Language maintenance and shift among the Rehoboth Basters of Namibia ca. 1868-2008

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the requirements of a PhD in Linguistics
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Opgedra aan die drie tweelinge –

kinders, kleinkinders en agterkleinkinders

van Schalk Pienaar (1916 - 1978) en Antoinette Webb (1919 - 1999):

Sarie Cloete (1956 - 1997) en Dirk Pienaar (1956 - 2007)

Antoinette Cloete (1984 - 1997) en Gerrit Cloete (1984 -)

Misha en Xander Louw (16 Februarie 2009 -)

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Abstract

The main theme of the thesis is language endangerment, which represents a subfield of enquiry in sociolinguistics. The language under investigation is Afrikaans in its setting in Rehoboth, Namibia. Afrikaans was maintained as mother tongue and has been the dominant language as well as lingua franca in Rehoboth for some hundred years but could be losing these positions to English because of function and status loss and changes in the demographic mix of the area after Namibia's Independence in 1990. The Afrikaans-speaking Rehoboth Basters were initially the primary research subjects but it soon transpired that the Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds of the town need focused attention too because their language behaviour is as vital to the future of Afrikaans in the area.

Two sub-themes (which exclude the Coloureds) form a connecting thread throughout the thesis: The first one centres on ways in which the Rehoboth Basters have been disadvantaged because of initial unfamiliarity with the language of successive new administrators. The second sub-theme is the negative portrayal over time of the Basters in literature and the media.

The investigation was done in three parts and each sought answers to the following central questions: (a) How were Afrikaans and the Afrikaans-speaking Rehoboth Basters positioned at Namibia's Independence in 1990? (Chapter 3: National positioning of the Basters and Afrikaans.) (b) What put the Rehoboth Basters in the position in which they found themselves in 1990? (Chapters 4-6: Genetic, sociopolitical and sociolinguistic history of the Basters.) (c) How do and could the aforesaid affect Afrikaans and its mother tongue speakers in Rehoboth? (Chapters 7-9: Fieldwork in Rehoboth and Windhoek among mother tongue as well as L2 speakers of Afrikaans.) "Why?" was the overarching question of the study, which caused the overall approach to be psychosocial, since reasons for and motives behind events and behaviours were probed. Data on mindsets and actions of individuals were gathered in the process from sociohistorical literature as well as archival material, interviewees, questionnaire respondents and in stints of participant observation from 1996-2008. Speakers of all ages were included in the study but the main target was Afrikaans learners aged 16-18 years, the would-be parents of the next generation. This age group was surveyed in Rehoboth over a period of 13 years. The data suggest that the intergenerational transmission of mother tongue Afrikaans is under threat in this location, which means that a shift to English may follow.

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Glossary

Basters – Afrikaans for "bastard" – a name the Rehoboth Basters use for themselves

Boer – In the 1700s it denoted Dutch (settler) farmers; in the 1800s it began denoting Afrikaners (the British-South African war of 1899-1903 was called the Anglo-Boer War); in the Apartheid era[1] Afrikaans whites, especially policemen, were called *Boers*

Burger – Dutch citizens at the Cape in the 1700s; Baster citizen of Rehoboth

Gebiet – German for district; the name "Rehoboth Gebiet" is still used

jaart – "yard", a word used by the Basters to denote their the whole living space

Kaptein – "Captain" of the Rehoboth Basters

leraar(t) – name for missionary or clergyman

Schutztruppe – German protection troop that operated in the German era

[1] "[E]very politically conscious black used the term *boer* in referring particularly to white Afrikaners" (Bryan O'Linn 2003:229).

Abbreviations

D/N	Damara/Nama (or N/D - Nama/Damara)
KKG	Khoekhoegowab, official name for Damara/Nama
L1, L2, L3	first, second, third language
MT	mother tongue
MOI	medium of education

Acronyms

ACN	Aksie Christelik Nasionaal (now MAG, Monitor Aksie Groep)
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
EIU	European Intelligence Unit
ELC	Evangelical Lutheran Church
EMIS	Education Management Information Systems; runs bi-annual school censuses for the Ministry of Education; publishes annual reports - now in electronic format
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
MRG	Minority Rights Group
NHDR	Namibian Human Development Report
NSHR	National Society for Human Rights
NHRR	Namibia Human Rights Report
RMS	Rhenish Mission Society
RSA	Republic of South Africa
S.A.	South Africa (in this thesis S.A. to distinguish it from SA – Standard Afrikaans)
SA	Standard Afrikaans
SWA	South West Africa
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation (now SWAPO Party of Namibia)
UN	United Nations
UNAM	University of Namibia
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNPO	Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization

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Chapter One

Background to the community and methodology

"Do naught thou dost not understand." – Pythagoras (ca. 580-500 BC)

Greek philosopher and mathematician

1.1 Background to the thesis and the Rehoboth Basters

The political position of the Rehoboth Basters of Namibia as well as their mother tongue Afrikaans changed overnight when the country became independent on 21 March 1990. The Basters lost their right to (albeit limited) self-rule and Afrikaans lost its status as co-official language alongside English in the process. At the time Rehoboth had been a stronghold of the Rehoboth Basters for 130 years and of Afrikaans for almost a century. This researcher embarked on a sociolinguistic study with language maintenance, endangerment and shift as interlinking subfields of enquiry, Rehoboth as location, the Basters as main subjects and Afrikaans as focal point to assess the impact of the sudden loss of power on both people and language. The study was an extension of her 1996 MA research among the major Namibian language groups in which the relationship of Grade 11s to their respective mother tongues was probed. It was found (Louw 1997:96) that English was taking over the dominant position in the lives of the respondents - which included Rehobothers. In the current study Grade 11s, as members of the "pre-parental generation" (Michael Walsh 2009:136), were once again the target age group.

A synopsis of the origins of the Rehoboth Baster people follows. They were first known as *De Tuinse Basters* after the Northern Cape Rhenish mission station where they gathered as an ostracised racially mixed people. Stock-farming Basters, who could for various reasons no longer eke out a living in the semi-desert, organised an ox-wagon trek to Namibia. In 1870, after a journey of two years, some 90 families settled with their herds at the abandoned mission station Rehoboth where they became known as *Rehoboth Basters.* The initial community of some 300 gradually grew in size. The South African census of 1970 enumerated 16 474 Rehoboth Basters (cited by Vincent Leggo 1977:22).[1]

[1] This South African town planning firm referred to the Rehoboth Basters as *Rehoboth Burgers.* The 1981 South African census returned 25 800 Rehoboth Basters and countrywide, 43 500 Coloureds (respectively 2.6% and 4.3% of the population [Fraenkel *et al.* 1982:5]). Since Namibian censuses are now done according to language groups, numbers of these groups are no longer known.

The language history of the Basters showcases multiple shifts in the relatively short 140 years of their existence. Upon arrival in Namibia most Basters still spoke the Khoi of their maternal ancestors and the Dutch of their paternal ancestors. In Namibia the Basters came into contact with Nama (now officially called Khoekhoegowab) and in the German era (1885-1915) they were exposed to German, which many learnt in school and/or through marriage in Rehoboth. Dutch remained their religious language while "Rehoboth Afrikaans" became their spoken language. After 1928 Cape Coloured teachers brought standardised Afrikaans to Rehoboth (Rudolf Britz 1991:9) while many isolated elderly Basters on farms maintained a form of Dutch (called "Pioneer Code" in this thesis), which was transmitted to grandchildren. In time the Basters lost Khoi, Dutch and German.

1.1.1 Objective and aims

The overall objective of the research was to investigate the mother tongue Afrikaans community of Rehoboth in terms of language maintenance, endangerment and shift in the first decade of the new millennium and the second decade of Namibia's independence. The expectation is that the term of maintenance of mother tongue Afrikaans is coming to an end and that a short period of language endangerment will be followed by the onset of a community shift to mother tongue English. The study furthermore aimed to (a) document the current position of Afrikaans in Rehoboth among all age groups as thoroughly as possible, (b) probe and document the linguistic history of the deeply religious Rehoboth Basters from as far back as 1868 when they left the Cape with the hope of finding land where they could settle permanently and (c) present the history of the Rehoboth Basters with the emphasis on their own point of view.

The main theme of the thesis is language endangerment but two sub-themes form binding threads throughout the work: (a) Negative and stereotyped portrayal of the Rehoboth Basters over time in literature and the media. (b) The Baster leadership's lack of proficiency in the language of their administrators, being English in South Africa in the late 1860s; German in Namibia from 1885-1915; English directly after 1915; standardised Afrikaans from the early 1920s onwards and English once again shortly before and after 1990. Both (a) and (b) could play a role in a shift to English among individuals and ultimately in the Rehoboth Afrikaans-speaking community as a whole. Because of (a) the younger generation may be psychosocially and psycho-politically motivated to shed the old

Baster identity as well as parental memories of Apartheid that are both closely connected to Afrikaans. Because of (b) both old and young may for pragmatic reasons turn to English.

1.1.2 Hypotheses

The thesis hypothesis is that mother tongue Afrikaans is already endangered among youngsters in Rehoboth. It is furthermore assumed (a) that Namibia constitutes a hostile environment for the continued existence of the Rehoboth Basters as a distinct ethnolinguistic community and for the stability and growth of Afrikaans (Chapter 3) and (b) that the Basters' version of the causes and effects of pivotal events in their history has been trivialised and/or ignored by past authors and administrators (Chapter 5).

1.1.3 Relevance and timing of the study

Michael Krauss's contention in 1992 that 40-75% of the world's some 6000 languages could be endangered (Krauss 1998:103) was followed by a period of increased awareness among linguists (see below) of language demise. This coincided with a global rise in concern about the rights of indigenous peoples[2] - an avenue that was pursued from the 1990s onwards by the Rehoboth Basters whose entire history is marked by persistent[3] struggles at national as well as international levels for acceptance as a marginalized minority group and – of late - for official recognition as a traditional community of Namibia. (The latter has not happened to date – i.e. August 2010.).

The current study sheds light on both conditions within a Namibian context: Language endangerment *and* marginalisation. Suzanne Romaine (1994:227) calls for more empirical language research "in non-Western societies and cultures". Salikoko Mufwene (1998) is of the opinion that the "limited literature that is ethnographically informed, such as Dorian (1998) and Hale (1998), is still very much dominated by a Western European perspective" (Mufwene 2000:1). Namibia is classified as a "medium development" country and in 2003 its Human Development Index (HDI) position was 124 out of 175 countries (see Table 3.4, pp. 54-55). "Fact-finding and prioritisation are the immediate needs," notes David Crystal (2000:92) with regard to endangered languages. The Rehoboth

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[2] UN landmarks are the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004) and the establishment in 2000 of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UN 2003:2). In 1997 the some 34 000 Basters of Namibia were considered by the Minority Rights Group as one of the four most marginalized minority groups in Namibia (*World Directory of Minorities* 1997:504).

[3] In 1925 the Administrator wrote to Rehoboth magistrate C.N. Manning: "Whatever failings the new (Baster) Raad may possess, they certainly do not lack persistency." (NAN SWAA A206/3)

case history adds to the data pool of threatened minority languages and contributes to a better understanding of the phenomenon. It furthermore sheds light on a group of people that fall somewhere in-between "non-Western" and "Western European". The present day modernising Rehoboth community was rural in its orientation while stock-farming and small family businesses were the main local sources of income up to the 1970s – much like the pre-modern Irish people of the 1960s, as documented by P. Ó Riagáin (2001:206).

The present study was vital in three ways: (a) It was done in the second decade after Independence when changes in language behaviour were still new. Michael Byram noted in the context of German youngsters in Denmark who had to change to a Danish language environment (1985:49): The relationship between language and ethnic identity would be most apparent and open to investigation for a brief period only. (b) In contrast to most members of their parents' generation, young Afrikaans speakers of Rehoboth are educated in English and are socially bilingual. More than half of the study's respondents want English as mother tongue for their future children (see Chapter 8). Stephen Wurm regards a language as "potentially endangered" (1998:192) when it is still functioning well but losing child speakers to another language. (c) The growth of the Internet in the 2000s brought about new ways of disseminating knowledge as well as changes in social networks and social media (e.g. Facebook, with 500 million users according to a BBC broadcast on 16 July 2010, and also Twitter - since 2004). The current study was done in a bridging phase between the last millennium and the new one. UNESCO (UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) suggests (2003, cited by Paolo Coluzzi 2009:148) "response to new domains and media" [4] should now be a focus point in studies on language vitality.

While living among the Rehoboth Basters in 1908 the German anthropologist Eugen Fischer noted (1961[1913]:248) that they still had both their ancestral mother tongues Khoi (Nama) and Dutch. This observation is corroborated by a diary entry on 1 November 1869 of missionary Carl Hugo Hahn's[5] English wife Emma (Dorothy Guedes 1992:323): "Large numbers of Bastards (a people partly descended from Hottentots and Dutch farmers and speaking the language of both) are coming up from the Colony…" As noted above, the community has now lost both these languages. A period of social bilingualism is seemingly a common denominator between the past and present language situations. David

[4] This study quantified the language choice of Rehoboth Grade 11s for SMS in 2008.
[5] Hahn lived from 1818-1895; his wife from 1814-1880 (cited in an Appendix of Guedes 1992).

and Dealwis note (2009:109) that historical variables can influence language choice, therefore language shift needs to be considered from a historical perspective.

A model of Annette Schmidt of 1990/1993 (cited in Lo Bianco *et al.* 2001:394-395) is applied next for an introductory evaluation of the supposed endangerment of Afrikaans in Rehoboth and as motivation of the current study. Schmidt identifies five stages of language loss: Stage 1 languages have[6] "strong vitality" because they are actively transmitted to children and they are the primary language of the community. Stage 2 languages are characterised by a drop in speaker numbers and an increase in speakers who use an alternative language. The language is still transmitted intergenerationally although not all new learners acquire a fully functional range of competence in its speech styles. Influence of the replacing language is found in the linguistic features of the threatened language. Stage 3 languages are no longer transmitted to the young; they are only fully functional for some older speakers and pervasive code switching is used in intergenerational communication. Stage 4 languages have no fluent speakers left. Finally, in Stage 5, all community members use the replacing language as first language.

Due note is taken of Schmidt's remark that these stages are "abstract points on a sliding scale" and that it is not necessary for all languages to pass through all stages. Spolsky *et al.* (2001:355) believe in similar vein that the term "stage" in Fishman's GIDS model (to measure intergenerational language disruption) might unduly constrain it "by its implication of an ordered progression". A number of schemes for assessing language vitality are criticized by Walsh (2009:135) for assuming "a unidirectional path from vibrancy to decline" and relying on "slippery notions like 'speaks' vs. 'does not speak' ".

The supposition that Afrikaans is currently moving from Stages 1 to 2 among its young speakers in Rehoboth is tested in Chapters 7 to 9. Dutch, the political, religious and written language of the Basters up to at least 1930 (p.c. Baster kaptein John McNab, April 2004 – corroborated in Chapter 6), is at Stage 5. It is shown in Chapter 8 that 60 years on, even though historical Dutch prayers and hymns are still part of funeral and other religious rituals in Rehoboth, no Afrikaans-speaking Rehoboth learner in surveys

[6] Andrew Dalby noted (2003: x) that since languages are not entities, it can be misleading to make them the subjects of active verbs but he allows himself "for the sake of brevity" to e.g. say that a language "has" roles or functions whereas it is the speakers that use it as such. When it is stated in this thesis that "Dutch is at Stage 5 in Rehoboth" it is likewise implied that the language's former *speakers* have put it in such a position.

between 1996 and 2008 and only one adult questionnaire respondent mentioned Dutch when asked what languages they could "understand but not speak".

The late Windhoek archivist Brigitte Lau remarked at the end of *Southern and Central Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time* (1987:148)[7] that history in central Namibia was not moved and may not be explained by ethnic or racial differences between peoples, but rather by social, economic and political forces. She added that none of the arguments presented in her work "have relied on or even referred to cultural traits such as language, as explanatory devices for historical events". The current study addresses the latter gap: Language is regarded as one of the issues in the outcome of events in the history of the Rehoboth Basters (see Chapter 5). Fritz Ponelis noted (2002:100): "Afrikaans historical linguistics was conceived and to some considerable extent developed by 'outsiders'… For some decades, indigenous scholars made significant contributions, but this momentum had run out." The current study makes an insider contribution to the history of Afrikaans.

1.1.4 Phases and chronology of the investigation

(a) In May 1999 a follow-up of the 1996 survey towards an MA degree was done in which Grade 11s of all three Rehoboth high schools participated. The same questionnaire was used in order to learn whether changes in language behaviour with regard to Afrikaans and English had taken place in the intervening years. This was followed by an in-depth investigation of the Rehoboth Basters for the Cape Town-based newspaper *Die Burger* that resulted in four articles in *WêreldBurger* (16 June 1999:1-3).

(b) The PhD fieldwork had a preliminary stage in 2000-2002 in which observational stints, interviews and video-recordings of an exploratory nature were done. Maye Taylor (1996:36) suggests that an unstructured approach to data gathering is followed in the early stages of research "so that key issues can emerge gradually through analysis" and the research question(s) can be formulated. The research could be conceptualised and planned with the help of valuable information that came to the fore in the course of sound- and video-recorded interviews - of which five were life-story interviews with elderly Basters. In the course of the latter the researcher e.g. learnt that the Baster pioneers spoke a code that has escaped academic attention to date (see Chapter 6).

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[7] Jonker died in Okahandja in 1861. He was probably born in 1790 (N. Mossolow 1993:9) for as a child he saw in 1796 how family members killed their employer, the stock farmer and adventurer Petrus Pienaar, near Calvinia. This was a catalytic event in the spread of Dutch to Namibia.

(c) In May 2002 a third survey among Rehoboth Grade 11s was done in which the questionnaire of 1996 and 1999 was used once again. This was followed by a sharply focused three weeks from 25 October to 15 November 2002 in which semi-structured sound- and video-recorded interviews were done as well as an extended questionnaire survey among mainly adults. In the process 12 prominent young and middle-aged community members were interviewed with the aim of probing language and socio-political issues in Rehoboth. In the run-up to the questionnaire survey, 22 insiders of all ages were asked in structured mini-interviews to help the researcher profile the larger Rehoboth community. This enabled her to draw a representative sample for a questionnaire survey among adults.

(d) While the fieldwork data was being assessed, the researcher realised that the historical background to the core Baster issues of ethnicity, religion, land and language was needed. Protracted research was then done in the National and Evangelical Lutheran Church Archives in Windhoek. (Support for this action is found in contributions to the conference 'Endangered languages and history' that was held in 2009 in Tajikistan.)

(e) A first post-1990 generation of Grade 11s was the respondents in September 2008 when the research was wrapped up with a last survey among learners in all three Rehoboth high schools. The researcher regards these "pre-parents" as important agents in the transmission of mother tongue Afrikaans to the next generation. Should they not transmit Afrikaans as mother tongue to their children - as the bulk of the questionnaire respondents indicated – a language shift (to English) could be put in motion.

1.1.5 Positioning of the researcher: approach to the study

Is objectivity in research possible? J.C. Steyn (1980:433) noted that the way in which questions are put in fieldwork "already presupposes a certain positioning". For Stals and Ponelis (2001:5) historical writing on language in Namibia can hardly be ideology-free, "although it may not have been meant that way": Work is influenced by the cultural background and possible political leanings of the historian and by the extent to which a representative spectrum of sources of language and (other) disciplines was utilised. Taylor holds (in the context of ethnography) that "it is important to accept that no position of gender or ethnic neutrality can be claimed" (1996:39). The Namibian psychologist Gudrun Kober (1997:87) has a more moderate outlook on the latter point, to which this researcher subscribes: "Observation happens from a specific position, including the class

and gender of the observer. This is different from saying that class and gender *influence* the nature of observations" (emphasis in the original.)

Questions of objectivity are important in evaluating the authenticity and relevance of a work. The researcher accordingly followed the advice of Edge and Richards (1998) and Peter Banister (1996) concerning qualitative research. The first two authors state (1998:349) that for data to be authenticated, "relevant aspects of the researcher need to be explicitly declared". Banister recommends (1996:24): Describe who the (fieldwork) observer is, as this is likely to affect what is seen, what is recorded and the subsequent interpretations. "If the observer has any prior links with those observed (and thus insider knowledge), this should also be made clear." The researcher's prior experience in observation, interviewing and questionnaire surveys as well as prior contact with the Basters and Coloureds of Rehoboth and in the larger Namibia prepared her for the current research. The researcher reported for *Die Burger* in the Cape Magistrates Court for three months and in the Supreme Court for three years from 1967 onwards. This was during the height of Apartheid and apart from learning the skills of (complete) observation and (crime) reconstruction, the researcher witnessed and heard testimony of the devastation and humiliation caused by the Immorality and Race Classification Acts. Couples contravening the Immorality Act were put on trial in the Magistrates Court while race re-classification cases were heard in the Supreme Court. (Appearance was a deciding factor in both cases. See the introduction of the Erika Theron Report of 1976.)

In the run-up to her study in 1996 the researcher asked the principal of a school in the former Coloured suburb Khomasdal if she could use one of her Grade 11 classes in a questionnaire survey. She was offered a relief post as Afrikaans teacher for Grade 11s and 12s instead, which resulted in a participant observational stint of three months. (This was the researcher's first and last experience as schoolteacher. Note that neither the school nor any of her some 200 learners from all the main Namibian language groups were used in the eventual language survey.) Invaluable insight was gained into the mindset of 16-19 year olds, intergroup relationships, their attitude to their respective mother tongues and Afrikaans as language and subject as well as into cultural and historical differences between Basters and Coloureds. Most of this information came to the fore in a "language symposium" (in the aftermath of Krauss's 1992 stance on endangered

languages) that was held by the researcher in each of her six classes in which learners had to defend their respective mother tongues.

The researcher furthermore benefited from her ongoing contact as (amateur) gym and swimming trainer for adults and children of Baster and Coloured communities in Rehoboth and Windhoek after she moved with her family to Windhoek in 1981. In the late 1990s the contact was extended to students when she became a part-time college and university lecturer in Afrikaans. As noted above, the researcher did an in-depth study of the Rehoboth Basters for *Die Burger* in Cape Town in 1999. She then met and interviewed Baster kaptein McNab and they had a formal researcher-informant relationship stretching over ten years – up to the point that she gave her completed thesis to him for comment in March 2009. The latter was done to comply with "member checking" in qualitative research, i.e. to establish whether the researcher's viewpoints "were adequately interpreted" (Giacomini and Cook 2000:357, see below).

Since the current study was the first that was done in Rehoboth within the framework of the relatively new research field of language endangerment, the researcher sometimes had to draw on "own insight and experience as mother tongue speaker" because of a "lack of relevant published sources" (R.H. Pheiffer 1996:143). Richard Vollmer (1918-2009), Rehoboth's last Rhenish missionary from 1952-1960, said repeatedly during three interviews in 2001: "It is true; I saw it with my eyes!" This researcher has reason to echo these words of Vollmer - but took due note of the following remark of Krauss with regard to his estimated figures for global language endangerment (1998:103): "I tried to avoid being influenced too much by own experience." Krauss noted that his most important sources were personal communications with other linguists, Grime's *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1992) and Wurm's atlases (Wurm 1981-1983, 1996).

The researcher furthermore expected to and *did* differ from approaches and conclusions of former scholars. The study was done in the psychosocial and psycho-political atmosphere of post-2000 Namibia and she could benefit from hindsight. When asked whether the country's history is being rewritten, the historian and former lecturer of the University of Namibia Jeremy Silvester[8] replied (p.c. Windhoek 2004): "No, we are broadening the base."

[8] He was Project Planning and Training Officer of the Museum Association of Namibia at the time.

"Why?" was made one of the central questions of the investigation, therefore it follows that the researcher would give special attention to the psychosocial aspects of language endangerment. Social psychology focuses mainly on understanding the causes of social behaviour and social thought and on identifying factors that shape feelings, behaviour and thought in social situations (Baron and Byrne 1994:13). Simon Herman noted early on (1968:492) that linguists "are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of the social-psychological context in the study of language behaviour", citing the work of Weinreich (1953) as "a notable example of this awareness".

The current research has a holistic approach. The core meaning of the notion *holism* (the Greek word *whole* + *ism*) conceptualised by Smuts (1926) is explained by the Afrikaans philosopher Marthinus Versveld (1973:92, in C.F. Albertyn *et al.*): The whole cannot be understood by its parts only; the parts are subservient to the whole "because the whole creates a field that influences the parts". Dreyer Kruger[9] expands: (1989:12) "It is a mere fiction of natural science thinking that human beings can be understood by breaking them up into parts which can be separately studied and then reconnected again… Whatever we do in life, it is also the whole person that is involved." Crystal (2000:47) refers to the "holistic thinking of indigenous peoples" for whom the environment is part of survival, while Ellen Vossen explains in her Rehoboth study (2002:166): "Anthropologists, with their holistic outlook, have an eye for the processes that play a role in society."

1.1.6 Arrangement of the thesis

After the introduction (**Chapters 1** and **2**), the thesis is arranged in **Parts 1, 11** and **111** in accordance with the three basic questions of the research given below.

(a) Part 1 asks: How were Afrikaans and the Afrikaans-speaking Rehoboth Basters positioned at Namibia's Independence in 1990?

Chapter 3 introduces Namibia as the newly democratised and national setting of Afrikaans and the Basters. Focus points are: (i) The run-up to and aftermath of Article 3 (Language) of the Namibian Constitution (1990); (ii) Claims that some 80% of Namibians had Afrikaans before 1990 are challenged; (iii) Lack of mother tongue education; (iv) The Basters' appeal to the UN Human Rights Committee (2000) about land and language rights and their eventual acceptance as members of the UNPO in The Hague in 2006.

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[9] Professor of Psychology, Valedictory Lecture 1989, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

(b) <u>Part 11</u> asks: What put the Rehoboth Basters in the position in which they found themselves in 1990?

Chapter 4 documents and describes the Basters' genetic origins and genealogy. Intermarriage among Baster pioneer families, German settlers and Cape Coloured migrants is verified by means of Rehoboth surname lists found in scientific sources. **Chapter 5** explores land, religion and language in terms of the Basters' genesis into a people. Focus points are (i) the so-called "Friendship and Protection" treaty with the Germans in 1885 in which they lost their sovereignty and (ii) their battle against the Germans on 8 May 1915 at Sam !Khubis - a salient historical event, which explains their religious piety and their identification with land, place and Basterness. **Chapter 6** focuses mainly on (i) aspects of the Dutch/Afrikaans of the Basters around 1900 and Afrikaans around 2000 while (ii) attention is also drawn to what is called in this thesis the "Pioneer Code" of the first Rehoboth Basters and the "*Mooi* (± "excellent") Afrikaans" of the later generations.

(c) <u>Part 111</u> asks: How do and could the aforesaid affect Afrikaans and its mother tongue speakers in Rehoboth?

Chapters 7 and **8** form the heart of the thesis. In them fieldwork data of 1996-2008 are presented and evaluated. The focus points of these chapters are the following main variables that could influence language maintenance and shift: (i) Demography and Politics, (ii) Economy, (iii) Education, (iv) Religion, (v) Culture and (vi) Identity.

Chapter 9 summarises the research results by discussing the prospects of Afrikaans in Rehoboth in the light of pointers to language shift as well as maintenance that were found over time among youngsters and in the wider community of the town.

1.1.7 <u>Final remarks on background to the thesis</u>

Issues regarding the Rehoboth Coloureds, race, racial terminology and translation need clarification. Coloureds are part of Rehoboth's mother tongue Afrikaans community. They do not share the early history of the Basters but the future vitality of Afrikaans in this location depends on both sectors. Peter Carstens (1984) is rightfully of the opinion that "the Basters in Southern Africa" should always be treated as a cultural category in spite of the biological association with "race mixing" (cited in Britz *et al.* 1999:11). The researcher believes the same applies to the Coloureds. Their influx into Rehoboth from especially after WW1 is briefly described in Chapter 4. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9 the

researcher often uses the inclusive term "Rehobothers" that denotes Basters *and* Coloureds. Note that Basters are referred to as a group in the thesis and no individuals are called Rehoboth Basters unless they identified themselves as such. Not to name the different Namibian ethnic groups in the current study is not only impossible – it does not serve science. The researcher sides with the comments made on the issue by the following authors: Johan Degenaar (1985) notes that ethnicity was a cultural phenomenon that occurred in a specific historical context; to ridicule ethnicity was as much a mistake as to absolutise it (in Hermann Giliomee 1986:19). Both viewpoints are "blind to the complexities of the political reality". Demographer and emeritus professor in economy Jan Sadie avowed (1997), "Academics, the business sector and state administration need accurate and reliable figures according to age, gender and ethnic group, not politically correct information" (cited in *Monitor* April/May 1998:14).

Apart from the few Dutch-speaking participants all informants, interviewees and respondents spoke and wrote in Afrikaans - even the ones with mother tongue Oshiwambo, Damara, Nama, Otjiherero, English and German. Most primary and many secondary sources were in Dutch, German or Afrikaans. It follows that much translation had to be done, which is a predicament familiar to all scholars who write in their second (or third) language. Claude Lévi-Strauss remarked (2006:5) in the course of an English lecture, "I simplify very much because it is too complicated for me to explain this in English". At the beginning of a French documentary on Pierre Bourdieu by Pierre Carles (2001), Bourdieu is shown holding his head in both hands after a radio broadcast in English, while saying with a half-smile in a stage whisper, "If only this could have been in French." Michael Wood names the following two sides of translation (2006:6): The first is about finding words in one language for the words of another and it is quite final. "You do what you can, you settle on a version, and you let go of everything you know is missing." The second is about understanding "the range and tone and family life of the words in the language you are working with". The researcher oscillated between the two actions described by Wood in her translation of especially Afrikaans utterances by the people of Rehoboth – old and young. When facts were crucial, words were translated literally, but when e.g. the humorous and metaphor-rich style of a speaker or author had to be illustrated, an attempt was made to capture "the range and tone" of their words.

1.2 Methodology

This thesis presents a new view of the language(s) and history of the Rehoboth Basters. This could only be achieved by reaching as wide and deep as possible, by placing speakers and role players of the community at the centre of the investigation and by gathering both qualitative and quantitative data. The basic research tools that were used - observation, interviews and questionnaire surveys - are customary in linguistics as well as other disciplines that focus on human behaviour like anthropology, ethnology, social psychology and medicine. As shown below, the researcher drew on all these disciplines for methodological guidance. Since the current study includes aspects of the entire history of the Rehoboth Basters *and* attempts to predict the language behaviour of future generations, the perusal of archival documents was added to its research methods. Thus due note could be taken of the conclusion of Cassie Smith-Christmas (2009:50) that "by examining the history of a particular shift, future speculations can be posited".

The advantages of a multi-method approach are underlined by the following authors: It reduces the risks that can stem from reliance on a single kind of data, which might mean that one's own findings "are method dependent" (Taylor 1996:36). When qualitative and quantitative studies are combined within a research programme, findings can be yielded that are "broader in scope and richer in meaning" (Giacomini *et al.* 2000:356). The latter authors also note (p. 357-359, citing from various sources): Quantitative studies aim to test hypotheses concerning some predetermined variables and answer "whether" or "how much" questions, whereas qualitative studies discover and describe variables, "particularly in terms of the social dynamics and the subjective realities of those involved in a given situation," adding: Qualitative research is exploratory by nature; the random selection of participants that are common in quantitative research is replaced by purposive sampling in qualitative research. In the description of the methodology of the current study that follows, the aforesaid matters are considered and discussed.

1.2.1 Qualitative research

(a) Observation

Observation was found to be the best method for the task of learning about communal language behaviour in Rehoboth. It allowed the researcher an overview of who

used which language, where and why. Banister (1996:20) describes observation as typically (though not invariably) a field "where one attempts to record in a relatively systematic fashion some aspect of the behaviour of people in their ordinary environment".

Observation is often the first way in which scholars acquaint themselves with their research subjects and community. In a relatively small and tight-knit society like the Rehoboth Basters, a newcomer is soon noticed and often mistrusted, putting the person in a vulnerable position. Banister warns (1996:31) that special care should be taken in cross-cultural settings where the implicit social rules are likely to be unfamiliar to the observer; the observer may be blind to it or not understand it. Allesandro Duranti notes (1997:102): "Questions of social sensibility must determine in each case what is the most appropriate response to our host's expectations. This is an area where mistakes are common… there have been cases in which the disrespectful behavior of earlier ethnographers has caused a ban[10] on any future research." While doing linguistic fieldwork in Rehoboth, J.H. Rademeyer noticed (1938:9) that he was regarded with suspicion. It was asked why he hangs around for such a long time if he is not a *gormintsagint* ("government agent"). An Afrikaans-speaking town planner from Windhoek, who had been working in Rehoboth for some ten years, reassured this researcher (interview, October 2002) that repeated visits to the town are by and large accepted once it is known what the purpose is.

Observation as a research method has some disadvantages. In the initial stages of research one is unsure about what is important and how the observed behaviour will slot into the rest of the work. Observation can be "very time-consuming and labour-intensive, especially as it creates an enormous amount of data which becomes very hard to winnow" (Banister p. 31). Observation generates a heavy memory load for it is impossible to make notes of all that has been seen and heard. A researcher can furthermore not readily get a second opinion on observational data – in contrast to data that were yielded by other methods, e.g. by audio and visual recordings, as pointed out by Duranti (p. 117).

The advantages of observation outweigh the disadvantages, though. The researcher found that some kinds of human behaviour could only be probed by observation - like humour expressed and appreciated in groups or in a group setting (see Chapter 8). The same applies to spontaneous outbursts of emotion, e.g.: While a 42-year-old

[10] While the current research was being done scholars with many years of experience in Rehoboth were ousted by a section of the community, which compromised their further research.

Rehoboth schoolteacher was filling in the researcher's questionnaire in October 2002, she suddenly shouted: "I am a Baster and I *refuse* to answer this question!" [11]

Gold (1958) identifies four observer roles on a continuum from "complete participant" through to "participant as observer" and "observer as participant" up to "complete observer" (cited in Taylor 1996:39). All four of these modes of observation were carried out over time in the present study (see Chapter 7 for examples and detailed accounts) and sometimes ran parallel with the other methods. Since the researcher administered the questionnaires herself, surveys could double up as opportunities to interview or to be a "complete observer". Mental notes could e.g. be made of muttered comments, facial expressions, body language, time taken, etc.

Because the current study was more concerned with observing language behaviour than language structure, the Labovian notion of "observer's paradox", i.e. that it is impossible to observe behaviour without affecting it (in R.B. Le Page 1997:22), is of less relevance. Duranti's observation (1997:118) that people are mostly "too busy running their own lives to change them in substantial ways because of the presence of a new gadget or a new person" was borne out in Rehoboth fieldwork. The researcher e.g. observed the commemoration of Sam !Khubis (1915) while staying in the veld on the battle ground for some 36 hours each time in 2000, 2002 and 2005 (as "observer as participant"). This salient event in Baster history was a key fieldwork exercise for the researcher could observe changes in the community in real time (see Chapter 5). The observed behaviour was interpreted as spontaneous and not enacted for the benefit of the researcher. (Only her companions knew why she was there.) It was only once suspected that language behaviour might have been changed because of the researcher's presence (as "complete observer"): The researcher attended a Rehoboth court in session while the magistrate knew what the nature of her research was. The magistrate was phoned a day before to obtain permission to audiotape procedures - which was refused. (Throughout the research, no recordings were ever made clandestinely.)

Opportunities to observe were sought in a systematic way. The researcher learnt of events through word of mouth and in the media. Communal language and societal behaviour was e.g. recorded at the following events: Public lecture – German ethnologist on

[11] Three questions were aimed at probing Basterness. They were tested and found acceptable by a professional 35-year-old woman from a Baster pioneer clan in a pilot run of the questionnaire.

farming; Culture, tradition and history – preparation of food; stalls at a Rehoboth fair; play in Windhoek on Baster history by a Rehoboth playwright; two weddings and five funerals;[12] Sam !Khubis; Politics - Local Government officials at a land auction; Central Government officials at a pre-election meeting; Economic venture – small-stock auction by a private firm; Religion – weddings, funerals and Sam !Khubis; meeting of the Religious Committee; Legal – Magistrates Court; State medical – State Clinic. Full sound recordings were made at five of these occasions. Some of them are discussed in Chapter 7.

During the researcher's observational stint of three months in 1996 as teacher for Grade 11s and 12s a Baster learner introduced her in a mock "language symposium" to matters that were essential to his people: religious piety, honouring Sam !Khubis, fondness for meat, attachment to the land "for which we fought" (*waarvoor ons geveg het*), a love of Afrikaans and a lack of English (*ons het nie Engels nie*). As noted above, qualitative research is exploratory. The aforesaid pointers to Baster issues could afterwards be worked into interview and survey questions in Rehoboth between 1996 and 2008.

Taylor (1996: 39) warns of a danger intrinsic to qualitative inquiry: "If a researcher starts 'feeling at home' and *all* sense of being a stranger is lost the critical analytical perspective can be diluted." (Emphasis in the original.) This is especially true if the researcher has to live among research subjects for a length of time as Vossen, a young researcher in cultural anthropology from the Netherlands, had to do. She observes at the end of her thesis (2002:177-178) that she "wanted to remain objective but also participate in the Baster community while she was doing fieldwork". However, most of her information was from friends and people with whom she had "built up a good relationship". Eventually she felt too much at home in Rehoboth and got taken up by friends and curiosity in a world she was not used to. "In time my position as researcher was replaced by a position as friend, which was of course not good for my research." She noted in retrospect that she should have been "accommodating (*meegaand*) but still reserved".

Being forewarned, this researcher used "Bed and Breakfast" facilities when she stayed overnight in Rehoboth. Private homes were the location in only five of the 43 formal interviews and recordings and only one questionnaire. The researcher did not return to Rehoboth while analysing the data that were gleaned in the sharply focused

[12] The researcher was a guest at the weddings and a mourner at the funerals of key respondents.

period of fieldwork at the end of 2002. She did, however, make telephonic "spot-checks" as suggested by Wolfgang Wölck (1985:39) and remained in contact with key informants.

(b) Interviews

Life-story interviews. The series of in-depth interviews that the researcher did in 1999 to introduce the Rehoboth Basters to the readers of *Die Burger* in Cape Town, gave her the background to conduct exploratory, life-story interviews with elderly, second generation[13] members of the community in 2000-2002 for the current study. Life-story interviews are "prominently used as an instrument for data collection in social anthropology" (Peacock and Holland 1993, cited in Adelheid Iken 1999:20) and is defined by Mayer and Tuma (1990) as the study of social processes extending over an individual life span - including the family cycle (marriage and child-rearing), educational and training histories and employment and occupational careers (Iken p. 51). These interviews were a rich data source on past as well as present language behaviour. The researcher was alerted by three of the nine interviewees to the fact that the Baster pioneers spoke a language that was "different" from the current one and that some passed this language on to grandchildren who grew up on farms as *ouma-kinders.* (See Chapter 6.) The researcher also learnt from such interviewees about the language use of their grandchildren who are in an age group that was not accessed in the study. (The youngest questionnaire respondents of the study were 16 years old.) These interviews were recorded and were the least structured of all those that were done in the study. The interviewees were allowed to speak about their life with almost no intervention from the researcher.

Semi-structured interviews. Whereas the life-story interviewees were selected by age (there were six men and four women aged between 72 and 88 years) the interviewees in this category were role players in the community and/or had inside knowledge of the community through many years of contact and were carefully selected by the researcher. Their ages ranged between 34 and 45 years, while nine were men and three were women. The latter included a businesswoman and a school teacher. The occupations of the men were: politician (2), school teacher/principal (3), town planner, clergyman (3) and youth leader/printer (1). The interviewees were asked about the economics, politics, education, religion, clans, social issues, youth, etc. of Rehoboth.

[13] Generations are calculated as follows: 1st, 1870-1900; 2nd, 1900-1930; 3rd, 1930-1960, etc.

Structured mini-interviews. In the run-up to the questionnaire survey among adults at the end of 2002, 22 people with close ties to the townspeople were asked for assistance in profiling the Rehoboth community. Wölck notes (1985:32-33) that community profiling (CP) was especially designed to serve as a tool in sociolinguistic studies whose general goal is the finding of correlation and covariation between linguistic usage and other social variables or characteristics of speakers and their (sub-) communities. The major practical benefit of this sampling procedure is that it "forces the researcher to become familiar with the community before undertaking any investigation" (p. 35). The researcher already had some idea of the different groupings in town but she wanted to hear people categorise the town in their own words, for as Le Page *et al.* (1985) found in their study of Belizeans, the self-ascription of their subjects "differed significantly" from the ascription they as researchers would have made (Le Page 1997:18).

The 22 informants were selected in a non-random way to represent a wide spectrum of mindsets. All of them had either grown up in the Gebiet, had been living there for a long time or have had continuous contact with Rehoboth through work. Three of the persons from the latter category were whites and all but one of the interviewees (an Otjiherero with L2 Afrikaans) had mother tongue Afrikaans. Women and men were equally represented and their ages ranged between 18 (a learner) and 77 years (a resident of the local old-age home). Among the others were an old-age home assistant, retired teacher, housewife, nurse/community worker, artist, librarian, museum assistant, politician, farmer, postmaster, police chief, magistrate, chief registry clerk, clergyman, social worker, businesswoman, town clerk and an academic. Face-to-face interviews were done one at a time, within a few days, and were structured around the same basic question: "What are the main categories into which the people of Rehoboth could be divided?" It was explained to the informants that the researcher needed to draw a representative sample of the community for an upcoming questionnaire survey. The informants were also requested to suggest ways of actually reaching townspeople who might be willing to participate in a survey. After pooling the suggestions of the 22 informants, the researcher decided on the following five categories: "Rehobothers" (people who live and work in town), "Commuters" (people who live in town but commute to Windhoek for work), "Windhoekers" (Rehobothers who have moved to Windhoek), "Teachers" and "Learners".

Video and sound recordings. All the interviews in (a) and (b) were recorded by the researcher by means of a JVC XM-R70SL portable minidisk sound recorder and were ± 60-70 minutes long. Seven of the life-story interviews were video recorded - six by an assistant and one by the researcher. (The latter was in 2002 of a speaker with some last traces of the assumed "Pioneer Code" in her speech.) Thereafter the researcher made two more video recordings: One was of the key-note speaker at Sam !Khubis in 2005 and one in 2007 of a young Rehoboth-born speaker of "Mooi Afrikaans".

The sound quality of the minidisk apparatus is excellent if used with a round, conference-style microphone that sits on a table. It is unobtrusively small (10cm x 10 cm) and fits into a shirt pocket but it has the following disadvantages: Because it is so small, one can make a mistake with the switches; it is not easy to check whether recording is taking place; the mini-discs can only be played on specific devices. The video recordings of the life-story interviews that were done with the help of an assistant were ideal since the researcher could concentrate on and support the interviewee, but sound quality was lost because the camera roamed and was not close enough to the speaker's mouth. When the researcher recorded the elderly speaker concerning the "Pioneer Code" and the young speaker of "Mooi Afrikaans", she made a separate audio as well as a video recording to ensure optimum data results. The camera was on a tripod and remained focused on the interviewee's face in order to capture facial expressions and lip movements from close up. Because the researcher sat close to the interviewee with the camera running on its own, the camera was soon forgotten by both the interviewee and the researcher.

1.2.2 Quantitative research: Questionnaires

A range of language-related issues were enumerated in questionnaire surveys up to 2008. The nature, locations and chronology of the surveys are given in Table 1.1 on the next page. The target group was Rehoboth Grade 11s. Surveys were done among them in 1996, 1999, 2002 and 2008 but their data needed anchoring in the reality of the larger community outside the school walls. It was therefore decided to also do an adult survey and to include in it a small number of Grade 11s for generational comparisons. The first survey in Rehoboth was part of those done towards an MA degree in 13 Namibian schools (Louw 1997). The focus was on Afrikaans but all major Namibian languages were included in that sample of 312 respondents. The same questionnaire was used in follow-ups among

Grade 11s in all three Rehoboth high schools in 1999 and May 2002. Since a whole class was surveyed each time, L1 as well as L2 Afrikaans speakers were included. The latter were then used as internal controls. Grade 11s in a Coloured school in the Northern Cape served as an external control in 1999. The current study could also draw on "matched surveys" in 1996 among Western Cape Grade 11s in three different schools and Dutch-speaking students in Belgium and the Netherlands (1997). They were considered as matches (not controls) as some 95% of the Cape respondents were white, while the Dutch students – also white - were at university. Only a small selection of the responses of the matched groups was compared to the Namibian data. While on a visit to Rehoboth in July 2002, 19 students from the Netherlands took part in the survey.

The adult survey[14] was done from 25 October to 14 November 2002 with a mini-survey among 19 Rehoboth churchgoers – done by a Rehoboth clergyman (Revd A in the interview schedule, Appendix p. ii) - as control. The fieldwork was wrapped up with a last questionnaire survey in September 2008 in all three Rehoboth high schools. An English translation of the adult questionnaire is given in Chapter 7 along with a discussion of its design, the motivation of the questions and the practicalities of the survey.

Table 1.1 Chronology and nature of questionnaire surveys (A and B) from 1996-2008

A	**Nature of prior surveys**	**location**	**age**	**MT**	**1996**	**1997**	**1999**
1	run-up	Rehoboth	Gr. 11s	Afr.	25		72
2	control	Namibia	Gr. 11s	Afr.	175		
3	control	Namibia	Gr. 11s	other	112		
4	match	Western Cape	Gr. 11s	Afr.	72		
5	match	Belgium	20s	Dutch	24		
6	match	Netherlands	20s	Dutch		13	
7	external control	Northern Cape	Gr. 11s	Afr.			28
B	**Surveys in current study**	**location**	**age**	**MT**	**2002**	**2008**[15]	
8	run-up	Rehoboth	Gr. 11s	Afr.	56		
9	control	Rehoboth	Gr. 11s	other	31[16]		
10	match	Netherlands	20s	Dutch	19		
11	adults	Rehoboth	all	Afr.	93		
12	control of adults	Rehoboth	all	Afr.	19		
13	follow-up	Rehoboth	Gr. 11s	Afr.		56	
14	control	Rehoboth	Gr. 11s	other		21	

[14] The questionnaire for surveys 1-10 was adapted and extended for surveys 11, 13 and 14.

[15] There were slight changes to the questionnaire that was used for this last survey in 2008.

[16] A small number of Grade 11s with other MTs of 1999 were added to the ones of 2002.

The 22 interviewees were also asked to suggest ways of reaching potential respondents. Most of them suggested the church as starting point since this institution is closest to the community and has members of all ages and walks of life. This turned out to be impractical - as established by a clergyman who had difficulties to reach respondents among churchgoers.[17] In the end the researcher walked the streets of Rehoboth and did random sampling. All respondents were met in public places. The researcher used the telephone directory as guide and e.g. went to shops, the Town Council, a restaurant, a tourism resort, the library, government offices, etc. In the process she gave all who were in town on specific days "a statistically equal chance of being selected" (A.N. Oppenheim 1992:39). A list in Chapter 7 of the different occupations and ages of the respondents shows that people of all walks of life participated in the survey. "Windhoekers" and "Commuters" had to be found in Windhoek because the researcher recruited respondents during working hours and on week days only. To do this she was guided by her knowledge of the Rehoboth Basters (shared by many Namibians). She knows where many of them work and she is familiar with their particular Afrikaans, their appearance, etc.

1.2.3 Analysis of primary historical documents and oral evidence

Close attention was given to oral history that came to the fore in the course of especially the life-story interviews among the elderly. Wilfred Haacke[18] attests: "[O]ral history has a comparatively limited time depth; not more than some hundred years at the best. Yet it must be taken seriously at all times, be it only to provide hints for further interdisciplinary investigation, which eventually may validate it to the fullest, particularly as an authentically African counterbalance to extraneous presentations of history."

The following two examples underline Haacke's point: (a) A key informant of the current study (born in 1938) told the researcher that missionary Adolf Blecher delivered his induction sermon in Rehoboth from the church pulpit in a German uniform and in the German language in 1901. This information was passed on by word of mouth for 100 years – for good reason: It shocked some members of the congregation. (b) The Rehoboth Baster historian Britz wrote in an article in *Monitor* (1991:10-11) that a distinction was made between two groups of Rehoboth burgers; the people who arrived first and the ones who

[17] Revd A, who did the mini-survey among churchgoers for the researcher in 2002, reported difficulties in firstly reaching willing participants and secondly, in getting questionnaires back.
[18] Inaugural lecture, University of Namibia (UNAM), on 'Linguistic evidence in the study of origins'.

came later from the Colony. "The first group spoke Dutch and later Rehoboth Afrikaans, while the latter used a kind of Afrikaans, which leaned somewhat excessively towards standard Afrikaans." Note that the insider's knowledge of Britz stretched back over some 130 years at the time. The researcher found corroboration in life-story interviews of this generational divide between the language of the Baster pioneers and the ones who arrived later. This oral history is analysed and pinned down in Chapter 6.

As noted, the theme of the 13th Conference of the Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL) in September 2009 in Tajikistan was 'Endangered languages and history'. The 34 contributors from around the world all drew attention to some or other aspect of the history of the endangered languages in which they have an interest. Smith-Christmas combined Gaelic history, identity and language shift in her paper to illustrate "the value of integrating an historical perspective into language shift studies" (2009:45).

1.2.4 Ethical considerations

The interview schedule given in the Appendix (p. i) is without some of the names. Kober (1997) used anonymous "norm originators" as informants, i.e. people "who are involved in attempts at purposeful transformation of the practices, as well as the form or content of ideas, beliefs and desires of others" (Suter 1989). To locate candidates she considered occupations and positions held and sought people who are self-reflective, serve as an example to others, etc. (1997:106). This researcher interviewed such "norm originators" or influential figures in Rehoboth, e.g. two retired German missionaries in their eighties and three young Afrikaans clergymen of Rehoboth. A clergyman (aged 65) was included by chance in the 2002 questionnaire survey. Since the interviews with the German missionaries were life-story interviews, they and the other elderly life-story interviewees are identified (the way Iken 1999 did). None of the Afrikaans clergymen are named as they still serve in congregations in Rehoboth. In accordance with directives in social research (e.g. Oppenheim 1992:103, 108) that data are treated as confidential and that individual learners and participating schools are not identified, no questionnaire respondents, schools, principals or teachers are named in the thesis. Politicians, editors, youth leaders, historians, etc. are named because of the public nature of their positions but the researcher adhered at all times to the golden rule of not harming or embarrassing any informant by what is attributed to them in the thesis.

Byram cited (1985:56) a suggestion by Shipman (1981 - *The Limitations of Social Research*) that the interpretations of researchers should be checked against the perceptions of the actors. Byram also notes that the "ethical issues of representing a group or institution to the outside world, even if anonymity can be guaranteed, are to some extent clarified if the actors have opportunity to comment." Giacomini *et al.* (2000:357) refer to "member checking to establish whether the participants' viewpoints were adequately interpreted". The researcher had four trusted key informants with whom she remained in contact during her research on Rehoboth: two traditional Basters, Mrs Annelie Olivier (born 1928) and Baster kaptein McNab (born 1938) who are also chroniclers of Baster history, plus two insiders to the community who have an outsider's perspective: a Rehoboth educationalist who was born in Kokstad (1958) but grew up and went to school in Rehoboth, studied in Port Elizabeth, married a Baster woman and became a Rehoboth burger and a younger (born 1970) Rehoboth Baster (by birth and by his own designation) who worked among the Rehoboth youth for years, farmed, was a newspaper editor and printer and learnt his trade in Germany. The latter two passed away towards the end of the research while Mrs Olivier,[19] who speaks German and Nama fluently, has no English and speaks but cannot write Afrikaans (p.c. Rehoboth 2002).

Kaptein McNab, the only one of the foursome who could do "member checking", was given the manuscript of the thesis in March 2009. His main comments were: (a) He appreciated the fact that such a wide range of mainly primary research had been done - in contrast to many other publications on the Rehoboth Basters that he had read, which tended to "repeat what others had written". (b) To the best of his knowledge all the historical facts regarding the Rehoboth Basters are true. (c) Although the researcher had contact over an extended period with the community and met with and consulted a number of people repeatedly, the researcher remained objective in her analysis.

[19] She received home schooling in German, her father's language. It is noteworthy that she corresponded for many years in German with the anthropologist Fischer (p.c. Rehoboth 2002).

Chapter Two

Theoretical considerations and literature review

"A theory is a good theory if it satisfies two requirements. It must accurately describe a large class of observations on the basis of a model that contains only a few arbitrary elements and it must make definite predictions about the results of future observations."

Stephen Hawkings (2005), *A Briefer History of Time*

2.1 Theoretical considerations

The sociolinguistic subfields of language maintenance, endangerment and shift were brought together in this study to probe aspects of past and present language situations and to undertake predictive testing. Brief note is now taken (**2.1.1**) of the onset and nature of sociolinguistics and the emergence of the aforesaid subfields of research. After the notions "minority language", "language vitality", "spheres", "domains" and "speech community" are explained (**2.1.2**), attention is given to the framework in which the study was done. A range of models that were considered are discussed in the process (**2.1.3**).

2.1.1 Sociolinguistics and its subfields of maintenance, endangerment and shift

According to Le Page (1997:19), T. C. Hodson first referred to sociolinguistics as a discipline in 1939 in a paper, 'Sociolinguistics in India'. Max Weinreich employed the term sociolinguistics in *Languages in Contact* (1953) and was the first to use the term "shift" whereas Joshua Fishman pioneered the notion "maintenance" in an article in 1964 (Mesthrie *et al.* 2000:253). The following synopsis of the discipline is from Florian Coulmas (1997:1-6): Studies of the relations between language and society coalesced to form the field of academic research known as sociolinguistics. By the early 1960s the first conferences were held and anthologies and articles dealing with properties of language calling for the inclusion of social factors in their analysis appeared and sociolinguistics became a recognized branch of the social sciences. Sociolinguistics is concerned with describing language use as a social phenomenon. Micro-sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex and age. Macro-sociolinguistics studies what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance and replacement. A number of viable theories have grown out

of sociolinguistic research. The emphasis is on the plural, because there can be no denying that a single all-embracing sociolinguistic theory does not exist. This is a result simply of the great diversity of phenomena that sociolinguists investigate, Coulmas added.

Mesthrie *et al.* (2000:253) describe language maintenance as the continued use of a language in the face of competition from regionally and socially more powerful languages; language shift is (basically) the process whereby a group of speakers cease to use their own language in favour of another, usually more prestigious one (Smith-Christmas 2009:45). Language endangerment, an area of sociolinguistic enquiry and theme of the current study, surfaced as "an issue of grave and collected concern" [1] for linguists in 1987 at the 14th International Congress of Linguists in Berlin (E.M. Uhlenbeck 1993:27) when some 60 linguists raised the alarm on the seemingly global scale of the phenomenon. Language endangerment was made the central theme at the next congress in 1992 in Quebec and became a field of study to the point that the 1990s "will undoubtedly be remembered in the history of linguistics as the period during which awareness of language endangerment and death increased among linguists" (Mufwene 2000:1). Krauss (1998:102) describes a language that is no longer spoken by children as endangered, i.e. a language that is no longer transmitted "in the traditional way, parents to infants".

2.1.2 Language minorities, vitality, domains, spheres and speech community

What follows are accepted in the current study as working definitions of the notions minority languages, language vitality, domains, spheres and speech community. In the *World Directory of Minorities* (1997) the Rehoboth Basters are named as one of four marginalized minority groups in Namibia while noting that "minority" relates to "any self-identified community that is marginalized, without power, unable to take decisions over its destiny…" Minority Rights Group, the action body, focuses on "non-dominant ethnic, religious and linguistic communities, whether or not they are numerical minorities" (1997: 504, viii). Nelde *et al.* (*Euromosaic* 1996) accept similarly that minority language groups refer to issues of power, not to empirical measures of size (fn. Nancy Hornberger 1998:456). Matthias Brenzinger reiterates (1997:276) that minority languages are languages which exist in hostile environments: schools, media, administration, etc., are dominated by other languages. He adds that speaker numbers are not an unambiguous

[1] 'De dreiging van snelle taalsterfte. Een sinds kort onderkend mondiaal probleem.' ('The threat of rapid language death. A recently detected world problem.') *Ons Erfdeel* 36:1 (1993).

indicator for detecting risk. The most serious indicator of language vitality is the ratio between ethnic group members and the number of speakers of the ethnic tongue.

Language vitality denotes "the strength languages show in terms of their capacity to reproduce themselves, i.e. to keep and extend the number of their speakers, and to be used in as many domains as possible" (Coluzzi 2009:148). Domain refers to a group of institutionalised social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules, e.g. the domain of the family is the house (Crystal 1994, in Karsten Legère fn. 2001:52). The following domains identified by Fishman (1965, in António Vueba 2001:165) guided the current investigation: home, education, workplace, church, court and media. To explain Gobard's (1976) four language spheres *mother tongue*, *colloquial, mystical* and *referential,* Prof. Jan de Vynck of the Department of French at the University of Stellenbosch applied it as follows to his own language use (p.c. Stellenbosch, May 1996): *mother tongue* Flemish, *colloquial* French, *mystical* Latin and *referential* German. This frame is useful for describing past and present language spheres of the Rehoboth Basters. Dutch e.g. was their mystical (i.e. religious) language for some hundred years while their referential language (i.e. language of education) changed from Dutch (1870-±1900) to German (±1901-1915) to Afrikaans (1928-1990) – and from 1992 to English.

J.J. Fourie (1992:141-142) drew on the following descriptions of a speech community): Gumperz (1962) views a speech community as a social group that can include a whole population or any smaller group while Okonkwo (1977) distinguished between speech communities that are homogeneous and ones that are heterogeneous in their language use. Homogeneous speech communities have little contact with other language groups and the outside world, whereas heterogeneous ones could be transitional groups in a new contact situation or stabilised communities with a long history of linguistic contact with the outside world. Rehoboth's present-day Afrikaans speech community is heterogeneous in the latter sense. It has a long history of contact with inside and outside groups and has two basic components: mother tongue speakers among mainly Basters and Coloureds and L2 speakers among mainly Namas and Damaras. To reach insight into language shift, one has to study the speech community as this is the scene in which language displacement takes place (Brenzinger 1997:276). It follows that the *whole* Afrikaans speech community of Rehoboth had to be investigated in the current study. Note that when reference is

made in the thesis to this speech community, it includes Basters, Coloureds and any other mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans in this location but it excludes L2 speakers.

2.1.3 Theory: The search for generality among available models

Although Reversing Language Shift (RLS, Fishman 1990-1991) falls outside the scope of the current study, Fishman's volume, *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?* (2001) served the double purpose of providing useful case study guidelines as well as food for thought on the theoretical status of the subfields of research of the current study. Altogether 18 transcontinental case studies of threatened languages are discussed in terms of GIDS (Fishman's model for grading disruption in intergenerational mother tongue transmission). In the preface Fishman expressed the need for a "theoretically grounded thrust, derived from familiarity with a large number of cases of efforts on behalf of threatened languages in all parts of the world" (2001a:xii-xiii) but noted in conclusion (2001c:478-479) that none of 12 studies in the volume that were re-examinations "have experienced dramatic successes". He also conceded (pp. 466-467) that "as a sociologist primarily oriented towards the study of urban and national societies", he was - unlike his colleagues in anthropology – insufficiently aware of sociofunctional differentiation in GIDS's Stage 6 – the "intergenerational and demographically concentrated family-neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue transmission" (p. 466).

The applicability of GIDS is questioned in a number of contexts in the 2001 volume: Azurmendi *et al.* (p. 257) pointed out that GIDS is predominantly sociological while the psychosocial perspective plays a more important role in the case of Basque. Lo Bianco *et al.* argue (p. 419) that the position of Australian Indigenous Languages as well as their terminological range and discourse patterns "make it unlikely that these languages would ever fulfil the envisaged higher functions" of Stages 1 and 2. M. Clyne (p. 389) observed with regard to Immigrant Languages in Australia: "As all sociolinguistic situations vary, it is necessary to adapt the model to local conditions." Clyne added that new technologies such as the Internet have started playing a greater role in the lives of ordinary people and are worth considering. J.C. Maher, in the context of Ainu in Japan, found it unclear "where the political and historical fit in and where they can fit in comfortably" (p. 345) while E. Adegbija asserted (p. 307): "Given the GIDS, virtually every African language will, unfortunately, belong to the endangered language group, at one degree or another."

Ó Riagáin stated (2001:212): "[W]e need to much more systematically account for variations within and between language shift situations". Bourhis, in the context of French in Quebec, argued (2001:113) that a subjective GIDS scale could be constructed to assess how militant and rank and file members of the threatened language "perceive the severity of the intergenerational dislocation affecting their own group". In a paper delivered at the Conference of the Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL) in 2009, Walsh challenged the accuracy of GIDS (along with some other schemes that were encountered for assessing language vitality) for predicting the fate of languages. His main concern was that they "assume a unidirectional path from vibrancy to decline" (2009:134-135).

Crystal argues (2000:92-93) for the need for a theoretical framework which has achieved some degree of consensus that can orientate fact-finding and provide guidelines about assessment and diagnosis, adding, "As I write, no such framework exists. Studies of endangered language are at a stage where they use widely different frames of reference and terminology." He called existing lists of causative factors, including his own, "eclectic and impressionistic, well motivated by individual case studies, but lacking in generality." (In response to a question from the researcher, Crystal noted on 15 October 2009[2] that he has not written anything else on such a theoretical framework.) In reference to the typological framework of Edwards (1992) and Grenoble and Whaley's discussion and extension of it (1998b), Crystal noted (2000:94): "This is exactly how a typological framework develops, through a process of intellectual reflection in the light of case studies." The current thesis drew on Edwards's extensive list of variables and 33 questions (1992) to assess language vitality (in Grenoble and Whaley 1998:25-26), but also incorporated various indicators of language vitality that have been proposed by other scholars – as shown below and in context throughout the thesis. Edwards's questions as well as the frameworks/lists of Bourhis (2001), Uhlenbeck (1993), Kibrik (1991) and Haugen (1972) are summed up in a table on the next page for brief consideration. This is followed by the researcher's seven point "social reality checklist" used for recreating past Namibian language situations and for assessing the present and possible future situation of Afrikaans in Rehoboth. Some of the seven points have trans-continental applicability. Uhlenbeck's list below is presented in the form of answers to the questions of Edwards.

[2] david.crystal@crystalreference.com

Table 2.1 The views of five scholars on ways of considering language vitality

	Questions of Edwards (1992) for the typology of minority languages	**Uhlenbeck (1993:29-30) on Dutch in the Netherlands**
1	Numbers and concentration of speakers?	20 mil.; neighbouring 3 "socio-cultural important" language com.
2	Extent of the language (see also geography)?	
3	Rural-urban nature of the setting?	90% urban (HDI Report 2003)
4	Socio-economic status of speakers?	HDI rank 5 (HDI Report 2003)
5	Degree and type of language transmission?	Children learn MT on big scale
6	Previous/current maint. and revival efforts?	Eng. replacing Dutch as sc. lang.
7	Linguistic capabilities of speakers?	Increasing bilingualism
8	Degree of language standardisation?	Eng. loan words on increase
9	Nature of in- and out-migration?	Large influx of Moroccans, Turks
10, 11, 12	Language attitudes of speakers? Language-identity relationship? Att. majority group towards min.?	"little national feelings of devotion to own language shown"
17	Degree/extent of off. recognition of the language?	Official language
13-15	History and background of the group, the language, the area in which the group now lives?	Substantial literature; increasing contact other modern languages
16	Rights and recognition of speakers?	**Haugen ('72), Uhlenbeck (p. 26)**
18	Degree of autonomy or "special status" of area?	Who makes use of language?
19-21	Basic facts about geography?	Language used in all domains?
22	Speakers' attitudes, involvement education?	Competing languages in area?
23-24	School support for language? State of education?	Which internal variations?
25, 26, 27	Religion speakers? Type, strength of association between language/religion? Importance of religion?	Att. speakers regarding *status* (power and influence in the soc. group) and *intimacy* (solidarity, shared norms, friendship, love)
28	Economic health of the speaker group?	
29	Ass. between lang. and econ. success/mobility?	
30	Economic health of the region?	Does language receive support of authorities or organisations?
31-32	Group/ language representation in the media?	
33	General public awareness of area?	Written traditions?

Aleksandr Kibrik (1991:258-261) in Robins and Uhlenbeck (eds.)
(1) Size ethnic group and speakers (2) Speakers according to age (3) Ethnic character marriages
(4) Caretakers pre-school children (5) Density population, speakers (6) Contact other languages
(7) Trad. life style: family structure, homes, division of work (8) National self-consciousness
(9) Language policy of government: e.g. is language taught in schools?

Ethnolinguistic vitality framework (Bourhis 1997, Bourhis *et al.* 1981), cited in R.Y. Bourhis (2001: 103)

Demographic factors	**Status factors**	**Instit. support/control factors**
Numbers: absolute; birth and	Socio-historical status	**Formal, informal**: Government
mortality; mixed marriages;	Economic status	services; Education; Military;
immigration; emigration	Social status	Mass media; Linguistic landscape;
Distribution: concentration,	Language status: Locally	Politics; Industry -business,
proportion, territory	Internationally	finance; Culture, Sports, Religion

Discussion. As noted above and especially as shown in Chapter 9, the questions of Kibrik (1991) and Edwards (1992) were well-suited to the current situation of Afrikaans in the erstwhile predominantly rural but present-day modernising Rehoboth society. The following remark of Sachdev and Bourhis (1990, in Bourhis 2001:113) is also applicable and was probed in fieldwork: "Relative to its fading rural and religious past, the modernisation of Quebec society also meant that the French language had perhaps become the last symbol of Québécois identity in an increasingly materialistic and consumer-oriented society". Haugen's (1972) question on internal variations is answered in Chapter 6 and his "attitudes of speakers regarding intimacy" coupled with Uhlenbeck's (1993) "feelings of devotion to the own language" apply to the subsection on identity in Chapter 8. On the whole Bourhis (2001) was too macro-oriented for full application to the current study with its psychosocial orientation.

2.1.4 Theoretical considerations of specific significance to the Rehoboth study

Observations and assertions concerning language behaviour were gathered from a range of scholars and informants to assess the position of Afrikaans in Rehoboth. A compact "social reality" checklist emphasising language maintenance was then drawn up whereby claims about past and present language situations were tested. It was e.g. applied to re-evaluate claims[3] about the spread of Afrikaans in Namibia before 1990 and the nature of the Dutch/Afrikaans that was spoken by the Rehoboth Basters around 1900.

(a) The role of women in language transmission. The UN Millennium Development Goals were adopted by 189 countries (HDR 2003:27). Goal 3 ("promoting gender equality and empowering women") takes into account that women are the primary caregivers in almost all societies (p. 7). Early language input received by young children is mostly from mothers or other female caregivers, noted Labov 1990 (cited by William Bright 1997:90) while Kibrik (1991, above) put the question: Who takes care of the pre-school child? Special note was accordingly taken of child-rearing practices in the communities under consideration and of women's role in the transmission of the ancestral tongue.

(b) People who do/did not need the State's language. This is an adaptation of Goran Hyden's notion (1980) of "people who do not need the State": He argues (pp. 23-24)

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[3] It was also successfully applied by the researcher (MSS 2007 and 2009) to re-evaluate two other historical Dutch/Afrikaans situations: The French Huguenot shift to Dutch in the Cape in the 1700s and the spread of Dutch among the Oorlam in Namibia in the 1800s.

that since the State is such an integral part of the mode of production in modern society, modern man (sic) cannot ignore the State – in contrast to peasants who have the freedom to stay outside the State system. This idea was applied to help reconstruct the pre-1990 position of sedentary Oshiwambo-speaking women and peasants in Northern Namibia.

(c) Language-forgetting. Language knowledge can recede from conscious memory when it is "overlaid with the dominant language" (Wurm 1998:201). Children acquire a language remarkably completely in their early years but forget it remarkably completely "if input from that language is replaced by input from some other" (Dorian 1995 in Akira Yamamoto 1998:223). Fishman (1991:88) reiterates: "As fluency in a particular language is lost, it becomes progressively harder to trigger memory for that language."

(d) Disruptions and discontinuities. Disruptions and discontinuities caused by migration, droughts, wars and prolonged absences of missionaries in the late 1800s in Namibia interfered with the learning of new and remembering of old languages. The description by De Klerk and Bosch (1998) of how soon a boy of 10 years began forgetting Afrikaans after he changed to an English school is illustrative of both (c) and (d).

(e) Literacy. How many people could actually write and speak the languages under consideration and how much of it was merely memorised without understanding? Learning to write is for many primarily a matter of acquiring the motor skill "of forming and sequencing letters in a fluent, automatic manner, and positioning them clearly on a page", noted Crystal (1987:253), adding that these skills, involving hand position and finger grip, do not always come easily for there may also be difficulty in transferring letter shapes from one plane (e.g. on a black-board) to another and with coordination between eye and hand movements "especially if there has been little experience of scribbling and writing". Missionary Heidmann observed in evening school in De Tuin in 1865 how stock farmers and shepherds tried to write with "stiff fingers and hands made rough with manual work" (cited in Vollmer 1997:7). Adult Oshikwanyama speakers probably learnt reading sooner than writing because reading skills were developed in churches to enable them to read the Bible (Lydia Shaketange 1996:185). The aforesaid helped to validate this researcher's claim that the first Rehoboth Baster kaptein Hermanus van Wyk could not write.[4]

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[4] Unexpected support was received from the chronicler of Baster history (and key informant) Mrs Olivier who one day said (unprompted) in an aside (p.c. October 2007) that this was indeed the case. When asked how she knew, she simply said, "I know - although I cannot prove it."

(f) Activities and actual incentives and opportunities to learn a new language. This point links up with the former and centres on traditions as well as factors like age and gender, the availability of language teachers and/or direct language contact with speakers of the other language and daily activities, including mode of production of the community. Actual time spent at school and actual success rates need to be considered when an assessment is made of the spread of a language via education.

(g) The timeline of language shift. In general it takes at least three generations to shift languages - as noted by e.g. Brenzinger (1997), Crystal (2000) and M. Strubell (2001). The 1st generation learns the new language; the 2nd is bilingual in the new and old language and the 3rd abandons the old language. A line-up of three generations is needed in a community for such a process. The timeline and a line-up of three generations would hold for establishing a new language as well as maintaining an ancestral language. The Germans failed to establish their language in Namibia in the 30 years from 1885-1915 because most of the first Germans who came to the country were single soldiers and young settlers. An official settlement programme was only launched in 1903 and few of the young farmers at the time had children of school-going age (Theodor Leutwein [1908] 1997:232, 409).

(h) "Historical presence" is considered by Colluzi (2009:149) as a "possible indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality". It relates to periods of political independence/self-government the language minority may have experienced in the past and/or their actual active participation and involvement in historical processes. Measuring the latter may not be easy, "partly because history books and historical records are normally written by the people in power, who in most cases belong to the language majority". These concepts of Coluzzi apply to past and present positions of the Basters. As shown in the thesis, their active participation in Namibian history is for the most part shrouded and/or denied.

2.1.5 Final remarks on theoretical considerations

Measured by the leading quote of the chapter and the aforesaid, Crystal's contention is verified: No generally accepted theoretical framework for assessing endangered languages and predicting language maintenance and/or shift exists – at least not yet. As shown in the FEL's last symposium (2009) and earlier publications, the ever-increasing case studies and resultant scholarly debates with regard to the influencing factors *are* taking the matter forward with the necessary scientific rigour.

2.2 Literature review

An overview is given in this section of a range of publications and scientific studies[5] on the Basters between 1906 and 2008. The first is by Maximilian Bayer who fought alongside Baster soldiers in Namibian battles; the last is *Injustice against the Rehoboth Basters* by Jeroen Zandberg, Special Representative of the UN, insider to the UNPO (Unrepresented Nations and People Organizations) and long time researcher of the Basters. Both works are non-scientific and positive towards the Basters. Scientific *and* non-scientific works are discussed in the chapter in order to give substance to one of the subthemes of the thesis: negativity towards the Rehoboth Basters in literature. Norbert Kleinz notes (1982:22) with reference to Afrikaans that once a language is positioned negatively, an avalanche-like motion could develop to perpetuate such status. The researcher of the current study believes that the Rehoboth Basters, as a people, have been caught up in such an action and that this could negatively affect the future of Afrikaans – the language which they pioneered (see below and Chapter 6) in Namibia.

Regrettably the absence of an insider's perspective in pre-1990 publications[6] on the Basters is as true about them as about other national groups of Namibia. It must be borne in mind that Namibia was included in the cultural, sport and academic boycott of Apartheid South Africa that was called for by the United Nations. Iken (1999:26) found data on Namibia's rural communities at Independence generally poor because of the country's scientific isolation. "Foreigners whose activities were not in line with policies were barred," she notes. Whereas Dutch linguists had a high profile in studies of the genesis of Afrikaans in South Africa, few seemed to know of or had interest in the Dutch and Afrikaans spoken in Namibia at that time.[7] The Government of the Netherlands believed South Africa was unlawfully occupying Namibia (in L. Roeleveld 1983:48) and therefore participated in the boycott. The Afrikaans author Riana Scheepers and poet

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[5] With "scientific studies" are meant full-scale, focused works on the Rehoboth Basters.

[6] The social study of Hedwich Rose (now Rose-Junius), who grew up on a Rehoboth farm, is an exception and also the centennial journal *Ons Eeufees* 1870-1970 by Britz, De Vries and Olivier.

[7] Judged by the following, the Baster *Groot Trek* of 1868 across the Orange River was unknown: The leading Dutch dictionary *Van Dale* (1961:2094) describes *trek* as: *de Grote Trek der Boeren, hun verhuizing uit de Kaapkolonie over de Oranjerivier* ("the large trek of the Boers, their move from the Cape Colony across the Orange River"). The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* describes the word as South African and Dutch and explains (1973:2355): "An organized migration or expedition by ox-wagon 1890… There has been a Boer t. into German South-west Africa 1901."

Daniel Hugo observed (2000:727) that it became "tremendously difficult" for South African students to study Dutch and Flemish because of the cultural boycott of the Low Countries. All exchange of professors and writers was stopped and Dutch dissidents were punished. The city of Amsterdam, e.g. forbade W. F. Hermans to ever speak again in public after he visited South Africa in 1983 on invitation of the Cape Town publishers Human & Rousseau. When President F. W. de Klerk announced a new, democratic future for South Africa on 2 February 1990, Dutch people had very little understanding (*weinig begrip*) of the effects of the cultural boycott on the spiritual life (*geestesleven*) in South Africa. Benno Barnard made the point that the government of the Netherlands carried out the boycott, which was also an economic one, "with approval of the electorate" (1993:52). With the academic boycott of Apartheid South Africa there seemed little opportunity for free and frank scholarly exchange, noted Rajend Mesthrie (2002:2). In the current study's surveys of 1996, 1997 and 2002, students from the Netherlands and Belgium could be included because of post-Independence academic contact between these countries and Namibia. This afforded the researcher a wider view of language behaviour in pre-parental generations.

An article in 2000 by Ivan Gaseb, a post-graduate history student at the University of Namibia (UNAM), highlighted the role of the Basters in Namibia's freedom struggle.[8] Gaseb seemingly heralded a new, positive outlook on them when he said of the Sam !Khubis battle: "I am not a Baster, but it seems that if we 'forget' SamKhubis (sic) we may be building a national history that is exclusive, rather than inclusive."

Publications on the Basters can be categorised by topic, discipline or era. For the sake of convenience they are sectioned off in terms of the latter: Pre-1990 works (**2.2.1)** and Post-1990 works (**2.2.2**). The current research is thereafter positioned in terms of previous works (**2.2.3**), followed by comment on Afrikaans as scientific language (**2.2.4**).

