Azab[12] to murder the people there, was that my advice? Did I give you such advice?

---

[11](...continued)
kleine ding den grooten klein en den kleinen groot te maken. Het is eenen waarschuwing voor u en uwe volk maar gij welt ook dese waarschuwing niet hooren en ook niet bekeeren.

De Heer Jesus zegt in het Evangelie Hooftstuk 13 vers 3 en 5 twee maal tot de Joden: 'Maar indien gij u niet bekeert zoo zult gij allen desgelijk vergaan.' En ik zegt u ook in den naam onzes Heeren Jesus: indien gij u niet bekeert die nu nog overgebleven zijt van de groote slacht zoo zult gij allen desgelijk vergaan. Den Joden is het overgekomen op eenen vreeselijke wijsen om dat zij zich niet tot din Heer Jesus bekeert heben, en gij niet omkeert van dezen verdervelijken weg op dien gij gaat het zal ulieden net zoo gaan als hun.

Denk niet, Jan, dat het voor mij eene Blijdschap is dat de Heere God u zoo moet slaan maar wat zal God doen daar gij nooit naar zijn woord hooren welt en aan hetzelven geduurig ongehoorzaam zijt. Het is voor mijn geen blijdschap als ik zien en hooren moet dat zoo veele zielen en het bederf loopen en dat moedswellig zoo als gij doet daar om zegt ik u. Jan*, keer om van desen weg want die is voor u eene verder verderfelijke weg, hij brengt u met al uwe menschen in het onuitbluschelijke vuur. God de Heer heeft uwen overledenen vader als eenen zambok in zijne hand gehad en heeft door hem de Namaquas, de Damras en de Owambos of /Nawis geklapt en geslagen. [Hij heft] U nu niet meer als eenen zambok noodig, de volken zijn al genoeg geslagen. Daarom is de zambok nu ook aan stukken gebreken en weggeworpen och of gij nu nog hooren mochtet en aannemen wat voor uwe ziel en ligchaam tot behoudenis is, dan zoude het met u nog weder beter woorden. Ik men het woord der genade in Jesus Christus des zoone Gods.

Maar wie kan dat hoopen daar gij maar allenlijk der zonde en den Duivel dient en der zonde Knecht zijt en ook haar Knecht blijven welt. Zoe lange het zoo is, is eer geene reding voor u. Maar het zoude mijn hart verkwekken en mijn verblijden als ik zoude hooren dat gij u tot God wil dat bekeeren en Genade zoeken in Jesus Christus. Dit wensch ik voor u mijn gansche hart, die ik bin
F.H. Vollmer
Leeraar te Hoachanas [NA AP Vol. 11, Lau ed.,1989:270]

[12] *Atsâb*, Nama name for *Otjimbingwe*. Key 19th century settlement, the center of all trading and missionary activities. (See Lau ed., 1989:310 for an interpretation of the name as either "to refresh oneself" or "a beautiful place".)

When I spoke to you, we spoke about God's word and not about war. You appeal to the Treaty[13] which the chiefs of the Country made. But why are you a transgressor of the Treaty yourself? And your deceased brother also breached it. Why did you not act according to the Treaty, because Article 3 of the Treaty reads: no chief will be allowed to make a commando or to order a commando against the Damaras, that is what is written in the Treaty, and now you have breached it without legal cause and therefore you have been beaten. Was it my fault that you broke the law? Did I give you such advice? Wasn't it your own wickedness that you went [into battle] and that, moreover with treachery and guile.

You dug a hole for others, but you have fallen into the hole which you made yourself, thus says the word of God, Psalm 7, 16. But it is so that you continuously scorn God's word and hinder it; therefore God, the almighty, for once, has delivered you in the hands of your enemies. It is easy for God to make the small [people] big and the big [people] small. It is a warning to you and your people, but even this warning you do not want to hear and you do not want to become converted.

The Lord Jesus says in the Gospel, Chapter 13, 3 and 5, twice to the Jews: "But if you do not convert yourself, then you will be doomed." And I, now, I say to you to in the name of our Lord Jesus: if you and those who have survived the big slaughter will not be converted, you will all be doomed. It happened to the Jews in a terrible way, because they did not convert themselves to the Lord Jesus, and if you do not retreat from this pernicious road you are on, the same will happen to you, as it happened to them.

Jan, do not think, that it pleases me that the Lord God has to beat you this way, but what will God do if you never want to listen to his word and are continually disobedient to him. It is not a pleasure for me to have to see and hear that so many souls are wantonly on the downhill path to perdition by your doing. Therefore I tell you, Jan, time and over again, retreat from this pernicious road, because it is a destructive path, it will take you and all your people into the inextinguishable inferno. God had your deceased father in his hand like a *sambok*[14] and through him he hit and beat the Namaquas, the Damaras and the Owambos or /Nawis. Now he doesn't need you anymore as a *sambok*, the people have been beaten enough. Therefore the *sambok* has been broken to pieces and has been thrown away; if you may only hear and accept which is best for the salvation of your soul and body, then all would be so much better now. I mean, the word of mercy in Jesus Christ, the son of God.

But who can have such hopes, when you solely serve to sin and the

---

[13] *Traktaat "Van ons vereenigde Kapiteins en Raadslieden op den 9 January 1858"*, see footnote 18.

[14] Malay, in South African English 'sjambok', short thick whip made of pleated leather or a piece of thick animal skin (rhinoceros or hippopotamus).

Devil; act as the servant of sin and insists to remain that way. As long as it is like that, there is no salvation. But, it would bring joy to my heart and happiness, if I were to hear that you want to convert yourself to God and seek his Mercy in Jesus Christ. This is what I wish for you, with all my heart, I am,

F.H. Vollmer[15]
Missionary in Hoachanas[16]

5 [Appendix I. Section A. ln. 77-142]

Windhoek, 29 October 1863

To Mr. Vollmer, Captain of Hoachanas,

I received your letter and heard what you say to me. You also ask me to tell you when you spilled our, Afrikaners, blood. I have heard a lot from old Cornelius'[17] people. For years on end you have given old Cornelius the advice to spill our, the Afrikaners' blood. So I know your opinion. If you and I had spoken earlier, then I would have been able to tell you straight forward who of my men have told me all this. Further you speak about Article 3.[18] It is true what you say about the Article.

---

[15] Franz Heinrich Vollmer, Rhenish missionary, worked in Rehoboth from 1848-1853; established Hoachanas (see footnote 16, below) as a missionary station for the Red Nation under chief //Oaseb in 1853. He died 3.2.1867, a victim of the ongoing conflicts between the various parties. In ill-health he and his family had to be abandoned in a hasty retreat and although he was taken exemplary care of by the 'enemy' (the Afrikaners), his life could not be saved. See further Lau 1987:138.

[16] Nama: */Hoaxa!nâs*, established as a mission station for the Kai//khaun (Roonasie, Red Nation, see footnote 47) under chief //Oaseb by missionary Vollmer in 1853, but with hardly any inhabitants for many years as //Oaseb was based along the Fish and Skaap Rivers. The settlement was abandoned in 1866 and re-established in 1873.

[17] European name for //Oaseb, the paramount chief of the Kai//khaun (Rooinasie, Red Nation) who lived with missionary Vollmer (see footnote 16, above). He was a close ally to Jan at all times; he died shortly after they got defeated by a combined Berseba-Gibeon commando in 1867.

[18] *Art. 3 Traktaat "Van ons vereenigde Kapiteins en Raadslieden op den 9 January 1858."*
Article 3 of the treaty of the united Captains and Council on the 9th of January 1858.

Geen hoofd word toegelaten	No chief will be allowed
Kommando te doen of te laten doen	to do or to let do a Commando
naar de Damras, zonder wettelyke	against the Damaras without legal
oorzaak van de Damras. Wanneer	cause of the Damaras. When
de mannen van een Hoofd uit on-	the men of a chief dis-
gehoorzaamheid zulks zelfs doen, en	obediently do such a thing, and
wanneer hy hun dan daarover be-	when he then wants to discipline
straffen wil en hun straffen op-	them about that and give

(continued...)

but I ask you, what have the captains been told? Their chiefs, all of them will have to obey article 3. I ask you again how do the rules of the article read? It says this: when people are unruly, then the other chiefs will come together and punish the offenders by force. Look Vollmer, I am not saying you must send old Cornelius down here, that he must spill our blood. Listen to me, I say this: leave the captains alone, let the captains come to help me; the country is unsafe now. Let the captains come and bring peace in the country. There are two ways of aid, evil is also abetting, but peace is as well. That is my wish.

You spoke with the Damaras and Namaquas and Ovambos and with my deceased father and also with my deceased brother. Why did you speak such things? After all, you are a teacher. I ask you again did you come here to preach war? Answer me, Vollmer! I thought you were sent here to preach God's word, but I see now that you came to teach war and evil. I see now that it is for that very reason your pupils cannot even write or read a letter.

You also speak about me. I haven't done anything wrong yet. You spoke about the day my father died and about the day my brother died; I ask you now if I were to send forces or a commando to your place, to take your animals and cattle from you, would you still want to speak peace with me? And if I took other goods, or boxes or stole your jacket, would you speak to me again? Why did you raise old matters? I will now tell you what Kamaharero did, the day that he took on the desire to become free. He didn't let us know that he was free, at night, without us knowing, he just departed with our animals, our cattle and sheep. Then we reclaimed our goods. Then the Damaras didn't want to give them back to us; then we went back to Asab to ask for our cattle back. Then the Damaras were the first ones to start shooting. Tell me, what are we to blame? What do I owe you? I didn't speak of the matters from the old days, you spoke about the old days. Further you also said that we, Afrikaners scorned God's word. Tell me when did I tell you that I scorned God's word? When did you ever come here to preach God's word, or even once, came to my settlement to preach God's word and saw that we, Afrikaners, held God's word in disdain? Tell me! I did not scorn God's word. I wished I could obtain a teacher, but the likes of you[19] I do not need. You, Rhenish missionaries, you always write lies in your letters. Therefore I do not need you Germans. Thus, Mr. Vollmer, you must reply me posthaste, I ask you.

I remain,
J. Jonker Afrikaner, Chief of Damaraland

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[18](...continued)

legd, en zy dan onwillig zyn zich daar onder te buigen, en de Hoofd onmagtig is hen te bestraffen. Dan zal de naaste hoofd verpligt zyn om die hoofd tot hulp te komen om de zaak te bestraffen.	them punishment, and they are refractory to bend themselves there under, and the chief is unable to punish them. Then the next chief will be obliged to come to the aid of this chief to penalize the action.

(NA A237, II [p.49])

[19] Unclear passage in the original, cf. Appendix I, Section A, ln. 136, footnote 23.

1866

The first letter (Nº 6, not dated) in the correspondence from 1866, is merely a brief announcement that Jan is nearing the settlement of a trader in 'enemy' territory. Compared to the 1863-letters he seems to have settled in securely in his role as chief of the Afrikaner polity. He signs his name as "the paramount chief" of the Afrikaners.

In the preceding year, the traders Andersson and Green had decided to side with Kamaharero (the Beesdamara), to break Jan from his powerful position over trade routes and in politics (cf. Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.1.3). This was done under the guise of the "war of liberation" for the "oppressed" Beesdamara. Andersson and Green, in spite of the "freedom fighters" unwillingness to engage in battle, became very active to turn Otjimbingwe into a military fort. They managed to muster about 2500 men, armed them with firearms of all sorts, assegais, spears, knobkerries, bows and arrows and then made ready for the attack.

> After a festive farewell service spurred on by Hahn, the departing army complete with the new 'national flag' designed by Baines and Andersson, began their march to Rehoboth. There they planned to join forces with the Swartbooi commando, one of their key military supports (another being Andersson's mercenaries from the Cape), and then to attack the Afrikaners and their allies (Lau 1987:133).

On the 22nd of June 1864 the forces engaged in battle, from which neither appears to have emerged as victor. The Afrikaners retreated after a day's fighting and Andersson was (quite seriously) wounded.

In the mean time the Rehobothers felt extremely unsafe for having fought against their immediate neighbors and decided to trek *en masse* to Otjimbingwe. However, just outside Rehoboth they were surprised by an Afrikaner commando (August 1864), had their cattle taken, their wagons burnt and several wounded and killed. Their missionary, Kleinschmidt, and his family walked through the *veld* for four days to Otjimbingwe; he died a few weeks later from exhaustion. The Rehoboth Swartboois did not regroup until 1867 when they settled at Ameib (Lau 1987:134).

The Beesdamaras (/Herero) appear to have become rather frightened, even intimidated by the confrontation in June and the spectacle of the powerful Rehobothers in retreat. Kamaharero and his followers deserted Otjimbingwe and its surroundings, and all communications between him and the Europeans seem to have broken down towards the end of 1864.When the Rehobothers wished to attack the Afrikaners and their allies once more in November, they failed to convince any of the remaining Otjimbingwe Herero to join them. By late December 1864, all Herero had abandoned Otjimbingwe, and they did not reappear for any positive action in their "war of independence" until the formal 1870 peace conferences (Lau 1987:134). Apparently Andersson, partly due to the injury he sustained in this battle retreated from the scene after this (Lau ed., 1989: 236ff.).

According to reports from the missionaries, the Oorlam polities in the south (Gibeon, Bethany, Berseba) now took the field against the Afrikaner alliance. They had not helped them in the war

against Andersson's army, and had made an agreement not to allow any traders from Angra Pequena or the Cape to pass through to replenish the Afrikaners' supplies. (The route to Walvis Bay for commodities still being blocked by remnants of Andersson's forces.) The year is further colored with reports of skirmishes backwards and forth between these parties, from which Kamaharero is conspicuously absent.

The following letters relate further to historical developments.

In letter Nº 7 (September 8, 1866) to missionary Hahn, Jan Jonker justifies himself about the events of 1863 in the "first war", the battle at Otjimbingwe, where his brother Christian was killed. He further explains his position to Hahn. The facts he relates are quite similar to his narrative of the same events in a subsequent letter, to Cape governor Wodehouse (Nº 13, included here, dd. 22 April 1869).

Letter Nº 8 (November 3, 1866), to Willem Swartbooi is written in a supplicating tone. However, it seems to be quite hypocritical, considering the facts presented in history about the Swartboois, (*infra*), as well as in the light of letter Nº 9, included here, written on the same day to missionary Hahn, in which Jan voices his apprehension of his "old father" Willem Swartbooi (cf. footnote 3, p. 190). He again questions the truthfulness and intentions of the missionaries with respect to the future of Namaland.

6 [Appendix I, Section A, ln. 143-164]

Dabes[20]

My dear Mr. Breker,[21]

I write you these few lines to let you know that I have come as far as Dabes. I have heard you have goods to trade and therefore I came this far, to visit your place. I lack, therefore I am pressed for clothing, therefore I come to your place, to trade. Please Sir, let the Damaras know this, so they will not fear me. I did not come to do any mischief. I have come to trade, let this also be known to Daniel C.[22] I will come to your place tomorrow. Your Damaras need not fear me.