2.2.1 <u>Pre-1990 studies and publications on the Rehoboth Basters</u>

(a) The German era: 1885-1915

Maximilian **Bayer (1906)**, officer in the German *Schutztruppe* ("Protection Troop") around 1900, commemorates the Rehoboth Basters in his article *Die Nation der Bastards* in the German *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft* in

[8] 'Picturing the past. Remembering Rehoboth.' *The Namibian Weekender*, 28 April 2000:4.

September 1906. His last sentence reveals purpose and mindset: "Remembrance and homage is due to the small but able nation that served us so excellently during the war." His article contains valuable ethnographic, language, cultural, religious, economic, gender and military comment from personal experience. The researcher viewed Bayer as a reliable control on various matters. His article inspired Fischer (1876-1967)[9] to undertake a postgraduate study on the Rehoboth Basters with the objective of demonstrating Mendel's[10] laws in humans (Fischer 1959:45-46, Cornelia Limpricht 2002:31).

Eugen Fischer (1913 [1961], 1938, 1942, and 1959). In the view of Brunhilde Helm (1982: iv), Fischer "remains a fundamental source of information" on the Rehoboth Basters, although "a modern ethnographer" would probably describe their physical characteristics differently. Fischer's main work (researched in 1908) is *Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardierungsproblem beim Menschen. Anthropologische und Ethnographische Studien am Rehobother Bastardvolk in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*. Limpricht (2002:31) described the present-day scientific value of it as follows: Reports in the press in Germany on the indigenous people of *Deutsch-Südwestafrika* in the 1880s raised interest in the colonies of an increasing number of scientists, including Fischer. Fischer's physical description of the Basters and his analysis of the political significance[11] (*Bedeutung*) of the Basters are outdated but his work on the culture and genealogy of the Basters is still valid and valuable. The current researcher agrees with the assessments of both Helm and Limpricht. Fifty years after his sojourn of four months in Rehoboth, Fischer still claimed that the Rehoboth Basters are unique in the sense that their lineage could be traced back to the pioneer married couples (*begründenten Ehepaaren*) and analysed, generation by generation, up to where they became a 'Nation of Basters'. The current study drew (for Chapter 4) on Fischer's invaluable documentation of Baster family trees, which he extended in 1942 (*Neue Rehoboth Bastard Studien*). Fischer's take on the pre-history of the Basters and remarks on their nature and language(s) were useful to the researcher but she took due care by not using him as a single source. Corroboration were

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[9] Note that the researcher refers to life cycles in this way throughout the thesis.

[10] Stephen Oppenheimer (2004:34-35) sums up Mendel's work as follows: This 19th century Austrian cleric laid down a logical framework for understanding how parental characteristics were transmitted, based on his mathematical calculations on the inheritance of the colour and shape of pea plants. His discoveries were later translated into molecular biology.

[11] Hans Biedermann admitted to the section's "irrelevance" (1961:V) and cut it from that edition.

sought in other, earlier primary sources, e.g. letters (1834-1877) of Emma Hahn, journals (1865-1907) of missionary Heidmann, and reports and letters of the late 1800s and early 1900s in the Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELCA) in Windhoek.

(b) The South African era: 1920-1990

Three language studies on the Rehoboth Basters are briefly considered next. It must be noted that all three concentrated on language structure whereas the current study investigated language endangerment and therefore focused on the nature of the speech community, the socio-political environment, language behaviour, etc. James Milroy (1992:357) explains the difference in method between the two approaches: Linguistic change *can* be studied language-internally without reference to society, but not language maintenance: "To state how language states are maintained, we *have* to study speakers and the social groupings to which they belong." (Emphasis in the original.)

J.H. Rademeyer (1938), *Kleurling-Afrikaans. Die Taal van die Griekwas en Rehoboth-Basters*, a book published in Amsterdam. Rademeyer is a product of his era. He calls (p. 5) the language of his subjects "a kind of warped Afrikaans" in contrast to *Algemeen-Beskaaf* ("civilised") Afrikaans. Hans du Plessis notes (2001:75) that the work has historical value for linguists who subsequently studied ORA (Orange River Afrikaans) and the Afrikaans of the Basters. The fact that Rademeyer had elderly informants (p. 106) in the remote and rural Rehoboth is typical of early dialect studies. Le Page notes (1997:17): "The older tendency had been to locate some 'real old dialect' in rural areas… the typical informant was the nonmobile older rural male, the NORM.' Mesthrie *et al.* observe furthermore (2000:61) that the main focus of traditional surveys fell on "bits of language, rather than on speakers of a language". The latter authors also cite Trudgill and Chambers (1980) to the effect that "the narrow choice of informants in dialect geography is probably also the greatest single source of disaffection for it in recent times… Young people who have been natives of a particular region for their entire lives have often been disturbed to discover that the speech recorded in field studies of their region is totally alien to them." A non-linguist, G.R. von Wielligh (1859-1932), documented regional variation in Afrikaans in *Ons Geselstaal* (1925), noting (cited by Roux 1988:33) that the Bible[12] and church "forcefully" prevented Afrikaans from becoming a *brabbeltaal* ("gibberish").

[12] The Dutch Bible was still in use. The Bible was only translated into Afrikaans in 1933.

Rademeyer was the one, though, who broke new ground in dialectology in South Africa: Jac van Ginneken (cited by Rademeyer p. 6) believed that, in contrast to the many European dialect studies at the time, such research in South Africa was still *ziende-blind* ("blind with eyes open").

The researcher found Rademeyer's work useful as a linguistic point of reference (see Chapter 6) but in Chapters 4 and 5 his stereotyped and degrading characterization of the Basters are addressed. As late as 1963 the word "Hotnot" was still used in scientific publications.[13] Descriptions of the genesis and dialects of Afrikaans were at first influenced by colonialism and later by Apartheid (Hans du Plessis 1995:146). A change of mind regarding the Afrikaans of non-whites happened, though, followed by a change in tone in scientific publications. Carstens and Grebe sum up this period and Christo Van Rensburg's role in it as follows (2001: introduction, n.p.): In the early 1980s works of Van Rensburg were published on language variation in Afrikaans (e.g. *Die Afrikaans van die Griekwas van die Tagtigerjare* 1984), which led to pioneer studies that "crossed artificial boundaries of colour and historical fabrications".

D.J. van Schalkwyk (1983), 'Fonetiese variasie in die taal van die Rehoboth Basters' (PhD thesis). Van Schalkwyk based the wordlist used in fieldwork on the data of Rademeyer in his study of phonetic variation in "Rehoboth Afrikaans" (1983:95) but documented more variation forms (p. 121). This "rich variety of phonetic variations" was then analysed in terms of 10 non-linguistic variables (p. 1) to establish which of them influence pronunciation most. The following findings (p. 202) are of interest to the current study: The ethnicity of the mother, but not the father, has an influence on pronunciation. Excluding high school learners, the speech of men is generally closer to standard Afrikaans than that of women. Since Van Schalkwyk failed to ask his respondents about their occupations (p. 96) - although he claims to have worked in the Labovian tradition – the researcher finds it difficult to evaluate the latter finding. He also wrongfully relegates the bulk of the Basters to the "lower classes" (p. 151) without the support of data. (For a discussion of this point, see Chapter 7.) The Afrikaans Rehoboth Baster community is furthermore treated as homogeneous whereas in reality it

[13] G. Dekker notes in his *Afrikaanse Literatuurgeskiedenis* (1963:127) that Von Wielligh (above) depicts the dialogue of a "Hotnot" well and that the voice of Coloured poets (p. 274) is "understandably still unskilled" (*ongeskoold*).

is made up of descendants of (a) Baster pioneer clans, (b) a later influx of Basters from the Northern and Coloureds from the Western Cape after WW1 (see Chapter 4), (c) German-Baster couples and (d) incomers (mostly Coloureds) who became Rehoboth burgers by marriage, decree of the Baster Raad or Apartheid era classifications. Van Schalkwyk's data on the parentage of his "Baster" respondents (n=150) show up this heterogeneity (p. 285-294): 33 of his respondents had one Coloured parent, nine had both parents Coloured, nine had a white father, two had one Nama parent, one had both parents Nama, and one had a Malay parent.

Van Schalkwyk relied on Fischer (1913) and Viall (1959, below) for "historical depth" and thus missed what is well-known among Basters with historical awareness (e.g. Britz 1991): The pioneers' speech differed from the later "incomers". Cape Coloured teachers brought standardised Afrikaans to Rehoboth from 1928 onwards; a large percentage of Baster children were raised as *ouma-kinders on* farms and learnt their grandparents' code as first language. The latter explains why the Afrikaans of some Basters retained Dutch relics for such a long time. This knowledge would have stood Van Schalkwyk in good stead in his follow-up study (with K.J.J.A. van Lierop) of Dutch relics among elderly Basters and Coloureds: *Nederlandse Taalresten in de Variëteiten van het Afrikaans,* 2003.

In spite of the aforesaid sociolinguistic critique on Van Schalkwyk, his meticulous phonetic descriptions of words in 1983 and 2003 were of linguistic significance to the current study, as shown in Chapter 6. Some of his other data were also useful, e.g. his documentation of the language repertoires of his informants could be compared in Chapter 8 to the present day language of Afrikaans speakers of all ages in Rehoboth.

S.M. Roux (1988), "n Sosiolinguistiese analise van Rehoboth-Afrikaans' (MA thesis). Roux set out to show that the Afrikaans of the Rehoboth Basters (RBA) is a variety of Oranjerivier-Afrikaans, concluding that this is in fact true (1988:219). Like Van Schalkwyk, Roux relied on secondary historical sources, failed to acquaint herself with the social dynamics of the Afrikaans-speaking community of Rehoboth and therefore did not note the different components within the Rehoboth Baster society. She therefore came up with only gender, age and educational level as non-linguistic variables that influence language use. After interviewing a number of persons, Roux identified 50 linguistic

variables which she then tested on 62 respondents before coming to the conclusion that the Orange River Afrikaans features in RBA are dying out (*kwyn weg*) and that RBA is developing in "a variety that shows much more SA (i.e. Standard Afrikaans) features". As noted in section 2.4 below, the current study takes a wider view of the Afrikaans of the Rehoboth Basters and draws attention to two codes that have not received the academic attention due to them.

This researcher found the transcription of Roux's interviews with four women aged 59, 65, 85 and 94 years in her Appendix (1988:236-276) invaluable (see e.g. Chapter 6) for the historical references, social comment, metaphor-rich and humorous speech, etc.

F.J. Strydom 1983, 1984. 'Die musiek van die Rehoboth Basters van SWA. 'n Entnomusikologiese studie' (PhD Thesis; article). Strydom linked the music and musical instruments of the Basters to their religion and cultural contacts. He found (1984:117, 118) "an important authentic folk song treasure" among them but notes that it is not being transmitted to the youth. Strydom interviewed Britz (1983:80), among others, in his investigation of the origins of the Dutch prayer (see Appendix p. xvii) of Sam !Khubis.

Hedwich Rose (1980), 'Rehoboth Gebiet. 'n Studie van 'n veranderende gemeenskap' (MA thesis); **Brunhilde Helm (1982),** 'Change in a rural community in Namibia.' (School of Social Work, University of Cape Town). As noted above, Rose is an insider to the Rehoboth community. Helm was her supervisor. These works were most useful for tracking social and political changes in the Baster community – as shown in Chapters 7 and 8.

Political history: Reports (1915, 1927); Thesis (1946); Journals (1959, 1970)

Lieut.-Col. D. de Waal (1915), 'Report on the inquiry to the German-Bastard Question held at Rehoboth and other places in the Military Protectorate in June, 1915.' General Louis Botha gave instructions for this investigation after the Sam !Khubis battle. Of the 21 Baster witnesses who testified between 24 and 27 June, two were women - because they were victims. (A statement from a German woman was also received.) Women did not again testify (as far as the researcher could establish) in the number of commissions of inquiry into Baster matters that followed. For insight into the psyche of the Basters, it is necessary to take note of De Waal's observation that they were left "deeply shocked at what they consider the light and casual manner in which the value of his word of honour is regarded by the white man… The result is that the Bastards have

become suspicious. Is the white man from the south going to prove his word is his bond?" (See Chapter 5 for an in-depth discussion of reports on the events of 1915).

Justice Jacob de Villiers (1927), 'Rapport van die Rehoboth Kommissie.' De Villiers was appointed to investigate, among other issues, the boundaries of the Rehoboth Gebiet and rights of the Basters in the German era. The De Waal and De Villiers reports, like the article of Bayer and work of Fischer (above), have been historical sources on the Rehoboth Basters for many a researcher – including the present one and Weder and Viall (below).

W.H. Weder (1946), '*Die Regsposisie van die Rehoboth-Basters*' (PhD thesis). Weder was also a product of his era. In their centenary journal *Ons Eeufees 1870-1970* the authors (fn. 6 above) note with amusement how Weder describes (1946:36) the paternal lineage of the Rehoboth Basters: "Weder does not readily (*graag*) want to refer to a white (*blanke*) father but he nevertheless uses the comic term 'white progenitor' [14] (*blanke voortbrenger*)." The journal nevertheless draws on Weder's analysis of the Basters' legal position in the German era (as does the current researcher in Chapter 5). Weder points to certain parallels between the way in which the Germans (up to 1915) and the South Africans (from 1920 onwards) governed the Basters (1946:265). Soon after each of the take-overs a deal was done between the administration and the Basters and shortly thereafter they lost their captaincy and thereby the political power attached to it.

John Viall (1959), 'The history of the Rehoboth Basters' (Unpublished manuscript). Viall, a white, English-speaking assistant magistrate of Rehoboth, wrote what he calls "an essay" of 66 pages for the South African prime minister.[15] His introduction, which reveals the objective and an empathetic approach, is worth quoting in full:

> "The history of the Rehoboth Basters is most interesting. The Rehoboth Gebiet, their 'State within a State' is unique in the history of our country. Their future is an intricate question, and it cannot be emphasized too strongly that without a thorough knowledge

[14] The humour is lost in translation. "Progenitor" is *stamvader* in Afrikaans. In Dutch *voortbrenger* means "producer" (*Van Dale* 1961:2303); *voortbreng* is still found as a verb in older Afrikaans forms.

[15] His document is dated 27 January 1959. J.G. Strydom served from December 1954 and died in August 1958. He was succeeded by H. F. Verwoerd, who served from December 1958 until he was killed in the Cape Town Parliament on 9 September 1966. John Vorster took over in the same month. Chapter 5 reports on a stormy altercation between the latter and the Basters in April 1969.

> of their history it would be impossible to make sound decisions on that future. Because of lack of knowledge of this history, vague and perhaps impracticable promises have in the past been made to the Basters, the non-fulfilment of which causes dissatisfaction to this day. Promises of this kind should henceforth be avoided or else honoured.[16] A Baster Advisory Board member recently complained, with justice, that the succession of Administrators through the years was the cause of the broken promises. Therefore I have fully recounted the Baster history and especially its constitutional aspects. I entertain the hope that this exposition will serve as a guide to future Administrators."

Viall is cited nine times (6%) in the 152 footnotes in Britz *et al.* (1999) while Weder is no longer mentioned. Viall, who was probably an information source on the Basters for the South African government from 1959 onwards, was a civil servant at the time. As shown in the thesis, the researcher sometimes differs from him as well as from Oosthuizen (1993), who often drew on Viall. Viall's contemporary, Administrator J.G. van der Wath, was another official source on the Basters. In his autobiography *Johannes van der Wath van Suidwes-Afrika* (1983) he highlights his career from his arrival in Namibia in 1928 as principal of a Stampriet school up to the end of his term as Administrator from 1968-1971. Van der Wath often refers to Strydom, Verwoerd as well as Vorster and he depicts the Basters (p. 172-173) as quarrelsome and irresolute only.

2.2.2 Post-1990 studies on the Rehoboth Basters and Afrikaans in Namibia

(a) Afrikaans studies

G.J.J. Oosthuizen (1993), 'Die Rehoboth-Basters binne die konteks van staatkundige verhoudinge tussen Suidwes-Afrika en Suid-Afrika, 1915-1939' (PhD thesis). Oosthuizen's meticulous archival research of both the Baster and South African Administration's side of political events replaced Weder and to a lesser degree Viall as sources on Baster history. He is e.g. cited 45 times (30%) in the footnotes of Britz *et al.* (1999). The points on which the current researcher differs from Oosthuizen are discussed in context in Chapter 5. Oosthuizen observes that his research included archival documents found in Windhoek, Pretoria, Geneva and London as well as archives of

[16] The researcher failed to get information on pre-Independence promises that were apparently made to the Basters (p.c. anonymous source, 2002). She never met the one role-player kaptein Hans Diergaardt (who passed away in 1998, aged 70) and when she paid a social visit to the other one in 2007 - Administrator Louis Pienaar - she did not feel free to ask him about the matter.

the Rehoboth Baster Raad, which meant that he was not dependent only on "white centred archival material" (1993:xv). He notes that he found very little documentation on the side of their uprising in 1914/15, "therefore he had to rely on secondary German sources to place also the German actions in perspective" (p. xiv). As shown in Chapter 5, Oosthuizen rejects De Waal's (1915) findings on the uprising and trivialises the evidence of Kaptein Van Wyk's wife and daughter. For some reason Oosthuizen did not include the archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC) in his research. The current researcher found invaluable original letters and reports of Baster as well as German missionary role-players ca. 1915 in the ECL archives. Oosthuizen set out to do documentary research but in the process he missed out on available inside information of Baster historians and chroniclers (e.g. Olivier, McNab and Britz) and oral history held by members of the Baster community. A life-story interviewee of Roux (1988), who was born in 1893, e.g. gave a vivid eyewitness account to her of the Sam !Khubis battle and verifies the Basters' insistence that the Germans broke their promise to the Basters that they would not be used in "white against white war" (Roux 1988:236-243). This confirms Taylor's observation (1996, above) that one's data become "method dependent" if only one line of inquiry is followed.

Rudolf G. Britz, Hartmut Lang and Cornelia Limpricht (1999), *A Concise History of the Rehoboth Basters until 1990.* (The book was also published in Afrikaans and German.) Lang and Limpricht have done ethnographical and genealogical research for the University of Cologne in Rehoboth since 1991 but did not draw on their own work[17] in the book. As the title suggests, the book is a synopsis of the Basters' history. Its body contains 56 pages. It was first published by the Rehoboth Museum in 1996. The director, Beatrice Sandelowsky observes in the introduction (p. 1) that large parts of Baster history are not yet documented. Her remark underlines the position in which Baster chroniclers have been for many years: Their in-depth, insider research on Baster history remains in manuscript form. Britz was e.g. obliged to cite Oosthuizen instead of using his own primary research on Sam !Khubis (1987). Mrs Olivier, owner of the valuable Jacobus Beukes collection, is concerned about the fate of the collection, which she still has at home. She is furthermore frustrated because she cannot write in Afrikaans. (P.c. 2007).

[17] The researcher cites from a public lecture of Lang (2000) on traditional farming practices in Rehoboth as well as an article of Limpricht (2002), 'Die Rehobother Baster und ihre Stammbäume.'

E.L.P. Stals and F.A. Ponelis (2001), '*Só het Afrikaans na Namibië gekom. Hollands-Afrikaans in Namibië vóór die Koloniale Tyd*.' Stals, a Namibian historian, gathered archival data to argue that Dutch-Afrikaans was brought to Namibia by non-whites in pre-colonial times. (Ponelis contributed a chapter on the structure of early Afrikaans, 2001:98-106.) This researcher agrees generally with the well-researched and very useful outline that Stals has given but not always with the detail. Hester Waher questioned (*Die Burger* 2002:9) the suitability of the authors' term *Hollands-Afrikaans* for the form of Afrikaans that was brought to Namibia by the Oorlam, Basters and missionaries. This researcher agrees with her suggestion that *Hollands* ("Dutch") would have served better as an umbrella-term for "everything from Dutch to Afrikaans". Stals noted that the church, guided by Heidmann, played a large role in the establishment of the language and culture of the Basters (2001:59). He said they formed a stable community, he called their mother tongue *Hollands-Afrikaans* (p. 57) and noticed that Rehoboth was a base from where the influence of the language spread to the surrounding area (p. 59). The current researcher argues in Chapter 6 that the Dutch Bible, hymns and prayers as the Basters' literacy as well as religious texts coupled with their custom of singing and reciting religious Dutch texts prolonged the maintenance of Dutch among them and influenced their phonology.

Edward Said (2003:3-6) took Catherine Hall (2002) to task for gathering a variety of written records (sermons, polemics, letters, travel books, theoretical manifestos) "under the rubric of historical evidence without making allowance for their different intentions, provenance and status" (*London Review of Books* 2003:6). In the view of this researcher this applies to the "bundling" of comments and observations of early Namibian missionaries and travellers as evidence on language. She believes Stals over-interpreted the available data on language in pre-colonial Namibia. Lau (1984) observed that missionaries were highly dependent on their missionary societies and had to show proof of success of their work, which influenced their assessment of both situation and people (cited in Iken 1999:27). They also had to show proof of their language skills. According to Rehoboth's last Rhenish missionary Vollmer (1952-1960) a missionary candidate was not allowed a fiancée or girl friend while training in Europe. A missionary was only allowed to marry after two years in the field (earlier it was five years) and after having learnt the

language of his flock (Vollmer 1997:14). Robert Moffat noted in 1819 in South Africa, "a missionary in this country without a wife is like a boat with one oar" (Karel Schoeman 1994:24-25).

The voice of women is furthermore absent in the accounts of Stals. This is comment, though, on the era and not on the author. When the pre-colonial language scenarios that are sketched are evaluated in terms of language acquisition and maintenance, another reading of the data transpires - especially with regard to the nature of the Dutch that was spoken (above) and the spread of it among the Oorlam. Khoi women had less incentive and opportunity to learn Dutch, women raised the children and sons remained with them until puberty (Valentyn [1726] 1973:97), women and children would not have accompanied Oorlam on their warpaths, language forgetting would have set in among Oorlam refugees in Namibia who had no missionaries for decades on end, etc.

(b) Publications/studies from the Netherlands and Sweden

Peter Spelbos (1994), 'The genesis of the Rehoboth Basters as a people, 1863-1928.' The body of this thesis (degree unknown, Department of History, Leiden University) is 147 pages. Spelbos took the following view of the Basters (p. 4): "The Basters considered themselves to be a people. But this was just an idea which became a truth by repetitive proclamation. In reality the idea had no roots in the past." The major works that Spelbos "consulted with respect to the construction of a theoretical framework" (p. 147) were: Anthony Smith (1991) *National Identity,* Kwame Appiah (1993) *In my Father's House* and Anton Blok (1988) *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village.* Spelbos comes to the following conclusion (p. 109): "For me political qualities form major and indispensable requisites of the concept of a people, and therefore the Rehoboth Basters of 1915 can hardly be called a people anymore." The repercussions of Spelbos' opinion of the Rehoboth Basters is spelt out below by Zandberg (2005). (See Chapter 5 for more on Spelbos.)

Bram Haanen (1999), ' "Veel-Blaar-Kan Wèl-Dood". Management van communale grond in Rehoboth, Namibië.' **Ellen Vossen 2002,** 'Strewe na eenheid, religie en etniciteit bij de Rehoboth Basters in Namibië.' Both studies are named *Afstudeerscriptie Culturele Antropologie*, Universiteit Utrecht; the body of the first is 102 pages and the latter, 167. Haanen's study on informal dwellers (among them Basters) in Acacia Park on the outskirts

of Rehoboth is of interest because the humour in Baster nicknames registered with him. Vossen's study is more relevant although she focuses on the problematic side of the fact that Rehoboth has some 72 churches without e.g. probing the reason for and nature of religious worship in the community. She presents Rehoboth and the Basters on occasion in a stereotyped way without fieldwork data to back up her claims, e.g.: The Basters "are real (*zijn echt*) drinkers", drinking "throughout the day" (p. 58); many sit "drunk and listless" in the streets (p. 51). Note how Bayer describes the matter (1906:642-3): "It would be fundamentally wrong to believe that the Basters generally drink. A large number of them abstain totally (*lebt völlig enthaltsam*)."

Jeroen Zandberg (2005, 2008), 'Negative Bias Concerning the Rehoboth Basters in Literature' (a booklet, 2005) and a self-published book *Injustice Against the Rehoboth Basters.* Zandberg asserts that the latter is "not academic" (2008:1). Note, though, that these publications are backed by his research on the Griqua and Basters (self-published in 2004 as *De Griqua en Baster Staten van Zuidelik Afrika 1790-1990*) and based on numerous visits to Rehoboth in the interim. As insider to the UNPO, Zandberg could demonstrate with authenticity how "negative bias in older literature affects new publications and the subsequent chances for the Rehoboth Baster community to attain more rights as a people". An application for UNPO membership was rejected in 1994 with arguments based on the notions of Walter Weiss (1984) that the Basters are "fascist, intolerant and foreign" and Spelbos (1990) not "a people" (Zandberg 2005:28).

Kristen Kjæret (2000), 'Rehoboth-baster, namibier eller namibisk baster? - en analyse av nasjonsdiskurser i Rehoboth, Namibia' (MA thesis, University of Oslo). This study was sourced both in Swedish (for its English appendixes) and as an English article co-written by Stokke (2001). Kjæret asked respondents whether they regard themselves as Rehoboth Basters, Namibians or Namibian Basters. The current researcher shied away from such direct questioning and could thus put Kjaeret's data to good use in Chapter 8 where identities in the Rehoboth community are probed. Kjaeret's work (done in 1997) does, though, freeze the moment – like many a work on attitude, identity and language behaviour tend to do unless it is ongoing. In 2008 the researcher reached one of Kjaeret's respondents, a prominent Cape Coloured incomer to Rehoboth in the 1950s. When asked about his comments, he stated: "It was true in the context of the time."

2.2.3 Positioning of the current research

Van Rensburg's description of four phases in the evolution of Afrikaans in South Africa is generally accepted by the researcher (1999:78): He says in the 1st phase (1652-1835) early varieties took shape; in the 2nd (1835-1925) attempts were made to regulate Afrikaans; a 3rd period of official white Afrikaans followed (1925-1994) while the 4th period, the post-Apartheid phase, started in 1994. Van Rensburg notes (p. 83) that a significant reaction to Apartheid was that speakers of different varieties of Afrikaans abandoned their mother tongue in favour of English. As far as the current study is concerned, it must be borne in mind that the Basters were only part of the 1st phase: They were pushed to the periphery of the Northern Cape in the 1800s after they were rejected by white as well as Khoi communities. Because of seclusion, exclusion and divergences in contact languages, their language took different routes.

The researcher identifies three phases in the studies of Afrikaans in Namibia. The following ones that describe language structure, were part of the first phase: Rademeyer (1938), Van Schalkwyk (1983), Fourie's 'Aspekte van die Afrikaans van Riemvasmakers' (1985); Hans du Plessis' study (1987) on "Van der Merwe-Afrikaans" (the Afrikaans of blacks who accompanied white Dorsland Trekkers to Angola but subsequently returned to Namibia) and Roux (1988) who describes the Afrikaans of the Basters as a sub-variation of *Oranjerivier Afrikaans* (a name coined by Van Rensburg in 1984). In a second phase scholars set out to highlight how Afrikaans was brought to and used in Namibia by groups other than whites before South Africa's occupation of the country. In 'Die ontwikkeling, stand en toekoms van Afrikaans in SWA/Namibië' (1989), E. G. van der Merwe concluded that the Oorlam, who migrated to Namibia from the Cape, spoke Oorlam-Afrikaans and had Afrikaans as mother tongue. A.D. de V. Cluver argued in 'Resistance in non-stigmatised varieties of Afrikaans in Namibia' (1993 [1989]) that ORA was used as a language of resistance. This stage is wrapped up by Stals and Ponelis (2001, above) and an article of Stals (2006), 'How did Afrikaans come to Namibia?'

The researcher believes that her study represents a third stage - which is too early to name. The post-2000 era gave her the benefit of hindsight while language endangerment, the sociolinguistic subfield of inquiry in which she was working, compelled her to reach as widely as possible in time and to place viewpoints of speakers centre-

stage. In the event she deviates from previous studies that concentrated on ORA aspects of the Afrikaans of the Rehoboth Basters. She prefers the generic term "Rehoboth Afrikaans", like Van Schalwyk who noted (2003: xvi): "The variety of Afrikaans that is used by the Rehoboth Basters, is known as Rehoboth Afrikaans." In Chapter 6 the researcher draws on contextualised, authentic and spontaneous utterances and texts to discuss additional aspects of the speech and written language of the Rehoboth Basters.

2.2.4 Final remarks on sources and on Afrikaans as scientific langauge

(a) Since studies within the sociolinguistic subfields of language maintenance, endangerment and shift have not been done before in Rehoboth, the researcher drew on the large body of case studies elsewhere for guidance. Parallels could be drawn with Mesthrie's ongoing work on language shift to English among the South African Indians (1985, 1991, 2007, etc.) and work on Welsh (Baker 1991), Irish (Ó Riagáin 2001) and Scottish Gaelic (Smith-Christmas 2009). Other valuable sources were: Matsumara (1998) *Studies in Endangered Languages* - papers from a Tokyo symposium in 1995, Brenzinger's volume (1998) *Endangered Languages in Africa* and Fishman's mentioned volume of 2001.

(b) Works on the Rehoboth Basters that were discussed above plus others that were sources in the thesis, provides food for thought on changes in the position of Afrikaans in scientific and commercial publications. The following two reports and nine studies were done on Rehoboth over the past 30 years in Afrikaans and Dutch: *Rehoboth Ontwikkelingsplan* by the South African town planning firm Vincent Leggo Associates (1977), the Afrikaans theses of Rose (1980, UCT), Van Schalkwyk (1983, US), Strydom (1983, US), Roux (1988, Potchefstroom), Oosthuizen (1993, Potchefstroom), Louw (1997, UNAM) and the works in Dutch at the University of Utrecht, Leiden of Haanen (1999) and Vossen (2002) and a work by Zandberg (2005) – who subsequently wrote in English. The current study on the Afrikaans of the Rehoboth Basters is the first to be written in English. Fernridge Consulting presented their 'Retail Feasibility Study. Rehoboth, Namibia' in April 2007 in English to a private Afrikaans firm of developers in Windhoek. Note Uhlenbeck's observation (1993:29) that "Dutch is more and more being replaced by English in scientific publications by Dutchmen". Ten years later Greetje van den Bergh (2003:421) wrote an article on the future of Dutch as scientific language titled, *Dit artikel moet in het Engels worden vertaald* ("This article must be translated into English").

Chapter Three

National positioning of Afrikaans and the Rehoboth Basters

'n Baster sal níe afgeskaf word nie! ("A Baster shall *not* be done away with!")[1]

3.1 Introduction

Namibia is introduced in this chapter as a newly democratised state and national domicile of the Rehoboth Basters[2] and Afrikaans. Judged by macro-level external factors, both community and language seem to be at a crossroad regarding their future vitality. Among the pointers found in literature on language endangerment, one from Mufwene (2000:3) seems especially relevant. He notes that native American languages are dying not because speakers have lost pride in them but because "they have had to adapt to a changing socio-economic ecology in which English is required for their survival". The following hypothesis is tested in the chapter: Present-day Namibia constitutes a hostile environment for the continued existence of the Rehoboth Basters as a distinct ethnolinguistic community and for the stability and growth of their mother tongue, Afrikaans. In the process answers are sought for three language-political questions suggested by Edwards (1992) namely: (a) Rights and recognition of speakers? (b) Degree and extent of official recognition of the language? (c) Degree of autonomy or "special status" of area? The notion of "historical presence" as indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality (Coluzzi 2009:148) is applied in the chapter conclusion (**3.7**) with regard to the current position of Afrikaans and the Basters in Namibia.

To give a sense of place and people certain characteristics and issues of present-day Namibians are briefly noted in **3.2**. The chapter then introduces three sociolinguistic macro-variables that could influence the future vitality of Afrikaans in the country as a whole: Demography (**3.3**), Politics (**3.4**) and Education (**3.5**). Crystal observes (2000:128) that "clusters of factors interact in subtle ways" in most settings of endangered languages. This makes it difficult to introduce and arrange factors by chapter section but an attempt is made to frame this chapter by means of four focus points.

The first focus point is census/survey returns as data source and therefore as indication of the Namibian position of Afrikaans (in **3.3** Demography). At Independence

[1] Personal communication in 2004 by a Rehoboth woman born in 1928 of Baster/German parentage.
[2] Schedule 8 of the Constitution (1990:77) repealed the Rehoboth Self-Government Act, 1976 and Government of Rehoboth Powers Transfers Proclamation, 1989.

67% of Namibians were categorized as peasants (Rajmund Ohly 1993:89). Seventeen years on, 70% still derived their livelihood from agriculture, directly or indirectly (Vekuii Rukoro, *AgriForum* October 2007:9). Hyden's concept of "people who do not need the State" (1980:23-24) is employed (along with circumstantial evidence) to consider the current spread of English and to argue that Afrikaans was not as widely spoken and understood in Namibia before 1990 as alleged. Prinsloo *et al.* (1982:23) stated a figure of 86-87%, which is in view of the researcher inflated and therefore in need of redress. It created (and perpetuates) a false sense of security regarding the future of Afrikaans.

The political history of Namibia is introduced in broad terms by means of the Namibian Constitution (**3.4** Politics). Much about the country's recent past is revealed by the run-up to and stipulations of the Constitution and by the way in which the Constitution is being applied. Namibia went through a prolonged freedom struggle, followed by rapid transition, "which left both ruler and ruled with little experience in democracy" (Christiaan Keulder 2000:10). After the adoption of a liberal democratic Constitution in which ordinary Namibians had very little to say, conditions for consolidation "had to be, and in some instances still have to be, crafted" (p. 11). The General Assembly of the UN decided in 1974 that SWAPO was "the sole and authentic" representative of the Namibian people and since then the party could draw on a structure of support, including financial support, which gave it an immense advantage over internal parties (O'Linn 2003:359). Years of exile enabled SWAPO members to gain educational qualifications and wide experience "in all facets of the modern world, including the art of government" (O'Linn p. xxii). From a sociolinguistic perspective it could be argued that SWAPO had a linguistic advantage over the internal parties because its leaders were groomed in English and in the skills of argumentation – which "gives freedom to the individual and can be seen as a democratic need" (Spies and Tork 2000:717).

The second focus point is Article 3 (Language) of the Namibian Constitution, which is highlighted in **3.4.** Afrikaans was made vulnerable when English was ruled in as sole official language (Chapter 1: Article 3, 1990:2). Peter Nelde observes ('Debate', 1994:168), "numerically weak or psychologically weakened language groups have classically tended towards assimilation". Apart from losing its former status as co-official language and MOI, Afrikaans has for the first time in its some 100 years' reign as lingua franca hard

competition from another language. Rivalry between Afrikaans and German was short-lived for it stopped at the end of the German era in 1913. Hans-Volker Gretschel notes (1993:44) that Germany's wish to make German the lingua franca was thwarted "since another Germanic language, a dialect of the Cape Dutch" was brought to the country by the Oorlam and Rehoboth Basters. It is common cause that the Namibian Government (GRN) views English as national unification tool and future lingua franca. Tangeni Erkana observes (1993:35) that English "is not yet" the lingua franca and therefore the teaching of English "should be accorded the necessary attention" while Brian Harlech-Jones asserts (1998, in 2001c:29) that the language policy in education "was designed on one premise only" - to advance the cause of establishing English as lingua franca.

The third focus point of the chapter is Education (**3.5**), which is considered in its historical context, followed by a discussion of the implementation of English as MOI in 1992 at a time when only 15% of the Namibian population was "able to express themselves in English" (Ohly 1993:90). Only 473 (3%) of the 15 257 Namibian teachers had English as home language at the time (EMIS[3] 1992:68). The current situation with regard to dwindling mother tongue education and poor learner outcomes is highlighted in the section.

The fourth focus point (in **3.6**) is the Rehoboth Basters' pre- and post-1990 petitioning to the United Nations plus their current political position and relationship with the Namibian Government (GRN). This last section forms a link to the next chapters where the full focus is on the Basters and their mother tongue Afrikaans.

3.2 Characteristics and issues of present-day Namibians

Political and media heavy-handedness often mask the sense of irony with which Namibian citizens deal with ordinary, day-to-day living in the new Namibia – especially where language and ethnicity are concerned. Keulder *et al.* probed related matters in a survey of 1999 and found that "tolerance between Namibia's various population groups is relatively high and not very politicised" (2000:249). A Namibian Human Development Report states that Namibians are "generally regarded as a peace-loving nation with obvious harmony among its people in the capital, towns and villages" (NHDR 2000/1:54). Kober investigated post-1990 discourses on identity among young Namibians and found (1997:176) that it is experienced as "mixed", not belonging to a specific ethnic group. "It

[3] Official Namibian education statistics; some were sourced in reports, others (2001/2/7) on disc.

is possible to engage in a discourse on ethnicity ironically." Namibians are known to tease each other and laugh at themselves for battling with English. When a Damara-speaking delegate to a conference in Namibia complained that he could not follow the English of the speakers, he was advised by a fellow-Damara, "You must try harder, *bradder* ('brother')!" The Damara language[4] does not have the fricative [Θ] spelt *th*, according to the Damara who overheard the exchange (p.c. May 2007). When a young cashier was asked by the researcher (Windhoek, October 2007) what language she was speaking to a workmate, she said "Xhosa". When told, "But there were no clicks", she replied laughingly that they spoke Nama. When it was once again pointed out to her that clicks were absent, she said: *Ons bêre die klieks sodat dit na Engels moet klink.* ("We hide the clicks so that it should sound like English.") In multilingual Namibia languages are often learnt and spoken in relaxed and natural ways - as paralleled elsewhere. According to Dixon (1990) many Aborigines are "gifted linguists" and are multilingual with reasonable proficiency in languages of neighbouring groups. Kenyans, Nigerians and Tanzanians are used as examples of people who learn more than one language "naturally" in childhood (cited by Dalby 2003:91).

What issues are important to Namibians? When Keulder *et al.* (2000:254) probed 1000 Namibian adults about dissatisfaction with expectations from Government, unemployment was the first (82%) of 15 suggested items, corruption second (69%) and protection against crime third (64%). In a follow-up survey (Afrobarometer 2005) among 1200 Namibians, unemployment was first (42%), wages, income and salaries second (8%) and education third (6%), while crime and corruption drew 4% each (Keulder 2006:37). In the current research 258 Rehoboth Grade 11s (learners aged 16-18) were asked in 1999, 2002 and 2008 in an open-ended question to suggest improvements for Namibia. Table 3.1 reports on the priorities of 52 non-Afrikaans (mostly KKG) respondents in the sample. As shown, issues related to education drew 23 (34%) responses, unemployment 18 (27%), money 4 and neither crime nor corruption were mentioned. Nobody referred to the GRN, Apartheid or racism. Keulder *et al.* probed levels of tolerance by requesting respondents in an open-ended question to identify groups they strongly dislike. Only 28% of them replied and criminals constituted the largest disliked group (38.5%). It emerged, though,

[4] Officially "Nama/Damara" denotes the same language (also named Khoekhoegowab [KKG]). When informants or respondents are quoted, their preferred names - mostly Nama or Damara - are used.

(2000:248-250) that tolerance "diminishes when members of disliked groups move into respondents' immediate spatial environment, be it to work or own property".

Table 3.1 Improvements for Namibia suggested by non-Afrikaans Grade 11s

Suggestions by non-Afrikaans Rehoboth Grade 11s (n=52)					
	'99, '02	**'08**		**'99, '02**	**'08**
education	9	4[5]	doctors	2	
teachers		2	God/church	2	1
finish school years	2		clever people		1
hard work at school	2		factories	1	
educated young people	1		technology	1	
improve qualifications	3		development	2	
employment	13	4	develop small towns		2
youth employment	1		drugs/street children		2
money	3		less pollution		2
improved monetary value	1		GRN/Apartheid/racism		

Apartheid and Affirmative Action are acknowledged as sociopolitical variables that could influence the vitality of Afrikaans but fall outside the scope of the current study. Only brief attention is given to the two issues in the thesis. Consequences of Affirmative Action are difficult to pin down because the process is new. Adv. Arthur Chaskalson SC, leader of the South African lawyers who advised a smaller "Standing Committee" with the drafting of the Namibian Constitution, warned (Committee Debates[6], 17 January 1990:82): "I don't believe you can have affirmative action without prejudicing someone, because if someone is being advantaged, then in the nature of things somebody else is not getting that advantage." Chaskalson added (p. 83), "it is a very, very difficult provision to draft, the expectation that you want to create by introducing affirmative action could have long-term negative political consequences, you will have to face and plan for". In the view of O'Linn (2003:372) Affirmative Action could be used to justify what is in fact nothing less than "discrimination in reverse".[7] Conrad Angula interviewed Namibian youths aged 16-32 for an article 'Affirmative Action: WHERE are we heading?' (*The Namibian,* 31 August 2007). Some of their thoughts are given below - plus viewpoints of a politician who was a member of the 18-member Standing Committee of the Constitutional Assembly.

[5] This figure includes schools and colleges.

[6] The researcher was privy to these minutes, which have not yet been opened to researchers.

[7] See also Volume 11 (2010) of O'Linn's *Namibia. The Sacred Trust of Civilisation. Ideal and Reality.*

3.3 Demography as macro-variable in language endangerment

(a) Influence of politics and physiographical zones on language spread

Namibia is one of the driest and most sparsely populated countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The boundary rivers, Quando/Linyanti/Chobe, Kunene, Kavango, and Zambezi in the north and the Orange in the south, are the only perennial rivers and their flow dominates the country's hydrological pattern. Interior rivers flow sporadically and rapidly during intense rain showers. Desert and arid zones comprise 55% of Namibia and the landmass of 824 200 km². Human settlement in Namibia is largely determined by the availability of water as shown in Map A1 (Climate) in the Appendix (p. i) and Map 2 (Density) inserted below. However, Odendaal Plan's racial homelands of 1964 that relegated the different ethnic groups of the country to designated areas[8] (Map 1 below) still have an influence on the spread of the Namibian people and their languages (Map 3 below). Odendaal argued (cited in André du Pisani 2000a:65-67) that people belong with their ethnic group of birth because of fundamental differences in socio-economic orientation and stages of development. Integration would be "unrealistic, unsound and undesirable, and cannot but result in continual social discrimination, discontent and frustration, friction and violence - a climate in which no socio-economic progress can be expected to take place".

(b) Influence of living conditions of Namibians on language spread

Some half of all Namibians live in the North and as shown in Table 3.2 below, 64% of the 620 787 SWAPO votes were cast there in 2003. (Otjozondjupa and Omaheke are traditional Otjiherero regions.) Data on charcoal, wood and toilet usage (2001) are added to the table as crude indicators of pre-modernity. Exposure to English and Afrikaans by 1991 can be inferred from census data of the time (1994:59): Some 15% of Namibians had a TV, 60% owned a radio and 75% (among the rural dwellers, 87%) did not buy newspapers. Half of all Namibians lived in kraals and huts with wooden poles/sticks and mud as outer walls and thatch/grass as roof and firewood/charcoal for cooking and candles/paraffin for light, according to census data of 2001 (2003:6). Coupled with the lack of water at home these figures indicate people who "do not need the State" and, in the view of the researcher, also not the State's language(s) – neither in 1991 nor in 2001.

[8] The match between the Odendaal homelands and the spread of the different indigenous nations in pre-colonial times is shown in a map of 1870: Fig. 5.1 on p. 117 in Chapter 5,

Table 3.2 SWAPO votes in the North (A) and the rest of the country (B) in 2004[9]

(A) 2004	Ohangwena		Oshana	Omusati	Oshikoto	Kavango	Caprivi	total
SWAPO	88 061		70 111	92 082	63 796	65 077	19 596	398 723
%	97.5		93.1	92.0	90.8	81.7	67.7	63.2
bush toilet	88.8		49.2	83.0	70.2	81.3	83.4	
wood/char.	93.7		63.8	93.1	93.7	89.3	89.2	
(B) 2004	**Kunene**	**Omah.**	**Hardap**	**Otjoz.**	**Erongo**	**Khomas**	**Karas**	**total**
SWAPO	9 817	12 582	15 767	31 423	39 604	87 092	25 127	222 064
%	36.3	43.1	51.4	53.8	61.9	62.9	63.5	33.8
bush toilet	63.5	62.2	33.0	42.7	11.5	20.2	26.0	
wood/char.	81.2	73.7	53.0	60.1	19.6	8.8	33.5	

(Sources: National election results 2004; Census Report 2003:60)

Table 3.3 documents life expectancy, incomes and learners by language in Namibia while Table 3.4 (inserted below) shows the country's position compared to its neighbours and countries that are of interest to the study. Although Namibia's HDI rank was 124 of 175 in 2003, President Nujoma formulated Vision 2030 in January 1998 (NAU 2003:9): "A vision that will guide us to make deliberate efforts to improve the quality of life of our people to the level of their counterparts in the developed world by the year 2030." Harlech-Jones sees only one paradigm for development[10] in Namibia: modernisation, which is reflected in improving economic indices and in higher personal incomes (2001b:114).

Table 3.3 Longevity, poverty index, income and learners by language group

	longevity	HPI[11]	income	households	%	learners (EMIS 2001)
German	73.0	6.2	30 459	3 654	1.1	2 318
English	66.9	7.9	21 708	6 522	1.9	3 487
Afrikaans	67.2	8.4	13 995	39 481	11.4	37 588 (7%)
Setswana	61.7	16.1	5 326	1 051	0.3	1 612
Oshiwambo	61.3	20	1 707	167 943	48.5	290 121 (55%)
Silozi (Caprivi)	56.6	20.5	1 692	17 493	3.0	5 983
Otjiherero	63.1	21.2	3 077	27 374	7.9	38 770 (7%)
Nama/Damara	56.6	22.3	2 404	39 717	11.5	53 342 (10%)
Kavango	53.9	23.2	1 652	33 741	9.7	n.a.
San	48.1	56.3	1 315	4 299	1.2	3 930
Namibia	**61.0**	**23.7**	**3 608**	**341 275**		**528 958 (28% of pop.)**
Total Namibian population in 2001:1 830 330						

(Sources: Namibian HDR 2000/1:154 and EMIS 2001:40)

[9] A court hearing contesting SWAPO's majority of 73.3% in 2009 started on 1.3.2010 in Windhoek.

[10] Grant McConnell (1997:353) notes a global shift away from language studies and believes language and culture are viewed as "too irrelevant developmentally or too explosive politically".

[11] Human Poverty Index; income in Namibian dollar (N$), which is on par with the S.A. rand.

The fact that the country has "one of the most unequal distributions of wealth and incomes in the world" (NHDR 2000/1:55) needs context: since 1960 global economic inequality increased "beyond anything ever experienced" (HDR 1997:107-110). Last estimates are for 1993 and stagnation in the poorest and robust growth in many of the richest countries implies that inequalities "are unlikely to have improved" (HDR 2002:19). Note also that the San with its HPI of 56.3 (Table 3.3 above) is part of the analysis.

(c) National censuses and surveys as data source in sociolinguistic research

- **Namibian national censuses**

During the 1960s and 1970s hardly any separate statistics were compiled or published for Namibia because of South Africa's policy of, in effect, incorporating Namibia as a fifth province. Official statistics were still at a nascent stage in 1990, as most data were derived from South African figures or estimated as residual items (Economic Intelligence Unit [EIU] Country Profile 2001:48). The Namibian decennial censuses are still carried out in accordance with the South African Statistics Act (1976), but unlike the ethnic censuses up to 1981, enumeration is now done in accordance with region and language group. As noted above, Sadie (1997) believed non-ethnic census data make meaningful evaluation of statistics impossible. Iken blamed (1999:26) Namibia's scientific isolation for generally poor data on rural communities in 1990 but she nevertheless had to draw on the census data of 1981 to learn that Damaras had 76 800 (7.6%) speakers at the time and Namas, 49 700 (3.9%). The 1991 census report unites the two language groups as "Nama/Damara" (1994:65) and as such it had 175 554 speakers - forming the second largest language group (13% of the population) and outnumbering the 133 324 Afrikaans speakers, the third largest language group constituting 9.5% of the Namibian population.

The value of census data as source in sociolinguistic studies has been recognised by a number of scholars. Ó Riagáin (1997) observed that research has shown the margin of error in census data does not invalidate its use for the purposes of analysis (Ó Riagáin 2001:198) while Nelde noted (1994:183) that the problem is not the census itself - rather what is done with it. In the view of Ralph Fasold (1984:120) census data is flawed - but not fatally so, "especially if researchers and people who read their results know where the dangers lie".

Ten years can be crucial in an unstable language situation (Crystal 2000:79). Within a generation and sometimes within a decade (p. 81) "healthy bilingualism" in a family (i.e. a state in which two languages are viewed as complementary, not in competition) can slip into monolingualism. Another drawback of census data is that adults speak on behalf of children with regard to the home language. When Rehoboth Grade 11s were asked in 2008 what language they *want* to speak at home, only 17% Nama and 25% Afrikaans learners indicated their mother tongue. Fasold also noted (1984:114 -116) that interpretation of census data is hampered when the wording of questions is changed between censuses. Governments tend to ask questions in a way that supports the national language policy but if one knows "what languages are considered desirable" results can be interpreted accordingly. Language code lists and questions (see Appendix pp. iii, iv) were changed in the Namibian census of 2001. In 1991 the two language questions were: "What is the main language spoken by … at home? Can … **read and write** in any language?" In 2001 the main languages were enumerated by household – not by individual speakers as before.

Table 3.5 compares the highest language ratings in the returns of the literacy question in both 1991 and 2001. Note that the generic term Oshiwambo includes the standard varieties Oshikwanyama and Oshindonga as well as the other dialects. The 2001 language list grouped Oshikwambi, Oshingandjera, Oshikwaluudhi, Oshikolonkadhi, Oshimbalantu and "other" as Oshiwambo, which influenced the literacy count as shown.

Table 3.5 Languages of literacy (2001 Population and Housing Census, 2003:35)

	1991 (1994:46)	**%**	**2001 (2003:34)**	**%**
Total population	1 409 920		1 830 330	
Total literate (15+)	622 436	76.0	894 663	
Afrikaans	290 000	46.6	335 486	37.5
English	310 000	49.8	620 675	69.4
Oshindonga	185 000	29.7	n.a.	
Oshiwambo	n.a.		624 858	69.8

The report on the 1991 census states (1994:46) that the question that was used to collect the information was "can you read and write in any language with understanding". Note that the actual question did not contain the word "understanding". In 1991 the literacy question was whether the person could "read and write in any language" whereas it was asked in 2001 whether the person could "write and read a message in any language".

Respondents could furthermore name three languages in 1991 but only two in 2001. The census report states that the table from which the information was taken "reveals that about 70% of those aged 15 years and above, can read and write in either Oshiwambo or English with understanding. About 37% are literate in Afrikaans, making it the third most common language in which people are literate". The report cautions that the data on literacy must be viewed with special care (2003:46) since the way the question is put "tends, by experience, to overestimate the number of literate people since no literacy test is administered".

It seems improbable that 620 675 Namibians above 15 years were literate in English in 2001. Clearly rudimentary skills are reflected and not language proficiency. The following was observed at the time about Namibians' English skills: Legère refers to the "low or zero competence in English of ordinary Namibians" (1996:75). English was spoken fluently by less than 10% of Namibians in 2001 (EIU 2001:16) and in 2004 by "only some 15%" (EIU 2004:34). Regional boundaries of the country were changed in 1992 and as shown in Table 3.6, 2001 census data refer to *households* whereas 1991 returns refer to *speakers*. The latter might not have had an impact on language data, but the following did: Walvis Bay's 30 452 inhabitants (1991) were not included in the 1991 census (Census Report 1994:5) because the enclave was still administered by South Africa at the time. 'Living Conditions in Namibia' described Walvis Bay's language profile in 1996 (1996:218) as Afrikaans (50%), Oshiwambo (19%), Nama/Damara (14%) and Otjiherero (10%).

Table 3.6 Interdecennial growth and decline in some Namibian languages (see insert)[12]

	1991 (1994:65)		2001 (2003:48)	
languages	**persons**	**%**[13]	**households**	**%**
English	10 941	0.7	6 522	1.9
Other European	5 298	0.4	1 790	0.5
German	12 827	1.0	3 654	1.1
Otjiherero	112 916	8.0	27 374	7.9
Afrikaans	133 324	9.0	39 481	11.4
Nama/Damara	175 554	13.0	39 717	11.5
Oshiwambo	713919	51.0	167943	48.5

[12] A pamphlet of the Namibian Road Authority (2006), which is inserted between this page and the next, contains instructions in nine of the main languages spoken in Namibia.

[13] These rounded percentages were given for 1991 in the census report of 1993.

When the 2001 census returns were published in 2003, *Republikein* carried a front-page report (1 September 2003) with the headline: *Afrikaans groei onder Namibiërs* ("Afrikaans grows…"). It was noted that Afrikaans was the only one of the five main languages that showed growth over ten years. The researcher believes "growth" in Afrikaans was more due to the Walvis Bay speakers that were added than to an actual increase, while the growth of English and decline of Nama/Damara and Oshiwambo as shown above, suggest an increase in allegiance to English. The data imply that English is fast gaining ground in Namibia. A future drop in the income of English speakers – the group with the second highest income in the country - could very well point to a language shift to English in progress.

- **Afrikaans before 1990: Empirical evidence vs. Prinsloo *et al.***

The validity of the Prinsloo survey has been questioned before. Martin Pütz (1995a: 156) pointed to "severe shortcomings in methodology – e.g. biased towards Afrikaans". Instead of revisiting the former arguments, the spread of Afrikaans in northern Namibia is evaluated next from within a sociolinguistic framework and in the light of empirical evidence that has been gathered on the matter over time in the current study.

(i) Empirical evidence

In the early 1980s, coinciding with SWAPO's language declaration (1980) that English will be the future official language of the country certain scholars asserted that Afrikaans is the lingua franca of some 85% of the Namibian population. Seemingly this figure was based on the survey of Prinsloo *et al.* (1982). To be fair, the researcher tops the list for in September 2001 she noted "some 80% of Namibians have Afrikaans" at the 5th Conference[14] of the Foundation for Endangered Languages in Agadir. She believes that, like herself, other scholars quoted the figure in good faith. Maho (1998) cited Prinsloo *et al.* to the effect that 86-87% of all Namibians *claimed* to speak/understand Afrikaans. Nelde (1994:184) also makes the qualified statement that about 80% of the population "is able to speak or at least understand" Afrikaans. In 1992 Fourie asserted, "Afrikaans today is the lingua franca of more than 80% of the Namibian population" (1992:201). Ilse Bigalke stated in 2000, without a reference, that Afrikaans is still spoken by "some 95%" of Namibians (*Die Burger* 2000:11). According to Chris Jacobie, chief

[14] The conference theme was 'Endangered Languages and the Media'.

editor of *Republikein*, some 75% of the Namibian population speak and understand Afrikaans (cited in Arjen de Boer 2006:36). Note how the following assertions differ from the foregoing: Afrikaans is "widely understood" and used as L1 by 10% of Namibia's population (EIU 2001:16). "Afrikaans is spoken by a substantial component of the country's population and serves often as the *lingua franca*." (NHRR 2003:87 - emphasis in original.)

The researcher has come to believe that people in 85% of the *territory* might have known Afrikaans in the early 1980s - not 85% of the country's *population* - after investigating the matter as follows: Personal observational data between 1990 and 2010 were added to the oral testimony of Namibians with first-hand experience of the erstwhile circumstances. This was then compared to the Prinsloo *et al.* findings of 1982 while paying close attention to their survey methods and samples.

When it is accepted that women are the "primary caregivers in almost all societies" (HDR 2003:1) it must be accepted that they were and often still are the key transmitters of language. Although Namibian women's legal status has changed substantially since 1990, women's social status remains "relatively unchanged for many segments of the population" (Debie LeBeau 1999, cited in NHDR 2000/2001:67). This means that the women in the North of Namibia were in charge of language transmission in the pre-1990 period. Oshiwambo speakers formed more than half of the Namibian population at the time. Map 2 (above) shows how densely populated the northern strip of Namibia still is. Empirical evidence furthermore suggests that Oshiwambo women remained in the North, which means that they had little opportunity or incentive to learn Afrikaans.

Hyden's notion of "people who do not need the State" applies once again: the bulk of the peasant society in the North did not need the South African Administration in their daily lives and therefore had no need of Afrikaans. It must also be borne in mind that Afrikaans was the language of the enemy after the liberation war was triggered by the first armed clash inside Namibia at Ongulumbashe in northern Namibia on 26 August 1966 (O'Linn 2003:64). Margie Orford (2001:46) made the point that access to Ovamboland was severely restricted by the S.A. colonial administration and women became literate much later in the North "for literacy often brought ostracism to women as it meant they have stepped outside the family controls of their own communities".[15]

[15] The researcher adheres to the different spellings of "Ov(w)ambo" of the different sources.

According to Du Pisani (2000a:68-69) some 43 000 black contract workers (the vast majority from Ovambo) were employed in southern and central Namibia on white farms, in local government service, mines, fishing and as domestic workers in 1971-1972. Du Pisani cites P. Banghart (1969) to the effect that some 37% of adult males were from 1960-1968 for an average period of 12-18 months at a time - and most of their married life - away from Ovamboland, their wives and families. Fraenkel and Murray reiterate (1985:24) that it is common for a (Ovambo) man to spend two-thirds to three-quarters of his married life away from his wife and children. During the Apartheid regime African women were required to stay in the homelands unless contracted to work in white areas - which seldom happened (LeBeau 2001:194). In her study of Afrikaans among contract labourers on Namibian mines, Fourie noted that (1992:26) "until recently Owambo women could not get out of Owamboland". With the exception of contract workers there was very little language contact between the inhabitants of the North and those in the rest of the country. The contact that did take place was mainly with Afrikaans-speaking employers. The Apartheid MOI policy was applied in the 1960s. Afrikaans was used in the junior secondary school phase but before Afrikaans could be enforced on learners, many had already left school. After the implementation of English as MOI in schools in the North, "the number of drop-outs was still high". Owambo decided in 1981 to use only English (Harlech-Jones 1988) in the senior secondary phase (Fourie, p. 21). In Caprivi both English and Lozi were used as MOI in the 1980s and English was the most general written language in the area (*SWA/Namibia Today* 1988:19).

A former member of the South African Defence Force (SADF) observed (p.c. Windhoek, December 2005) that hardly anybody in Kavango, Kaokoland and Caprivi could speak Afrikaans in the 1970s. An informant told Kober (1997:172-173) that there were practically no Oshiwambo women in the country as a whole before 1990 for "they never came out under the contract labour system" while some 50% of Caprivians never came south of Tsumeb. "I am used to seeing Oshiherero, Damara or Nama women. From the type of women one used to see in Windhoek in the streets, for instance Damara, Nama, Coloured, Baster. No Oshiwambo, no Kavangos. Only men come down." A Namibian clinical psychologist (born in 1946) who grew up in Windhoek reiterates (p.c. Windhoek 2004): "We never knew what the Oshiwambo women looked like for they remained in the North."

With the exception of a few weeks of absence per year, the researcher has been in daily verbal contact from 1990 up to now (2010) with Oshiwambo-speaking VIP security guards. At first most were former PLAN (People's Liberation Army of Namibia) fighters but of late they are Oshiwambo-speaking policemen. The first intake (born in the 1950s) had some Afrikaans; the later ones (born in the 1960s and 1970s) had none and only rudimentary English. After 2000 young and middle-aged women (all Oshiwambo speakers) began performing guard duty too. Apart from one, nobody had Afrikaans and their English remains rudimentary. Legère noted in 2001 that there is "widespread inadequate competence in English among civil servants at various administrative levels, including central government" (2001:23-24). William Lindeke drew attention to the following (fn. 2010:72): In 1999 the organisers of a business women's conference in the Oshakati area assumed that only Afrikaans would be understood. Half a minute into the programme they discovered their error as the audience became frustrated and hostile. "Many people in the capital still believe that Afrikaans is the dominant language in Namibia."

(ii) Prinsloo *et al.* survey (1982)

The oft-quoted "86-87%" Prinsloo figure is described as follows in the report by Annamie Lubbe (1982:23): "Afrikaans is the only language that is understood by the largest number (*oorgrote meerderheid*) of the wider population (*die breë bevolking*) of SWA/Namibia. More than half (60%) of the households reported a good understanding (*verstaankennis*) of Afrikaans, while 27% alleged that this language is only poorly understood. This means that only 13% of the households in the total test sample could not understand a message by means of Afrikaans at all." K.P. Prinsloo (1982:1-2) states that the survey was done in July and August 1980 and involved 2000 households and 8457 persons (some 0.84% of the population) from all nationalities across the whole of the country. Note, however, the following: It was decided (D.J. Stoker 1982:4-5) to deviate from proportional allotment of households because of the unequal spread and varying sizes of the different population groups while distance, sandy roads (and the lack of four-wheel drive vehicles), safety[16], etc. restricted random drawing in some areas. Allocations in the

[16] The Border War was in full force. Due to "the security situation" in November 1980 when "ethnic elections" were held for Namibia's representative authorities, none were held in Owambo (*SWA/Namibia Today* 1988:31), This places a question mark over the 1981 census return (1988:15) of 506 100 "Wambos". Enumerators would have been prevented from entering the war zone.

survey sample therefore varied from less than 0.4% in Owambo to "even as high as 5% in some Tswana- and Boesman-settlements". Afrikaans-speaking whites, Rehoboth Basters and Coloureds formed some 17% of the Prinsloo sample (Lubbe 1982:20), Nama/Damara (13% of all Namibians) some 12%, Herero (9% of all Namibians) and Kaokolanders (0.80% of all Namibians) jointly 8% and Kwangali (of the Kavango region) 6% (1982:21). However, the language ratio of this sample did not match the language profile of the country at the time (see Table 3.7 below). The Prinsloo report states that the test sample was "rectified by scaling (*weging*) in order to give the households of all population groups proportional representation" before any statistical analysis was done (Stoker 1982:6).

Table 3.7 Profiles of Namibia (1981, n=1 033 200) and Prinsloo (1980, n=8457)[17]

	1981 census		**Prinsloo**			**1981 census**		**Prinsloo**	
Wambos	506 100	49%	1857	22%	Coloureds	42 300	4%	520	6%
Kavangos	95 000	9%	718	8%	Caprivians	38 600	4%	369	4%
Whites	76 400	7%	1614	19%	Bushmen	29 400	3%	403	5%
Hereros	76 300	7%	1003	12%	Basters	25 200	2%	344	4%
Damaras	76 200	7%	827	10%	Tswanas	6 700	0,6%	193	2%
Namas	48 500	5%	583	7%	Others	12 400	1%	26	0,3%

(Sources: *SWA/Namibia Today* 1988:15; Stoker 1982:9-10)

It must also be noted that the Prinsloo survey reached only 0.4% of the Wambo respondents in the North where most of these people lived. It is unknown whether Wambo women were included in the sample. The researcher found no gender profiles of the survey samples in the report. The following "scaling factors" were used for the six compounds (*kampongs*) [18] in the sample: Kombat: 33, Tsumeb (Municipal): 67, Tsumeb (Mine): 10, Tsumeb (Smeltery): 67, Walvis Bay: 400, Windhoek: 250. The lingua franca in these areas was Afrikaans and more kampong respondents would have known Afrikaans than their families at home. Fourie found (1992:29) that apart from Ndonga, Kwangali and Kwanyama Afrikaans was spoken most extensively on the mines that were included in her survey in 1992. Note that 87 Wambo individuals from kampongs and 43 Wambo kampong "households" were included in the Prinsloo survey (Stoker 1982:11-15). A World Bank

[17] The percentages are the calculations of the researcher and are rounded off.

[18] The word means "dwelling complex for natives at factories, mines, etc." and stems from the Malay word *kampoeng* (Boshoff and Nienaber 1967:330.) Fraenkel and Murray (1985:24) give a harrowing description of life in Namibian kampongs, which housed mostly Wambo men.

publication criticises the concept of household head as follows (cited by Rosenhouse 1989, in Debbie Budlender 2003:49): "The term assumes… the head… is a regular presence in the home; has overriding authority in important household matters… The common practice among survey researchers and analysts to impute the characteristics of the head to the household only serves to aggravate the problem."

3.4 Politics as macro-variable in language endangerment

(a) Historical synopsis of South West Africa/Namibia

1883. Namibia becomes a geographically defined area by means of agreements and boundary settlements between Britain, Portugal and Germany, after the latter colonises the territory in 1884 (*Britannica* 1990:964).

1891-1908. A boundary settlement in 1891 divides the Uukwanyama Kingdom between Namibia and Angola (Keulder 2000:156). Germany controls Namibia by 1907 (Henning Melber 2000:37-38): in 1905 marriage between Europeans and Africans is outlawed; in 1906 all non-Wambo are prohibited from entering the North; Ordinance No. 82 of 1907 obliges Africans to carry a pass and prohibits them to purchase land; diamonds are discovered in 1908.

1915-1920. Union of South Africa troops invade Namibia on behalf of Great Britain in WW1. The Germans surrender in July 1915, South Africa takes over the military and civilian administration for five years. The Peace Treaty of Versailles terminates WW1 in 1919. South African Prime Minister Jan Smuts joins world leaders to establish the League of Nations as "international forum to preserve peace" (Giliomee 2003:395). The Mandate Commission transfers Namibia to South Africa as a supervised "C" mandate (1920). Article 22 (6) of the Covenant states: Territories such as South West Africa, which owing to the sparseness of the population or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, can best be administered as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards and interest of the indigenous population (O'Linn 2003:3).

1936. Hitler claims in his proposed peace pact with Britain the return of colonial territories lost to Germany in 1919 but the Union of South Africa refuses to return South West Africa and Britain refuses to return Tanganyika (W.K. Hancock 1968:276-277).

1946. After the League of Nations' dissolution and the formation of the UN in 1946, South Africa wants to incorporate Namibia instead of placing it under the UN trusteeship

system. The treatment of Indians in South Africa is put on the agenda of the General Assembly at the behest of India; Indian delegates take the lead in resisting South Africa's claim of Namibia (Hancock pp. 467-468). India's attainment of Independence in 1947 brings about a major turning point in world history: pressure with regard to self-rule for black and brown people intensifies and the UN becomes a platform for Third World nations to vent their anger over centuries of Western domination (Giliomee p. 496).

1948. Statutory Apartheid is introduced after the National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948. South Africa informs the UN the following year that it was discontinuing the submission of reports on Namibia (O'Linn pp. 33-34).

1959. Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO) is founded in Windhoek in April 1959 (with Sam Nujoma as president) for the welfare of the predominantly Oshiwambo contract workers but includes the attainment of independence in their programme (Du Pisani 2000a:62-63). In the same year Rehoboth's first political party, *Rehoboth Belastingbetalersvereniging* ("Rehoboth's Tax Payer's Association") is founded by Hans Diergaardt and others (Britz *et al.* 1999:48). OPO is reconstituted in 1960 as South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and launches a liberation war from exile. Guerrilla warfare takes place mainly in the North and thousands of Namibians flee to camps in Angola, Botswana and Zambia (1991 Population and Housing Census, 1994:25).

1961-1966. South Africa becomes a Republic in 1961 under Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd, withdraws from the Commonwealth of Nations and appoints the Odendaal Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa in 1962. The first armed clash inside Namibia takes place at Ongulumbashe in the North on 26 August 1966 (O'Linn p. 64).

1978. The General Assembly proclaims that in accordance with the desire of the people of the territory, South West Africa would be named Namibia (O'Linn p. 72). Resolution 435 provides for a phased decolonisation process monitored by UNTAG (UN Transitional Assistance Group) and based on a ceasefire, the demobilisation of armed forces and free and fair elections supervised by the UN and South Africa (EIU 2001:6).

1979. Apartheid is officially abolished. People who married whites and had to leave Rehoboth during the 1950s, return from Germany and Angola (Britz *et al.* 1999:50).

1989, 1994, 1999, 2004 and 2009. SWAPO wins the national election by 57.3% in 1989, 72.7% in 1994, 76.1% in 1999, by 73.8% in 2004 (Graham Hopwood 2008:42-43) and

by 73.3% in 2009 (p.c. spokesperson of the Electoral Commission, Windhoek 2.3.2010).

2007. The Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP) is formed as essentially a breakaway from SWAPO. The party has Hidipo Hamutenya as its acting President (Hopwood 2008:77). RDP draws 90 556 votes (11.3%) and wins 8 of the 72 seats in 2009.

(b) Historical background to the low profile of English in Namibia

British interest and activities in Namibia were limited shortly before it became a German protectorate (De Villiers 1927:45): In 1878 Captain Sullivan of the H.M.S. Industry declared Walvis Bay and a radius of 15 miles "from the flag pole" as British territory and a resident magistrate was stationed in the bay. When missionary work in southern Namibia suffered because of Nama and Herero wars, the Rhenish Society petitioned Prince Bismarck of Germany for protection. Bismarck suggested to Britain a joint coastal exercise in the area but Britain declined and only promised protection for German citizens in the area. The Cape Government commissioner W. Coates Palgrave resumed an earlier bid to establish a British Protectorate in Namibia but was once again unsuccessful. The 1880 Nama and Herero war prompted the Cape Government to declare: "Her Majesty's Government believes that the Orange River should remain the northwestern boundary of the Cape Colony since plans to extend British jurisdiction over Great Namakwaland and Damaraland met with no support."

Another reason for Britain's lack of interest in Namibia is proposed in the "White Book" (1919), which Germany published in reaction to Britain's "Blue Book" (1918). In an annotated reprint of the latter, Silvester *et al.* describe the two books as follows (2003:xiii-xix): events described as "war atrocities" that took place during the German colonial period in Namibia were recorded and published in an official British "Blue Book". "In the aftermath of the humiliations of Versailles, and in direct response to the Blue Book, the Germans published a White Book that dwelt largely on atrocities committed by Britain in its colonies." The "White Book" states (1919:29) that South West Africa should have become an English colony but came into the possession of Germany as a result of blunders in English policy. "The real reasons why South West Africa became German and not English, may be told in a few words. England had shortly before established itself in Egypt, and wished to obtain the recognition of its position by Germany. The German Government, under Prince Bismarck, was prepared to do this and in return the English

Government declared its willingness to recognize the German acquisitions in Africa – acquisitions which, in comparison with the English, were of little significance. It was an open political bargain, and one need merely remark that ten South Wests do not equal in value one Egypt together with the Egyptian Soudan."

This "give-and-take"-relationship is verified by the fact that Germany and Britain agreed on 1 July 1890 (Carolyn Terry 1978:16) that Namibia's southern boundary would be the northern bank of the Orange River, which means the river flows "totally inside the South African territory". This is still the southern boundary although Chapter 1(4) of the Constitution rules (1990:2) that it "shall extend to the middle of the Orange River".

Johannes Meintjes (1970:269-272) provided another explanation for the low profile of English in Namibia: Prime Minister Louis Botha led the invasion into Namibia after dealing with a rebellion in South Africa among pro-German and anti-English Afrikaners who were against this action. After the Germans surrendered on 9 July 1915, Botha had to deal with his unpopularity among Afrikaners back home. "He felt that he could not appoint English-speaking South Africans to important administrative posts in South West as their feelings were extremely bitter towards the Germans and resident Afrikaners, most of whom had supported (the rebellion leader) Maritz. Botha saw to it that the word got round in Afrikaans circles that South West offered splendid openings for farmers and in the police force and administration, and hoped that this would be a help in the coming elections." In actual fact English officers filled the important posts in the new administration but this changed in 1924 when the National Party came to power in South Africa (Stals 2008:19) and after Afrikaans replaced Dutch as co-official language. Up to the regime change in Namibia in 1990, Afrikaans speakers dominated the civil service.

Table 3.8 below shows the number of English, German and Afrikaans whites from 1936-1981 (Kleinz 1981:92). The 1991 figures are census returns of that year and include all ethnic groups (Census Report 1994:65). The drop in Afrikaans speakers in 1981 is explained by Pretorius (p.c. 2002): Many whites left around 1979/1980 and 1989/1990 because of political uncertainty while many Afrikaans civil servants returned to South Africa in 1990. The exodus stopped in 1994 when South Africa became democratised. (See also 'Has the "white" Namibian a future in Namibia?' in O'Linn, 2010:283-291.)

Table 3.8 Growth in and decline of English, German and Afrikaans speakers, 1936-1991

Census	1936	1946	1951	1960	1970	1981	1991[19]
English	2 405	2 888	4 158	6 279	8 294	6 000 (0.6%)	10 941 (0.7%)
German	9 634	9 119	11 931	16 533	15 858	16 700 (1.7%)	12 827 (1%)
Afrikaans	18 088	25 313	33 091	49 421	61 910	51 300 (3.1%)	133 324 (9%)

(c) The Namibian Constitution

The researcher was with a young Oshiwambo worker in November 1989 when the critical last national election results from the North were announced on the radio. The man showed no emotion when the news broke that SWAPO had won and when the fact was repeated to him, he reacted with a question: "Will the war *now* be over?" In her study on post-1990 discourses among young Namibians, Kober (1997:137) cites a respondent as follows (verbatim): "A child say from northern Namibia that child will think of independence as the end of the war or the end of violence because as little as they were some of the children they watched how the SA Caspirs would come and flatten the mahango field and even destroy the houses and then they have to move to an uncle's house or so on. These were some of the things that were, not experiences in parts of the country like in Windhoek for instance…" This war *was* now over. Moreover, Independence "arrived through constitutional engineering, not through the typical decolonisation process or military conquest" (Gerhard Erasmus 2000:81) – as explained next.

The drafting and acceptance of the Namibian Constitution was run through its phases in 80 days. Apart from choosing a chairman, the first task of the Namibian Constituent Assembly was to accept the 1982 "Principles for a Constitution for an Independent Namibia" laid down by Canada, France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This was done within three minutes after Chairman Theo-Ben Gurirab (who subsequently became Minister of Foreign Affairs) introduced the motion. Gurirab stated at the time (Constituent Assembly Debates 1989:15-16): "Much has been said about these principles, particularly during the course of the election campaign, and by people who really had, at the very least, little to do with these principles, or at best, came around later to accept them… I know it very well, as you do, because I was intimately, personally involved with the 435-negotiation process. SWAPO is the only party around this table that actually participated in the negotiations."

[19] This column includes other ethnic groups too whereas the other columns refer to whites only.

The Constituent Assembly appointed a "Standing Committee on Standing Rules and Orders and Internal Arrangements (Constitutional Matters)" to represent the political parties of its 72 members (Assembly Debates 1990:148). The chairman described the reason for and mandate of the Committee as follows (p. 159) on 25 January 1990: "This Constituent Assembly couldn't sit here and draft a constitution, so therefore they appointed a smaller drafting committee of 21 Namibians (one lady and men)." They were "not limited from making comments or altering or debating it and then eventually adopting it by a two-thirds majority" and had to table the draft constitution containing 132 articles (p. 160) for consideration by the Constituent Assembly "as the final arbiters".[20] On 20 December 1990 Ruppel reported (p. 148) that the Committee decided as follows: the draft Constitution should be referred "to a panel of three eminent lawyers who will be instructed to settle the draft, incorporating the principles for submission to and further discussion by the Standing Committee". They should have had no previous involvement in drafting of proposals for any of the parties elected to the Constituent Assembly and should receive instructions from the Assembly. The lawyers were (p. 148) Adv. Arthur Chaskalson SC, Prof. Marinus Wiechers and Prof. Gerhard Erasmus.

The Constituent Assembly adjourned on 20 December 1989 and met again on 25 January 1990. The Draft Constitution was ready for tabling and from 30 January 1990 the draft articles were put one by one before the Constituent Assembly for consideration. It will be described next how Article 23 (Apartheid and Affirmative Action) and Article 3 (Language) were discussed. The run-up to and aftermath of both Articles are briefly described because of their relevance to the post-1990 position of Afrikaans in Namibia as well as Rehoboth.

(i) Article 23 (Apartheid and Affirmative Action)

Apartheid came to a final official end in Namibia and Affirmative Action into official being on 31 January 1990 when Article 23 (Apartheid and Affirmative Action) was adopted by the Constituent Assembly. Article 23 (1) of the Namibian Constitution reads (1990:14): "The practice of racial discrimination and the practice and ideology of apartheid from which the majority of the people of Namibia have suffered for so long

[20] The minutes of the Standing Committee gave the names as: Geingob, Ithana, Barnes, Bessinger, Staby, Thiange, Gurirab, Ruppel, E. Biwa, Katjiuongua, Angula, Pretorius, Tjitendero and Matjila.

shall be prohibited and by Act of Parliament such practices, and the propagation of such practices, may be rendered criminally punishable by the ordinary Courts by means of such punishment as Parliament deems necessary for the purposes of expressing the revulsion of the Namibian people at such practices."

Article 23 was accepted as follows (Minutes 31 January 1990:249): **Article 23 put.**

Mr De Wet (Aksie Christelik Nasionaal): "[S]eeing that there are such a lot of references in this Constitution to apartheid, surely I would like to know what we understand under the ideology of apartheid, what is the definition of apartheid, because anybody practicing or propagating such practices will be subject to punishment by Act of Parliament, and I think for clarity and to ease the mind of some of us in this country, we should get from the legal advisers a definition of what the ideology of apartheid means."

Chairman: "I think all the parties are clear, since we are in Namibia, what we mean by apartheid, but ACN could get a lawyer's advice on this. This was debated in the committee, the same issue was raised and other people are very clear on what is meant by apartheid." **Article 23 agreed to.**

- **Apartheid as applied to Coloureds and the Rehoboth Basters**

The researcher believes "what is meant by Apartheid" is captured particularly well in the Erika Theron Report of 1976. Note that the word "Apartheid" is never used in the report of 567 pages. It is termed as "separate development" throughout, e.g. on p. 23: The policy of "separate development" began regulating the relationship between whites and other population groups on a countrywide scale in 1948. Theron chaired the governmental Commission of Enquiry into Matters Concerning the Coloured Population Group (*Aangeleenthede Rakende die Kleurlingbevolkingsgroep*)[21] that was appointed in South Africa on 23 March 1973 to report on – among other things - "the progress of the Coloured population group since 1960" and to "identify impeding factors and restraints" (RSA 1976:iv). The opening sentence of the report is (p. 3): "The expression Coloured (*Kleurling*) is not positively defined in the Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950), but 'coloured' (*gekleurde*) is defined as somebody who is not a Bantu or a White (*Blanke*)." In a chapter on the Coloureds' statutory position as citizens (pp. 23-31) it is stated that the official policy of separate development had far-reaching implications on marriages and

[21] The quote is from the first report, dated 9 April 1976, which was published in Afrikaans.

sex, work, wages and tax, living quarters and property rights, education, administration of justice, criminal offences, public amenities and political powers. The test for contravention of the Immorality Act 23 of 1957 (forbidding sex between whites and non-whites) and Act 55 of 1949 (forbidding mixed marriages) was based on "appearance" and not descent. Other restraining acts were the Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953, Education for Coloureds Act 47 of 1963 and Group Areas Act 36 of 1966. In comment on consequences of Acts 23 and 55 the Commission notes that witnesses repeatedly said these acts not only made Coloureds feel like inferior beings; they were also made to feel so inferior that physical relationships or marriages between white and Coloured were viewed as immoral – as well as criminally punishable (p. 29).

At the funeral in Rehoboth of Dimitri Metzler (aged 36 years and a key informant in the current study) Revd Bernhard de Klerk recalled (16 December 2006), "Dimi used to say, people will forget what you said, people will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel." [22] During fieldwork in Rehoboth some members of especially the older generation of Basters spoke about their personal encounters with Apartheid. Humiliation was the common denominator. An elderly Baster interviewee vividly remembers how she was refused membership of the Windhoek library once she gave up her Rehoboth address. She was standing in the front of a queue. It is difficult to determine whether Apartheid will influence the future transmission of Afrikaans in Rehoboth. The Grade 11 questionnaire respondents of 2002 were around four years old at Independence in 1990 while the bulk of the Grade 11 respondents of 2008 were born in 1991.

Kober notes (1997:179-181) that students in her study tended to posit a clear break between the past, present and future and that there was little articulation of how events in the present were inferred by what occurred in the past. Students hardly drew on the discourse of race (p. 291) whereas adults did so extensively and in many different ways.

Classical guitarist Paul Kisting said the following in *Namibia Crossings*, a film by Peter Liechtl of Switzerland (2001), "I am a pastor, I studied theology. Under the Apartheid system in Namibia life was pretty hard for every black person in this country. When I

[22] Attributed to "Maya Angelou, an American poet, memoirist, actress and an important figure in the American Civil Rights Movement" (cited in *The Namibian*: 7 November 2008, p. 7).

grew up, I was struggling with many questions for which I couldn't get answers. This place[23] where we are staying right now - you can feel it, the tension is here, you know. The way people are treating you; the way people are talking to you. You automatically feel they don't regard you as somebody. So it will take years, in my personal point of view. The next generation will be the one who will reap the fruits of Independence." [24]

- **Library Apartheid**

In 1981 Namibia had a total of 188 181 library books, as shown in Table 3.9 below, for its some 1 million people. Large parts of the country had no libraries (J.H. van der Merwe [ed.], *National Atlas of South West Africa/Namibia* [25] 1983:71).

Table 3.9 Number and language of library books in 1981 (Van der Merwe 1983:71)

	Stock of library books (1981)		
Fiction	**adults**	**children**	**total**
Afrikaans	34 950	18 717	53 667
English	35 399	10 574	45 973
German	18 989	6 331	25 320
other	757	51	808
Non-fiction	52 316	10 097	62 413
Total stock	142 411	45 770	188 181

It is stated in the atlas that a society's needs for reading material "for leisure or study are largely satisfied by the supply of library facilities". The distribution of libraries is explained as follows (p. 17): "The service is concentrated mainly in the larger urban areas where the largest clusters of literate population are found." The fact that library Apartheid was strictly enforced (p.c. several Coloured and Baster informants)[26] is not stated in the atlas – and it was almost impossible to find documentary evidence in official records. Two librarians who were employed in governmental libraries in Windhoek at the time could not come up with concrete evidence but one said the Estdorf reference library "was dead until the University of Namibia was opened" (p.c. Windhoek, July 2004).[27]

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[23] The coastal town of Lüderitz.

[24] A documentary on Namibian music, shown in Windhoek in April 2003. Kisting's exact words were forwarded to the researcher on 23 June 2005 by RECK Filmproduktion – f.reck@bluewin.ch.

[25] Requested by the Directorate of Development Co-ordination, SWA.

[26] This prompted the researcher to pose the following question in her 2002 survey among adults in Rehoboth and Windhoek: "How old were you when you first set foot in a library?" (See Chapter 7.)

[27] Oral evidence on the subject is plentiful. Coloureds and Rehoboth Basters e.g. attest (p.c. over time) how they were refused books in Windhoek's public library when they stated their address.

The 'Public Libraries Report' for the Department of Library and Information Science of the University of Namibia was researched and written by Andree-Jeanne Tötemeyer.[28] In it she states (1991:4) that the Library Service for South West Africa was established in 1965 and on 1 November 1968 the SWA Library Service Ordinance and Regulations came into force. Tötemeyer cites from the Van Wyk Report[29] to the effect that 14 black Namibians were using the Windhoek Public Library in 1962. "Paragraph 19 of Library Service 15 of 1968, however, stipulated that 'all library services provided by the Service, a local authority or any public library, shall be provided separately for whites and non-whites'. Library apartheid thereby became legally binding and although it was not stipulated that 'there shall be no libraries for non-whites' the effect of Paragraph 19 was just that," notes Tötemeyer. On 17 February 1981 the public libraries were taken over by the Administration for Whites and the Libraries Ordinance of 1981 was promulgated (1983:71). According to Tötemeyer the issue of library services to blacks was never again raised in official papers after the Annual Report of 1973 and 11 years later "a major event in Namibian public library history took place when all public libraries were opened to all races as from November 1985" in accordance with an agreement between the Minister of National Education and the Executive Committee (of the Administration for Whites).

- **Affirmative Action**

Two acts were passed by the Namibian Parliament to deal with Apartheid. These were the Racial Discrimination Prohibition Act 1991 (Act No. 26 of 1991) and the Racial Discrimination Amendment Act 1998 (Act No. 26 of 1998) making Apartheid a criminal offence. Article 23 (2) of the Constitution provides first guidelines with regard to the application of affirmative action. This sub-article refers to the enactment of legislation that would provide "for the advancement of persons within Namibia who have been socially, economically or educationally disadvantaged by past discriminatory laws or practices" and to "achieving a balanced structuring of the public service, the police force, the defence force and the prison service". The Affirmative Action (Employment) Act (Act No. 29, 1998) was accepted on 3 September 1998 with the following objective: "To

[28] The research was done "by request of the Central Personnel Institution of the former Government in September 1987" (Tötemeyer 1991:4).

[29] SWA Administration. 1963. Report of the Commission on Libraries in SWA by J.T. van Wyk, E.C. Groenewald, C.A. de Wet. April 1963

achieve equal opportunity in employment in accordance with Article 10[30] and Article 23 of the Namibian Constitution; to provide for the establishment of the Employment Equity Commission; to redress through appropriate affirmative action plans the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced by persons in designated groups arising from past discriminatory laws and practices; to institute procedures to contribute towards the elimination of discrimination in employment; and to provide for matters incidental thereto." (Government Gazette No. 1962 of 24 September 1998.)

Pretorius from the opposition party Monitor Aksiegroep (MAG) and member of the Standing Committee of the Constituent Assembly, has been suggesting on an ongoing basis in Parliament and the media that the minutes of the Committee meetings should be made public. He makes the point that Constitution cannot be understood or interpreted "without the so-called 1982 Principles of the Western Five, SWAPO's constitutional suggestions and the (to date) secret minutes of the Sub-committee of the Constituent Assembly".[31] In Pretorius' view the Affirmative Action Act overrules the Constitution. He furthermore notes that the Namibian act copied the wording of the South African act and replaced the initial word "persons" with the phrase "designated groups". He voiced his opposition to aspects of Article 23 in the Committee stage of the Constitution and his opposition to aspects of Act 29 in the draft stage of the Bill in July 1998. Pretorius subsequently also voiced concerns about the way in which Act 29 is applied in Namibia at the moment (2007). Pretorius' concerns are outlined by him in *Parlementêre Slaggate* (8 July 2005, No. 30:4). In a heterogeneous country like Namibia, it is extremely necessary to have an idea of the numbers of each population group, language group, etc. Without real definitions and numbers there is no way in which Affirmative Action can be applied or evaluated or a cut-off point be reached (as it is done in international agreements on racial discrimination). Contrary to what the Sub-committee (i.e. Standing Committee) decided, the government used race or a specific colour group to identify "disadvantaged people". This immediately caused confusion because there is no racial classification and surnames had to be used as criteria. In practice everybody – black, white and Coloured – with especially Afrikaans surnames, were immediately viewed as "advantaged" people.

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[30] Article 10 (Equality and Freedom from Discrimination).

[31] Justice O'Linn (born 1927) has been stressing similar sentiments over the last 20 years – as pointed out by Du Pisani at the launch of O'Linn's new book on 14 July 2010 in Windhoek.

In Angula's abovementioned article of 31 August 2007 in *The Namibian* on Affirmative Action, he wrote that Namibia is trying to ensure that blacks who were left out in the past can enter mainstream economic activities, but many whites ask: "How far has Government gone in levelling the economic playing field and will the point come that it has been levelled?" One of his young Namibian interviewees, sales consultant Franzini Blom (23) who has a BSc in consumer science from US, stated that she could not find employment in her field. She felt it was unfair that she was required to have experience when applying for a job while blacks do not. Entrepreneur Thorsten Schneider (32) is quoted as saying, "I think there is definitely a future for everyone in this country, whites included. The fact that we are cut off from the mainstream employment market has made the whites more determined than ever to enter the business sector more vigorously." Schneider thought Affirmative Action was justified, but he urged Government to look very carefully at the situation right now and give the best job to the best-qualified person. "It is now a matter of survival, otherwise a lot of good, skilled people will be lost to the private sector." Farm manager Andrea de Waal (19) expressed frustration because she could not secure a bursary for further studies. Frans Nutt (16) noted, "We are separated by affirmative action" and he recommended that Affirmative Action be applied to both black and white children who were born after Independence (Angula 2007:2-3).

(ii) Article 3: Language

Article 3 of the Namibian Constitution reads (1990:3): "(1) The Official Language of Namibia shall be English. (2) Nothing contained in this Constitution shall prohibit the use of any other language as a medium of instruction in private schools or in schools financed or subsidised by the State, subject to compliance with such requirements as may be imposed by law, to ensure proficiency in the Official Language, or for pedagogic reasons. (3) Nothing contained in Sub-Article (1) hereof shall preclude legislation by Parliament which permits the use of a language other than English for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in regions or areas where such other language or languages are spoken by a substantial component of the population."

Shortly after the acceptance of Article 3, Ohly commented (1993:95), "The Namibian language scene is characterized by overt language planning and covert language disregard. The governmental language policy, based on internationalism with English as sole

official language, recognizes linguistic pluralism as a social factor. The main change in language strategy concerns the removal of Afrikaans from its former position as first official language beside English, relegating it to the mere function of a local language."

Erasmus notes (2000:91) that the Namibian Constitution does not protect and provide guarantees for linguistic and cultural minorities as found increasingly in Europe and elsewhere. He adds that Chapter 1 (6) of the South African Constitution is an example of the latter for it rules that the official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu and states: "Recognizing the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages."

When the lawyers reported on 8 January 1990 on their progress (Committee Debates, 15 January 1990: 25) Chaskalson explained their understanding of their brief as follows: "We were told that we should bring our document into line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was part of the 1982 principles… We saw our task not as devising a constitution for Namibia, but as trying to record the consensus as we understood it that has been reached." The Committee minutes then report, "after discussion of the objection of one party, the language clause was retained" (p. 35). Chaskalson is also quoted as follows in the minutes of 16 January (p. 151), "At the end of the day a court breathes life into a constitution… We deliberately didn't attempt to formulate it in our own language, because we had a working draft which had been through your committee and the principles had been accepted. We didn't want to interfere with it." Chaskalson furthermore added (p. 152): "I think we are really wasting time by dealing with the small matters of language. Principle, yes, but matters of language, it is not my job to try and write a constitution for you."

Chapter 3 of the Constitution deals with Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms. Article 11 (2) rules that arrested people must be informed "promptly in a language they understand" of the grounds for the arrest. Article 12 (1) (a) decrees that "all persons shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by an independent, impartial and competent Court or Tribunal established by law" – without mentioning language. When Chapter 3 was discussed among the Committee members and lawyers, Erasmus posed a question about

language in court hearings. Only the four sentences, which are given verbatim below, were minuted (Committee Debates, 17 January 1990:90) but not every word could have been recorded because there is clearly a break between Erasmus's last sentence and the next one of the Chairman.

Erasmus: "Is the intention that in certain areas courts may wish to use languages other than English?"

Chairman: "Yes."

Erasmus: "Then that should be cleared in the Constitution."

Chairman: "Since we have now adopted the language question peacefully we have to end here for lunch."

According to the minutes, citizenship was discussed when the meeting of the Committee resumed after lunch. Nothing more is minuted about Erasmus's language question.

- **Chronology of run-up to, acceptance and aftermath of Article 3**

In this section verbatim renderings of Article 3's journey through the Constituent Assembly and the Sub-committee in December 1989 and January 1990 are given - as documented in the official minutes. Brief accounts are also given of the run-up to Article 3 and of GRN's handling of language issues in the aftermath as well as Namibian voices of protest against the way in which Article 3(3) is being "kept dormant" (Legère 2001:21).

1981. In the introduction of the SWAPO document 'Toward a language policy for Namibia' Hage Geingob stated (1981) that Afrikaans became the lingua franca as a result of South Africa's illegal occupation of the territory, but the fact that Afrikaans is the mother tongue of the Rehobother population near Windhoek "certainly qualifies it to be considered a local language" (cited by Pretorius in a MAG press release, April 2001:5). Legère reiterates (2001:25) that during the years of the S.A. Administration Afrikaans became stigmatised as "language of oppression" despite the fact that it is mother tongue of Namibians like the Basters from Rehoboth and that such speakers had nothing to do with the apartheid policy pursued by the South African regime.

1989. Ruppel said about Standing Committee meetings held on 7, 8, 11 and 12 December 1989 that having been mandated to "receive and consider with appropriate urgency the proposals and ideas from registered parties in the Assembly regarding the

future constitution for Namibia", the following were identified as enjoying "broad agreement in principle" subject only to minor amendments and discussions: Preamble, General Provisions of the Constitution, Citizenship, Fundamental Rights, Electoral System, Procedure to amend the Constitution, Environment, the Language Issue, Definition of Territory, Education and Local Government and/or Regional Councils. From 30 January 1990 onwards the draft articles were put one by one before the Constituent Assembly for consideration. Article 1 (1), (2), (3) and (5) and Article 2 were adopted without argument.

1990. When Article 3 (Language) was put before the Constituent Assembly Pretorius voiced the following concern (minutes of the Constituent Assembly, p. 220): "I reserve my right to speak on this point. I put my point of view in the committee, but I want to thank the committee for a compromise, because I think as this clause now reads it is an improvement on the original. But I still believe it does not go far enough." Pretorius refers to Joseph Diescho who wrote in a letter to *The Namibian* (22 January 1990): "It is unfortunate that the Constitution is not firm enough on the necessary promotion of indigenous Namibian languages. The reading of the article makes it incumbent upon those who do not speak English to petition for the use of other languages in their schools… This exhibits insensitivity on the part of the elite legislators who have adopted the use of English as their own means to power. All languages should be official with the proviso that English is the national language and the language spoken by the majority in a particular region should accompany English in schools, business and government." Pretorius described this as a very good proposal and said he wanted to "leave it with the Assembly". No response to Pretorius was minuted. The chairman said, "I just want to read the article and I think it is very clear," (p.221). He then read Article 3, adding, "It was so clear, we were told it causes problems for nobody. It is even covered in my Damaraland and therefore it stays." The minutes then report, "Article 3 agreed to".

1991. Pretorius asked in the National Assembly whether the GRN was considering legislation with regard to the use of languages other than English for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in regions or areas where such other language or languages were spoken by a substantial part of the population. The prime minister responded that to make such provision was not mandatory and the Government did not consider the tabling of any legislation in this connection now or in the near future. They

felt strongly that the submission of such legislation would undermine the promotion of English as official language. Sub-Article (1), which rules that the official language of Namibia will be English, is a binding instruction. The ruling contains a principle of public policy that carries over an instruction to the state organs about the use of English as the only official language. Article 3 is one of the corner-stones of the Constitution (Hansard 16 May 1991).

1992. Pretorius asked the Minister of Education and Culture, Nahas Angula, what the GRN proposed to do about Constitution stipulations that another language than the official one might be used as MOI (*Monitor* May 1994:10). The minister replies, "In exercising this right a number of constraints should be borne in mind. Firstly, this is not a Fundamental Right. Secondly, this right is subject to the requirements of the law. Thirdly, practical and economic consideration should be taken into account otherwise we may end up with the proverbial Tower of Babel situation… Let us, however, not return to the dark ages of Verwoerdian cultural purity where culture was identical with skin colour and 'baasskap'."

1992. At a national conference on the new policy in Ongwediva from 22-26 June 1992 Angula called history "the enemy of the future" and said historical experience had "fragmented the national consciousness". He added (Angula 1993:18-19) that Article 3 (2) must be read with the qualifications of Article 19 that the protection of individual cultural rights does not "impinge upon the rights of others or the national interest".

1993. Legère noted that the 1994 SWAPO Plan of Action (for the elections) neither refers to the implementation of this language policy statement nor elaborates on any activity in this field for years to come (Legère 1996:74).

1993. Prime Minister Hage Geingob declared in an interview (*Tempo* 19 March 1995) that the SWAPO manifesto of 1989 was for "the drafting of a constitution and not really a mandate for government" (cited in *Monitor* April 1995:12).

1996. Legère commented as follows (1996:62) on suggestions by the opposition party MAG in October 1995 for the introduction of a language policy in accordance with Article 3(3): "This document included some valuable suggestions that seemed to be ignored simply because they were admitted by the opposition. The MAG motion could be seen as a valuable initiative to overcome an obvious stagnation in language policy formulation."

1996. The Rehoboth Baster Kaptein Hans Diergaardt, the Baster Legislative Council and members of the Baster Community claimed in an appeal to the UN Human Rights Committee that they had been denied the use of their mother tongue Afrikaans in administration, justice, education and public life (see **3.6** below).

2000. It was recommended at a conference 'Making the right choices' in Okahandja (Trewby and Fitchat [eds.] 2001:241) that the existing language policy should be revised in order to address the role of all Namibian languages and their use in formal domains; the use of Namibian languages in all government agencies should be regulated by a Language Act; an independent statutory Language Board should be established to implement such language policy, protect language rights and promote and coordinate language development.

2000. Erasmus noted that constitutions are not self-enforcing; they merely create a value framework and scope for action. It depends on individuals, civil society, the media and political parties whether and how this potential is used (Erasmus 2000:93-93.) He asked whether the Namibian Constitution can be used "to block new policies and their implementation" (p. 95).

2002. The researcher was present in May when Minister of Education John Mutorwa quoted the first half of Article 19 to an audience of Rehoboth Basters on the Sam !Khubis battle terrain before introducing the disqualifiers of the second half with the word "but". Clearly the Constitution *is* blocking Article 3 (3) by means of Article 19 (Culture). The latter reads (1990:12): "Every person shall be entitled to enjoy, practise, profess, maintain and promote any culture, language, tradition or religion subject to the terms of this Constitution and further subject to the condition that the rights be protected by this Article do not impinge upon the rights of others or the national interest."

2000, 2001. Erasmus observed that there "does not seem to be a major language issue in Namibia" for languages other than English "are still widely used in commerce, the media and civil society" (2000:91). Legère (2001) had a different view of the language situation at the time. He compared the use of Namibia's national languages versus the official language English in the following domains (2001:53-55): official, politics, religion, education, information and employment. Legère set out to show how an official language affects "the status and actual use" of other languages and concluded, "As long as the official policy in Namibia does not foresee any substantial use of national languages in

formal domains… the use of these languages will continually decrease, a process which will even affect informal use."

Table 3.10 Findings in table format of Legère (2001) on the use of Namibian languages

No use of national languages				
Parliament	Admin.: Central, Regional and Local	Defence Forces	Police	Law courts (Central and Lower)
Teachers' training	Colleges	University	Mass media (TV)	
Use of both English and national languages				
Religion	Grades 1-3	School subject in Grades 1-12	Radio	Book production (fiction and text books)

1996, 1999, 2002, 2008. Surveys over 13 years among Grade 11s (see Chapter 7) yielded the following data with regard to mother tongue transmission to the next generation: In a countrywide survey among 336 Grade 11s of all main Namibian languages in 1996, 57% wanted L1 English for their future children. Table 3.11 reports on the preferences of KKG-speaking Grade 11s in follow-up surveys in Rehoboth in 1999, 2002 and 2008. Note that only nine (24%) wanted their mother tongue (MT) for their children while 23 (62%) prefer English. Of the 15 Rehoboth respondents with MTs other than KKG and Afrikaans (not shown), eight wanted L1 English and only two wanted their MT, Setswana and Oshiwambo. This means in a sample of 52 non-Afrikaans Grade 11s only 14 (27%) envisaged transmission of their MT as L1 to the next generation.

Table 3.11 L1 preferences of 37 KKG Grade 11 learners of Rehoboth for future children

L1 preferences of Rehoboth KKG Grade 11s for the future generation								
	n	**English**		**KKG**		**Afrikaans**		**German**
1999, 2002	19	12	63%	5	26%	2	11%	
2008	18	11	61%	4	22%	2	11%	1
	37	**23**	**62%**	**9**	**24%**	**4**	**11%**	**1**

Data on languages that 18 KKG learners of 2008 liked, wrote, read and spoke best and found best for work in Table 3.12, show how English dominates in all five of these spheres – to the detriment of their mother tongue. (The same trend is present among the Afrikaans Grade 11s that participated in the survey - as shown in Table 7.24 on p. 203.)

Table 3.12 Language abilities and preferences of a sample of KKG Grade 11s of Rehoboth

Language preferences of Rehoboth KKG Grade 11s (n=18) of 2008				
	English	**KKG**	**Afrikaans**	**other**
work	18			
read	16	2		
write	12	4	2	
like	10	4	1	3
speak	3	13	2	
	59 (66%)	**23 (26%)**	**3**	**5**

The researcher believes serious note should now be taken in Namibia of what the sociolinguists have been saying over time with regard to the importation of new languages by governmental decree. English is in its global spread denuded from its "cultural atmosphere" - unlike e.g. French and Spanish (Kleinz 1981:309) and could therefore "encourage national uprooting". For Haugen (1987) "the imposition of another language merely for its national and international advantage is disruptive of the life pattern, leaving people uprooted, lonely, aggressive, and unsocial" (cited by Fourie 1992:177). Cluver noted that English, as a world language and symbol of independence, could in the long term integrate Namibians socially, economically and politically. In the short term English could, though, lead to a period of uncertainty in which many Namibians may feel like "linguistic foreigners" in their own country (Cluver 1992:135). Vic Webb asserted (2001:177), "linguistic dominance can lead to cultural shift and even alienation (*vervreemding*)".

3.5 Education as macro-variable in language endangerment

As prologue to Chapter 7 aspects of Namibia's past and present educational environment are discussed below in terms of Adegbija's observation (2001:285) that the educational domain in Africa is "a major arena for the language shifting pull".

(a) Historical background

Before 1990 education was compulsory only for whites. Unequal access to education has been described as "one of the hallmarks of the apartheid regime" (NHDR 1997:4). SWAPO's Election Manifesto (1989) elaborates (cited by Gretschel 2001:113-4): "One of the most glaring inequalities perpetrated in Namibia by the colonialists has been the gross neglect of the education of the indigenous population as a deliberate policy designed to subjugate the masses of our people through the perpetuation of ignorance and illiteracy." The Wiehahn Commission notes (1989:27): "The full bench of the Supreme Court of South

West Africa, comprising five judges, recently found that vastly disparate sums of money were spent on the education of various population groups pursuant to the provisions of Proclamation AG 8 of 1980." The aforesaid is illustrated by the data in the table below.[32]

Table 3.13 Estimated education expenditure in 1981/2 along with population figures

Namibia	(R million)	%	per pupil (R)	%	1981 census	
white schooling	22	28.2	1,210	69.4	whites	75 600
black schooling	46	58.9	232	13.3	blacks	865 000
Coloured schooling	10	12.8	300	17.2	Coloureds	69 300

(Data source: Fraenkel and Murray 1985:22, 5)

The pre-independence education scenario is described as follows in *SWA/Namibia Today* (1988: 67-68): "In terms of Proclamation AG 8 of 1980 a representative authority has the power to provide education to members of its population group up to standard 10; to train teachers for primary schools under its jurisdiction; and to build and run schools, training colleges, hostels and other institutions for such education." Teacher training is described as a few representative authorities that have teachers' training colleges, such as the Khomasdal Teachers' Training College, Ongwediva Teachers' Training College in Owambo and the Windhoek Teachers' Training College. The report omits the fact that the latter college could accommodate well over 1 000 students, but averaged an annual enrolment of some 150 "for it admitted only white students" (Harlech-Jones 2001b:144). It is now clear why Gretschel (2001) views education as "one of the GRN's biggest post-independence dilemmas" and why he calls the task of the first minister who had to unite 11 ethnic education authorities into one "Herculean" (2001:113-4).

The general lack of education of Namibians at Independence also has a non-political side to it, though. Low education levels were more the rule than the exception a century ago – even among leaders. Louis Botha (1862-1919), who led Union troops into

[32] Current actual expenditure on Namibian learners must be put in the following perspective. Robin Sherbourne noted in 2006 that N$2.2 billion of the N$3.2 billion that the Ministry of Education received was for personnel expenditure (Institute for Public Policy Research [IPPR] Opinion No. 18, March 2006). The Minister of Education John Mutorwa reportedly said in the National Assembly on 29 April 2004 that the actual resources that were made available to individual primary school learners were "relatively little, to the point of being eroded" (National Society for Human Rights [NSHR] 2003:9). Lindeke (fn. 2010:82) explained that substantial resources were committed to personnel costs "trying to attract new entrants to the teaching profession and to retain existing teachers in the face of new employment opportunities after independence and HIV/AIDS impacts".

Namibia and negotiated Germany's surrender in 1915, had "little formal education, learning what he could at a small Free State school, from the wandering Dutch *meester* and what his parents could teach him" (Meintjes 1970:3-4). Jan Smuts (1870-1950), who was in later life chancellor of the University of Cambridge and succeeded Botha as prime minister, was a herdsman on the farm where he grew up and had no schooling until he was 12 years old (Christopher Danziger 1978:2, 16, 24). Botha married a woman of Irish descent and learnt to speak English in time but "because of hecklers who had mocked his accent and occasional slip" he remained reluctant to speak English in public for the rest of his life. Smuts spoke with an even stronger accent than Botha but he had a command of English, "which allowed no criticism from anyone" (Meintjes p. 187).

The Namibian politician Andreas Shipanga (born in 1931 in Owamboland as one of six of a "neither rich nor poor" family) recounts his days at a Finnish Lutheran school as follows (Sue Armstrong 1989:1-3.): "From the age of five each of us had to help till the soil and herd the cattle… at least one of us always had to be out with the herds. It was unusual for me if I got to school for more than two days a week on the rota my mother worked out … The school was seven miles from home and we had to be there by 10 am." In a public lecture (Windhoek, 23 November 2005) Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, a founding member of SWAPO who was born in 1924 in the Oshikoto region, noted that as a child he worked on the family farm "as African children do". Both Presidents Nujoma (1929) and Pohamba (1935) have short schooling histories. (Data cited in Hopwood 2008:240, 243.)

Access to education was more or less equal while it was in the hands of missionaries in missionary schools and wandering teachers in home schools. A turning point was reached when the Germans made education compulsory for whites only in Namibia in 1906 (C.J.C. Lemmer 1958:21-22). Compulsory education for whites was introduced in the Cape in 1905 and J. Shingler notes (1973:55-56) that the last two educational administrators, Sir Langham Dale and Sir Thomas Muir, introduced school segregation in the Cape. The School Boards Act was enacted in 1905 to provide free and compulsory education to white children between the ages of 7 and 14 years. Shingler states furthermore that Africans, Coloureds in the Cape and Indians in Natal "were deliberately excluded from the scope of the new law". During the post-War Reconstruction (Anglo-Boer, 1899-1902) the British laid the foundations for a policy of white supremacy under which public funds were used

to establish and sustain an educational system designed to serve the needs and cater to the interest of an exclusive caste. African education was basically religiously oriented (Shingler p. 155) and of unscientific character (p. 184) and the two races differed as follows in their approach to education (p. 48). For Africans education was the means to modernity; for Afrikaners it was the means for "preserving the *volk".* The latter links up with the *Christelike Nasionale Onderwys* ("Christian National Education") model of the Apartheid regime. Giliomee explains its onset (2003:219): D. F. du Toit, editor (1878) of the Cape newspaper *Di Afrikaanse Patriot,* tried to counter the emphasis on British history in schools by producing a nationalist history of the Afrikaners in heroic terms. Close to his heart was a demand for Christian National Education, which was strongly propagated by neo-Calvinists in the Netherlands.

A commission of inquiry into non-white education in South West Africa (1958) made far-reaching recommendations (Fourie 1992:21). It meant larger state involvement in education for blacks but was also the beginning of separate education for whites and non-whites. All schools followed Cape Education Department curricula after 1978. Fourie observes that blacks were dissatisfied with the "Christian and national character" of the education system for in actual fact only the white Afrikaner was included in the "national".

(b) Article 20 (Education) of the Namibian Constitution

Article 20 of the Constitution stipulates (1990:12-13): "All persons shall have the right to education. Primary education shall be compulsory and the State shall provide reasonable facilities to render effective this right for every resident within Namibia, by establishing and maintaining State schools at which primary education will be provided free of charge. Children shall not be allowed to leave school until they have completed their primary education or have attained the age of sixteen (16) years… All persons shall have the right, at their own expense, to establish and maintain private schools…"

How free is Namibian education in practice? *The Namibia Labour Force Survey 2000: Final Report of Analysis* (Ministry of Labour, November 2002) notes (2002:79): "While the policy of free basic education is applauded, there is a need for Government to strengthen and monitor its actual implementation". The principal of a Khomasdal high school finds political declarations of "free education" misleading "for it does not tally with the realities" (p.c. 2006). Some parents, who can afford it, misuse this decree to skip

school fees ("school development funds"). "The hands of principals are tied. I have an outstanding amount of N$300 000." Thea Seefeldt, Deputy Education Director for the Khomas Region, told a Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resources, Social and Community Development (Brigitte Weidlich, *The Namibian,* 9 July 2008:2): "Politicians should please refrain from saying primary education is free." One school principal suggested that the Government should pay the fees of those children exempted from them. *Parliament Journal,* a publication of the Namibian Parliament, reported as follows on the meeting:[33] "Defending their position… educators cautioned politicians and the general public to refrain from the notion of free primary education, claiming that government subsidy to schools was extremely low to cater for their various needs."

(c) Mother tongue instruction

Erasmus noted (2000:91) that the Constitution reflects "a significant compromise" in Article 3 where it determines English to be the official language, although the use of other languages in schools, both private and Government-subsidised, is allowed. James Suzman (2002:14) found it significant that Namibia has accepted a policy of MT instruction in the first three school years for all language communities, "which does not only recognize the cultural value of a language, but also the importance of mother tongue education in literacy development". The actual situation in Namibia is different, though. Table 3.14 gives the picture in 2007 and shows which languages in Namibia rank highest with regard to MT instruction in Grades 1-3.

Table 3.14 Languages according to highest % MT instruction in Grades 1-3, 2007 (EMIS)

rank	Mother tongue	speakers	MOI	rank	Mother tongue	speakers	MOI
1	Rumanyo	5 529	85%	8	German	590	67%
2	Oshindonga	22 708	84%	9	Afrikaans	10 403	66%
3	Rukwangali	12 824	82%	10	Otjiherero	13 674	53%
4	English	1 065	80%	11	Khoekhoegowab	21 329	46%
5	Silozi	2 642	79%	12	Setswana	505	26%
6	Thimbukushu	3645	79%	13	Ju/'hoasi	3 725	5%
7	Oshikwanyama	43 192	70%				

Table 3.15 below shows increases in schools with English as MOI and decreases in ones with Afrikaans. In 2007 only 66% of Afrikaans learners received MT instruction.

[33] 'School development funds under attack.' Vol. 6:2; May-August 2008, p. 19.

Table 3.15 Schools with selected languages as MOI in Grades 1–3 (EMIS 2001:43, 2007)

MOI	1992	1998	2001	2007	MOI	1992	1998	2001	2007
Oshiwambo	560	625	638	709	Afrikaans	116	100	97	91
English	138	147	175	237	German[34]	8	10	11	9
KKG	60	59	64	84					

After 1998 EMIS reports stopped mentioning the language of Namibian teachers. In that year only 460 (2.6%) of the 17 085 teachers had English as home language (EMIS 1998:95). Since there is widespread evidence that basic literacy is "best learned in the best-known language" (Harlech-Jones 1996:100), the matter will not be argued here. Nancy Dorian raised an issue (1998:10) that has not received due attention in the MOI debate in Namibia. The poor fit between spoken language and orthography makes English (and French) "such unnecessarily difficult languages in which to become literate".

(d) Learner outcomes

Raising the enrolment rate to 93.5% by 2000 (NHDR 2000/1: xiv), lowering the age of learners[35] and improving teacher qualifications are successes of the new education system (see Appendix p. v). However, about half of all Grade 10s have been failing annually since 1994. Table 3.16 shows the number of Grade 10s who have failed in 2001-2007.

Table 3.16 Number and % of Grade 10s who failed between 2001 and 2007

	candidates	failed	%		candidates	failed	%
2001	25 080	13 447	53.6	2005	30 058	16 135	53.7
2002	27 675	15 002	53.2	2006	31 495	17 017	53.0
2003	28 487	15 665	53.9	2007	31 961	16 741	52.4
2004	28 870	15 682	53.3	**total**	**203 626**	**109 689**	**53.9**

A non-repetition policy was introduced in 1996 (EMIS 2001:57), which meant that Grade 10s who failed had to leave school unless they were not yet 16 years. When asked about the whereabouts of the Grade 10s who failed from 1997-2007 countrywide, an EMIS spokesperson admitted (p.c. 2008) that it is impossible to keep track of them. Some enrol at other institutions to improve their grades, but lack of motivation cause many not to succeed. At a seminar of the Rehoboth Development Forum in 2007 it was

[34] Note that only 1.1% of Namibian households speak German, according to 2001 census returns.
[35] In 1992 only 51% of the Grade 1s were at the ideal age of 6-7 years while by 2007 only 18% of the total of 570 623 learners in Grades 1 to 12 were too old for their grade (EMIS 2007).

noted that an average of 261 Rehoboth learners[36] fail Grade 10 annually, which means that 9315 failed over a 15-year period. One of the presenters, Lyndon Januarie, said Government would have to look at changing its policy on school transfers and on Grade 10s, who should be allowed to repeat the grade "instead of being thrown out to join the escalating unemployment statistic" (*The Namibian* 14 November 2007:3).[37]

Several reasons have been given for the poor learner outcomes in Namibia. The researcher believes the following three remarks top the list: "In the past, children and parents alike were deprived of opportunities to get to know an educational environment and develop an educational tradition." (Gretschel 2001:113.) O'Linn noted (2003:26) that the country "was, and still is, a difficult country to develop". In the view of John Clegg (2001:212) silence on the part of policy-makers about the role of language in educational failure "is one of the most typical and striking features of English-medium education systems in Africa".

Ronald Somaëb, regional secretary for information and media coverage of the Namibian National Teachers Union (Nantu) in the Khomas Region, is quoted as follows by Jo-Maré Duddy (*Republikein,* 26 July 2007:1-2): "It may sound far-fetched and against the Constitution to re-instate corporal punishment but something will have to be done to restore order and discipline in the schools. The system of automatic promotion, which means that a learner may only fail three times up to Grade 10, must at the same time be seriously reconsidered for it does not encourage discipline and dedication in the lower grades at all" and plays a definite role in the ever-growing "case of rotten apples" that land in Grade 10 each year and who have nowhere to go after they have failed school. According to Andree-Jeanne Tötemeyer, a lecturer at UNAM, the majority of "the cream of the Namibian secondary school leavers" have "poor English writing proficiency" (*New Era* 30 October 2009:11). Tötemeyer has also pointed out (reported in *Republikein* 28 February 2010:3) that more than 40% of the Namibian teachers who taught L1 or L2 English in 2008 did not have English up to Grade 12. She added: The struggle of teachers and learners with English has a noteworthy influence on results in all school subjects and result in extremely poor reading, writing and speaking skills.

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[36] For a sense of scale: Rehoboth had 540 Grade 10s in 2001, according to 2001 EMIS data.

[37] Of the 540 Grade 10s, 360 (67%) were Afrikaans (EMIS 2001). Note that the researcher was privy to Rehoboth's EMIS data of 2001 on disc. EMIS reports do not provide such separated data.

3.6 The Rehoboth Basters, the United Nations and the Namibian government

The Rehoboth Basters lost all political power when the Constitution (Schedule 8, 1990:77) repealed the Rehoboth Self-Government Act of 1976 and Government of Rehoboth Powers Transfers Proclamation of 1989. In terms of Schedule 5 (1) they also lost land that they regarded as theirs (1990:74): "All property of which the ownership or control immediately prior to the date of Independence vested … in the Government of Rehoboth… shall vest in or be under the control of the Government of Namibia."[38] In this section attention is turned **(a)** to the pre- and post-1990 petitioning of the Basters to the League of Nations and United Nations, **(b)** to their efforts to get international recognition as indigenous people of the country and **(c)** to their court case against the Government of the Republic of Namibia (GRN) about lost land. This provides background to the Basters' "stormy relationship" (Vossen 2003:35) with the GRN, which is mirrored in their relationship with the S.A. government before 1990 – shown in **(d)**. The section also introduces Baster activist Jacobus Beukes (1885-1965), a primary source in the discussion of aspects of the Basters' language in Chapter 6. His language struggles exemplify the difficulties that the Basters had with the language of successive administrators.

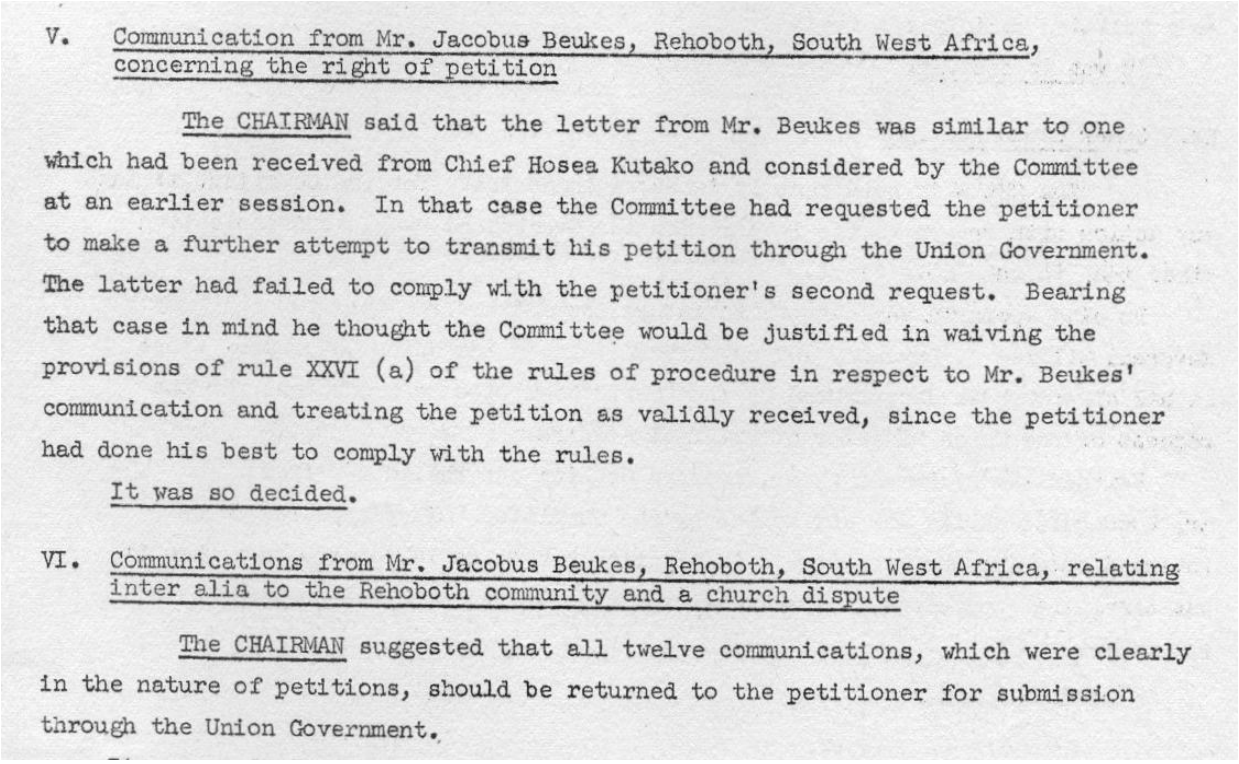
(a) The Rehoboth Basters' petitioning to the League of Nations and the UN

The UN became aware of the unhappiness of the Basters with South Africa's occupation of Namibia because of (among others) the relentless petitioning of Jacobus Beukes who became so renowned that he was called Koos *Petisie* ("Petition") or Jacobus *VVO* ("UN") in Rehoboth (O'Linn 2003:19, 181). Beukes petitioned the Mandates Commission and the League of Nations from 1925 and when the UN replaced the latter, the UN up to 1963. O'Linn believes Beukes "remained a thorn in the flesh of the South African Administration for years" and that he could be regarded as a pioneer in the political awakening of Namibians and their attempts to appeal to the international community for assistance. Beukes, who knew no English, began petitioning in Dutch but he eventually had to switch to Afrikaans (see his letters of 1926 and 1956, Appendix p. vi). Beukes directed all sorts of letters and telegrams to heads of state and dignitaries worldwide – including to the queen of England - and kept meticulous record of his efforts.

[38] Kaptein Diergaardt vacated his seat in the Constitutional Assembly on 19 December 1989 after introducing his party's (Federal Convention of Namibia) constitutional proposal for a Federal Republic on 6 December 1989 (Assembly Minutes pp. 136, 147). He was replaced by M. Kerina.

Some documents are handwritten, but the bulk consists of duplicates or carbon copies of his typed letters, reports and petitions plus the replies that he received from the UN and others. Mrs Olivier owns some 40 files of Beukes's papers. The collection had not been seen by an outsider or scientifically accessed when Mrs Olivier gave it to the researcher on loan for some three years in 2001 with the request to sort it for her. Below a document from the collection is shown: Page 7 of UN minutes of 1960 that were sent to Beukes.

Fig. 3.1 Scan of original UN minutes in the Beukes collection, dated 20 January 1960



V. Communication from Mr. Jacobus Beukes, Rehoboth, South West Africa, concerning the right of petition

The CHAIRMAN said that the letter from Mr. Beukes was similar to one which had been received from Chief Hosea Kutako and considered by the Committee at an earlier session. In that case the Committee had requested the petitioner to make a further attempt to transmit his petition through the Union Government. The latter had failed to comply with the petitioner's second request. Bearing that case in mind he thought the Committee would be justified in waiving the provisions of rule XXVI (a) of the rules of procedure in respect to Mr. Beukes' communication and treating the petition as validly received, since the petitioner had done his best to comply with the rules.

It was so decided.

VI. Communications from Mr. Jacobus Beukes, Rehoboth, South West Africa, relating inter alia to the Rehoboth community and a church dispute

The CHAIRMAN suggested that all twelve communications, which were clearly in the nature of petitions, should be returned to the petitioner for submission through the Union Government.

The UN minutes have the following heading: "Communication from Mr. Jacobus Beukes, Rehoboth, South West Africa, concerning the right of petition." Page 1 reads: 10 February 1960; Committee on South West Africa, Seventh Session. Summary Record of the one hundred and twenty-sixth meeting held at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 20 January 1960, at 11.25 a.m. Contents: Examination of petitions and communications. (UN General Assembly A/AC.73/SR.126.) Another set of UN minutes in the Beukes collection has the following heading: "UN General Assembly A/AC.73/SR.132, 22.9.60; Sam Nujoma at Committee table for hearing of petitioners, 132nd meeting NY held on 8.7.1960." The document proves that Nujoma was at the UN at the time of Beukes's petitioning, which means that he knew of Baster resistance to South Africa's

occupation of Namibia. The researcher finds what follows evidential of a deliberate rebuff of the Basters by the GRN in 2001: Aspects of Namibia's history are depicted in two murals on opposite sides of a stairwell in the office complex of the prime minister. One, (dated 1964) pictures the colonial era and the other (dated 2001), the freedom struggle. While the latter one was in progress in 2000, the researcher was privy to a preview of the drawings. The absence was noted of the Rehoboth Basters as well as Ben Ulenga (who broke with SWAPO) from the draft sketch of Namibians who were political prisoners on Robben Island. [39] She drew the artist's attention to the two omissions and offered to bring him a photograph of Ulenga that she had taken as well as information on the 1915 Sam !Khubis battle from Britz *et al.* (1999). The artist accepted both photograph and text but when the mural was unveiled[40] some months later, Ulenga was included but the Basters not. The Basters are also not depicted in the 1964 mural.

O'Linn throws light on another member of the Beukes clan, namely Hermanus (Maans) Beukes, a "rebel and firebrand from the Rehoboth Baster Community" (2003:181-184). Like his son Hans Beukes had done before him, Hermanus Beukes left Namibia in 1973 along with political activists like Kenneth Abrahams, a medical doctor of Rehoboth, in order to go to New York to petition the UN. Hermanus Beukes, however, never reached the UN and returned to Namibia within a year. O'Linn notes that Beukes, who was Afrikaans, "apparently found it difficult to adapt in the foreign world, where English was the most used medium of communication".

As noted above, Gaseb addressed the issue of historical exclusivity in 2000 on behalf of the Basters. He also read a paper at a conference, 'Public History: Forgotten History' (UNAM 2000) on the absence of Damaras from accounts of the 1904-08 war (Silvester *et al.* 2003:357). Other members of the Damara community have indicated that they feel marginalized by history - as reported by the NSHR (2003:88): At a meeting on 15 April 2003 at Omitara a section of the Damara community claimed that GRN historians had distorted and discounted the contribution of the Damara people in the struggle for the country's independence. They provided a list of Damara heroes whom they wanted

[39] Ulenga, a former SWAPO guerrilla fighter and central committee member, resigned in 1998 as High Commissioner in the UK in protest against Nujoma's 3rd term as president (EIU Country Profile 2001:7) and subsequently established a new party, the Congress of Democrats (COD).
[40] The mural was not discussed in Parliament, according to Pretorius (p.c. Windhoek, 2005).

GRN to officially recognise by honouring them at Heroes Acre in Windhoek. They argued that the Cabinet did not keep its undertaking that the input of all people would be sought in the identification of people whose names would be engraved in golden letters and be buried at Heroes Acre. They reminded Cabinet of the undertaking that the process would be transparent as well as "representative, all-inclusive and consultative". In the *Windhoek Observer* (20 December 1997) Emil Appolus questioned the status of Hendrik Witbooi (pictured on the Namibian dollar) as national hero of anti-colonial resistance in view of the fact that he supplied troops to assist German operations over a ten-year period. This gave rise to a heated debate in the newspaper (fn. in Jeremy Sylvester *et al.* 2003:166).

Suzman saw the perception "that SWAPO intentionally neglected areas that do not support it traditionally" verified while he was an election observer in the national elections of 1999. He notes (2002:15, 33) that he was present when SWAPO representatives who campaigned in opposition strongholds suggested that "continued support for the opposition would ensure continued neglect by the government". When President Nujoma was campaigning in Rehoboth before the local authority election of 2004 he said:[41] "It is only the Swapo Party Government that has a comprehensive development agenda for the town of Rehoboth." NSHR director Phil ya Nangoloh notes in 'The state of national ethnic and linguistic minorities in Namibia' (1995:4) that the GRN does not recognise the Basters as a traditional community although the Namibian Traditional Authorities' Act (1995) describes a traditional community as "an indigenous, homogenous, endogamous social grouping of persons comprising families from exogamous clans which share a common ancestry, language, cultural heritage, customs and traditions, who recognises a common traditional authority and inhabits a common communal area and may include the members of that traditional community residing outside the communal area". A member of such community is "a person either or both of whose parents belong to the traditional community, and includes any other person who by marriage to or adoption by a member of that traditional community or by any other circumstance has assimilated the culture and traditions of that traditional community and has been accepted by the traditional community as a member thereof". Citing from *Tempo* (1 October 1995), the same report notes that the GRN has

[41] Reported by Lindsay Dentlinger, Monday 10 May 2004, FrontPage Local News Namibian http://www.namibian.com.na (accessed on 29 September 2004).

withheld socio-economic development from the Rehoboth Gebiet because the Basters "decided to challenge in a court of law the alienation of their land[42] by the Government".

(b) The Rehoboth Basters' quest for acceptance as an indigenous community

In 1992 the Rehoboth Basters declared themselves indigenous[43] to Namibia in terms of the UN Convention (No. 169) concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries of 5 September 1991. (In an interview in 2002 Kaptein McNab said he believes the Basters are indigenous to Namibia "like a plant that can grow nowhere else". The Rehoboth Basters only came into being as a nation when they settled in Namibia in 1870.) The UN rules that "Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply." The Basters subsequently submitted a case through Dr Y.J.D. Peeters[44] to the 11th Session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations and the 45th Session of the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the UN Commission on Human Rights, Geneva (July-August 1993). Their appeal was posted on the web page of 'The Fourth World Documentation Project' (http://www.cwis.org), a service provided by The Center for World Indigenous Studies from Olympia, Washington with the following editorial comment: "Ed. note: This paper, presented at the 11th Session of the Working Group, was submitted by European immigrants to Namibia in the hopes that they could claim to be 'indigenous peoples'."

The researcher believes the editor "ironised" the Basters with the quotation marks and his choice of words. [45] Zandberg (2005:30) draws attention to the same matter, calling it "negative labelling". A Baster delegation attended the UN meetings in Geneva in 1994, 1995 and 1996. One of the delegates related (p.c. Rehoboth 2002) how they had to appeal to the NSHR in Windhoek to explain their position after some 80 indigenous groups rallied against them in 1996.

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[42] The local government in Rehoboth owns no land and is "totally dependent" on the supervisory Ministry (Dubresson and Graefe (2001:64). The Gebiet was cut in two by new regional boundaries.

[43] The UN (2003) steers clear of defining "indigenous". Under the heading, "Who is indigenous? Who decides?" reference is made to a description of indigenous peoples found in a study by Special Rapporteur José Martínez Cobo that is "erroneously" called the UN definition. In practice the United Nations "asks whether indigenous groups identify themselves as such" (UN 2003:n.p.).

[44] http://www.halcyon.com/pub/FWDP/Africa/rehoboth.txt (accessed on 3 July 2000).

[45] I.e. in the way "irony" is defined in *Shorter OED* (1973:1113): "A figure of speech in which the intended meaning is the opposite of that expressed by the words used; usually taking the form of sarcasm or ridicule in which laudatory expressions are used to imply condemnation or contempt."

The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO)[46] denied the Basters membership in 1994, as noted in Chapter 2, because they were perceived to be "European and pro-Apartheid and pro-colonial rule". The decision was based on arguments of Weiss (1984) and also of Spelbos, who was writing a thesis on Baster history at Leiden University at the time (Zandberg 2005:26). Spelbos submitted a four-page letter on 20 February 1990 to the UNPO in which he claimed that the Basters are not "a people". The letter was almost entirely copied into the recommendation report (Zandberg, p. 28). The Basters only received UNPO membership in 2007. A new Baster publication (February 2007, Volume 1, p. 20) noted that the 64 UNPO members (representing 200 million people) have joined together to protect their human rights, preserve their environments and find non-violent solutions to conflicts that affect them. The publication noted that the Basters' application for UNPO membership was misunderstood and viewed negatively by the *Republikein*: The newspaper carried a report with the misleading heading of *Basters verkla Regering by V.N.* ("Basters lodge complaint against Government at UN"). The Baster publication notes that the UNPO "is not a court where somebody can lodge a complaint".

(c) Rehoboth Basters vs. the GRN – and UN views on it

When the Rehoboth Basters (i.e. J.G.A. Diergaardt *et al.*) lost a case against the GRN about lost Rehoboth land as well as a subsequent appeal in Namibian courts, they petitioned to the UN Human Rights Committee on 17 November 1996 in terms of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its accompanying Optional Protocol that entered into force for Namibia on 28 February 1993. The Basters claimed that they were victims of a violation by the Namibian State in terms of articles 26 and 27 of the Covenant:[47] They were firstly forced to use English in Namibian court proceedings (a language in which they were not fluent) and secondly, civil servants in Rehoboth were instructed in 1992 not to reply to written or oral communications in Afrikaans, although

[46] A democratic membership organization representing peoples' rights in international and national forums, which was established on 11 February 1991 in The Hague (www.unpo.org).

[47] The abbreviated text of Articles 26 and 27 of the Covenant (UN 1993:30) reads: "All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law… the law shall… guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against any discrimination on any ground such as…language…" (Article 26.) "In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language." (Article 27.)

they were perfectly capable of doing so.[48] The HR Committee found the appeal admissible in 1998 and requested the GRN to provide written explanations on the substance of the Basters' claim. No such information was received, despite two reminders.

On 6 September 2000 the HR Committee ruled as follows: It was found that Basters substantiated neither their land claim nor their claim that the use of English during court proceedings had affected their right to a fair hearing. The Basters were, however, victims of a violation of Article 26 of the Covenant with regard to their second language claim. The GRN was obliged to provide the Basters and other members of the community with an effective remedy by allowing its officials to respond in other languages than the official one in a non-discriminatory manner and to ensure that similar violations did not occur in the future. The Committee requested the GRN to supply information within 90 days about the measures taken to give effect (UN 2000:140-147). (Committee member Rajsoomer Lallah stated in a dissenting opinion that the Basters "seemingly still hanker after the privileged and exclusive status they previously enjoyed in matters of occupation of land, self-government and use of language under a system of fragmented self-governments which apartheid permitted", 2000:159.) The reference librarian of the UN Information Centre in Windhoek enquired on behalf of the researcher whether the GRN had responded to the Committee's request. The Department for Public Information at the Dag Hammarskjöld Library in New York reported on 20 August 2001 that "no follow-up is listed for Namibia", which means that no reply was received from the GRN.

The matter received scant media attention. Moreover: The journalist Bernice Mouton had the language issue wrong. She stated in national radio and television broadcasts that the UN acknowledged "the fact that there was discrimination against the Baster community during a court case by the late Hans Diergaardt on the land issue". The researcher believes that the Basters should have been given credit for their stance with regard to Afrikaans language rights. Note the conclusion of Theo Du Plessis in his overview of post-1994 language rights activism (*taalregteaktivisme*) in South Africa (2004:181). Litigation with regard to language rights, the strongest form of language rights activism and probably the only real guarantee that change will take place and

[48] The breakdown of the language situation "in and around schools" when English was implemented in 1992 as MOI (Appendix p. vii) shows that English was almost absent across the whole of Namibia.

rectifications (*regstellings*) will be made (Martel 1999), is not actually being pursued yet by any language community in South Africa. Du Plessis believes language-activism is an important element of the process "to democratise a multilingual community" (p. 169).

(d) Final remarks on the two sub-themes of the thesis

Evidence was provided in the whole of section **3.6** to support the two thesis sub-themes: (a) Negative portrayal of the Basters in literature and the media. (b) The Baster leadership's lack of proficiency in the language of Namibian administrators. As shown on p. 90, O'Linn noted that the Afrikaans-speaking Baster activist Hermanus Beukes found it difficult "to adapt in the foreign world, where English was the most used medium of communication". Jacobus Beukes petitioned in Afrikaans to the UN up to 1964 (e.g. on 28 September 1964 to Secretary General U. Thant – Beukes collection). UN responses were in English (see Appendix p. viii) and had to be translated locally into Afrikaans. A Rehoboth magistrate told Beukes in 1926 that his writs to the League of Nations should be clear (*duidelik*) and "rather in English". (Appendix p. ix - also showing the inability of Beukes to express himself clearly in Dutch. The influence of Dutch, German and English on the Afrikaans of Beukes is illustrated in Chapter 6.)

The following provides additional evidence with regard to the Baster leadership's earlier lack of English and lack of proficiency in standardised Afrikaans: The language of the interim South African regime was English from 1915 to at least 1923. English letters were e.g. written by Major W.P. Rossouw, the Military Magistrate at Rehoboth (14 May 1917)[49] and Magistrate G.M.S. Forsbrook of Rehoboth (24 November 1923). On 20 May 1924 Col. De Jager wrote in Afrikaans/Dutch to Jacobus Beukes that he had noticed *onkunde en misverstand* among the burgers. The Baster Raad at first refused to sign the SWA Administration's agreement that stipulated how Rehoboth should be governed but relinquished in 1923 (Britz *et al.* 1999:30). A witness before the Geard and Allen Commission testified (1939:9) that he agrees with De Villiers (1927) that the (1923) agreement is "too intricate" (*te ingewikkeld*). Another witness stated (1939:31) *alles is nog ongewikkeld* (sic) – *die wetgewing en al die dinge… dit is onmoontlik om te stem vir iets wat jy nie verstaan nie…* ("everything is still intricate – the laws and all the things… it is impossible to vote for something that you do not understand…").

[49] NAN SWAA A 206/3

Hostility by officials towards the Basters dates back to when they were still living in the Northern Cape. Missionary Heidmann notes in 1866 from De Tuin (Vollmer 1997:11-12) that the Basters had to trek to Namibia after the Calvinia Divisional Council rejected their appeal to lease 300 000 morgen land for their herds as "too shameless" to forward to Parliament. The following remarks by Namibia's South African Administrator E.H.L. Gorges set the tone on 18 September 1917 in a letter from Windhoek to the Secretary of Defence in Pretoria (affidavit, De Villiers 1927:307-308):[50] "The Basters are peaceful and obedient to the laws, stupid (*dom)* but unusually suspicious, they have an exaggerated notion of their own value (*hulle besit 'n oordrewe denkbeeld van hul eie gewig*)…" Gorges added that a petition of 22 August from the Baster Kaptein and *Raad* ("Council) to the Governor General should not be taken "too seriously". In a report of the Union of South Africa to the League of Nations a magistrate asserted (1925:15) that the Basters do not make the best use of what they possess and are "lazy, careless and backwards (*zorgeloos en achteruitgaande*) by nature". In 1934 Administrator Conradie found that the Basters were not yet developed enough to manage their own affairs (Britz *et al.* 1999:38). When the Basters learnt that Conradie was influenced by a magistrate's remark that they inherited "very few of the good and all of the bad qualities of their white forefathers", they angrily protested to the South African prime minister. They were then told that mistakes had slipped into the Afrikaans translation (Oosthuizen 1993).

Some thirty years on the following altercation between the Basters and the South African Prime Minister John Vorster (who succeeded Verwoerd) took place: In 1969 the Basters protested vehemently when Vorster called them *beneuks* ("cantankerous"). Councillor C.A. Olivier of the Baster Raad told Administrator J.G. van der Wath that he was shocked by Vorster's remark, adding: "We are willing to co-operate but we do not want matters forced on us. The Basters offer their co-operation but when things come to a head, we are called obstinate, refractory and as the Prime Minister added, beneuks too… Is it because the Prime Minister is the head of a white government that he calls us beneuks… What would have happened if I had said that to him?" Van der Wath responded by saying that Vorster "did not mean it maliciously" (*Die Suidwes-Afrikaner*, 22 April 1969:5). Vossen (2003) notes - another thirty years on - that the Basters' "stormy"

[50] German-Baster relations during the German regime are discussed in Chapter 5.

relationship with the GRN is to blame for the fact that investment in big businesses in Rehoboth has not happened and that local businesses go under (Vossen 2003:35).

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter answers the question of Part 1 of the thesis: How were Afrikaans and the Rehoboth Basters positioned at Independence in 1990? The hypothesis that present-day Namibia constitutes a hostile environment for the continued existence of the Rehoboth Basters as a distinct ethnolinguistic community and for the stability and growth of their mother tongue Afrikaans was illustrated on a macro level. It was shown that there is no political will to recognise and/or protect the minority rights of the Basters and Afrikaans. Evidence was provided to back up the researcher's claim that the spread of Afrikaans in Namibia - past and present - is far less than claimed in some Afrikaans circles. The effect of the sudden importation of English as official language and MOI on especially Afrikaans and KKG and on learner outcomes on a national level was addressed in the chapter and will be illustrated on both macro and micro levels in Chapters 7-9. The chapter also provided answers to three language-political questions of Edwards (1992, in Grenoble and Whaley 1998:25-26) in the context of the Basters and Afrikaans.

Table 3.18 Answers to language-political questions (16-18) of Edwards (1992)

Edwards (1992)		Rehoboth Basters and Afrikaans
16	Rights and recognition of speakers?	Basters not recognised as traditional authority
17	Degree and extent of official recognition of the language?	Afrikaans only recognised as one of Namibia's nine main national languages
18	Degree of autonomy or "special status" of the area?	local government in Rehoboth has limited funds and power; new regional boundaries cut Rehoboth in two (fn. p. 93)

Finally, with regard to "historical presence" (Coluzzi 2009:148) as possible indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality: As shown below in Chapters 4-6, both the Basters and Afrikaans can claim "historical presence" in Namibia. The researcher believes this can be regarded as an indicator of present-day ethnic/linguistic vitality but she does not believe that it would by itself support the future maintenance of mother tongue Afrikaans and Baster nationhood and/or identity. As shown above, Afrikaans is viewed with hostility by the GRN as "the language of the suppressor". It was also shown that the GRN does not recognise the role of the Rehoboth Basters in the country's struggle for freedom.

Chapter Four

Genetic roots and genealogical origins of the Rehoboth Basters

Van waffer kraal? ("From which kraal[1] [are you]?) – Rehoboth, July 2002

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains "from which kraal" the Rehoboth Basters stem. Two dates in their pre-history - 1647 and 1713 – are singled out for attention in order to dispel notions that they resulted from brief meetings with whites. After derogatory references to the Basters in early literature are briefly noted, their genetic roots and genealogy are discussed with the aid of primary records (**4.2a-b**). In the process ancestral differences between them and their Coloured Rehoboth counterparts become clear while intermarriage explains why some members of the Baster community learnt German. A table with surname data from Rehoboth surveys in 2002 and 2008 in **4.2c** and in the Appendix (p. xii) indicate that erstwhile dominant Baster pioneer clans in the Afrikaans family trees are losing ground. The tables serve the double purpose of illustrating the "representational adequacy" (Wölck 1985:33) of the sample profile of the current study.

1647. On 25 March 1647 the Dutch boat *Haerlem* stranded at the Cape, compelling some 60 seamen to remain there for a year (Anna Boëseken 1952a:13). The prolonged contact between the Khoi and the Dutch that followed, triggered events and processes that ultimately led to the formation of the hybrid language Afrikaans[2] and the hybrid nation the Rehoboth Basters. Positive reports about conditions at the Cape of two of the shipwrecked seamen, Janszen and Proot, backed up the VOC's decision to establish a replenishment station for their fleet en route to the East and build a protective fort on land (pp. 13-14). The two men believed that 70 men and four gardeners could carry out the task. Proot declined the offer to establish the station. Jan van Riebeeck, a discharged

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[1] Anna Bayer (born 1942) was surprised when a Baster youngster refused food at a reception for visiting Dutch students and asked the quoted question by way of saying "you act like a stranger". It is interesting to note how well *kraal* has travelled through time, space and languages. Van Riebeeck (1652) used *corael/crael* (Portuguese *curral*) in his Dutch journals in the sense of an enclosed area for livestock or living quarters for inlanders (Boshoff and Nienaber 1967:369). In her memoires of District Six in the Cape, Linda Fortune explains (1996:69) that each of the few open spaces in the District and even a very big open yard were called a *kraal*. G.S. Nienaber (1989:618) cites a comparable sentence (from Schultze 1907) in Khoi: *mâ !haos kxoëtsa?* ("a person from which tribe are you?").

[2] Jan Rabie (as noted by G.J. Gerwel in 1976 [1985:50]) often expressed the view that Afrikaans was one of South Africa's "most proud multi-racial achievements".

VOC[3] tradesman, witnessed what the *Haerlem* survivors had achieved at the Cape and offered to fill the position – probably to regain lost honour - although charges of private trading against him were not proved (Boëseken 1971:21).

Since the first party of some hundred people could not sustain themselves, a few burgers were freed from VOC duties in February 1657 (Boëseken 1952a:40). Within a year there were 15 farmers, 11 artisans and 24 *knegte* ("men servants") among the *vryburgers* ("free burgers") while the Cape gradually changed from a refreshment station to an agricultural colony (Edith Raidt 1991:83). Both J.A. Wiid (1945:42) and F.C.L. Bosman (1945:188) regard 1657 as the birth year of the Afrikaner. The latter believes "the true basis of the Afrikaner nation" was formed when the first Dutch vryburgers established themselves as a permanent white nation in South Africa. This puts an outburst of President Nujoma into context: On 28 March 2001 he ordered the Ministry of Education to stop teaching the history of "the likes of Jan van Riebeeck and Simon van der Stel" adding that "these people don't belong to Namibia" (Namibia Human Rights Report [NHRR] 2001:60, citing from *The Namibian online* 29 March 2001).

1713. The loan farm system of 1713 made it possible for Cape burgers to go beyond the first mountains (Giliomee 2003:38). Genealogical records show (4.3 below) that Baster beginnings peaked after Dutch-speaking stock farmers were given grazing and land rights and migrated to the arid Northern Cape. Some of the Dutch farmers took Khoi women as wives. Their offspring were ostracised by both the Dutch and the Khoi and in time they formed communities that roamed around on the outskirts of the Colony. By 1860 the generic term Basters referred to various groups who were distinguished by the name of their leader or abode and Basters who gathered at the missionary station De Tuin were initially called *De Tuinse* Basters but their name changed to *Rehoboth* Basters (Nienaber 1989:889-890) after they settled in 1870 at the abandoned Namibian missionary station with the Biblical name Rehoboth (Genesis 26:22), which means *ruimte* ("space").

4.2 Genetic roots and genealogical records of the Rehoboth Basters

Legassick (1969) points to "a striking gap" between the descriptions of traditional Khoi societies whose movements can be traced to the early 18th century and the emergence in the last third of the century of an identifiable class of Basters in the

[3] *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company (Giliomee 2003:1).

Kamiesberg area, Namakwaland (cited in T.H. Links 1989:3). The Rehoboth Basters' origins and genealogical records that are discussed below fill the gap to some extent. It shows a direct link between the stock-farming descendants of the first vryburger generation of 1662 and the eventual genesis of the Rehoboth Baster nation two centuries later. The data from a wide range of sources that are presented in this section show four broad phases in the Basters' evolution into a nation of mixed origins.

- The **first phase** began when the Dutch stock farmer expansion towards the Northern Cape frontier reached the Olifants River around 1730 (S.A. Louw 1947:29). Farmers grew socially and physically close to the Khoi[4] and racial mixing took place because of a huge gender imbalance among whites (Giliomee 2003:18).
- In a **second phase** the offspring of Dutch-Khoi unions gathered in communities on the outskirts of the Cape Colony and intermarried. Missionary Heidmann began documenting the tail end of this phase in 1865 when he joined the Basters at De Tuin in the Northern Cape. (He remained with them in Rehoboth up to 1907.)
- A **third phase** began towards the end of the 1800s and beginning of the 1900s when German soldiers and settlers had children with Rehoboth Baster companions and/or wives. This phase has two German eras that overlap – as shown below.
- A **fourth phase** was heralded by the arrival of newcomers to the area after WW1 when the Union of South Africa took over the administration of Namibia – as shown in the Rehoboth surname lists of Lichtenecker (1931) and Hitzeroth (1964/5), cited by Limpricht (2002:32). (See Appendix pp. x-xi of the thesis.) Pioneer Baster clans and Coloureds from especially the Northern but also the Western Cape began to assimilate thereafter.

(a) Phases one and two: Dutch and intermarriage eras

By the time Van Riebeeck left the Cape in 1662 there were already 60 vryburgers with "well known Afrikaans surnames" like Botma, Claessen, Cloete, Louw, Van der Merwe, Mostert, Visagie, Visser and Van der Westhujsen (Wiid 1945:42). The following surnames from this roll are listed for Rehoboth in the Telecom Namibia Directory 2003/2004 (the number of inscriptions is in brackets): Claasen (11), Cloete (53), Louw (24), Van der Merwe

[4] The spelling used by Links (1989) Stals (2001) and Ponelis (2002) is followed. Early missionaries and travellers used the term *Namaqua* for the Khoi on both sides of the Orange River. In this thesis "Nama" refers to the Khoi with whom the Basters came into contact in Namibia after 1868.

(1) and Visagie (3). When Fischer compared old Cape family names in De Villiers (1893) with his own Baster data of 1908 and projected it back over the generations (which he calculated between 25 and 30 years) he invariably reached "a Boer that lived in the Cape at the time". He concluded that men bearing the names Beukes, Bezuidenhout, Coetzee, Cloete, Diergart, Kruger, Schalkwijk, Steenkamp, Van Wyk and Van Zyl formed the genealogical core of the Rehoboth pioneers of the 1870s (Fischer 1961:23). Fischer notes that most of the families that he interviewed in Rehoboth at the time could name their grandparents as well as great-grandparents. Though the religious-conservative trekboer fathers did not tolerate coloureds in their families, they allowed no "wild relationships" between their sons and *Hottentotten* girls (Fischer 1959:46-47). Therefore missionaries had to marry the couples and after they were given a number of small stock, some utilities, a Bible – if available - and a fatherly blessing, they had to trek. Trekboers who gave their Baster children their family names and regarded them as their legal successors were despised and socially ostracised by the ones who lived with white women in "real" marriages (Fischer 1961:119-120).

Some early authors claimed Basters were the result of "unlawful" unions between whites and blacks. De Villiers e.g. notes[5] (1927:18): "Without doubt the Boers sometimes had unlawful intercourse (*onwettige verkeer*) with Hottentot women, but judged by the well known self-restraint of the Boers with regard to the native races, this could only have happened in isolated cases and by way of exception." De Villiers also asserts that there were very few, if any, marriages because until the beginning of the 19th century all marriages had to take place in Cape Town with both parties present. Early Cape travellers did mention marriages between Dutch trek farmers and Khoi women, though. Jacob Gordon, an emissary entrusted in 1779 with the task of keeping peace on the Cape's northern and eastern frontiers, mentioned in his travel diary on 28 December 1785 (cited by Johan Mocke 1997:14) that he met a woman called Coopman in the vicinity of Klawer. Gordon described her as "a Hottentot woman who had been married to a European named 'Coopman' "[6] and he went on to say, "The Basters, although Christians, may not perform a

[5] De Villiers might not have been the author of this sentence, which was repeated in early literature: Rademeyer (1938: 16-17), Weder (1946:12) and also Viall, who repeats the essence of it (1959:2) in a synopsis of the history of the Basters, which he wrote for the S.A. prime minister.
[6] The Koopmans were among the first Baster families who settled in Rehoboth in 1870.

service among the citizenry." Supporting evidence was found in an archival list of loan farms in the *Onder-Olifantsrivier* ("Below Olifants River") from 1770-1800 (Appendix, P.L. Scholtz 1964:181). "Baster-Hottentot" Hendrik Coopman is named as owner in 1771 of the farm *Twee Fonteijnen*.

The Erika Theron Report describes (1976:458) what it calls the extent of coloured infiltration into the white bloodstream (*Gekleurde infiltrasie in die Blanke bloedstroom*) "a highly controversial question" and notes that many South Africans knew of individual cases of assimilation – "a phenomenon that has been confirmed by genealogical research".[7] In his contentious[8] genealogical study (1985) on racially mixed marriages and liaisons at the Cape from 1652-1795 (*Groep Sonder Grense,* reprinted in 2005), H.F. Heese notes that archivist M.K. Jeffreys was the first researcher "who injured the traditional image of the white South African". The extent of racial mixing among white Cape settlers was revealed by her in the magazine *Drum* (1959).

J.A. Heese, who subsequently revised Colenbrander's work on the descent of the Boers (H.F. Heese 2005:15), found that an average of 7% of all Afrikaner ancestors were of coloured descent. Revd Mocke (cited above) of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in the Northern Cape gathered contributions from various authors in *Nieuwoudtville, Stories van ons Eeu, 1897-1997* (1997). He cites J.S. Marais (1988) as follows (p. 25): Basters came into being in the last decades of the 18th century when sons of the white colonists who moved into the remote northwestern regions of the Colony took Hottentots as women (*vroue*)[9]. Their descendants formed a community apart from whites and Hottentots and married among themselves. Because of pressure from the colonists they kept on moving deeper into the interior. In 1899 the church council of Loeriesfontein barred Basters as members of the congregation fearing that they would have a harmful influence on the whites and detrimentally affect the *Zaak des Heeren* ("the cause of the Lord").