Warm regards to you and your wife,

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[20] Not traced in this spelling.

[21] Possibly missionary Brincker, Rhenish missionary at Otjimbingwe 1863-64, later at Otjikango (Gross Barmen, Neu-Barmen) 1864-1878 (Lau ed., 1989:296). (Cf. letter Nº 17, Appendix I, Section B, ln. 240 *mij Heer Breker wel Barmen dreken* 'Mr. B. wants to move to Barmen'.) Otjikango was named 'New Barmen' because the missionaries had been compelled to leave their first station, Barmen (Windhoek), named after Barmen in Germany, the seat of the RMS (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1279).

[22] Possibly Daniel Cloete, preacher, evangelist, Bible translator and interpreter; close associate to Hahn. See footnote 40, *infra*.

I am your friend,
Jan Jonker Africaners
Honorable paramount chief of the Afrikaners

7 [Appendix I, Section A, ln. 165-202]

Kubakop,[23] 8 September 1866

The Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I have received your letter and heard your opinion, therefore I make you and Kamaharero this answer. See, Mr. Hahn, I will tell you the truth: the day we made the first war against Otjimbingwe was not my day,[24] it was Christian's day; that day Christian killed many and many men[25] were killed. Then on my day I did not wish to spill more blood. Therefore I made peace after the war. But Kamaharero did not hear me. Then I sent my mother, then Kamaharero robbed my mother and killed some of my Damaras. Then I moved away from my settlement, for the sake of peace. But then the war-faring Herero followed me, attacked me and murdered my wife.[26] Thus, it was not I who has yet waged war against the Damaras, for the sake of peace.

Further I did not get any cattle from Mr. Kleinschmidt[27] to send to you. I have left the wagons of the old gentleman on the werf but the goods that were in the wagons have been taken apart by the people. All I got were some books, which I will send you.

I am your friend,
Jan John Ker Afrikaner, to Damaraland.

PS. I wish to return to my land, then I will come to you myself, to negotiate peace at your place, to speak to you in person.

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[23] Also *Schaffluss* (German). Today: *Skaap River*, derived from Nama *Gub*, '(male) sheep'. Reportedly close to the Afrikaner settlement and territory of the Red Nation, chief //Oaseb (Lau 1987:29).

[24] Refers to the battle on June 15, 1863 in which Jan's brother Christian, then the leader of the Afrikaners got himself killed.

[25] Christian attacked with a commando of 400 to 500 men, losing more than a third; ca. 60 of trader Andersson's Herero were killed (Lau 1987:129).

[26] Little can be found about Jan's wife (/wives?) or about this incident. Lau (ed., 1989:292) mentions that Jan had married a Mietje Hendrik in December 1842. In a letter to Governor Wodehouse dd. 22 April 1869 (included here, Nº. 13) he also refers to his wife and children being killed after the Otjimbingwe war. Then again in letter Nº. 17, (dd. 21.7.1869, included here), he asks Hahn to send his wife sewing materials, and in letter Nº 27 (dd. 8.10.1870) he reports the death of Jacobus Booi (see footnote 4) as his father-in-law.

[27] Probably one of the children of missionary Franz Kleinschmidt who had been established at Rehoboth with the Swartbooi's. Cf. footnote 6.

Kubakop,[28] 3 November 1866

To Captain Willem Swartbooi,[29]

I write these few lines to you and your son Petrus.[30] My question is what is the argument. Are you separating from me? Tell me, so that I will know the cause, of what I have done to you. I do not know myself what I have done to you. Neither do I know what you would have done to us, therefore I am not coming to your werf to wage you war.[31] I have nothing against you for you are of my mother's bloodline.[32] But I have realized how hypocritical you are. I am asking you this friendly, understand me well. I did not have a teacher at my place, but you had a teacher[33] at your place. When will your anger lessen and all deceit, hypocrisy, shirtiness and backbiting stop? Further I have to do with Andersson and Kamaharero, since Andersson and Kamaharero came to play into this situation. Tell me, when would I come to your place to wage a war against you or send people to steal your goods? Tell me old Willem, would I send you a letter or a message that you have to help the Damaras? Would I call you up for war? You are a neutral man. What would you have to seek in a war between me and the Damaras, tell me where my blame lies? I did not call you. You went into it yourself, by your own mischievousness. Further, I beg you that we rather make peace, that is my wish, my dear old father. Don't you people also want peace or do you rather wage war? Tell me straight, old father, do you want to make more war or do you want peace? Please, old father, send me a reply posthaste, I ask you kindly.

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[28] See footnote 23.

[29] See footnote 3.

[30] One of Willem's younger sons. Also a Swartbooi leader, although apparently Willem's position was taken over by an elder son, Abraham Swartbooi at some time between 1864-1867.

[31] In August 1864 Jan had ousted the Swartboois from their settlement at Rehoboth; they apparently only re-grouped in 1867 at Ameib. Cf. "1866". It is unclear where they are at this point in time or who the leader is.

[32] There does not seem to be any kinship relation between them though, as the Swartboois are a Nama-Oorlam tribe. However, also in other letters he addresses Willem as 'father'. Cf. footnote 3.

[33] Rhenish missionary Franz Kleinschmidt. See footnote 6.

Kubakop,[34] 3 November 1866

The Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I received your letter, read it and understood all well. I truly want peace but I hear that old Willem Swartbooi[35] does not want to make peace before he gets his wagons back.[36] So you must first talk about peace with old Swartbooi, then I will make peace. I tell you that unless old Willem makes peace I will not make peace. Look, Mr. Hahn, I do not believe old Willem and Kamaharero. When the captains, old Willem and Kamaharero, make like this: they make peace on one side and war on the other side. Therefore I do not trust those two men as captains. Further I ask you, you are a teacher, why don't you come to my settlement, or do you fear me? Tell me, look, Mr. Hahn, I will tell you truly, I do not wish to discuss the peace by correspondence. I wish that we should rather speak about peace in person, then we will understand each other well. That is my wish. I did not have a teacher, therefore I did not make war against old Willem and Kamaharero's settlements, but old Willem and Kamaharero they had a teacher to advise them to spill our blood. Tell me, Mr. Hahn, what does the position entail? Kamaharero had a teacher, old Willem also had a teacher. Why do I get war from teachers? Why don't you make this place right, before you deprive me? Why don't you watch over your side? Therefore, it seems to me that you, teachers, have not been sent to preach God's word but that you have been sent to advise the Damaras to spill our, Afrikaners' blood. If you want peace then you must come to me yourself. That is my wish. That you and I speak about the peace in person. So far.

1867

As a result of the wars in the previous years, at the onset three forces vie for power: the Oorlam Afrikaners, the combined Oorlam chiefs "of the south", and the Damara/Herero, with the missionaries and traders "aiding" either one or other party. It is not very clear who took which position, 1866 seems to have been a time when all concerned were reorientating themselves, which direction would suit their purposes best. The political picture that emerges can be described as a cat and mouse game. Missionary sources characterize the time as turbulent and unstable: "[the situation] gets worse and ever more complicated [...] Almost everywhere quarrels and feuds emerge." (Missionary Weber, quoted in Lau 1987:137).

Earlier, various skirmishes had been going on, chiefly between Jan Jonker and the other Oorlam polities; Jan Jonker's attempts to secure supplies by winning a missionary, then by winning David

[34] See footnote 23.

[35] See footnote 3.

[36] Unclear passage, see Appendix I, Section A, ln. 256.

Christian of Bethany as an ally (to gain access to goods through Angra Pequena), both failed.

> There was a most complicated and continual process of reshuffling of forces, alternating between hostile clashes, reconciliations and attempted alliances, followed by even sharper clashes, creating leaders and sub-leaders almost daily (Lau 1987:137).

Lau (*ibid.*) recapitulates that the documentary sources then cease to mention a "Herero war", and, that the central region was again safe for Europeans. Both Hahn and Andersson apparently had a sizeable group of 'hunters', based in Ondonga, hunting and trading for them. However, the power battles between the Namaland chiefs went on in full. Missionary Weber spoke of the 'boring war' in Namaland, which focused only on cattle. However, the conflicts were also violent. Missionary Vollmer, (with the Red Nation, chief //Oaseb (Cornelius)) became one of the casualties.

In 1867, //Oaseb and his men were compelled to take flight after a skirmish with a combined Gibeon and Berseba commando (the southern captains). The latter pursued them and at a place near Rehoboth managed to overwhelm //Oaseb's commando so conclusively that they were able to take "all the cattle, sheep and goats; wagons and domestic utensils". //Oaseb died very shortly afterwards, and his son Barnabas began to sue for peace. Although Barnabas agreed to a "peace treaty" with the southern captains, he rejoined the Afrikaners' forces. Jan Jonker, having apparently recovered, attacked Otjimbingwe on December 13, 1867, together with his allies. As Hahn noted, they had clearly been supported by "many from the South [pro-Afrikaner people from Bethany, Berseba and Gibeon] because the Red Nation, Jan Afrikaner and Jan Boois could not lead such a number of people into the field" (Lau *ibid.*).

They were fairly successful and Hahn claimed they had poisoned their bullets. After dusk they went to Anawood, near Otjimbingwe, rested, providing themselves well with cattle and 30 bushels of wheat stored there for the missionary household. A large part of the captured cattle were sent to Barnabas' cattle posts. A few days later, on 22 December 1867, a commando from Otjimbingwe surprised Jan Jonker and his men at Anawood. They were entirely defeated, in what Hahn himself called a "bloodbath". This, incredible as it may seem, was missionary Hahn's own doing, about which he, moreover, boasted to his Society:

> Nobody would have undertaken anything against the Namaquas if Green and I had not requested the young men [at Otjimbingwe] to do so. Independent of the frightened chiefs, about 800 started for Anawood and initiated the massacre (Lau 1987:139).

He explained that the Herero chiefs nearby, Maharero and Zeraua, had been demoralized, anxious and surprised that the Afrikaners were still able to almost take Otjimbingwe. They were not at all prepared to pursue the attackers.

The first letter from Jan, Nº 10 written January 11, 1867, to Hahn bears a threatening tone. Yet, it also shows his insecurity towards Hahn: should he proceed and attack, or stay loyal to his 'teacher'. As Jan conveys it himself, the overruling factor is his gratefulness to Hahn for teaching him to read and write. Between the lines, one can read, actually against his better judgement.

Ten months later (letter Nº 11, dd. 2 October 1867) he seems to have become intensely worried about Hahn's intent and motives. The letter has an angry tone: after three lines Jan signs off; then in a PS follows an inquiry, whether or not he can continue to retain his trust in Hahn. He accuses Hahn of posing as the captain of Otjimbingwe.

Acting according to the warning in the letters, Jan attacked Otjimbingwe in December that year.

10 [Appendix I, Section A, ln. 300-395]

Zaogab,[37] 11 January 1867

The Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I have received your answer and I have understood everything well. It is getting late now because of your friend's[38] doings. Therefore I write you this letter, to inform you and to induce you to make arrangements to leave your place, if you want to retain your place. That is my wish. You and Mrs. Kleinschmidt,[39] Daniel[40] and Samuel Gertze.[41] So that I will not get the blame if something would happen to you one day. I don't need it to have your blood spilled. Therefore I wrote Daniel that letter, to let you know what my intentions are. Why don't you stay away from the war with the Damaras? Stay away until the war is finished. I am giving you this privilege this time, but if you do not stay away from the Damaras this time, the next time, I will not make any discrimination. Look, it is not just today that I have written letters to you, teachers, or all other peace-loving people. You must stay away from the Damaras and from Otjimbingwe so that I will know who are peace-loving people and who are not peace-loving people. Look, my dear friend, I did not aspire to touch your house, but when we fight, and if you have not gone to another place, then this time I will certainly

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[37] Possibly Tsauchab (Tsaoxab), dead-end river West of Maltahöhe (Nienaber & Raper 1980 [1977]:1050).

[38] Not clear what he is referring to.

[39] Wife of missionary Kleinschmidt. After he and the Swartboois were routed from Rehoboth, Kleinschmidt died from exhaustion, (see 1866 letters). Mrs. Hanna Kleinschmidt joined Hahn in Otjimbingwe and worked for the RMS as a teacher and shop assistant (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1269).

[40] Most probably Daniel Cloete, close associate of Hahn (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1250). Lau (ed., 1989:300) notes that he and Samuel Gertze (see footnote 41, *infra*) were the pillars of the RMS establishment. However, McKiernan (1954:83) characterizes him as a drunkard: "We returned to Okombake or Natbout, as the place is called by Hottentots [...]. There is a missionary at Natbout in charge Clute, a Baastard; but Daniel is fond of brandy, and brandy and religion do not work well together, so his success was not very great. He was finally dispossessed by the society before I left the country."

[41] An employee of the RMS, worked in various capacities, amongst which as an agricultural instructor for Herero converts. After his wife died (April 1861) and left him with 8 children he married the first baptised Herero speaking woman, Johanna (Urieta), who was a servant, teacher and linguist to Hahn; she worked with Hahn on a Herero-German grammar; she could speak Dutch, German, English, Nama and Herero (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1296).

have your house burnt down. Then you must not blame me, that I am telling you. Further, you must not write me any peace-letters again. Look, it is not only just today that we agreed upon peace, but the Damaras are not disturbed by our peace, they carry on with war. Look, we agree on peace on the one side, the Damaras carry on murdering our people and shooting our possessions while we are at peace. How can we believe in this peace? It seems to me at a time, on the one hand the Damaras had fire, you on the other hand had cold water to kill the fire. Therefore I do not believe in peace-letters anymore. You say that it was not Andersson[42] who started the rebellion. I will have to find out, but that is not true. I know that Andersson and you started the rebellion. I heard it from the late Phillipus,[43] before he died and also from Kamaharero and from all the other Damaras. Look, my dear teacher, because of your letter, old Willem Swartbooi shot up my werf, I know that too but therefore I do not side with them. Why don't you stay away from the war? I see, for you have given the Damaras this advice, therefore you don't stay away from the war. Wasn't it you who sent for the war which killed the late old Amraal Lambert's wife[44] and children? Therefore Andersson is still innocent even today. Andersson will not wage war against my settlement, shoot down my werf. Therefore Andersson causes rebellion amongst the Damaras. Everyone who says so, says it is the advice of old Mr. Hahn, and that it is Andersson who has been killing us, that's what the Damaras tell us all.