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[7] The report states that the Afrikaner nation is the only white ethnic group that was formed indigenously from the original European components. "The other white ethnic groups, e.g. the English, Jews, Greeks, Portuguese, Germans, etc. are mainly nationality groups with a common sense of identity that are rooted in a connection with an overseas land or ethos."

[8] It was a "political bone of contention" (*turksvy*) for the Right but since then the political arena, agendas and subjects have "changed radically" (Heese 2005: i-ii). The following is indicative of the far Right mentality of the time: An archivist (p.c. Cape Town, February 2008) and his colleague had to physically restrain a member of a prominent Afrikaner family who tried to burn an incriminating document with a lighter in the archives. This person afterwards charged them with assault.

[9] Like *Frau* in German, the Afrikaans word *vrou* could denote "woman" as well as "wife".

Rademeyer's linguistic study of 1938 was clearly written in an era when "the traditional image of the white South African" was at its foremost. He calls (1938:5) Coloureds and the Rehoboth Basters backward (*'n agterlike klompie wesens*) adding (p. 26) that they are morally on a very low level. The motto of the women is "to *baster* forward and not backwards" therefore "lawful and unlawful" marriages between coloured women and whites ("in most of the cases Germans") are not rare. Rademeyer also states that "real Boer surnames" (i.e. "surnames of emigrants who came to South Africa many years after the foundation of the Cape") among the Coloureds do not necessarily prove descent "since the Coloureds often assumed the surnames of whites with whom they came into contact". The dates and surnames in the Table 4.1 on p. 104 show how often emigrant surnames *did* prove descent. Missionary Heidmann and Basters supplied Fischer (1961:29) with names of 21 families who completed the 1868 pioneer trek from De Tuin to Rehoboth. Fischer added eight names to the list.

In comment on the traditional Khoi marriage between Willem van Wyk and the daughter of a Nama captain in the 18th century (Elphick 1988), Heese notes (2005:46) that this marriage possibly enjoyed "no *de jure* or church sanction" while Zandberg (2005:31) states that the "Dutch colonist Van Wijk married a Khoi woman" in the 18th century. Heese also lists (p. 100) the marriage of Johannes (v.d.K. [10]) Claasen and Cornelia van Wyk in 1751 and Louis Cloete of the Swartland and the *Hottentotin* Elizabeth around 1767. Ary van Wyk married Anthonetta Campher in 1711 and Willem van Wyk of the Swartland ("possibly") married the *Hottentotin* Lysje v.d.K (p. 136). According to Scholtz (1964, fn. 36, citing from archival sources) a Willem van Wyk was among ten farmers who set off to the Hottentots in Namakwaland in 1738 with ten wagonloads of goods to exchange for livestock. "All kinds of unlawful practices ensued" in the process: Willem van Wyk of Kleinfontein (farm *Windhoek*) e.g. "married" a relative of a Namakwa captain.

This researcher believes the removal of inverted commas in all references to cross-cultural marriages of yesteryear is long overdue. Unfortunately the intermediate stage between the Dutch and the German eras, in which the Basters intermarried, remains shrouded. A comparison is made in Table 4.2 (on p. 105) between birth records of Mrs Anna Morkel of Rehoboth and Maria de la Queillerie, wife of Jan (Johan Anthonisz, son of

[10] Heese (2005:26, 33) explains that *van die Kaap* (or *van de Caab*) means of slave descent.

Anthonij) van Riebeeck, to shed some light on cultural and demographic continuities that stretched over a period of 300 years - like child-naming, child-spacing and family sizes.

Table 4.1 Cape European/coloured marriages in the 1700s (Heese 2005) compared to Heidmann's Baster name list (for 1870) and Telecom Namibia inscriptions (2003/4)

Heese's list (2005:93-141)	**date of marriage**	**Rehoboth, Telecom Namibia (2003/4)**	**Baster pioneers (1870) listed by missionary Heidmann**
Bezuidenhoudt	1772	21	Bezuidenhout
Bok	1713/1772	(Bock) 24	Benz
Brits, Roedolf	1722	(Britz) 5	Jan, Pit Beukes
Claasen	1676/1746	(Klaazen) 26	Josef Claasen
Cloete	1767	58	Cloete
De Klerk, Barend	1737	33	De Klerk
Diergaard	1767	(Diergaardt) 48	Christiaan Diergaard
Engelbrecht	1752	17	Paul Diergaard
Frans	1727	1	Dragoener
Groenewald	n.d.	13	Morkel
Hendriks	1786	2	Hendrik Mouton
Jacobs	1743	1	Jakob Mouton
Jansen	1711	20	Jakobus Mouton
Koopman	1763	6	Slenger
Louw	1768	28	Christoffel Zwarts
Lucas	1799	3	Jan Zwarts
Maasdorp	1702	4	Hermanus van Wyk (kaptein)
Matthys	1793	4	Cornelius van Wyk
Metzler	1773		Christoffel van Wyk
Mostert	1759	3	
Muller	1774	1	
Nel	1797	11	**Pioneer names added to the 1870 list by Fischer in 1908**
Olivier	n.d.	25	
Petersen	1791	4+3	Coetsee
Pretorius	1714	4	Engelbrecht
Scholtz	1730	7	Koopman
Smith	1796	5	Steenkamp
Swart(s)	1779	(Swartz) 20	Vries
Van der Bergh	1776	1	Bok
Van Wyk	1711/1768	160	Vrey
Van Zyl	1729	8	Witbooi
Wagner	1796	1	

Maria de la Queillerie, who married Jan van Riebeeck on 28 March 1649, was from a prominent Huguenot family. (It is unknown when Mrs Morkel married and whether any of her children died.) Maria's mother was Maria du Bois from Dordrecht and her father Abraham, a cleric, studied at Leiden and preached in Dutch and French. The maiden name

of Mrs Morkel was Buis, which indicates a Huguenot ancestor. According to frontier records of 1780 Coenraad de Buys, a Huguenot descendant and holder of a loan farm near the Boesmans River in the Zuurveld, lived with a Baster woman with whom he had seven children (Noël Mostert 1992, in Giliomee pp. 74-75). Heese (2005:99) lists the marriage between Harmen Buys from Batavia and Sara van Saloor, a former slave and (p. 28) refers to Coenraad Buys and Elizabeth "born in the land of the Makinas behind the Tamboekis" (cited in De Villiers and Pama 1981) whose children were baptised. The Telecom Namibia Directory (2003/2004) lists Buys four times for Rehoboth and eight times for Khomasdal.

Table 4.2 Birth records of Maria de la Queillerie and Anna Morkel of Rehoboth[11]

Born to Maria de la Queillerie in 14 years, 7 months in the Netherlands, Cape and Batavia			**Born to Anna Morkel (Buis) in 15 years, 9 months in Rehoboth**	
names	**born**	**died**	**names**	**born**
Anthonij	13 March 1650	9 Sept. 1651	Daniel Petrus	23 July 1937
Lambertus	11 Aug. 1651		David Jacobus	11 April 1939
Abraham	18 Oct. 1653		Andrias Matheus	3 Dec. 1940
Anthonij	8 Dec. 1655	20 Feb. 1656	Martins	28 June 1942
Maria	June 1657		Ema Elizabeth	20 Dec. 1945
Elizabeth[12]	25 Sept. 1659		Hermanus	20 Dec. 1945
Joanna	23 Jan. 1662	21 July 1665	Willem Adolf	11 Oct. 1948
Antonia (F)	6 Nov. 1663		Thomas	25 Sept. 1950
a son	26 Oct. 1664	26 Oct. 1664	Andrina Berdina	6 May 1953
Maria de la Queillerie, born on 28 October 1629, died on 2 November 1664			Mr Morkel, the husband, died on 30 October 1952	

(b) Phase three: two German eras

- **The first German era**

Adolf Bernhardt, a member of the *Schutztruppe* ("Protection Troop") from 1894 onwards, relates the following in his memoirs[13] (MS n.d.: 30): Major Leutwein joined his regiment in Rehoboth in 1898. In the evenings officers and horsemen (*Reiter*) competed to dance with the Baster girls to the sound of the trumpet corps. After one such night

[11] Source: Boëseken (1971: 9, 24-27, 57, 90, 92-93) and a typed inventory of Mr Morkel's estate (Rehoboth, 5 January 1954, see Chapter 6) in the Jacobus Beukes collection. Beukes acted as scribe in Rehoboth and was often made testator of wills. (According to Article 35 of the Namibian Administration of Estates Act 66 of 1965, deceased wills are open to public inspection.)

[12] Van Riebeeck's mother was named Elizabeth and presumably also Mrs Morkel's mother. Both women named their children according to Dutch/Afrikaans traditions. Both e.g. adapted the name of their husband for their last daughters: Antonia (1663) and Andrina (1953).

[13] A descendant of Bernhardt gave the researcher a copy of this manuscript in June 2007.

Leutwein said to his men that were lined up on parade before him "he would have nothing against older[14] members of the Schutztruppe who marry Baster girls" (*wenn alte Schutztruppler sich mit den Bastardmädchen verheirateten*). This statement was held against Leutwein in later years,[15] notes Bernhardt, adding that there was no racial differentiation at the time and that those who wanted to be judgemental should try and imagine themselves back in the bygone years.

Leutwein served in Namibia from 1894-1905 and became Governor in 1898. He does not mention this incident in his book of 1906 but noted (1997:232) that a census of 1 January 1903 returned 3391 white men in the country and 1249 white women. Of the 622 married men, 42 were married to native (*eingeborenen*) women. In mixed State marriages the children automatically belonged to the nationality of the father. This also applied to the marriages of white men and native women, which meant that a race of basters (*ein Stamm Bastards*) with the nationality of a white nation was taking root. Leutwein adds (p. 234) that it is self-evident that the increase of this race was not desired and warned that if the matter was not taken care of, "there could be a baster colony (*Bastardkolonie*) instead of a German one in 50 years time".

Bayer, an officer of the Schutztruppe, observed (1906:643) that a large number of Germans, especially soldiers, lived in *Basterland* at the time. Because there were only a few German women, marriages between whites and Baster girls took place and according to Bayer these marriages "were almost always happy". Of the eight marriages between members of the Schutztruppe and Baster women at the time, six were church marriages, while two were church as well as civil marriages. The children in these marriages were mostly sent to Germany to be educated. Many Basters objected to these marriages on the grounds that Baster girls had a farm and at least 50 or more cows as dowry whereas the German soldiers would only bring savings of some 2000 mark into the marriage.

On 22 April 1910 *Windhuker Nachrichten* ("Windhoek News") suggested measures against the increase of racially mixed people (*Mischlinge*). The number of mixed children rose from 1112 in 1908 to 1571 in 1910; 67 of them were Rehoboth Baster children. The

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[14] With "older" Leutwein might have referred to members who had finished their contractual five years. Bernhardt mentioned (p. 1) that part of the agreement made in Germany to prospective members of the Schutztruppe was that those who wanted to remain in Namibia after five years in service would receive 5 000 hectares of farmland plus animals and equipment.

[15] *Diese Aeusserung ist ihm später ausgelegt worden.*

numbers increased in Windhoek from 68 to 186 and in Karibib from 12 to 107. "These numbers tell a sad story and the best remedy would be the huge immigration (*Einwanderung*) of white women." A Mr Schlettwein believed *Bastard* children should be taken away from their mothers and raised at the cost of their fathers. A number of white men married Baster women in church until 1 January 1893 and before a registrar until 1 October 1905. In 1907, when such marriages were outlawed, mixed couples went outside the country (i.e. to Walvis Bay) to marry (*Nachrichten* in Joachim Pütz 1984:164-182).

Wolfram Hartmann asserted that marriages between German, colonising men and indigenous, colonised women in German South West Africa remained remarkably few over the years (2002:214). He computed the following from Curt von François's table for the period 1892-1893 (p. 215): Excluding the missionaries, 37 men were married, i.e. about 34% of all civilian European men; 22 (59.5%) of them married local women whereas 15 married women of a European background and only five of the men were listed as German nationals. The arrival of German men as soldiers in the 1890s "did not change this situation substantially". According to what little evidence there is the women that were married were exclusively from a Christian, culturally mixed background or Baster families and the marriages were, as a rule, religiously legitimised by the missionaries. Hartmann notes that the number of such marriages remained relatively small, i.e. only five (2002:216). Note that Hartmann's investigation stretched from the 1840s to 1905 only and that the Rehoboth Basters were a community of only a few hundred members at the time. Fischer argued in 1959 that new developments in Namibia after WW1 and the arrival of more settlers in Rehoboth had caused sociological (*soziologischen*) relationships and old families to change to such an extent that it was no longer feasible to continue his genetic research of the Baster pioneers (1959:52).

- **The second German era**

A second German era in the genetic history of the Rehoboth Basters was introduced by the arrival of German settlers who married Rehoboth Baster women before WW11 and before Apartheid was introduced in Namibia. McNab documented the following settler surnames (MS n.d.: 12): Baart, Becker, Christ, Hagen, Hochtritt, Jankowski, Körner, Möwes, Pandschlaft and Pegan. McNab notes that the children of women with German husbands attended special German private schools. The Germans maintained their

traditions and language for many years and enriched the Afrikaans of the Basters. Some women went to Germany and later returned to Rehoboth to integrate with and influence the culture of the Basters. Another group of German settlers arrived later and married Baster women, e.g. Bayer, Erdmann, Polster, Eberenz, Denk, Mall, Johr, Hilsebecker, Dentlinger, Lewanschek, Cotz, Hoffman, Starke and Fröhchick. It is shown next how many Baster farmers had German surnames. In the Cattle Brands Register (Official Gazette of South West Africa, Windhoek, 27 July 1928) Baster farmers (indicated as "Bast.") of the Rehoboth district and elsewhere that own brands are listed. Note the number of Baster women with cattle brands: Elizabeth Metzler, Anna Mouton, Maria Christ, Amelia Bertolini, Helena Panstaf, Sophia Olivier, Hilda Bayer, Mina Bok, Anna Busch, Rachel Cloete, Johanna Dun, Anna Klazen, the widows Katrina Kassen and Anna Izaak, Sophia Petersen, Hendrina, Maria, Magrieta and Sara Diergaard, Anna Irion, Ellen Wilmore, Katrina Engelbrecht, Elizabeth Morkel, Minna Delgde, Martina Carew, Magrieta Dixon, Maria Witbooi, Katrina Gertze, Anna Koopman, Maria Smit, Magdalena Vorster, Elizabeth Weise, Johanna, Hendrika and Sophia van Wyk, Magrieta, Katrina, Katherina and Maria Beukes as well as many more Beukese, Diergaards and Van Wyks. The list shows that the most numerous names noted by Fischer in 1908 (1961:120) prevailed: women - Anna, Elizabeth, Katrina and Maria; men - Gert, Hans, Hendrik, Jan, Johannes, Jakobus and Piet.

It was mostly Baster women who married German men, owned land and herds and learnt German (along with their children) - unlike their (later) Cape Coloured counterparts.

(c) Phase four: Influx of newcomers to Rehoboth after 1915

Post-WW1 migrations after the Union of South Africa took over shows up in the surname lists of Lichtenecker (1931) and Hitzeroth (1964/5) – as noted above. Pioneer Baster clans and Coloureds from the Northern and Western integrated, giving birth to a heterogeneous Afrikaans-speaking Rehoboth society. New survey data of 2002 (see Appendix p. xii) and 2008 in Table 4.3 suggest that the dominant Afrikaans clans are on the decline among Rehoboth's young Afrikaans speakers: Of the 49 questionnaire respondents of 2002 aged 16-36 years, 33 (67%) were related to the 7 most numerous clans, but the number dropped to 23 (39%) of the 56 Grade 11 respondents. The Telecom Namibia Directory inscriptions in the table show that the ratio of the most numerous Rehoboth surnames remained constant over the years. The table also illustrates that the

survey samples match the Rehoboth surname profile adequately. In the Appendix (p. xiii) a 1953 list of names of the mostly Nama occupants of the Rehoboth *Naturelle hutte* ("Native huts") is given (Beukes-collection). It shows overlaps between Nama and Baster surnames (e.g. "Skrywer"). The surname Izaacs, not shown, is another example.

Table 4.3 Spread of the most numerous pioneer surnames among survey respondents[16]

		Rehoboth listings, Telecom Directory[17]				adults n=93		youth n=49		Gr. 11s n=56	
		04/5	%	08/09	%	2002	%	2002	%	2008	%
1	Van Wyk	146	32	179	33	24	26	16	34	8	14
2	Beukes	109	24	128	23	31	33	19	39	8	14
3	Cloete	54	12	69	13	7		5		1	
4	Diergaardt	52	11	52	9	8		4		1	
5	Mouton	36	8	40	7	5		2		2	
6	Izaaks[18]	36	8	45	8	3		1		1	
7	De Klerk	29	6	37	7	1		0		2	

4.3 Conclusion

Misconceptions regarding the Basters' origin were dealt with in this chapter. It was shown that the Baster pioneers had stable backgrounds, knew their family trees and that their forefathers were primarily Dutch and later also German. The Rehoboth Basters and Coloureds do not have the same ancestry and do not share the history as narrated in the next chapters, but they *do* share an Apartheid history: a ban on marriage with whites, job reservation, restricted movement, substandard primary and tertiary education, etc. They also share Rehoboth's post-1990 history. It may well be that the latter will lead to more cohesion between the two groups and to a new, shared identity as Namibians - from Rehoboth. (An employee of a guest farm near Rehoboth [p.c. 2008] has heard Coloureds refer to themselves as *Rehoboth Kleurlinge.*) The "historical presence" (Coluzzi 2009:148) of the Rehoboth Basters in Namibia was once again confirmed in the chapter.

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[16] Note that questionnaire respondents in 2002 and 2008 were asked to name the surnames that are "the most dominant" in their families. No survey data are connected to individual responses, which mean that the questionnaire respondents remain anonymous in this thesis. Fig. 4.1 (next, inserted page) shows the Rehoboth surnames in the 1979/80 listing of the telephone directory.

[17] The directory has lost value as a data source after the introduction of cell phones. Some people have only cell phones and these numbers are seldom listed. Telecom introduced "Switch" phones in 2008, which competes with private cell phone services. Rehoboth has some 500 "Switch" customers according to the 2008/9 directory. "Switch" inscriptions no longer state in which Blocks people live.

[18] Variations in spelling are: Isaack, Isaacs, Isaak, Isaaks, Izaacs, Izaak, Izak.

Chapter Five

Triple-root of the Rehoboth Basters: Land, religion and language

"Until the lion has a storyteller, the hunter has the best stories." - African proverb[1]

5.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights issues surrounding the genesis of the Rehoboth Basters into a nation by exploring what brought them together as a people in the first place: religion, land and language[2] (**5.2**). An understanding of the role these entities played in their origins and consolidation as a nation is needed to help assess their ethnolinguistic future, for as David and Dealwis (2009:109) suggest: "We need to understand the history of minority communities in order to explain the reasons for language shift." Lang believes that "the urge to possess land is a *leitmotiv* in the collective as well as personal histories of the Basters" (public lecture, Rehoboth Museum, July 2000) while Helm notes (1982:6) that the Basters owe much to the Protestant religion in preserving their identity. The singular Afrikaans of the Rehoboth Basters (described in Chapter 6) was one of the ways in which prospective respondents were identified in the questionnaire survey among adults in 2002. Coluzzi's concept of "historical presence" as a possible indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality (2009:149) is revisited in the conclusion of the chapter (**5.5**).

When Baster activist Beukes petitioned the League of Nations in Afrikaans a Rehoboth magistrate told him to do it in English; kaptein Diergaardt introduced his constitutional proposal in English to the Constituent Assembly – a language in which he was not yet fluent (p.c. Sandelowsky 2002). The UN rejected the Basters' claim that they were disadvantaged by their lack of English in their court case against the GRN about lost land (Chapter 3). It is shown below that the Basters were disadvantaged throughout their history by an initial lack of proficiency in the official languages that were brought to their region by first the German and then the Union of South Africa authorities. Special attention is given to the languages that were used by the role players in the so-called Friendship and Protection Treaty of 1885 between the Germans and the Basters and the Sam !Khubis Battle of 1915. The treaty and the battle are discussed in this chapter (**5.3** and **5.4)** because both had crucial repercussions for the Rehoboth Basters as a nation.

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[1] A phone-in contribution to BBC Africa, WorldSpace Satellite Radio on 26 February 2005.

[2] Acting Baster kaptein Dap Izaaks told Gielie de Kock (*Rapport*, 22 February 1998:25) that the Basters' religion, language and land represent their "whole humanity" (*hele menswees*).

Although the treaty was illegal from the outset (as argued below) the Basters were expected to adhere to its stipulations up to 22 April 1915 and it continued to have an effect on their political and land rights in the aftermath. The Basters' version of events, which has received scant attention in literature, is given below alongside the views of German role players and a selection of German, Dutch and Afrikaans authors. As shown, many authors have either trivialised Sam !Khubis or put all the blame for the battle on the Basters. Negative portrayal of the speakers of a language has been identified as a factor in language shift. Sam !Khubis is moreover of sociolinguistic importance in the study for the following four reasons: (a) By examining this battle insight was gained into the role of religion in the lives of the pious Basters who believe that God delivered them from the Germans on that day. (b) Valuable observational data on changes in the community were gathered by attending the annual Sam !Khubis commemorations on the battle terrain in 2000, 2002 and 2005. (c) To probe identification with Basterness, questions on Sam !Khubis were posed in questionnaire surveys of 2002 and 2008. (d) The Union of South Africa Commission of Enquiry (De Waal 1915) into German/Baster hostilities features in Chapter 6 in which the Basters' language in that period is considered.

5.2 The role of religion and land in the Basters' history

(a) Background to the Rehoboth Basters' sense of religion

The enquiry into the relatively short history of the Rehoboth Basters led the researcher to believe that their evolution into nationhood fits in with Connor's definition (1978) of a nation as "a self-aware ethnic group" (in Hogenstijn *et al.*, 2002:14) and Anthony Smith's argument (n.d., probably 1991) that a religious sense of community is a key prerequisite for the genesis of such a people into a nation (in Marnix Beyen, 2002:235). A religious sense of community developed as follows (De Villiers 1927:27): Around 1845 some 6-7000 Basters with no fixed abode roamed the land to the west of the Karee Mountains to find water and grazing for their large herds. The Basters, as descendants of Christian fathers, knew the Christian faith. They repeatedly sent requests to Wupperthal where there was a Rhenish Mission station for a *leeraar* ("minister") of their own. When two missionaries erected their tents in the shadow of a wild almond tree by the end of 1845 (resulting in a station named *Amandelboom*) Basters flocked to them from all directions. In the meantime (Vollmer 1997:5-11) Heidmann was

born on 1 November 1834 in Lübeck, Germany. He grew up in a devout home and received training for 4½ years from an elderly, pious glazier, but according to his own testimony he was "blinded by sin" when he went "out into the world". When Heidmann subsequently became gravely ill he promised God to use "all his strength in the service of the heathen" in return for his health. Heidmann began a missionary career on 15 February 1865 among Basters at De Tuin and lamented shortly after his arrival, "The Basters have no national awareness. Only God's word and spirit bind them together!"[3] Bible stories were the basis of the schooling that Heidmann provided to 187 children during the day and to men and shepherds in the evenings for he believed, "The holy stories are and stay the only basis of all real education (*Bildung*). This one learns only in the world of the heathen." Heidmann dedicated his whole career (1865-1907) to the Rehoboth Basters without ever returning to Germany. He had a mental breakdown towards the end and died in 1913 in Cape Town.

A "Constitution of Rehoboth" (or *Vaderlike Wette* - 'Paternal Laws") was drawn up on 31 January 1872 to regulate the Baster government. Laws were promulgated later in 1872 with revisions in 1874 and additions up to 1919. (See *Die Wette van die Rehoboth Basters,* Lang and Adolf Denk [eds.] 1996:1-33.) The influence of the Bible (and missionaries) is notable: Many of the regulations are based on Exodus and Leviticus.

(b) Background to the Basters' claim to ownership of Rehoboth

According to Viall (1959:10) "all historians agree that the Basters had gained full title to Rehoboth by 1885". Although the Basters lost their court case about land forfeited in terms of the Namibian Constitution, kaptein McNab remains steadfast about their land rights.[4] In a Baster protest march on 28 July 2008 against "irresponsible political office-bearers", he proclaimed on the premises of the Rehoboth Town Council, "The Gebiet and this land belong to us." (*Allgemeine Zeitung* 29 July 2008:1.) This section provides some background to McNab's claim. It starts with excerpts from a Dutch letter by the first Baster kaptein Hermanus van Wyk (also spelt *van Wijk*) of 7 January 1885 to the German consul Heinz Vogelsang at Angra Pequena. Van Wyk signed the letter with a cross: (*Get.*) *Merk X van H. v. Wijk, Captein.* (Affidavit in De Villiers 1927:134-136.)

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[3] "*Die Bastard hat kein Nationalgefuhl; zusammengewurfelt nur Gottes Wort und Geist bindet sie* !" (ELCA V11 28.30 - Heidmann 1, p. 182).

[4] McNab (p.c.) often mentions the German slogan *Macht hat Recht* ("might has right"). Witbooi refers to it in a letter to Leutwein in 1894: "… in terms of these words you deal with me, because you are strong in weapons and all conveniences" (cited in English in Silvester *et al.* 2003:151).

Van Wyk states about the procurement of Rehoboth: The Basters were still at Chamis in the Bethanie field in September 1870 when Kaptein Jacobus Izaak, Witbooi and David Christiaan invited him to Okahandja to help consolidate the peace that Afrikaner and Maharero proclaimed in May. Kaptein Abraham Swartbooi joined the party from Ameib and the missionaries of Damaraland were also present. When Van Wyk asked missionary Hugo Hahn, after the peace conference, whom he must ask for Rehoboth (*bij wien ek Rehoboth moet vragen*), Hahn replied, "Swartbooi, because it is his place". Swartbooi subsequently gave him Rehoboth "in so far it was his to give" (*zover het zijn was*) and Hahn advised Van Wyk that he should also tell his ally Maharero about it. Afterwards he informed the other Nama leaders who were present too "and they were all satisfied". Van Wyk gave each of the leaders a horse as a token of friendship and afterwards Swartbooi received 12 horses from him. Van Wyk moved to Rehoboth in the same year where he and his people set up an independent (*zelfstandige*) government. None of the leaders of the country (*Landshoofden*) prevented him from doing so.

In August 1880 a war between Kamaherero and the *Namaquas* broke out. At first he decided to remain impartial although the Namaqua leaders requested him to join the war against the Hereros. However, when Van Wyk learnt that the Hereros had killed seven of his people, including the white husband (McNab) of a Baster woman, he joined the Namaquas against the Hereros who were driven over the Zwachaub (now named the Swakop River, which runs into the sea at Swakopmund – in times of good rains).

Before the war against the Hereros was over Van Wyk agreed to join kaptein Jonker Afrikaner in a war-expedition to Damaraland. Baster men were on their way to Afrikaner's war that had already started when the news was received that Afrikaner "has turned his war around". Three days later, on 21 January 1882, Afrikaner attacked an unmanned post of Van Wyk and confiscated some 700 heads of cattle, 2000 head of small stock and 30 horses worth more than £4000. Because of this unexpected attack Van Wyk asked the Nama leaders to help him against Afrikaner. On 10 November 1882 Afrikaner and Swartbooi attacked Rehoboth. Afrikaner's brother was killed and Swartbooi was shot through his knee. Van Wyk says in conclusion that the Basters had stood fast in four years of war. Nobody could drive them from Rehoboth and therefore he had a "good right to Rehoboth and the surrounding area". Van Wyk's letter demonstrates why Lau asserts in

her introduction to *The Hendrik Witbooi Papers* (1995:x) that the so-called Nama-Herero War of 1880 was marked by "a very complex pattern of shifting, cross-ethnic alliances" involving the Rehoboth Basters, the Nama Swartbooi, the Herero under Maharero and Jan Jonker Afrikaner on centre stage. Lau furthermore mentions (p. xvii) that the Rehoboth Basters acted as mediators in peace correspondence between Maharero and Witbooi. When Maharero wrote to Hermanus van Wyk that he would not pay the compensation of 3 000 cattle which Witbooi was asking, "the Rehobothers apparently took it upon themselves to fulfil Witbooi's demands".

Heidmann regarded the fact that the Basters withstood the Swartbooi attack on 18 November 1882 (Vollmer 1997:101) as proof of the Basters' right of ownership. He repeated the remark about the Basters' territorial right in 1883 (p. 103) when he said their ownership was obtained "without doubt" in the many battles with the Nama. Heidmann related (p. 112) how the Basters hoisted the black, red and white "national flag of the Rehoboth Basters, their own and latest idea" as symbol of their independence from the surrounding nations on 11 October 1884.[5] As the Basters became signatories to the Friendship and Protection Treaty with the Germans in 1885 (p. 115), Heidmann wrote in his journal that their "autonomy and independence with regard to the other nations were at last assured". When the Basters, with God's help, withstood the attack on Rehoboth by Jan Jonker along with Abraham Swartbooi on 11 November 1882, "they won the right of ownership (*Besitzrecht*) to Rehoboth in accordance to international law (*völkerrechtlich*)".

The following explains Swartbooi's repeated attacks on Rehoboth: Helmuth von Steenken asserts (MS n.d.: 10-11) that the Basters brought "the unknown concept of private landownership" along from the Cape, citing the Dutch missionary H.L. Nyhof of Warmbad in support. Nyhof wrote in 1929 in a report to his directors in Germany that a lot of land had been lost "because people had no idea what land sales meant". All land was the communal property of the tribe. "Even to this day they do not acknowledge that they have lost land when they sold it. They say land and territory (*bodem*) cannot be sold. Someone stronger can chase you off your land, but it remains your land. It becomes your property again when you become strong enough to chase your enemy away. This notion is so set in their heads that nobody can convince them of something else."

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[5] In August 1884, the German flag was hoisted (Terry 1978:25) in Angra Pequena (now Lüderitz).

5.3 The Friendship and Protection Treaty (1885)

(a) Run-up to and implications of the Treaty

The way in which European Countries claimed territories in the East and West in the 15th and 16th centuries is summed up by De Villiers (1927:49): No principles of international law existed and at first "priority of discovery" applied while others relied on occupation as a precondition for ownership. According to European ideas heathen nations from other parts of the globe were viewed as "lawful booty and game" (*wettige buit en prooi*). In 1884-1885 a conference initiated by Germany was held in Berlin where most European countries and the United States of America were present. Bismarck explained in his opening address that the conference was convened "because it was believed that all the invited governments had the same wish, namely to bring the natives of Africa within the influence sphere of civilisation by means of opening up the inland of that continent to trade". South West Africa on the whole or parts of it had no international status and was regarded by the majority of states (with the exception of the USA) as *territorium nullius* and therefore open to occupation by a civilised Power (*Moondheid*).

McNab interprets the event as follows (translated from an undated Afrikaans MS n.d., p. 8): The United States of America and most European states were present at this conference where very important decisions were made that would influence the course of history. Of importance to the Basters was the decision that no new countries should be colonised, especially not countries where Christianity was practised and where there was a form of government. It was decided that the only form of involvement would be trade relations with such countries. Missionaries would be used to civilise countries, traders to unlock the trade potential of countries and to develop the population and soldiers would only be used to protect the traders' acquired trade interests. Rehoboth adhered to all these requirements: The Rehoboth Basters already constituted a nation in 1872. It accepted a democratic constitution, known later as the *Vaderlike Wette* [6] ("Paternal Laws"); Christianity was practised; Rehoboth had its own flag, boundaries and government while written laws and administration regulated conduct. On the strength of the principles that were laid down at the Berlin Conference, Germany recognised the Rehoboth Basters as a state and concluded an imperial treaty with them at the highest level. It was a treaty

[6] The *Vaderlike Wette* was in power up to 1989, according to McNab (p.c. 2005).

between two governments. The content of the treaty makes it clear that the ideas of Bismarck and the Berlin Conference were contained in the document. In evaluating the document it is important to consider the connection between the treaty and the Berlin Conference. Both events happened in 1885. The objectives of the Berlin Conference correspond with the stipulations of the treaty of 15 September 1885 - and with no other.

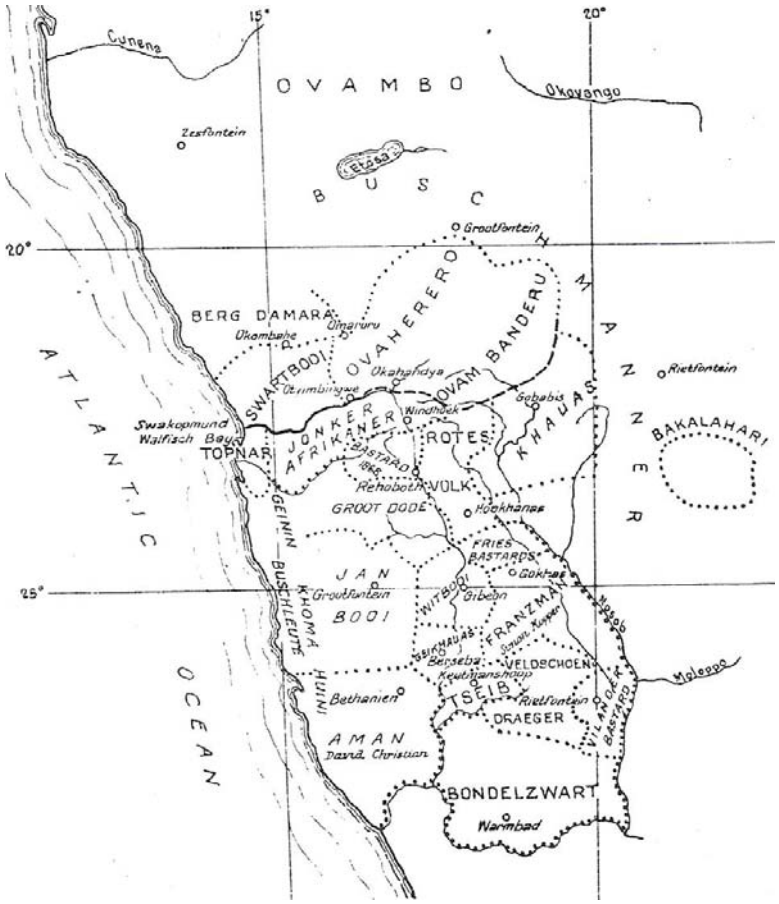
The researcher's reasons for calling the Friendship and Protection Treaty invalid are the following: The treaty contradicts the terms set out by the Basters in a letter to the German emperor a few months earlier. Leutwein admitted in 1906 (Leutwein 1997:13) that those who promised protection to the *inlanders* in the name of the German Empire "had not in the least the power to do that". The Baster leadership had no German at the time and had to rely on an interpreter. Kaptein Van Wyk, who "signed" the treaty, could not write. Lastly, the Germans had neither the means nor the men to "protect" the Basters at the time. The *Schutztruppe* was established in 1888 to protect a gold find of the *Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft*, according to *Schutztruppe und Landespolizei* [7] ("Protection troop and 'country' police") an article published in Germany in 1911.[8] The troop initially had two officers, five deputy-officers and 20 indigenous soldiers but was disbanded in the same year because the gold was not worth mining (1911:46). In 1889 when C. von François and his brother H. von François were requested to form a Namibian troop with volunteers from the army in Germany, it grew in size from 21 to 200 men. After 3 May 1894 when it became the *Kaiserliche Schutztruppe* another 50 men were added. By the end of 1897 a fully mounted troop of 700 operated through a network of stations across the country. Within a decade it brought the colony under German rule with 20 000 men in the field. At the end of the Herero-Hottentot war of 1904-1907, the *Schutztruppe* was decreased to 7400 and by 1911 it had 2179 men (p. 46).

The treaty dates are as follows (Silvester *et al.* 2003:49-57): **28.10.1884**, Joseph Fredericks (Bethanien); **23.11.1884**, Piet Heibeb (Topnaars); **28.5.1885,** Jacobus Isaac (Berseba); **2.9.1885**, Manasse (Red Nation, Hoachanas); **15.9.1885**, Hermanus van Wyk (Rehoboth Basters); **21.10.1885**, Maharero (Damaraland Hereros); **3.11.1885**, Manasse (Omaruru Hereros); **1887**, Boers (Upingtonia, near Otavi and Grootfontein); **21.8.1890**, Willem Christiaan (Bondelswarts) and Jan Hendriks (Veldskoendraers, Warmbad);

[7] Like *Gebiet*, *Schutztruppe* is still used in Namibia, while "land" is contentious (see fn. p. 124).
[8] *Eine Reise durch die Deutsche Kolonien* (p. 38) - Berlin: Verlag Kolonialpolitischer Zeitschriften.

19.3.1894, Fransman Hottentots; **19.1.1895**: Swartbooi Hottentotte (Kaokoveld) and lastly, **16.11.1895**, Hendrik Witbooi (Gibeon). Fig. 5.1 shows the location and spread of the groups who concluded treaties. It is understandable why Rehoboth, which is right in the middle of the country, was described by Heidmann as a "buffer" (Vollmer 1997:53).

Fig. 5.1 Spread of Namibian nations in 1870 (De Villiers 1927, between pp. 12 and 13.)



It is clear from the map, the treaty dates and the size of the *Schutztruppe* that Germany could not protect the country or the Basters in 1885 when it concluded the treaties. Viall (1959:16) reiterates: "Up to 1892… this 'protection' was more theory than fact as the Germans had only 200 troops in the whole Territory." Viall believes that the Basters accepted the treaty "which limited their independence in some respects" for the following reasons: firstly the entire country was in unrest and the Basters were living under daily threat of a Native war. Secondly they realized that the interests of the traders (who provided the Basters with many of their necessities of life) would be better safeguarded under German protection. Leutwein (1997:13) says forthrightly that the treaties were Germany's method of bringing the country under its dominion (*Herrschaft*). He suggests that the natives (*Eingeborenen*) concluded the treaties because they were

worn out by the continuous wars. Leutwein admits that "nothing was seen up to 1891 and very little up to 1893" of the so-called (*nominell*) German authority in the Schutzgebiet and noted (p. 238) that as long as the German government had no means of exerting its power (*keinerlei Machtmittel*) the treaties were of little significance.

Missionary Heidmann wrote in July 1887 in his journal (Vollmer 1997:119) that the political circumstances in the country were still hectic and stated that it was high time (*endlich an der Zeit*) for the German government to bring about peace and order in the country – with its moral obligation in terms of the protection treaties. Heidmann wrote in his journal (Vollmer 1997:113), "Although I acted as witness and interpreter to the negotiations, I refrained from influencing events in any way." At Omaruru kaptein Manasse plus six of his people signed with a cross after missionary Diehl, "who acted as interpreter, translated and explained the treaty to them" (Silvester *et al.* 2003:54). An observation of Edward Finegan (1997:435) has relevance: "A fresh ethnographic perspective may well show at a disadvantage not only those on the periphery of power and wealth but those who do not fathom the idiom of the law, whatever their native language and however well trained an interpreter they may have provided." The aforesaid fits in with Leutwein's remark (1997:238) that it is not necessary to believe "that the chiefs sat like German law students over their *corpus juris* perusing the contents of the agreements with a view to getting a full knowledge of their contents… Even although the native chiefs could form little idea of the contents of the protection agreements, they were clearly aware of the actual existence thereof."

The researcher has moreover reason to believe that kaptein Hermanus van Wyk could not write. As noted above, his letter to Vogelsang dated 7 January 1885 was signed with a cross. According to a copy of the 1885 treaty that was put before De Villiers, Van Wyk signed it on 15 September 1885, while another Dutch letter (1927:145) from Van Wyk ends as follows: "*Kapitein van Bastaards te Rehoboth,* (*Get.*) *H. van Wijk*." De Villiers did not comment on these discrepancies. He could not have seen the original treaty. The National Archives and the Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Windhoek have only copies of it. The report of the De Waal Commission of Enquiry into disturbances between the Germans and the Basters states (1915:8) that it is unclear whether the original treaty of 1885 was drafted in both Dutch and German because an unsigned Dutch

copy as well as a German copy of the treaty were found among German records. An English translation of the latter is attached to De Waal's report. The signature of Hermanus van Wyk was found only once by the researcher – notably on the contract between the Basters and the Rhenish headquarters in Germany regarding the latter's right of possession of the Rehoboth church and surrounding land. She could find no document that was actually written by Van Wyk (1837-1905) in the National (NAN) or ELC Archives in Windhoek. The teacher Matheus Gertze, who was e.g. present when the ownership of Rehoboth was negotiated, could have been his scribe.[9] The signature below is evidently that of an illiterate[10] person compared to that of Hendrik Witbooi. Note that Witbooi abbreviated *kaptein* while somebody else obviously wrote *kaptein* beneath Van Wyk's name.

Fig. 5.2 Signature of Van Wyk in 1895 on a church document (ELCA V11 28.31)

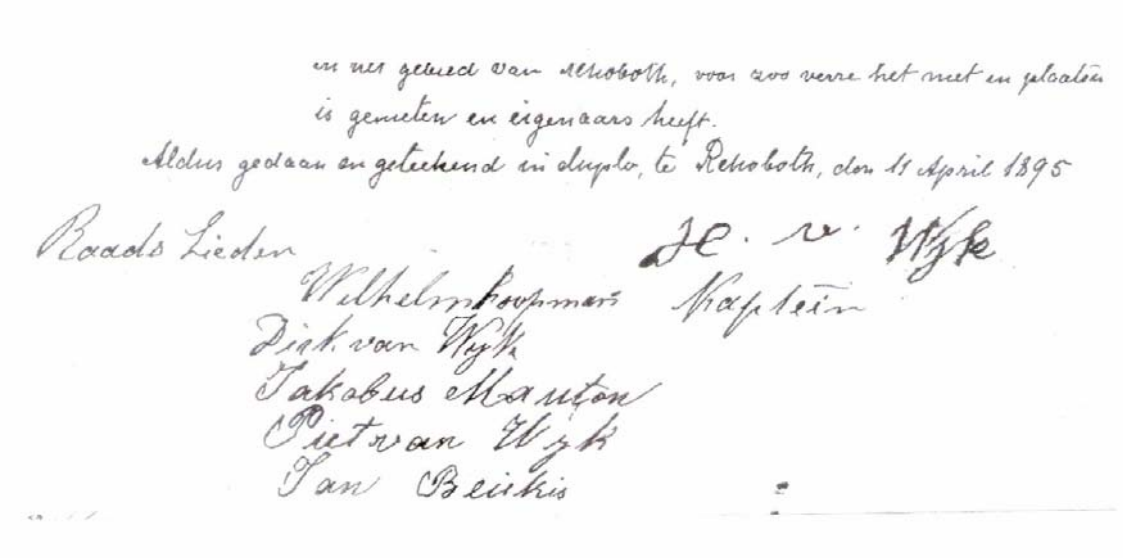
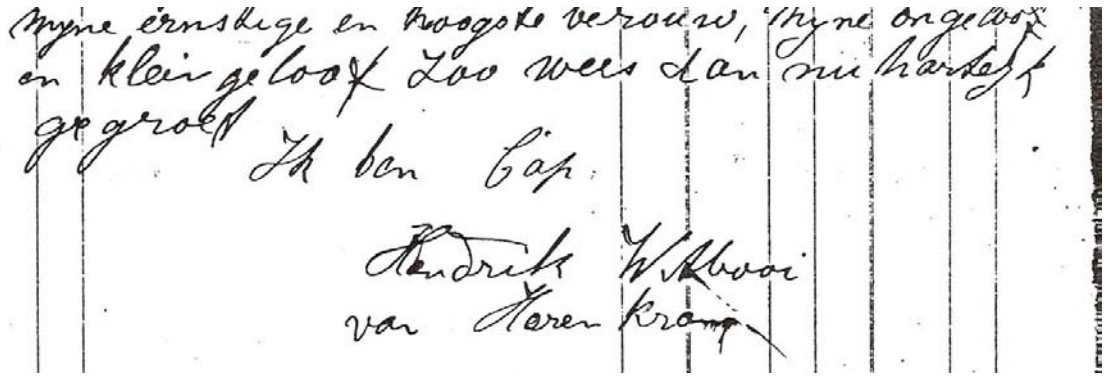


Fig 5.3 Hendrik Witbooi's signature (1890:165) in his diary (Van Riebeeck Society 1929)



[9] The German role players' handwriting (and the German printed text) would have been difficult for the Basters to decipher. (See Appendix p. xv for examples of such handwriting and signatures.)
[10] As noted above, the Baster chronicler Mrs Olivier also believes that Van Wyk could not write.

De Villiers notes (1927:64) that the ground was prepared by the British Special Commissioner Palgrave who explained the benefits of being under the protection of Great Britain to the different tribes but adds, "Whether they (the Basters) understood the power and the meaning of the treaty they entered into with Germany in 1885 is a difficult matter." De Villiers refers to an inscription in Hendrik Witbooi's diary which shows that he had no illusions about the matter, "…each head has its own people and country to rule over because it is so, when a head stands under another, then the one who stands below is not independent, and he is not baas over himself, and over his people and land, because he stands under…" De Villiers nevertheless believed that the Basters had sufficient natural acumen (*voldoende natuurlike skerpsinnigheid*) to understand the substance of their obligations with regard to the treaty – "although it cannot be said that they are erudite (*opgevoed*)",[11] adding that they lost some degree of their freedom but "they had enough experience of the strife and unrest in the country to realise the benefit of the treaty".

Heidmann wrote in 1899 that he introduced German schooling for his "advanced" (*geförderten*) pupils and noted in 1901 that his successor Adolf Blecher took control of schooling in German (Vollmer 1997:147, 148). The researcher believes the difference between what the Basters asked for and what they got becomes clear when their letter of 1884 to the German emperor is read. (De Villiers did not refer to this letter therefore it is assumed that he was unaware of it.) The following is a translation of the Dutch copy of the letter[12] of 4 October 1884 in Heidmann's journal (ELCA V11 28.31, pp. 621-622):

> "We have heard that the German government has undertaken the protection of the territory of Nama and Herero Land and we are fully satisfied with it. Germany has been sending us missionaries for many years that we can trust since they respect our needs and welfare. Therefore we will accept it with thanks and gladness if Your Imperial Majesty would not only protect the coast but also extend this protection to our territory. We Basters have been strong enough to ward off the incessant raids of the various Nama tribes over the last years, but by the proclamation of this protection we hope that this will be appeased. We therefore request Your Imperial Majesty to watch over our rights and freedoms and independence by means of Your Majesty's proclamation over the coastline. We

[11] The report is in Afrikaans. The word could also mean: civilised, educated, refined or cultured.
[12] See Appendix (p. xiv) for a copy of the letter in Dutch in Heidmann's handwriting.

> will be giving this letter to Dr P. Hoepfner, who got to know this country and people over a long time, asking him to take this writ to the German government with the wish that Your Imperial Majesty would fulfil the aforementioned request."

Van Wyk concluded a contract on the same date (Heidmann's journal, p. 623) that awarded mining concessions to Hoepfner. In it Hoepfner is reminded of the Basters' writ to the German Emperor. It is also stipulated that Hoepfner must work towards the restoration of peace and order in the country and see to it that "the independence, freedom and well earned rights of the Basters" are acknowledged and protected.

(c) Section conclusion: Aftermath of the treaty

Did the Basters realise that they would forfeit their sovereignty by concluding the treaty? De Waal (1915) does not mention the Basters' loss of sovereignty,[13] De Villiers (1927) does not discuss it, Oosthuizen (1993:34) only notes that their "independence was curtailed". The 1951 Rehoboth Commission (with F.R. Staples as chairman) found, though, that for all practical purposes the Basters were sovereign independent (*soewerein onafhanklik*) people within their own Gebiet until the occupation of the territory in 1884. It is noted that the progressive curtailing of their independence began in 1885 when the Friendship and Protection treaty was concluded. "This treaty granted certain privileges to the German government and the German subjects that were, to say the least, irreconcilable with the retention of full independence by the Basters" (Staples 1951:3).

The Basters noted in their centenary report *Ons Eeufees Rehoboth* (Britz *et al.* 1970:23): "The Basters did not regard the treaty as a document that would give the Germans full sovereignty over the whole Baster Gebiet. They understood it as the name indicates: friendship and protection. Whether the Basters realised the implication of the specific clause of the treaty is questionable. We doubt that they would have accepted the treaty if they had understood it". Weder believed (1946:23[14]): "In all probability the Basters were not aware of the fact that the German Government opened for itself the

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[13] The Basters lost their sovereignty in terms of Article 3 of the Treaty. The inserted page below has the text of Article 3 in German, Dutch and English (plus the German letter of Seitz of 21 August 1914 that assured the Basters that they would not be employed to fight against whites, p. 116 below). Note that in De Villiers' copy of Article 3 the crucial words "his land" (*sein Land* German*, zijn land* Dutch - i.e. the land of the kaptein of the Basters) are missing.

[14] In *'Die regsposisie van die Rehoboth-Basters.*' ("The legal position of the Rehoboth Basters.")

way for peaceful occupation and accordingly acceptance of sovereignty over the whole Rehoboth Gebiet." In the concluding survey among Rehoboth Grade 11s on 30 September 2008 the researcher posed the question: "What does the word sovereignty mean?" None of the Afrikaans and Khoekhoegowab learners (n=71) knew the answer, while Article 1 (1) of the Namibian Constitution (1990:2) clearly states: "The Republic of Namibia is hereby established as a *sovereign*, secular, democratic and unitary State founded upon the principles of democracy, the rule of law and justice for all." (Emphasis added.)

The domino effect of the 1885 treaty is illustrated by the following: the Basters alleged that the South African Administration infringed on the community's rights by alienating a certain small piece of land in town for police and other public purposes without permission and compensation. In comment on the allegation De Villiers notes (1927:63) that sovereignty over a certain territory allows the State to exert its highest power (*jus dominii eminentis*) over property by e.g. alienating property for public purposes, but compensation should be paid as a rule. The land under discussion was however already alienated by the German Administration therefore the complaint is unfounded. He also found that the Union of South Africa had the full right to issue Proclamation 28 of 1923 because it was the successor in law of the supreme authority that Germany had over Rehoboth in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles. De Villiers drew on Rex vs. Christian, 1924, A.D. (i.e. the Union vs. the captain of the Bondelswarts) in support. The direct link between the German-Baster battle at Sam !Khubis on 8 May 1915 and the Friendship and Protection Treaty of 1885 is discussed next. The role of language in events is once again pointed out.

5.4 Sam !Khubis battle between the Germans and Basters on 8 May 1815

When a Serbian nationalist assassinated Archduke Frances Ferdinand (heir presumptive to Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph) and his wife Sophia in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914, a chain of threats, ultimatums and mobilizations was set in motion that resulted in war between the two alliances, Germany-Austria and France-Great Britain-Russia. Germany declared war against Russia and France on 1 and 3 August and invaded Belgium the night of 3-4 August after demanding free passage for its troops across this neutral territory. Great Britain, which was committed to defend Belgium, declared war against Germany on 4 August (*Britannica* 1990, 12 and 29:758 and 961-963). Within weeks

Union of South Africa troops "carried the war of Europe" (Governor Theodor Seitz below) into Namibia by attacking a German police station at Ramansdrift on the Orange River. Seitz declared in his proclamation in German and Dutch on 15 September that the Germans of South West Africa are not at war with the "Boer population" of South Africa.

Fig. 5.4 Seitz announces war will be waged against English troops, not against Boers[15]

Windhuk, Freitag, den 25. September 1914

Kriegsausgabe! Wir bitten unsere Leser, während des Kriegszustandes möglicherweise eintretende Unregelmäßigkeiten in Bezug auf Zeit der Ausgabe und Umfang der Zeitung freundlichst zu entschuldigen. DER VERLAG.

Bekanntmachung.

An die Burenbevölkerung von Südafrika.

Nachdem die englischen Truppen Ramansdrift überfallen, die deutsche Grenze überschritten und damit den Krieg aus Europa nach Südafrika übertragen haben,

erkläre ich ausdrücklich, daß die Deutschen gegen die Burenbevölkerung Südafrikas keinen Krieg führen, daß sie dagegen den Angriff der englischen Truppen auf allen Punkten mit allen Mitteln abwehren und den Krieg gegen die Engländer und nur die Engländer bis zum Aeußersten führen werden.

Windhuk, 15. September 1914.

Der Kaiserliche Gouverneur von Deutsch-Südwestafrika.
Seitz.

Proklamatie.

Aan de Boerenbevolking van Zuid-Afrika.

Nadat de engelse Troepen de duitse Policestatie Ramansdrift aangevallen hebben, over de duitse grens gekamen en daarmede de Oorlog van Europa naar Zuid-Afrika hebben overgedragen, verklaar ik mits dezen uitdrukkelijk, dat de Duitsers tegen de Boerenbevolking van Zuid-Afrika geen Oorlog voeren. Op de andere kant verklaar ik, dat wij Duitsers de aanval van de engelse Troepen op alle punten met alle middelen zullen afkeeren en de Oorlog tegen de Engelanders en slechts tegen de Engelanders tot uiterste zullen voeren.

Windhoek, de 15de September 1914.

De Keizerlike Gouverneur van Duits-Zuid-Westafrika.
geteekend Dr. Seitz.

Louis Botha's biographer Meintjes explains the background to the invasion as follows (1970:207-208): when Britain declared war on Germany, English-speaking South Africans generally assumed that South Africa was automatically at war with Germany since the Union was part and parcel of the Empire. Prime Minister Botha knew neutrality was out of the question for constitutionally there was no way out. German South West Africa was furthermore stretched out for hundreds of miles on South Africa's border. The Germans had wireless stations in the harbours of Swakopmund and Lüderitzbucht as well as a powerful long-range radio transmitter in Windhoek, which would be invaluable to German naval units in the South Atlantic. The majority decision by Parliament to invade Namibia met with strong opposition from a number of old Boer leaders. Some of them wanted the country to remain neutral, while others wished to form a republic and join the Germans against Britain. Generals J.H. de la Rey, C.F. Beyers and De Wet were opposed to the South West expedition (Meintjes pp. 230-233) and when Lieutenant-Colonel Manie

[15] Proclamation published in Joachim Pütz (1984:240).

Maritz went over to the Germans in October 1914 in open rebellion against the Government, Martial Law was declared by Minister of Defence Smuts. An estimated 13 000 men took part in the Rebellion, which ultimately led to the execution on 20 December 1914 of rebel leader Jopie Fourie (Meintjes p. 249). Because of the Rebellion Botha and Smuts had to postpone the invasion of South West Africa (p. 253).

On 9 July 1915, six months after the invasion of a South African force of 67 000 men, the German Commander-in-Chief Seitz surrendered with some 5 000 soldiers. The territory was placed under South African military rule on the same date. The British troops found a copy of a note dated 21 August 1914 by Seitz to the Basters in Rehoboth that stated (De Waal 1915:33), "The Bastard Council is hereby assured that the Bastard Company is called up for the purpose of keeping peace and safety in the country[16], and to catch cattle thieves and other thieves. The Bastards will not be employed to fight against whites." The Basters' missionary Blecher, who went to Germany for his sabbatical at the beginning of 1913 and returned in April 1914, wrote on 16 November 1915 to his director that Van Heydenbreck promised the Baster Raad that Baster soldiers would only be used to protect Basterland and gave them his written promise that the Basters would not fight against the Englishmen "because the war is a war between white nations". [17]

The military clash ("war" in Baster terms) between the Basters and the Germans also began with a single gunshot: a Baster soldier who had to guard British (i.e. Union of South Africa) prisoners at Uitdraai 20 km east from Rehoboth was killed by the Germans when he left his post in April 1914. The Germans repealed the Friendship and Protection Treaty of 1885 on 22 April and the Basters reacted by evacuating Rehoboth and retreating to their mountain sanctuary Sam !Khubis some 65 miles away. In one of their military reactions German soldiers on a train coach surprised a party of fleeing Basters where they had camped for the night. Women and children were still in bed when the soldiers opened fire on them. Afterwards fire was set to the Basters' ox-wagons and donkey-carts that were packed with their belongings, their oxen were shot and their herds driven away as bounty. The Germans followed the Basters to Sam !Khubis where a

[16] In the German text the words *im Lande* are used, which could also mean region, territory or country as opposed to town (*A German and English Dictionary* 1938:358). According to De Waal (1915:9) the Basters asserted that *im Lande* meant the district of Rehoboth.
[17] Correspondence and Reports 1915-1920; ELCA V11 28.6: 15-22.

24-hour battle ensued on 8 May 1915. The well-armed Germans withdrew at a point when the Basters, who only had rifles, ran out of ammunition. In commemoration of the battle (see programme of 2002 in the Appendix p. xvi) the Dutch pledge *De Gelofte* (p. xvii) is repeated several times. As noted above, the Sam !Khubis[18] battle must be explained because questions about it were asked in the surveys of 2002 and 2008 to test affiliation and because many authors have portrayed the Basters negatively in comments on the battle. Some of these authors will be quoted next followed by reports on events from the Basters' point of view, which include accounts of a Baster veteran of the battle and a woman who was an eyewitness of it. Most authors depicted the Basters as simply rebellious while the Basters kept on saying that they rebelled because the Germans broke their promise that Baster soldiers would not be used against whites in combat. Two key informants (one a Baster and the other a Coloured) believe the Basters lost all trust in whites because of the battle (p.c. Rehoboth 2002).

(a) Negative comments on Sam !Khubis by various authors over time

Brief attention is given to authors who casually commented on Sam !Khubis while opinions of scholars in studies on the Basters are discussed in more detail. In the process the broad outline of what happened before, on and after that day will become clear.

(i) Helm (1982: iv, ix) in a social study on the Basters: (Kaptein) Van Wyk and his followers were born under the British flag in the Cape Colony. The Basters broke their treaty with Germany and joined up with the South African military forces.

(ii) Lemmer (1958:68) in a history book for schools: To trek to Rehoboth would have been pointless since some Basters had already revolted against the Germans six days earlier. The farmers in the vicinity were murdered and their farms were plundered. The Basters were pursued by a company of Germans and severely punished.

(iii) Van der Merwe (1983:36) in a Namibian atlas: the 5 000 German troops could do little more than fight a war of delay against the superior numbers of the Union Forces,

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[18] Sources differ about the meaning of the name "Sam !Khubis". Some say (p.c. Sam !Khubis terrain, May 2002) that "Sam" means together (like Afrikaans *saam*) and !Khubis means (in Nama) container or bowl. The researcher saw the name for the first time written with a click in a headline in the *Rehoboth Gazette* on 5 May 2005: *Voetspore na Sam !Khubis* ("Footsteps to Sam !Khubis"). She believes this heralded a new, inclusive approach to the Basters' history in which the contribution of the Nama and Damaras is acknowledged. Rose-Junius was applauded by an audience of Basters when she pointed out in her keynote address at Sam !Khubis in 2005 that Kaptein Van Wyk's *touleier* ("wagon-leader") was a Nama and that he drew the fire in battle (video-taped by the researcher).

which had grown to 33 000 men. Apart from this campaign the German army also had to contend with an internal uprising under the Basters "who refused to do military service".

(iv) Viall (1959:26) in a report to the South African prime minister (Verwoerd, as it turned out to be) summarising the Basters' history: the Basters evidently took the view that since this was a white man's war the Treaty of 1885 did not oblige them to help the Germans. Consequently they refused to stand guard over Union troops captured by the Germans and according to Col Bethe the Basters murdered and robbed several Germans. The Burgers fled to the Kubis (sic) mountains with their families where they withstood the Germans for a whole day while their women and children prayed for them. The arrival of General McKenzie with the Union Forces timeously saved them. "They returned to Rehoboth and immediately looted the furniture and stock of the German inhabitants."

(v) Spelbos (1994:109) in 'The genesis of the Rehoboth Basters as a people, 1863-1928': when another power severely limits the authority of the nation to manage its own affairs, what is left of the concept people? The same question can be posed with respect to political structures, for instance the right of a people to conclude treaties with other communities or the right to deal with foreign criminals according to the people's own laws. The answer is primarily based on ideology. For me political qualities form major and indispensable requisites of the concept of a people, and therefore the Rehoboth Basters of 1915 can hardly be called a people any more. "The Basters decided to change sides and in 1915 the Basters agreed on assisting the South Africans in conquering the German territory." As noted by Zandberg (2005:28) in Chapter 2, a four-page letter of Spelbos to the UNPO Secretariat in 1990 in which he stated that in his opinion the Basters are not "a people" formed one of the main reasons for the rejection of the Basters' application and influenced the decision to refuse the Basters membership of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO) in 1994.

(**vi) Rademeyer (1938:25-26)** in his linguistic study on the Basters: the Basters never remain the fixed ally of the one party or the other. They find it more expedient (*raadsamer*) to trim their sails to the wind. During the Herero rebellion in 1904 they joined the Witboois and Germans against the Hereros. Until the world war in 1914 they remained faithful and obedient to the Germans who always viewed and treated them as superior to the native tribes, but with the arrival of the Union troops in South West

Africa they not only became unfaithful but they also rebelled openly. Had Genl MacKenzie not advanced so swiftly, "the Germans would have exterminated these renegades to the last man". Rademeyer did his research on the Basters some 20 years after the Sam !Khubis battle. By his own admission his visit to Rehoboth was brief. He clearly never questioned the Basters about the battle and thereby an opportunity was missed to document their side of events. His aforementioned opinions are in line with his overall negative portrayal of them as a people.

(vii) Oosthuizen (1993:76) asserted that the fear of the Basters that they would lose land as well as the right to govern themselves can be regarded as the main cause of the uprising. He echoes Rademeyer's words, "The Basters have once again, like in the past during the Herero-Nama-Oorlam conflicts, managed to choose the winning side." Oosthuizen calls the De Waal commission's analysis of the events surrounding Sam !Khubis "very suspicious" (*sterk verdag*) and says the De Waal report "is without doubt" the product of a time phase when sharp negative feelings against the Germans were rife.

The researcher believes what Oosthuizen highlights and what he omits of the De Waal report and the words that he uses to describe the events of 1915 reveal hostility to the Basters. He says e.g. that the Basters knew what their military duties were in accordance with the Treaty but he fails to mention that the Germans promised the Basters that they would not be used against whites. The following is his rendering of the killing of Kaptein Van Wyk's children by the Germans – after he mentioned that Jacobus Beukes killed a wounded German soldier "in cold blood" (p. 72): a German patrol shot dead two children and the wife of Stoffel van Wyk. An adult daughter of the kaptein was shot dead when she tried to escape. The kaptein's only son Hermanus was taken away and executed (p. 73). Oosthuizen described Beukes' act as "cold-blooded" but he uses the words "shot dead" and "executed" with regard to the killing of women and children. He fails to mention that Cornelia (aged 20), the daughter of the kaptein and an eyewitness, said of the killings, "The shooting of the people mentioned by my mother in her evidence was nothing less than a cold-blooded murder." Her mother described the killings as follows (1993:72-73): German soldiers found their party where they were hiding, unarmed, under a *krantz.* They ignored the plea of the wife of Stoffel van Wijk (aged some 70 years) and shot her dead. Thereafter they killed a boy of four and the kaptein's son Johannes (aged

12). The kaptein's son Hermanus (aged 18) was taken away and his mother heard what sounded like "a very loud rifle shot" a few minutes later. The kaptein's wife said her son was "shot" whereas Oosthuizen uses the word "executed" – a word that neither Mrs Van Wyk nor her daughter used in their evidence. Oosthuizen said the German soldiers took the rest of the group to the Leutwein station "where they were released on 13 May" but he fails to say, as Mrs Van Wyk testified, that they had to return on foot to their farm Garies – a distance of some 65 km.

Oosthuizen furthermore wrongly states that one, instead of two, of the kaptein's sons were killed (p. 72). Oosthuizen also omitted De Waal's comment (1915:14) that the aforesaid people "were all murdered by the German soldiers in the most deliberate and atrocious manner imaginable", that the Basters treated captured Germans without exception "in accordance with the rules of civilized warfare" and that the Basters' livestock and property met with "reckless slaughter and destructions".

(viii) Sergeant Günther Ziegenhorn (1919:99-100) of the German medical corps who, according to the White Book (1919), had lived for years in the Bastard country up to 1915 "and knew most of their leaders personally" reported as follows about the reasons and causes of the revolt: the Rehoboth Bastards showed at the beginning of the war that they did not wish to incur the enmity of the English. When the governor ordered the mobilization of the Bastard soldiers according to the stipulation of the treaty, they objected. The headmen of the tribe were told that they would not be used against the English, but were to do service behind the front in defending themselves and in particular their land against native enemies. Then the headman offered no further objection and the mobilization of the Bastards began. The English prisoners of war, who were, in part, guarded by the Bastards, used this opportunity to prejudice the Bastards against the German Government. The prisoners would belabor (sic) the Bastards with talk like, "The land will become English, the power of the German Government is already broken. You will never see the Germans again. Those who are still living after the conquest of the country will be sent to an island." Ziegenhorn goes on to say that the Bastards called the "atrocious murder" of the German farmer Eberhardt by the Hottentot Bastard Beukes, Petrus Diergard and Isaak Puhlmann a just *oorlog* ("war"), but the execution of the son of Cornelius van Wyk by sentence of court-martial they denounced as deliberate murder and

so hounded the British against the Germans (pp. 104 -105). "That proves how cunning these little fellows are. When the Bastards now declare that it was only the disarming of a band of their men at Sandpütz during the middle of April 1915, which brought about the rising, they simply lie. The revolt would have taken place even without this." (Clearly Ziegenhorn's claim that a court-martial preceded the killing has no substance.)

(ix) Missionary Blecher in an undated, typed document in Afrikaans (ELCA file dates 24, 29 November 1958),[19] stated that Blecher went to Germany for his sabbatical at the beginning of 1913 and that he returned to Rehoboth in April 1914. In a report of 16 November 1915 to his director Blecher said the German government decided to pull the young Basters in from the start of the war "so that they can be better controlled" (*damit man sie besser in der Hand hatte*).[20] The Germans worried about how the Basters would position themselves in the war, asking "would they not be a danger for us in these critical times". The government had problems from the start because the Basters were unwilling to let their children go to war. When the Basters were summoned to service at Walvis Bay where the English could have entered, the Basters objected. They had to patrol but could not shoot and had to guard English prisoners of war at Uitdraai 20 km east of Rehoboth.

Blecher notes: "That was a big strategic mistake of the military administration. There were Boers among the prisoners and since there is a certain bond between them and both nations speak the same language, the danger existed that the prisoners would discuss the war situation with the Basters. The Basters were informed about our defeat at Jakkalswater and our retreat in the south." When 20 armed Basters left Uitdraai, a shot was fired. In one hour all Basters left Rehoboth in all directions after everything possible was loaded on ox-wagons in a wild hurry. Some fled on foot. The English had 70 000 men and the Germans only 4 000. The Germans had only one fight because the English from the south were already in Basterland. The Baster uprising could not be seen through. "It was for me a sad ending to my mission work because I had to say to myself that the Basters stopped existing as a nation because of this uprising."

(x) Other circumstances surrounding events of the day (ELCA documents). The relationship between the Basters and Blecher broke down completely according to correspondence between the Basters, Blecher and the RMS chairman (*Präses*) Olpp. It is

[19] ELCA V11 28.13, R. Vollmer 1958-1960
[20] ELCA Correspondence and Reports 1915-1920, V11 28.6:15-22

noted by the Basters that Blecher said to them on 14 April 1915 at a meeting of Council members (*Raadslieden*):[21] "I withdraw all of my good words. I will no longer follow you. You can go to ruin and look after yourselves…" (*Gy kan in die verderf gaan, ik volgd u niet… kan nu toe zien)*. On 18 April Blecher declared, "from today I will no longer be called a Baster pastor". The Basters reported the matter on 5 October 1915 to Olpp and stated in a letter of 18 October to Blecher that the Baster Raad and elders as well as the whole congregation felt after 30 April that they were no longer duty bound to pay his salary.

Präses J. Olpp. In a Dutch pastoral letter (*Hirtenbrief*) of 13 December 1915 (ELCA VII 28.6, pp. 27-28) to the congregation of Rehoboth, Olpp resorts to what I would call religious and emotional blackmail. He wrote, "Your pastor did nothing else than warn you, as was his pastoral duty, according to God's word, to submit yourself to the powers which are over us (Rom 13:1) because *wie zich tegen de macht stelt, wederstaat de ordinatie Gods, en die ze wederstaan, zullen over zichzelve een oordeel halen* ("those who resist authority, resist the ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall themselves receive damnation".) Olpp added, "truly, your deceased grey father Heidmann would have shown you no other way than obedience to the government when it demanded in April that your young men should lay down their weapons. After the government have shown you unending patience, it punished your disobedience hard because *zy draagt het zwaard nie te vergeefs* ("for he beareth not the sword in vain"). Your grieving *Präses* J. Olpp.

(b) The Basters' version of events

(i) Mathaeus Gertze (62), teacher and scribe during the Sam !Khubis battle (De Waal 1915:21-22): When the war broke out the Basters clearly intimated to the government that they wished to remain absolutely impartial towards both sides and the Germans promised that they would not employ them to fight against the Union troops. However, the German Government did not keep its promise. When Francke told them on 17 April 1915 at Rehoboth station that they must let their soldiers go to the north and surrender their arms, they did not reply. "He knew what our reply was." On 19 April they met the Governor in Windhoek who said to them (through Blecher as interpreter), "What stupid things have you been up to now?" After some whispering between Francke, Von Hiller and Seitz, Seitz said the Basters must carry out orders. In the night of 21 April

[21] ELCA VII 28.6:35-37

Gertze fled with his wife and family from Rehoboth.

(ii) Klaas Draghoender (55) added to Gertze's testimony that Seitz also said, "The Boers and the English are now approaching with an overwhelming force and for the time it appears that things go against us. Germany's position is, however, favourable. Three months hence the Union troops will have to return again… and then you Bastards will have to account for your foolish acts that you are now committing…"

(iii) F. Draghoender (De Waal, 1915:28). "Our deserting was purely a protest against our being employed as soldiers against the English and the decision to take us up north." Some 300 able-bodied men positioned themselves at Sam !Khubis. On 8 May they were attacked by the Germans "with two guns and three maxims" (De Waal 1915:13-14).

(iv) Johannes Timotheus Beukes (25.3.1888–5.12.1975) a veteran of Sam !Khubis, told his grandson Johannes a year before his death in a tape-recorded conversation (I was given a copy of the tape) that it was a caused (*veroorsaakte*) war. There was a treaty between the German and Baster governments. The Germans requested the Baster government to let them have 150 of our 18-year-old sons to train them for war to protect our boundaries. They were given the boys on condition that when white would fight against white, European against European, the Basters would remain neutral. When the Germans wanted people during the English and *Dietse* war of 1914, they were reminded of the undertaking. Then they requested horses and tried to force us into war. Beukes used military terms like *maneuvers* ("manoeuvre"), *vleuwel* ("wing"), *salwe* ("salvo"), *gesneuwel* ("fell in action"), which shows that he was a trained soldier – in action and at heart. He describes a "very brave" German officer encouraging his soldiers time and again to attack and says how sorry he was that he did not have his name. His own bravery is illustrated by the following: he crept up to a wounded German officer who was lying on a wagon to remove his bandolier with cartridges. When the officer saw him take out his pocket knife to cut the leather strap, the man thought he wanted to kill him and said: *Junge, sei doch nicht dumme!* ("Young man, don't be stupid").

(v) *Ouma* Catharina van Wyk Matroos (1893) told Roux (1988) in an interview "the time of the Germans" started as follows (Roux 1988:243): "They wanted soldiers for the war. The mothers then said: our children (*kjenners*) will not. The mandate of the kaptein and the white men said when the *hotnot* and *kaffers* make war… then the Baster soldiers

must help, but when whites and whites make war, then the Basters will not go there… this is how it started (*daarvandaan het die ding gekom*)."

(vi) Dewdney Drew observed the following (in De Villiers 1927, cited in *Ons Eeufees* 1970:56-57): "The Germans withdrew at daybreak after a heavy battle of a day and a part of the night while the (Baster) burgers remained in control of the battlefield. This result, in accordance with the principles of all military writers, means a victory for the Rehoboth community… In their view, the God of the battlefields returned their land to them, a belief they clung to, especially because deliverance came at the moment when they had run out of ammunition… In this way they got the land back that was wrongfully taken from them." The Secretary of South West Africa responded as follows to Drew's assertion: "The argument of conquest by the Basters is laughable. Can it not be said that, with greater power, the Germans captured the Gebiet and that the Union troops captured it again, with the result that the Allied Powers captured the right of the whole Gebiet?"

(vii) Secretariat of the United Nations (1955:176). The treaty provided that the Captain would assist as far as possible in the preservation of peace in Great Namaqualand and the adjoining countries and remained in force until 22 April 1915 when the German Government abrogated. Relations between the Rehoboth community and the German administration was generally harmonious prior to 1914 but began to deteriorate due to the reluctance of the Rehobothers to take up arms against the Union forces. The question of participation was brought to a head when they refused to provide men to guard captured Union prisoners. The Germans retaliated by seizing and destroying livestock and property.

(viii) Gaseb (2000:4), after noting that he is not a Baster, states that Sam !Khubis "ranks as one of the most significant acts of Namibian resistance to colonial power between 1908 and 1966" - if the simple criteria of the number of people killed and injured are used. The Basters, like Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero, signed treaties with the German administration. The one of 1885 gave them a considerable degree of autonomy while the one ten years later established them, like the troops of Witbooi and Maharero, as military allies of the Germans. The treaty caused tensions that culminated in the deadly battle of Sam !Khubis. The Basters objected to German orders to guard white prisoners "with whom they felt linguistically and historically related".

(c) Final remarks on the Sam !Khubis battle

The researcher believes the battle was primarily caused by firstly alarm and uncertainty among both the Germans and the Basters in the face of the advancing British troops. The Basters had to rely on rumour while the Germans communicated with their troops by means of field telephones and seismographs.[22] Secondly, trust between missionary Blecher and the Basters broke down days before the battle. Thirdly, there were differences in language and cognition: The Germans had no Dutch and the Baster leadership had no German at the time. The two crucial words *im Lande* ("in the country") had e.g. different meanings for the two parties. Last-minute negotiations had to be interpreted by – among others – Blecher, who was by then hostile towards the Basters.

The researcher observed the following changes while attending Sam !Khubis commemorations in 2000, 2002 and 2005 as guest of the Basters: In 2000 celebrations were traditional with a lengthy church service in Rehoboth, followed by a religious programme on the battle terrain stretching over two days. In 2002 when President Nujoma attended the event for the first (and last) time, security arrangements changed the tone. Speeches were in English – including one by kaptein McNab.[23] In 2005 McNab was absent. After the Sunday morning sermon, one of the organisers (aged about 35 years) asked the audience in auction-style for money and items to improve the terrain infrastructure. The closing ceremony at the graves of the fallen soldiers was attended by only about 30 of roughly 2000 people on the terrain. During the final prayer one elderly man stood upright with his right hand on his heart. The researcher believes that the aforesaid signified that by 2005, 90 years after the battle, a young generation had taken over with less traditional and more materialistic ways – but not necessarily less respect for the Sam !Khubis oath. Grade 11s' relationship with Sam !Khubis is probed in Chapter 8.

5.5 Conclusion

The Rehoboth Basters' version of two prominent events in their history, the 1885 Treaty and the 1915 Sam !Khubis battle, was given. Their historical presence in the Gebiet was illustrated in the process and reasons were given - and hopefully understood - why traditional Rehoboth Basters insist on their nationhood and their right to Rehoboth land.

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[22] War veteran Beukes related how the Germans used *spieëlse* ("mirrors") during the battle.

[23] McNab was offered a government post afterwards, which he accepted (and filled until 2007) because he believed that it would bring the Basters closer to the government (p.c. McNab 2002).

For many a town dweller the concept of "land" is now contained in home and garden - on a plot in Rehoboth. Earlier it was the word *kraal* (see lead quote of Chapter 4) but now the overall sense of it is contained in the word *jaart* ("yard"). A Rehoboth Baster would furiously defend his home and the rights connected to it with, *hierdie is my jaart* ("this is my property"). As shown in Chapter 7, Afrikaans-speaking Rehoboth youngsters are now no longer interested in farming – the traditional mode of production of their forebears - as a future occupation; their minds are more set on careers in the financial field. The genetic mix of the Rehoboth Basters was discussed in Chapter 4. Rehoboth name lists of 1908, 1931 and 1964/65 (Appendix pp. x-xi) are evidential of the new arrivals of especially Cape Coloureds in the area. Many a traditional Afrikaans-speaking Rehoboth family of today has the following mixture (p.c. 3 August 2010: a Rehoboth Baster woman, born in Rehoboth in 1960, described her family tree to the researcher): Maternal grandfather a member of the German *Schutztruppe* (see above); mother Baster; father Cape Coloured; three siblings classified as Coloureds (because they were born in the early 1950s outside Rehoboth); the rest of her siblings, including herself, are classified as Basters. The informant believes about half the Afrikaans families in present-day Rehoboth has this mixture: one third Baster (i.e. the original Dutch and Khoi mix); one third German; one third Cape Coloured.[24] As noted above, the pre-1990 Rehoboth history may no longer be a binding factor in the community but the post-1990 may lead to a new sense of community.

As shown in Chapter 8, the people of Rehoboth (Basters as well as Coloureds) remain deeply religious although church leadership has been taken over by a less traditional, more qualified and bilingual (in English) young generation. The next chapter has a wide take on the Afrikaans of the people of Rehoboth – with special attention to their *mooi* Afrikaans. The researcher believes that language is the least stable entity of their triple root – religion, land and language. Their language has changed from Khoi to Dutch to (some) German to Afrikaans in the course of their relatively short history of 140 years (in 2010). Fieldwork data suggest that most members of the post-1990 generation of Afrikaans-speaking Rehoboth youngsters prefer English as their home language and as mother tongue for the next generation (see Chapters 8 and 9.)

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[24] Note that Jacky Britz (born in 1959), son of the late author and historian Rudolf Britz (1931-1999) and also a chronicler of Rehoboth Baster history, agrees generally with the Khoi, Dutch and German ancestry (p.c. 16 Augustus 2010) but he believes that the Coloured ratio is lower.

Chapter Six

Aspects of the Dutch and Afrikaans of the Rehoboth Basters, ca.1900 and 2000

Juffrou, aan wie behoort Afrikaans? Is dit ons s'n ook? - Learner, Khomasdal 1996[1]

("Miss, to whom does Afrikaans belong? Is it ours too?")

6.1 Introduction

The nature of the Dutch that was spoken by Rehoboth Basters up to and around the early 1900s - a language period before the one Rademeyer (1938) covered - is probed in this chapter. Rademeyer admitted (p. 10) that his analysis is almost fully based on "own observation" and that his visits to Rehoboth were "relatively brief". He also noted that when the Basters were more isolated and they still spoke *Hottentots* along with Afrikaans, "their language must have undoubtedly (*ongetwyfeld*) been a lot different" (pp. 26-27). Oral history and primary documents, coupled with reconstruction in terms of some of the sociolinguistic principles discussed in Chapter 2, suggest that Baster pioneers who lived in geographic and social isolation on farms maintained Dutch-like features in their speech and passed it on to their grandchildren. The most salient aspect of this moribund speech form, which is for the sake of convenience called "Pioneer Code", was its Dutch accent. Evidence of its existence is gathered in **6.6** but no attempt is made to describe its language structure. The speech of Tannie Anna Beukes (born in 1922), who fits the profile in the sense that she was raised on a farm by her Baster pioneer grandmother (born in the late 1800s), is considered in **6.10** – followed by a discussion of the "Mooi Afrikaans" of a Stellenbosch graduate (born in Rehoboth in 1982) whose code has in the view of the researcher not received the scholarly attention due to it.[2] The latter throws light on the Afrikaans spoken in Rehoboth ca. 2000 by people who still had their schooling in Afrikaans and who were often drilled by parents to speak it "purely". It serves as link to the next chapters where the language behaviour of Afrikaans Grade 11s, born around 1986 and 1991, is considered in terms of language maintenance, endangerment and shift.

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[1] A Baster girl's question, in stage whisper, during the researcher's mock "symposium" in which Grade 11s had to defend their respective mother tongues (there were six) in view of Krauss's 1992 estimate that only some 10% of the world's languages could be termed as "safe" (Krauss, 1998:103).

[2] Lecturers of the Universities of Namibia, Stellenbosch and the Western Cape (as well as other people) often praise the exceptional Afrikaans of students from Rehoboth.

The following observation of Britz (1991:10-11) supplies background to the two codes: "Since 1928 when the first teachers with diplomas (*gediplomeerde leerkragte*)[3] were imported from the Cape Colony, the use of standard Afrikaans was purposefully pursued in the schools… In time a distinction was made between two groups of burgers; the people who were there first and the ones who came later from the Colony… The first group spoke Dutch and later Rehoboth Afrikaans, while the latter one used a kind of Afrikaans, which leaned somewhat excessively towards standard Afrikaans."

McNab's assertion that the language and handwriting of the Basters changed after 1930 (p.c. Windhoek 2004) is verified in **6.3** and **6.4**. Before the first Afrikaans Bible was published in 1933 the Dutch State Bible was the Basters' literacy text. Their Dutch role models ca. 1900 were two L2 Dutch speakers: missionary Heidmann from Germany and schoolteacher Matheus Gertze who was educated in Dutch in Otjimbingwe, Namibia. The influence of the contact languages Cape Dutch, Nama, German and to a lesser degree English on the Basters' vernacular, is illustrated in the context of place, person and time by means of an utterance in 1915 by a member of the pioneer Van Wyk clan in **6.2**; a brief description in **6.5** of the battle of Jacobus Beukes, who lived from 1885-1965, with written Afrikaans (especially the diphthong [æy]); in **6.7** with three sentences that have been circulating for generations in jest and lastly in **6.8** with a comparison between the satirical Cape newspaper column 'Straatpraatjes' (of the early 1900s) and a Rehoboth newspaper column 'Ouma Sara' (of the early 2000s). Reasons for the excessive use of the circumflex in the latter column are sought. The influence of the Dutch Bible, hymns and prayers on Rehoboth phonology is discussed in **6.9.** The question in the lead quote of the chapter is answered in **6.11**. Note that the Basters are credited with pioneering mother tongue Afrikaans in Namibia after settling in Rehoboth in 1870.

6.2 Features of the pioneers' language around 1915

In the report of the Union of South Africa Commission of Enquiry into German/Baster-hostilities in May 1915 Chairman Lieut.-Col. D. de Waal stated: "The language of the Bastards is exclusively Dutch[4], and the Dutch as spoken does not suffer

[3] One of the features of the Afrikaans spoken in Rehoboth is that certain Dutch words and forms remained in use to this day. The Afrikaans for teacher is *onderwyser* and the Dutch, *leerkracht.*

[4] The terms *Afrikaans-Hollands/ Kaaps-Hollands* were used in South Africa well into the 19th century to distinguish it from *Nederlands*, according to J. du P. Scholtz (born in 1900). In his youth

by comparison with the language spoken in several districts of the Union." It is clear that the Basters had no English (the report was published in English, which means that all evidence before the commission had to be translated) but it is unclear what was meant by his description of their Dutch. Unfortunately the report contains only one Baster-utterance that was not translated into English.[5] In a German letter marked "confidential" and dated 4 September 1914, an anonymous writer stated (De Waal, 1915:33) it was "quite obvious that the fathers were extremely worried about their sons". He quoted the 61-year old Dirk van Wijk, who had two sons and a brother in the Baster Corps, as follows: "*Dere Orlog is doch too banja gefahrlick for de kinners, denn ze zal allmal getod"* ("this war is too very dangerous for the children, they will all be killed"). This sentence makes one believe that De Waal was courteous about the Basters' Dutch for it is a mixture of idiosyncrasies, early Afrikaans, English, Dutch, German and Cape Malay. Although the sentence is a German-speaker's version of what was said and maybe not entirely authentic, it is discussed below to show how five contact languages met in this single sentence.

- the demonstrative pronoun *dere* seemingly belongs to no language and could be a conglomeration of German (*diese*), Dutch (*deze*) and SA[6] (*hierdie*)
- the shortened first vowel [o] in *orlog* (SA [o:] *oorlog*) is typical of L1 and L2 Afrikaans spoken in the area and in the wider Namibia to this day
- English *too* and *for*
- German influence in the spelling of *Orlog* with a capital letter; the first half of the word *gefahrlick* (German *gefährlich* [χ]); *allmal* (SA *almal*; German *alle*); *getod* (SA *dood*, German *Tod* "death"); *denn* (SA *want* "because") and *doch* (SA *tog* "surely")
- the ending of *gefahrlick* [k] is Afrikaans in sound but not in spelling
- *de* ("the") and *ze* ("they") are Dutch; *zal* ("will") combines the Dutch *zullen* and Afrikaans *sal* (the formal switch to the voiceless [s] in Afrikaans spelling dates from 1917);
- *banja* is an element of the Cape vernacular, which has the Malay word *banjak* with its barely audible last consonant as one of the possible roots (Boshoff and Nienaber 1967:149)

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the vernacular was called *Hollands* up to 1917 - at least when he went to university. The term Afrikaans, as abbreviation of *Afrikaans-Hollands*, was gradually accepted by the wider public (Scholtz, 1980:115) and first used by supporters of the "Association of Real Afrikaners" (*Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners*) that was established in 1875 in Paarl, "excluding women from membership" (Alba Bouwer, 1975:9, 20).

[5] Namibia was administered in mainly English between 1915 and 1924 (Stals 2008:74).

[6] SA (*Standaard Afrikaans* "Standard Afrikaans") is used for the sake of convenience. It is merely regarded as "the fixed point whereby variation can be measured" (Hans du Plessis, 1987:33).

According to the German letter writer (De Waal 1915:9) the Baster Corps had 176 members, including respectively 28 and 23 men from the two largest clans Van Wijk and Beukes. Dirk van Wijk's speech must have been representative of at least his generation and the pioneers.[7] He was councillor of the Baster Raad, was born in 1854[8] and had been living in Rehoboth since 1873 (p. 26). Four more witnesses were pioneers: Kaptein Cornelis van Wijk (aged 58, born around 1843), son of the first kaptein, and Samuel Beukes (aged 53) arrived with their respective fathers in Rehoboth in 1870 (1915:17, 19). Both Pieter Mouton (aged 52), who was born at De Tuin and moved to Namibia in 1871 and Frederick Draghoender (aged 45 and born in the Cape) entered Namibia as children (p. 27).

Stals asserted (2001:57) that the mother tongue of the Basters was *Hollands-Afrikaans*[9] when they settled at Rehoboth while the RMS missionary Hahn's English wife Emma wrote from Otjimbingwe in November 1869 (Guedes, 1992:323): "Large numbers of Bastards (the people partly descended from Dutch farmers and Hottentots and speaking the language of both) are coming up from the Colony, from which they are so to say being pressed out by the extension of the lands of the farmers and other whites…" Hans Schinz observed during his travels in Namibia from 1884-1887 (Von Steenken, 1995:30-32) that the Basters had *Bergdamaras* or *Nama-Boesmans* as farm workers, that the Baster adults spoke Cape Dutch, that the church language was High Dutch and that the Baster children preferred to use the *Hottentotse* idiom. The latter suggests that the Baster children had a Nama-speaking grandparent, Nama women as caregivers and/or Nama children as playmates. They furthermore trekked in isolation for some three years from the Dutch missionary station De Tuin to Rehoboth covering 1 500-2 000 km (Von Steenken, p. 6) and missionary Heidmann did not accompany them all of the time. While living among the Basters in Rehoboth for four months in 1908 Fischer observed (Fischer, 1961:284) that they learnt Dutch as "second mother tongue" as the first was *hottentottisch*. (Some 600–

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[7] Several Rehoboth interviewees in the 2000s verified what Britz (1991, above) said about the pioneers' speech - with some describing it as "Dutch-like" (*Nederlandsagtig*) This is explained by the habit of memorising and repeatedly reciting large parts of Dutch religious texts.

[8] Birth years were calculated in accordance with the witnesses' ages that were given in testimony.

[9] As noted above, the researcher agrees with Waher (2002) that *Hollands* ("Dutch") would have served Stals better as an umbrella-term for "everything from Dutch to Afrikaans". "Dutch" is therefore used in this chapter to denote early forms of Afrikaans as well as the Dutch spoken by inlanders and German missionaries in the 1800s and up to 1915 when the Union of South Africa took over Namibia.

800 Basters occupied Rehoboth at the time.) Fischer believed that it would be interesting for a *Kapholländer* to probe (a) what happened to the Basters' Cape Dutch "after they were no longer influenced by the *Boers*", (b) how their Cape Dutch must have been "grinded off" or changed by the influence of Nama and (c) how the Basters' earlier *Hottentot* language changed into Nama. He thought their Nama was more robust (*rauher*) and that their click-tones "sounded stronger". Their German missionary Heidmann was their role model for 40 years, according to the obituary (1913) of the Rehoboth teacher and scribe (see below) Mattheus Gertse (cited in Vollmer, 1997:1). Missionary Adolf Blecher, who took over from 1901-1915, delivered his inaugural sermon on the Emperor's birthday in German (Vollmer, p. 148) in a German army uniform (p.c. McNab, 2002) and he took charge of all German schooling in Rehoboth right away.

Three witnesses before the De Waal Commission testified that they were born elsewhere in Namibia and/or arrived much later than the pioneers in Rehoboth. Gertse[10], the village elder, scribe, teacher and role model from 1874 until 1906, was born in 1853 at Groot Barmen in Damaraland (1915:21-22). He said he knew of the existence of the Baster people when he moved to Rehoboth on 17 February 1874. Gertse testified that he was educated from 1863/1864 by Missionary Hahn at Augustineum, Otjimbingwe (an educational centre for teachers and assistant-missionaries), which means that he was about 10 years old at the time. The medium of education and textbooks was Dutch (Stals, 2001:112) and the mainly German teachers came directly from Europe. The European Dutch environment in which Gertse grew up and studied must have influenced his Dutch.[11]

6.3 <u>Dutch as written language of Rehoboth Basters up to the late 1920s</u>

The following letters show that Dutch was the written language of the Basters' leaders in 1918, 1923 and 1927. On 12 January 1918 Dewdney Drew wrote to them from the Cape (De Villiers, 1927:316): *Zooals door u gewenscht probeer ik om uwen brief… in Hollands te antwoorden, ofschoon van die taal meester te zyn, kan ik er niet op de kleinste*

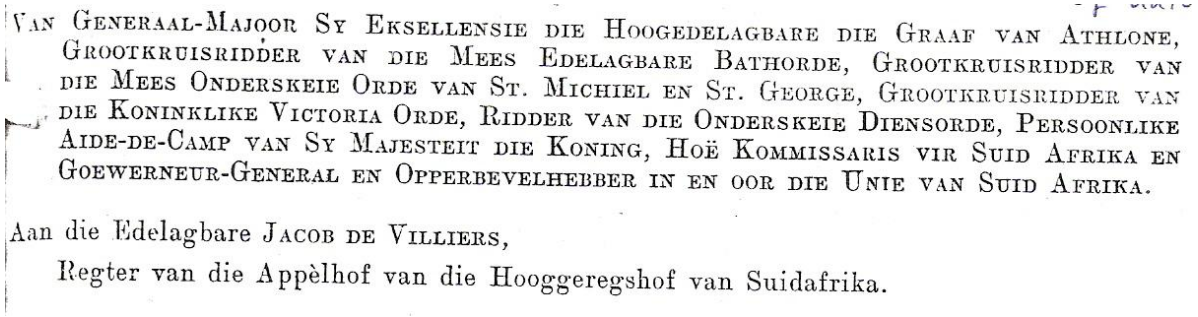
[10] Gerts(z)e stated in a letter of 14 August 1922 that he was a witness in 1873 in Okahandja "when Kaptein Maharero gave his land to the kaptein of the Basters" in the presence of the missionaries Hahn, Brenker and Diehl. (Baster Gebiet Rehoboth Boundaries SWAA 1381, Vol. 1 to 17.12.55.)

[11] Missionary Lindt of Rehoboth noted about the ailing Gertze in the late 1930s (ELCA Annual Report 1952): He was the son of the first Herero convert Urieta (1837-1936), who lived with Hahn and his wife Emma from the age of six. According to Emma Hahn (Guedes 1992:408, 419) Urieta was servant, teacher and interpreter and also spoke Dutch, German and English. She married Samuel Gertse (1805-1889) in 1864 after his first wife died, raised his eight children and had nine of her own.

aanspraak maken. ("As requested by you I am trying to reply to your letter… in Dutch although I cannot in the least claim that I am master of that language.") Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, member of the Cape parliament and president of the African Political Organization (APO) wrote[12] to acting Kaptein Albert Mouton on 25 April 1923 (Oosthuizen 1993:121): *Vergeet niet dat u onder de parlementleden alhier niet weinige vrienden heeft, zoodat ik hoop u nooit een traktaat of overeenstemming zal moeten teekenen wat niet bevredigend is.* ("Do not forget that you have quite a few friends among the members of parliament here. I thus hope that you will never sign a treaty that is not satisfactory.")

In a Dutch letter to chairman De Villiers in 1927 the Basters expressed unhappiness about the delay in the publication of his report on the position of the Basters. Note in Figs. 6.1 and 6.2 below how the Basters rewrote the impressive Afrikaans title of the Earl of Athlone (as it appeared in the formal instruction to De Villiers 1927:1) into Afrikaans with Dutch-like features that the original did not have. The letter also demonstrates how ornate the handwriting of the Rehoboth Basters was at the time.

Fig. 6.1 Titles of the Governor of the Union of South Africa in his instruction to Jacob de Villiers, chairman of the Rehoboth Commission (De Villiers 1927:1)



Van Generaal-Majoor Sy Eksellensie die Hoogedelagbare die Graaf van Athlone, Grootkruisridder van die Mees Edelagbare Bathorde, Grootkruisridder van die Mees Onderskeie Orde van St. Michiel en St. George, Grootkruisridder van die Koninklike Victoria Orde, Ridder van die Onderskeie Diensorde, Persoonlike Aide-de-Camp van Sy Majesteit die Koning, Hoë Kommissaris vir Suid Afrika en Goewerneur-Generaal en Opperbevelhebber in en oor die Unie van Suid Afrika.

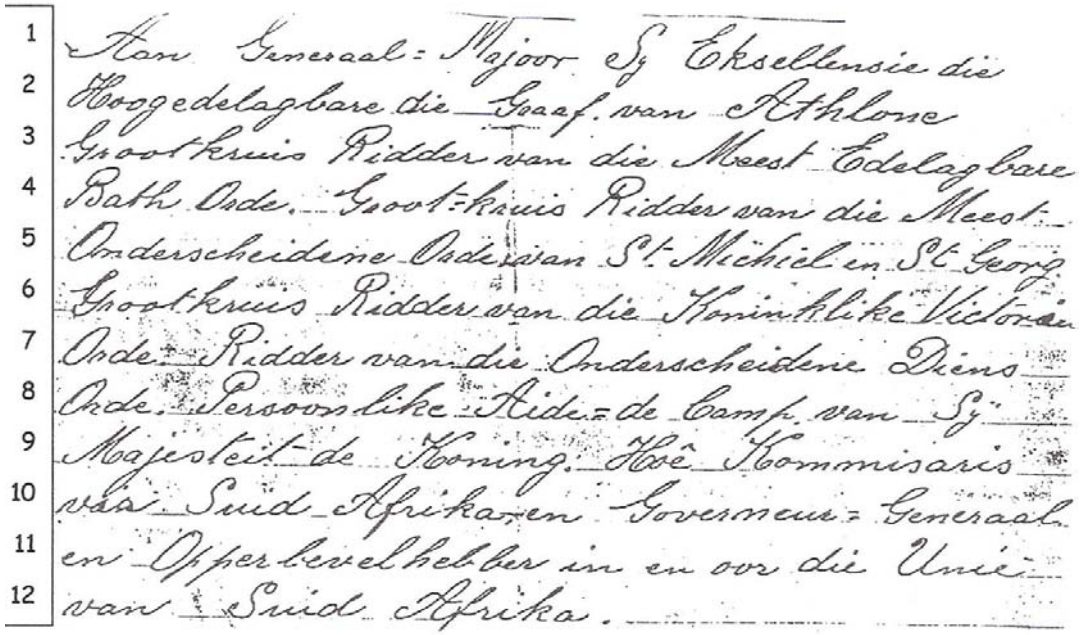
Aan die Edelagbare Jacob de Villiers,
Regter van die Appèlhof van die Hooggeregshof van Suidafrika.

The Basters' rendition of the titles in a letter of 1927 to the Governor is shown below. In lines 1, 4, 8 and 10 the European double hyphen is used; in 3 and 4 *Mees* gets the Dutch final *–t*; [sk] is changed twice to the Dutch *–sch* [sχ] (*Onderscheidene*) in 5 and 7; in line 8 the Afrikaans word [sə i] is spelt half in Afrikaans with the voiceless consonant [s] and half in Dutch with *ÿ* (ij); in nine Afrikaans *die* becomes *de* and *Hoë* is written with a circumflex instead of a diœresis, while in line 10 the first half of *Governeur* (SA

[12] It is assumed that he was the author of "Straatpraatjes" (Mohamed Adhikari, 1996:3), which was written in the Cape Afrikaans vernacular of the time.

Goewerneur) is English. Figs. 6.2-3 confirm McNab's remark (above) that the Basters' religious and political language was Dutch up to the 1930s and their handwriting ornate.

Fig. 6.2 The Basters' rendition of the Governor's titles (NAN SWAA A 206/3)

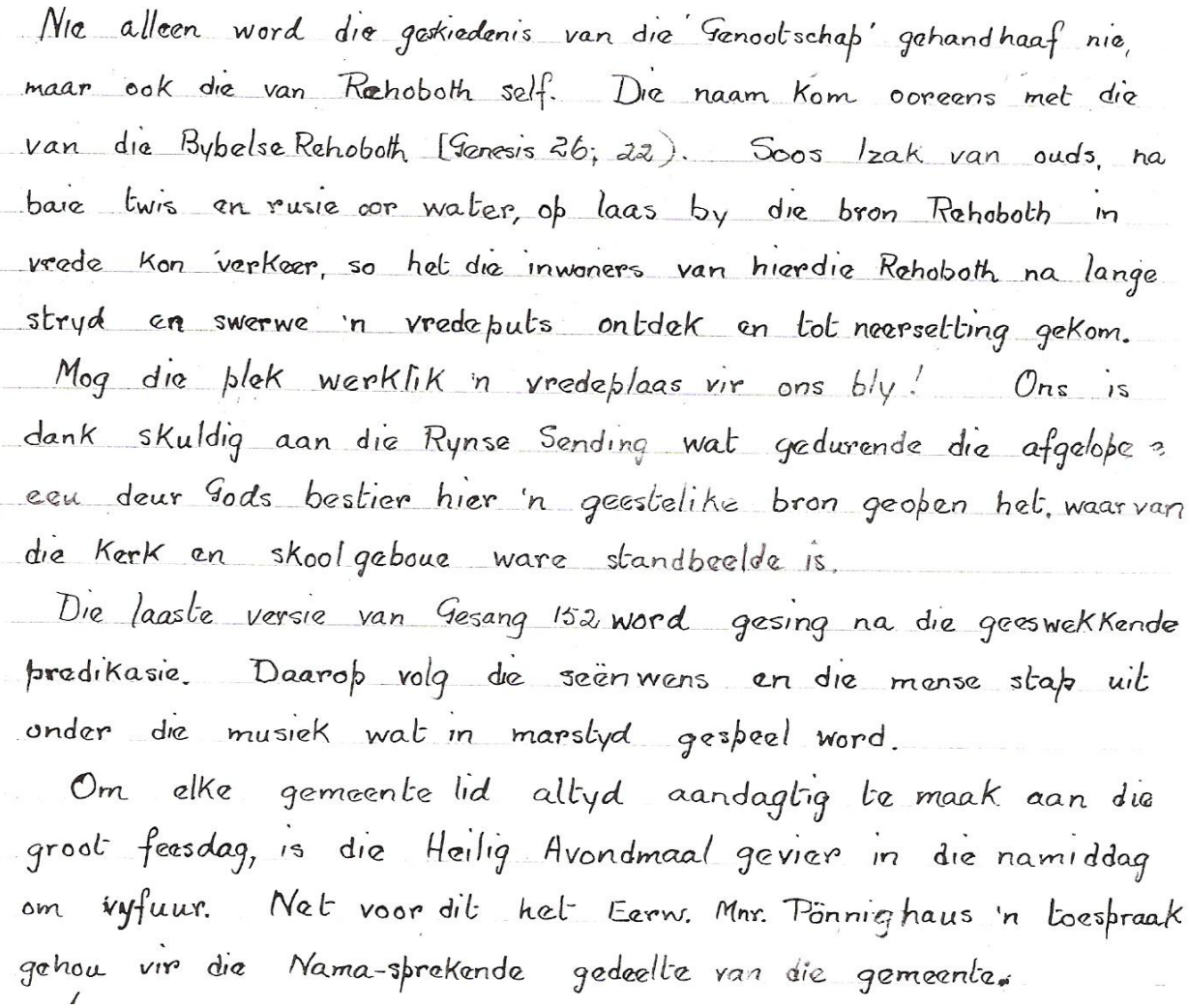


6.4 Introduction of standardised Afrikaans to Rehoboth

The first wordlist and spelling rules (*Woordelys en Spelreëls*) was published in South Africa in 1917 (T.H. le Roux, 1950:113). Ponelis dated (1998:47) the standardisation and exponential propagation (*eksponensiële uitbreiding*) of Afrikaans as cultural language at 1925-1946. Fig. 6.3 below confirms Britz's assertion that school teachers brought standardised Afrikaans to Rehoboth from 1928 onwards. Missionary Vedder mentioned in his annual report from Okahandja on 30 August 1928 (ELCA VII 28.8:163) that three Cape teachers, who were brought to Rehoboth by Missionary Schröer, arranged the RMS school festivities at the time. Schröer noted in a report of 30 September 1928 that one of them wrote *Die Jubelfees* [13] and dictated it to children in their third school year "so that they can retain the memory of this feast" (p. 190). In the report reference was made to *Mnr. February* – a well-known Coloured surname not found in Rehoboth - who played three piano solos. The lively, descriptive style and diminutives in the five-page Afrikaans text distinguish it from the sober German translation – without, e.g., a single diminutive.

[13] Schröer included it in his midyear report (30 September 1928) and stated that the original report was written by one of the teachers and translated it into German (VII 28.8:186-188).

Fig. 6.3 Page of *Die Jubelfees* in 1928 (ELCA VII 28.8 1907-1969: 153-157)



Nie alleen word die geskiedenis van die 'Genootschap' gehandhaaf nie, maar ook die van Rehoboth self. Die naam kom ooreens met die van die Bybelse Rehoboth [Genesis 26; 22). Soos Izak van ouds, na baie twis en rusie oor water, op laas by die bron Rehoboth in vrede kon verkeer, so het die inwoners van hierdie Rehoboth na lange stryd en swerwe 'n vredeputs ontdek en tot neersetting gekom.

Mog die plek werklik 'n vredeplaas vir ons bly! Ons is dank skuldig aan die Rynse Sending wat gedurende die afgelope ½ eeu deur Gods bestier hier 'n geestelike bron geopen het, waarvan die Kerk en skoolgeboue ware standbeelde is.

Die laaste versie van Gesang 152 word gesing na die geeswekkende predikasie. Daarop volg die seënwens en die mense stap uit onder die musiek wat in marstyd gespeel word.

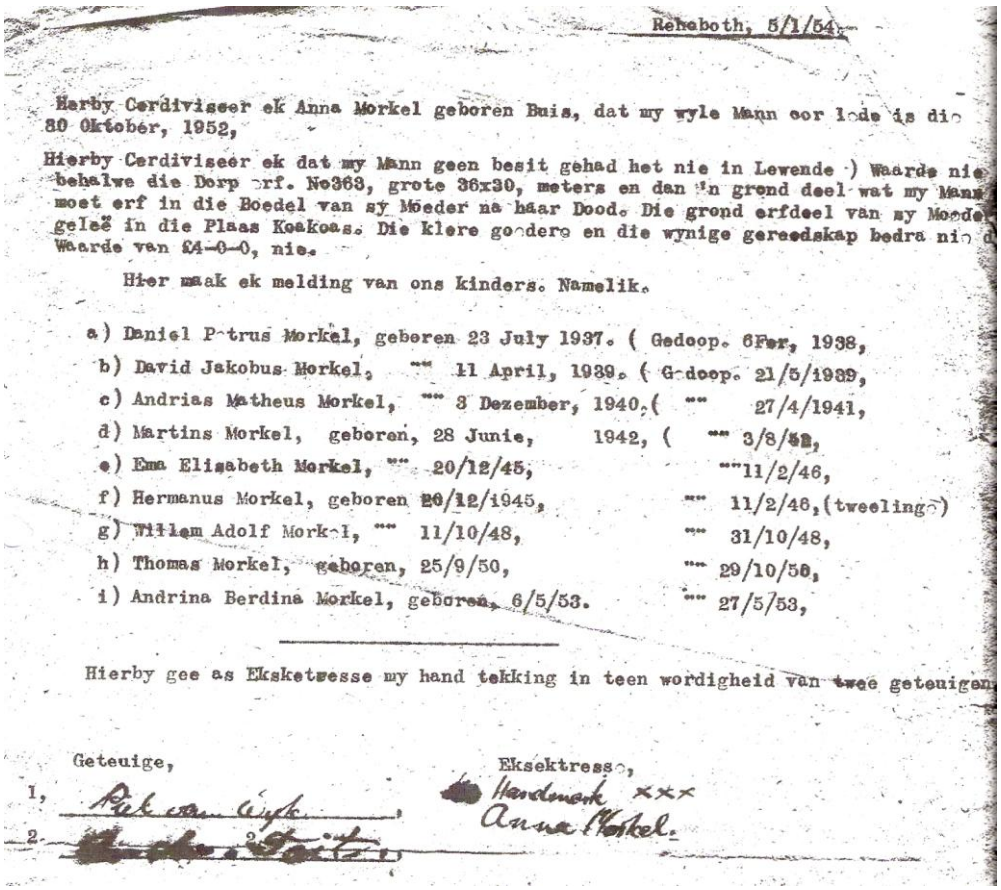
Om elke gemeente lid altyd aandagtig te maak aan die groot feesdag, is die Heilig Avondmaal gevier in die namiddag om vyfuur. Net voor dit het Eerw. Mnr. Pönnighaus 'n toespraak gehou vir die Nama-sprekende gedeelte van die gemeente.

The text illustrates features of the Afrikaans that the Cape teachers introduced to Rehoboth. Most of it followed the new Afrikaans spelling rules of 1917 but some Dutch-like words were maintained like the following: *sitplase* (SA *sitplekke*, "seats"), *skooljongens* (SA *skoolseuns*, "schoolboys"), *neersetting* (Dutch *neerzetting*, SA *nedersetting*, "settlement"), *waterkantientjies* (SA *waterkannetjies*, "water cans"), *meester* (SA *onderwyser*, "teacher"), *aardappel* (SA *aartappel*, "potato"), *voornaamste* (SA *vernaamste,* "most important"). The unusual word *geeswekkende* ("spiritually rousing", Dutch *geestverheffend*) in the third paragraph exemplifies a typical feature of the Afrikaans of the Rehoboth Basters – creating words to suit a need of the moment. E.g.: In discussing the value of the Beukes collection with the researcher in 2006, Mrs Olivier said spontaneously that the documents are *kluiswaardig* i.e. "worthy of the purchase of a safe for it". Rademeyer also drew attention to the Basters' creativity in word formation (Rademeyer, 1938:67).

6.5 Jacobus Beukes's battle with diphthongs and vowels; influence of German

Beukes's legacy is a unique and invaluable primary source for sociolinguistic research. It provides in both handwritten and typed format, proof of language difficulties of his generation, which can be projected onto the linguistic situation that pertains in multilingual Namibia of the 2000s: Beukes, born in 1885, was schooled in German while his mother tongue was Dutch/Afrikaans. While he still wrote in Dutch in the late 1920s, he had to change to standardised Afrikaans in his correspondence with the S.A. authorities. His lack of English prevented him from articulating and communicating his ideas to the League of Nations and later the UN. Features of Beukes's Afrikaans are described below.

Fig. 6.4 Rehoboth will typed in 1954 by Beukes, an accredited executor of Rehoboth



Rehoboth, 5/1/54.

Hierby Cerdiviseer ek Anna Morkel geboren Buis, dat my wyle Mann oor lede is die 30 Oktober, 1952,

Hierby Cerdiviseer ek dat my Mann geen besit gehad het nie in Lewende) Waarde nie behalwe die Dorp erf. No363, grote 36x30, meters en dan 'n grond deel wat my Mans moet erf in die Boedel van sy Moeder na haar Dood. Die grond erfdeel van my Moeder gelee in die Plaas Koakoas. Die klere goedere en die wynige gereedskap bedra nie die Waarde van £4-0-0, nie.

Hier maak ek melding van ons kinders. Namelik.

a) Daniel Petrus Morkel, geboren 23 July 1937. (Gedoop. 6Fer, 1938,
b) David Jakobus Morkel, " 11 April, 1939. (Gedoop. 21/5/1939,
c) Andrias Matheus Morkel, " 3 Dezember, 1940.(" 27/4/1941,
d) Martins Morkel, geboren, 28 Junie, 1942, (" 3/8/42,
e) Ema Elisabeth Morkel, " 20/12/45, "11/2/46,
f) Hermanus Morkel, geboren 20/12/1945, " 11/2/46,(tweeling)
g) Willem Adolf Morkel, " 11/10/48, " 31/10/48,
h) Thomas Morkel, geboren, 25/9/50, " 29/10/50,
i) Andrina Berdina Morkel, geboren, 6/5/53. " 27/5/53,

Hierby gee as Eksekutresse my hand tekking in teen wordigheid van twee geteuigen

Geteuige,
1, Piet van Wyk,
2, [illegible]

Eksektresse,
Handmerk xxx
Anna Morkel.

Table 6.1 shows how the influence of Beukes's contact languages was still obvious in 1954. Both Dutch and English could have influenced the two official words 1 and 9 (for 'certify' and 'executrix'). The spelling of 3 and 5 is German although Basters pronounce *December* with [z] and not [ts]. This pronounciation could, however, also be a phonetic

remnant of the voiced *-z* in Dutch.[14] It was already suggested in 1874 in the Cape (by S.J. du Toit, cited in Le Roux, 1950:92-93) that *–s* should replace the Dutch *–z* in Afrikaans spelling since Afrikaans only has [z] in loanwords (like Zulu). Le Roux noted how disturbing it it was at the time when public speakers pronounced the Dutch *–z* wrongly (i.e. voicing it excessively), "especially with the minister reading a psalm or hymn verse!" (p. 95). The spelling of *geteuige* in 8 exemplifies Beukes's constant battle with [œy] in specific words. Both Rademeyer (1938) and Van Schalkwyk (1983 and 2003) noted the interchange of the diphthong [œy] with [y:] among the Rehoboth Basters in a number of words - but not with regard to the word *getuie*.

Table 6.1 Beukes's Afrikaans compared to SA, Dutch, English and German equivalents

	Beukes Afrikaans	**Standard Afrikaans**	**Dutch**[15]	**English**	**German**
1	*cerdiviseer*	*sertifiseer*	*certificeren*	certify	*bezeugen*
2	*geboren*	*gebore*	*geboren*	born	*geboren*
3	*Mann*	*man*	*man*	husband	*Mann*
4	*namelik*	*naamlik*	*namelijk*	namely	*nämlich*
5	*Dezember*	*Desember*	*December*	December	*Dezember*
6	*hand tekking*	*handtekening*	*handtekening*	signature	*Unterschrift*
7	*teen wordigheid*	*teenwoordigheid*	*tegenwoordigheid*	presence	*Anwesenheit*
8	*geteuigen/ geteuige*	*getuies*	*getuige*	witnesses	*Zeugen*
9	*Eksektresse*	*eksekutrise*	*executrice*	executress/ executrix	*Testamentsvoll-streckerin*

As shown on the next page, Beukes spelt the new words in his vocabulary correctly with [y:] but stuck to his peculiar way of writing *getuie* – a word that he must have often heard in religious teaching, e.g. Revelations 22:16, *Ik, Jezus, heb mijnen engel gezonden om ulieden deze dingen te getuigen…* ("I, Jesus, have sent my angel to testify these things unto you…") On 21 June 1952 Beukes said in a typed letter to *Dr. van Rhein* the Administrator of South West Africa (***Sudwes**-Afrika*): *Edelagbare ek moet melding maak dat **ek** nie opgely is in Afrikaans nie so sal **ik** voute maak my oplyding was **Deuits*** ("Your Honour, I must state that since I was not educated in Afrikaans I will make mistakes my education was German") Beukes alternated the Dutch *ik* with the Afrikaans *ek* while

[14] The researcher has heard Coloureds in Grassy Park, Cape Town pronounce *Desember* with [z] and S[a:]terdag as S[a]terdag (akin to "S[a]turday" in English) like some Basters do too. She has also heard Otjiherero speakers with L2 Afrikaans pronounce the latter in a similar way.

[15] Source: *Ten Bruggencate Engels Woordenboek* (1963).

German influence is shown in *Sudwes* although it is spelt without the umlaut and the final *-t* of *Südwest*. His spelling of "German" as *Deuits* instead of *Duits* verifies his battle with [œy] as in *geteuige* (above) and *leui* (SA*lui*) below. Once when a photographer took a flashlight picture of Beukes, he called out: *Wat blêts* (SA *blits*) *so!* (p.c. playmate of a daughter of Beukes, Rehoboth 2001), which corresponds with the rendition of this sound in the newspaper column 'Ouma Sara' (below). Beukes signed his surname *Beukes* throughout the collection, although he could have pronounced it like elderly interviewees of the same clan with [ø:] *Buuhkes.*

The researcher finds it noteworthy that the German farmer Voigts spelt Beukes as *Buikes* (16 July 1927) in a Dutch letter to *Raadslit Samuel Buikes* and as *Buykes* in an English letter of 30 July 1927 to the Secretary of South West Africa (NAN SWAA A 206/3) while he spelt the Dutch word *leugen* ("lie") correctly. Beukes battled with writing other words containing [ø:]. Letters of 22 January 1953 and 15 July 1953 provide the following examples of his peculiar spelling of vowels and diphtongs but he wrote the new phrase *huishoudelike sake* correctly as well as *Huis* ("House" of Parliament).

- *pligte* ***verseuim*** (SA *versuim*; "neglect duties")
- *Advisraad as* ***werk teug*** (SA *werktuig*; "Advisory Council as tool")
- *twete* ***kuse*** (SA *tweede keuse*; "second choice")
- ***grups****gebiede* (SA *groepsgebiede*; "group areas"; German for "group" is *Gruppe*)
- ***beslies*** (SA *beslis*; "definitely, decidedly"; German for "decide" is *beschliessen*)
- *die* ***geteuige*** *gee ook voor God.* (SA *getuie*; "this witness I give before God.") *dan* ***mak*** *ek* (SA *maak*; "then I make")
- ***seuwere*** *huishoudelike sake* (SA *suiwer*; "true household matters")
- *die Testament van my wyle vader* ***leui*** (SA *lui*; "the will of my late father reads")[16]

6.6 Interviewees' reference to the so-called "Pioneer Code" of the Basters

It is shown next how several Rehoboth interviewees who were asked what languages their families spoke referred to the Dutch or Dutch-like speech of the Baster pioneers. Note that no leading questions were put with regard to the nature of such languages. It was revealed that not all parents and parents-in-law of the interviewees

[16] Rademeyer documented the sentence (1938:82): *oeit* (SA *uit*) *dan die hond* ("send the dog out").

spoke Dutch and that non-speakers were those who arrived later. The first three respondents were life-story interviewees and direct descendants of Baster pioneers.

(a) Mr Maans Beukes (1913-2006). He was video-interviewed on 2 June 2000 as a prominent figure[17] in Rehoboth and a direct descendant of the pioneers when the current study was in an exploratory phase. He pronounced his surname like some other Beukese of his generation with excessively rounded lips like when he said *Zuudwes* [zy:d] the German way and *seuwe* [ø:] ("seven", SA *sewe* [e:]). He also said that Dutch was his school language, that his parents arrived in Rehoboth "with Dutch", that they could speak Nama and German too - and added: *Die Basters het sommer sô sy eie taal ôk gepraat*. ("The Basters simply spoke their own language too.") According to his daughter Anne-Marie (born in 1939) both her parents worked hard in later years at changing their Dutch-like Afrikaans to Standard Afrikaans. They also insisted that their 10 children speak *suiwer* Afrikaans - i.e. Afrikaans without Anglicisms and other interferences (p.c. April 2008).

(b) Mrs (Tannie) Anna Beukes (born in 1922). She was video-interviewed on 6 November 2002 after the researcher heard her (in traditional dress at a fire in Rehoboth where traditional Baster food was being prepared) pronounce "house" close to the Dutch relic *huus* (see below). She turned out to be one of the last speakers with traces of the "Pioneer Code". (Aspects of her speech are discussed below.) Mrs Beukes maintained: *Ek praat nie Afrikaans nie, ek praat ook nie Nederlands nie. Die mense wat reg Afrikaans praat, kan my seker nie verstaan nie*. ("I do not speak Afrikaans. I also do not speak Dutch. The people who can speak Afrikaans correctly can probably not understand me.") Her mother Sofia Diergaardt and her father Hendrik Beukes were direct descendants of the pioneers. She lived mostly on the farm with her maternal grandmother who taught her to speak. *Hulle het ôk mar net die gewonne Hollanse tal geprat*. ("They spoke the ordinary Dutch language.") She sometimes went to stay on the farm with her father's parents.

Her grandparents could all speak Dutch, *Deuits* [18] ("German") and Nama. She learnt to read from the (Dutch) *Heilige wort van God* ("Holy Word of God") but only went to school "now and then" (*hier en daar*). The teachers Paul and Petrus Vries taught in Dutch and German and both could speak Nama. When asked whether other people told her that she spoke Afrikaans differently, Mrs Beukes replied: *Ek dênk self so. As ek hôr praat die*

[17] As noted above, O'Linn (2003:181-184) described Maans Beukes as a "rebel and firebrand".

[18] She pronounced the diphtong inbetween the German *Deutsch* [ɔi] and the Afrikaans *Duits* [œy].

mense deusdae anders. Ek prat sôs die grôtmense. ("I think so myself. I hear the people speak differently nowadays. I speak like the elderly people.")

(c) Mr Maans Feris (born in 1921). 7 June 2002. His mother was born in 1894 and he grew up on a farm with his grandmother until 1932, "65 miles from Rehoboth". His grandmother, one of the pioneers who moved to Rehoboth in 1870, "spoke Dutch all the time". According to Mr Feris the language that his grandmother spoke "was definitely not Afrikaans". When Mr Feris went to school in 1934 he found to his dismay that he spoke a "different language" than his schoolmates. It was somewhat difficult at first but he eventually learnt Afrikaans in Rehoboth from Cape teachers who came from Worcester, George and Oudtshoorn.

(d) Mrs Emma (born) Ockhuizen (born in 1922). 7 June 2002. She married a Mouton in 1942. She commented as follows on the way specific Rehoboth *grootmense* spoke: *Vir wat moet die ouma en oupa die Afrikaans so staan en mors?!* ("Why must the grandmother and grandfather make such a mess of Afrikaans?!") Her parents spoke Nama and Afrikaans; her parents-in-law spoke only Afrikaans and her father owned "a large, thick Dutch Bible".

(e) Mrs Louw. In November 2003 a Grootfontein name was selected from the telephone directory with the surname and suburb as guide when the researcher wanted to know how many Basters lived in the town. Mrs Louw, born Izaaks, began speaking spontaneously about her family. She said her father was a farmer and she used to help him tend the animals before she became a schoolteacher. Her mother spoke Afrikaans but no Nama and her father sang Dutch hymns but never owned a Dutch Bible. Mrs Louw related how amused she and her husband were the previous Saturday evening when they spoke to a man from Schlip (near Rehoboth) "who still uses the *slêng* of the Basters", i.e., she explained, "the language that was spoken by the firstcomers to Rehoboth".

(f) Two **Izaaks** sisters with professional occupations in Windhoek remember happy get-togethers (p.c. Windhoek, 2003 and 2004) with elderly Rehoboth residents who speak *Baster-taal* ("Baster language"). Their "peculiar Afrikaans" always drew teasing and laughter from their listeners, the sisters noted. One of the elderly ladies under discussion was 90 and lived in a corrugated iron house in Rehoboth at the time while the other one lived in Windhoek.

Four mini-interviews in old-age homes in Rehoboth and Katutura in November 2002 yielded the following responses.

(g) Mr Niclaas Louw (born in 1925): "Both my parents spoke and read Dutch. My mother did not speak Dutch to us. My in-laws spoke Nama on the farm and Afrikaans."

(h) Mr Gert Mouton (born in 1929): The *grootmense* spoke Dutch, his father spoke more Dutch and German, his mother did not speak Dutch - she spoke *skoon Afrikaans* ("clear Afrikaans"). His in-laws spoke Nama and an Afrikaans that was *taamlik Nederlandsagtig* ("rather Dutch-like").

(i) Mr Niklaas Olivier (born in 1924): His parents and in-laws spoke only Afrikaans. The latter were from Oranjemund - a Namibian coastal town in the diamond area.

(j) Mr Hans Carew (born 1939): His parents and in-laws spoke Afrikaans, "not Dutch".

The next quote is from an interview in Roux's (1988) analysis of the Basters' Afrikaans, which she found to be (p. 219) a subvariety of *Oranjerivier-Afrikaans* (ORA):

(k) Mrs Sofia Beukes (73 years): "(T)he *grootmense* spoke differently (*anderster*) not like they do today… I am now confused, I am now in the two centuries. I am not really (*rêrig*) Afrikaans, I am also not that old Dutch (*darie ou Nederlands*)." (Roux, 1988:253.)

(l) Van Schalkwyk asked respondents to say which "variation of Afrikaans" they prefer and to state reasons for their choice (Van Schalkwyk, 1983:283). The ones who said they do not want to speak "like the old Basters" said: The elderly speak very stupidly (*baie dom*); they pronounce their words totally wrong (*heel verkeerdelik*); speak too long-winded (*omslagtig*); they speak "drag-rope" (*sleeptou*); they speak it too coarse (*te plat*); crooked (*krom*); they drag it like a snake (*sleep soos 'n slang*).

6.7 Proto-sentences with aspects of Rehoboth codes – past and present

(a) *Griet! Ma! Ja die hoeners uut die huus uut!* (Britz, 1991:9.)

The sentence refers to an irate woman who shouts at her family to "chase the chickens out of the house". Mrs Anna Beukes (born 1922) was interviewed (see **b** above and **6.10** below) because she pronounced "house" (SA *huis* [œy]) close to *huus* [y:] - like in the above sentence - while she was in traditional dress and making traditional Baster bread on an open fire at a Rehoboth fête. This was surprising because the researcher was told shortly before by a key informant (aged 32) that nobody speaks like that any more.

F.G. Droste[19] dated *huus* back to Middle Dutch. He noted that it corresponds with the Gothic form *hus* (pronounced *hoes*) and drew attention to the relationship between the Dutch word *huis,* English *house* and German *Haus.* The same form was documented by Links (1989) in his work on Afrikaans speakers of Kharkams, a town some 800 km to the south of Rehoboth, in an area "which was especially in the 18th century a kind of refuge for the Khoi-khoi and the Basters" (1989:2). In his comment on the diphthongs used by his respondents, Links said (p. 18) that Afrikaans and Dutch are in one important aspect different from Middle Dutch: The long *uu* [y:] and *ii* [i:] of Middle Dutch became the diphthongs [œy] and [ei]. Middle Dutch *huus* [hy:s] and *tuun* [ty:n] developed into *huis* [hœys] and *tuin* [tœyn] in Afrikaans and Dutch. This process of diphthongisation was widely spread, especially in the 16th century, and also happened in other Germanic languages like High German and English. In the Cape there was already in the 17th century a struggle between [y:] and [œy]. "It is indeed one of the sound attributes which differentiates Afrikaans from Middle Dutch. It is interesting to note that in the pronunciation of almost all respondents the [y:] presenting a previous language period was found" (p. 19). In a study on Dutch relics in Afrikaans, Van Lierop notes (2003:137) that the relic *uu* [y:] is also found in the West-Flemish dialect.

(b) *Hôr het ek gehôr, maar kjên, kjên ek nie* (Rose-Junius, Gravenstein, May 2007). This sentence refers to rumour: "I have heard but I have no knowledge." It contains three typical features of this vernacular that are demonstrated in the newspaper column 'Ouma Sara' below: The shortening of the vowel [o:] and the circumflex in *hôr* (SA *hoor*); the consonant [k] followed by [ʃ] in *kjên* (SA *ken*). Rose-Junius provides another example – known mostly among insiders - of the interchange of [œy] with [y:] in the following sentence: *Wat skuul* (SA *skuil*) *daaragter?* ("What is behind all of this?")

(c) *En wiens kjênd bist du?* (Maans Feris [born 1922], interview, 7 June 2002)

"And whose child are you?" A Rehoboth farmer, who said this in the 1930s to a man who greeted him inappropriately, explained afterwards that he would not lease his land to this person because *kom by mens huus, kent niet om te groet* ("comes to one's house, does not know how to greet") As shown, *huus* is in the utterance as well as [k] followed by [ʃ] before the vowel –e. German influence is shown in *bist du* and *kent* (*kennen* "know").

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[19] *Grondbeginselen van de Nederlandse Grammatica*. Den Haag: Van Goor Zonen, (n.d., p. 22).

6.8 Features of the 'Ouma Sara' vernacular compared to 'Straatpraatjes'

Winer (1984 and 1993) formulated two criteria for determining the reliability of literary vernacular representations (cited by Ana Deumert, 1999:84): (a) Linguistic features within a given text should have internal consistency. (b) Representations should show external consistency with other evidence or contemporary language. Two Rehoboth 'Ouma Sara' columns are discussed next to show internal and external consistency in the vernacular while similarities and dissimilarities between it and 'Straatpraatjes' that was published in the Cape (May 1909 - February 1922; Mohamed Adhikari, 1996:1), are pointed out. 'Ouma Sara' lacks the "sophistication of analysis" (Adhikari, p. 4) of its Cape counterpart 'Straatpraatjes' [20] and does not display the same influence of English, but it also provides a "sizeable corpus of an alternative form of Afrikaans" (p. 14) to the vernacular written by insiders. Features are exaggerated, as satirical writers tend to do, but they *do* exist. The sentences of 'Ouma Sara' (see inserted pages) are translated with their basic meaning in mind and are numbered to ease the discussion. The author is dismissive of the "high" Afrikaans of Rehoboth as well as of Windhoek newspapers (22, 26). This comment would have included the "Mooi Afrikaans" of young "John" (in **6.10**).

It could be said that 135 (37.5%) of the 360 words in the two 'Ouma Sara' columns deviate from Standard Afrikaans (SA). Column B was written on 9 July 2004 - almost three years after Column A but these deviations show "internal consistency" – apart from the acute accent é, which is only used in column B (in 33, 37, 38, 43, 44 and 52). It is also shown that the Dutch relic vowel [y:] in **6.7a** is absent whereas the non-standard circumflex and the consonant [k] followed by [ʃ] in **6.7.b-c** are still used – which is evidential of "external consistency". Words like *hoeka* (in lines 27 and 42 – explanation below), *nogal* (26 "rather") and *mos* (34 "indeed") are often used as mere fillers in informal Afrikaans speech across the country. Special attention is given below to the use of the circumflex, which is absent from the selection of 'Straatpraatjes' that was published in Adhikari 1996. It is notable that the typical raising of the vowel [o] to [o:] - like in the words *koep*, *loep, oek, soes* (SA *koop, loop, ook, soos*), the latter is found

[20] 'Straatpraatjes' was published in *APO*, official organ of the African Political Organization. According to Jacky Britz, son of the late Rudolf Britz, the 'Ouma Sara' column was written - in jest - by two brothers, Bertus and Raymond van Wyk (p.c. 16 August 2010).

e.g. in 'Straatpraatjes' (p. 56) - and [e] to [e:] like in *iet, biesig* and *priek* (SA *eet, besig, preek*) of the Cape vernacular do not feature in 'Ouma Sara'. The typical voiced alveopalatal affricate [dʒ] like in *djy* and *djulle* (SA *jy, julle*) of the Cape vernacular is also absent in 'Ouma Sara'. E.g. *julle* (10), *jou* (41, 44) and *jy* (46). The [dʒ] is also not found in 'Straatpraatjes' of 1996 (e.g. 1922, p. 128). [21] Note now the following additional features:

(a) Malay: *baieste* (SA *baie* "many") in 6 and 49: *banja* in 1915 (above); in 'Straatpraatjes', *baayan*, *baayang* (p. 82), *baaie* (p. 126) and *baing* (1919, p. 176) and in 'Parlementse Praatjes' (1909, p. 183). The German farmer Voigts (quoted on p. 145) wrote *baija* in a Dutch letter of 16 July 1927 to *Raadslit Samuel Buikes* in Rehoboth.

(b) Dutch: *had* (3, 47) - SA *het; hoge* (24) SA *hoë*

(c) English influence: *antietjies* (14), *plein commin* (48)

(d) German: *beiendriek* (25) - German *beeindrückt,* SA *beïndruk*, *Wiendoekse* (26)

(e) Nama: *Eko!* (16, 41) "listen here!" ; *hoeka* (27, 42) "all along" - (Nama *huga,* Boshoff and Nienaber 1967:287)

(f) *kjenners* (SA *kinders* "children") in 1, 2, 31, 32, 36, 39 and 49: Rademeyer (1938), Van Schalkwyk (1983) and Roux (1988) documented the word in Rehoboth. The same sound is present in *kjeer* (SA *keer* "time") in 29; Links noticed frequent changes between [k], [c] and [t ʃ] in words like *kind, kerk* ("church"), etc. among Afrikaans speakers in Kharkams in the Northern Cape (1989:23-24)

(g) The lowering of the vowel [ə] to [a] in *gadoen* (4), *gabeur* (11), *gadra* (19), *garoei* (38), *bymakaar* (43); noted by Pheiffer (1996:144) in 'Straatpraatjes', as e.g. in *ravier*

(h) The raising of the long vowel [e:] to [i:] or [i] in *ien* (3, 11, 16, 22, 23, 42), *sielke* (24), *ienvloed* (39); [ei] to [i:] *iende* (2), *altied* (30), *skriewe* (27), *iet* (51)

(i) Assimilation as in *hierie* (23), *daai* (40), *anner* (45), *sommar* (48) is found among a wide spectrum of Afrikaans speakers in other regions of Namibia too.

(j) Shortening of the vowels [a:] and [o:] in *mar* (6), *or* (14, 22) – the latter is in contrast to *hôr* (8); noted by Pheiffer (1996:144) in 'Straatpraatjes' as e.g *ma* for *maar*

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[21] This form was seldom heard among Afrikaans speakers in Rehoboth but playwright and comedian Severius Majiedt wrote it into an Afrikaans play 'Rehoboth, our Story' (NTN, Windhoek 30 August 2003). Majiedt's own surname is pronounced with the voiced alveopalatal affricate –dj: Ma[dʒ]iedt.

(k) The nasalised vowel in SA *mense* [ɛ:] is raised to [ə] in *minse* (8, 45, 46, 49)

Of the 44 words with the circumflex over the vowel –e in 'Ouma Sara', 40 are used in a non-standard way. Only *dagsê* (1, 31) and *sê* (46 and 47) are SA. The circumflex is absent[22] in 'Straatpraatjes' (1996) where e.g. *sê* is consistently written as *se* (1996:79, 128) and *nêrens* is written as *nerens* (p. 82). In search of an explanation for the abundant use of the circumflex by the Basters, the researcher came across a handwritten Dutch letter of 5 October 1915 [23] from Baster Kaptein Cornelius van Wyk and Lazarus Cloete to *Den Hoogeerwaarde Mynheer Olp, Prâses* [24] in which the following was stated: *Op den 14 de April 1915 by eene raadsvergadering heeft Mynheer Blecher in eêne ernstige toon meêgedeeld, zoo volgd: … achter gylieden zal ik niet lopen… en met vaste toon die mêddedêling gegeven… Van vandag, zal ik niet meer genoemd worden dat ik eên Bastards Leeraar ben… Wij kwaam tot deze besluit na in ernstige oorwêging genomen te hebben…* ("On 14 April 1915 Mr Blecher said in a serious tone… I will no longer follow you people… From today I will no longer be called a minister of the Basters…") It is also noteworthy that all circumflexes were removed by presumably a German writer in the typewritten copy of this Dutch letter and *Präses* was written in the German way with [ɛ:]. This letter explains the origin of the non-standard usage of the Basters of the circumflex over the vowel *-a* at the time. In a Dutch handwritten letter of 8 February 1926 by Jacobus Beukes and others a circumflex is used as follows (NAN Vol. 1, Reh. Bastards, A. 206/3): *merkbâr* (German *merkbar,* Dutch and SA *merkbaar* "noticeable").

Revd George Hugo (1927-1996) of the Dutch Reformed Church, who worked among Basters and Coloureds in Windhoek from the 1960s to 1996, regarded the word *dikwêls* [ɛ:] as the *shibboleth* of the Basters (p.c. Mrs Hugo, Windhoek 2003). The SA spelling is *dikwels* [25] but it is pronounced *dikwils* [i]. In April 2004 the researcher noted in a prolonged conversation with a Baster woman aged 76 years how often she pronounced the Afrikaans word [e:n] ("one") as [ɛ:n]. She has both German (from her father) and

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[22] Ponelis (1996:135) referred to *aaikôna* "no" (a Nguni word, according to Boshoff and Nienaber, 1967:273) in a *Straatpraatjes* column of 30 July 1910, which was not included in Adhikaari (1996).
[23] ELCA VII 28.5:29-52
[24] I.e. president or chairman – of the RMS missionaries in this context.
[25] The Dutch equivalent is *dikwijls*. It seems as if this variation in the pronunciation of the word derives from the word as it is written.

Afrikaans (from her mother) as mother tongues and speaks Nama fluently. She had her schooling in German in a Rehoboth farm school.

Before discussing Dutch and especially the Dutch Bible and hymn-, prayer- and catechism book (1885) as possible sources of the circumflex in writing and the stretched vowels in speech, it is next briefly shown how the circumflex is used in the spelling of Cape Khoi and Namibian Nama/Damara words. In François Valentyn (1726) edited by Raidt (1973), it is stated in a footnote (p. 78) that the circumflex over the vowel signifies a nasal sound (G.S. Nienaber, *Hottentots* 1963). The following are some of Valentyn's words that are rewritten with a circumflex in footnotes (pp. 77, 83 and 84): *!ôa-s* ("hare"), *gâ-s* ("goose" Dutch and Afrikaans *gans* [xã:ns]), *mû-s* ("eye"). Words in present day Nama/Damara are (Louw, *Republikein* 15 April 1998:21): *!nâ* ("in"), *tsî* ("you"). In a letter of 1880 to Witbooi (Stals and Ponelis, 2001:128-129) the authors wrote their names as *Schoolmeester* ("schoolmaster") *Dâus<ab>* and *Magestraat* ("magistrate") */Gâ//êib* .

6.9 <u>Influence of the Dutch Bible, hymns, prayers, etc. on Rehoboth phonology</u>

Missionaries, teachers and learners battled with the Dutch State Bible (first published in 1637 - Omer Vandeputte, 1993:12) in churches and schools and ultimately formal Dutch was strongly coloured by the biblical idiom (Stals 2001:93). Interviewees told the researcher over time that Dutch Bible verses, prayers, hymns and large parts of the catechism were memorised and continuously recited by literates as well as illiterate people up to the late 1930s, early 1940s. Trudie Vries of Rehoboth (aged 56) said (p.c. Windhoek, 2007) that she realised for the first time what language her grandparents spoke when she overheard Dutch tourists in town. Stals notes (p. 31) that the language of the Dutch Bible must have been "a nightmare for illiterates to follow". In all probability many of the Dutch texts were memorised and repeated without comprehension. The researcher believes that this accounts for the Dutch tone that was retained in the speech of children and grandchildren of Baster pioneers.

Rademeyer was puzzled by the Dutch forms that were retained for such a long time (1938:53) and noted (p. 117) the influence of the Dutch Bible on Baster speech but did not elaborate. This researcher believes especially the Dutch Bible and hymn book as well as their German missionaries' L2 Dutch could have influenced the way in which the vowel *–e* was pronounced as [ɛ:] – but also their Khoi ancestry. The interviewees of Roux

(1988) as well as this study stated that Holy Communion was very special in Rehoboth. Farmers would ride for three days by ox-wagon to bring their families to town to spend at least a weekend for this religious ritual. Note e.g. the circumflex in hymns that were sung in preparation for the *Avondmaal* (1885:153, 157): "*het heugelijk tijdstip nadert weêr*" ("the happy moment is drawing near again"); *dan vallen w' aan uw voeten neêr* ("then we fall again at your feet"). The following are more words with circumflexes from the hymnbook[26]: *zwakheên* (p. 155); *beê, scheê,* and *overhên* (p. 175); *meêdogendheid, vreê* and *gebeên* (pp. 252, 256 and 257). In Jeremia 29:1, *Jerûzalem* is spelt with a circumflex and *wederbrengen* (Jeremia 29:14) is clearly stretched too. Karel van de Woestijne (1878-1929) used the circumflex in Dutch poetry during the same period (in Kees Fens, 2008:52-53): *Weêr* ("again") *gaat het veege licht der asters bloeien, Weêr naêrt* ("near") *een herfst uw zacht-streelende daên* ("days").[27]

Scholtz explains (1980:62) that switching in Afrikaans between [ə] and [ɛ] in "authentic folk words" (*egte volkswoorde*) happens mostly before a nasal sound and says this phenomenon stems directly from the Dutch *volkstaal* ("folk language"). He uses the SA words *bring, dink* and *hings* and the Dutch *brengen, denken* and *hengst* ("bring, think, stallion") as examples and says (p. 63) *venger, denge, Dengsdag* (SA *vinger, dinge, Dinsdag* "finger, things, Tuesday") "still survive in less developed circles". The researcher believes that the Dutch words *gewend, breng, weder, dengenen, henengaan* and *zetten* in Psalm 85 (verses 4, 5, 7, 10 and 14) and in Psalm 86, *dezelve* could all have been "stretched". According to Rademeyer (1938:44) some Basters stretched almost all short vowels. One informant called it *sleep* ("drag") Dutch. He found this feature of Baster speech puzzling, noting that some speakers would stretch as well as shorten vowels. Rademeyer noted numerous Baster and Griqua words with circumflexes over the *–e* and *–o* among, e.g. *gadôd, dôrs* and *slêgte* (p. 44); *sôs* and *kamêldôring* (p.118); *hôfbelasting* (p.121).

6.10 Comparison between the codes of Tannie Anna (1922) and John (1982)

Both Tannie Anna Beukes (also p. 146 above) and John (not his real name) grew up in Rehoboth as *ouma-kinders* and are direct descendants of the Beukes pioneer clan but

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[26] The Book of Psalms and Hymns used in the Dutch Reformed Church of the Netherlands, as commissioned by the States General of 1773, according to the *meest gebruikelijke* ("most used") language and spelling, Amsterdam 1885. An Afrikaans hymnbook was only published in 1945.

[27] Circumflexes in poetry could denote letters that were left out for the sake of rhythm.

they are for the rest from totally different worlds. Tannie Anna (born in 1922) was raised on a Rehoboth farm by her maternal grandparents whereas John (born in 1982) lived in town with his maternal grandmother. The two are furthermore separated by two entire generations and have totally different educational backgrounds. Tannie Anna had very little schooling from Baster teachers who spoke Dutch, Nama and German whereas John started his schooling in English in Rehoboth, switched to a German high school in Windhoek and then graduated in economics at the University of Stellenbosch. In later life Tannie Anna became very aware of her "different" Afrikaans and felt inferior about it. John is likewise very aware of his "different" Afrikaans but is proud of it. Dutch and Nama had no influence on John's Afrikaans whereas Tannie Anna's literacy text was the Dutch Bible, she sang Dutch, German as well as Nama hymns and knew prayers in all three languages. All three languages but especially Dutch influenced her accent and lexicon.

At the end of the interview Tannie Anna said how sorry she was that she spoke no English because she could not understand the English sermons in church. The only English words she used in the entire interview of 70 minutes were "material", "groceries" and "separator". The first two words are connected to trade items for which the Basters were dependent on shops while the last word referred to a cream-separator with the German name *Centrifuge*. (Another German word in the lexicon of the Basters of her generation is also of a technological nature - *Windmotor* "windmill". Other interviewees mentioned "good for" notes, which was a forerunner of the cheque. Such a note would state that the shopper is "good for" e.g. pelts in the near future to the value of a certain amount.)

John's Afrikaans was also notably free from interference of English words but for "swot, on board, weird, actually" and the Afrikaans/English mix *ingeblend* "blended in". It is noteworthy that the only German in his speech was the word *rein* ("merely") in unusual use. This was a favourite word of the late Dimitri Metzler, which verified John's close contact with him. Some of John's Afrikaans words could be described as slightly archaic and are not normally used when Afrikaans speakers of his age socialise: *verg, vergesog, staanspoor, sprake van, omsigtigheid, ek is van mening*, *waarop besluite skoei, strook*, *skreiend, aan die orde van die dag, te alle tye, gestruktureer, magtig, kapsie maak, nuttig, behels, uiter.* Like Tannie Anna, he is also aware of the fact that he speaks "differently".

Afrikaans-speaking whites that he meets in the course of his work sometimes express surprise at what they call the "purity" of his Afrikaans while young Rehoboth friends sometimes tease him about his Afrikaans. Tannie Anna's maternal grandmother Sofia Diergaardt "spoke Dutch" (*sy het Hollands gepraat*), which explains the Dutch ring to her speech that John's speech does not have at all.[28]

Many of the features discussed in 'Ouma Sara' above are present in Tannie Anna's speech but they are totally absent from that of John. The following are examples: the shortening of [o:] SA *groot* to [o], *kjen*, *kjend* and *kjerk*, *meddag* (SA *middag* [ə]), *denk* (SA *dink* [ə], German and Dutch *denken*), circumflexes: ***Aprêl*** (SA *April*), ***vrêslik*** (SA *vreeslik* "terrible"), *die boek van die* ***lêwe*** (SA *lewe* "life"), ***êrste*** (German *erste*, SA *eerste* "first"), ***nêks*** (SA *niks* "nothing"), ***rênt*** (German and Dutch *regen,* SA *reën* "rain"), ***lêhre*** (SA *lere* "ladder"),[29] ***ênspuitings*** (SA *inspuitings* "injections"), **hôr** (SA *hoor* "hear"), ***ôk*** (SA *ook* "also"), ***tûssenien*** (SA *tussenin* "inbetween"), ***thé*** (German *Tee*, Dutch *thee*, SA *tee* [e:] "tea"), ***gevleug*** (SA *gevlug* "fled"), ***huus*** (SA *huis* "house").

Tannie Anna used the alveopalatal affricate [dʒ][30] twice (John never did): *dja* (SA *ja* "yes") and *djong meisie* (SA *jong meisie* "young girl"). As noted above, this typical feature of the Cape Coloured vernacular is almost entirely absent from the Afrikaans that is spoken in Rehoboth.[31] Another big difference between the codes of Tannie Anna and John is the use of diminutives. John used only three: He referred to the *kindertjies* "children" of his close friend Metzler, which denotes intimacy; he said he wrote a *rubriekie* – "column" for the newspaper, which indicates modesty; he said *goedjies* "small things" in reference to the behaviour of meddlesome Rehobothers. Tannie Anna used 28

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[28] Rademeyer posed the question (1938:53): What would be the reason for the maintenance of the Dutch or more or less Dutch forms in the language of the Coloured? Would the geographical and social isolation of the Coloured who inherited his language from his Dutch ancestor (sailor, soldier or adventurer) be responsible for this conservative language? Tannie Anna's case history as *ouma-kind*, which is a duplicate of many of her contemporaries, answers Rademeyer's question.

[29] She pronounced this like German for teach *lehren,* i.e. [ɛ] followed by a barely audible *–h*.

[30] It is interesting to note that the Dutch dictionary *Van Dale* lists (1956:187-188) the following Indian words with [dʒ]: tree names *djarak, djati, djengkol* and *djeroek; djimat* ("talisman"), *djoeroetoelis* ("secretary") and *djongos* ("servant").

[31] A woman from Rehoboth (born in 1942) once said emphatically to the researcher with reference to the use of the alveopalatal affricate by friends and family in the Western Cape, "*we* don't speak like *that* ".

diminutives[32] in her life-story, which gave her narrative an intimate, homely tone. The following are examples: *gebedjie* ("prayer"), *plekketjie* ("place"), *babietjie* ("baby"), *tydjie* ("time"), *riviertjie* ("river"), *reëntjie* ("rain"), *kortjies* ("choirs"), *oompie* ("uncle"), *skuinslappertjies, lieslappertjie* ("cloth"), *plekkietjie* ("place"), *Ou Reynikie* ("old Reyneke"), *wenkeltjies* ("shops"), *rokkietjies* ("dresses"), *blompie* ("flower"), *plaasskoolytjie* ("farm school"). It was interesting to note that she referred to a German hymn without the diminutive (*Duitse lied*) but she used a diminutive when she referred to a Nama one (*Nama liedjie*) and a religious one (*godsdiensliedjie*).

Diminutives feature strongly in the prose of the renowned Afrikaans language activist, jurist, journalist and writer C.J. Langenhoven (1873-1932) - especially when he wrote for children. It is noteworthy that he received his first education at a farm school from the Dutch *Meester* Bloemkolk who taught him everlasting admiration and love for the Dutch Bible (J.A. Verhage, 1974:454).[33] It is furthermore notable that the Dutch and Afrikaans Bibles employ diminutives where the English Bible (1999:609) does not, e.g (Isaiah 1:8): "And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers". The Dutch (1974:460) and Afrikaans (1956:641) versions are (Jesaja 1:8): (Dutch) … *als een hut**je** in den wijngaard, als een nachthut**je** in den komkommerhof;* (Afrikaans) … *soos 'n skermp**ie** in 'n wingerd, soos 'n slaapplekk**ie** in 'n komkommertuin*.

Langenhoven (1929) said about the genesis of Afrikaans that there are many scientific theories about how Afrikaans got its physical (*liggaamlike*) form but the language also has a soul, which it got from the Dutch Bible. Langenhoven praised the language proficiency of the older generation who had no formal education. He believed they received a literary (*literêre*) training "like no school could provide" throughout their life from a deep and continuous study of the Bible – without being aware of it (1956:474). Jan Esterhuyse describes language as a carrier of a group's social history and "an intricate accumulation of group experiences" (1986:7). Tannie Anna's language fits both

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[32] Fourie (1985:74) found in her study on Riemvasmaak-Afrikaans (RA) that the use of diminutives is bound to context: It is often used in informal story telling but not during formal questioning.

[33] Langenhoven played a key role in the establishment of MT Afrikaans education in 1914. He wrote (as he said himself) for "children from eight to eighty-eight". He died in 1932 - a year before the Afrikaans Bible was published for the first time. (Langenhoven's literary curator Sarah Goldblatt, in Langenhoven 1972:n.p.)

descriptions. The same applies to Mrs Catharina van Wyk Matroos (1893), an interviewee of Roux (1988). Some 70 years after the event Mrs Matroos painted an intimate and metaphor-rich picture of what she experienced aged 18 behind ox-wagons and rocks where the women, children and their Nama employees were hiding in the Sam !Khubis battle of 1915 (Roux, 1988:238-242). All the nations sat together where the wagons stood "at the toe of the mountain", the bullets fell like raindrops (*smaak soos reëndruppels wat op jou val*) and the gunpowder-smoke that floated through the air was blue on the one side and yellow on the other (*kruitdampe het getrek soos vuurrook…is eenkant blou en hy's eenkant geel*). Mrs Matroos added that the Lord Jesus "opened his wing" and closed it in protection around them. In the heat of the battle she told her brother Ron in seemingly quiet acceptance of what awaited them, *Maak jy vir ons koffietjies, lat ons voorlat ons doodgeskiet word, lat ons tog koffietjies drink.* ("Make us some coffee to drink before we are shot dead.")

The aforesaid provides in the view of the researcher an answer to the question what is lost when a language code vanishes. What Dorian notes below (1999:1)[34] about the shift from Scottish Gaelic to English among a dwindling population of fisher folk and their descendants in three villages of coastal East Sutherland in Highland Scotland, applies in the view of this researcher to the declining codes of the Basters too. Dorian aptly sums up the loss to the speech of the East Sutherlanders as "expressive bleaching". The Rehoboth Baster pioneers and their direct descendants lived in a small community and close to nature. A notable quality of the language of Mrs Matroos and Tannie Anna is that it reflects a sensory power of observation of the natural world that the language of John, who grew up in town, does not have.

> "All too often, the history of small languages is such that their speakers have been afforded very few chances to recognize, much less to revel in, the special expressive capacities of their ancestral languages…The material used to create some notable effect may be quite unremarkable in itself (a change in word-order, the use of a suffix or prefix), but since the effect created has no match in local speakers' other language(s), only the resources of their heritage language offer them the opportunity to create the expressive effect in question. Whether native

[34] 'Celebrations: In praise of the particular voices of languages at risk' (*Ogmios*, 1999).

speakers are fully aware of the uniquely expressive features of their ancestral language or not, most of them have the ability to make very effective use of them when they argue, tease, scold, joke or tell stories, skilled native speakers that they are."

6.11 Final thoughts on the ownership of Afrikaans

According to Stals (2001:57), Dutch-Afrikaans was "firmly established in Rehoboth" by the arrival of the Basters and was then spread to other parts of the country. Stals noted (p. 59, citing from Vedder) that their community was "well ordered" by 1877 with a functioning political system as well as houses, gardens and five commercial undertakings. The aforesaid verifies the Basters' historical ownership of Afrikaans. Note, though, the following: A Rehoboth poet (born 1942), who wanted to enter a competition of the *Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging* ("Afrikaans Cultural Association") in Windhoek, said defiantly to the researcher in 2006: *Afrikaans is mos ons s'n ook!* ("Afrikaans is, as you must know, ours too!") Her remark ties in with the chapter's lead quote (1996) of a Baster learner (born around 1979): "Miss, to whom does Afrikaans belong? Is it ours too?" Shortly before the researcher interviewed "John" (born 1982) in 2008, he told her that he had to cover (as a journalist and "one of maybe ten blacks") a Windhoek rally where Bok van Blerk sang his hit-song De la Rey for some 10 000 predominantly Afrikaans whites. A young woman friend from Rehoboth saw his presence at the rally "as an act of betrayal". The researcher believes that the disaffection felt by these three people is a legacy of Apartheid, which could have a negative influence on the future vitality of Afrikaans.