I can see now that it truly was on your advice, that the Damaras started this rebellion. You have dug us a big hole and we, who fight, must stay in it, that I have seen with my own eyes. I have other teachers now, Mr. Krönlein[45] and Mr. Kreft.[46] The Society sent you, Hahn, to unite the Damaras to spill our blood over our land, and you were not sent to preach God's word. See my dear old teacher, I was in your school and by your lessons I have written this letter today myself. Therefore I do not need to spill your blood. Therefore I plead with you again this time: dear Hahn, leave Otjimbingwe or the fighting must take place in different place than where you live. If you don't leave, then write me soonest a return answer, please. I beg you kindest. You say the Damaras started out that day in order to become a free nation, but why would the Damaras not live quietly in a free country? When will the Damaras stop stealing our animals? You are the chief of the Damaras, aren't you? You stand amongst the Damaras to preach God's word, don't you? But I see now that you have been amongst them to give them gunpowder to destroy and kill the Red people[47] so you will obtain

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[42] See Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.1.3, and above.

[43] Interpreter for Kleinschmidt in the1840s (Herero/Dutch). He became involved in the political and military conflicts. He died just after the "first war", the battle of Otjimbingwe, 23.6.1863.

[44] However, Lau ed., 1984-1985:1273 reports that Amraal and all his family died in a small pox epidemic in 1864 (also Preller 1941:65). Amraal was a cousin of Jan's father, who had come from Clanwilliam (Cape) to Namaland in 1814. It could be that he is referring to a raid on Gobabis in April 1865 by groups of Mbanderu. See Lau 1987:136.

[45] Johann Georg Krönlein, missionary. He worked at Berseba, learned Nama from Daniel Cloete (see footnote 40) and became a renowned linguist in later years.

[46] Hermann Heinrich Kreft, missionary. He worked in Bethany.

[47] Red Nation, (*Kai//khaun* or *Rooi Nasie*), under chief //Oaseb (Cornelius). Actually the most senior of the (continued...)

the land. I give my best compliments to you and all the christian people in Otjimbingwe.

I remain, your friend,
K J Jonker Afrikaner.

11 [Appendix I, Section A, ln. 396-433]

Zaogab,[48] October 2, 1867.

The Honorable Mr. Hahn,

It has been a long time since I've received a letter from you, neither did I hear whether you are still my friend or not my friend. I heard you are not my friend anymore. Well, my warm regards to you, your wife and children and also to Mrs. Kleinschmidt and her daughters.

I make you this letter to ask you, asking is free, therefore. I have heard now that you have brought many white people to Otjimbingwe. I am not sure if that is true or not true, but therefore I ask; for also I hear and I have heard, that you are no longer the teacher but that you are the captain of Otjimbingwe. That therefore, you are gathering white people in Otjimbingwe, as if it were your settlement. See, worthy Mister, you are the teacher from Barmen,[49] that we all know. Who gave you Otjimbingwe? Who has given you the freedom to become captain of Otjimbingwe? To introduce strangers to that place? Did I not give you this? Answer me, hurriedly, please. See, my dear Sir, you know that it is a place that we have even argued about. Will you let that be known to the strangers? You know I have never given any place to anyone ever, nor sold one. And what says Kamaharero to me? Will he make peace or will he not make peace?

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[47](...continued)
seven or eight Nama-groups. Strong allies of the Afrikaners (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1262, Nienaber 1989:817ff., cf. Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.1.2). The name is often used by Jan as an umbrella term in opposition to 'whites' and 'blacks' (Bantu), but cf. letter № 13, where Jan denies having anything to do with any 'Red Nation'.

[48] See footnote 37.

[49] Headquarters of the RMS in Germany. Also used to denote either present day Windhoek or Otjikango (Neu Barmen). Cf. footnote 21.

1868

The Herero chiefs and commoners who in the years between 1865-1867 had returned to live around Otjimbingwe, again started to abandon it during the year of 1868. The cause of this is not made clear.[50] At about the same time, rumors spread that the Afrikaners had raised yet another commando and collected around Rehoboth. Without any Herero protection, the Europeans at Otjimbingwe felt more threatened than ever. Petitions were sent to the Cape and to London, (even to the King of Prussia) for assistance. An English warship was sent from the Cape to be stationed at Walvis Bay. However, Otjimbingwe was not attacked.

Concerning the question of who had the strategic upper hand, the tables seem to have turned yet again. In letter Nº 12, from September 1868, Jan seems to be reorganizing himself. He calls on Hahn with a shopping list for goods which he wants, on credit, and seems quite laconic about hearing that a battleship to fight him and his close allies, was stationed in Walvis Bay.

Jan remarks how fortunate Hahn should consider himself with the Beesdamaras still living near his settlement. Nevertheless, a little later in the year a large number of Herero and their herds began to concentrate around Okahandja, Kamaharero's and Jonker's old headquarters. Towards the end of 1868, it was said that the Afrikaner commando was preparing a raid, but that the chiefs at Okahandja were forewarned in time by Hahn, and that the Afrikaner commando was again defeated. Their escape meant that they had to abandon most of their possessions (Lau ed., 1987:140). Ensuing these events the road to a *regte vrede* (real peace) is pursued with more diligence, as we will see in the letters from the year 1869.

12 [Appendix I, Section A, ln. 434-470]

September 27, 1868.

The Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I write you this letter on account of my nakedness. I wish to come to you but my dear, I am very naked, as naked as a small child. Therefore I write you this letter to ask for clothes. Dear Sir, send me four jackets and six shirts and also two rolls of tobacco in answer to this letter, and also a hat. On credit if you can, dear Sir, I am not yet capable to pay for so many goods. See, dear Sir, I still have your cart and your oxen but I haven't had time yet to deliver the cart and the oxen. I want to keep the cart until we meet. I am still in good health by God's grace. How is the prosperity of Otjimbingwe. Or do you do poorly on your farm?

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[50] In this context Lau (1987:140) speaks about the so-called "pagan-reaction". No further details provided except for references.

You fare well, for the Damaras are still with you;[51] for the Damaras still do not want to make peace with me. How are my friends Daniel[52] and Samuel[53] faring? That you must also let me know. What says Kamaharero to me, will he make peace with me or not make peace with me.

Further, I have also heard that an English warship has come to Walvis Bay[54] to shoot me, Barnabas[55] and my father-in-law Jacobus Booij.[56] Is that true or not true? I leave my best compliments to you and everyone.

I am your friend,
Captain J. Jonker Afrikaner

1869

Events this year cover the lead-up to the 1870-peace treaties with Kamaharero. Details about this period in time in Namaland are scarce. The last entry in the historiography by Lau (1987) is about Jan's well-being after his defeat at the end of 1868 (see introduction to 1868). Nevertheless subsequently Jan is writing prolifically and from nearly every month in 1869 a letter has survived.[57]

In the first letter (Nº 13) addressed to Governor Wodehouse in Cape Town, (kept in the Cape Archives[58]), Jan retells what has been going on previously, the facts coincide with the narrative as told

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[51] See the introduction to the year 1868.

[52] See footnote 40.

[53] See footnote 41.

[54] See the introduction to the year 1868.

[55] ǂGoraxab //Oasemab, successor and son of chief //Oaseb (Cornelius) of the Red Nation Nama (see footnote 47) since 1867. Closely allied to Jan Jonker.

[56] See footnote 4 and 5.

[57] Two of the letters are unclear in dating (one has no date on it as the first page of the letter seems missing, the other is dated May 17, no year. As the RMG-files are (ordinarily) in a continuous sequence, I presume the letter of May 17, to be written in 1869; the undated one some time between May and June 1869. The Namibian Archives in Windhoek accession A237 comprises two folders of RMG letters. The first one (in which these letters are to be found) seems entirely in consecutive order of dates of the letters. The second folder is not always this consistent. The organization is not recorded.

[58] I am indebted to H. Waher for being able to include this letter. As the Cape Town archives are organized perhaps quite differently from the Windhoek or London kept missionary correspondences, photocopied duplicates are not easily obtainable; the alternative of microfilmed copies proved too time consuming and impractical, therefore this letter is outside the set format of keeping length of line etc. according to the originals. A reproduction of the last two

(continued...)

in his letter to Hahn from September, 1866 (Nº 7 included here). It adds that he is very unhappy with the German missionaries, for "they involve themselves in trade and politics instead of preaching God's word". In the last paragraph he clearly states his preferences for communications in the Dutch language with the (English) Cape authorities. The report in letter Nº 14, addressed to Hahn, expresses Jan's concern about white people moving in with Hahn and them freely travelling around the country. Letter Nº15 shows the difficulties concerning the organization of the peace negotiations, specifically how badly these are hampered by lack of communication. Likewise, in letter Nº16 Jan denies accusations going around, that he is to blame for the unrest, and again he complains about the movement of whites around the country, under the pretext concern about their safety while the war is still going on. He stresses the fact that peace is wanted. Letter Nº 17 qualifies the peace he envisions a little further and he speaks of his mistrust in his opponent Kamaharero.

Letter Nº 18 is diplomatic in tone. He claims that neither he nor any of his people are doing anything wrong; it is all the others that keep on breaking, robbing and shooting. He also forwards Hahn some detective work he has done, on who the culprits may have been. He gives his consent to certain movements of white newcomers, on condition that they will not deal with his enemy, the Beesdamaras (Kamaharero). This brings us till September 1869, when we learn in letter Nº 19 that Jan has actually travelled close up to Hahn's settlement, to initiate the peace negotiations. Letter Nº 20 complains about the atrocities Kamaharero is still committing and it makes mention of the leaders of the various Nama polities coming together to establish the peace. Letter Nº 21 again reports on the organization of the peace negotiations and he speculates on the intentions of the different chiefs. Letter Nº. 22 further elaborates on the prospects.

The content of his missives continues in the same vein in the first months of 1870.

13 [Appendix I, Section A, ln. 471-584]

Kobus,[59] Great Namaqualand April 22, 1869

To Mr. Wodehouse,[60]

I have the honor to let you know that I received your letter dated 11th of January 1869. You say that you heard that in the month of March 1865, a certain elephant hunter was deprived of his

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[58](...continued)
paragraphs can be found in the SWA-1976.

[59] Lau ed., 1984-1985:1270 indexes *Kobis*, "correctly spelt *!Khobes*, also *!Kobis*, *Gobis*"; Lau ed., 1989:305, lists Kobus, "on old maps but not traced otherwise". Heywood and Maasdorp 1995:248, make note of it under Dirk van Wyk as a farm, named Kobus near Hoornkrans. There are three letters from Jan, from April, May and June 1869 dated from this place.

[60] Sir Philip Wodehouse, governor of the Cape Colony 1862-1870.

goods, amounting to a large sum of money by Samuel,[61] one of my captains. Further, that this Samuel in the month of May 1866, robbed three other white people, took their wagon, horses, guns and clothing and left them in terrible circumstances, a full 300 miles from any settlement or station, while one of them was wounded. Further, that in the same month, Samuel's people molested another trader, who had to flee but lost 6 people. In answer to this, I must let you know that Samuel is not one of my captains, and further, that I have not seen him nor have anything to do with him. This Samuel was given the freedom to go and to work for himself by my father in the year 1855. He then went to Ovamboland[62] with his wife and children, so you can not hold me responsible for his actions.

About Green and Andersson,[63] I must let Your Excellency know that my people did not steal their oxen; but why would they come to my settlement to molest anyone? I still have a lot to learn. After the first war with the Damaras in Otjimbingwe, Green, Dick Haybittle, Harry Haybittle[64] and Jonathan[65] came. They killed my wife,[66] little daughter and three other women. Jonathan drove all my cattle away. I pursued them to get my cattle back and then Jonathan was killed, but I had already left the previous day with the oxen which I had taken from Jonathan. After this had happened, I heard that there were two white people on the mountain. Then I sent for them to come down and I gave them a sheep and send them away because I could never make war with white people. I think that Haybittle will be able to ascertain the truth of this. After this, Andersson and Green came to my village and shot eight of my people, burnt my wagons and drove my cattle and sheep away, besides killing two women of my werf that same day. And I am not talking about the incident of the trader that was taken and whose goods were stolen. About Charles Collins:[67] it is not just that I should bear the blame of other people, for the Red Nation has nothing to do with me.

Further I must let Your Excellency know that my father was always a friend to the whites. Likewise, as then, I am the same and I believe that all the people who know me will be able to convince you that that is the truth. Otjimbingwe was my father's place. After his death my elder brother was the captain and now that he has died I am the captain. I, J., would be very happy if there

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[61] Not traced.

[62] Historical name for the area that comprises northern Namibia, southern and southern central Angola, inhabited by closely-related Bantu-speaking groups.

[63] See Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.1.3 on Andersson and Green as trading partners in Namibia.

[64] In the Andersson correspondence (Lau ed., 1989) only Henry and Richard Haybittle are mentioned, both as junior partners of Andersson; (Harry may be a misspelling of Henry, Dick [in the ms. spelled *Deck*] may be the calling name for Richard?).

[65] Apparently a native of Malagasy [Madagascar], in Andersson's employ. He and his family were killed by the Afrikaners in May 1864 (Lau ed.,1989:303). Lau reports that Jan Jonker claimed it to be an accident. A letter from Green to Andersson dated 12 May 1864, communicates: "Your friend, or rather our friend, Jan Jonker sent a letter to Bassingthwaighte to say it was not with his consent that Jonathan's wife and children were killed. The scoundrel was actually present at the time." (Lau ed., 1989:196).

[66] Cf. footnote 26.

[67] Could not be traced.

was peace in my country but I must get my place back and then I will be satisfied. A long time ago my father and all of us have requested a missionary, but, it must be an Englishman and not a German, because it is impossible for a teacher to teach when he likes trade better than the bible. Therefore I do not want to accept any of those teachers. You must remove these teachers from my land. I and the teacher are not in agreement about the responsibilities of the teachers. I am always friendly and I have peace with the teachers but now I have found out that they have insulted my name and put all the blame on me. Governor, it were all other people which were at war with me. And they also say that we enslaved the Damaras, but that is not true, what they say. See, the Damaras, which were a nation, made peace with my father. Thus the Damaras stand underneath us as much as we stand underneath the Damaras, for we are two, peace-loving nations. When something befalls the Damaras we help them; if something befalls us the Damaras help us. That is how it was, not slavery. Then, teacher Hahn gave the Damaras advice: that the Damaras should stand up and fight us, drive us away and that they then would own the land. That is the advice he gave, that is how the war between us started, because of the advice of the teacher.

You say, Willem Swartbooi is always so friendly and peaceful with all the whites, the teachers, the traders and also the Damaras. Why then has Swartbooi taken all the goods from one of the traders, John Smit,[68] his gunpowder and lead and his clothes? Why did Swartbooi shoot Frans Biesenther's[69] valuables, horse and cattle off? That is also a white man. Why has Swartbooi now split up with the Damaras and did he shoot three of their cattle dead? Is that friendly? Also then Jacobus Booi supposedly stole wagons and oxen from white people, but I was not there and Jacobus Booi always hears that Damaras and whites shoot together. Jacobus Booi came to me to help me, then he heard about wagons of white people and he sent some men to meet with these people to ask whose wagon it was. Those men did the evil, but he was not with them.