6.12 Conclusion

Previous works on the language of the Rehoboth Basters (e.g. Rademeyer 1938, Van Schalkwyk 1983 and 2003; Roux 1988) concentrated on language structure whereas this chapter – as noted on p. 46 of this thesis – drew on contextualised, authentic and spontaneous utterances and texts to discuss additional aspects of their speech. In the process it could be illustrated how lively, creative, humorous and rich in imagery their Afrikaans is. Attention was drawn to the "Pioneer Code" of the first generation of Basters that was transmitted to grandchildren up to the early 1900s. The influence of the Dutch Bible and hymn book on the language of the Basters up to the 1930s was shown. Aspects of the written Afrikaans of the Basters were illustrated by means of Jacobus Beukes's type- and handwritten documents of the 1950s and 1960s and the 'Ouma Sara' column in

Die Spioen of the 2000s. The "Mooi Afrikaans" of a man of 26 was discussed. In the next chapters it is shown that the Rehoboth Grade 11s of the 2000s are losing proficiency in Afrikaans and that many of them want English as mother tongue for their children.

Chapter Seven

Influence of demography, politics, economics and education on language use

Wat kan ons dóén met Afrikaans? ("What can we *do* with Afrikaans?")

- Rehoboth high school learners, 2002[1]

7.1 Introduction

This chapter as well as the next one reports on fieldwork done from 2000-2008 to assess the position of Afrikaans in Rehoboth among especially the youth on whom the transmission of mother tongue Afrikaans to the next generation depends. As noted above, the Afrikaans speakers of Rehoboth consist of both Coloureds and Basters. The latter is still the dominant group in the community and they remain the main subjects of the study but henceforth the umbrella-term "Rehobothers" is used to refer to both groups – unless a respondent used one of the group names. As shown in the next chapter, parents and teachers report that some Rehoboth youngsters prefer to call themselves "Namibians". The chapter arrangement is as follows: the Afrikaans community is introduced and salient issues are identified by means of interview and observational data (**7.2**) and a description of the preparation and administering of questionnaire surveys (**7.3**). Since it was expected that the sudden, mass importation of English and far-reaching political, demographic and educational changes in Rehoboth could put mother tongue Afrikaans at risk, these factors are considered in (**7.4**) Politics and Demography, (**7.5**) Economics and (**7.6**) Education.

7.2 Results of an interview and six observational stints

The results of an interview and observational stints in various settings are given next to give a sense of place and people, highlight language matters and demonstrate the use by adults of Afrikaans and English in public domains. The four observer roles identified by Gold (1958, cited in Taylor 1996:39) on a continuum are illustrated in the process. The settings and the modes of observation were: on 17 June 2002 the researcher was a "complete participant" at a meeting of the Religious Committee of Rehoboth where she was invited to report on what she had learnt about language choice and use of Grade 11s in five religious spheres. On 10 June 2000 she was a "participant as

[1] According to Rehoboth high school principals and Afrikaans teachers, pupils often ask this question and related ones for they believe Afrikaans has no future value (private communications, Rehoboth 2002-2008). An Afrikaans teacher reported the same in 1996 in Walvis Bay although schools in this coastal town still had Afrikaans as MOI at the time.

observer" of an event at the Rehoboth Museum that she helped to plan. Sound- and video-recorded interviews of an ethnographic nature were done. On 30 July 2004 she was an "observer as participant" when she was a hopeful buyer at the first auction of Rehoboth land that was open to non-Basters. She was a "complete observer" on 7 May 2001 at an information session prior to Local Elections; at a Magistrates Court in session on 28 October 2003 and lastly, on 19 June 2007 at a private, NAMBOER auction in Rehoboth that was attended by some 300 Afrikaans-speaking small stock farmers from the Gebiet.

Sociolinguists have identified the pivotal role of private as well as public institutional support in MT retention and reproduction. De Klerk (2000:106) predicted that inadequate support for Xhosa by local and national administrations will speed up the pace of language shift. She believed by the time institutional support is "impressive and reliable" enough, the elite of the Xhosa community in her Grahamstown study would probably already have completely shifted to English. The lack of institutional support for Afrikaans by officials of the Rehoboth Town Council is demonstrated in (**d**) and (**e**) below.

(a) Rehoboth Museum, 10 June 2000

The first sound-recorded conversation in the exploratory phase of the research was done on this date at the museum with a primary school teacher. This person had married into the prominent Beukes clan of the Rehoboth Basters and her English first name made the researcher question her about names and languages in her family. Mrs Beukes explained that traditional first names are no longer given because of the confusion caused by the many similar names and surnames in the large clans. Names like *Dylan*, *Brandon* and *James* are now selected from books, films, television series, etc. Mrs Beukes also said that her children aged 11 and 15, who "speak English the whole day" since the MOI is English, have such problems with Afrikaans that they dropped it as school subject and switched to German. Mrs Beukes also related how her niece in Grade 12 needed her mother's help to write an Afrikaans composition because she lacked the vocabulary. When asked whether she was worried about the low proficiency in Afrikaans of these youngsters, Mrs Beukes replied, *dit pla my nogal* [2] *nie* ("it does not worry me"), adding: "The whole set-up is now English. Not to have English would handicap them in future." When asked whether she sees any future use for Afrikaans, she retorted, "Not in

[2] The word *nogal* broadens the meaning of her utterance into (more or less), "One might have expected that it would worry me, but strangely enough, it does not".

Namibia, for it is actually a fight against a dead wall. One would even fare better with Nama or Oshiwambo." Sometime later Mrs Beukes called attention to her 5-year-old son who was sitting cross-legged in the sun eating *afval* (a traditional dish of the head, tripe and trotters of a sheep) from a tin plate. "You see, this is how a Baster child eats," she then said proudly. (See young Namibians' focus on traditional food in insert, pp. 226-7.)

This short conversation revealed issues that called for systematic assessment. The non-transmission of family names seemed to be a relatively minor change in Baster traditions for it is matched by trends among parents in the wider Namibian community of Afrikaans speakers.[3] The influence of English in the loss of proficiency in Afrikaans among learners, competition between Afrikaans and German as school subjects and parental attitudes towards the language of their children seemed crucial, though. The researcher was surprised by the possibility that the historical link between being Baster and speaking Afrikaans might be snapping – as illustrated by the mother's pride in her son's "Basterness" - but matter-of-fact attitude to her daughters' lack of Afrikaans skills.

(b) Pre-election information session and meeting of Religious Committee

On **7 May 2001**, prior to Local Government Elections in 2001, an information session in the Hermanus van Wyk Memorial Hall in Rehoboth was audio taped. An electoral officer, assisted by a number of government officials from Windhoek, chaired this formal meeting. The audience consisted of predominantly middle-aged and elderly Afrikaans speakers and some members of the Nama and Oshiwambo communities. The meeting was held in both Afrikaans and English but the English of the chairperson, who was dressed in a suit, was notably better than his Afrikaans. When the audience was invited to ask questions, very few English and no Afrikaans questions were asked. On **17 June 2002** the researcher attended a meeting of Rehoboth's Religious Committee along with some ten mainly middle-aged ministers of the main church denominations. Theologian Robin Minney from Britain, who was temporarily attached to UNAM, spoke in English on religion in schools. The meeting was formal, although the desks and chairs were arranged in a semi-circle. When questions were invited from the floor, some seconds of silence followed. The chairperson repeated the invitation in Afrikaans, adding that Afrikaans questions would be translated into English, but still not a single question was asked.

[3] A DRC minister of Windhoek noted (pc. 2007) that for many years parents in his congregation have been giving names from name books or the Internet to their children instead of family names.

(c) Rehoboth Magistrates Court and State Clinic, 28 October 2003

Rehobothers are unhappy because court proceedings are in English and they can hear that "their evidence is not properly interpreted" (p.c. Grade 1 teacher, 2002). This prompted the researcher to attend a court session on **28 October 2003** after informing the magistrate a day before of her intention. Four court cases were dealt with speedily as two were remanded and two came up for sentencing only. The interpreter switched between Afrikaans, Oshiwambo and English and managed the few procedural sentences seemingly with ease. During the lengthy hearing of a fifth case in which a Baster man was accused of the minor assault of an Oshiwambo speaker, it clearly became difficult for the interpreter to take in all that was said, translate between Oshiwambo and Afrikaans and then repeat everything in English to the court. He was not relieved in the almost two hours in which the session was observed, he made a few minor translation mistakes and skipped some words. Once the magistrate asked the prosecutor in Afrikaans, "can we go on?" Between sessions the magistrate, prosecutor, policewoman (who acted as court ordinance) as well as the interpreter spoke Afrikaans to each other. (The researcher was told that both the magistrate and prosecutor were mother tongue Afrikaans speakers.)

Thereafter language arrangements in the adjacent State Clinic were investigated. According to the sister in charge there was no direct communication between the doctors (from Cuba, Nigeria and Tanzania) and the mainly Afrikaans and Nama patients. Apart from other medical tasks, nurses had to translate the "diverse Englishes" of the doctors to the patients and vice versa. Things are "getting better", noted the sister, as a Cuban doctor had married a Baster woman and was learning Afrikaans. (Note that five of the six Afrikaans resident doctors who had private practices at the time were born in Rehoboth.)

(d) Rehoboth Town Council land auction, 30 July 2004

The researcher believes that this historical event marked a turning point in the socio-economic mobility of Rehoboth's inhabitants. Previously only Baster burgers qualified for land ownership and Baster sons received a free plot in town when they turned 18. The South African firm Vincent Leggo noted in Rehoboth's first town-planning report (1977:18) that "market forces could not function normally" in town because, among other things, competition for plots was lacking. The auction proved to be an invaluable opportunity for sociolinguistic observation for in its duration of less than an hour it

offered a condensed demonstration of diverse forms of language behaviour. It revealed two competing internal forces among the Afrikaans speakers: a conservative, "Afrikaans-only" element versus a new, "English-also" one. Although the event was held in Afrikaans, the auction jargon, including the key words used in relation to the national and local authorities, were English. The auction was held in the impressive wood-lined chambers of the *Rehoboth Town Council*, which was represented by its *Manager: Corporate Affairs* who operated in terms of the *Namibian Local Authority Act.* The auctioneer, whose surname Strauss was documented as new in the Gebiet by Hitzeroth in 1964/65 (Limpricht 2002:32), emphasised that the auction was authorised by the Minister before explaining the main points of the 11-page English auction document in Afrikaans. He subsequently said word must now go round that erven in Rehoboth are already selling for R50 000,[4] and added that the 350 plots of the new suburb West Ridge would soon be on offer too. (The other suburbs are called Block A, B, C, etc.) All the presiding officials, including the auctioneer and some 95% of the public, were Afrikaans speakers from Rehoboth.

An overall-clad attendant was requested by the auctioneer to explain to prospective buyers where each plot was located in the town with its intricate web of dust roads and lack of name boards. His directions drew laughter from a lively audience for it was done in the typical Rehoboth way – with quaint and longwinded descriptions. He said e.g. "You pass the *poeliesstasie* ('police station'), go round the house of *oom* ('uncle') Hendrik, the *wit krag-huisietjie* ('small white electricity box') will be on your right…" People from the public gallery joined in with comments like *dis innie rivier!* (I.e. the plot is "in the river"). When the attendant once again mentioned the *wit huisietjie*, the auctioneer cut him short by saying curtly that the auction was a trial run and next time around there will be no such *snaakse verduidelikings* ("comical explanations"). The attendant was clearly embarrassed by the reprimand. The researcher's sociolinguistic assessment of the episode is that Afrikaans received a public blow by an insider to the community and that the overall message of the auction was that English is now the language of political power, formality, modernisation and socio-economic advance in town. This constitutes loss of domain and status to Afrikaans. Crystal points out (2000:83) that domain loss is accompanied by loss of vocabulary, discourse patterns and stylistic range.

[4] The South African rand and the Namibian dollar are on par. The auctioneer named the sum in rand. At the time the price he mentioned was roughly equal to the price of a small new car.

(e) Private small-stock auction, Rehoboth 19 June 2007

NAMBOER inaugurated its new pens 10 km outside town by means of an auction of small stock on 19 June 2007, which was attended by some 300 Afrikaans members of the local farming community (aged between 30 and 70 years). The keynote speaker was the Afrikaans deputy-mayor of Rehoboth, Mrs Cecilia McNab-Sherally, who was married to a Tanzanian man (as she told the researcher). Mrs McNab-Sherally delivered an English speech in the company of two black members of the Rehoboth Town Council. Afterwards, while the researcher had an Afrikaans conversation with Mrs McNab-Sherally, a farmer (seemingly in his late 30s) walked up to her and said, *Ons Basters verstaan nie Engels nie* ("Us Basters do not understand English"). When the researcher asked her why she spoke in English, she replied, "The speech was written for me in English." Later a farmer from Mariental (in his 70s) said about the incident: "She was merely doing her duty".

(f) Interpretation of the language behaviour observed in the events above

In order to interpret the sociopolitical practices and activities that were revealed by the aforementioned behaviour of groups and individuals, the researcher followed Duranti's suggestion (1997:85) that one should "step back and distance oneself from one's own immediate, culturally biased reactions". She concluded that middle-aged and elderly Afrikaans speakers were disadvantaged by their lack of English skills. No learners were present in the observed audiences. In fieldwork it was brought home to her that "respect for the chair" (p.c. Rose-Junius, May 2006) and obedience in accordance with biblical norms were drilled into the early generations. This, plus the fact that some people are hesitant by nature, could also explain the lack of response from audiences. Furthermore: The absence of institutional support for Afrikaans on a local level, one of the grounds of appeal by the Basters to the UN (Chapter 3), was verified in **(d)** and **(e)**.

7.3 Questionnaire surveys: community profile, quantified issues

(a) Profile of the survey samples

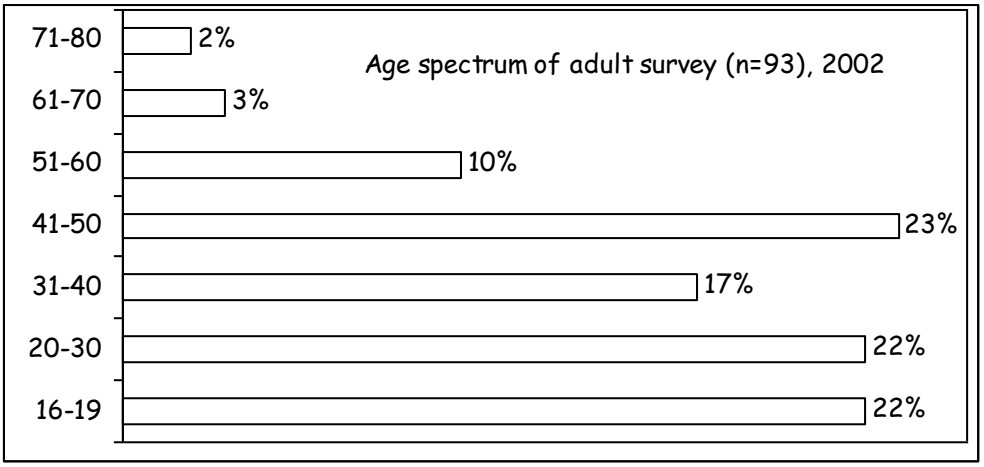
Oppenheim maintained (1992:39) that a representative sample is in effect "a study of the community in microcosm" and that accuracy is more important than size (p. 43).

- **Age profile of Afrikaans questionnaire respondents of 2002 and 2008**

"Everything that happens in Rehoboth, happens through the young generation, the people in their 30s; the old people do not like change," noted the young white Rehoboth

magistrate that served the town in 2002 (p.c. October 2002). Colin Baker warned (1992:137) that when the language is lost in the teenage years and early twenties, "it may be lost forever" but he accepted that aging is probably not the cause of language decline (p. 42). "It is more likely that the socialisation process (hetero-sexual relationships, mass media, influence of peer groups) in adolescence has an effect." It is clear from the aforesaid that it was essential to pay close attention in the current study to language use among learners but it was also necessary to probe the language behaviour of young adults who had already left school and were working. The age of the Grade 11s was 16-18 years while the average age of the participants in the adult questionnaire of 2002 was 36.

Fig. 7.1 Age spectrum of the respondents of the adult questionnaire of 2002



In 2002 and 2008, 127 Afrikaans Grade 11s (aged 16-18) were surveyed. The 56 + 15 (71) Grade 11s of the 2002 surveys (27% of all Afrikaans Grade 11s of that year) were exceptionally suitable as sample because most were in Grade 1 in 1992 when the change to English as MOI took place. The 2008 sample of 56 Afrikaans Grade 11s formed 24% of all the Afrikaans Grade 11s of that year. They were as suitable since they were born around 1991 and were among the first to benefit from the switch back to Afrikaans as MOI in Grades 1-3 from 1996 onwards. They also constitute the first new Rehoboth generation.

- **Gender profile of all the questionnaire respondents**

An observation of Revd Hugo (1927-1996) of the erstwhile Dutch Reformed Missionary Church in Windhoek that "Baster women are strong" (p.c. Mrs Hugo, Windhoek 2004) takes centre stage in the discussion of the women of Rehoboth. Hugo's career in

Namibia began in 1953 in Warmbad followed by four decades of work among Basters and Coloureds in Windhoek. He did not qualify his remark but he could have meant that Baster women are assertive and both physically and spiritually strong, for the researcher noted[5] this about them as well as the Coloured women in the community. The following historic influences seem to have moulded womanhood in Rehoboth: The town's first missionary Heidmann had as many girls as boys in his school. The first change to Baster laws after Heidmann had left was in 1913 when divorce was allowed under certain circumstances and the guilty party, man or wife, lost all possessions. Women could already vote[6] in 1872 as well as inherit and possess land and herds. Growing up on a farm, riding horses and tending farm animals, plus a father that took an active part in their upbringing are shared memories of many elderly and middle-aged female interviewees. Bayer (1906:646) noted the pivotal role of Baster women in family life while a German publication[7] observed that Baster women could vote, that they looked well after their children and that the attractiveness of Baster girls made them popular as brides among German men (1911:38).

It follows that the influence of Rehoboth's women on the future vitality of Afrikaans is a force that cannot be ignored. Sociolinguists pay attention to gender differentiation in language change. Susan Gal found (1997:376) that young women were more advanced in the direction of linguistic change than young men in the bilingual community of Oberwart; their language choices and linguistic innovativeness "are the linguistic expressions of women's greater participation in social change" (p. 389). De Klerk noticed the same trend among Xhosas in Grahamstown. Many of the elite group of women in her language shift study were working single women, "ambitious for their children, who see English as the secret of social advancement" (2000:104).

More men took part in the formal audio and video taped interviews of the current study but women outnumbered them in the questionnaire surveys. Adult individuals were chosen at random in the course of the latter but a whole class was provided by the principals/lecturers in the learner/student surveys. Note that Namibian women outnumber men as teachers and Grade 11 girls outnumber boys countrywide (EMIS 2007). Among 196

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[5] As noted above, the researcher's contact with them stretches from 1981 through to 2010.

[6] Adult white Namibian women were given the right to vote on 10 March 1939 (O'Linn 2003:25).

[7] 'Die Bastards' in *Eine Reise durch die Deutsche Kolonien* (1911). Band 1V Deutsch Südwest-Afrika. Berlin: Verlag Kolonialpolitischer Zeitschriften.

Afrikaans respondents in the countrywide survey of Grade 11s in 1996, 120 (61%) were girls. It is shown in the tables below that women outnumbered men in all but two surveys (Afrikaans respondents in 1999; those with other MTs in 2002) between 1996 and 2008.

Table 7.1 Ratio among Dutch students and Afrikaans Grade 11s in questionnaire surveys

	1996			1999			2002			2008		
	F	M	n	F	M	n	F	M	n	F	M	n
Rehoboth	14	11	25	26	46	72	31	25	56	46	10	56
N. Cape				15	13	28						
Belgium	14	10	24									
Netherlands				4	8	12	11	8	19			
Total n=292: F n=161 (55%); M n=131 (45%)												

Table 7.2 Gender and age of Afrikaans main questionnaire[8] respondents in 2002

2002	Windhoekers	Commuters	Rehobothers	Learners	Teachers		%
F	8	11	14	12	11	56	**60.9**
M	4	11	15	3	4	37	**37.8**

- **Socio-economic profile of the questionnaire samples**

Occupations are often used in social research as an index of social class or prestige level because in Westernised societies it is "the most important single determinant of social status" (Oppenheim 1992:263). The principle applies to Rehoboth of the 2000s. Occupations of adult questionnaire respondents are given in Table 7.12 (p. 187), reflecting the socio-economic profile of the survey sample. It is shown in Table 7.3 on the next page that the residential profile of the survey samples of 2002 and 2008 fits the residential profile of Rehoboth. Other informants as well as the Fernridge Retail Feasibility Study (2007: n.p.) basically verified the Police Chief's description (2002) of the residential "Blocks" as, "E is shantytown; A, B, C and F are middle class and the rich live in D". The bulk of the respondents in 2002 and 2008 lived in the middle class Blocks A (30%) and B (29%) while 12% was from Block D and only one person was from Block E. The researcher suspects that the impetus for a community shift to English will come – if at all - from the many middle class Afrikaans speakers and not from the fewer upper class ones in Block D or from Block E where most of the non-Afrikaans economic migrants lived. It is therefore believed that the socio-economic profile of the samples fits the purpose of the survey.

[8] This questionnaire of Oct./Nov. 2002 was aimed at mainly adults but it included 15 learners.

Table 7.3 Spread of respondents among Blocks compared to the Fernridge breakdown

	Afr. surveys		Fernridge: households per income in N$ per month			
Blocks	**n '02**	**n '08**	**14-20000+**	**3-7000**	**-3 000**	**total '07**
A	23	16	45	585	270	900
B	22	16	65	645	581	1 290
C	6	3	170	153	153	340
D	9	7	564	242	0	805
E	0	1	0	310	2790	3100
F	11	5	41	527	243	810
G	4	7	94	329	47	470
farms	1		500	0	2 000	2 500
			1325 (12.9%)	**2807 (27.4%)**	**6048 (57.2%)**	**10 215**

(b) Issues probed in surveys among adults in 2002 and Grade 11s in 2008

An English translation of the main questionnaire[9] of 2002 follows. The questionnaire was designed to fit the purpose as well as the subjects of the study. Note that a funnelling approach was followed. Straightforward, non-threatening biographical questions were asked first (nobody was e.g. asked about literacy or education levels),[10] followed by questions (10, 12-15, 17, 18, 40, 42, 43 and 47) that tested various forms of exposure. Questions 1, 2, 8, 10, 11 and 19 on age, gender, occupation, Block (suburb) and surnames tested the sample's representational adequacy; 20–25 probed adherence to a traditional lifestyle. The 23 open-ended language questions were spread among the others with the hope of hiding the fact that language behaviour was being investigated.

- **The questionnaire of October/November 2002 and September 2008**

1. Your age:
2. You are: a boy/man a girl/woman
3. Your mother tongue:
4. Your second language:
5. The other languages that you can speak:
6. Languages that you can understand but not speak:
7. Which of all your spoken languages do you find the most beautiful? (*mooiste*)
8. (a) What is your occupation?
   (b) Students: What occupation do you wish to have one day?

[9] The same questionnaire, with minor changes, was used for the Grade 11 survey of 2008. (See Appendix p. xix-xx for the questionnaire in Afrikaans.) Questions 21-24 were left out, questions on language proficiency were added, learners were asked what language they *wish* to speak at home and in which language and how often they send cell phone text messages (SMS). They were also asked to define "sovereignty" - a pivotal notion in the Namibian Constitution (1990).

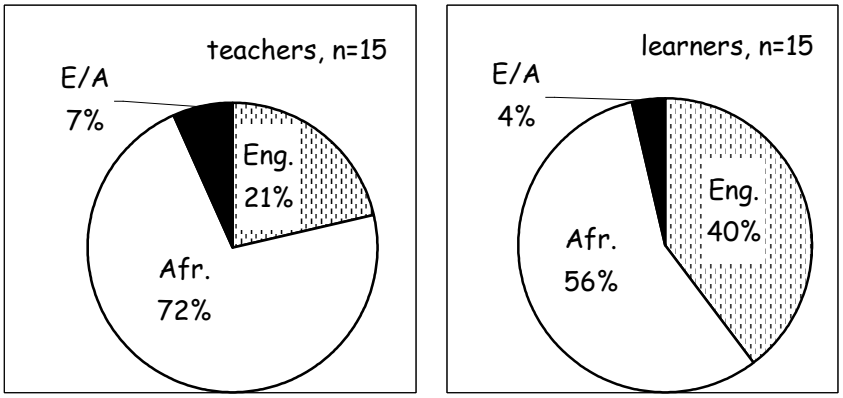
[10] Only the literate would have been able to fill in the questionnaire while the respondents' stated occupations – see p. 186 – gave the researcher an indication of their educational levels.

9. Which language is best for finding work in Namibia?
10. How long have you been staying in Rehoboth?
11. In which Block do you live?
12. You live with: parents family friends own a house rent a house
13. How many of your housemates work:
    (a) in Rehoboth
    (b) daily outside Rehoboth
    (c) weekly outside Rehoboth
14. Have you ever been outside Namibia?
15. Where did you go?
16. For what reason?
17. Do you have family elsewhere in Namibia, South Africa or outside Africa?
18. Name the places where they stay.
19. Which surnames occur most in your family?
20. How often do you still sit at a fire? daily weekly sometimes never
21. How does a person become a Baster?
22. What about the Basters do you like
    (a) best
    (b) the least
23. Do you think that the Basters are losing something good?
24. What is it?
25. What do you like eating the most?
26. What improvement does Namibia need the most?
27. What improvement does Rehoboth need the most?
28. What can you yourself do to improve Rehoboth?
29. Do you want your children/grandchildren to be monolingual?
30. Which language would you prefer for your children/grandchildren as
    (a) first language
    (b) second language
    (c) third language
31. Which language is spoken mostly in your house?
32. How often do you go to church? often sometimes never
33. Which language do you prefer for church sermons?
34. Which language do you prefer for singing in church?
35. Which language do you prefer for marrying?
36. Which language do you prefer for funerals?
37. In which language do you pray?
38. In which language is the Bible the most beautiful to you?
39. Which language do you speak to
    (a) the doctor (b) older family (c) younger family
    (d) young friends (e) shops in Rehoboth (f) shops outside Rehoboth
    (g) government offices in Rehoboth (h) government offices in Windhoek
40. (a) Where and
    (b) for how many hours a day do you watch TV
41. What is the language of those programs?
42. Where else (a) do you hear that language?
    (b) do you use that language?
43. From where do you get Rehoboth-news?
    radio TV Rehoboth-newspapers Namibian newspapers friends
44. From where do you get Namibian and world news? radio DSTV
    Namibian TV/newspapers magazines from overseas friends

45. Do you use Internet?
    (a) for what?
    (b) in which language?
46. Do you still write letters?
    (a) to whom?
    (b) in which language?
    (c) how do you send it off? e-mail by post fax
47. How old were you when you first set foot in a library? [11]
48. Your reading habits: (a) read library books (b) other books (c) magazines
    (e) read hardly ever (d) newspapers
49. Which language do you prefer for reading?
50. Which language is best for:
    (a) Namibian President's speeches?
    (b) Rehoboth mayor's speeches?

If all 50 questions were answered, a language could have been named up to 32 times. Since the objective of the study was to investigate language maintenance (of Afrikaans) and language shift (to English), the times a respondent named the two languages separately in the questionnaire and the times both were named (shown as E/A, to indicate switching) were counted. The admittedly robust data were then used to compare language counts on individual as well as group levels. Examples are given below of the pie charts that are used throughout the chapter to present the data of the language use and choice of the different respondent groupings. The figures show at a glance that "Teachers" use and choose Afrikaans more than "Learners" and that they switch less.

Fig. 7.2 and 7.3 Language count of Rehoboth teachers and learners in 2002



Coulmas rightly asserted (1997:3) that the questionnaire is "a crude instrument depending on the weight attached to the results". The questionnaire data in the current research are regarded as responses to *specific* questions that were given by *particular*

[11] This question was less successful in the survey than in interviews for most respondents could not remember. Some elderly interviewees had specific memories about library Apartheid.

respondents in *particular* time-frames and places. In the final analysis the quantative data are pooled with the qualitative (observational and interview) data. More data than needed are sometimes given in the tables below - like e.g. every single language named by Grade 11s for the next generation – for the researcher agrees with Colette Grinevald Craig (1997) on the following: In view of the fact that language death has not yet been documented adequately enough to be fully understood in its specificity and that one cannot anticipate the questions linguistics will ask in future of the data gathered, one should be careful in filtering out information on the language and its use (1997: 265).

7.4 Politics and demography

Some Rehobothers see a political agenda in the large numbers of Oshiwambo-speaking economic migrants that flocked to the town after 1990. The Namibian town-planning firm WinPlan explains the influx as follows (2002:4). When Rehoboth was proclaimed a town[12] on 15 April 1999, the Town Council took over the planning and development control. Cabinet endorsed the Rukoro Report (1992) and resolved to make available 3 000 erven to compensate households "that had been displaced" [13] during the South African homeland policy. The largest current population growth was in Block E. Fernridge computed the socio-economic profile of Rehoboth in 2007 for a Windhoek company that wanted to erect the town's first shopping mall. Table 7.4 compares the income of Block E with Block D, the most affluent suburb. According to the projection, Block E could have 2 000 more households by 2012 - with the same income profile.

Table 7.4 Income profiles of Block D and Block E (Fernridge Consulting 2007, n.p.)

2007	households	%	N$14-20000+	%	N$3-7000	N$-3 000	%
D	805	8	564	70	242	0	0
E	3100	30	0	0	310	2790	90

The post-1990 influx of economic migrants from the North into central Namibia has raised concern in other circles too. When the capital's Municipal Budget for

[12] Urban areas are grouped as Level 1 (Windhoek, Swakopmund and Walvis Bay) and Level 2 municipalities. As one of 12 Level 2 towns, Rehoboth cannot balance its budget without considerable state transfers as local governments do not own land "and is therefore deprived of the considerable income from the sale of land and property taxes" (Dubresson and Graefe 2001:64).

[13] The 1970 national census returned no Oshiwambo in Rehoboth (cited in Leggo, 1977:25). Around 1928, 230 stock-farming Herero families were removed from the Gebiet (cited by Viall, 1959:46).

2005/2006 was tabled, Dr Björn von Finkenstein, Chairman of the Windhoek Municipality Management Committee, pointed out that the rural-urban migrations have reached proportions "that are extremely challenging and critical". The 4.4% population growth of Windhoek was not matched by equivalent income growth and unless this trend is reversed by making it more attractive for people to stay in rural areas, it may eventually "suffocate the City of Windhoek". Von Finkenstein added that this urbanization should be addressed on national, regional as well as local levels (*Windhoek Observer*, cited by Pretorius in *Parlementêre Slaggate*, 8 July 2005:2). Peeters[14] appealed on behalf of the Basters to the United Nations Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1993, asserting that the massive immigration, mainly from "Wambo people in northern Namibia", has been promoted to try to destabilise the demographic and social structure of the area. A swing to SWAPO in the 2004 Rehoboth Local Authority election (shown in Table 7.5 below) happened 15 years after Namibia's first free national elections in 1989. Note that the ethnic breakdown of votes in 1989 was as follows (O'Linn, 2003:352): "SWAPO did quite well in the whole of Namibia but the Ovambo ethnic vote in Ovambo and urban centres like Walvis Bay, Swakopmund, Lüderitz, Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Windhoek, with large concentrations of Ovambos, was decisive. Ethnicity also played a dominant part in the case of the UDF [15] where the Damara vote was decisive. The white vote went to the DTA and the ACN, while the Herero vote also went to the DTA and the Rehoboth Baster vote to the FCN and the DTA."

Table 7.5 Results of Rehoboth Local Authority elections from 1992-2004

Party/Association	**1992**	**%**	**1998**	**%**	**2004**	**%**
SWAPO	1817	37	730	22	4778	66[16]
DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance)	2702	55	783	24	919	13
Congress of Democrats					760	11
Rehoboth Ratepayers Association			1759	54	604	8
Republican Party					166	2
Voters registered			6807		14481	
Total valid votes cast	**4812**				**7227**	

[14] http://www.halcyon.com/pub/FWDP/Africa/rehoboth.txt (accessed on 3 July 2000)

[15] United Democratic Front (UDF), Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Action Christian National (ACN), Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN).

[16] SWAPO drew only 50% of Rehoboth votes in the National Elections of November 2007. (Local Authority Elections are held towards the end of 2010.) In Rehoboth Urban West the new party RDP drew 886 (40%), DTA 585 (27%) and SWAPO 534 (24%). SWAPO drew 53% in Urban East.

(a) Demographic submersion as factor in language endangerment

In the view of Fasold (1984:215) a community undergoes a "demographic language shift" if immigration of non-speakers of the historical language upsets the language-balance while E. Annamalai notes (1998:18-19) that the "critical mass of population for survival of a language" is relative to factors like the socio-political situation in the country; powerless communities can then "give precedence to the survival of self over the survival of the language". Almost all Rehoboth Basters and Coloureds were Afrikaans up to 1990 and observational research of the current study shows that Afrikaans is still (in 2010) dominant in town. This situation is changing, though, as shown in this section. Rapid changes in the demographic and socio-political environment in Rehoboth may have left youngsters with the impression that English is needed for their survival. (Their identification with Rehoboth, Basterness and English is considered on a micro-level in Chapter 8.) However, it has been found elsewhere that members of the younger generation sometimes return to their mother tongue and communities after discovering to their dismay other "gate keeping mechanisms in the path of their social and economic progress in spite of their acquiring the dominant language" (Annamalai 1998:25).

(b) Physical attributes of Rehoboth and population figures

Physical attributes of Rehoboth, general population characteristics of the community as a whole and some micro specifics of the Afrikaans sector are discussed next. A map, photographs, tables and figures aid the presentation. Note that Rehoboth was a mission station with status a mere century ago. It was (in the context of the time) a major religious, educational, trade, diplomatic, political and farming centre in the South when Dutch ruled as written language and in all formal domains. According to Lau (1995:227) the Basters were one of the most successful communities in central Namibia during the reign of Hendrik Witbooi, partly due to successful individual crop production, cattle farming and their strategic position. (Witbooi died near Vaalgras in 1905, Lau pp. vi and xxvii. Heidmann often refers to his visits to Rehoboth from 1885 onwards in his journal, e.g. Vollmer 1997:115). Some hundred years later the *World Directory of Minorities* described (1997:502) the Basters (34 000) as a "distinctly marginalized" minority group alongside the San (38 000), Himba (5 000) and Topnaars (650). In 2002 Suzman asserted in *Minorities in Independent Namibia* (2002:19) that while there is little

question about the sincerity of Baster concerns, they have not "suffered unduly at the hands of the Namibian state". The disparity between the two reports may be explained by the fact that it had different authors. (Suzman's bibliography suggests that his field of expertise is the San. Clearly any marginalized group would pale when compared to the San.) Rehoboth is pictured below in 1907 with ox-wagons and in 1966 with the RC Church in the centre, brick houses scattered between gravel roads and no cars in sight (in Britz *et al.* 1999:21, 45). The third picture provides an aerial view of Rehoboth in 2006.

Fig. 7.4 Rehoboth in 1907

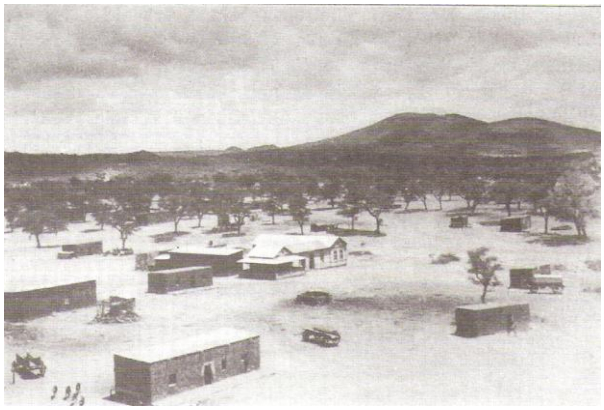


Fig. 7.5 Rehoboth in 1966

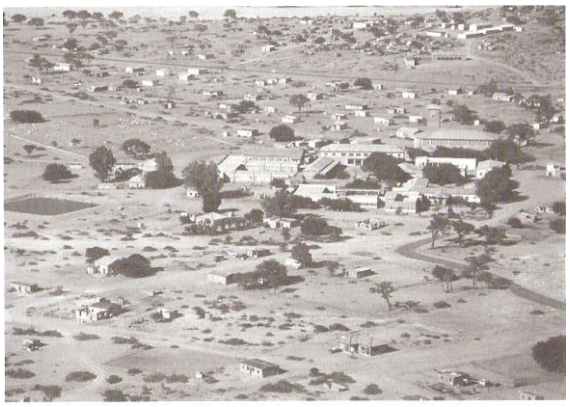


Fig. 7.6 Aerial view of Rehoboth in 2006 (Fernridge Consulting 2007: n.p.)

The aerial pictures illustrate Rehoboth's rapid growth over three decades. Note that in 1972 the town had 821 houses, occupied by 3 829 Basters; in 1977 it had 1 143 for 5 337 Basters plus 1 158 unbuilt erven (Leggo 1977:22, 53). The physical attributes of Rehoboth in 1966, the dominance of Afrikaans and its speakers who lived densely and segregated from other groups were ideal for language maintenance. The Basters spoke Afrikaans and spoke no English at the time according to their last Rhenish missionary Vollmer (interview, Windhoek 2001). Haanen (1999:84) called Rehoboth the "third city of the country" and believes it is changing from a "sleepy, homogeneous, autonomous 'city-state' to a multicultural city". Migrants are drawn to the area "but investment has not followed". Fernridge described the town (2007: n.p.) as *slaapdorp* ("sleepy town"). By 2005 (see inserted Zoning Map below) the town had 7 000 erven and needed 1 000 more (p.c. town planner). When asked for an update (30 October 2007) Jeffrey Kasupi, Community Development and Public Relations Officer of the Rehoboth Council, reported that Rehoboth has a "nomadic population" with an inhabitant core of about 45 000. To meet the growing demand for housing some 10 000 more erven were needed; 5 500 individuals (also Basters) have qualified for free and serviced erven in Rehoboth in accordance with the Rukoro Report (1992). So-called "informal dwellings" are outlawed therefore only between 1 800 and 2 500 structures of corrugated iron, tin, wood, etc. were still left. When asked for estimates of the mother tongue mix in the Rehoboth community, Mr Kasupi gave the following breakdown (in response to categories suggested by the researcher): English, Otjiherero and "Other" 5%, Oshiwambo 12%, Afrikaans and KKG 40% each. He added that Afrikaans is still the dominant spoken language in town, estimating a figure of 80%.

(c) Political changes in Rehoboth

Rehoboth's swing to SWAPO in May 2004 (as shown above) was not unexpected. In 1980 while the Basters were still ruled in accordance with their Paternal Laws (*Vaderlike Wette*) of 1872 by a Kaptein and Baster Raad, the wish for political change was already mentioned (Rose 1980). When asked about their choice for a form of government, 83% of Rose's respondents "made the cautious choice" of a central government for the whole of Namibia. The breakdown by age group was: under 40: 87%; 40–60: 82%; above 60: 71% (Rose, p. 248). The foregoing dates the onset of a community shift in mindset with regard to traditional structures – led by the youngest generation. Rose found (p. 242) that the

Basters in general had a "strong urge towards development and change", that they were ready for change on more than one level (pp. 248-249), but that it did not necessarily mean that they felt motivated. She cited G.M. Foster (1973) on "competition and the urge for economic gain and prestige" as stimulants for change (Rose, p. 245). Dana Snyman wrote in 2001 that comedian, actor and playwright Severius Majiedt "is one of the new generation of young Rehobothers who believe they must start working with President Nujoma's government for reconciliation in town" (*Huisgenoot*, 7 June 2001:43).

In the run-up to Rehoboth's swing to SWAPO some Afrikaans townspeople aged between 25 and 35 years told the researcher that they would vote for SWAPO because they "want to work with the government of the day", "want Rehoboth developed" or "want the roads tarred" (p.c. 2003-2004). Moreover, Kaptein McNab urged Rehobothers to vote SWAPO in 2004 and explained his action as follows in a new (Afrikaans) publication of the Kaptein and Kaptein Council of the Rehoboth Baster Community (February 2007 - Volume 1, p. 2): "To counteract speculations that the Baster people are refusing absolutely (*volstrek*) to respect the Constitution and to co-operate, I encouraged the Baster people in the local media to vote for Swapo in the last local election. This proved the Basters' willingness to co-operate unequivocally. The results of the election forced Swapo to show its real colours with regard to the Basters. Baster officials were gradually phased out, were victimised and replaced with inexperienced officials…"

While campaigning in Rehoboth in May 2004 for the upcoming local authority election, President Nujoma declared (Dentlinger 2004)[17], "If re-elected to power at Rehoboth, SWAPO would forge ahead with tarring the streets of the town…" Nujoma must have known that the some 100 km of gravel roads (in a network of 110 km) in Rehoboth was a sore point at the time. Note that 53% of the respondents in the current study indicated roads in response to an open-ended question of 2002, "What do you think is most needed to improve Rehoboth?" (See data on p. 188 below.)

(d) Race classification, population figures and language ratios over time

Since ratios are more important than numbers in assessing language vitality (Brenzinger 1997:276), an attempt was made to determine the number of Afrikaans speakers in Rehoboth and the ratio between the language groups. (Ratios within the

[17] FrontPage Local News Namibian, http://www.namibian.com.na (Monday 10 May 2004, accessed on 29 September 2004).

Afrikaans community are not yet an issue.) Apart from no longer classifying Namibians by race, the Rehoboth Gebiet was cut in two by the post-1990 regional boundaries, therefore separate numbers for the language groups of the area are unobtainable. As shown below, the researcher had to assemble tables with the aid of pre-1990 censuses and EMIS data.[18] McNab believes it will never again be known how many Basters live in Namibia (p.c. 29 July 2002). He estimated the number at some 50 000, noting that Basters had to be reclassified as Coloureds in the Apartheid regime in order to buy houses elsewhere.

Iken noted (1999:fn. 41, quoting Sharp and Boonzaier 1994) that there was some flexibility in the ethnic classification system of the Apartheid era. In July, September and October 1997 Kjæret (2000) interviewed a number of prominent Rehobothers who represented both ends as well as the centre of political outlooks in town. This is how three of his interviewees identified themselves (Appendix, 2000:127-130): Stephanus Dax (SWAPO-member), "I was made a Damara here in Rehoboth." Theo Jankowski (rector of St Josephs and active member of SWAPO), "I was classified a Baster." Moses Garöeb (Regional Councillor), "I am a Damara-speaking Namibian." The following anecdote, from the life-story interview (Windhoek, 8 June 2000) of an elderly woman (Mrs X) who has since passed away, illustrates the ambiguity of the classification system in Rehoboth.

Mrs X, who was born into the prominent Cape Coloured Abrahams family, had happy memories about a carefree childhood with her parents in Karibib in southern Namibia before WW2. When she married an English-speaking Cape Coloured in 1949 the couple moved to Namaland where they had to be classified as Namas in order to live in the area. A few years later the husband became a teacher in Rehoboth where they became Baster citizens after a prescribed period in which they evolved from *beskermburger* ("protected burger") to *volle burger* ("full citizen"). After some time they returned to Namaland where they "became Namas again" as follows: the white commissioner, who knew them very well, asked (tongue in cheek, Mrs X said) *En watter nasie is julle twee? ("*And to which nation do you two belong?"). Before they could reply, he wrote down "Nama". The couple "automatically became Coloureds again" when Mr X became principal of a Coloured school in Windhoek, but when he decided to buy a small farm in the Rehoboth Gebiet, the couple had to reapply for Baster citizenship. After some years the husband retired and bought a

[18] The researcher finds EMIS data quite reliable for the purpose since teachers enumerate their own learners and two school censuses are conducted each year (EMIS 1995: xiv).

farm in the Gobabis district and soon "the ID story began". Mrs and Mr X applied at Nina for their IDs and were not asked "what they were". They subsequently received "white" IDs. When pensions for non-whites were introduced ("we were not yet old enough when we were Coloureds," Mrs X explained) the couple applied for pensions, but were told, "No, you are classified white." In time an attorney friend offered to intervene on their behalf so they became Coloureds once again and got their pension. Mrs X laughed when she concluded her tale of seven identities (Coloured, Nama, Baster, Nama, Coloured, white, Coloured) saying, "Presumably, I am a Namibian now." She had a revealing afterthought: "My daughter is very racist as far as whites are concerned."

The researcher kept the aforesaid ambiguities in race-classifications in mind when she assembled the tables below but she believes the ratios are by and large correct. Table 7.6 documents the languages of all Rehoboth learners and teachers in 2001 while Table 7.7 contains the 1970 national census classification of the Rehoboth population. (It is interesting to note that the Odendaal Report of 1964 projected 75 760 "Rehoboth Burgers" for 2010 and 111 034 for 2020. Odendaal's projection of 16 500 for 1970 was 26 more than the actual national census of 1970, according to Leggo 1977:22.)

Table 7.6 MTs of all Rehoboth learners (n=8766) and teachers (n=354) in 2001 (EMIS)[19]

	learner		**teacher**			**learner**	**teacher**
language	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**language**	**n**	**n**
Afrikaans	5437	62.0	281	77.4	Other European	3	
Khoekhoegowab	2952	33.7	59	16.7	Setswana	3	1
Oshiherero	65	0.7	3	0.8	German	3	
*Oshikwanyama	84				Rukwangali	2	
*Oshindonga	31				Silozi	2	
*Other Oshivambo	146	3.0 (*)	1		Other Caprivi	2	
Other	19	0.2	2		San	1	
English	18	0.2	6	1.7			

Table 7.7 Rehoboth inhabitants according to the racial classification system of 1970 [20]

Rehoboth Census 1970 (cited in Leggo 1977:25)			
burgers	3489	Coloureds	196
Damaras	1107	others	41
Namas	429	Total	5262

[19] The researcher was given, as a once off, the 2001 EMIS data of all Rehoboth schools on disc.
[20] ID documents were introduced in 1970, which facilitated the enumeration of the population.

Data of Tables 7.6 and 7.7 are combined below with the researcher's 2008 survey data. "Burgers" and "Coloureds" of 1970 are joined as "Afrikaans" and Damaras and Namas as "KKG". (Afrikaans learners are being outnumbered in Rehoboth but they were still dominant among the Grade 11s of 2008.) In Table 7.9 missionary figures of 1942 and the 2007 estimate of Kasupi of the Rehoboth Town Council are added to 2001 EMIS data. The Basters were ratio-wise the most dominant group in 1970, shortly after the Odendaal Plan of 1964 was published, and Rehoboth Gebiet came to be known as "Basterland". The 2001 census returned an urban population of 21 781 and a rural one of 7 365 in Rehoboth.

Table 7.8 MTs of Rehobothers' 1970, learners/teachers 2001, Grade 11s 2008

	townspeople 1970	**%**	**learners 2001**	**%**	**teachers 2001**	**%**	**Grade 11s[21] 2008**	**%**
Afr.	3685	70.0	5437	62.0	281	77.4	266	80.8
KKG	1536	27.2	2952	33.7	59	16.7	62	18.8
others	41	0.8	337	4.3	13	3.7	11	3.3

Table 7.9 Rehoboth's Afrikaans/KKG (Nama/Damara) ratio in three selected years

	1942[22] (missionary)	**1970 (Census)**	**2001 (EMIS)**	**2007 (Kasupi)[23]**
Afr.	57%	70%	62%	40%
KKG	43%	29%	34%	40%
Oshiwambo			3%	12%
others		1%	4%	5%

The last decade saw a rise in woman-headed households in Rehoboth (up to more than 60%) and a decline in family sizes (p.c. head Social Worker of Rehoboth, November 2003): In 1915 women had up to 14 children; in the 1980s they had 4-5; in the 1990s the number dropped to stay at 2-3. Birth control was named as a cause for the decline but working womanhood and a rise in education levels and the resultant rise in Rehoboth women with professional positions must have been a contributory cause. Note that young Rehobothers who leave town after school have a tendency to return when they marry and have children (p.c. manager of a Rehoboth service station, 2002). A Windhoek optometrist noticed the same trend when she digitised 15 years of her patient data (p.c. 2007): Rehoboth adults who had moved to Windhoek often return to Rehoboth in old age.

[21] Source: p.c. - principals of Rehoboth's three high schools.
[22] ELCA VII 28.8:195
[23] Kasupi pointed out that these estimates of his would not total 100%.

7.5 Economy as a factor in language endangerment

Grenoble and Whaley suggested that economy is "the single strongest force influencing the fate of endangered languages" (1998:52), while Ó Riagáin (2001:212) noted that the complex sequence of maintenance, shift, revival, etc. apparent in Ireland in the 20th century was "intimately related to changes in the economic base of the community within the wider society". Parents in De Klerk's survey among well-to-do Xhosa-speakers enrolled children at English schools because of "economic factors of one kind or another" (2000:95). They argued that opportunities are much greater if one is educated in English and that English is an international language and the language of business. Mesthrie viewed the link between language and economy as important (2007:149) but found that the link between English and the economy was "not entirely straightforward" in the shift to English among South African Indians.

History has shown that a change in mode of production tends to trigger social change and changes in language behaviour. Ponelis observed (1998:16) that the language community in the Western Cape underwent a sweeping social change three centuries ago when an established agricultural tradition made way for stock farming as nomads began spreading their language across Southern Africa. The latter was a catalytic event in the genesis of the Rehoboth Baster nation. After the loan farm-system was implemented Dutch-speaking stock farmers in the Northern Cape became the progenitors of the Rehoboth Basters. They transmitted their language, religion and mode of production to their children with Khoi women. Note, though, that the Khoi had been raising sheep and cattle long before the arrival of Dutch settlers, which means that there would have been intergenerational transmission of farming skills and values from the maternal side too.

The bulk of the traditional Rehoboth Basters remains deeply attached to land and many are still stock farmers (p.c. McNab, July 2007) but children might not follow in the footsteps of their parents. The traditional Baster tenure system led to the fragmentation of farms into uneconomic units[24] (Lang, Rehoboth lecture 2000). In 1975, 40% of the Basters worked in agriculture, 14% in construction and 18% in services and "hardly anyone" in commerce and finance (UNISA Bureau of Market Research, cited in Leggo 1977:22).

[24] According to a list of "Baster farms in the Rehoboth Gebiet" (*SWALURAMA* 1946-1967), Farm 163 (size 4 801ha) had 50 owners, Farm 501 (6 600ha) had 47, Farm 248 (7 000) had 37, Farm 367 (8 800ha) had 33, etc. To be economically viable a farm in this area had to be at least 7 000ha.

Rehoboth Grade 11s of 1996-2008 showed no interest in farming, construction and teaching - work terrains where Afrikaans was freely used and reproduced in the past: Popular envisaged careers are in financial and medical [25] fields. (See Appendix xxi-xxii for a full list.) Career changes in Ireland in the 1960s affected the Irish language (Ó Riagáin pp. 207-209). Before 1960 the Irish economy was dominated by family businesses, farming and the self-employed. Nearly three-quarters of males in the Gaeltacht areas worked in agriculture in 1961 but by 1981 this sector was employing less than half of the workforce and growth in non-agricultural employment had resulted in increases in commuting to and from towns. This led to the increase of interactions between Irish speakers and English speakers and "served to diminish the possibility of maintaining Irish".

In Kwazulu-Natal almost half of all Indians were involved in agriculture in 1911; in 1946 it was less than 11%; by 1970 it was only 5% of the economically active, which made Indians the most urbanised (87%) group in South Africa (Gert Oosthuizen 1977:69). Mesthrie noted (2007:34) that since the 1970s young Indians began identifying with "a range of jobs open to the highly educated, rather than those built around family businesses". Gal (1997:376-379) found (1974) that after WW2 many subsistence peasant agriculturalists around Oberwart became industrial workers or worker-peasants. By 1972 only some third of the Hungarian-German bilinguals was employed exclusively in peasant agriculture. The whole community changed gradually from stable bilingualism to the use of one language in all interactions.

It is noteworthy that youths in neighbouring Zimbabwe told Jeff Hill (author of *Zimbabwe. What happens after Mugabe?*):"We don't want to be on the land. We want to be on the Internet." (Interview, BBC Network Africa, 20 March 2007.) Raimar von Hase, outgoing president of the Namibian Agricultural Union (NAU), said in a Radio France International interview (September 2008) and a personal communication (December 2008) that young people worldwide – including children of the German commercial farming community in Namibia - no longer wish to farm, because they are put off by the hardship connected to the industry. A Rehoboth principal agreed with the latter (p.c. 2005).

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[25] Rehoboth-born Dr F.F. Stellmacher (born in 1939) is a medical practitioner in town (since 1967) along with five other Rehoboth-born doctors – of whom one is a woman. His daughter is a urologist in Windhoek and the late Dr Kiart Beukes, son of Maans Beukes (born in 1913), was one of only four surgeons in Windhoek. A Rehoboth woman is an anaesthetist while another woman and a man from Rehoboth are veterinary surgeons.

(a) Language of the work domain

Table 7.10 below reports on languages that were indicated by questionnaire respondents for the work terrain. As shown, the Coloured control study of 1999 in the Northern Cape returned the lowest count for English while 3 of them chose Afrikaans and 2 chose Xhosa. Overwhelming support for English among Grade 11s was expected, as well as support for Afrikaans among the Rehoboth teachers who had the highest average age.

Table 7.10 Languages regarded as best for finding work in Namibia and South Africa

	n	English	Afr.	E/A	Germ.	E/A/G	E/Osh.	Xh.
1996 (Grade 11s)								
Namibia (all MTs)	336	301 (87.6%)	6		9			
Namibia (Afr.)	196	177 (87.2%)	6		8			
South Africa (Afr.)	67	55 (82.1%)		1				
1999 (Grade 11s)								
N. Cape (Afr.)	28	22 (78.6%)	3					2
Rehoboth (Afr.)	72	64 (88.9%)		1	1			
2002 (Grade 11s)								
Rehoboth (Afr.)	56	48 (87.3%)			1	1		
Rehoboth (other MTs)	31	31 (100%)						
2002 (Rh. all ages)								
Teachers	15	9	5	1				
Windhoekers	12	11[26]			1[27]			
Learners (Grade 11s)	15	14	1					
Commuters	22	19	1				1[28]	
Rehobothers	29	20	5	2				
Total all ages		**73 (78.5%)**						
2008 (Grade 11s)								
Rehoboth (Afr.)	56	56 (100%)						
Rehoboth (other MTs)	21	21 (100%)						

Language preferences of students in Belgium and the Netherlands for the work terrain (Table 7.11 below) verify Uhlenbeck's (1993:29) remark that bilingualism in the Netherlands (English and Dutch) and Belgium (Dutch and French) was on the increase and that knowledge of at least English and/or French and German in the international arena of commerce and science was needed. All Dutch-speaking respondents named their MT

[26] The housewife (aged 61) among them said: "Definitely English, our government is English."

[27] A civil engineer (aged 25), originally from Rehoboth, who works at a German firm in Windhoek.

[28] This man (aged 74) lived in a Windhoek old-age home, owned a car and spent weekends in Rehoboth. He said in an aside to the researcher: "Telling the truth will make it sound as if I want to talk politics. I believe one will have to learn English and Oshiwambo fast."

Nederlands. The samples are too small to claim generality, but a swing to English in this domain is shown in the Netherlands. All respondents from Belgium, plus 14 out of the total of 31 from the Netherlands said that they speak Dutch, French, German and English.

Table 7.11 Dutch-speaking students' choice of a language "best suited for finding work"

	n	German	English	French	*Nederlands*	E/N	'depends'	'all'
Belgium '96	24	11	8	2	1		1	1
Netherlands '97	12	9		2				
Netherlands '02	19		13		5	1		
Total	**55**	**20 (36%)**	**21 (38%)**	**4**	**6 (11%)**	**1**	**1**	**1**

In Central and Southern Namibia the lingua franca of the two main Rehoboth working terrains, farming and construction, is still Afrikaans but Afrikaans' dominance seems to be at risk. The continuous influx of Chinese and North Korean building contractors who bring interpreters, artisans and manual workers along, is changing the country's language profile.[29] Chinese supervisors communicate with the mainly Oshiwambo-speaking manual workers who are employed by the Chinese contractors. A civil engineer reported (Windhoek, June 2007) that he saw no Chinese while he lived in a caravan on site in Ondangwa supervising a new water-installation for the parastatal NamWater between 2001 and 2003, although he knew that Chinese contractors were already operating in this Oshiwambo-speaking region. He began meeting Chinese workers a year later when his work for a consulting Engineering firm entailed site visits to GRN projects across the country and he has witnessed amusing interactions between Chinese and Oshiwambo workers. Once e.g. when a Chinese worker could not understand his English instructions, an Oshiwambo came to the rescue and delivered the message with gestures and a flood of Oshiwambo words. The engineer has heard Oshiwambo speakers use Chinese words across the country whereas a German artisan has noticed that Chinese workers on construction sites in Swakopmund and Walvis Bay are learning Oshiwambo (p.c. Windhoek, November 2006).

(b) Occupations: present and envisaged

In the Appendix (pp. xxi-xxii) Rehoboth choices for future occupations are compared to the ones of Coloureds in 1999 and students from the Netherlands in 2002.

[29] At first Chinese and Korean workers came to Namibia for a few years only and without their families but from 2007 onwards, young Chinese couples with children are being seen in the country.

(The researcher translated the Afrikaans and Dutch responses into English.) A notable difference between the choices of the Southern African and Dutch-speaking respondents is that none of the latter group indicated stereotypical women's occupations or planned to become artisans, which makes sense on more than one level. The Dutch-speaking respondents were university students and urbanites whereas the ones from Southern Africa are Grade 11 learners who live in modernising societies in rural environments. The choices rang true when checked against responses to the questions about the respondents' liked and disliked schools subjects - among both the Dutch students and the Southern Africans. The Namibian responses are furthermore evidential of a job market that is now open to all races and genders. The Rehoboth youth's focus[30] on the financial world (29 choices) is noteworthy when compared to the remark in the Leggo report of 1977 that the lack of formal education "clearly has an influence on the availability of work opportunities and the choice of occupations" (p. 18). In total the table reflects an upward social change in the community that already began in the mid-1980s. Rose's study of 1980 (above) found that the Rehoboth community had high aspirations for their children's' education - and this was confirmed by the vast improvement over the last two decades in the community's levels of education and in the sharp increase in upper-crust professions held.

A Cape clergyman (Revd A), who moved to Rehoboth in 1986, noted (interview 2002) that the Rehoboth community has produced people in all professions, adding that education levels among the Basters are quite high. For the last ten years young people have been taking over the leadership in the church. "Earlier it was the willing ones, now it is the competent ones with higher education, who are better qualified to lead and who brought about modernisation." The researcher learnt from interviewees born in the late 1920s and from those of Roux (1988), born in the early 1920s, that many children received tertiary education in South Africa and abroad. Parents were keen to tell of children (some had as many as nine) who went to university. Among the occupations that were mentioned were surgeon, anaesthetist, veterinary surgeon, lawyer, chemist and Engineer. An educational officer in Windhoek reiterated (interview 2002) that Basters

[30] A Rehoboth principal had a somewhat cynical view of these youngsters' outlook on careers: "They are no longer interested in construction like their fathers and grandfathers. They don't want to dirty their hands with *dagha* ("mortar") and do manual work. Only a very few are interested to become artisans. They seek managerial positions and air-conditioned offices…" (p.c. 2004)

are found in managerial posts in Windhoek, in the public service commission and in parliament and there is hardly a school in Windhoek without a Baster teacher, a Baster woman is principal of a Rehoboth high school and girls in Rehoboth have the same opportunities as boys. The occupations of the adult questionnaire respondents of 2002 that are listed below illustrate the point.

Table 7.12 Occupations of all adult respondents in the questionnaire survey of 2002

Rehobothers	**Commuters**	**Windhoekers**
secretary (2)	admin. officer	publishing house
housing clerk	shop-owner	housewife
clerk of the court	soldier	business manager
cleaner	driver	medical technician
house work: cook, clean	photo lab. assistant	clinic assistant
assistant librarian	retired	debit clerk
librarian	medical technician	financing clerk
politician	retail manager	accounting
builder	sub-contractor	secretary
bar work[31]	secretary	civil Engineer
land registration	tiler (3)	educational consultant
post matric year (2)[32]	artisan	teacher
salesman (2)	archival assistant	
minister	cook	**Rehoboth** (education)
banker	caterer (2)	teachers (14)
dramatist	miner	principal (1)
painter	broker	
community worker(2)	data typist	
artisan (4)	cashier	
voluntary worker (unemployed)		
security		
receptionist (3)		

The aforementioned and Table 7.12 place a question mark over Van Schalkwyk's claim that there are "no apparent class differences among the Rehoboth Basters – probably because most of them belong to the lower classes" (1983:151). He said this directly after drawing on Fasold's (1970) and Trudgill's (1972) categorisation of social classes like the lower working class, the middle working class, the upper (*boonste*) working class, the lower middle class, the middle class, the upper middle class, the lower top class

[31] This respondent (29 years) had worked as a barman in the Netherlands. It was the last job he held before he returned to Rehoboth. He indicated that he hopes to do water research in future.
[32] One 18-year-old was en route to work in Europe; the other one stated that he "helps the family".

and upper classes. Van Schalkwyk made no attempt to apply these categories to the Basters – other than his above comment. He furthermore claimed that he worked in the Labovian tradition but he failed to ask his respondents about their occupations (1983:96) - although he quoted (p. 151) Labov's finding (1972) that the clearest stratification in the US is found by the different combinations of "occupation, education, income and residential area" (cited in Du Plessis, 1983). Van Schalkwyk missed the point (Rehoboth Town Clerk, p.c. 2002) that because of the system of free erven, Rehoboth differed from other communities in the sense that distinction between "poor and rich" was less obvious. Van Schalkwyk relegated the bulk of the Basters to the "lower classes" without the support of data. At the time of his study there were, apart from a number of middle class Basters who commute to Windhoek, a sizeable elite class of doctors, clergymen, businessmen, farmers, the Baster kaptein and members of the Baster Raad, school principals, teachers, etc. Van Schalkwyk admitted, though, that his failure to ask about his respondents' occupations "could possibly be seen as a shortcoming" (1983:96).

(c) Suggestions for improvement of Namibia and Rehoboth

Respondents were asked in an open-ended question what improvements their respective countries needed with the hope of gauging their "orientation to life in general" (Fishman, 1991:488) and the way in which they think "the social system works and the relative importance of several avenues of mobility, such as education, hard work, money, luck" (Oppenheim, 1992:114). The researcher also wanted to learn about community issues and respondents' grievances. As shown in the Appendix (p. xxiii-xxiv), some respondents gave a single word to indicate a terrain for improvement, e.g. "crime", "drugs". The table furthermore illustrates how the esteem among Rehobothers for education as a vital factor in the country's improvement has tapered off from 31% in 1996 to 9% in 2002. This can be explained by the increase in the community's education levels and professional occupations since Rose's study of 1980 when only 2% of the community had matric and she found that the parents had "high aspirations" for their children's education. She also noted "the educational status of a community is recognized everywhere (*allerweë*) as an indication of their level of modernity" (1980:248-249). Unemployment was clearly an issue in the Northern Cape in 1999. Employment also drew the most responses in Namibia. In 2002 "development", the high currency word of late, began to enter the discourse. The

fact that 18% of the Dutch students named education must be seen in context. They qualified their responses by saying that education should be *improved*. The Namibian respondents merely said that the country needed education. Social care, milieu and immigration were mentioned by the Dutch but not by the Namibians. Education rose (understandably)[33] again to 20% among Grade 11s of 2008 (not shown in the table) while concern about unemployment [34] rose to 20% and 2 of the Grade 11s named corruption. There was no awareness (yet) about immigration and the integration of minorities - two key issues in present day Europe. Peter Drucker (2005:41) noted that the dominant factor in the next society will be "the rapid shrinking of the younger generation", which means immigration will become a "highly divisive" issue in all rich countries.

By 2002 only 7.5 km of Rehoboth's road network of 110.5 km was tarred (p.c. Town Council spokesperson). According to a road engineer the town "urgently needs" to tar another 10 km of roads, which the Town Council cannot afford for this costs N$1-2 million per km (p.c. April 2005). Air pollution caused by wind and traffic on the gravel roads posed a health risk but the state of the roads had psychological effects too. A clergyman interviewee (Revd C) e.g. noted in 2002: "I am normally a positive person but the dust roads make me grumble (*kla*) – I have stopped writing poetry." As shown in Table 7.13, 53% of the respondents regarded Rehoboth's roads as an urgent issue at the time.

Table 7.13 Respondents who regarded Rehoboth's roads as an urgent issue in 2002

Rehoboth, Oct./Nov.'02	average age	n	responses	roads	%
Commuters	38.2	22	21	10	48%
Learners	16.9	15	13	8	61%
Teachers	47.7	15	14	11	79%
Rehobothers	35.8	29	26	10	38%
total	**34.4**	**81**	**74**	**39**	**53%**

(d) Commuting Rehobothers as a factor in language endangerment

- **Actual number of commuters**

Lynn Landweer (1998) regarded access to a stable economic base as one of eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality (in Crystal 2000:144) while Knut Bergsland suggests

[33] As noted above, there is widespread concern about aspects of the Namibian educational system.
[34] The official unemployment figure is 50% + (in 2010) - as stated by the Prime Minister and repeatedly mentioned in the media. (P.c. spokesperson of a leading financial institution, Sept. 2010).

(1998:45) that the speech community must have an area to live in "and something to live by" for a language to survive. Some 60% of Rehoboth's work force commute for they have little "to live by" in town. Respondents were asked how many household members work in Rehoboth and how many commute: Only 17.5% of their household members work in town.

Table 7.14 Members of households who work in and/or outside Rehoboth

group	n	daily in Rh.	daily outside Rh.	weekly outside Rh.
Commuters	22	1	31	17
Rehobothers	29	20	23	13
Teachers	15	5	10	4
Learners	15	3	7	14
total	**81**	**29 (17.5%)**	**71 (47.9%)**	**48 (32.4%)**

In the absence of official data on the number of Rehobothers who commute daily to Windhoek (a round trip of 180 km), commuting cars and passengers were counted by the researcher five times during peak hours in 2002 and 2008; three times while driving the distance by car and twice while parked at a police checkpoint the roadside some 5 km outside Windhoek where vehicles have to slow down or stop. The researcher often asked townspeople for an estimate of the number of commuters and was invariably told that it was at least 60% of the work force. The researcher's data (Appendix p. xxv) made her believe that some 2 000 to 3 000 Rehobothers commute daily to Windhoek. In April 2007 Fernridge stated that most of the town's employed residents commute daily to Windhoek. Their estimate (from unstated sources) of 8 000-15 000 individuals was clearly far too high. A third of Rehoboth's inhabitants live in the basically poor Block E (according to Fernridge, p. 172 above), about 43% of Namibia's population are under 15 years (Table 3.4 above) and unemployment is very high in Rehoboth – like elsewhere. Hopwood (2008:3) cited a national unemployment figure of 36, 7% for 2004. As noted above, it is now (2010) estimated at 50% +. Unemployment among young people is known to be much higher.

- **Socio-economic impact of commuting on the people of Rehoboth**

There are parallels between the commuting situation in Rehoboth and the transport problems of the Coloureds in South Africa as reported by the Erika Theron Commission (1976:116). The following factors were highlighted in the Theron report: The availability, frequency, accessibility, quality, trustworthiness, journey time, convenience and cost of

transport. The report stressed that cost should not only be viewed in terms of travel cost, but also in terms of the indirect, social and psychological cost for passengers like being late for work, frustrations caused by waiting when delays occur, overloaded vehicles, personal safety, poor endpoint and change-over amenities and the influence of all of this on health, personal comfort and family life. Rehoboth school principals, teachers, social workers, clergymen and a Windhoek clinical psychologist have all expressed concern (in personal communications) about the effect of commuting on family and community life and marriages. Parents leave home as early as 5.30 a.m. and only return by 6.30 p.m. Children are left on their own for the whole day and siblings have to take over the role of parents, school studies are neglected and discipline is undermined. As one principal put it, children *vernalatig* ("neglect") themselves (p.c. 2005). Clergymen observed that they can only visit their commuting parishioners over weekends, when they are often busy with their neglected home duties. As shown above, among the 15 learners of the main questionnaire in 2002 only 3 had a parent who worked in Rehoboth. For the rest all adult household members worked either daily or weekly outside Rehoboth (15 people in all). One commuter said 9 members of her household worked daily outside Rehoboth.

Four former commuters in the "Windhoekers" category (aged in the 20s) described how they had to weigh up the advantages of staying in Rehoboth (living with the family, less expensive housing options, a rural environment) against the disadvantages of commuting. They all cited high cost, the waste of time, rising early, leaving home or arriving back in the dark, fatigue at work, etc. as problematic. Figs. 7.6-7 and Table 7.15 below show a marked difference between the language counts of the respondents in the "Windhoekers" category when their age and length of stay in Windhoek are considered.

Figs. 7.6-8 Overall language count of Windhoekers compared to that of Commuters

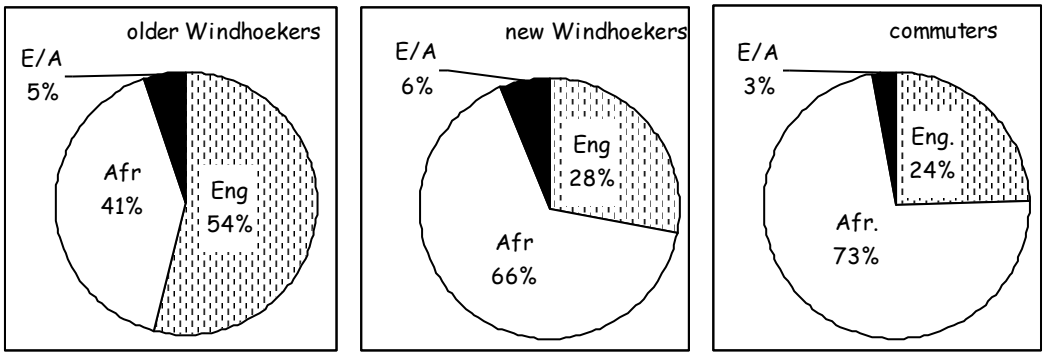

Table 7.15 Comparison between two groups of Windhoekers in 2002

gender	age	Rh. stay	Whk. stay	Afr.	Eng.	E/A
F	23	22	1	16	6	
F	25	23	2	16	8	
M	28	27	2 m.	16	6	1
F	29	19	10	12	8	3
F	32	19	13	15	4	3
	137	**110 (80%)**	**26 (20%)**	**75 (66%)**	**32 (28%)**	**7 (6%)**
gender	**age**	**Rh. stay**	**Whk. stay**	**Afr.**	**Eng.**	**E/A**
F	42	20	22	7	15	3
F	45	5	24	7	15	3
F	49	21	18	17	7	
F	53	29	22	4	17	2
M	56	8	21	6	18	
F	61	40	15	15	9	
M	63	36	27	12	9	1
	369	**159 (43%)**	**149 (40%)**	**68 (41%)**	**90 (54%)**	**9 (5%)**

Seemingly length of stay in Windhoek (and/or Rehoboth) overrides age and generation as factor in the use of Afrikaans. It is noteworthy that the 7 oldest respondents in the table who have lived in Windhoek for a total of 162 life years (40% of their age) use more English than the 5 younger ones who had lived there for 20% of their life years. As shown in the figures below, the language counts of the new Windhoekers are nearer to that of the category Commuters

Vossen believed a "stormy relationship with the government" is to blame for the fact that investment in big businesses has not happened and that local businesses go under (2003:35). She said that Rehoboth's economy has been stagnating for years even though the workforce is large enough, the town has a central geographical position, it lies next to the national road, there is space and land is inexpensive. A wide array of informants in the current research noted that townspeople do not support each other's financial undertakings. Revd A explained this phenomenon by the fact that "almost everybody in town is related" (p.c. 2004). It must also be kept in mind that the previous generations had a communal economic system, as revealed in life-story interviews. Maans Beukes (born 1913) e.g. remembered (p.c. Rehoboth 2000): *Ons het baie gemeenskaplik gelewe. Ons het nie vir ander geld gevra nie*. ("We lived in a very communal way. We did not ask others for money.") Maans Feris (born 1922) used almost the exact words when interviewed shortly afterwards – adding: "We did not know who was rich or who was poor".

7.6 Education as a factor in language endangerment

Low education levels among Rehoboth Basters were repeatedly mentioned in official documents from 1924-1980. A Rehoboth magistrate Forsbrook e.g. said in a letter of 24 March 1924 (in De Villiers, 1927:251-2): "The Baster nation is regressing because of impoverishment and a sad lack of education". He believed their salvation lay in education (*om hulle te onderwys*) and the establishment of a Government Agricultural Bank for bona fide Rehobothers. While considering whether the Basters (with a population of some 6 000) are "capable of governing themselves", the Geard and Allen Commission noted (1939:4) that most of the older Basters did not have "St. 2 or 3". A witness Maasdorp testified that only one child "had advanced to the position of teacher" with a certificate from Worcester in the Cape while three more children were at school in the Union of South Africa. At the time there were 250 farms, three schools outside Rehoboth and two in town that went up to St. 6. The reports of De Villiers (1927) and Geard and Allen (1939) were submitted by South Africa as mandatory reports to the League of Nations. In 1951 South Africa appointed another commission to determine whether the powers of the Basters should be extended. It consisted of two former Rehoboth magistrates, F.R. Staples and J.R. du Toit, who found that no change had taken place in the interim. No Basters were capable of being kaptein or magistrate, they claimed (Viall, 1959:58).

There seems to be a range of reasons for low education levels among the Basters before 1980. From their earliest days Basters were skilled hunters, stock farmers, trackers, interpreters, artisans, etc. for which reading and writing were not needed. Discontinuities caused by droughts, wars, change of government, internal strife among the Basters, etc. meant that many children had no opportunity to go to school. An interviewee (born in 1923) of Roux (1988) noted that it took two to three days to travel the some 62 miles from her parents' farm to Rehoboth by ox-wagon. In the 1930s "each Rehoboth Baster who owned a farm had his own *leermeester* ("teacher") to educate his children". Such children were then often 12 years old by the time they reached *groot skool* ("big school") in Rehoboth, where they had to start at Sub A again (Roux 1988:263-264). A life-story interviewee (born 1922) of the current study said in 2002 that her parents lived "in the desert" and that she had "never had the privilege to see a school door". Her mother went to school for only three months "after the war of 1914". Another woman (born in

1929) explained her illiteracy as follows: "When we had to go to school my father said to know the ABC was enough. We would only learn *skelmgeit* ("trickery") at school."

Apartheid in teacher training, school facilities and the allotment of bursaries are additional reasons for the educational backlog. According to the report on *Nie-Blanke Onderwys in SWA* (SWA 1958:27) Coloured and Basters from Rehoboth with St. V111 were trained in training schools (*opleidingskole*) in the Union for a two-year "Coloured Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate". At Coloured training colleges candidates with St. X could follow two- or three-year courses that led to a "Coloured Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate". The Anglican and Methodist churches started schools for the children of the large number of Coloureds from the Union who came to Namibia as railway workers during WW1. Clerics or Coloured teachers from the Union formed the teaching personnel. The MOI was English "because the owners alleged that this was the home language of most of their learners" but "investigation revealed" (no source stated) that the home language was primarily Afrikaans. This resulted in a long battle between the churches and the Administration. The latter eventually refused to approve teachers who could not use Afrikaans as MOI (SWA 1958:10).