Further I want to ask you kindly that when you receive a letter from Damaraland or Great Namaqualand which bears my name on it, then you always must confirm this. When you write me a letter then you must write in Dutch, so I can understand it, this I ask you. Sir, please be so kind to send me my newspaper printed in Dutch. Then I can learn everything, who is bringing my name into ill repute. I wish that the traders that come to my land do not do so on their own esteem. They must come to me and then I will look after them and help them if something would befall them. That is my wish. I will help those, who are mine.

I have the honor to remain,
Your Excellency,
JJA

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[68] Not traced.

[69] Not traced.

14 [Appendix I, Section B, ln. 1-51]

Kobus,[70] May 17

The Honorable Mr. Hahn,

Well, I write you this letter to ask you whether it is true. We heard from the Bergdamaras that many white people have arrived in Otjimbingwe. Now I do not know whether they are teachers or traders or hunters. I was always friendly to white people, but now I have found out that all the white people defame my name, as I have also understood from a letter from the Governor[71] and that everyone is putting the blame on me. Thus I have nothing with you people anymore, neither peace nor friendship. This I tell you, my dear Hahn. I will not permit any of the teachers or hunters to pass through Ovamboland[72] without asking me permission. I will not allow it, while you are still staying at Otjimbingwe. I will not allow anymore that the teachers stay together in my father's country. So, when you receive this letter, you must vacate the place. If you do not leave the place, then, even though you are a teacher, I will evict you from the place. Further, I am telling you also that I will not allow any teachers to go to Ovamboland without me giving the teachers permission. So many people have already been killed because of the teachers' meddling. I wish that if white people come there, then they will have to give me a letter, before they go to Otjimbingwe. All the teachers, all the hunters and all the traders too. That is my wish. So far.

I am the paramount chief of Damaraland.
Captain J. Joker Afrikaner

PS. If you want to send me a reply then you must write me your answer hurriedly, I ask you friendly.

15 [Appendix I, Section B, ln. 52-68]

[?...], who do not want peace according to the full rights, we have to do that way. So are my thoughts and desires. I always come to Otjimbingwe, I have peace with the people, always. And they also want peace with me, always. But because of Kamaharero they do not want to have peace with me, therefore Atsâb's people do not have a very good peace with me. Therefore Paul[73] sent me the

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[70] See footnote 59.

[71] Philip Wodehouse, Cape governor 1862-1870. Cf. letter Nº. 13, dd 22.04.1869 in reply to certain accusations.

[72] See footnote 62.

[73] Most likely Paul Goliath, reportedly a peace-loving chief of the Oorlam Hottentots at Berseba. Paul died on 15.4.1869, which could date this letter earlier. However, Jan might not have heard of his decease earlier. Cf. letter Nº. 16, dated June 10, 1869 in which he mentions Paul's death.

message. Thus, Sir, you must ..., if Paul inquires for which reason he sent me such a message, [(to) say?] that I would have fled to the Groot Rivier.[74] And I will negotiate peace with you and Kamaharero but not with the citizens. So I end my letter and send you, and all friends and all the teachers and all the ladies, my best compliments.

I am your friend,
Captain J Jonker Afrikaner.

16 [Appendix I, Section B, ln. 69-160]

Kobus,[75] June 10, 1869

To the Honorable Mr. Hahn,

Yesterday I received your letter and understood all you wrote me well. You ask me to write you an answer. I'll write you an answer in return, dear Sir, but I am not sure what I shall answer you. I am still at peace with you and friends with all the white people, just like in former days. That is why I always write you letters to ask you what is going on when I hear something from your side. I heard Mr. Brincker[76] wants to move to Barmen.[77] That would be fine with me, if he came to live in Barmen, but at this time, if he would go to Barmen then the Damaras will move to Barmen too. That I do not need at all. Also, at the moment the Topnaars[78] are there. What if Mr. Brincker goes to Barmen and later on the oxen and cattle of the Topnaars will get stolen? Thus, at this time I will not permit him to move to Barmen. The Damaras are still close, so please Sir, have patience, let the Damaras move far away from that part of the land. That is my wish. I wish you people should stay one side until the country totally comes to peace. Why do you people, teachers not stay away from the battle grounds? Why do you people, teachers, always follow us to the battle grounds? See, my dear Sir, because I am still friendly to you, therefore I say to you, you must stay away from the Damaras. Why don't you listen to my advice? It is not just today that I have told you this: stay away from the battle grounds! But not once did you do as I tell you. Therefore I think you are rather one of my enemies. Therefore I believe it when people tell me you have slandered my name. Even today you say that I did not do any good.

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[74] The Orange River, in those days also referred to as *Groot Rivier* or *Grossfluss* (big river), a literal translation of its Nama name *Garieb* (cf. Volume I, Chapter Four, p.134).

[75] See footnote 59.

[76] See footnote 21.

[77] See footnote 49.

[78] One of the original Nama groups inhabiting central Namibia at the turn of the last century. They became subordinated on a communal and an individual level to the Oorlam groups from the 1830s. By the 1870s they had dispersed with only a small impoverished group remaining at the coast (Lau ed., 1989:315).

Who was the first man to break the peace after my father died? Was that I or was that not Kamaharero who did that, or do I get the blame? How many times did I ask Kamaharero for peace after that first war of Otjimbingwe? Will you still insist I did wrong for I did not ask Kamaharero for peace? How do you know, for how many years I have asked and pleaded with David Christian[79] and Paul Goliath[80] for peace? But one day, one year you will see these two captains rise and come here to speak about peace between the Damaras and me. If they are true captains then they will raise the issue and address the evil that is taking place. Stay aloof; the true captains, who have not fulfilled their duties, those captains will rise. Now I hear that Paul Goliath has died of the chickenpox.

Further you ask me that I must give you an answer about letting the teachers go to Ovamboland.[81] See, my dear Sir, I do not prevent the spreading of God's word but I have now heard that the Kaffers[82] are also moving to Ovamboland and the Damaras as well. It seems to me that all the black nations are coming together on one side and all the Red Nations[83] also, all on one side. Then the fighting in Ovamboland will worsen. Therefore, at the moment I will not permit the teachers to go there. Why do you always send teachers to the places of war? When one day the teacher falls in a battle, what will you say? Or will I not be blamed for it by you? Therefore I do not want to permit any teachers to move there. The Ovambo is also a nation, which was at peace under my father's rule. When you get there now, then later on they will say that we, the Red Nations enslaved the Ovambo. That is the reason why I fight with the Damaras today.

Well, dear Sir, you said that I did not take your advice, that is true. I did not listen to your advice. I will listen this time and I give you now this assistance, so that I will see if I get the truth. And I ask you kindly, I send you now to Kamaharero, you will not delay when you receive this letter. Get up and take the trouble and go ask Kamaharero for peace with me and ask him to return me my lifetime possessions, so that I get my goods back That you must do, my dear Sir. I want my possessions back in your hands, I ask you, dear Sir. If I get my goods back then I will be grateful for your trouble, by God's will.

So, I give you and all the women and your children my best compliments, as well as all the teachers who are there.

Your friend, Captain J. Jonker Africaner.

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[79] Chief of the Bethany Oorlams from 1847-1880 (Lau ed., 1989:296; cf. footnote 5).

[80] Chief of an Oorlam group, under missionary Samuel Hahn at Berseba. Known as a peace-loving ruler. He died 15.4.1869.

[81] See footnote 62.

[82] Not quite clear which ethnic group(s) he refers to with this term.

[83] See footnote 47.

I now have arrived on the same place, at Naposib.[84]

To the Honorable Mr. Hahn, 21 July, 1869

I received the letter which you sent on the 5th of July, on the 20th of July. I appreciated all, just as you write it. See, dear Sir, I do not attempt to make peace with the Damaras and the Damaras have not defeated me yet. I do not see how Kamaharero would have subdued me yet. Thus, I am still haughty about making peace with the Damaras. But all the people have advised me to make peace, now for years already. That is the reason that I have lost my faith in the words of the people. You also say, for years already, that I must make peace, for you understand Kamaharero well and that Kamaharero is at peace with me or has a good heart towards me. Therefore you always say I must make peace and all the other captains say the same: I must make peace with the Damaras; D.Christian, P.Goliath en K.Witbooi[85] and also the governor.[86] Therefore I make this peace. I had thought that it is something that the people gave me, therefore I make this peace with my whole big heart. Why does Kamaharero fear me when I make peace? Why did Kamaharero not believe my words? When did I write Kamaharero a deceitful letter of peace, with words that he could not believe? When did Kamaharero write a letter of peace to me or about people who did not believe my word? When did Kamaharero send me people wanting to make peace? Have I killed those people? Through those people Kamaharero did not believe my words of peace.

See, dear Sir, when I make peace, I do not want peace in order to be subjected to the Damaras, to become the Damaras' servant. When I make peace, I want to become alive in this peace as well as the women and children. Therefore I have given you this service in your hands to get me peace and truth.

See, dear Sir, the day the Damaras went out, they went out under the pretext of founding their own nation. Why do the Damaras need to gain the land where they live? Why do they not stay on their land, as I in my land? I think thus: the time to sow is coming close. This year I also want to sow on Zanjoo-place.[87] That is my wish. But now the Damaras have moved in there, near my place. Those are the things about which we speak peace on the one side, then again make war on the other side. I ask you kindly, dear Sir, tell Kamaharero, let Kamaharero take the Damaras away from my land, so that I will have to do no evil towards my land. Tell Kamaharero that Kamaharero must gather all his people in one place. He is the chief of all the Damaras. I make peace, do not let the peace, which

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[84] Not traced in this spelling.

[85] Kido Witbooi, also Kiwiso, Cupido or David. Leader of the Witboois who settled at Gibeon in 1863, described as a gifted and much-respected chief. Grandfather of the 1880s leader Hendrik Witbooi.

[86] Cape Governor at the time was Sir Philip Wodehouse. See letter № 13.

[87] Not traced in this spelling.

we have negotiated wither. That is my wish. I do not grant the Damaras the Swakop River[88] from Otjimbingwe until Windhoek. They wanted to go there; but they must stay away from Rabur[89] so that we do not stay close to each other. Then we, Red Nations[90] will have a clear way to come to you. You, teachers, keep the Damaras on the other side, so that we get way, then I or my people will come to you. If we, Red People, perhaps encounter the Damaras before we come to you then there will be no trust in each other. Let the Damaras come to the other side and we come to this side, then we meet each other on your werf. That is my wish, dear Sir.

See, dear Sir, long time ago I have sent a messenger to Hendrik Afrikaner[91] to get [?] the tools returned, but I have not received anything, so I do not know whether I still have the tools or not. I am willing to return the tools but I have not received anything yet.

Further, if Mr. Brincker[92] still wants to move to Barmen[93] tell him that he can move. He and Daniel Cloete.[94] When they come to Barmen, they must not stay together with the Beesdamaras[95] in Barmen, they must promise me that first, then I will allow them. If there are no people to help Mr. Brincker, there are a lot of Bergdamaras[96] (not Kaalbeesdamaras[97]) to help.

I end with my warm regards from all of us to all of you teacher, ladies and children.

I am your friend,

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[88] Starts 100 km. north of Windhoek, flows through Otjimbingwe to Swakopmund.

[89] Not traced in this spelling.

[90] See footnote 47.

[91] Evidently fairly highly-placed member of the Oorlam Afrikaners but no further details traced (Lau ed.,1989:292).

[92] See footnote 21.

[93]See footnote 49.

[94] See footnote 40.

[95] Kamaharero's people, see Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.1.2.

[96] Tribes that adhered to Jan Jonker, see Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.1.2.

[97] This further differentiation for the Damara tribes is not clear. Nienaber (1989) does not mention this as a particular tribe either. It is possible he refers to the Ovatjimbas, described by Lau (1987:109): "It appears that the two earliest Herero Mission stations, Otjikango [Neu-Barmen, see footnote 21) and Otjimbingwe [see footnote 12], were almost entirely inhabited by [...] "the remnants of tribes formerly destroyed or broken up and plundered by Kamaharero himself, while fighting on his own account, or in the ranks of the late Jonker Afrikaner" [quoting Chapman, CA GH 19/10. 'Memo', anno 1865]. They were the so called Ovatjimbas, which means people struggling for their livelihood, without cattle and without a supportive kin network [...]; with Jonker's [Jan Jonker's father] and Tjamuaha's [Herero chief] consent they were provided with places where they could subsist without cattle herds: Otjikango or Otjimbingwe." (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1285, mentions these people named *Ovanjake*, translated to the same meaning as above.)

Captain J. Jonker Afrikaner

PS Kindly I ask you further, if you can, that I hope, that you will send me, and also that your wife will send my wife,[98] namely, tobacco and writing ink and a dozen paper and tea and coffee and your wife to my wife a paper needles and a thimble and four rolls of white cotton. I do not know how much it is, and what I still owe you for other clothing.

18 [Appendix I, Section B, ln. 259-360]

18 August 1869

Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I write you this letter to let you know, dear Sir, that I remain in peace with you and your people. But it seems that your people are not at peace and friendship with me and my people. You say that the Damaras, who were with you, did not do me nor my people any ill, but now I have heard that your wagon driver Willem has taken away my people's firearms and robbed them, and tried to kill them on Petrus Cloete's[99] werf. The Lord God has saved them, though. That is what your people have done now. That I let you know, my dear Sir. So, dear Sir, you must return me the eight firearms with the carriers of this letter. [**] I ask you kindly. I did not want to seem in need of work in this time of peace. Further I have investigated which people were always stealing your cattle. I found out which Topnaar[100] tribe stole Mrs. Kleinschmidt's cattle. They were Abram's[101] people who came from Bokberg,[102] they were not my people. And last year they stole Samuel Gertze's[103] cattle and animals, which were also the people of that Topnaar captain, those that came from Bokberg. They were not my children's people. That is what I found out. I wonder if I may punish the people of other captains or will I be found guilty if I punish the people of other captains? Thus, dear Sir, when you receive my

[98] Note that in the earlier letters (№ 7, № 13) he mentions that his wife was killed, after the war of 1863. Nothing further is known about Jan's wife (/wives). Cf. footnote 26.

[99] Not traced, likely a relative of Daniel Cloete, who was a close associate to Hahn (see footnote 40).

[100] See footnote 78.

[101] Not traced. It cannot be Abraham Swartbooi.

[102] Possibly the present day Erongo mountains. Cf. Appendix I, section B, letter № 18, ln. 292, footnote 36, p.73. Could also be Piketberg, an area 150 km north of Cape Town where most Oorlam factions originated from. Cf. Ross 1976:14.