This report also noted (p. 24) that Dr Lemmer High School in Rehoboth had 53 learners in 1958 (out of 3 705 school-going children): St. V11 (25), St. V111 (15), St. 1X (5) and St. X (8). The report had the following comment on the figures: "The fact that only 1.43% of school-going children of Coloured parents reported for further academic studies, supplies the answer to the question why there is only one high school for Coloured children in South West Africa." Clearly it was the other way round: The reason for the low number of high school learners in 1958 is that Dr Lemmer was only started in 1947. In reaction to a writ by a J. Nel from Windhoek who asserted that Dr Lemmer was built with "white taxpayers' money", P. Cloete and G. Diergaardt responded in a letter to *Die Suidwester* (15 April 1966, p. 11) that Dr Lemmer should have been built *blou jare gelede* ("many, many years ago") by the South African government in accordance with the stipulations of the Mandate. "The school was built with the money with which the non-white labourer, artisan and scholar were underpaid through the centuries." Hans Beukes (born in 1936), an alumnus of UCT, noted (*The Namibian* 19 September 2008:6) that loans from the Administration in Windhoek "were available to white school graduates, but not to

Basters from Rehoboth". Britz *et al.* observed (1999:50-51) that educational levels rose rapidly after Apartheid was officially abolished and Rehoboth attained self-government in 1977. A dynamic upswing in the 1980s furthermore resulted in more job opportunities and cultural institutions like a library (1984) and a museum (1986).

(a) Switch to English as medium of instruction (MOI) in 1992

Rehoboth was in the Keetmanshoop educational region when the national switch to MOI English was made in 1992. The language situation "in and outside the classroom with regard to National Languages" in this region was described in June 1992 by Erkana at a conference on the implementation of the language policy as (Appendix, p. vii): "The majority of the some 23 000 learners speak Afrikaans (the lingua franca of the region) and Khoekhoegowab... There is a small number of Oshiwambo, Otjiherero, German and English learners. Since the teachers' education background is mainly Afrikaans, Afrikaans is used mostly in and outside the classroom... English is virtually non-existent." Table 7.6 (on p. 179) shows that the 2001 language profile of Rehoboth learners and teachers still resembled the one sketched for the Keetmanshoop region in 1992. In 1992, 4 out of 17 Rehoboth schools switched to English in Grade 1 but some changed back to Afrikaans after 1996. The MT profiles below show that switches affected Afrikaans learners most.

Table 7.16 Main mother tongues in 2001 of Rehoboth's six largest primary schools

school	learners	Afr.	KKG	Eng.	Oshi.	MOI Eng.in Grade 1
A	721		691		30	never switched
B	735	719	9		5	stopped in 1998
C	737	670	60	5	2	ongoing
D	740	693	42			stopped in 1996
E	758	609	114	3	18	ongoing
F	1092	24	902		148	ongoing
total	4783					
11 other schools	2953 (38%)					

Table 7.17 below documents how many Rehoboth classes were involved in the switch to English in Grade 1 in 1992. As shown, some of the schools retained English classes after the switch back to Afrikaans after 1996. Table 7.18 shows how many learners with mother tongue Afrikaans were in Grade 5 and Grade 9-12 in 2001 and how many learners took Afrikaans as subject (EMIS 2001). Note that the ratio of mother tongue Afrikaans learners in Grades 1 and 5 are changing but an overall total of 82.5% still take Afrikaans.

Table 7.17 Chronology and number of schools and classes that switched to English

Grade 1	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Eng. classes	17	16	16	16	11	8	9	4	4	4
schools	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	3	3	3

Table 7.18 MT ratio in selected classes plus numbers taking Afrikaans as subject

2001		Mother tongues			ratio	Learners who took Afr. as subject			
Grade	n	others	KKG	Afr.	Afr. %	Afr. 1	Afr. 2	all	%
1	952	172	241	539	56.6				
5	940	166	212	562	57.8	616	151	767	81.6
9	674	44	164	466	67.3	454	94	548	81.3
10	540	40	140	360	66.6	331	109	440	81.5
11	346	40	50	256	74.0	195	105	300	86.7
12	330	29	41	260	78.8	160	120	280	84.8
Total	**3782**	**491**	**848**	**2443**	**64.6**	**1756**	**579**	**2335**	**82.5**

When questioned about the impact of the switch to English as MOI on Afrikaans learners, an Afrikaans high school principal (born in 1958) with 23 years teaching experience said in dismay (interview, Rehoboth 2002): "This year Grade 10s and 11s changed to Afrikaans 2, which means they are taking their mother tongue on a lower level. Our own children, Basters and Coloureds, are failing Afrikaans at the end of Grade 10!" The Grade 10s and Grade 11s he mentioned were the first to start school in English in Grade 1 in respectively 1992 and 1993. They acquired literacy in English - and not in Afrikaans like the Rehoboth learners in previous years. Afrikaans is introduced as subject (on level 1 or 2) from Grade 5 onwards and is no longer compulsory while English is.

Parallels can be drawn between the position of Afrikaans in Rehoboth's educational system and that of Irish in the 1970s (Ó Riagáin 2001). There is a significant difference, though, in the speed of the implementation of English. In Rehoboth Afrikaans was immediately dropped as MOI, as compulsory subject and as language of the state workplace. Ó Riagáin noted (p. 207) that Irish ceased to be required for entry into the public service in 1973. The "long-term drift" from the objective of Irish MOI for all seemed to have receded to the last line of defence in the same year when Irish ceased to be a compulsory subject in state examinations but was retained as subject on the curriculum of schools that received state funds. Examination results in Irish furthermore show a growing percentage of pupils failing Irish or not taking the paper (pp. 210-211).

A teacher (aged 41) with 22 years experience of teaching Grade 1s in Rehoboth was interviewed in October 2002. She has lived in Rehoboth all her life, had her schooling in Afrikaans when English was only a school subject and received her teacher training in Afrikaans in Khomasdal after she finished school in St. 8 ("like it was done at the time"). She found the sudden English immersion in 1992 extremely difficult. "My Grade 1 class did not even have the most basic English words that were needed to grasp sums!" The teacher went on to describe how the switch to English affected her own children: Her eldest son (born 1981) started school in Afrikaans in 1987. Thinking that she was "doing the right thing" she sent her younger son (born in 1983) to a Rehoboth school where learners could do Grades 1-3 in English, for "as a parent you do want to give your child the best" (*jy as ouer wil tog vir jou kind die beste gee*). Afterwards both her sons studied at the Cape Technicon. The eldest, a keen reader, finished his course while the younger one dislikes reading and left the technicon after a few months. "I know one's children are not the same but such a big difference calls for an explanation," she added. When asked in which way her school decided to change to English in 1992, she said parents were consulted by means of written notes. The majority wanted English "because Namibia's official language is English". At the end of 1995 the matter was discussed at a parent-teacher meeting because of language problems and poor results among learners. Although not unanimous, it was decided to begin changing back to Afrikaans in 1996 (as shown in Table 7.17 above).

The teacher notably gained confidence in the course of the interview for her tone became emphatic towards the end. When asked for a concluding remark, she stated, "I am an upholder (*voorstander*) of Afrikaans! They say Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor. I am not an oppressor! We *should not* be forced to speak English in government offices. We cannot express what we feel for we think in Afrikaans and speak in English." She then referred to the Rehoboth Magistrates Court where Afrikaans proceedings are interpreted in English, saying, "We can hear that the interpreter is not saying what we said. To whom can I go and say these things?"

The high school principal cited on p. 195 said in the same interview (2002) that although it became better in time, the sudden change to English was very difficult because the teachers were 99% Afrikaans and not in the habit of communicating in English. He went on to say: "We have noticed in especially the past three years that the

children do not have full command of Afrikaans. They switch between English and Afrikaans, are poor in spelling, use the wrong words, etc." According to the principal he sent his own son to an English school but he now realised that Afrikaans learners should "very definitely be instructed in Afrikaans at least until Grade 3". A principal from another Rehoboth high school commented as follows on the high percentage of learners who fail Grade 10 annually (p.c. March 2004): "Teachers are very, very worried. Not only do learners find it difficult to write in English, they also find it difficult to copy English from the blackboard into their books. Even now in 2004 learners have difficulty with their English lexicon since the predominant Afrikaans community cannot support them. In the mid-nineties I spoke out against the way English was phased in. It was a misinterpretation of the language policy as tabled." [35]

(b) Afrikaans as subject among senior learners

Table 7.19 shows that none of the Afrikaans Grade 11s and 12s in school B took Afrikaans 1. German could in time replace Afrikaans 2 as subject, one principal noted. "We are keen to promote German for some members of the older generation speak German. To lure such parents to the school, two mother tongue German teachers were employed while two Rehoboth teachers went to Germany for eight weeks with the support of the German ambassador. In 1989, 20 learners took German; by 2002 there were almost 200."

Table 7.19 MTs of Grade 11s and 12s and numbers who took Afrikaans as subject in 2001

Grade 11	MT KKG	MT Afr.	Afr. 1	Afr. 2
A	3	82	65	
B	50	58		105
C	5	116	130	
Total	**58**	**256**	**195**	**105**
Grade 12				
A	6	85	41	
B	46	72		120
C	10	103	118	
Total	**62**	**260**	**160**	**120**

[35] The principal did not elaborate, but Patti Swarts did (2001:40) - saying, "The intentions of the language policy are manipulated to foster certain agendas and serve certain interests: those at fault include the government itself, as well as politicians, schools and communities. In this process of manipulation many reasons are given to justify why, in certain schools, learners in lower primary are not being taught via their mother tongue."

To test attitudes to Afrikaans and English indirectly Grade 11s were asked what subjects they liked best and least. The 1996 data of Grade 11s across Namibia are compared below with Rehoboth in 2002 and 2008. (Not all subjects that were mentioned are shown.) In 1999 one of 28 Coloured Grade 11s in the Northern Cape said Afrikaans is her least-liked subject while nobody mentioned Afrikaans and nine liked biology best.

Table 7.20 Subjects best liked by Afrikaans Grade 11s in 1996, 2002 and 2008

	1996		2002	2008
Best-liked	**Nam. n=196**	**Rh. n=25**	**Rh. n=56**	**Rh. n=56**
Biology	84 (25%)	1 (4%)	16 (29%)	6 (11%)
Mathematics	75 (22%)	9 (36%)	6 (11%)	7 (13%)
English	13 (7%)	3 (12%)	18 (32%)	3 (5%)
Afrikaans	9 (5%)	2 (8%)	4 (7%)	16 (29%)

Respondents of 1996 were only asked *which* subjects they liked best or least. In 2002 and 2008 they were also asked *why* – as follows: "Which school subject do you like best and why? Which school subject do you like least and why?" As hoped, the questions revealed reasons why Afrikaans/English are liked or disliked among the Rehoboth youth of the 2000s. It is noteworthy that only one boy disliked English, saying, "I do not understand English so well." Reasons (19 of them) for liking English most are given in Table 7.21 below. In 2002 a girl said of Afrikaans, "it is presented in a *lekker* [36] way" (in a class of 29 with only 11 Afrikaans speakers) while a boy said, "The Afrikaans teacher (a woman) who presents it is soft-natured with lots of talent in the subject."

As shown in Table 7.20 above, 16 (29%) of the Grade 11s in 2008 said they liked Afrikaans best. In a school (n=35) where Afrikaans 1 is taken, reasons for liking Afrikaans were: "It is my mother tongue; I do well in it and understand it; the teacher presents it in a very *lekker* way; it is my mother tongue and I learn a lot; I can say what I want and air my opinion about something; it is easy to understand; the teacher who presents it makes it very *lekker*; because I learn a lot; I like the teacher and enjoy the subject; because it is just *lekker*; because it is my mother tongue; because it is presented in a *lekker* way."

Only the respondents of 2008 were asked in what language they started school. That data are added in an extra column to the 2008 responses in Table 7.21 below.

[36] The word *lekker* is difficult to translate into English. Here it (roughly) denotes "nice".

Table 7.21 Reasons of Grade 11s for liking English/Afrikaans best/least as subject

	age	**Reasons for liking English in 2002 and 2008**	
F	16	"The person who presents it is my favourite teacher."	
F	16	"You learn a lot and it is interesting to speak the language."	
F	16	"Because I am always happy when I have the subject and we understand one another (*en ons verstaan mekaar*)."	
F	16	"English gives me the opportunity to radiate my best ability (*om my beste vermoë uit te straal*)."	
F	16	"Because it is interesting and easy."	
F	16	"It improves[37] my English and I like speaking it."	
F	16	"English is interesting and easy."	
F	16	"Because it helps me a lot."	
F	16	"It helps me to understand and speak it better."	
F	17	"Because it is so easy and *lekker* and the teacher is interesting."	
F	17	"It helps to improve my language and my understanding and much more."	
F	18	"It is easy and *lekker*."	
F	18	"Because there is always something new to learn."	
M	16	"Because I don't do much work."	
M	16	"English, biology, physical science." He called the latter two "interesting".	
M	16	"History and English. It is presented in a *lekker* way."	
M	18	"It helps me to communicate."	
M	18	"Afrikaans and English. I have been taking it for years and understand it."	
M	19	"Afrikaans and English, because these are my languages". [38]	
F	17	"I learn a lot about the language and it is very interesting." (2008)	
F	17	"It is interesting." (2008)	
M	16	"It is difficult (*dit is swaar*)."	
		Reasons for naming Afrikaans as most disliked subject in 2002	
M	16	"It is difficult (*dit is swaar*)."	
M	16	"I have had a problem with the subject ever since I started school."	
M	16	"I find it difficult."	
M	16	"I cannot get the work in my head (*ek kry nie die werk in my hoof nie*)." He added, *dis 'n gebetsaak* [39] ("it is a matter for prayer").	
M	17	"I am not used to the big words. (*Ek is nie gewoont aan die hoë woorde.*)"[40]	
		Reasons for naming Afrikaans as most disliked subject in 2008	**MOI Gr. 1**
F	'91	"I'm not so good at it; it's a very difficult subject and language."	Afr.
F	'91	"My vocabulary is not so good."	Eng.
F	'91	"Afrikaans is somewhat difficult because of a small vocabulary."	Eng.
M	'91	"I don't like reading Afrikaans."	Afr.
F	'91	"It is very difficult to spell and many rules to remember."	Afr.

[37] She wrote it *vir better* her English whereas the Afrikaans word is *verbeter*.

[38] He clearly battled with the two languages: He wrote *Suith Afrika*, crossed it out and wrote *Suid Afrika.* A next response was written half in English, half in broken Afrikaans. As L1 for children he wrote "Englis", crossed it out and wrote *Afrikaans.* He described the culture of his family in poor Afrikaans as *Afrikaaner omdat almaal dit verstaan* ("Afrikaner because everybody understands it").

[39] He wrote *gebedsaak* correctly but then changed it to *gebetsaak*.

[40] He was the only one in this group who connected language and culture by saying "your language, your basic behaviour". He said that he speaks Portuguese and that he uses Afrikaans *slang* in the clothes shop. He wants L1 English, L2 Afrikaans and L3 Portuguese for his children.

These are some of the answers among 16 Afrikaans Grade 11s in a second school where Afrikaans is taken on level 2: "I like to write compositions; it is *lekker* to use your imagination; English and Afrikaans because the teachers are very good and they make the subject *lekker*; because it is my mother tongue. I do well in it and understand it." It is noteworthy that respondents named their liked and disliked subjects in Afrikaans in 1996 but almost all named the subjects in English in 2002 and 2008. Quite a few misspelt the word English and even misspelt Afrikaans, e.g. *Affirkaans.*

(c) Proficiency in Afrikaans among Grade 11s

In order to probe Grade 11s' ability to formulate and write in Afrikaans a number of open-ended questions were posed that could draw out wordy, spontaneous answers. In the original countrywide survey of Namibian Grade 11s in 1996 (including one Rehoboth school) the following questions yielded such results: respondents were asked to define culture, to describe the culture of their family and to say what needs improvement in their country. In a follow-up survey in all three Rehoboth schools on 31 May 2002 learners were asked about Sam !Khubis to test language proficiency as well as to probe knowledge of and identification with this historic Baster day. (President Nujoma attended – as first ever head of government to do so – a commemoration on the battlefield in 2002.) Grade 11s of all language groups in Rehoboth were asked what happened at Sam !Khubis and whether they have ever attended a commemoration. Apart from the empirical evidence that resulted from the written responses of the Grade 11s, chance as well as specific remarks made over time by Rehoboth interviewees and respondents who are or have been close to Rehoboth youngsters, point to the onset of a loss of proficiency in Afrikaans. Note was taken of English influences on Afrikaans in responses as well as the opposite: young respondents who could express themselves well in Afrikaans. (The respondents of 1999 had four years of Afrikaans schooling while the respondents of 2002 had none.)

In 1996 (the year in which the Internet became commercially available in Namibia) and in 1999, 90 Rehoboth Grade 11s were asked what the Internet was. In 1996 only one knew and in 1999 only one did not. The question was scrapped in May 2002. (Five months later the question was reframed as part of broader issues in a survey among Afrikaans-speaking Rehobothers of all ages.) Apart from the fact that most of the learners of 1996 and 1999 misspelt computer in Afrikaans or merely used the English word, only about 10%

could spell the Afrikaans word *kommunikeer* ("communicate"). The learners battled as follows with the word, which suggests that the word in Afrikaans was new to them: *komminkuur, komnikeer, kominkeur, komenikeer, kominikeur, kominkeur, kominikeer, komminikeer, komunikeer, kommikeer*. The table below shows the influence of English on the spelling of Afrikaans words by Grade 11s in questionnaire responses in May 2002.

Table 7.22 English influence on Grade 11s' written Afrikaans in May 2002

	Afrikaans responses	**correct Afrikaans**	**English equivalents**
1	*Engles*	*Engels*	English
2	*a vaste werk*	*'n vaste werk*	a fixed job
3	*4 y, 10 yrs, 10/17 yaar*	*4 jr, 10 jr, 10/17 jaar,*	4 yr 10 years, 10/17 years,
4	*ya*	*ja*	yes
5	*huure*	*ure*	hours
6	*komputor, comper*	*komper*	computer
7	*cannale*	*kanale*	channels
8	*group*	*groep*	group
9	*edukasie*	*opvoeding*	education
10	*economiese*	*ekonomiese*	economic
11	*archietetih, argutek*	*argitek*	architect
12	*block*	*blok*	block
13	*invormase*	*inligting*	information
14	*systeem*	*sisteem*	system
15	*family*	*familie*	family
16	*fure*	*vure*	fires
17	*experimenteer*	*eksperimenteer*	experiment
18	*electriciteit*	*elektrisiteit*	electricity
19	*vir better my Engels*	*verbeter my Engels*	improves my English
20	*vir 'n better lewe*	*vir 'n beter lewe*	for a better life
21	*maneer*	*manier*	manner
22	*Johanus-burg*	*Johannesburg*	*Johannesburg*
23	*doctor word*	*dokter word*	*become a doctor*
24	*school*	*skool*	school
25	*kaltuur*	*kultuur*	culture
26	*toure*	*toere*	tours
27	*sex*	*seks*	sex
28	*Suid-Africa*	*Suid-Afrika*	South Africa

One respondent (no. 17) wrote the word *Engles,* 21 times in his responses. Items 2, 3 and 4 were repeated several times – mainly by respondents of 2002. One respondent (no. 18) first wrote 10 "yrs" and then changed it to 10 *jaar* and another wrote "ya" (item 4) three times. The respondent who wrote item 27 also wrote *Engles* (7 times), *yaar* and *electriciteit* but the rest of her Afrikaans was faultless. The clear influence of English

phonology and spelling must have been caused by diminished exposure to written Afrikaans. A reference of Wurm (1998:201) to languages that have been "overlaid with the dominant language" applies. Note that respondents of 1996, 1999, 2002 and 2008 used no English when they wrote about culture and the culture of their family. In 1999 the 28 Coloured Grade 11s from the Northern Cape made only five spelling mistakes, which showed no influence of English; they were merely incorrect spellings.

(d) Results of last survey among Rehoboth Grade 11s on 30 September 2008

The research was wrapped up with a survey on 30 September 2008 in all three Rehoboth high schools. Grade 11s (n=77) were asked about their preferred language for TV, Internet and SMS. Where applicable the new data are compared to the data of 2002.

Table 7.23 Language choices of Grade 11s for Internet, TV and (only 2008) SMS

MT Afr.	**n**	**Internet use**	**Eng.**	**Afr.**	**A/E**	**hours**		
2002 A	15	3	2	1		n.a.		
B	56	8	8			n.a.		
		11 (15%)						
2008 A	35	26	25		1	22+		
B	16	9	9			20+		
C	5	2	2		1	2		
		37 (66%)				**44 (average 1.2)**		
MT Afr.	**n**	**Television**	**Eng.**	**Afr.**	**A/E**	**hours**		
2002	15	15	15			47		
						47 (average 3.1)		
2008 A	35	34	34			104		
B	16	16	16			70		
C	5	5	3		2	13		
						187 (average 3.4)		
						times per day[41]		
MT Afr.	**n**	**SMS use**	**Eng.**	**Afr.**	**A/E**	**100**[42]	**50-70**	**20-50**
2008 A	35	35	9	12	14	11	4	2
B	16	16	5	5	6	11	1	
C	5	5	1	1	3	2		
			15	**18**	**23**			
MT others[43]	**n**							
2008	21	18	16		2	5		2

[41] Other responses to this question were: The whole day, every day, a lot, 6, 10-15, it depends, etc.
[42] Advantage was taken of the cell phone company's offer of 100 free SMS per day for a month.
[43] Of this group 16 stated that they never use the Internet and 2 that they never send an SMS.

In 2008 Grade 11s were once again asked about the language best for work but this time they also had to say which language they like, write, read, and speak best. The Afrikaans learners' responses are shown below. "Other" languages were Nama, German, Portuguese and Spanish. Portuguese has a high profile in Namibia because it is spoken in neighbouring Angola. Spanish is known in Rehoboth since some women have married Spanish men and moved to Spain, e.g. the granddaughter of an interviewee, as well as the daughter of a questionnaire respondent. A woman who learnt Spanish while married to a Spanish man, noted that it is easier for Afrikaans than English speakers to learn Spanish because, as she put it, "in Spanish the Afrikaans *–a* is an *–a* and the *–e* is an *–e* ".

Table 7.24 Language preferences in five spheres of 56 Afrikaans Grade 11s in 2008

		English		**Afrikaans**		**E/A**	**other**	**n**
1	like best	27	48%	21	38%	1	7	56
2	write best	44	80%	10	18%	1		55
3	read best	35	65%	18	33%	1		54
4	speak best	16	29%	38	69%			55
5	best for work	50	96%	2	4%			52
	Total	**172**		**89**		**3**	**7**	**272**
	Preference totals	**English**	**63%**	**Afrikaans**	**33%**			

The researcher believes that the 2008 results shown above, coupled with the data of previous surveys, indicate that switching between Afrikaans and English is increasing (notably in SMS) and that English has become the dominant language among most Afrikaans learners. There is little choice in the language for TV or the Internet, but SMS is personal and language use in this private sphere is meaningful. Only 18 Afrikaans learners (32%) used their mother tongue for SMS. (It is understandable that the 18 KKG speakers do not use KKG for SMS. KKG has a particularly difficult orthography.)

(e) Final thoughts on the position of Afrikaans in Namibian education

At this point the researcher takes issue with two strongly worded assertions of Harlech-Jones (1996:96) with regard to the viability of Afrikaans in Namibian education. He pronounced (a) Afrikaans has no longer "any status in the school system" and (b) that there is "complete abandonment of support for Afrikaans" as MOI in the junior primary phase (1996:100). Afrikaans has status in the Rehoboth (as well as national) school system since it is part of the school curriculum (on subject levels 1 and 2); learners still take Afrikaans as a subject and competent and well-qualified Afrikaans teachers present the

subject. Among the 282 Afrikaans teachers in Rehoboth in 2001 only 16 did not have Grade 12. The rest had a Grade 12 certificate plus a mixture of educational qualifications, including diplomas and graduate qualifications plus 11 post-graduate degrees (EMIS 2001). Rehoboth schools showed support for Afrikaans in 1996 when they realised their mistake to switch to English in 1992 and began changing back to MOI Afrikaans in Grades 1-3. The researcher furthermore queries the representational adequacy of Harlech-Jones's samples. Table 7.25 compares the language ratios in his samples with the overall mother tongue[44] (or home language) ratio among teachers in Namibia. It shows that the ratios in the samples of Harlech-Jones did not match the actual ratio among Namibian teachers as returned a year later by EMIS (1996:95-96). In 1995 Afrikaans teachers were e.g. 8.9% of the Harlech-Jones sample but they formed 24.73% of all teachers in Namibia in 1996.

Table 7.25 Ratios in the Harlech-Jones samples compared to the Namibian profile in 1996

	Harlech-Jones (1996:92)		**EMIS (1996)**	
Mother tongue of teachers	**1986**	**1995**	**1996**	**%**
Afrikaans	7.3%	8.9%	2613	24.7
Otjiherero	24.8%	30.6%	1284	12.2
Khoekhoegowab	42.3%	35.0%	1328	12.6
Oshiwambo varieties	11.2%	12.1%	4648	44.0
Setswana	5.6%	7.0%	112	
Total	**161**	**157**	**10 562**	

7.7 Conclusion

Do the data that were discussed in this chapter show which of the macro-variables demography, politics, economy and education endanger the future transmission of mother tongue Afrikaans in Rehoboth the most? Grade 11s represent the pre-parental generation on which the study focused. They may leave Rehoboth, vote for who they want, decide what work they want to do in future, but they have no choice at the moment with regard to the MOI – not in primary nor in tertiary education. For the latter they would have to leave Rehoboth and its Afrikaans environment. They have reason to ask their teachers, "What can we *do* with Afrikaans?" (See lead quote of the chapter). It seems as if education is the dominant pressure on young people's choice of language right now.

[44] As noticed above, EMIS published data on the home languages of Namibian teachers for the last time in 1998 – without explaining why. When the researcher asked an EMIS spokesperson about the omission in 2002, the person said "sometimes new donors change the emphasis in the reports".

Chapter Eight

Language endangerment in terms of religion, culture and identity

Survey question (30 September 2008): "Describe the culture of your family."

Response (Grade 11, M 17 years): "Baster. Believe in god and like *langarm* [1] ("long-arm").

8.1 Introduction

In the 1996 countrywide survey of Grade 11s, which included seven language groups, it was found that young Namibians are still emotionally attached to their own culture and mother tongue (Louw 1997: 98-99). This was in spite of the conclusion (p. 105) that English was becoming their dominant language. Close attention was therefore paid in the current research to what the researcher regards as their most private language terrains: Religion (**8.2**), individual identity (**8.3**, **8.6**), family culture (**8.4**) and emotions (**8.5**). This part of the investigation was "more person-centred than society centred" (Fasold 1984:187) but in the end what was learnt from individuals was matched with the data of groups and the community as a whole (see Chapter 9). An attempt at predictive testing is made in **8.7**. At the end of the chapter, like in the previous chapter, the focus is on the data of the follow-up survey of Rehoboth Grade 11s on 30 September 2008 that wrapped up the research (**8.8**). Over all the years in which they were questioned, many Grade 11s responded with the spontaneity and wit shown in the leading quote. Grade 11s were not interviewed but evidence was found (in their responses as well as questions that they put to the researcher afterwards) of the sense of humour and self-irony that has been observed and experienced over time among Rehobothers[2] of all ages (**8.9**).

8.2 Religion as variable in language endangerment

The major importance of religion in the maintenance of Dutch by the Basters and later in their shift to standardised Afrikaans in the early 1900s was pointed out in Chapter 6. In this chapter the role of religion in the future vitality of Afrikaans in Rehoboth is probed. Elizabeth de Kadt found among the Germans of Wartburg, South Africa that the church had been crucial from the outset for ethnic group maintenance and that home, church and school were the areas in which the German language was "vigorously defended" (De Kadt 2000:80). Bayer noted (1906:641) that the Basters are "very

[1] Dance styles like "quick-step", "fox-trot", waltz, etc. done with one arm outstretched (p.c. Gretel Coetzee, 8 July 2010) - also popular among the older generation of Namas (Memory Biwa 2010:351).

[2] "Rehobothers" in Chapters 8 and 9 denote Afrikaans-speaking Basters as well as Coloureds.

religious", Viall asserted half a century later (1959:63) that the influence of religion on the Rehoboth community "cannot be emphasised too strongly" while Helm pointed out (1982:6) that the Basters owe much to the Protestant religion in preserving their identity. Religion has remained central in the lives of the majority of the Rehoboth Basters, as Vossen (2002) observed and fieldwork in the current study has confirmed. Brief overviews of Rehoboth's church history and the nature of religious worship are given next as background to the data on language use in religious spheres that follow.

Dutch was the religious language when the Basters were introduced to Christianity by their forefathers in the 1700s and by German- and L2 Dutch-speaking Rhenish missionaries from the 1800s onwards. A witness before the De Villiers Commission testified (1927:26) that Rehoboth had a Rhenish and a Roman Catholic missionary at the time, adding: "Only a few of our people are Roman Catholic; it is people of Upington, not Rehoboth." The Geard and Allen Commission stated (1939:184) that the Basters belonged to three religious denominations - whereas Rehoboth had 72 churches for some 40 000 people by 2005, according to Revd Stephen Nell (Sam !Khubis, 8 May 2005). A Rehoboth minister (Revd A) explained the influx of Coloureds[3] to Rehoboth (interview June 2002): Rehoboth means "space". Many Cape Coloureds felt free to move to the area in the 1930s (coinciding with a severe drought in Southern Africa and a worldwide depression) because of family connections and available "space" in the Rehoboth Gebiet. Thereafter Congregational and Methodist churches, that had mainly Coloured members, were established in town. These churches are historically English and have an increasingly English identity, whereas the main Baster denominations, *Evangelies Lutherse Kerk, Rynse Kerk* and the *N.G. Sendingkerk* (renamed *Verenigende Kerk* in 1963), are Afrikaans.

(a) Nature of religious practice in Rehoboth

What follows exemplifies reliance on prayer in ordinary, day-to-day matters, which points to a belief in a very *personal* God, in contrast to a *universal* God, i.e. a God that created the world but does not rule over the lives of individuals.[4]

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[3] The Erika Theron Commission noted in 1976 that the church and religion fulfil an "extremely important and directional role" in the life of the Cape Coloured community. The church also makes an important contribution to education, social welfare and community development (1976:510-511).

[4] Albert Einstein explained: "I believe in Spinoza's God who reveals himself in the orderly harmony of what exists, not in a God who concerns himself with fates and actions of human beings." http://qqq/stephenjaybould.org/ctrl/quotes_einstein.html (accessed on 11 May 2010)

According to a woman who grew up on a Rehoboth farm her father would bring money he earned from pelts home and pray for guidance before spending it (p.c. 2004). During exploratory observation in 2000 an elderly Baster woman was overheard muttering to herself while cleaning a sheep head for a traditional dish that it "would not please the Lord" if she did not do it properly. Later the woman, egged on by her cousin, told a joke about God and the devil. A man had to cross a rickety bridge over a stormy river while the devil watched from beneath and God waited at the end. During his perilous journey the man repeatedly looked downwards saying, "The Lord is good, but the devil is also not that bad" (*die Here is goed, maar die duiwel is nie te bêd nie*). After the man had crossed the bridge safely, he looked back and shouted, "I never had a taste for the devil but I was in grave danger!" (*Ek het nooit smaak vir die duiwel gehad nie, maar die nood was te hoog!*) [5]

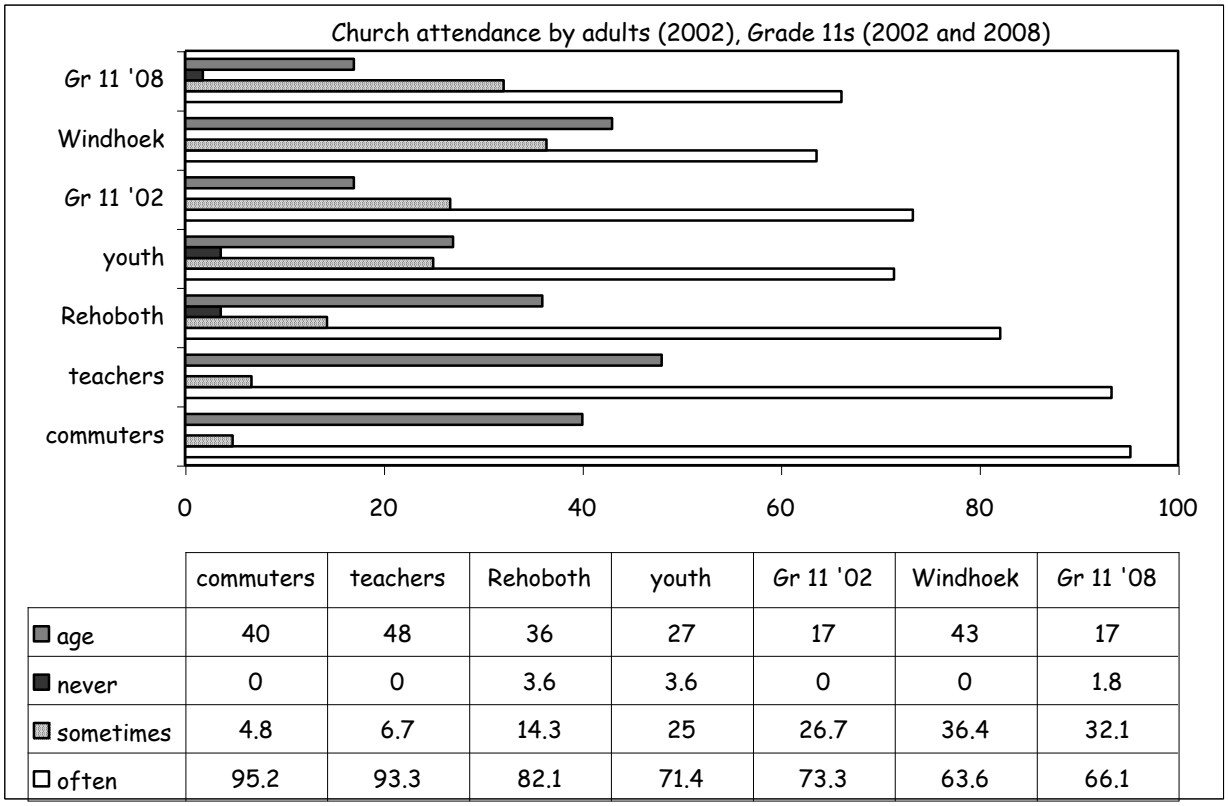
McNab (MS, n.d.) remembers Rehoboth Baster religious practices of yesteryear: When a death occurred at night a *basuinkoor* (i.e. brass trumpets) would wake the townspeople to break the news. "It was an unforgettable experience to hear - under the morning star - the trumpeting of: *Daar's 'n Land ver-ver omhoog* ('There is a Land far-far above')." The elderly would furthermore begin a day long before sunrise by praying and singing aloud in High Dutch for hours on end – even if they were staying with strangers. Funerals take hours and are still held in a very personal manner. Vigils (*lykwaak*) are part of home rituals (also among Namas) and stem from the days when Dutch hymns were sung throughout the night while the body was quite literally protected.

(b) Survey data on religious matters, 1996-2008

To quantify church-attendance among adult questionnaire respondents in 2002 and Grade 11s in 2008 they were asked whether they attended church "often, sometimes or never". The results shown in Fig. 8.1 on the next page were expected but the researcher nonetheless wanted to verify what she has often heard and observed – that the Rehoboth Basters as well as Coloureds are piously religious and devoted churchgoers. A Baster woman of 37 years who commutes daily to Windhoek where she runs her own successful business, added "seven days a week!" to her questionnaire response in 2002.

[5] This tale is clearly linked to the following proverbs: "Let everybody praise the bridge they go over" and "Don't call the alligator a big-mouth till you have crossed the river" (from respectively England and Belize, cited by Crystal in 2006:7, 583) and the African one: "Never insult a crocodile until you have safely crossed the river" (in Credu Mutwa 1997, n.p.).

Fig. 8.1 Church attendance of Afrikaans respondents in 2002 and 2008

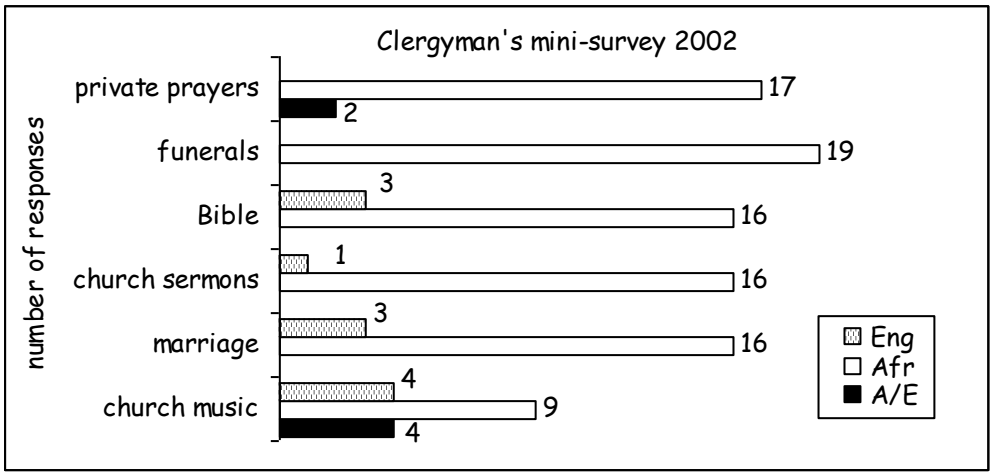


	commuters	teachers	Rehoboth	youth	Gr 11 '02	Windhoek	Gr 11 '08
age	40	48	36	27	17	43	17
never	0	0	3.6	3.6	0	0	1.8
sometimes	4.8	6.7	14.3	25	26.7	36.4	32.1
often	95.2	93.3	82.1	71.4	73.3	63.6	66.1

The sample of "Windhoekers" is admittedly too small to be conclusive but it does indicate, along with the returns of the learners and youth groupings, a slight deviation from the categories "Commuters" and "Rehobothers". On the face of it age in itself is not the determining variable although "Teachers" have the highest average age as well as the highest score for "often". Church attendance seems to be linked more to generation and domicile for it is diminishing in the "Youth" category and among the Grade 11s of 2008, while Windhoekers attend church slightly less than respondents from Rehoboth. Respondents in the "Youth" category had all left school, were between 16 and 37 years and had diverse educational levels and professions. It is furthermore shown that "Commuters" have the highest count whereas "Rehobothers" (i.e. adults from all walks of life and ages who live and work in Rehoboth) are positioned in the middle. Commuters' church attendance corresponds with their use of Afrikaans: As shown on p. 252, they use the most Afrikaans. This makes sense to the researcher on more than one level. She has reason to believe that because they experience urban life and speak more English during the day in Windhoek than the respondents who live and work in Rehoboth, they would want to speak Afrikaans (see p. 247, **9.4c**) when they return to Rehoboth in the evening.

In 2008 an earlier survey question on religion was extended to include the six spheres shown below after a Coloured clergyman (Revd A) remarked (p.c. Rehoboth, June 2002): "When English became the official language, I began asking myself which language the church should use.[6] For me it is not about the language; the message must be received and understood." The researcher offered to help the clergyman to compile a questionnaire to probe the issue in the community, which led to a mini-survey done on his own. His respondents included 12 women and 7 men, aged 60 (2), 40 (5), 30 (4), 20 (6), 19 (1) and 16 (1). Three of the respondents were students while nine were unemployed.

Fig. 8.2 Results of clergyman's mini-survey among churchgoers (n=19) aged 16-60 years



Participants reported as follows on their church attendance: 5 said they attend church "sometimes" (3 men aged 19, 24, 44 and 2 women aged 21, 43); the rest said they are regular churchgoers. Note that the respondents in Fig. 8.2 who preferred English and both Afrikaans and English (A/E) more than Afrikaans, were the youngest ones in the sample. Responses of 56 Afrikaans Grade 11s in May 2002 to the same questions are given in Fig. 8.3. L1-preferences for future children were added to match the table of a second control group that is discussed in Table 8.1 below: Grade 11s from the same schools with other mother tongues. In Fig. 8.4 a synopsis is made of the responses of the Grade 11s of 2008, which illustrates that language switching between English and Afrikaans is on the increase. The MT is still preferred by most of the youth for private prayers. The

[6] Language has become an issue in German communities in South Africa too (De Kadt 2000:81): Some German churches alternate the language of services while others found sister parishes.

aforesaid corresponds with a finding of Gal (1997:381-2): All but one of her 32 bilingual respondents in the rural community of Oberwart, Austria used their ancestral language Hungarian for speaking to God.

Fig. 8.3 Language preferences of Afrikaans Grade 11s in 2002 for religious spheres

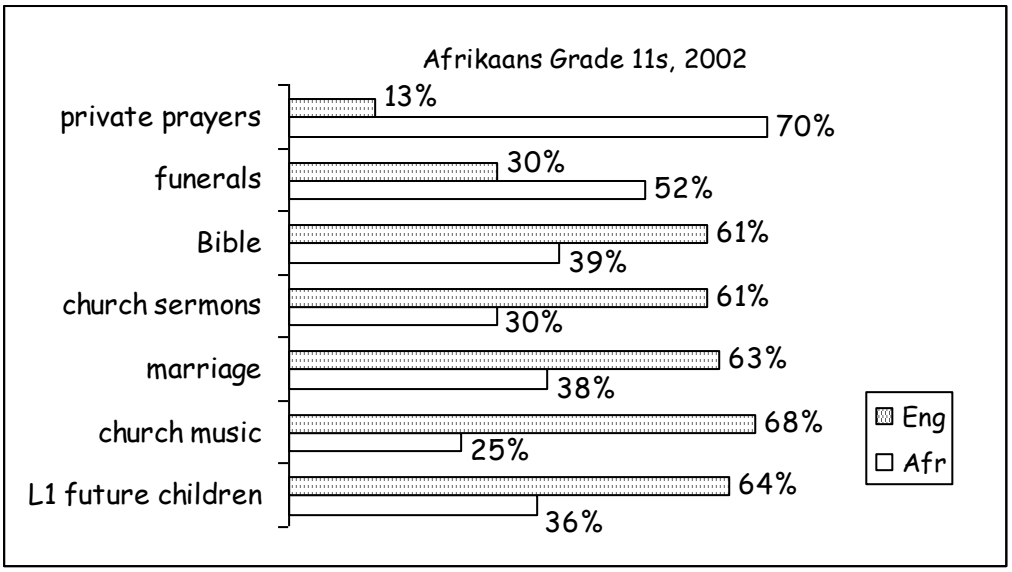
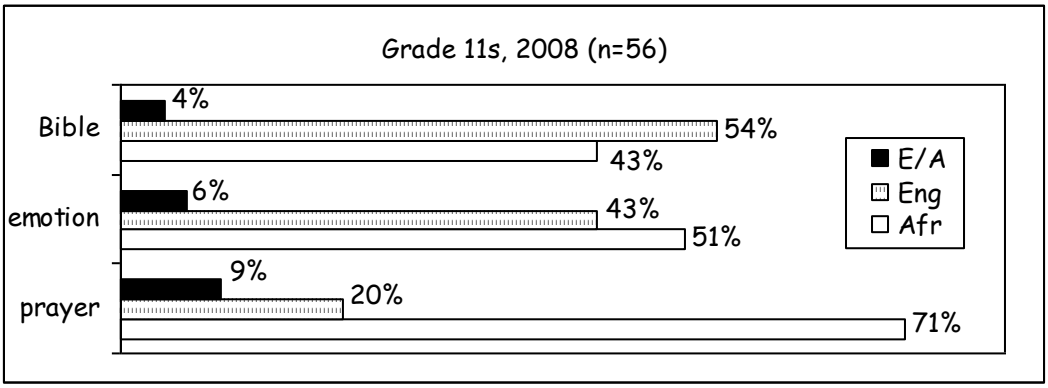


Fig. 8.4 Preferences of Afrikaans Grade 11s in 2008 for Bible, emotion and private prayer



Explanatory notes and verbal asides from respondents added value to the data on language preferences in the religious spheres. Some e.g. added to the funeral question, "the language of the deceased" or "obviously an old *omie* ("uncle") or *tannie* ("aunt") would be buried in Afrikaans". Some supplied reasons for choosing English for religious spheres without being asked. The need to explain their language choice could have been in anticipation of disapproval. The following are a few of the remarks made and reasons given for the choice of English as religious language: The businesswoman (who attends church seven times a week) said to the researcher, "I am what I am!" before writing that she

prefers the English Bible. When a newly literate (aged 73) said that she prefers English church songs, a woman (aged 30) commented: "English songs give me goose-pimples!" A respondent (aged 22) of the clergyman said she wants to marry in Afrikaans but do the vows in English. A Grade 11 respondent (no. 18 in Table 8.1 below) wrote that he prefers English for funerals because "the words are very beautiful and gentle" (*die woorde is baie mooi en sag*). The 30 KKG Grade 11s of 2002 and 2008, classmates of the Afrikaans learners in Fig. 8.4 on the previous page, responded as shown in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1 Language choices of 30 KKG-speaking Rehoboth Grade 11s, 2002 and 2008

'02		prayers	Bible	L1 child	'08		prayers	Bible	L1 child			prayers	Bible	L1 child
1	M	KKG/Afr.	Afr.	Eng.	1	F	Nama	Eng.	Eng.	13	F	KKG	Eng.	D/N
2	M	Afr.	all	Eng.	2	F	D/N	Eng.	Eng.	14	F	KKG	Eng.	KKG
3	F	KKG	Eng.	Eng.	3	F	KKG	KKG	Eng.	15	F	KKG	Afr.	Dam
4	M	KKG	Afr.	Eng.	4	M	Eng.	KKG	Eng.	16	F	KKG	Afr.	Ger
5	M	Eng.	Eng.	Eng.	5	M	KKG	Eng.	Eng.	17	F	0	Eng.	Afr.
6	M	KKG	Afr.	KKG	6	F	Eng.	Eng.	Eng.	18	M	KKG	Eng.	Afr.
7	F	KKG	KKG	Afr.	7	M	Tsw	Eng.	Eng.					
8	F	KKG	Afr.	Afr.	8	F	KKG	Eng.	Eng.					
9	F	KKG	Afr.	KKG	9	F	KKG	Eng.	Eng.					
10	F	Eng.	KKG	Eng.	10	M	KKG	Afr.	Eng.					
11	F	KKG	Eng.	Sets.	11	F	Afr.	Afr.	Eng.					
12	F	KKG	Afr.	KKG	12	F	KKG	KKG	KKG					

As among the Afrikaans learners, the MT scored high for private prayers and funerals. In responses to questions on culture (not shown in the table) some KKG Grade 11s described culture as traditions and regard religion as family culture - like their Afrikaans classmates. It is significant that 95% said that they feel at home in their culture. (They were asked to describe their family culture and to say whether they feel at home in that culture.) The score of 10 for Afrikaans as Bible language against only 5 for KKG makes sense, for some KKG learners do not read or write KKG (see Table 3.12, p. 81). The Khoekhoegowab Bible Translation Project is retranslating the KKG Bible into a "more colloquial" form - as explained at an Ethnomusicology Workshop held on the premises of the Namibian Bible Society in Windhoek on 9 March 2004. In the Appendix (p. xxvi) a

sample is provided of the new translation that was used as work text in the workshop along with the English. KKG's intricate orthography is illustrated in the process.

The next table shows how few adults and learners made personal use of the Internet in 2002. Questions about the Internet, e-mail and DSTV were part of the section in which general exposure to the outside world was probed – and were asked in a roundabout way in order not to make respondents feel as if they were expected to be subscribers to these commodities. Respondents were asked if they use Internet, for what purpose and in which language. They were also asked how they received world news (by radio, Namibian TV/newspapers, DSTV, friends or magazines from overseas) and how they despatched private letters (by fax, post or e-mail). By 2008, 37 (66%) of the learners in the Grade 11 surveys used the Internet whereas only 8 (14%) did in 2002 (both n=56).

Table 8.2 Personal use of the Internet among respondents of the adult questionnaire

2002	n	average age	Internet users
Commuters	22	38.2	6
Learners	15	16.9	3
Teachers	15	47.7	1
Rehobothers	29	35.8	8
Windhoekers	12	43.17	7
total	93	36.3 years	25 (26.8%)

These results made the researcher realise that the full picture of the influence of the Internet on individuals and a community cannot be established by means of one question in a single survey. On the face of it, it seemed as if the Internet has little influence on Afrikaans but when interview data are added, the picture changes. All three clergymen (Revds A, B and C) that were formally interviewed at the end of 2002 made extensive use of English material on the Internet in preparation for sermons, Bible classes, etc. At the time of the interviews they were still translating most of the material into Afrikaans but they foresaw that they would not be doing it for much longer in view of the youth's bilingualism in Afrikaans and English - and preference for the latter. Revd B, an alumnus of the University of the Western Cape, said he hoped to make the Internet available to his congregation soon. In his view Rehoboth's youth "will be English within the next 15 years". He also said that he mixes English with Afrikaans when he speaks to the young members of his congregation "because this is how they speak".

The local printer Dimitri Metzler noted in an interview in October 2002 that townspeople still choose Afrikaans for the programmes of funerals and tombstone unveilings (the front page is often English, though) whereas all other notices, school certificates, Town Council accounts, etc. are in English. He believed a turning point in the history of Afrikaans in Rehoboth would be reached the day families decide to switch completely from Afrikaans to English as language for funeral programmes. As noted above, Metzler died in December 2006, aged 36 years. His funeral programme had an English front page with Dutch, Afrikaans and English hymns and songs printed inside. Apart from a few English songs, the entire church service of two hours was conducted in Afrikaans by one elderly and two young Rehoboth ministers. The final prayer – said by the youngest of the three ministers who was studying in Bloemfontein at the time - was notably in English.

(c) Final remarks on religion as variable in language endangerment

Since religion has historically played such a big role in the lives of Rehobothers and continues to do so, clergymen were interviewed and observed in action at length. They include two elderly German-speaking missionaries and three young Afrikaans clergymen of Rehoboth (Coloured and Baster) while one (aged 65 years in 2002) participated in the questionnaire survey. In various stints of participant observation some ten more ministers (including two women) were seen in action at various religious events. Most of them could be considered as role models in the Rehoboth context. The three youngest interviewees had for diverse reasons decidedly pro-English stances and one noted that all young ministers of Rehoboth have a good command of English. Only the 65-year-old was among the randomly selected respondents of the adult survey of 2002, therefore only his language use could be quantified. However, since his language choices correspond with the self-confessed and observed language behaviour of especially the young Rehoboth clergymen, his language count was compared to the other categories of respondents. Of all respondent-categories (see p. 252), his count for Afrikaans was the lowest (46%, although he had lived in Rehoboth for 30 years) and he did the most A/E switching (19%). The referential language of the young clergymen is English. The emotional language of one of them has switched from Afrikaans to English, the 65-year-old prays in both English and Afrikaans and as noted, another young minister who was studying at the time prayed in English at a young Baster's funeral. Switching between Afrikaans and English in prayer has

doubled among the Grade 11 respondents between 2002 and 2008. The researcher believes religion is largely language-free among many Afrikaans speakers in Rehoboth - therefore English could become their new religious language with relative ease.

8.3 Identity as a variable in language endangerment

Amartya Sen describes inherited traditions as "unchosen" (2006:150) and affiliations involving politics, profession, gender, language, literature, social involvements and many other connections as "chosen". In this section it is considered how language and Basterness (and/or Colouredness) fit into the array of new choices that especially Afrikaans youngsters have in post-2000 Rehoboth where use of their mother tongue can no longer be taken for granted in all domains and matters like traditional skills, world outlook, life-style and political and religious beliefs are no longer inherited as a matter of course from parents and grandparents. Their new status of full Namibian citizenship and a Town Council dominated by SWAPO (after 2004) might well have caused some repositioning of affiliations among Rehobothers of all ages and language groups. Willem Adelaar noted (1998:6) that "loss of self-identification as an ethnic group and the growth of the consciousness of belonging to a national society" may play a role in language shift. The principal of a Rehoboth high school observed (p.c. July 2007), "Our youngsters want to be citizens of the global village." Nicholas Ostler (2009:16) called the following "crucial aspects of a language's values": its role as a badge of identity, as a medium for a shared life and as the vehicle of a common tradition.

Direct questions were put to Grade 11s on culture (they linked it to tradition - not language) and family culture and whether they were happy in the latter. Identification with Basterness was tested among adults in a roundabout way since the researcher did not feel free to probe this private[7] matter directly. It was therefore helpful to learn what prominent Rehobothers told Kjæret (2000:127-130) in his 1997 study, 'Rehoboth Baster, Namibian, or Namibian Baster? An analysis of national discourses in Rehoboth, Namibia.' Metzler (27 years at the time), said, "I'm Dimitri from Africa… in Africa, I'm a Namibian… in Namibia, I'm a Baster. So it depends on where I am." Theo Jankowski (identified as rector of the primary school St Joseph and an active member of SWAPO) stated, "I was classified a Baster". SWAPO-member Stephanus Dax said, "I was made a Damara here in

[7] An Afrikaans teacher also finds family language choices "very personal" (p.c. Rehoboth, 2008).

Rehoboth" while Baster Kaptein Diergaardt (†1998) retorted, "Why are we speaking of One Nation – One Namibia, when we actually mean One Ovambo – One Nation?"

The supposed link between language and identity has been debated over time in sociolinguistic literature. Webb and Kriel (2000:44) noted that there is "no sociolinguistic justification for assuming a positive correlation between language and sociocultural identity/ethnicity". De Klerk and Bosch found (1998:48) that a rapid shift to dominance in English by an Afrikaans 10-year-old was accompanied by a "new and changing identity". After a year his mother noted "an increased preparedness to stand up for his own rights, to query things and defend his point of view" (p. 49). She was generally pleased with this greater confidence, but admits that she tried to counteract the reduced respect for the authority of adults. The authors conclude that the child "has a dual identity" (p. 50). This micro-study of De Klerk and Bosch shows that to assume a new identity via a new language is not an isolated act. Note that the child retained Afrikaans longest in mathematics (i.e. with numbers) and emotions (p. 49).

Mesthrie found among South African Indians (2007:148) that Indian cultural identity has to a large extent survived the revolution of language shift to English: Young speakers who were losing touch with their ancestral languages did not think of themselves as any less "Indian". García *et al.* noted in similar vein (2001:46-47) that the shift to English among New York Puerto Ricans was not always accompanied by cultural assimilation, for although Spanish is not listed as a component of Puerto Rican identity, it is embedded in cultural expressions like music, relationships, food and ways of life. In her examination of key factors in the Scottish Gaelic shift and current perceptions of Gaelic identity, Smith-Christmas also observed (2009:45) that language shift is not simply a linguistic process, but one of acculturation.

An overview is given next of identity in its historical context, followed by fieldwork data of relevance to identity. To probe language affiliation, adherence to traditions, anomie,[8] etc. the following were enumerated: language repertoires, preferences for future children and choices and habits in personal spheres. Personalised data are given in the form of mini-profiles, individual utterances and comparisons between generations as well

[8] Lambert *et al.* (1978:476) described the concept "anomie", first proposed by Durkheim (1897) and more recently extended by Srole (1951) and Williams (1952), as feelings of social uncertainty or dissatisfaction with the own group.

as groupings in the same generation in order to illuminate mindset and outlook on life. (Note that the subject matter calls for a less dispassionate presentation of the data.)

(a) Historical context of identity

The two words *ortotte* and *!harinika* are central to an understanding of the history of in- and out groups in the Afrikaans community of Rehoboth. According to Britz (1991:9) these Nama words distinguish between two groups of burgers: the first settlers in Rehoboth (*ortotte*) and the ones who arrived later (*!harinika*). A number of interviewees, who were born from non-Baster or one Baster parent, married into a Baster clan or moved from the Cape into the Gebiet in the 1980s, told the researcher how they were made to feel like outsiders. Some of them specifically used the word *!harinika*. A Rehoboth-born religious leader said as a child he feared the beginning of each school year because he was invariably asked "what he was" (*wat ek is*) and he never really knew "whether he was Coloured or Baster". His mother was from a pioneer Baster clan and his darker-skinned father was from "outside". A woman who grew up on a Rehoboth farm and married an English Cape Coloured in the 1970s, told an audience at Sam !Khubis (2005) that her family was viewed as *!harinika* because they originated from elsewhere in Namibia.

Jacobus Beukes, member of the *Baster Raad* since 1909, explained the notion of *inkommer burgers* ("incomers") to the SWA Administrator in a letter of 28 February 1952. He wrote (Beukes collection) that "our fathers" did not get the land with the help of incomers. Incomers were accepted to fortify the race "and to live among us as the same race". The Basters' *Vaderlike Wette* ("Paternal Laws") ruled on *volstem* ("full vote") burgers and *stemgeregtigde* ("enfranchised") burgers. Only descendants of the *voortrekkers* were in the first class and could produce a kaptein. Burgers in the latter class could only serve on the Raad in exceptional circumstances, like a record of exemplary behaviour and service to the nation. In the allotment of land the pioneers,[9] soldiers and Van Wyk, Beukes, Diergaard, Mouton and Koopman clans came first. In a letter to Verwoerd on 22 March 1964 Beukes expressed his unhappiness about the ruling that the *Rehoboth Baster burger* could only work and live in Coloured suburbs if reclassified as Coloureds. He beseeched Verwoerd to let the Basters maintain their national (*volks*) identity. Mrs Sofia Beukes (1913) told Roux (1988:258) that migrants from the Union soon

[9] This explains why many Basters from pioneer clans lived on farms (see Chapter 6).

outnumbered the few people who initially trekked to Rehoboth. *Hierie mense… die Kleurmense is meer as ons*. ("These people… the people of colour… are more than us.")

(b) Language repertoires

Table 8.3 reports on the language repertoires of Afrikaans Grade 11s of Rehoboth and the Northern Cape. Respondents were asked to name their MT as well as second, third or fourth languages and to name the ones that they could "understand but not speak". All (n=237) were bilingual in Afrikaans and English and 29 (12%) were trilingual. German's popularity as subject in 2002 led to an upsurge in trilingualism (p.c. principal). Note that the Namibians were in contact with more languages than their counterparts in the Cape. Furthermore, only two of the Cape learners mentioned Nama and German, which were historic languages of contact in their area – the latter via the Rhenish missionaries. (See Appendix p. xxvii for language repertoires in the 1980s in Van Schalkwyk, 1983:285-294.)

Table 8.3 Language repertoires of Afrikaans Grade 11s in Rehoboth and the Cape

	Rehoboth				**Cape**
	1996 (n=25)	**1999 (n=72)**	**2002 (n=56)**	**2008 (n=56)**	**1999 (n=28)**
languages spoken					
Afr. L1	25	72	56	56	28
Eng. L2	25	72	56	56	28
other languages					
Nama	3	3	3	1	
German		3	10	4	
Otjiherero			1		
Setswana				1	
languages understood					
Nama	2	4	4	2	1
German	1	10	2	5	1
Otjiherero		1			
Kwangali			1		
French				2	
Portuguese; Spanish			2	1	

The researcher finds it noteworthy that none of the learners in both countries realised that they could "understand but not speak" Dutch (*Nederlands),* the religious language of the German missionaries in the Northern Cape as well as Rehoboth up to a century ago. As shown in the Appendix (p. xxviii), only one adult in the survey of 2002 mentioned Dutch as a language that he could understand. (He was 29 years old and had

been working in the Netherlands for some years.) The total absence of Dutch in the repertoires of the respondents shows that the shift from Dutch among Rehobothers is now complete. The fact that none of the respondents realised [10] that Afrikaans speakers can understand Dutch with relative ease,[11] could be viewed as a spin-off of the cultural boycott by Belgium and the Netherlands (as noted above) as well as the "watering down" of Afrikaans as subject (p.c. teachers 1996-2008). Dutch books were on the reading list of "high school learners who took Afrikaans 1 in South Africa" (Boshoff and Nienaber 1967:29). Appreciation for Dutch literature was instilled in high school in the researcher (born 1946) as well as her Rehoboth counterpart (born 1942). Table 8.4 shows that trilingualism among Afrikaans learners is declining and multilingualism is almost non-existent. Only one of the Grade 11s with other MTs is bilingual only. Historically most Nama/Damara (KKG) speakers of Rehoboth (and the wider Namibia) have L2 Afrikaans, are fully bilingual and they are more tri- and multilingual than the Afrikaans speakers.

Table 8.4 Tri- and multilingualism among all Grade 11s in 2002 and 2008

	2002	**tri-**	**multi-**	**total**	**2008**	**tri-**	**multi-**	**total**
Afr.	56	14	-	**25%**	56	5	1	**11%**
Other MTs	22	14	8	**100%**	21	17	3	**95%**

Van Schalkwyk cites Viall (1959), without comment, to the effect that Apartheid "was strictly applied by the Basters between the Basters and the natives and there was no mixing (*inmenging*)" (1983:95). Afrikaans and Nama speakers used to live in segregated neighbourhoods but a wide range of Rehoboth interviewees and informants told the researcher of the current study over time that the relationship among Afrikaans and

[10] Lubbe (1982:26 and 38) listed Dutch (*Nederlands*) in tables that reported on language contact, comprehension and use among Namibians. Only 0,1% of the respondents used Dutch, while 99,4% understood no Dutch; 99,7% never came into contact with Dutch. In 1996 (Louw 1997:153) only 12 (6%) white Afrikaans Grade 11s understood Dutch: Gobabis (2), Keetmanshoop (2), private Afrikaans school in the North (4), Otjiwarongo (4 - i.e. 1 Afrikaans and 3 German learners).

[11] The Dutch-speaking respondents of 1996, 1997 and 2002 understood the Afrikaans questionnaire and named Afrikaans (some named it *Zuid-Afrikaans*) as language that they can "understand but not speak". According to Dorothea van Zyl (2008:157) Dutch-speaking people understand some 90% of Afrikaans - and vice versa – although words often have other and even opposite meanings. Especially the vowels of spoken Afrikaans sound "totally different". In the experience of the researcher of the current study it is easier for Afrikaans speakers to understand Dutch than the other way round. A Flemish speaker in his 20s explained to the researcher (Armand Nelde, Gent, May 1993): "You have shortened many of our words; how must we know *what* you have cut away?"

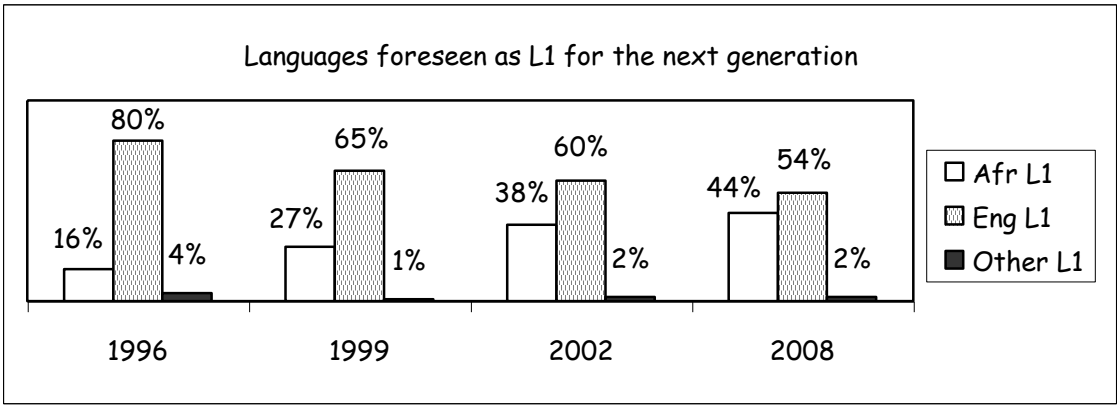
Nama speakers was and is generally good. The last Rhenish missionary Vollmer (from 1956-1962) left Rehoboth after a church rift and personal clashes (interview, Windhoek 2001). With this in mind, the following remark of his is valued: "Many elderly Basters could understand Nama very well and many could speak it. Relationships between the two groups have always been good." Elderly and middle-aged Afrikaans speakers proudly spoke some Nama at the request of the researcher in interviews and conversations and invariably said it was learnt from playmates or farm workers.

Mrs Lottie Volkwyn (born 1923) told Roux (1988:266) that Basters had Nama and Damara workers and that there was mutual respect between the language groups. "We grew up together, we went into their houses and ate the food they had cooked for their children. That is why so many of the old Basters are bilingual in Afrikaans and Nama. Some of us can even read and write it. I love Nama very much and I have many Nama friends." As the language repertoires of the Afrikaans-speaking adults show (Appendix p. xxviii), some of them could speak or understand Nama, reputedly a difficult language to learn, which means that they must have been in ongoing close contact with Nama speakers. Knowledge of Nama is however declining among the youth of Rehoboth. Note that eight adults (not shown in Table A7 in the Appendix) could not speak English at all.

(c) Language preferences for future children

Languages wished by Grade 11s for their future children are given in Fig. 8.5.

Fig. 8.5 L1 preferences for future children of Afrikaans Grade 11s, Rehoboth

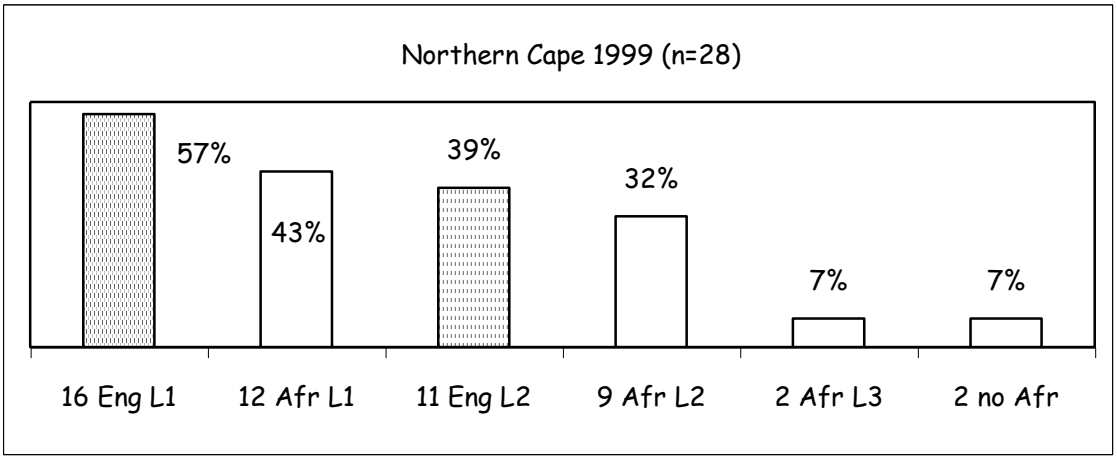


The drop in learners who prefer L1 English for their children can be explained in two ways: Firstly, in the very first survey among Grade 11s in one Rehoboth school on 14

October 1996 the principal said that these learners, who entered high school in 1993, were "the second intake" after the change to English in 1992 and their Afrikaans was "especially poor". (These respondents changed to English in Grade 7 whereas the ones from the 1999, 2002 and 2008 surveys changed respectively in Grade 4, Grade 1 and Grade 1 or 4.) The battle with English of the Grade 11s of 1996 must have been still fresh in their memory and they probably wanted to spare their future children the experience. Secondly, Afrikaans is losing its dominance in the schools and non-Afrikaans migrants are swamping the town. This could have caused polarization. Lewis (1978:323) noted that urbanised native language speakers tend to be more ethnically aware in a minority setting. In the urban area their language is their one distinctive characteristic and "this tends to promote even greater polarization of the attitude toward the language".

The Northern Cape learners, whose preferences for future children are given in Fig. 8.6, lived like the Namibians in a geographically isolated and predominantly Afrikaans rural area at the time, but the MOI in their school was still Afrikaans.

Fig. 8.6 English and Afrikaans as preferences for future children of Cape Grade 11s



Preferences of Grade 11s with mother tongues other than Afrikaans are given in Table 8.5 on the next page. It is shown that only 9 (24%) KKG learners want their MT as L1 for their children. (See Appendix p. xxix for all the languages that were named by the respondents as L1, L2 and L3 for their future children.) Of the 15 Grade 11s with MTs other than KKG and Afrikaans (not shown in Table 8.5), 8 wanted L1 English and only 2 wanted their MT, Setswana and Oshiwambo, for their children. This means that of all 52

"other" Grade 11s, only 14 (27%) wanted to transmit their MT to the next generation. Responses of the 11 Germans that were inadvertently included in 1996 are also given in the table below to demonstrate the MT solidarity that made them stand out among all respondents of all years. (These learners were from three schools across Namibia that were - at the time - Afrikaans.) Apart from choosing English for work (not shown in the table) all but one chose German as L1 for their future children and 9 named it as "most the beautiful language" (not shown).

Table 8.5 L1 preferences for future children of KKG and German learners

L1 preferences of KKG Grade 11s for their future children								
	n	**English**	**%**	**KKG**	**%**	**Afrikaans**	**%**	**German**
1999-2002	19	12	63	5	26	2	11	
2008	18	11	61	4	22	2	11	1
	37	**23**	**62**	**9**	**24**	**4**	**11**	**1**
L1 preferences of German Grade 11s for their future children								
	n	**English**	**%**	**KKG**	**%**	**Afrikaans**	**%**	**German**
1996	11					1		10

8.4 Culture as factor in language endangerment

(a) Language and culture links

Table 8.6 reports on the number of all the Afrikaans and Dutch respondents over time that linked language and culture (shown in the table as "l&c") in response to the open-ended question: "What do you understand by culture?" Fig. 8.7 on the next page has all the responses to the question in percentages while Fig. 8.8 separates the data of the Rehoboth Afrikaans learners from that of the others.

Table 8.6 Number of Afrikaans and Dutch respondents who linked language and culture

	1996		**1997**		**1999**		**2002**		**2008**	
Namibia	**n**	**l&c**	**n**	**l&c**	**n**	**l&c**	**n**	**l&c**	**n**	**l&c**
Rehoboth	25	6			72	6	56	1	56	2
Windhoek	29	16								
Private School North	12	7								
South Africa										
Cape Town, Stellenbosch	72	7								
Northern Cape					28	1				
Europe										
Belgium	25	5								
Netherlands			12	0			19	4		

Fig. 8.7 Percentages of all respondents who linked language and culture

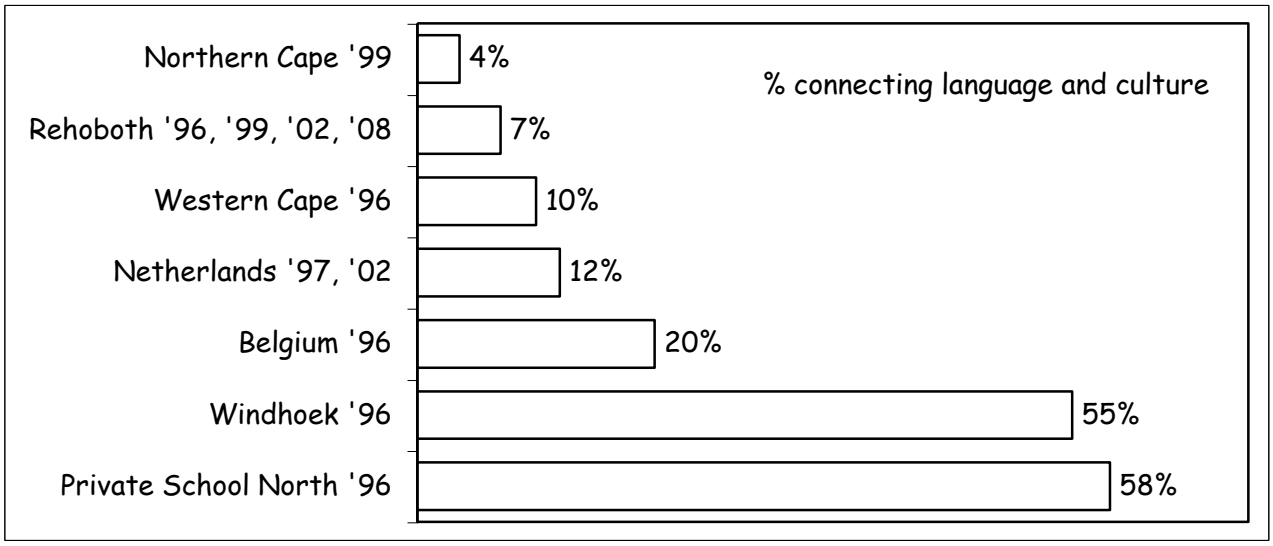
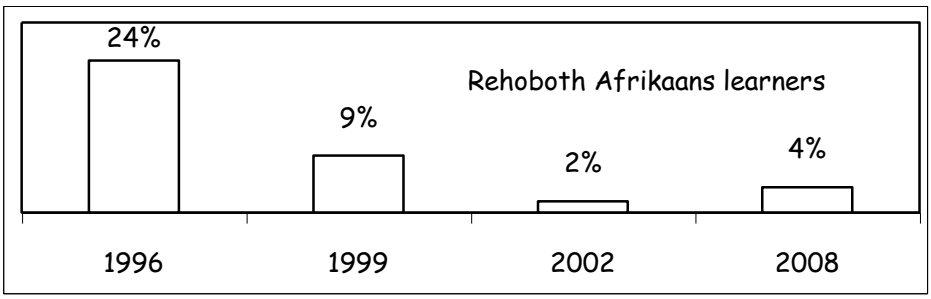


Fig. 8.8 Percentages of Rehoboth learners who linked language and culture



The explanation for the drop above between 1996 and 1999 is that only one school was surveyed in Rehoboth in 1996. The principal of that school noted that a culture festival was held two weeks earlier in which the language component was accentuated. The overall results suggest that Afrikaans was not learnt and promoted in Rehoboth schools for ideological reasons while the nationalist *taalstryd* in South Africa must have bypassed the learners in the Coloured school in the Northern Cape too. It verifies Jan Esterhuyse's remark (1986:8) that entangled connections like *taal-en-kultuur* ("language and culture") have "whitish" associations. He noted that "the coloured component of the language community" stood outside Afrikaner nationalistic movements based on language and nation (*volk*). Gerwel (1983) called "the whole issue of language struggle (*taalstryd*) and language feelings (*taalgevoelens*)" a white person's (*witmens*) issue (cited by Esterhuyse, p. 8). It must be noted that not one of the Grade 11s with other MTs of 1999, 2002 (n=31) and

2008 (n=21) linked language to culture in response to the culture question. According to Fourie (1992:21) from 1978 every school in Namibia followed the curricula of the Cape Education Department (*K.O.D.*) and in accordance with Act 30 of 1980 (South West Africa 1983) "a Christian and national character" was pursued. This led to dissatisfaction among blacks since in reality (*eintlik)* only the white Afrikaner was included in the "national".

As shown, Rehoboth and Coloured learners of the Northern Cape linked culture and language far less than their white counterparts elsewhere. The two highest scores in Fig. 8.7 (Windhoek and Private School North) can be explained as follows: The Windhoek Grade 11s of 1996 were mainly white and had an *Afrikaans Christelik Nasionale Onderwys* primary education - like their counterparts in the white private Afrikaans school in the North. The Cape Town and Stellenbosch Grade 11s who were surveyed two years after the country changed to majority rule[12] were also mostly white. The samples are too small to claim generality but it is understandable that students in the Netherlands linked culture and language less than the ones in Belgium, which has a history of language conflict.