[103] See footnote 41.

letter you must write a letter to Abraham Swartbooi[104] and to the Topnaar captain: that they remove their people, away from my children. That I ask you, dear Sir. One is Piet Broekeros[105] and one is Tilo Topnaar. And the people who are passing now to Bokberg are not my people, they are Barnabas'[106] people. But they left without letting their captain, Barnabas or me know. Thus you must not believe such scoundrels, it is those people who have spread lies around. Therefore I write you this letter, to let you know this. And the Bergdamaras who always bring you my messages, you must not believe them either. Did I send people to you to steal your animals? That is not true. If one day, Damaras who come from my house, if they bring such a message again, ask them if it was on my werf or whether they came from my house, and heard it from me. Then you will learn that the Damaras spread lies around. See, my dear Sir, tell your people that they must not fear if they meet my people on the road. Let it not again be between your people and my people. I was thinking you rather give the Damaras and the Kaffers[107] who were with you, to Kamaharero; get them away from Otjimbingwe. That would be better for me, and when a ship arrives, and you need people for transporting then you must rather ask my people or Abraham Swartbooi's people or Cloete's here, for transporting. Not the Damaras. So that all may be well between you and me, that is my wish, dear Sir. I wish my own, Red People would bring this letter but I still fear your people, teacher. Why don't your people stay away from the war? You talk so well, but why don't your people stay away from trouble? Therefore I fear to come to you, or for my people to go there.

Regards to you and all friends who live there with you.

I am your friend,
Captain Jahn Joker Afrikaner

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[104] One of Willem Swartbooi's sons who succeeded his father as chief between 1864 -1867, after the Swartboois had been ousted from Rehoboth by an Afrikaner commando.

[105] No mention of these two chiefs is made anywhere else.

[106] See footnote 55.

[107] Unclear which peoples or tribes he refers to with this term.

Remhoogte,[108] 9 September 1869

The very Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I received the letter you wrote on the 14th of August so late on my place at Warmwater.[109] I was clearing the ground to start a garden and then I received the letter. Then I travelled from there to here. Therefore I write you this letter, to let you know my horses' feet are sore and also that they are weak from the trip up here, but at least I have made it as far as Remhoogte. Now, Sir, you must do your duty and come here too, so we can see each other, I pray you. I have no food to strengthen my existence, nor any means to shoot, gunpowder or lead. Neither shells to shoot for food, while camping here for so many days. Thus, I await you soonest. When you receive this letter, you must not delay, I ask you. When you, Sir, leave for here, you, Sir, must see to it, to please help me out with shooting materials, if you could help me. When you, Sir, come here, you must, Sir, also bring tobacco and some animals for the slaughter. The tobacco that you, Sir, sent me, was taken away from the Bergdamaras by the Topnaars along the road. Now I cannot get any tobacco, but I will punish those Topnaars when I return. Maybe the Bergdamaras will bring you lies, such, that I came with a commando, but you must not believe them. I came with six to eight men and 24 Bergdamaras.

I give you best compliments to you, and all the people who are with you.

K.J. Jonker Afrikaner

PS. I pray you kindly, when you, Sir, come here, bring me pumpkin pips and watermelon pips, sweet melon pips and corn seed, as well as sweet-reed and tobacco seed. I ask you kindly.

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[108] About 40 km. south of Otjimbingwe, frequently mentioned by trader Andersson (cf. Lau ed., 1989, map 3); not on today's maps.

[109] Possibly Warmbad, litteral translation of the Nama name |Ai||gams, where Jan substitutes *-bad* (bath) for the more correct translation '-water'. This would make the distance Jan must have covered to get to Remhoogte over a 1000 kilometers.

OEAS,[110] 30.10.1869

To the Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I write you this letter to let you know about the things I have seen here, dear Sir, as well as about the deeds of the Damaras. The first time, on September 10th, the Damaras came over here and attacked the Basters.[111] However, by the grace of God all the Basters got away that time. That is what I have heard; and that they lost a horse and a saddle and a double barrel gun and that they harassed them with about five shots. The Bergdamaras only lost their wives and children and a Bushman.[112] Then, two days later the Damaras came over again and they murdered a whole settlement of Bergdamaras. Now the Damaras have come over for the third time, on the fourth of October and killed three of my Topnaar[113] people while they were hunting ostriches. That is also what I have found out. That is how the Damaras behave in this time of peace. Now, Sir, please talk to Kamaharero that he talks to his people and also prohibits them to hunt overhere. Besides this, he must tell the Herero people that they must not kill my people every day as in former days, in this time of peace. Kamaharero must not condone that, is my kind request to you, dear Sir. I have not changed my mind. I still keep my word, as I gave you and all the people: I will make peace, that is everything I want. I first want to accommodate the peace, that is my only wish. So, dear Sir, you must not believe back-stabbers who tell stories. Further, I can let you know that the captains of Namaqualand have come to Rehoboth. Jacobus Izaak[114] is also in Rehoboth as well as the others. Captain David Christian[115] is still behind; we are still waiting for David Christian so that all the captains may come together. So you mustn't expect us too soon, dear Sir.

I give you and all the friends in Otjimbingwe my best compliments.

I am your loving friend,
Captain J Jonker Afrikaner

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[110] Possibly Oas [|Oas], overnight rest place (*uitspanning*) on the ǂNossob river, situated somewhere in the region of Gobabis. Cf. Nienaber & Raper 1980 [1977:]A 948, B 670.

[111] Khoekhoe with varying degrees of white blood in their veins. No pejorative meaning, socially of a slightly higher standing then the Oorlam (Nienaber 1989:170ff.). See Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.1.1.

[112] Indigenous people to southern Africa, also know as the San. They live a nomadic existence, socially on the lowest ends of the scale (cf. Nienaber 1989:188-211 and Volume I, Chapter Two, § 2.1).

[113] See footnote 78.

[114] Chief of the Berseba people upon the death of his brother-in-law Paul Goliath in 1869. See footnote 80.

[115] See footnote 79.

Oaes, November 27, 1869.

To the Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I received a letter from David Christian.[116] I am still waiting for the arrival of the captain. He says that I must wait for him, therefore I am still waiting. I wished that all the captains had to come to establish this peace, then they could also see who the offenders against the Damaras are; that is my big wish. So you must not expect me too soon, my dear Sir, although I will have to come to you, though I do not know how I will manage. I have to attend to the peace in person. I received Jacobus Izaak[117] here on my werf and I heard that old Jacobus Izaak intends to make an equitable peace through Christ's will. Small Kido[118] also passed by, also to bring about this same peace, but he went on to Kamaharero without seeing me, without hearing my opinion. Thus I do not know what kind of peace small Kido has in mind, whether it is an equitable peace or an inequitable peace. I do not know Kido's position. Thus, dear Sir, you must not believe everything, but first ask me. Saul[119] also went on without stopping by me. Further I ask how it can be that I have not received any letters from you, nor have I heard how you are faring, or what kind of news you have, or what the people tell about me, behind my back. My dear Sir, you must answer me soonest, I ask you kindly. With my best compliments to you, your wife and your daughter Margarita and all the teachers who stay at Otjimbingwe.

I am your friend,
J Jonker Afrikaner

PS. I have heard that old Petrus[120] has died.

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[116] Cf. previous letter (Nº. 20, dd 30.10.1869) in which Jan also reports David Christian to be delayed.

[117] See footnote 114.

[118] See footnote 85.

[119] Saul Boois, also called Saul Frederiks (cf. footnote 5), split off from the Bethany Boois who settled in the Swakop area in the mid 1850s.

[120] Possibly Petrus Gertse, an assistant for missionaries in the 1840s.

Zoreseb,[121] 19 December 1869

To the Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I write you these few lines to inform you and to inquire. You have asked me to go to the place where Jacobus Izaak[122] tarries and then to hastily hurry to Otjimbingwe. But Jacobus Izaak has gone home again, I heard, by word from Kamaharero; Kamaharero had told this to old Jacob Vleermuis.[123] Kamaharero's word is not ...
[page missing? - cl]
...let him wait for me in Otjimbingwe because I will have to come down, if I have understood everything well. Then, the men of the Veldschoendragers,[124] they have come up to shoot the animals

of the Damaras. They do not want peace with the Damaras, therefore they have come up to get the animals. That is the reason. With my best compliments to all.

I am your loving friend,

Captain
J. Jonker Afrikaner

1870

A major event of 1870 was the signing of the peace treaty with Kamaharero. Nevertheless, in the present letters nothing is specifically mentioned about this.

The first three letters, written in January, February and April, continue much in the same tone on the same subject as the letters from 1869: deliberations of the arrangements in anticipation of a peace treaty with Kamaharero. Jan Jonker dutifully reports to Hahn about the atrocities Kamaharero's

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[121] Not traced in this spelling.

[122] See footnote 114.

[123] No mention is made of Jacob Vleermuis. Paul and Piet Vleermuis came to Namaland from the Cape with chief Amraal Lambert (1814), with whom they stayed at Bethany for several years.

[124] One of the original Nama groups who were settled in present southern Namibia, between the Orange River and the upper reaches of the Fish River. The name, a literal translation from Nama (//Hawoben, Haboben) refers to a kind of sandal worn by the people (Nienaber 1989:457ff.).

people committed and his own non-involvement in his subordinates going out stealing.

From the historiography by Lau (1987), about the peace conferences, we learn that on May 17, 1870 Jan Jonker unexpectedly arrived at Okahandja to meet Kamaharero and other Herero chiefs. He came there with missionary Diehl, Brincker and Irle. Whether Hahn knew about this is not clear. However, the chiefs came to an agreement, renewed their alliances and Jan Jonker was proclaimed as Kamaharero's co-regent, which Lau (1987:140) characterizes as a diplomatic description of Jan's subordinate position. Then,

> shortly after this treaty was concluded, Hahn arrived at Okahandja and started to negotiate a different treaty between the chiefs, pressing a strong formulation of the Afrikaners' loss of power and rights. This treaty, concluded in September 1870 stated: "that Kaptein Jan Jonker Afrikaner has obtained no rights whatsoever to interfere or meddle with the affairs of the Herero people or their land, nor with foreigners living or travelling among them (Lau:*ibid.*).

In Jan's letter from July 1870, we can clearly see how Hahn is menacing him into a corner. Jan queries his liabilities as a ruler (letter Nº 26), despite the fact that, with hindsight, the content purveys an accurate political insight into Namaland statecraft.

The other two letters that year, dated in October and December (i.e. after the second peace treaty was signed), are of a quiet tone, dealing with final settlements of the treaty's implications.

23 [Appendix I, Section B, ln. 559-614]

Zoreseb[125] January 5, 1870

To the Honorable Mr. Hahn,

On Friday evening I came to my werf and found it deserted. After I had left, the people heard stories that Kamaharero had sent a commando to plunder my uncle Jacobus Booi,[126] and thus they fled with Jacobus Booi back to his land. I have found some of my people back, although I am still missing some 20 women. When I was in Otjimbingwe this time, I discovered some more: because the ongoing peace is clearly in view, a party of Hereros came up and raided one of the Bergdamara's camps, killing 19 people. They were also Bergdamaras affiliated to me. Look, dear Sir, I make an ongoing peace to be able to live in peace and also to be able to raise the children of the men that were killed. (He, Kamaharero, will have to raise the children his men that were killed [?].) I think if I live this way, my relatives and friends will also live this way, because I think if Kamaharero makes peace with me, then he must also make peace with all my people and my relatives; that is my wish. Why is that impossible? See, my dear Sir, the Bergdamaras are also my people, the Topnaars also, as well

[125]Not traced in this spelling.

[126] See footnote 4.

as the Bushmen may live by our word,[?][127] namely at my uncle's, Jabobus Booi. Kamaharero firstly contrived with Willem Swartbooi[128] that he would not make peace with me. Then we didn't have real peace. Then, he made peace with deceased old Cornelis.[129] Then we didn't have real peace. Therefore, I do not need this ongoing peace if he only wants to make peace with me but not with Jacobus Booi. I think there must be peace among all the people just like in the old days. This I ask you, teachers, you must speak about this to Kamaharero. So far my letter.

My warm regards to you and your wife and Margarita and also to captain Kamaharero.

I,
Captain J Jonker Afrikaner

24 [Appendix I, Section B, ln. 615-655]

Zoreseb,[130] 18 February 1870

To Mr. Hahn,

I write you this letter, dear Sir, to let you know that my horses are still rather too weak to come down at the moment. So I am not ready yet. Also, everyday we get rain, therefore also, I cannot leave my house, because of the rain, so I will wait till the rains are over. Now, dear Sir, you must call me at an appointed time and I will come down. I am in such a hurry to see Kamaharero and to finalize the peace with him, but the rain prevents me now to leave my home. Therefore I am sending these Bergdamaras. Sir, you must please keep the Bergdamaras for a week with you and teach them, as well as give them shirts and trousers, on my account. One day I will settle my account, this I am asking you, Sir. You will hear from them about the Damaras: what God has done to uneducated people. We have also heard the damage reports about what the Berseba people[131] have done. I heard that Jacobus Izaak[132] was still in J. Then the people attacked the Damaras but Saul[133]

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[127] Cf. the original, Appendix I, section IB, line 594 and footnote 48.

[128] See footnote 29.

[129] //Oaseb (see footnote 17), leader of the Red Nation (see footnote 47). He was succeeded by his son Barnabas (see footnote 55).

[130] Not traced in this spelling.

[131] Oorlam polity established under Paul Goliath in 1850 with missionary Samuel Hahn. Cf. footnote73 and 80.

[132] See footnote 114.

[133] Only one Saul could be traced: Saul Boois (also called Saul Frederiks), although he reportedly settled in (continued...)

and his wife and children came away unscathed. Well, I heard this, but I am not sure if it is true or if it is not true. The Damaras want to move to Kamaharero but the people of Berseba do not want to let the Damaras move. That much I heard from old Petrus,[134] Petrus Swartbooi's[135] father-in-law. For the rest I have heard nothing. With my warm regards to your wife and Margrita.

I am your friend,
Captain j. jonker Africaner

25 [Appendix I, Section B, ln. 656-695]

Zoreseb,[136] 8 April 1870.

To the Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I received letters from the teachers from Great Namaqualand[137] today, but I forwarded them straightaway to Otjimbingwe. Thus I do not know what was written in these letters; now I do not know when the teachers will arrive in Rehoboth. Sir, so you must let me know, I ask you, dear Sir. Further I let you know that the Topnaars[138] have left for Opab[139] to steal cattle as well as draft-oxen from the transport wagons. But I have sent my people after them in order to punish them. I have never allowed any Topnaar or Bergdamara to steal cattle. If the Topnaars or Bergdamaras steal cattle again, then I will have such a person shot. I further received a letter from Frederik Vleermuis[140] and he says that he, Frederik, is willing to enter into a complete peace agreement with all the Damara

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[133](...continued)
the Swakop area in the mid-1850s (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1248).

[134] Not traced. Cf, reference to 'Petrus' in footnote 30 as one of Abraham Swartbooi's sons, to 'old Petrus' (perhaps Petrus Gertse) in footnote 120 and footnote 135 below.

[135] One of the sons of Willem Swartbooi (?). Nothing known further (Lau ed., 1989:314); cf. footnote 134.

[136] Not traced in this spelling.

[137] Historical name for the areas north-west of the Orange River, in modern day central Namibia. In contrast Little Namaqualand comprised the whole north-western region South of the Orange River in the Cape Province. Today the name no longer refers to Namibia but only to the Cape Province.

[138] See footnote 78.

[139] Perhaps Obab [||Obab] Between the Narob and Soutrivier. Nienaber & Raper 1980 [1977]A950.

[140] Possibly the son of Paul Vleermuis who came from the Cape with chief Amraal Lambert in 1814. Member of the *raad* (council) at Gobabis.

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captains. But he says that he heard from old Jacob Vleermuis[141] that Aponto[142] is not willing to make peace with him, or that he will not accept the peace which Frederik makes with me. I must let you, Kamaharero and Abraham Swartbooi[143] know about this, so you know Aponto's words and you can judge if this is right or if this is not right.

With warm regards to you and your wife, to Margrita and all the teachers in Otjimbingwe from all of us.

I am your friend,
Capt. Jahn Afrikaner

26 [Appendix I, Section B, ln. 696-742]

Aries,[144] 18 July 1870
Dear Mr. Hahn,

I received your letter so late yesterday evening. I was still on the move, I had not arrived back at my place. Then I turned around to hurry to you. You also say that later on, I will be found guilty. What do you think about that, will I, year after year, be found guilty for the deeds of the new arrivals in my land? When I, now, make the decisions for the future of my land? If the new arrivals in this land shoot people, is that my fault? If new arrivals in this land take up land without first asking the captain of that land, is that also my fault? When new arrivals in this land start distributing land without my permission that will be my fault, in your eyes? Because you are white! Dear Sir, you are a teacher, that is true, but will you be a truthful teacher. Because it is nevertheless also true that you are human. You can also make mistakes because you have a human nature; you are not a teacher who was sent down from heaven and do all the things right. You also should be careful; you also could be found guilty in the eyes of the black people. How do you reckon justifying yourself to me? Do you think that I will let you, white people keep on stealing our land without saying a word, just because you are a teacher? I trusted you, therefore I always write you letters but now, would I, because of all my labors, be the guilty one? Here in Rehoboth are two traders; they are breaking down houses in Rehoboth to obtain the poles, to build a house in another spot. Now, if I stop the men breaking down the houses then, am I guilty, because these two men are white people?

With my best compliments to all the friends in Azab.[145]

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[141] Clearly another member of the Gobabis family but no details could be traced.

[142] Solomon Aponda (?), Mabanderu chief of Barmen (Vedder 1938 [1966:]430).

[143] Son of Willem Swartbooi, succeeded his father between 1864 and 1867 after the Swartboois were ousted from Rehoboth by an Afrikaner commando. Most of the time allied to Kamaharero.

[144] Aris, (Nama probably: //Aris) approximately 20 km. south of Windhoek (Lau ed., 1989: 110, Map 2).

[145] See footnote 12.

Aris,[146] 8 October, 1870

To the noble Mr. Hahn and all the teachers in Damaraland,

I write you, all my friends, this letter to let you know that my father-in-law Jacobus Booi[147] is no longer in this world. He died on October 8. I did not hear about it; the old man died last night without saying any words. Further, Barnabas[148] has called me, and I am now on my way to him. He caught the man from Gobabis[149] who killed a white man last year. Barnabas wants to kill this man, as he himself killed, therefore he is calling me and some other elders and my old captains and Frederik Vleermuis[150] with him. I have heard that the half-Damaras have killed two of Frederik's men and Frederik now wants to kill the half-Damaras, because they killed his people, but we will first await further details. Now, dear Sir, you must please let Abraham Swartbooi[151] know about these facts, I ask you kindly, my dear Sir.

With warm regards to you and your wife, Margrita and all friends in Otjimbingwe.

I remain,
Captain Jan Jonker Afrikaner

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[146] See footnote 144.

[147] See footnote 4 and 5.

[148] See footnote 55.

[149] Elephant's Fountain, originally the headquarters of Amraal Lambert's people, most of whom died in 1864 in a small pox epidemic. Also the Vleermuis clan stayed here (cf. footnote 123 and 140).

[150] See footnote 140.

[151] See footnote 143.

Aris,[152] 6 December 1870

The Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I received your letter so late, the Bergdamaras were at least a month on the road. See, my dear Sir, I received no news or letters from Great Namaqualand[153] thus I have no idea how things are going down there. I did receive Mr. Schröder's[154] letter, but I have heard this and this about it. I send you the same letter of Mr. Schröder; you must see for yourself what the signification of this letter is. I myself expect the same as is conveyed in the letter. I am ready to come to Otjimbingwe myself and I wish to meet Daniel Cloete[155] and the Bergdamaras in Otjimbingwe so we can talk things through. There are many things to be discussed. I wish the Bergdamaras will reside under me but maybe the Bergdamaras are not willing to reside under me. Therefore we must first discuss all these things and come to an understanding, that is my wish. Also the Topnaars[156] have again begun to murder the Damaras. They have already shot many Damaras; that is also one of the things that have to be straightened out.

With my best compliments to you and your wife and Margrita and everyone in Otjimbingwe.

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[152] See footnote 144.

[153] See footnote 137.

[154] Johann Georg Schröder. From the literature, initially the details around missionary J.G Schröder are conflicting. Vedder (1938:398) notes "When Schröder died in 1868,..." Lau (ed., 1984-1985:1290) also lists Johann Georg Schröder to have died in 1868. However it was confirmed that there were two missionaries Schröder by the same initials, both working for the RMG:

> Johann Georg Snr. ✡1803, worked in Wupperthal 1833-1847, in Saron 1847-1849 and in Pella 1849-1868. He died on 25.12.1868.
>
> His son Johann Georg Jr. went to South Africa in 1863, worked in Berseba 1863-1866, in Keetmanshoop 1866-1871, in Windhoek 1871-1880, in Warmbad 1881-1883, in Kommaggas 1883-1894 and left the mission in 1895. He died in 1898. (B.Faulenbach, United Evangelical Mission (Archiv- u. Museumsstiftung), Wupperthal, Germany, p.c.). See Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.2.1.2, footnote 87.

[155] See footnote 40.

[156] See note 78.

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1871

The letters written in 1871 all seem to be compliant with the nature of the peace treaty that had been settled upon. Jan Jonker had been granted his wish to have his father's place, Windhoek as his homestead (albeit in the wording that it was given to him on loan; cf. '1872', and letter Nº 31). According to the peace treaty he was also obliged to take on a missionary, by stipulation, one from the Rhenish Missionary Society. Considering his earlier complaints about the German missionaries (e.g., in letter Nº 13), this seems to have been a big concession on his behalf. Whereas the historical missionary records confirm that missionary J.G. Schröder Jr. was stationed at Windhoek from 1871 till 1880, his association to Jan Jonker has not been confirmed (see Volume I, Chapter Three (§ 3.2.1.2) as well as the previous letter, Nº 28). Whatever the details of the relation may have been, Jan made sure that the missionary remained at the pulpit. In the first letter of 1871, he notifies Kamaharero, in the spirit of meritorious conduct, that he wishes to hire a trader, because, teachers engaging themselves in trading leads to disaster. The second letter in the first year after the peace alliances reaffirms, in good confidence, that as far as he knows, despite some incidents, everybody's intention in the country is set on the establishment of a lasting peace.

29 [Appendix I, Section II, ln. 1-28]

Windhoek, 19 April 1871

The Honorable Captain Kamaharero,

I write you these few lines to let you know that we heard that old Witbooi has moved to Waterberg[157] with his people. Their first party which was sent ahead, is already close to the Nossob River. This I let you know and I am letting you know something else: a trader has arrived here and on his advent he asked me if I would accept him as my trader to start a shop here in my place. This I am letting you know. It is so that a trader always lives together with a teacher, therefore I will hire this trader for I do not want the teacher to trade. Therefore I want to hire a trader, for all of us. I ask this to you and to Aponda.[158] Babie[159] is his name. I do not want to do anything without your knowledge. Thus I expect your reply, my dear captain.

Further, the Damaras who came from below have settled here. We had to pick our *Gabak* and move away to Rehoboth, but I will question the Damaras further, and then I will tell you truthfully which Damaras they are. We were belittled. We do not want to go on the ostrich hunt this year, neither do we want to make *Gam* on the place this year. That is all.

Warm regards from all of us to you and your people, my dear friends.

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[157] Also Otjozondjupa, far to the north of Windhoek (20.28S-17.13E), a landmark in border matters between the Afrikaners and the Herero (Lau 1987:30,46).

[158] See footnote 142.

[159] Nothing know further about this trader. Cf. Vedder 1938 [1966:407].

I am your loving friend,
Captain Jan Jonker Afrikaner
Windhoek

30 [Appendix I, Section II. ln. 29-57]

Windhoek, 18 August 1871

The Honorable Captain,

I write you these few lines to let you know about the things you heard over there. It is not true that Frederik Vleermuis[160] wants to start war with you. You must not believe such things. People carry a lot of lies around. Karugab[161] is at peace and he remains on his werf. Jacobus Izaak[162] also stays on his werf. There is nobody to wage war against you. These days the Beesdamaras want Bergdamaras, and they are taking them away when they move. Everyone, Barnabas[163] also, is at peace with you, my dear captain. I think you must also be attentive and see how your people's nature is. They do like this: they come to someone else's werf and do something there. I make them food and when you meet them they talk very nicely. There was a Bergdamara ǂHyrob, and a couple of Herero men who passed by. ~~On one of my Bergdamara's werfs, they shot~~ three women and a man on the road. They were your subordinates, you must not let them go unpunished. That I ask you my dear brother, captain Kamaharero. For my people, they do not leave here to go to the werfs of the Herero to do something; but they, the Herero, they do come to the werfs of my people, they speak malice and then accuse my people of it. That's how the Beesdamaras are, dear captain. This I let you know.

My warm regards to you and all of your people.

I am your loving younger brother,
Captain Jan Jonker Afrikaner

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[160] See note 140.

[161] Not traced.

[162] See footnote 114.

[163] See footnote 55.

1872

The general tone of the letters written in 1872 show a certain amount of uneasiness about the enforcement of the "peace". In the first letter, from February 1872, Jan expresses his concern about what the words "given on loan", regarding his homestead, Windhoek, precisely entail. The next letter, written two days later expresses his concern about his denizens, the Bergdamaras, who do not seem to be following him in agreement with the peace plans, as he had envisaged. The third letter, a few weeks later again expresses great concern, this time about other Kamaharero's denizens, hindering him and his people in their livelihood as hunters.

From the fourth letter in 1872 it would seem that Jan had not lost his confidence in Kamaharero as an ally and leader and that he regarded the impudent actions of the citizenry merely as debaucheries for which the captains, alone or united, had to take them to task. In the same vein he addresses other settlement questions concerning the country as a whole, as a mutual concern.

31 [Appendix I, Section II, ln. 58-112]

Windhoek, 26 February 1872

The Honorable Mr. Hahn,

I thank God that all is still well with me and all who depend on me. I wish the same to you, Sir, for I ascribe the honor of making me and Kamaharero friends again to you. I want to mention to you, so I send this letter to you, Sir, I wish to know what the situation is regarding the loan of the place Windhoek to me. As you might be aware of my present situation it seems very unreasonable to me that I would have to deploy all my strength and diligence to regain a decent existence for me and my people, whereas by the vagueness of my rights to this place I cannot remedy my frailty. A place must be run and such a labor will be disagreeable to anyone if after a little while one had to leave. As my living circumstances are also determined by hunting, and I regretfully have been prevented from this, I feel it my duty to learn how the situation is regarding the loan of the place. I see you, Sir, as a father and a mediator between us, and I expect to learn from you, Sir, what the situation is concerning the loan of the place, for as it stands at the moment the situation is almost unliveable and I wish to know in complete clarity. When we were in Okahandja for the big meeting, then it was proclaimed that with the peace everyone will be able to work and pass at ease and freely. This did not happen to me and I maintain that day's avowal, still today. So I rather want to know which ground is mine and how far I can work on it without impeding or disturbing anyone. Therefore I want to know so I will know how to behave and I will not have to be found guilty before the chiefs of this land.

I end with my best compliments and I call myself my Lord's humble servant,

JJ Africander, Captain

Windhoek, 28 February 1872

Honorable Mr.,

I feel obliged to write you a few lines. We discussed this before, but the Bergdamaras must be united and be given a status. Why did they not want to have a place? They want to free themselves now in the same way as the Beesdamaras, (namely with war). We can already see the beginning that before they are away from us they will have killed several. They have vowed that they will free themselves through warfare. Therefore, with this in mind, they are earning themselves only guns in Otjimbingwe. I really do not want them to have these guns for I know what their goal is. Therefore, it seems to me that those who supply them with the guns are backing them up. But, maybe those who do are unaware, therefore I am letting them know now, why I really do not want this. I would not have said anything if they were earning themselves the guns to make a living, to clothe themselves with, but, especially as they want their guns to shoot my Afrikaners and the Red people[164] I do not want this going on.

There are also Topnaars[165] who came down from the Bokberg[166] to the Kuiseb River,[167] they also do not want to stop killing the Bergdamaras. I have told them so often that they must not do it but they do not want to listen. Therefore I ask you, Sir, as the oldest, your advice what shall I do best in both these cases for it seems they might escalate into trouble. Thus I ask you, as now, at last their captain and their teacher I heard to be there to speak to, to be present as our teacher. As I do not want it again to become as it was with the Beesdamaras, that a great bloodshed would take place.

With my warm regards from your loving,
Captain Jan Jonker Averkaner

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[164] See footnote 47.

[165] See footnote 78.

[166] See footnote 102.

[167] Nama: !Khuiseb, according to Lau a "major river in central Namibia" (Lau ed., 1989:306); the Times Atlas (1985:94, 108) lists it merely as a watercourse, which seems the appropriate contemporary description according to an announcement in "Travel News Namibia" (Vol. 8 (3), April 2000, p.3): "As a reminder that it is actually a river, the Kuiseb came down in flood during March 2000, and for the first time in fifty years reached the sea at Walvis Bay. Although only a trickle actually flowed into the Atlantic, it is considered to be one of the most rare occurrences in the desert in recent history."

33 [Appendix I, Section II, ln. 153-184]

Windhoek, 15 April 1872

The Honorable Mr.,

I write you again a few lines to ask you, to plead with you, to answer my latest letters; they are still awaiting urgent reply. See, my dear Sir, the Damaras say again that we shall not go hunting there, therefore I wrote you that letter, to know your opinion as soon as you could. See, the werfs of the Damaras are situated right in the middle of our hunting grounds and they prevent us to hunt there. Now you must give me your advice about what to do? See, my dear Sir, when I was still at Aris,[168] after the peace, the Damaras began to thwart us. I told this many a time to Kamaharero but he does not call his people back from there, nor does he forbid his people to do such things. Also, therefore I let you know, so that you are aware of this, so that later on, you, old teacher to all of us, will not say the transgressions were the Afrikaners' doing. See, Sir, we are people and we are obliged to work to make a living. One cannot expect us to sit on our farm and perish from hunger? I do not wish to sit still here on my farm and go steal the goods of the Damaras or from my teacher for being hungry and be found guilty. That I do not want. Thus, you really must answer me soonest. I ask you this kindly, dear Sir.

Warm greetings to you and your wife and Margrita and also to all the people who live in Otjimbingwe.

I am your pupil,
Captain Jan Afrikaner

34 [Appendix I, Section II, ln. 185-212]

Windhoek 17 May, 1872

The Honorable Captain!

What do you say there? That I wrote the captains from down there, to come to Rehoboth for a meeting, that is not true. If people from down there come, then it will be the people who you have called yourself to exchange horses with. You asked, back then, to send for people with horses to barter. Besides, when the captains will come, then they will come to acknowledge the peace. We all know that, they have voted for that, as at first it was only a cease-fire and not the real, true peace. If it had been a real, full peace at first, then it would not be the case that I am always chased away from the hunting grounds. Thus the captains saw to it that an orderly peace is called for, and they agreed to come again. But when they come, and I know that they are coming, then I will let you

[168] See footnote 145.

know. Thus I am not even thinking about waging war, my friend. What you ask me in your letter, that I would have called up my people from Nosob[169] to wage war against you, I know nothing about that. Another thing you ask me in your letter: I have called Abraham Swartbooi so the three of us can discuss our business about Rehoboth, as the place was not given in ownership to Hermanus van Wijk.[170] But now, as he likes the place now, he does not want to leave at all.

[remainder missing?][171]

1874-1875

In the years that follow the content of the messages Jan sends around, get more and more disturbed. Noting that missionary Hahn left the service of the Rheinische Missions Gesellschaft in 1873, (see Volume I, Chapter Three, § 3.2.1.2, p. 101 and footnote 88) Jan Jonker may have felt that he had lost a pillar he could lean on. Yet he still seems to uphold a certain comradeship with Kamaharero, assuming that the task to govern the country well, concerns both of them in equal proportions. He reprimands Kamaharero to exercise his powers over unruly subjects as much as he asks him for his opinion in such government matters. Secondly, a growing concern and distrust about newcomers is noticeable throughout his epistles.

35 [Appendix I, Section II, ln. 213-269]

Windhoek, 3 January 1874

To my brother, Captain Kamaharero!

I made peace with the idea to have a quiet and peaceful life, to be able to go freely on my way, to hunt, collect *uintjes*,[172] to educate my children in God's word, to acquire a teacher. After the peace was made things happened that seem to have brought disruptions between us, what you know about for I have told you. Therefore it is not necessary to bring this up again. I had been hoping that you had control over your subjects, as is called for from a chief, that you could command and control

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[169] Perhaps the river Nossob (Nama: ǂNosob river, in the letter (in dr. Vedder's typescript) written: +Nosob). cf. letter Nº 29.

[170] ☼1835, Fraserburg district, Cape Colony - †Rehoboth 1905. Baster leader at Rehoboth since 1870.

[171] Vedder (1938 [1966:413]) quotes from a letter from Jan Jonker dated February 17, 1872, of more or less the same content ("...the district of Rehoboth was not given to Hermanus van Wyk as his property, but he is very pleased with the place and he does not want to leave it. It is for this reason that I have summoned Abraham...") However neither in the typescripts, or in the Index accompanying this collection this date appears. Only the letter of May 17, 1872 is listed (NA A003 , *Inhalt*, letter no. 4).

[172] Edible bulb: *Morgea edulis longifolia.*

them, that they would obey you. Even though they are heathens, I believe that they can, and will to do so.

But in the four years till now nothing has improved. The more I complain to you, the more my life is made difficult. The more I ask for freedom, the more the roads become obstructed. In the end I will not know which way to turn. Now you must try and understand clearly, what I want to think and want to say. You know from your own experiences that a bird will get tamed when you do not let it fly, it is the same with a human being if you entertain him daily he will also become quiet. Do you know how this is going to end? If you have another way, to my satisfaction, meeting my needs, without removing your people, then I would also be very happy about that. But if you yourself have not got a clue, if you just let them roam around, crossing my path then I cannot tell you how this is going to end.

I do not understand that the smallpox would play a part. Such inconveniences exist, I do not blame you for that. It goes by law, because it is untoward to bring such diseases over to healthy people.

Once you told me that you wanted to live and deal exactly the way the governor has advised. Now I ask you what did he say? Did he say that you need not worry about Jan's difficult life? That, in fact you should make his life even more difficult, so he will be closed in tight, and, when he wants to do something about that, then fight him? I do not believe that he would say anything like that. I had understood his laws, by which guidance we made peace, in such a way that it meant that a woman would be able to travel from the Colony to Ovamboland,[173] with only a staff in her hand. That is what I understood. But we cannot rely on all this at the moment, then all will be in vain. Now tell me if you are totally dissatisfied with me. For if you are satisfied with me then I believe that your subjects will be the same; I stress that you must be. As the leader does, so will his people follow. So tell me what am I to do in order to live, be able to live. Please!

Let me live.

I close my letter with regards, I remain your brother,

Captain J. Jan Afrikaner

PS. I also wanted to let you know and ask you, as you are their chief: what am I to do with the Bergdamaras who murdered each other in Aris?[174]

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[173] See footnote 62.

[174] See footnote 144; nothing known further about the incident.

36 [Appendix I, Section II, ln. 270-290]

Windhoek, 25 January 1875

The Honorable Captain Kamaharero,

I have the honor to send you the following lines, Sir. I received your letter and I have asked him about it but he denies it, and says that he did not write it. Further I wanted to let you know, Sir, that your people, who are here on the upper side of Kubakup seem to be doing wrong. I have heard that they have animals from white men with them, and that they escaped from a war at Rehoboth, which is not true. About such things, it seems to me that you might like to recall such people and keep them close to you. So you can monitor and help them. The situation is rather difficult for us as there are several people in our country who are white, learned people form the Colony. Exactly those things as you have experienced with dr. Hahn,[175] such things are in our land and it requires to maintain our true friendship with each other for the benefit of our land and people.

Herewith I end, my warm regards to you and everyone,
Your servant,
J. Jonker Afriacaner,
Captain

37 [Appendix I, Section II, ln. 291-310]

Windhoek, 15 February 1875

The Honorable Captain,

We are still expecting an answer, in answer to the letters which we wrote to let you know about the murder which happened in our land. After our agreement that, when a captain's subject commits such a crime against another captain's subject, he will bring his captain in contrition to the other captain, and we, captains will hold a meeting to incriminate the one who is guilty and to punish him. When he would not want to admit and concede his guilt, and, when he does not want to be punished, to ban him with force. So we expect an answer to the question to know what to do with the murderers, for we have apprehended them, they caught them after all, and they are locked up now.

After this I have no further news. We are all still in God's grace and hope the same to all of you.

Our, the captains of this land's expectation, is such. With warm regards to all of you I remain,
Your loving,
Captain Jan Jonker Afrikaner

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[175] Possibly rather dr. Theophilus Hahn than missionary Carl Hugo Hahn. Cf. Vedder 1938 [1966]:414.

1877-1880

While the letters from the early 1870's were of a foreboding nature, with Jan anticipating problems stemming from various details that were not covered by the original treaties, serious adversities seem to arise after 1875. It is in the letters from this period that a remarkable linguistic change takes place: he abandons all his good knowledge of Dutch in favor of an Afrikaans format. After Hahn had left (see '1876') he seems to have turned to Kamaharero for advice in government matters; according to the literature without much success (Vedder 1938, Goltblatt 1971). According to these sources Kamaharero had turned to the English Cape Government for protection, resulting in Mr. Palgrave being sent as an envoy to South West Africa in 1874. Jan does not seem to have been unfriendly towards this change of perspective (cf. letter Nº 40). But, as history relates it, the results of the English missions were mere paperwork as only limited funds were made available (Vedder 1938 [1966]:436ff.). Eventually, after various atrocities took place in the winter of 1880 (August-September) the English left the interior and withdrew to Walfish Bay (Vedder 1938 [1966]:444). It appears from the letters that Jan Jonker was seeking to renew the alliances with the chiefs of the other polities in Namaland. In the last letter of 1880, Jan writes Kamaharero an ultimatum, to mâke up his mind: shall it be peace, or will it be war.

38 [Appendix I, Section III, ln. 1-45]

Windhoek, 1 December 1877

The Honorable Captain Jacobus Izaak,[176]

The first of December I received your letter which you wrote on the 11th of November, and I reply to this now. I rather wish we will meet each other in Rehoboth around the 25th of January. Or, when Rehoboth is a little far for you then we could decide on !Hoxas or !Oaas,[177] one of those two places. So, dear chiefs, in Rehoboth here, all kinds of things happened, people were murdered, slain, there were shoot-outs and theft. Such things are becoming worse and worse. Such things are coming my way now. The captain of Rehoboth and Piet Beukes[178] also came on my land, as far as Kransnus near !Aiseb's[179] werf with a bunch of men. As war-faring Beesdamaras were also there, three women got hurt in a shootout, unnecessarily. The blood of the people lies there on the ground

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[176] See footnote 114.

[177] Not traced.

[178] Chief of a polity of Basters in Rehoboth. He sided more with Jan Jonker than with his own kind, which added to the instability of the peace (cf. C.H. Hahn's comments anno 1873, quoted in Nienaber 1989:179). Vedder describes Piet Beukes as a Griqua, "who was considered in Jan's council as a very clever and careful adviser" (1938 [1966:433]). He was apparently beheaded for no particular reason on a trading visit to Hereroland in 1890 (Heywood &Maasdorp 1995:51).

[179] Not traced.

by the hand of Hermanus van Wijk.[180] We, Treatise-chiefs, are also obliged to sort out such things according to the law of the chiefs. Hermanus van Wijk is the first captain who shed blood on another captain's grounds. It happened on the first of December 1877. On !Aiseb's side three women were hurt and on the side of the Basters no one was hurt, by the grace of God. See, dear Uncle, this time of the year most of the Beesdamaras have moved in onto our fields and our land and gardens get trampled over. Thus, we are wedged between the Damaras and the Basters. So, when you receive this letter you must please hurry here as fast as you can before the mischief becomes worse, come hastily, let us rise and help our country, don't let the knavery worsen. Already nearly a hundred people have been killed this year, how will we exist if you cannot be of help to us? When you receive this letter, you must come, posthaste, without delay. How long shall we be able to hold out and how long will we be able to sustain? By your, beloved chiefs' advice we live in fear today, while you advised us the day for peace. Now it is time that you, chiefs come and relieve us, we are at our wits end, and no longer divided, therefore we ask you your counsel. When we meet, we will report more things, but I expect an answer, not by letter but by the civil servants, on horse. As hastily as possible.

By God's grace we are still all right.

So far I end my words with regards to you and all friends,

I am your nephew,
Captain Jan Jonk Afrikaner.

39 [Appendix I, Section III, ln. 46-67]

Windhoek, 13 January 1880

My dear brother, Piet Beukes,[181]

I write you these few lines to let you know that although I got the wagon late I am ready to go, but that I do not want to leave my werf as the Beesdamaras are now more than ready to shoot me. But I have no idea what brought this on, why the Damaras are revolting against me, but for the reason that it I am accused of gathering the Bergdamaras with many horses and animals in the Gamsberg, to move there. This is what the Beesdamaras say, they accuse me, but I know I am innocent, but because of this I do not see a chance to leave my werf. We are expecting the Damaras' war here any day now. This time I will not allow the Damaras to decimate me on my werf. So I ask that the old captain Jacobus Izaak[182] returns home hastily and sorts everything out on that side and brings his people or forces together, as well as letting the other chiefs know. Further, the war of the

[180] See footnote 162.

[181] See footnote 178.

[182] See footnote 114.

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Damaras is now in Aris[183] to turn me. Thus, the Damaras behave towards me. So far.
Regards to you,

I am your beloved Captain,
Jan Jonker Afrikaner

40 [Appendix I, Section III, ln. 68-107]

Windhoek, 18 May 1880

My dear Captain Kamaharero,

I have received your letter and you ask me a question, to which I will answer you now with a few short words. There is not one of my people in the Gamsberg nor any of my Bergdamaras. I will explain to you later more clearly. It seemed to me that you did not understand my letter well, therefore I send Eig,[184] so you can hear it from his mouth. You also write about redoubts which I have erected here on my place Windhoek, but I am ashamed to answer you on this. For we made peace and when we made peace we said that we would never again prevent people to go as they please. But why do your people come here, on this church ground, with commandos without any orders from you? Therefore I have erected these redoubts, because of the obstinacy of your people not because of you. Here, not one man has yet brought four oxen, whom I have scared away from my house. Everything is all right here. I wish you to be likewise. Regards to you and everyone.

I think when Mr. Palgrave[185] arrives in Okahandja then I will come to you myself, then the two of us can enforce the peace further or amend it. Our peace is not good, our peace needs to be made right.

I am your brother,
Jan Jonker Afrikaner

PS. I ask you one other question, Andries Slamber[186] has called us by letter. What do you say about this call from Andries?

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[183] See footnote 144.

[184] Unclear in manuscript (see Appendix I, Section III, ln. 78), it could be a Mr. Eigner or possibly missionary Friedrich Eich, who started a Herero mission station in 1873 at Otjiseva, South of Okahandja. No further references.

[185] William Coates Palgrave, hunter and prospector in Namibia. From 1869 he held several Cape Civil service posts: in 1876 he was appointed Cape Special Commissioner for Namaland and Hereroland to determine their possible annexation by Britain (Lau ed., 1989:311; see also Vedder 1938, Goltblatt 1971).

[186] Perhaps Andries Lambert, since 1864 the leader of the Gobabis people (also called Lambert's people, or the Khauas Hottentots). They occupied a strategic kind of 'border post' on the main trade route to Ngamiland (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:241).

Otjizeva, 3 December 1880

Paramount Chief, Kamaharero,

With the following lines I ask you your opinion whether to end with war or with peace. The southern chiefs, who collected at Okahandja in 1870 to establish peace between us, wish to hear from you, which one of us, you or me, broke the peace of 1870. And they want an answer from you. The chiefs are obliged to know your opinion. You have treated me disgracefully without reason and not only have you killed my people but also you have persecuted me with war, on various occasions. So, I ask you now, tell me your full opinion whether to change this unrest for peace or for war? I am fully ready to defend myself in all possible ways. This I let you know, and I wish to hear your opinion.

I am respectfully yours,
JJA. Captain.

1881 & 1889

Things seem to have worsened yet again. Although the historiographies detail the last fierce battle between Jan Jonker and the Herero to have taken place on December 10, 1880 (Vedder 1938 [1966]:461). In the first letter from 1881 (№ 42), presumably one of a series, Jan Jonker urges missionary Eich and all the teachers to leave the battle grounds, as he foresees a major bloodshed and he expresses his distrust in the European establishment. In the next letter, addressed both to Kamaharero and presumably another Herero chief, he takes out a contract on the former. History does not relate any further incidents, and judging from the last letter from 1881 (№ 44), which is merely of a household nature, Jan seems to be going about his business 'as usual'. Lau (1995:x) summarizes the beginning of the 1880's as follows:

> The so-called Nama-Herero war of 1880 still awaits close attention and research [...]. What seems to have been at stake was not ethnicity or 'culture' but grazing land and cattle, in a very complex pattern of shifting, cross-ethnic alliances involving the Rehoboth Basters, the Nama Swartbooi, the Herero under [Ka]Maharero, and Jan Jonker Afrikaner on the centre stage. Between October 1880 and February 1881 there was a series of heavy battles between Nama and Herero contingents, and many famous leaders found their deaths then. [...] By late 1882 the picture was again one of decentralisation, with isolated but constant raiding, counter-raiding and short-term concentrations of conflict, mostly concerned with Namalanders taking Herero or Baster cattle. This was roughly the picture at the time of Hendrik Witbooi's ascendancy in 1884.

Judging from the very last letter in this collection (№ 45), written some eight years later, which originates from the Witbooi Papers, no real change in Jan Jonker's troubles emanates. Again he seems

to have taken on a diplomatic role, summoning for peace, this time in the interest of the German military occupiers, against forces arguably beyond his control. He died a few months later, in August 1889 [187]

42 [Appendix I, Section III, ln. 125-155]

Tsebris,[188] 31 January 1881

The Honorable Mr. Eich,[189]

I send this letter to you and all the teachers in Damaraland, asking you kindly to take my advice as your friend. When you, teachers, get this letter get ready to make way as far as Otjimbingwe. What are you teachers doing in the war? I am very displeased that you teachers stay in the war. Our teachers tell us that when we come with our war to the mission station then we must absolutely not touch a teacher or a white man or even the church. That is why we keep you, teachers or all white people, as our friends. Why do you hide Damaras in your house? The Damaras shoot us from your house. Therefore I tell you, the first Saturday that we arrived in Barmen we saw ourselves with our own eyes that the Damaras shot at us from the teacher's house. In the incident the Damaras shot one of our men, named David Goliath, dead. Is that right? Therefore, I say now that you must rather make way, otherwise I will not respect you as an impartial party. When we come there again, we will not keep any of the whites or teachers as impartial, when we see the Damaras coming from their houses again, we will shoot, I can assure you. Listen and understand me well. I pray you with my friendly request, please leave, so we will not get blamed about you.

So far. With the best of my compliments to you and all the teachers of Damaraland.

I am your friend,
Jan Jonker Afrikaner,
Captain

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[187] The exact circumstances of Jan Jonker's death remain unclear. There are reports he was killed by his son, who wanted to join with the Witbooi: "*...doodgeskiet in 1889 deur sy eie seun wat oorgeloop het na Hendrik Witbooi, die nuwe 'ster'.*" (..shot in 1889 by his own son who wanted to join the enemy, Hendrik Witbooi, the new 'star'.) (Nienaber 1989:565; also Vedder 1938). Hendrik Witbooi, in his diary notes about the incident: "On 6 August our war party rode out against Jan Afrikaner. We followed his trail to Hereroland and, after four days, caught up with him in ǂGuguameb. On 10 August we attacked him, killing and wounding many of his men. He, the Captain Jan Jonker Afrikaner, also died in battle that day, the 10th of August" (Heywood & Maasdorp, 1995:25).

[188] Oorlam Afrikaner settlement in ca. 1840, perhaps also later; today on farm 48, Windhoek; for more details see Nienaber & Raper 1980 [1977]:1055.

[189] Cf. footnote 184.

43 [Appendix I, Section III, ln. 156-177]

Tsebris, 26 March 1881

Dear friend or brother Kamaharero,
as well as Tjinake or |Apa Dama[190]

It has not just been today that I wrote you a letter, can't you write me an answer back? Why are you so choosy? See, my dear friend, |Apa Damap, I will not write you again. I received a letter here, from the teacher in which we are questioned about the ongoing peace. We are always willing to keep the peace but there is one man in Damaraland who does not want peace, his name is Kamaharero and also Anirop.[191] If you want to make peace I tell you, as your brother, I give you the advice, first kill those two men with assegais. It is because of those two men that a lot of blood has been shed and much more will be lost in eternity, for those two do not want to live in peace. Thus, when you receive this letter, you must call all people together and first murder those two men, then I will make a solid peace with you, if you kill them. Let me know soonest then we both will live in peace without waging war. That is the good advice which I have given you. So far.

I am your brother,
Jan Jonker Afrikaner
Captain

44 [Appendix I, Section III, ln. 178-197]

Rodebank,[192] 12 August 1881

My dear brother, P. Beukes,[193]

With this letter I let you know that on Saturday I arrived at Rooibank. I heard from the people here that Mr. Jordaan[194] went to Rehoboth. So I did not find Mr. Jordaan at home and the people say that Mr. Jordaan will return home this week. I will wait for him here this week. I came this far and

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[190] Not traced in any spelling variant.

[191] Not traced.

[192] Most likely Rooibank, 19th century Topnaar settlement, also called Scheppmannsdorf, in memory of this missionary who died there in 1847. Nama name /Awa!haos (Lau ed., 1984-1985:1290, 1989:312).

[193] See footnote 178.

[194] Trader, hunter, and well acquainted with the territory. He possessed considerable influence with Europeans and natives both in South West Africa and beyond its borders. Later functioned as a go-between for the Trekboers with the Portuguese government (Vedder 1938 [1966:421]).

he is the only man who has ammunition, so you must not take me evil, there are no shooting materials here at the bay says Mr. Koch.[195] But I do not see a chance to go home without the shooting materials so you must not expect me back too soon, also let the other captains know about this. So far.

We are all keeping well by the grace of God and I hope you are likewise.

I greet you,

I am your friend,
Jan Jonker Afrikaner,
Captain

45 [Appendix I, Section III, ln. 198-234]

Dear Nephew, Captain Hendrik Witbooi, ǂHau-xas,[196] 20 March 1889

Through these lines I address a few remarks to you. Dr. Göring[197] has sent me a message asking me to mediate between your people and those of captain Manasse,[198] and to negotiate peace terms with you. If either of you accept this, then I, as a neutral party, shall invite the other as well. I have notified Manasse about these peace talks so that he too will come. I will talk to him too. And I will act as intermediary between your two nations, as a go-between for peace. I suggest that you wait to see what I do when captain Manasse comes, for he will be coming at my summons, and not to attack you. In the past I told you: Be patient, my Son, but you did not listen. Today I don't understand you. I know that the man is your enemy, but you will have to wait and see what I can arrange. I know that you have false witnesses against me about the letters I wrote to captain Manasse and Paul Visser.[199] Nevertheless wait now and see. I do not accept what you accuse me of. I have no hostile intentions against you. I reject that accusation which must arise from a misunderstanding. To proceed: dear nephew, call a halt now and make peace. This I again urge you to with these few lines, with all goodwill.

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[195] *Landungsagent* of the Rhenish Mission.

[196] Apparently an Afrikaner settlement. Witbooi narrates: "On 1 May [1889] our war party of 84 men went out again. On 2 May the first settlement was raided at Witte !Kham River. On 3 May ǂHau-xas was attacked, and on 4 May burned down. The compounds of Jan Afrikaner and Jan Frederiks were spared. On 5 May we went home" (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:24). Later that year, on August 10, 1889 Jan Jonker was killed. See footnote 187.

[197] Heinrich Ernst Göring. Commissioner for German South West Africa from 1885-1890.

[198] Manasse !Noreseb, (disputed) successor of Barnabas (see footnote 55) as leader of the Red Nation.

[199] AWitbooi leader of a separate group. He had died in battle against Hendrik Witbooi in the previous year. (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:249).

Answer me promptly. Otherwise I will not proceed with these peace negotiations. And I will not detain Manasse if he wants to attack you tomorrow or the day after. Moreover: let those among your men who belong to the Afrikaners and the Boois, stay out of the quarrel.

I also hear that you've made a binding treaty with the Basters.[200] So the Basters too are now involved in your war. The captain sees the Basters with his eyes.

[200] This probably refers to the Basters living in !Noreseb's realm and based at Kalkfontein, many of whom decided to join Witbooi, not to the Rehobothers (Heywood & Maasdorp 1995:30).

APPENDIX III

APPENDIX III

(1) Classification of infinitival complements in Dutch

Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D
VR +	-	+	-
EXTR -	+	+	+
LDS -	-	+	+
zullen	fluisteren	proberen	zeggen
kunnen(deon)	schreeuwen	wagen	helpen(+te)
kunnen(epist)	rondbazuinen	weigeren	leren(+te)
moeten(deon)	z. verbazen	hopen	durven(+te)
moeten(epist)	z. schamen	menen	dreigen(+AG)
willen	schokken	wensen	besluiten
mogen	lukken	verzuimen[?]	verbieden
laten	berouwen	eisen	vergeten
doen	kosten	beweren	vermijden
zien	bevallen	beginnen	verplichten
horen	ophouden	trachten	verzuimen[?]
voelen	voortgaan		vrezen
vinden	doorgaan		begeren
schijnen			verwachten
blijken			denken
lijken			geloven
hoeven			verlangen
staan			verleren
liggen			z.verwaardigen
zitten			z.verheugen
lopen			z.voornemen
helpen(-te)			z.aanmatigen
leren(-te)			z.inbeelden
durven(-te)			z.herinneren
dienen			aanraden
plegen			voorspiegelen
weten			opdragen
believen			voorschrijven
vermogen			
dreigen(-AG)			
hebben (temporal aux.)			
zijn (temporal aux.)			

(2) Dialectal variation in Verb Raising

(a) Dutch

Two verb clusters

√	a.	..dat hij haar gezien **heeft**	√	a.	..dat hij haar zien **zal**	√	a.	..dat hij gezien **werd**
√	b.	.. dat hij haar **heeft** gezien	√	b.	..dat hij haar **zal** zien	√	b.	..dat hij **werd** gezien

Three verb clusters

	a.	..dat hij haar zien kunnen **zal**		a.	..dat hij haar gezien hebben **zal**		a.	..dat hij haar zien willen **heeft**
	b.	..dat hij haar zien **zal** kunnen		b.	..dat hij haar gezien **zal** hebben		b.	..dat hij haar zien **heeft** willen
	c.	..dat hij haar **zal** zien kunnen		c.	..dat hij haar **zal** gezien hebben		c.	..dat hij haar **heeft** zien willen
√	d.	..dat hij haar **zal** kunnen zien	√	d.	..dat hij haar **zal** hebben gezien	√	d.	..dat hij haar **heeft** willen zien
	e.	..dat hij haar kunnen zien **zal**		e.	..dat hij haar hebben gezien **zal**		e.	..dat hij haar willen zien **heeft**
*	f.	..dat hij haar kunnen **zal** zien	*	f.	..dat hij haar hebben **zal** gezien	*	f.	..dat hij haar willen **heeft** zien

(b) German

Two verb clusters

√	a.	..daß er sie gesehen **hat**	√	a.	..daß er sie sehen **will**	√	a.	..daß er gesehen **wurde**
	b.	..daß er sie **hat** gesehen		b.	..daß er sie **will** sehen		b.	..daß er **wurde** gesehen

Three verb clusters

	a.	..daß er sie sehen können **will**	√	a.	..daß er sie gesehen haben **will**		a.	..daß er sie sehen wollen **hat**
	b.	..daß er sie sehen **will** können		b.	..daß er sie gesehen **will** haben	√	b.	..daß er sie sehen **hat** wollen
√	c.	..daß er sie **will** sehen können	√	c.	..daß er sie **will** gesehen haben	√	c.	..daß er sie **hat** sehen wollen
	d.	..daß er sie **will** können sehen		d.	..daß er sie **will** haben gesehen	√	d.	..daß er sie **hat** wollen sehen
	e.	..daß er sie können sehen **will**		e.	..daß er sie haben gesehen **will**		e.	..daß er sie wollen sehen **hat**
*	f.	..daß er sie können **will** sehen	*	f.	..daß er sie haben **will** gesehen	*	f.	..daß er sie wollen **hat** sehen

(c) Afrikaans

Two verb clusters

√	a.	..dat hy haar gesien **het**	*	a.	..dat hy haar sien **sal**	√	a.	..dat hy gesien **word**
*	b.	..dat hy haar **het** gesien	√	b.	..dat hy haar **sal** sien	*	b.	..dat hy **word** gesien

Three verb clusters

*	a.	..dat hy haar sien kan **sal**	*	a.	..dat hy haar gesien het **sal/sou**	*	a.	..dat hy haar (ge)sien wil/wou **het**
*	b.	..dat hy haar sien **sal** kan	*	b.	..dat hy haar gesien **sal/sou** het	*	b.	..dat hy haar (ge)sien **het** wil/wou
*	c.	..dat hy haar **sal** sien kan	√	c.	..dat hy haar **sal/sou** gesien het	*	c.	..dat hy haar **het** (ge)sien wil/wou
√	d.	..dat hy haar **sal** kan sien	*	d.	..dat hy haar **sal/sou** het gesien	*	d.	..dat hy haar **het** wil/wou (ge)sien
*	e.	..dat hy haar kan sien **sal**	*	e.	..dat hy haar het gesien **sal/sou**	√	e.	..dat hy haar wil/wou (ge)sien **het**
*	f.	..dat hy haar kan **sal** sien	*	f.	..dat hy haar het **sal/sou** gesien	*	f.	..dat hy haar wil/wou **het** (ge)sien

√ standard language
* ungrammatical
❑ regional

Two-verbs: column 1 *..that he has seen her*, column 2 *..that he will see her*, column 3 *..that he was seen*. Three verbs: column 1 *..that he will be able to see her*, column 2 *.. that he will have seen her*, column 3 *..that he has wanted to see her*.