(b) Definitions of culture and descriptions of family culture

There is a noteworthy difference between the Northern Cape and Rehoboth learners' definitions of culture. The former used words like excursions (*uitstappies*), recreation, and leisure time, the way one grew up, an organization, community activities, etc. Only one of them described it as the "traditions of one's race" and only one, as shown in Table 8.6, linked culture to language. Rehoboth learners used richer expressions and had a sense of generation and continuity, which the Northern Cape learners lacked. Most respondents in both countries have lived in the same place all or almost all their life. Many Rehobothers, spread over time and in different schools, mentioned ancestors and descendants and things that are passed on "from generation to generation", e.g.: The language you speak and the way you do and celebrate things; that which you learn from your parents over generations (*wat al geslagte aankom*); traditions the ancestors believed in; traditions and religious beliefs and the way the old folk (*ou mense*) lived from generation to generation; where you come from; culture is when you express your essence (*wese*); the way your grandparents did things; it reminds us from where we come and how

[12] Shingler's assertion (1973:48) that for Africans education was the means to modernity but for Afrikaners it was the means for preserving the *volk* ("nation") is seemingly underlined by these results.

our *voormense* [13] ("ancestors") lived and it is very important that we should know it - you follow a tradition your parents learnt from their parents; *doen-dinge* [14], the way different nations speak. (In Rehoboth use *doen-dinge* refers to the whole body of things a person does.)[15] It is noteworthy that the word "modern" entered descriptions of culture for the first time when one girl in 2002 and three in 2008 said their family culture is modern.

The 19 students from the Netherlands (2002) were far more abstract and also linear in their descriptions of culture. Four of them used the phrase "norms and values". The word "group" was used nine times and the word "environment" twice while "history" and "tradition" were each used only twice in all responses. Note that the HDI rank of the Netherlands was 8 in 2002 and 89.5% of its population was urbanised in 2000, while the corresponding figures for Namibia were 122 and 30.9% (HDR 2002:162, 164).

(c) Anomie

An attempt was made to test young respondents for feelings of dissatisfaction with their own language and cultural group (i.e. anomie) in the questionnaire surveys of 1996, 1999 and 2002 – but not in 2008. Afrikaans learners and the respondents in matched/control groups were asked which one of the following matters made them the happiest and which made them the unhappiest: own language group, school, country, circumstances at home and own appearance. This was admittedly a robust way of probing personal feelings but what the researcher really wanted to know was how the mother tongue would fare as a source of unhappiness in this particular grouping. As shown below, only 18% of the Afrikaans learners said that they were unhappy with their own language group. (As noted above, the far more extended questionnaire that was used in 2008 was also used in the survey among adults in October/November 2002. The culture questions as well as the "happiness" ones of the first questionnaire for Grade 11s were dropped because the researcher felt that they were less applicable to adults.)

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[13] She combined *voor* ("before") and *mense* ("people") to construct a word of her own.

[14] One learner described culture as *doen-goed*. *Goed*-constructions in Namibian and Northern Cape Afrikaans have been documented by e.g. J.J. le Roux (1947:60) and Links (1989:32). The following was heard by the researcher in Rehoboth denoting intimacy and a collective connection to the subject under discussion: *Vieruur-* and *Dinsdag-goed* ("four o'clock, Tuesday"), *Judas-goed* (in reference to Judas in a painting of the Last Supper) and *wie* ("who")*-goed*. Fourie (1985:144) heard Riemvasmakers address a respected visitor as *meneer* ("mister")*-goed* - interpreting it as a show of solidarity, which is in the view of the researcher the closest to the mark of all interpretations.

[15] It is interesting that the writer and film director David Mamet said repeatedly in an Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture on language (BBC, 18 November 2008), "culture is what we do here".

Table 8.7 Afrikaans learners' unhappiness with their own language group

	n	unhappy with own language group	%
1996	25	5	20
1999	72	14	19
2002	56	9	16
Total	152	28	18

Responses to other questions were checked for signs of negativity towards Afrikaans - with mixed results. Many said that they did not want their children to have L1 Afrikaans but some named Afrikaans as the language they loved most and used for expressing their deepest feelings. The researcher got the impression that the respondents' preference for L1 English for their children was pragmatic and not necessarily motivated by dislike for their mother tongue. It is noteworthy that very few respondents did not want Afrikaans at all as language for their children.

The three external survey groups responded as follows: 2 of the 28 Afrikaans respondents in the Northern Cape school (1999) indicated unhappiness with their language group and among the 19 students from the Netherlands (2002) there were 3. Most of the 24 Belgian students of 1996 had lived in Belgium all their life. Only one was unhappy with the own language group but 13 (54%) said their country made them unhappy. This result must be viewed in the context of the Marc Dutroux paedophile affair, which came to light in Belgium shortly before this questionnaire survey. In response to another open-ended question some of these students suggested a better judicial system as improvement for their country. It is realised that multiple-choice questions could make a respondent feel forced into a view as it has been noted about attitude-scales. Some respondents skipped the questions and one of the Dutch respondents commented that none of the matters in this grouping made her unhappy. A second attempt at testing anomie was made by means of a separate question (on the next page of the questionnaire). Table 8.8 on the next page shows what a high percentage of the Namibian respondents said they are happy with their family culture. Respondents were first asked to describe their family culture and then to say whether they felt at home in that culture. The latter question clearly triggered self-reflection in some of the respondents, for a few of them wrote "yes", struck it through and then wrote "no" - and vice versa. (Note how other young Namibians expressed appreciation of their cultures in *The Namibian* in the insert between pp. 230 and 231.)

Table 8.8 Results of the question, "Do you feel at home in your family culture?"

	Afrikaans respondents	**n**	**yes**	**%**	**mostly**	**no**	**blank**
1996	Namibia	178	148	83	2	11	10
	Rehoboth	25	21	84		4	
1999	Rehoboth	72	62	87		5	4
2002	Rehoboth	56	45	80		7	4
2008	Rehoboth	56	42	75	2	7	5
	Other mother tongues	**n**	**yes**	**%**	**mostly**	**no**	**blank**
1999, 2002	Rehoboth	28	21	75		1	6
2008	Rehoboth	21	17	81			3

Tables A9 and A10 in the Appendix (pp. xxx-xxxi) provide a range of 2002 responses from 13 Afrikaans learners who want L1 English for their children in contrast to 7 Afrikaans classmates who want L1 Afrikaans. It shows that present happiness with the own culture group and language does not necessarily mean that the respondent intended to transmit that culture and/or MT to future children. As noted above, a 1996 finding was that learners of all language groups countrywide felt close to their own families and emotionally attached to their respective mother tongues (Louw 1997). De Klerk and Bosch found (1998:49) that domestic life, mathematics and personal emotions were the last Afrikaans spheres that a white boy of 10 years maintained when he shifted to dominance in English. Table 8.8 shows contentment within the own family has remained much the same among the Afrikaans Grade 11s that were questioned in the current study. Furthermore: Only one of the total of 49 learners with other mother tongues that acted as controls in the Rehoboth surveys expressed unhappiness with the own family culture. In 2008 two respondents added that they were "very happy" in their culture.

8.5 Language use in the emotional sphere

According to Adegbija (2001:287) "low emotional, intellectual and functional investment in one's own language" is often a dominant cause of language shift. In this section "emotional language" denotes the first of the three spheres mentioned by Adegbija. While interviewing MT Afrikaans community leaders who are on an ongoing basis in close contact with the Rehoboth youth, some were asked which language they regard as their own emotional language. None of them enquired what was meant by the term. In 2001 a white Afrikaans-speaking lecturer of UNAM e.g. raised the subject of her own accord by saying that the "emotional world" of her two teenage sons (aged 12 and 15 at the time) has changed from Afrikaans to English. She described aspects of their language

behaviour and in the process clarified what she meant by "emotional world". The interviewee said she has come to a point where she accepts her sons' "mixture of Afrikaans and English". She had noted that when they wrote, it was mostly in English. Like their friends they wrote invitations to parties in English as "they don't want to be different". They also wrote songs for guitar and drums in English and when e.g. one of their friends left the country, they became very emotional "in English".

In 2002 a Rehoboth minister (Revd B), in his late 30s and with small children, said he married a Baster *vroutjie* (endearment for "wife"), grew up in a leftist Afrikaans home in South Africa and was jailed while studying at the University of the Western Cape in the Apartheid era. He writes poetry and although Afrikaans was his best and favourite school subject, his emotional language changed from Afrikaans to English. Revd C, who has teenage children and calls himself "Baster" noted that he married a *buite-Baster* (a Baster from "outside", i.e. from elsewhere in Namibia). He studied in English, reads mostly English subject literature and occasionally writes songs. He noted that Basterness is "no issue" with the Rehoboth youth of the day. His own children are being educated in English, speak mostly English and tell people in South Africa that they are "Namibians". When asked about his emotional language, he hesitated for a few seconds and then said: "I suppose it is Afrikaans." [16]

To probe the matter with Grade 11s, they were asked in which language they could express their "deepest feelings best". The responses of the Afrikaans Grade 11s are shown in Table 8.9 along with the L1 chosen for their children. In Table 8.10 Rehoboth and Cape results of 1999 are compared with Belgium, the Netherlands and the Germans. Compared to Rehoboth, fewer Cape learners chose English as language for their deepest feelings in 1999. By 2008 the sharp rise in English as emotional language among the Namibians of 1999 and 2002, dropped to 39%. As mentioned above, the demographic mix of the schools is changing rapidly and the number of non-Afrikaans learners in Grade 11 is rising. In 2002 the ratio among the Grade 11s in one school was respectively 11 Afrikaans speakers to 17 others, whereas it was 5 to 18 by 2008 in that particular school. Note in

[16] Revd C described in detail his "long, spiritual journey" towards acceptance of his Basterness. A respondent (aged 29) who worked in the Netherlands for some years, became emotional some 48 hours after his return to Rehoboth when he said that "it took time and longing" for him to become a Baster. He noted that he missed his mother's food most - like *opgekookte rug met 'n lang sous.*

Table 8.10 that the percentages for "emotional language" of the German Grade 11s in the Namibian survey of 1996 and the Belgian students of the same year are almost exactly the same. Almost all students from the Netherlands also chose their MT as L1 for their children and as language in which they could express their "deepest feelings" best.

Table 8.9 Preference for English as emotional language declined in 2008

	12 Namibian schools '96 (n=178)	1 Rehoboth school '96 (n=25)	3 Rehoboth schools in each year		
			'99 (n=72)	'02 (n=56)	'08 (n=56)
	Eng.	Eng.	Eng.	Eng.	Eng.
emotion	61 (34%)	9 (36%)	49 (68%)	35 (63%)	22 (39%)
L1 children	77 (43%)	20 (80%)	49 (68%)	33 (59%)	29 (52%)

Table 8.10 Preference for the MT as emotional language by respondents elsewhere

	Rehoboth '99 (n=72)	N. Cape '99 (n=28)	Namibia '96 (n=11)	Belgium '96 (n=24)	Netherlands '97 (n=12)	Netherlands '02 (n=19)
	Afr.	Afr.	German	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch
emotion	22 (31%)	22 (79%)	7 (63%)	15 (63%)	12 (100%)	17 (89%)
L1 children	19 (26%)	12 (43%)	10 (91%)	22 (92%)	11 (92%)	17 (89%)

8.6 Basterness and adherence to a traditional lifestyle

Four of the 11 questions of 2002 shown below were specifically aimed at probing identification with Basterness while some questions probed the matter in a more roundabout way. The researcher knew that not all respondents regarded themselves as Basters and hoped that the responses would throw some light on how Basterness is currently experienced in Rehoboth. Responses to the rest of these questions would furthermore have revealed Baster descent and adherence to a traditional lifestyle.

19. Which surnames are most prevalent in your family?
20. How often do you still sit at a fire? daily weekly sometimes never
21. How does a person become a Baster?
22. What about the Basters do you like (a) best, (b) least
23. Do you think that the Basters are losing something good?
24. What is it?
25. What do you like eating the most?
26. What improvement does Namibia need the most?

27. What improvement does Rehoboth need the most?
28. What can you yourself do to improve Rehoboth?
32. How often do you go to church? <u>often</u> <u>sometimes</u> <u>never</u>

Mixed responses to these questions were given. Animosity and anomie were evident but also solidarity and loyalty. The researcher had several, ongoing conversations with a selection of Rehobothers of all ages. As noted above (p. 48), a woman with a German settler as father once said emphatically, while stamping her foot, "A Baster shall *not* be done away with!" While teachers in 2002 were completing the questionnaire, one of them called out, "I am a Baster! I refuse to answer this question!" - in reaction to question 22 above. She eventually completed the questionnaire but skipped that question. Afterwards her colleague told the researcher that she was familiar with surveys because her late husband had done research. She regretted that she did not prepare the teachers.

In response to question 25, 51 of the 93 respondents wrote "meat", another 33 named meat in combination with other dishes, six named chicken[17], 20 did not name meat at all and fruit and vegetables were named 16 times. In 2002, 5 Grade 11s did not name meat but said fast food, pizza, macaroni, egg, chicken etc. while a number of Grade 11s in 2008 named fast food and especially versions of chips (*slaptjips, warm tjips*). Meat, often eaten by stock farmers, is becoming less available and more expensive. While many still eat traditionally and 94% attend church often, only 10% often sit at a fire - most probably because of the introduction of television (in 1981), the general availability of electricity and the shortage of firewood. The preparation and eating of traditional food are connected to Afrikaans in the Rehoboth context. This link could be snapping. (See the inserted page between pp. 230 and 231 for food in other Namibian cultures.)

A synopsis of responses of the "Commuter" and "Rehoboth" categories to the question "How do you become a Baster?" is given next (followed by some more detailed responses): The 22 "Commuters" (average age, 40; average Rehoboth years, 32) said: born in Rehoboth (7); birth (6); Baster parenthood (1); marrying a Baster (1). The 30 "Rehobothers" (average age, 34; average Rehoboth years, 29) said: birth (12); adopting Baster culture (5); racial mixing (5) - one said a "Baster and German" mix.

[17] It is said in jest that Namibians regard chicken as a vegetable – not as meat.

- Transport driver (M 40): "1. Born in Rehoboth. 2. Apply for citizenship."
- Secretary (F 29): "Classified as one if you live longer than five years in Rehoboth."
- Archival-assistant (F 20): "The Basters are a group of people who descended from black people in the Cape and came to stay at Rehoboth."
- Caterer (F 40): "When whites (*blankes*) and dark people produce a child." She first wrote "black people" and then struck it through.
- Retail manager (M 42): "Cross breeding, in a few years all will be basters[18]."
- Sub-contractor (M 46): "As I have learnt in history, a race was born from Dutch fathers and Nama mothers. They are identifiable – sometimes by their accent."

One Windhoeker, a 63-year old business manager who previously lived in Rehoboth for 36 years, explained "becoming a Baster" in reference to the Apartheid system: "Us *Bruinmense* - in the previous dispensation some of us were grouped as Coloureds in Windhoek in order to qualify for a rented house and some as Rehoboth Basters. If you were a Cape Coloured you could apply to the kaptein to become a *Beskerm Burger* ("protected citizen") and after good conduct you could get full citizenship. Many used this method to escape discriminatory practices of the Apartheid system. If that had not been the case, many Cape Coloureds and Indians would and could not have come to stay in the country." This person's last words were: "I want to write a book on Apartheid when I retire." As shown above, most adults have fixed ideas on how a person "becomes a Baster" whereas learners (Table 8.15 below) seemingly know and/or care less about the issue.

8.7 Some inter-classroom, generational and ethnolinguistic comparisons

The researcher did some "predictive testing" (for intergenerational shift) in three respondent groupings: **(a)** Pro-English (n=13) and pro-Afrikaans (n=7) Grade 11s from one class in May 2002; **(b)** The "Learners" (n=15) and "Teachers" (n=15) categories from the 2002 main questionnaire; **(c)** One Grade 11 class of 2008 that split into exactly 17 pro-English and 17 pro-Afrikaans learners was compared with each other as well as with the 18 KKG Grade 11s from the two other schools that participated in the same survey. She paid close attention to the individualised data in an attempt to learn whether the age and/or generation of the respondent, abode in the first life years of life, length of stay in Rehoboth and MOI in Grade 1 might have influenced pro-English stances.

[18] Since he wrote in capital letters it was not clear whether he meant "Basters" as cultural category or "basters" as racially mixed people. The researcher believes that he meant the latter.

(a) Pro-English (n=13) and pro-Afrikaans (n=7) Grade 11s of 2002

The mini-profiles of the 2002 Grade 11s (Appendix, Tables A9-A10) did not show up why one group was overall pro-Afrikaans and the other pro-English – the latter up to the point that they did not plan to transmit MT Afrikaans to the next generation. Note that this group used almost as much Afrikaans (46%) as English (49%) in contrast to the pro-Afrikaans one with Afrikaans (54%) and English (39%). For the rest they had near similar traditional outlooks on culture and modern-day choices for their future careers.

(b) Generational differences between "Learners" (n=15) and "Teachers" (n=15)

Kober's following findings have parallels in the current study. Her students tended to be distant and passive in discussions (1997:290) and hardly discussed race, whereas adults (p. 291) were more engaged and discussed race "extensively and in many different ways". Students sketched Namibia's position in the world in terms of economic relations, while adults focused more "on the socio-psychological level" (pp. 179-181). Note below the difference between the teachers and learners of the current study re improvements for Namibia. Learners are less engaged, do not refer to groups and races, focus more on materialistic values and their responses are less wordy but their suggestions for Rehoboth's improvement (inserted Table 8.12 between pp. 232-233) are closer to the teachers'. Differences in opinions on Basterness shown in Tables 8.13 and 8.14 (inserted, pp. 232-233) suggest a generational shift away from a Baster identity: Learners focus on biological aspects of "becoming a Baster". Teachers give emphasis to historical aspects while twelve of them refer to the loss of culture, traditions, language and identity.

Table 8.11 Suggested improvements for Namibia by teachers and learners, 2002

age	Teachers	age	Learners
23	a govt. that can handle financial matters better	18	another president
43	good government, more investors	16	money, another president
48	co-operation of all races	18	money
45	good racial relationships	16	dev. more holiday resorts
41	better co-operation between groups	17	a better government
41	better management	17	a better government
53	deal firmly with wrongdoers	16	more safety
57	finances, honesty	17	money
47	co-operation	17	Baster leader as president
42	honest, sincere, dedicated people to manage country	16	electricity, tar roads
53	equal opportunities for all	16	more shops
43	equality for all, one group should not be favoured	18	tar roads
39	better human relations		

(c) Comparison between three groups of Grade 11s of 2008

Personalised data of three groups of 2008 Grade 11s are compared below in an attempt to determine which variables influence the respondents' language use and choice most. Groups A and B (Tables 8.15 and 8.16) have MT Afrikaans, take Afrikaans 1 and are from the same school and class. Learners in Group C (Table 8.17) have MT KKG, take Afrikaans 2 and are from two mixed classes in the other two schools in the survey. The tables show gender, birth year and years spent in Rehoboth; then with whom first life years were spent, where learners live now, envisaged occupations and MOI in Grade 1. Other data refer to languages best liked, written, read and spoken; what language is *wanted* for home (the MT is spoken in all but one home) and what language is chosen for SMS, emotions, Bible, private prayers and future children. If the data in the tables are read horizontally (i.e. by row) detail on individual levels is shown. Number A12 in Table 8.15 e.g. mentioned Afrikaans the most (i.e. 9 times), has spent all her life with her parents in Rehoboth and plans to have a career in commerce. Because of her latter choice, she may become more English in future since English is the language of that workplace. A7 has the same background as A12, her count for Afrikaans is 6 but she wants to become a doctor. Afrikaans is still dominant in the largest part of the Namibian medical field so she may remain Afrikaans longer than her counterpart. When the data are read vertically (i.e. by column) an impression of the group as a whole is gained. It is noteworthy that the individual L1 preferences for future children shown in Groups A and B coincide with the overall leanings of the respondents towards Afrikaans or English: All respondents in Group A want L1 Afrikaans for their children and all in B want L1 English. When each table is viewed as a whole, it is shown that respondents in Group A are overall more pro-Afrikaans while the ones in Group B are overall more pro-English. The researcher realises that the envisaged L1 for future children may not materialise. However, the fact that 50% of these respondents want L1 English for their children indicates that the intergenerational transmission of mother tongue Afrikaans in this location may be at risk. A surprising find is that the MOI of the respondents in Grade 1 did not make much of a difference to pro-Afrikaans or pro–English stances. As shown, 11 learners in Group A and 13 learners in Group B started school in Afrikaans. It seems, though, as if the years spent in Rehoboth and the number of commuting household members are crucial factors (see p. 234).

Table 8.15 All learners in Group A want L1 Afrikaans for future children (shown as L1c)

A.	Afr.	Rh	1st yrs	live	job	Gr1	like	write	read	speak	want	SMS	emo	Bible	pray	L1c
1	M '91		mother	hostel	dr.	**Afr**	Afr	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr	E/A	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr
2	M '91	17	*ouma*		acc.	**Afr**	Afr	Eng	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Eng	Afr
3	F '91	11	parents	fam.	dr.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Fr	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr
4	F '91	17	parents	parents		**Eng**	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	E/A	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr
5	F '91	17	parents	parents	path.	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	E/A	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr
6	F '91	12	grandp.s		dr.	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr
7	F '91	17	parents	parents	dr.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	E/A	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	E/A	Afr
8	F '91	17	parents	parents	chem.	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Ger	Eng	Afr	Afr	Eng	Afr
9	F '91	4	parents	parents	teach	**Afr**	Afr	Eng	Afr	Afr	Nam	E/A	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr
10	F '91	17	mother	mother	acc.	**Afr**	Afr	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Eng	Afr	E/A	Afr
11	F '91	17	parents	parents	acc.	**Eng**	Port	Eng	Eng	Afr	Port	E/A	E/A	Afr	Afr	Afr
12	F '91	17	parents	parents	comm.	**Afr**	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Eng	Afr	Eng	Afr
13	F '91	17	parents	parents	acc.	**Afr**	Afr	Eng	Afr	Afr	Eng	Afr	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr
14	F '91	3	parents	parents	manag.	**Afr**	Afr	Eng	Eng	Afr	Sp	Afr	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr
15	F '90	18	parents	parents	acc.	**Afr**	Afr	Afr	Eng	Afr		Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr
16	F '92	16	parents	mother	manag.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Sp	E/A	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr
17	F '92	16	parents	mother	comm.	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Ger	E/A	Afr	Eng	Afr	Afr
	'91	**yrs**	**parents**	**parents**		**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**
Tot.	**14**	**233**	**13**	**10**		**11**	**9**	**3**	**6**	**15**	**8**	**8**	**10**	**15**	**11**	**17**

Table 8.16 All learners in Group B want L1 English for future children (shown as L1c)

B.	Afr.	Rh	1st yrs	live	job	Gr1	like	write	read	speak	want	SMS	emo	Bible	pray	L1c
18	M '91	10	parents	parents	c. eng.	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Eng	Eng	Afr	Eng	Afr	Eng
19	M '91	12	parents	parents	acc.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Sp	Afr	Afr	Eng	Afr	Eng
20	M '91	7	*ouma*	parents	acc.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	E/A	Eng	Afr	Eng	Eng	Eng
21	F '91	17	parents	parents	dr.	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Eng
22	F '91	7	parents	mother	interi.	**Afr**	E/A	E/A	E/A	Afr	It	E/A	It/E	E/A	Eng	Eng
23	F '91	11	mother	mother	fash.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Eng
24	F '91	17	parents	parents	beaut.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	E/A	Eng	Afr	E/A	Eng
25	F '91	17	parents	fam.	acc.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Ger	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Eng
26	F '91	7	parents	*ouma*	lawyer	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Afr	Afr	Eng	E/A	Eng	Afr	Eng	Eng
27	F '91	6	parents	fam.	vet.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Eng	E/A	Eng	Afr	Afr	Eng
28	F '91	17	parents	parents	med.	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Fr	E/A	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng
29	F '91	16	parents	parents	comm.	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng
30	F '91	17	*ouma*	parents	design	**Afr**	Sp	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Afr	Eng
31	F '91	5	*ouma*	fam.	beaut.	**Afr**	Afr	Eng	Afr	Afr	Sp	Afr	Afr	Afr	Afr	Eng
32	F '91	17	parents	parents	physio	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Eng	Eng	Afr	Afr	Afr	Eng
33	F '92	13	grandps	mother	good	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Afr	Afr	Sp	E/A	E/A	Afr	E/A	Eng
34	F '90	7	*ouma*	fam.	physio	**Afr**	Sp	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	Eng	Afr	Eng
	'91	**yrs**	**parents**	**parents**		**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**
Tot.	**15**	**203**	**11**	**9**		**13**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**10**	**1**	**2**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**0**

Birth years, years spent in Rehoboth as well as the number of learners who live with parents are almost the same in Groups A and B but note the following differences: Group A has 12 learners who have lived in Rehoboth for their *whole life* and has (as a group) only 9 household members who commute to Windhoek. Group B has only 7 learners who have lived in Rehoboth for their whole life and has (as a group) 16 household members who commute to Windhoek. The researcher believes that commuting is a positive force (i.e. a pro-Afrikaans force) among the 22 adults in the survey-category "Commuters" in 2002 but it seems to be a negative force among the Grade 11s of 2002 and 2008 (see Table 8.17 below) who have household members (mostly one or both parents) who commute on a daily basis to Windhoek. As a group the 22 "Commuters" [19] used and chose more Afrikaans while the Grade 11s of 2008 with the most household members that commuted (Group B above), used and chose the most English. (Commuting could be linked to another variable, though: a household with a higher income and therefore perhaps more exposure to the outside world.) One Rehoboth businessman noted (p.c. July 2004) that his wife found it "adventurous" to commute to Windhoek. Most probably many commuters likewise enjoy the urban environment of Windhoek and the opportunity to speak English, but (as many of them have told the researcher over time) they speak Afrikaans in the some two hours that are spent daily in driving to and from Windhoek. In contrast the learners with commuting household members spend a lot of time sending SMS, watching TV and "surfing" the Internet in English – (see Table 7.23 on p. 202 above). This would be conducive to an English environment at home during the day, which probably changes back to Afrikaans in the evening when household members return from Windhoek. Note in Figs. 8.9-11 on the next page the difference in Afrikaans use between the "Commuters" and the learners of Groups A and B of Tables 8.15 and 8.16 above.

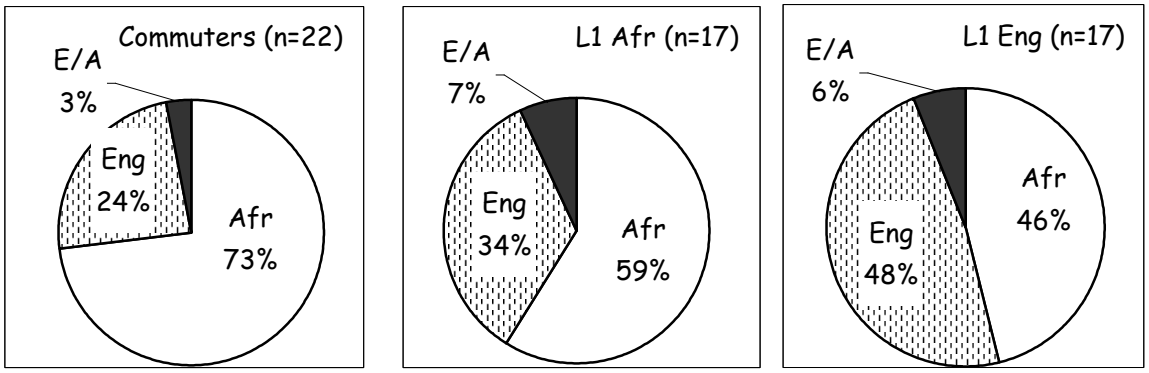
Table 8.17 All Grade 11s' Rehoboth years; commuting household members

Afr. Gr 11s	**n**	**Rh years**	**average**	**Rh life**	**%**	**hh. commuters**	**%**
2002	15[20]	174	11.6	8	53	21	140
2008	56	714	12.8	33	59	40	71
"other" Gr 11s							
2008	21	122	5.8	5	24	3	14

[19] Note that only one household member in the "Commuters" group worked in Rehoboth.

[20] Respondents in what is termed throughout as the "main" or "adult" questionnaire of 2002.

Figs. 8.9-11 Commuters' language use compared to Groups A (L1 Afr.) and B (L1 Eng.)



The 18 KKG learners below are from the two other high schools that were surveyed on 30 September 2008. Their 34 Afrikaans counterparts form part of the survey sample of 56 Afrikaans Grade 11s of that day. The KKG learners (only 3 were born in 1991) are older than the Afrikaans ones and their length of stay in Rehoboth is 50% less.

Table 8.18 KKG Grade 11s (n=18) - controls of the Afrikaans learners (n=34)

C.	KKG	Rh	1st yrs	live	job	Gr1	like	write	read	speak	want	SMS	emo	Bible	pray	L1c
1	F '89	19	mother	mother	tourism	**Eng**	Eng	KKG	KKG	KKG	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng
2	F '90	1	mother	mother	police	**Eng**	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng
3	F '92	16	mother	mother	teach	**KKG**	KKG	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	KKG	Eng
4	M '90	9m	oth. fam.	hostel	lawyer	**KKG**	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	KKG	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng	Eng
5	M '91	4	hostel	hostel	geol.	**KKG**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Otji		Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng
6	F '91	8	parents	parents	teach	**KKG**	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng	Eng		Eng	Eng	Eng
7	M '90	9m	*ouma*	hostel	lawyer	**KKG**	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	Tsw		KKG	Eng	Tsw	Eng
8	F '90	9m	parents	hostel	teach	**Afr**	Afr	Eng	Eng	Afr	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng
9	F '89	9m	mother	hostel	teach	**KKG**	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng	Eng	KKG	Eng	KKG	Eng
10	M '90	2	aunt	hostel	tourism	**KKG**	Sets	Afr	Eng	KKG	Eng	Eng	KKG	Afr	KKG	Eng
11	F '91	17	mother	mother	tourism	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Port	E/A	Eng	Afr	Afr	Eng
12	F '90	9m	mother	hostel	acc.	**KKG**	Eng	Eng	Eng	KKG	KKG	E/A	KKG	KKG	KKG	KKG
13	F '89	9m	*ouma*	parents	lawyer	**KKG**	KKG	KKG	Eng	KKG	Eng	Eng		Eng	KKG	KKG
14	F '92	16	mother	mother	lawyer	**KKG**	KKG	KKG	Eng	KKG	KKG	Eng	KKG	Eng	KKG	KKG
15	F '90	9m	parents	hostel	lawyer	**Afr**	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	KKG	Eng	Eng	Afr	KKG	KKG
16	F '89	1	parents	hostel	pastor	**Afr**	Ger	Afr	Eng	KKG	Eng	E/A	Afr	Afr	KKG	Ger
17	F '90	10	parents	mother	model	**KKG**	Sp	KKG	KKG	KKG	Afr	E/A	Eng	Eng	0	Afr
18	M '90	9m	mother	parents	engin.	**KKG**	KKG	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng	Afr	KKG	Eng	KKG	Afr
	'90	**yrs**	**parents**	**parents**		**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**	**MT**
T:	**9**	**100**	**5**	**3**		**12**	**4**	**4**	**2**	**13**	**4**	**0**	**6**	**3**	**13**	**4**

Another notable difference between the Afrikaans Grade 11s in Groups A and B and the KKG Grade 11s in Group C is the years spent with parents: Respectively 13 and 11

in the two Afrikaans groups spent their first years with both parents while respectively 10 and 9 of them are now living with both parents. The corresponding figures for the KKG learners are 5 and 3. A common experience among all three groups is that most of them had their MT as MOI in Grade 1: Respectively 11 and 13 of the Afrikaans learners and 12 of the KKG ones – a total of 86% in all three groups. As noted above about the Afrikaans learners, this was not as crucial in the language use and choice of the KKG learners in their later years as expected by the researcher: Only 4 of them liked their MT most but a total of 65% of all the groups still prayed in their MT.

Note that the 18 KKG learners have lived an average of only 5.8 years in Rehoboth; many were from elsewhere for 9 lived in the hostel; only one grew up with both parents and still lived with them (not shown in Table 8.18) while 2 more lived with both parents and as many as 15 (83%) could have been from a woman-headed household. Although 13 (72%) still spoke KKG best, only 4 (22%) wrote it best and wanted it as L1 for their children.

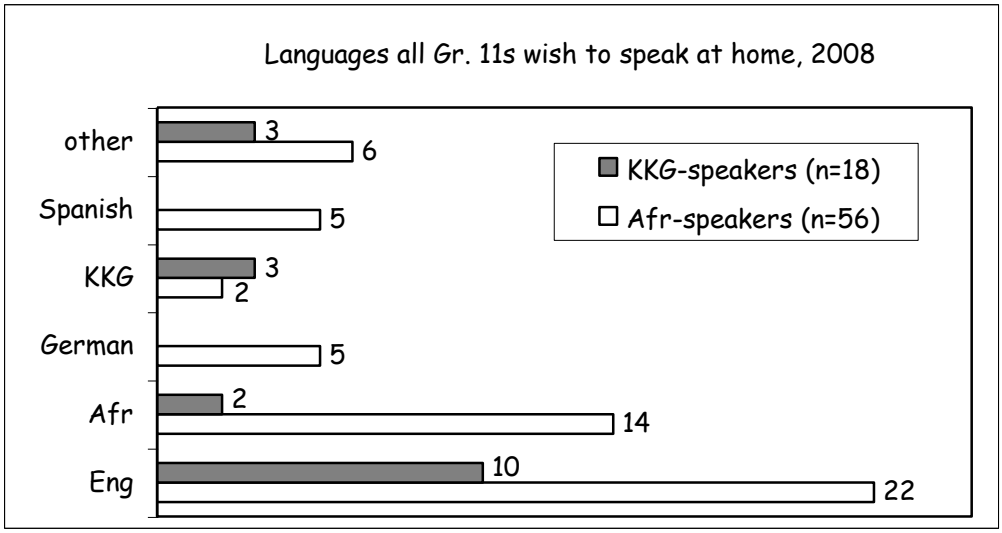
Table 8.19 shows how Afrikaans features as language among the 18 KKG respondents plus another 3 Grade 11s with Oshiwambo, Setswana and Sesotho. It is absent from only one learner's repertoire and 17 (81%) still want it as language for their future children. The data in the table suggest that Afrikaans is still being spoken as L2 and L3 in this location - and that it might be used as such in the next KKG generation too.

Table 8.19 Afrikaans as language among 21 Grade 11s with other mother tongues

Afrikaans mentioned in responses of 21 "others" in 2008					
	L1	**L2**	**L3**	**L4**	**none**
their language repertoires		9	8	2	1
language for future children	2	11	4		

Note in Fig. 8.12 below that only 3 (17%) of the KKG learners want to speak their MT at home and 56% want English, while 14 (25%) of the Afrikaans learners want their MT and 22 (39%) want English. When these language wishes, coupled with the wishes for their children, are projected forward unto the learners' own future homes, the position of KKG and Afrikaans as respectively the second and third largest MT groups in Namibia could be in jeopardy. The 2001 census data reflect the languages that are spoken most in *households*. It is likely that the new generation will change Namibia's language profile.

Fig. 8.12 Languages wished by KKG and Afrikaans Grade 11s of 2008 for home



8.8 Final survey 2008: Cultural affiliation, Basterness among Afrikaans Grade 11s

As noted in Chapter 4 (p. 109), the research data suggest that the dominancy of the pioneer clans is waning in Rehoboth. In 2002 surnames of the 7 most numerous clans were present in the family trees of 33 (67%) of the 49 respondents aged 16-36 years; in 2008 they were present in only 23 (39%) of the 56 Grade 11 respondents. Questions 21-24 of 2002 that probed Basterness (see section **8.6** above) were scrapped in 2008.[21] Respondents were asked instead what about "the people of Rehoboth" they liked most and least, which yielded unremarkable results. As hoped, though, association with Basterness surfaced spontaneously in responses to questions about Sam !Khubis commemorations and in descriptions of culture in general and the family culture. (See Appendix pp. xix-xx for the Afrikaans questionnaire of 2008.) The responses of the 17 (30%) Afrikaans Grade 11s who used the word "Baster" in reply to the culture questions (Table 8.20 below) are viewed as at least an acknowledgment of their Basterness. However, 6 (35%) of them indicated that they do not wish to transmit MT Afrikaans to the next generation (also Respondent 5 with his amusing, brief description of his family culture) although 4 of them have always lived in Rehoboth and have attended Sam !Khubis commemorations. One of the respondents (not shown) was from the pioneer Van Wyk clan and attended a Sam !Khubis day every year but he was nevertheless the only Afrikaans respondent in whose home English is spoken. He mentioned Afrikaans only once in the entire questionnaire.

[21] Six years on the researcher felt uneasy about using the word "Baster" in the questionnaire.

Table 8.20 Definitions of culture, references made to Baster family culture - 2008

			Afrikaans Grade 11s who want L1 English for the next generation		
		Rh	**culture in general**	**family culture**	**S!K**
1	F	17	The way you live, how you do things	Live like Basters	no
2	F	17	It is like my tradition, what I do as baster and what my duties are.	To be christian	yes
3	M	7	The background of a community	Baster	yes
4	F	5	The kind of tradition that you join (*wat jy by inval*)	We are a mix of basters and Nama, our culture is very simple	no
5	M	17	It is your religion (*geloof*) or religions	baster. Believe in god and like *langarm*	yes
6	M	17	It refers to different nations	My culture is mixed – Baster and Damara	yes
			Afrikaans Grade 11s who want L1 Afrikaans for the next generation		
7	F	17	Your background and your history	Baster culture	yes
8	F	17	tradition of people, language they speak, clothes, way they do things	We are basters, do things the way many basters in Rehoboth do	no
9	F	18	The tradition, how we live	Like basters	
10	F	16	It is the tradition with which you were raised	As Nama-baster mix we have a feeling about what goes on in both nations	yes
11	F	16	Life style (*leefwyse*) and *doendinge* ("things that are done") of people	Normal. We are basters	no
12	F	18	A unique way of expressing yourself	Very church-like (*kerklik*) and good (*lekker*) to be a Baster	yes
13	F	17	It is what nation you are	Baster	yes
14	M	1	Traditional	Basters	no
15	M	7	It is like ancestors' culture	The culture is all right (*orait*) because it is *basters*	no
16	F	9	It is that in which you believe	Baster	yes
17	F	8	It is when other nations can stay in Rehoboth	We are baster	no

8.9 Final remarks on obstinacy and humour as group traits

Obstinacy and a sense of humour and self-irony are often attributed to the Basters. Their sense of self-irony was repeatedly demonstrated to the researcher over years of contact, e.g.: On learning the acronym of the Government of the Republic of Namibia (GRN), the immediate reaction of an elderly Baster woman was (p.c. Baster colleague, Khomasdal May 1996): "*Ja,* give Rehoboth nothing!". Rose-Junius, keynote speaker at a Sam !Khubis commemoration, drew loud laughter from some 350 Basters when she noted (8 May 2005), "As you must know, we inherited a good measure of obstinacy from our forefathers the Boers." [22] On 29 August 2003 playwright and comedian Majiedt introduced his (Afrikaans) play "Rehoboth, our Story" in the National

[22] Rose-Junius drew on a remark of Bayer (1906:647).

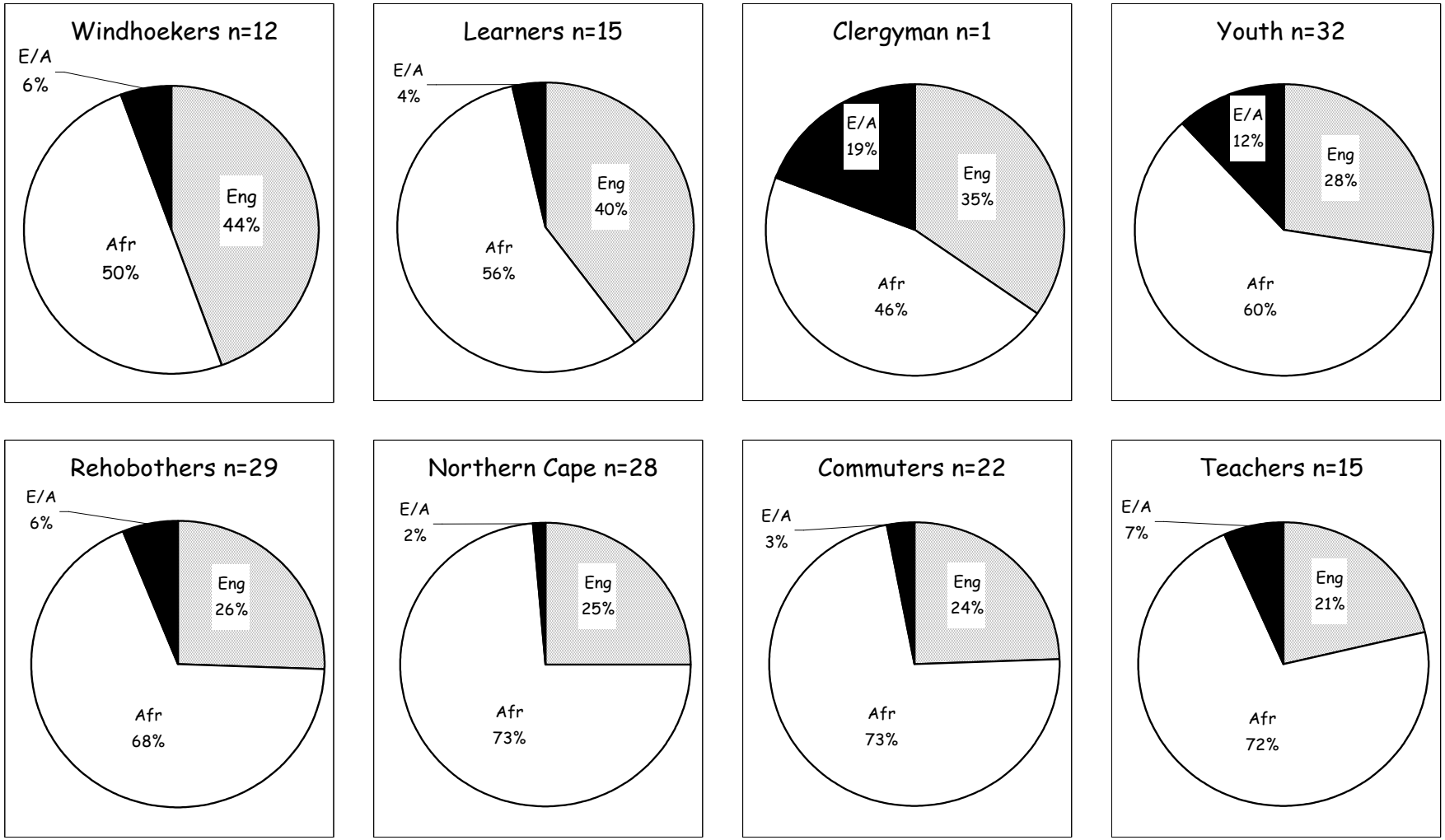
Theatre of Windhoek by saying (in Afrikaans) to a full house of Basters and Coloureds: "*Ja*, when you people move from Rehoboth to Windhoek you all become Coloureds!" The audience reacted with prolonged laughter. The latter two anecdotes give substance to Thomas Jones' remark that for something to be funny, certain complicity is required between speaker and audience (*LRB* 2002:20, p. 18). Obstinacy and a sense of humour have not been discussed as personality traits that could influence language maintenance in any of the other case studies that researcher have consulted over time. She does suspect, though that these typical traits would in some way slow down a change to English in especially the older generation of Afrikaans-speakers in Rehoboth.

8.10 Conclusion

Questionnaire data on the language behaviour of Afrikaans-speaking Grade 11s in the private spheres of religion, culture and personal communication as well as L1 choice for future children support the hypothesis that mother tongue Afrikaans is already endangered among the youngsters of Rehoboth. It was shown that almost all of them described culture richly in terms of traditions and continuity in contrast to the abstract and linear views of the Dutch speaking respondents of the Netherlands and Belgium and the conceptually poorer depictions of the Grade 11s of their counterparts in the Northern Cape. It is furthermore noteworthy that hardly any of the Rehoboth Grade 11s associated culture with language and that, unlike some of the adult questionnaire respondents, no youngsters with Baster ancestry linked Basterness with Afrikaans. The researcher believes that Baster values, religion and culture could be retained without Afrikaans - which is losing ground in personal spheres. This could give rise to a new, inclusive identity in which family and attachment to place take centre stage.

In the next chapter a wide range of research data are considered for a decision on the prospects of mother tongue Afrikaans in the Rehoboth community as a whole.

Fig. 9.3 Frequency of the words Afrikaans, English and English/Afrikaans in the responses of eight questionnaire categories



Chapter Nine

Summary of results and prospects

"People are living there." - Athol Fugard (1996)[1]

9.1 Introduction

The secondary aims of the thesis have been fulfilled: (a) The Rehoboth Basters' history was presented with the emphasis on their own point of view. (b) Aspects of their language history were probed and features of their speech in the 2000s were discussed.[2] (c) The current position of Afrikaans in Rehoboth was documented among all age groups. (d) Negative portrayal of the Basters in literature was addressed as well as (e) their leadership's lack of proficiency in the language of successive administrators. The overall objective of the thesis was an assessment of the Afrikaans community of Rehoboth in terms of language maintenance, endangerment and shift. It was concluded in Chapter 3 that present-day Namibia constitutes a hostile environment for the stability and growth of Afrikaans. In this chapter research results are gathered to decide whether a shift to English is probable in Rehoboth - which would mean that Afrikaans is endangered in this location. Wurm warned (1998:191) that languages at very early stages of endangerment have the potential to progress towards eventual extinction quite quickly. For a broad perspective of the Rehoboth case study, all 33 questions of Edwards (1992) for testing language vitality are briefly answered in table format (**9.2**). For a more subjective appraisal of the language situation, pointers towards language shift that were encountered in fieldwork are juxtapositioned with pointers towards the maintenance of Afrikaans (**9.3** and **9.4**). The "language count" of eight categories of survey respondents (**9.5**) is given on one page in the form of pie charts to show with whom Afrikaans still dominates and who switches the most. A probability scale ranging between "virtually certain" and "extremely unlikely" (cited by John Lanchester 2007:5) is lastly applied to the Rehoboth data (**9.6**) to predict the most probable outcome of the competition between Afrikaans and English - while taking note of Crystal's words of caution: Forces causing language death are so massive that it is difficult to see how any of them could be reversed. However, with the range of factors involved, it is possible to see several outcomes (Crystal 2000:89).

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[1] Drama title (1969) of South African playwright and actor Athol Fugard.

[2] The two generations between 1930 and 1990 in which they maintained Afrikaans, were skipped.

9.2 Afrikaans in Rehoboth in relation to diagnostic questions of Edwards (1992) with regard to language vitality

Table 9.1 The 33 questions of Edwards - with answers from the Rehoboth case study

	Questions for the typology of minority languages	MT Afrikaans, Rehoboth
1	Numbers and concentration of speakers?	unknown but concentrated
2	Extent of the language (see also geography)?	lingua franca of Namibia
3	Rural-urban nature of the setting?	rural, but urbanising fast
4	Socio-economic status of speakers?	mixed: high and low
5	Degree and type of language transmission?	±100% and oral up to 1990
6	Previous/current maint. and revival efforts?	none in the past – nor now
7	Linguistic capabilities of speakers?	bilingual; some multilingual
8	Degree of language standardisation?	standardised
9	Nature of in- and out-migration?	landless in; brain-drain out
10	Language attitudes of speakers?	mostly pragmatic
11	Aspects of the language-identity relationship?	seems low among youth
12	Attitudes of majority group towards minority?	mixed, often hostile
13-15	History and background of the group, the language, the area in which the group now lives	excluded from Namibia's struggle history
16	Rights and recognition of speakers?	low – as a group
17	Degree and extent of official recognition of the language?	viewed with hostility by the Namibian government
18	Degree of autonomy or "special status" of area?	none
19-21	Basic facts about geography?	low rainfall, drought prone
22	Speakers' attitudes, involvement regarding education?	excellent
23	Type of school support for language?	faltering; subject only
24	State of education in the area?	improving/good
25	Religion of speakers?	Protestant
26	Type, strength of association between language and religion?	changing from stable to unstable among youth
27	Importance of religion in the area?	very religious
28	Economic health of the speaker group?	mixed; a few quite rich
29	Ass. between lang. and econ. success/mobility?	almost none
30	Economic health of the region?	mixed - medium to poor
31	Group representation in the media?	often negative[3]
32	Language representation in the media?	TV no; radio, papers - yes
33	General public awareness of area?	poor and stereotyped

[3] See e.g. on p. xxxii in the Appendix how the Basters are heckled by a columnist of *The Namibian* (17.10.2008) and on p. xxxiii the response of McNab on the newspaper's letter page of 21.9.2008.

Judged by Table 9.1 alone mother tongue Afrikaans is seemingly in an early stage of endangerment in Rehoboth but this data must be weighed up against the following personalised data of the actual language use of current speakers that was encountered.

9.3 Pointers towards language endangerment/shift

Pointers towards language shift among especially Rehoboth's youth are given next. Some were empirically tested in surveys; some were mere asides of people who work closely with learners while others were observations of parents and/or grandparents on the language behaviour of children and grandchildren in their respective families.

(a) Afrikaans underwent a rapid loss in function and status when English replaced it as official language and MOI. Because of the close fit between the standing of a language and that of its speakers (Dorian 1998:24) this loss of domain and prestige probably had an adverse influence on the self-image of mother tongue Afrikaans speakers in Rehoboth.

(b) Rehoboth is now ruled by a local government of predominantly SWAPO officials. The town's inhabitants have become "people who need the State" (Hyden 1980) in their everyday lives, which translates into people who need English - the language of the State.

(c) Some primary schools still teach literacy in Afrikaans but English is the MOI from Grade 4 onwards and Afrikaans is no longer a compulsory subject. This means that many Afrikaans learners will not learn to read and write in their MT and may lose interest and proficiency in it. Evidence was found in surveys and conversations with teachers, principals and parents that the post-1990 generation is losing their parents' ability to read and write Afrikaans: 69% of the Afrikaans Grade 11 respondents of 2008 still speak Afrikaans best but English is written best by 80% and read best by 65% (see p. 203).

(d) A child raised inside instead of outside the family, learns the ethnic language easier - especially if live-in grandparents are present (Kibrik 1991:258). Traditionally many Rehoboth children spent their first years on farms in the district where grandparents performed the function of mother tongue transmission in the ideal way, i.e. informal, spontaneous and intimate (Fishman 2001:11). Rose found in 1978 (1980:184) that the need for a crèche was nowhere indicated in Rehoboth because grandmothers or domestic workers looked after the babies of working mothers. The town now has some 14 private pre-primary schools (p.c. Town Council spokesperson, 24 April 2007) and according to parents and teachers, English is already introduced and/or is the only language medium.

Fillmore (1994) warned that programmes in which children are taught English before they are five years old can cause families to lose their language (cited in Yamamoto 1998:224).

(e) Some 60% of Rehoboth's workforce commute to Windhoek. Parents leave home before 6:00 and only return by 18:30. Social workers, principals and teachers report that parent-children roles are often reversed during the day when older children have to take care of siblings. Fishman noted (2001:470) that "major modernity-related disruptions of family functioning" have been identified as factors that undercut the effectiveness of intergenerational mother tongue transmission. Afrikaans Grade 11s of 2008 with the most commuting household members used and chose more English than Afrikaans (see p. 234).

(f) The influx of Oshiwambo speakers and an increase of KKG learners are changing the demographic mix of town and schools. Afrikaans is no longer the dominant MT among junior learners. Kibrik (1991) listed contact with new languages as factor in language vitality while Uhlenbeck (1993) noted increased bilingualism in Dutch and English in the Netherlands. The language repertoires and preferences of Rehoboth youngsters are evidential of the new generation's contact with a wider range of languages. They are bilingual in English and Afrikaans and accordingly have a language choice that their parents never had. Of the 209 Afrikaans Grade 11s that were questioned between 1996 and 2008, only 69 (33%) wanted to transmit Afrikaans as MT to their future children.

(g) Many Afrikaans learners now switch to the lower level Afrikaans 2 as subject while increasing numbers have German as third language and/or take French as a foreign language. As noted by Swarts (2001:39), "German and French are vigorously promoted by their respective countries, with the result that they have become quite attractive to Namibian learners." No unified body in Namibia supports and promotes Afrikaans. An *Afrikaanse Taalvereniging* ("Afrikaans Language Association") was established in Windhoek on 26 July 1994 but dissolved within a few years because of lack of interest. Institutional support plays a pivotal role in MT retention and reproduction, as noted by De Klerk (2000:106), Lo Bianco *et al.* (2001:417) and Annamalai *et al.* (2001:320).

(h) Most Grade 11s with other MTs wanted L1 English for their children and their own language as L2. This bodes ill for the future vitality of L2 Afrikaans in Rehoboth.

(i) Almost all the learners and adults questioned watched only English television. Some learners said they spent up to four hours a day watching TV. When the six hours of

English MOI at school are added, it boils down to up to 10 hours of continuous exposure to English per day. Watching television has furthermore replaced erstwhile family activities that reinforced Afrikaans like huddling around a fire and talking on the porch.

(j) Respondents believed English is the best language for the workplace. Learners ask, "What can we do with Afrikaans?" Traditional occupations like farming and building are unpopular with the youth whereas many envisage occupations in finance. A generation ago (Leggo 1977) only some 4% of the Rehoboth Basters held occupations in this field. Lewis and Peaker (1963) found (cited in Lewis, 1978:322) that Welsh 15-year-olds with hopes of future high status occupations seemingly favoured English above Welsh.

(k) Traditionally Baster parents left land to all children. This led to farmland fragmentation into units that are far too small for stock-farming. Farm life used to be a rich terrain for the growth, reinforcement and transmission of Afrikaans.

(l) Afrikaans is still the lingua franca of the Namibian building industry. It used to be dominant on construction sites across the country too, but the influx of Chinese workers via Chinese construction companies is diminishing its profile.

(m) Geographical isolation used to protect Afrikaans. Outsiders needed a permit to work in Rehoboth and only Baster citizens could own property in town. The escalation of communication with the outside world is underlined by the following: in 1976 Rehoboth had 100 telephone lines, in 1979 it had 300 (see fn. p. 109), in the 1980s there were more than 1000 and by 2005 the town had 2904 telephone lines (p.c. Norman Gille, 22 April 2005).

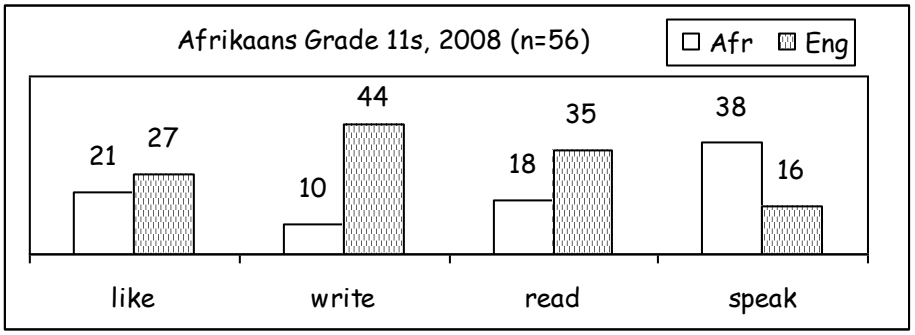
(n) Teachers, principals and ministers say youngsters "are losing Afrikaans". A former Rehoboth editor (and youth worker) said (p.c. 2002) that he wrote in English to reach the youth, "because they do not understand written Afrikaans". The town librarian observed (p.c. 2002) that senior learners "seem confused" when she addresses them in Afrikaans; young children read only English books. A white principal of a private Afrikaans school in the North believed (p.c. 1999), "Afrikaans is on the way out". The principal of a Rehoboth high school noted (p.c. 2008) that Afrikaans learners insist on speaking English to their teachers "even when they meet informally at school gatherings in the evening".

(o) Generally speaking Basters have a matter-of-fact approach to life and their relatively short history is marked by efforts to improve their position. They shifted from Khoi and Dutch in relatively quick succession. Dutch brought them social advancement but

they shifted from it when their circumstances changed and Afrikaans became the MOI and religious language. Basters value education. A remarkable and sudden rise occurred in the educational levels of the Afrikaans community from 1980 onwards after the Basters were granted self-rule and South Africa abolished job reservation and college and university segregation. This led to a new generation of Baster lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. who studied at English institutions. Crawford (1996) listed, as a cause of language shift, growing numbers of individualistic, pragmatic and materialistic parents who fail to teach their language to their children (cited by Jilali Saib, 2001:41).

(p) Lay people are often ignorant about the processes of language acquisition and loss. "I did not know that a language has to be nurtured," one Rehoboth woman said after realising for the first time that her son of 30 years could speak but not write Afrikaans (p.c. 2005). A Coloured broadcaster of an Afrikaans commercial radio station and her Cape husband speak Afrikaans to each other at home but English to their children and believe the children will learn Afrikaans from hearing it (p.c. 2007). When asked who will teach them to write Afrikaans, the woman replied "probably their grandmother". According to a Rehoboth statistician who had relocated to Windhoek, he and his wife are "very democratic" (p.c. 2004) for they respond in the language in which their children address them. He added as an afterthought, "My children can neither read nor write Afrikaans." The aforementioned assertions are verified below. These Afrikaans Grade 11s (from all three Rehoboth high schools) spoke Afrikaans best but liked, wrote and read English best.

Fig. 9.1 Language preferences of Afrikaans Grade 11s in Rehoboth, 2008



(q) Some grandparents that were questioned said their grandchildren "are English" because of e.g. an English mother from the Cape but they could speak "some Afrikaans".

(r) Grade 11s' identification with Basterness was tested in a roundabout way. Learners, as well as some adults, indicated that they regard themselves as Namibians. A

minister, who described his long journey to acceptance of his Basterness, observed that his teenage children refer to themselves as Namibians, not Basters. He added: "The youth 'issue' (i.e. care) clearly less about Basterness. I know, because I work with them." The "loss of self-identification as an ethnic group and the growth of the consciousness of belonging to a national society" may play a role in language shift, noted Adelaar (1998:6).

(s) English is winning ground among learners as well as adults in former Afrikaans religious spheres. A young Rehoboth clergyman addressed catechism candidates in a mixture of English and Afrikaans, "because this is how they speak and what they understand". He predicted in 2002 that the Rehoboth youth "will be English in 15 years time". His colleague noted that youngsters want English and "highly qualified, energetic young people with modern ideas" have taken over leadership in his church. According to a DRC minister in Windhoek his Afrikaans catechism candidates could no longer read the Afrikaans Bible. By March 2008 the English Bible was used by some half of learners in one Rehoboth high school (p.c. principal). The Afrikaans Bible (1933) was instrumental in the Basters' shift from Dutch to Afrikaans in the 1930s. The researcher believes religion is not a *causal* factor in language maintenance or shift; language use in religious spheres is, though, a clear *indication* of whatever direction Afrikaans is taking in Rehoboth.

(t) Conversations with teachers and parents have revealed that English is already spoken in a number of Afrikaans homes in Rehoboth and that younger children find education in English easier because their older siblings help them with their homework. Fig. 8.12 (p. 237) reports on the languages that the 2008 survey sample of 56 Afrikaans and 18 KKG Grade 11s said they *wish* to speak at home right now. Note the MT is spoken in all but one home: An Afrikaans learner from a pioneer Rehoboth clan said English is spoken in his home. As shown, only 14 (25%) of the Afrikaans group said they want to speak Afrikaans at home right now while 22 (39%) wanted English in this domain. The researcher believes that this is the most serious pointer to language shift in the list. De Klerk maintained (2000:92) that increased use of the second language in the domestic context is a sign of incipient shift. Some of her respondents spoke both Xhosa and English to their children while some spoke only English. Mesthrie noted (2007:140) that the effect of English education on the use of languages in Indian homes was felt towards the end of the 1950s. Previously children who learned English via primary education did not generally use

English in homes, but from the early 1960s onwards they began making it a language "familiar in the homes and neighbourhoods" and also started to use it with siblings (p. 137). Warning signs of an impending shift were children who began arriving in primary schools "with only a passive knowledge of an Indian language" and (p. 143) in 1964-65 when 45% of them gave English as home language and 95,6% claimed to speak it best (Maasdorp 1968).

(u) Afrikaans still rules in the emotional sphere but survey data (1996-2008) show English (and E/A switching) is increasing among Afrikaans Grade 11s. Haugen (1972, in Uhlenbeck 1993:26) drew attention to the language used for intimacy (solidarity, shared norms, friendship, love) while Lewis (1978:313) found a favourable emotional attachment to Welsh among children in contrast to a "realistic and unfavourable appraisal to the use of Welsh". This researcher believes that once a shift is made in the emotional sphere away from the mother tongue, turning back becomes unlikely. Most learners still pray in Afrikaans, though, which means English does not (yet) rule in this very private sphere. Threatened languages that are not successfully maintained between generations for use in the family, friendship, neighbourhood and community would "have no mother tongue speakers within one generation" who can use it for the more powerful functions of e.g. employment, higher education, mass media and government, warned Fishman (2001b:10-11).

9.4 Pointers towards language maintenance

Reasons for language maintenance in the wider Afrikaans community are seen in what follows. Basters are still a strong force in town and some of their characteristics could influence Afrikaans positively: stubbornness (as they themselves acknowledge), pragmatism, resilience, flexibility and a sense of self-irony. A tendency towards a religiously resigned approach to problems and biblical obedience to the powers that be among older members of the society could however counter-act the aforementioned.

(a) Language numbers as such form an uncertain measure of language security (Dorian 1998:13) but Rehoboth has been a stronghold of Afrikaans for almost a century and Afrikaans speakers, who are economically the strongest, still outnumber the speakers of the other language groups. Nama/Damaras, the second largest language group in town, are bilingual in Afrikaans and their MT. Afrikaans (44%) and Nama/Damara (44%) are still dominant in Southern Namibia. The distance between centres and size of the area, although the most sparsely populated, might help to slow down the decline of Afrikaans.

(b) Many Rehobothers are admired for their excellent Afrikaans. Young adults who were educated in Afrikaans up to 1990 still speak this excellent Afrikaans proudly.

(c) In the past 20 years the GRN tried turning Namibia into an English-speaking country and many Namibians took delight in learning and speaking English. The latter could have been a phase: When the researcher praised the English of a Baster librarian (in her late 30s) who works for a foreign embassy in Windhoek, she said: *Ek is óp vir Engels praat!* ("I am fed-up with speaking English!"). Switching to English remains an effort for many Afrikaans speakers. A woman (born 1942), who grew up in Rehoboth but studied at an English university in South Africa, admitted (p.c. 2006): "We were so happy at a workshop in Keetmanshoop when the American left because then we could carry on in Afrikaans."

(d) Afrikaans has seemingly lost some of its ideological Apartheid baggage and is an easy, "made in Africa" language to learn. According to Gretschel (1984:42) Afrikaans' vitality and flexibility and the fact that it developed on African soil make the language suitable to Namibia's inhabitants. An Oshiwambo carpenter (born 1968) spoke in fluent Afrikaans to the researcher for three weeks in 2005. He grew up and went to school in the North as one of 13 children. He knew no Afrikaans when he came to Windhoek in the late 1990s but soon "learnt it on the street". An Oshikwanyama nursing sister (born 1969) knew no Afrikaans when she arrived in Windhoek in 1991 but learnt it at college. She maintained (p.c. November 2008) that "the sound" of Afrikaans is close to her MT and Afrikaans was easy to learn because "written Afrikaans is much like spoken Afrikaans".

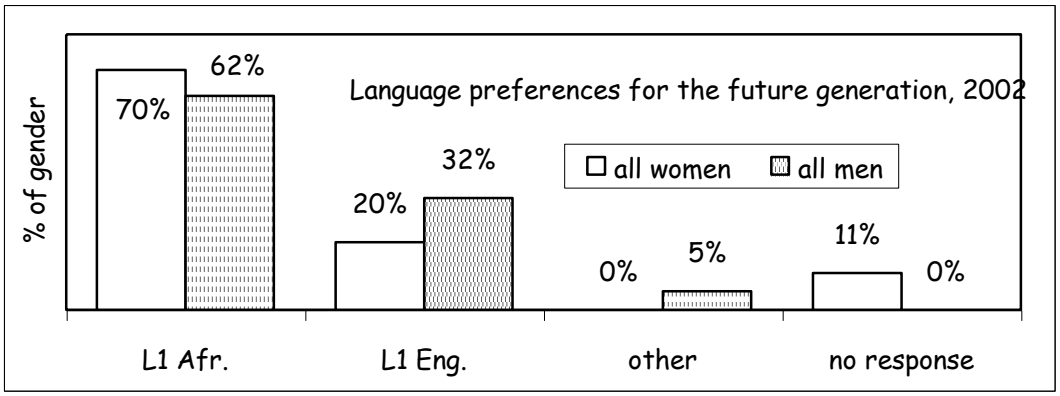
(e) "Filial piety" could act as a brake on Afrikaans loss in Rehoboth. The Basters knew hardly any English up to the late 1960s (Rhenish missionary Vollmer, interview 10 April 2001). Rehobothers who are now between 65 and 85 years and know little English, belong to extended families whose young members still speak Afrikaans to them.

(f) Rehoboth has had a predominantly Afrikaans community-radio station (Radio Live Fm) since 2002, which was started by three men as an extension of a school project. The station has "some 45 000 listeners of diverse language groups in a radius of 60 km and broadcasts seven days a week between 5:30 a.m. and 21:00 p.m." (P.c. radio announcer Morgan Schase, 9 July 2008). Because some 80% of the programmes are in Afrikaans (the rest are in English), Afrikaans is heard throughout the day in homes and business centres in and around Rehoboth. The programmes are of a religious nature until 9 a.m.

(g) In their definitions of culture and their descriptions of the culture of their family, Grade 11s from 1996 up to 2008 consistently used words and phrases that underline continuity and transmission – in contrast to their counterparts in the Northern Cape and Dutch students from Europe. The word "modern" was included for the first time by one learner in 2002 and two in 2008 in responses to these two questions. The teachers in the schools are still predominantly Afrikaans and although the MOI is English, it can be said that a basically rural, religious and Afrikaans ethos still prevails (p.c. principal, 2008).

(**h**) Adult women (n=56) and men (n=37) differed little in their daily use of Afrikaans (both 66%) and English (respectively 28% and 30%) and switching (6% and 4%) but as shown below more women than men wanted L1 Afrikaans for the next generation. Men were on average 32 years old and the women, 38 years. The researcher believes women's preference for L1 Afrikaans should be regarded as progressive in the current language environment of Namibia. Women head some 60% of Rehoboth households. Three generations are often found in such households: child, parent and grandparent(s). These households would provide continuity and thus slow down the loss of Afrikaans.

Fig. 9.2 More Rehoboth women than men want L1 Afrikaans for the next generation



9.5 Language choice and use of eight categories of MT Afrikaans speakers

The language use of the eight categories of questionnaire respondents shown in Fig. 9.3 (p. 252) is compared next. The "Windhoekers" and "Learners" switched most between English and Afrikaans and used the most English but could they influence the language behaviour of speakers in the other categories? Brenzinger noted (1997:277) that no languages die on account of individual shifts, e.g. by urban elites or communities in diaspora. Rehobothers are known for their sense of community and most of them have

extended families in the coastal region as well as southern and central Namibia – including Windhoek. This means that "Windhoekers", i.e. Afrikaans speakers who have moved from Rehoboth to Windhoek, *could* influence the language behaviour of their kin in Rehoboth. As far as the "Learners" are concerned: Some youngsters would leave Rehoboth to study or work elsewhere but an observation of Annamalai *et al.* (2001:315, in the context of Andamanese) should be heeded: "The sociolinguistic identity of ethnicity through language, though weak among the younger generation, seems to gain ground as the generation grows older and strengthens its ties with the community."

As shown above (p. 213), the "Clergyman" who switched the most between English and Afrikaans, is representative of young pro-English clergymen who were encountered in fieldwork. Their influence on the language behaviour of youngsters will outlast that of the "Teachers" with their high Afrikaans score of 72% - and highest average age of all: 45.1 years. The big difference between the language scores of the Rehoboth "Learners" and the "Northern Cape" ones could be due to the fact that the latter still had Afrikaans as MOI. The high score of 73% for Afrikaans of the "Commuters" was explained in context in Chapters 7 and 8. The researcher believes that Afrikaans' future vitality depends on the "Youth" and "Rehobothers". They fall in the middle of the eight categories with their Afrikaans scores of 60% and 68% and represent the widest spectrum of townspeople but it should be kept in mind that most of them had their education in Afrikaans in Rehoboth before 1992. The new generation of "Youth" and "Rehobothers" were taught in English.

The influence of residing in Rehoboth on the use of Afrikaans is shown below in the comparison of the language use and years spent in Rehoboth between the "Windhoekers", "Commuters" and "Rehobothers". As shown in Table 7.15 (p. 191) the Afrikaans count (66%) of new "Windhoekers" who had lived in Rehoboth for 80% of their lives was higher than the count (41%) of those who had lived in Rehoboth for only 43% of their lives.

Table 9.2 Language use of "Windhoekers" compared to "Commuters" and "Rehobothers"

	n	F	M	av. age	Rehoboth years as % of the total age	life	Eng.	Afr.	E/A
Windhoekers	12	8	4	43	53.1%	n.a.	50.0%	44.4%	5.6%
Commuters	22	11	11	40	80.8%	68%	24.3%	72.6%	2.9%
Rehobothers	29	14	15	36	83.7%	65%	25.6%	68.3%	5.9%

9.6 Final assessment of the future of MT Afrikaans in Rehoboth

At this point the likelihood is considered of a shift to English in the Afrikaans community of Rehoboth in terms of the following "probability scale": The International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was founded by the UN and the World Meteorological Organisation with a brief to study and report on the greenhouse gases and their effect on the climate. The IPCC published a first report in 1990 and in February 2007 its fourth one, 'Summary for Policymakers'. The latter report employs a distinctive scale for translating probabilities into ordinary language (Lanchester 2007:5): *Virtually certain* >99 per cent probability of occurrence, *Extremely likely* >95 per cent, *Very likely* >90 per cent, *Likely*> 66 per cent, *More likely than not* >50 per cent, *Unlikely* <33 per cent, *Very unlikely* <10 per cent, *Extremely unlikely* <5 per cent'.

The researcher's conclusion is *More likely than not* - >50 per cent.

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"To know the road ahead of you, ask those coming back." Nigerian proverb[1]

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Table 3.4 Selection of human development indicators of countries that are of interest to the current study (HDR 2003:237-316)

High development	HDI rank	poverty rank	population 2001	urban %	women in parliament	expected years[1]	under 15	plus 65	HIV/ AIDS	TB	malaria[2]	inequality index[3]
Iceland[4]	2	..[5]	0.3	92.6	34.9	79.8	23.2	11.6	0.15	2	..	..
Netherlands	5	4	16.0	89.6	33.3	78.3	18.4	13.7	0.21	3	..	32.6
Belgium	6	13	10.3	97.4	24.9	78.8	17.3	17.2	0.16	6	..	25.0
United States	7	17	288.0	77.4	14.0	77.1	21.7	12.3	0.61	2	..	40.8
Canada	8	12	31.0	78.9	23.6	79.3	18.7	12.7	0.31	3	..	31.5
Ireland	12	16	3.9	59.3	14.2	76.7	21.2	11.3	0.11	6	..	35.9
United Kingdom	13	15	58.9	89.5	17.1	77.9	18.9	15.9	0.10	5	..	36.0
Germany	18	6	82.3	87.7	31.4	78.3	15.4	16.7	0.10	5	..	38.2
Spain	19	9	40.9	77.8	26.6	79.1	14.4	16.9	0.50	14	..	32.5
Medium development												
Russian Fed.	63	..	144.9	72.9	6.4	66.8	17.2	12.8	0.90	93	1	45.6
South Africa	111	49	44.4	57.6	30.0	47.7	33.6	3.8	20.1	237	143	59.3
Namibia	124	62	1.9	31.4	21.4	44.3	43.2	3.7	22.5	221	1 502	70.7
Botswana	125	75	1.7	49.4	17.0	39.7	40.0	2.6	38.8	224	48 704	63.0
India	127	53	1,033.4	27.9	9.3	63.3	33.7	5.0	0.79	199	7	37.8
Low development												
Zimbabwe	145	90	12.8	36.0	10.0	33.1	43.5	3.4	33.73	291	5 410	56.8
Nigeria	152	54	117.8	44.8	3.3	51.5	44.8	3.1	5.80	196	30	50.6
Zambia	163	89	10.6	39.8	12.0	32.4	46.4	3.0	21.52	445	34 204	52.6
Angola	164	..	12.8	34.8	15.5	40.1	47.4	2.7	5.5	197	8 733	..

Note how Namibia's HDI rank compares to that of neighbouring South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola and how its urbanisation rate, life expectancy and population under 15 years compares to that of the countries classified as highly developed.

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[1] Estimates for 2000-2005

[2] TB and malaria rates per 100 000

[3] I.e. the Gini index that measures inequality over the entire distribution of income or consumption; a value of 0 represents perfect equality (p. 285).

[4] The "credit crunch" of 2008, triggered by a sub-lending crisis in the US, pushed Iceland to the brink of bankruptcy, causing its prime minister to say on air that the country should resort back to traditional banking practices – and traditional life styles (BBC World Service, October 2008).

[5] .. denotes "data not available" (2003:197)

Serving the Road User

IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO ALL VEHICLE OWNERS

Don't just stop paying annual car licence fees.
You remain liable to pay licence fees (and arrears and penalties, should you fail to relicense the vehicle on time) until you have done one of the following at your local Registering Authority:

1. you have deregistered the vehicle after the theft or permanent disablement (scrap) of your vehicle;
2. you have given **"Notice of Change of Ownership"** (giving details, signature and copy of buyer's ID) after you have sold the vehicle; or
3. you have given notice of export when you permanently take the vehicle out of Namibia.

The Registering Authority will not know about the theft, permanent disablement, sale or export of your vehicle unless you notify us on the appropriate form.

A vehicle that is temporarily unfit for use (undergoing repairs etc) must be relicensed when the old licence expires.

For more information contact your local Registering Authority (NaTIS office).

OTJIHERERO

OMBUZE ONAHEPERO KOVANAMATEMBA AVEHE

Ozuko kokusuta ombapira johauto joje uriri. Majekara omerizinira uoje okusuta ohauto joje ngandu tjiuatjiti tjimue tjaimbi pomberoo jo NaTIS Jopopezu:

1. Uso kuisako ohauto joje kondjira indu tjijavakua poo tjii ihena omaungurisiro mondjira rukuao;
2. Uso kujandja ondjivisiro kozomberoo tjiuarandisa poo tjimorandisa ohauto joje; poo
3. Uso kujandja ondjivisiro tjiwapitisa poo tjimopitisa ohauto mehi.

Omberoo jo NaTIS kamaaitjiua ohunga nourunga, ohauto tjijapiti mehi poo indi tjijaisameua mondjira indi ove tjiuhino kutjivisa.

Ombapira johauto indji olisensie iso kusutua omaiuva wain tjiiamanuka

AFRIKAANS

BELANGRIKE INLIGTING AAN ALLE VOERTUIG EIENAARS

Moet net nie die betaling van die jaarlikse lisensie fooie staak nie. Die motor voertuig eienaar bly verantwoordelik vir lisensie fooie (sowel as die boetes en agterstallige gelde, wanneer u versuim om u voertuig te herlisensieer op tyd) tot en met u een van die volgende gedoen het by u plaaslike registrasie owerheid:

1. U motor voertuig deregistreer (skrap) as die voertuig gesteel of permanent onpadwaardig geword het;
2. U kennis gee vir die verandering van eienaar (die besonderhede, handtekening en afskrif van nuwe eienaar se ID dokument) nadat die voertuig verkoop is, of
3. U kennis gee dat u die voertuig na 'n ander land uitvoer

KHOEKHOEGOWAB

#HÂ#HÂSA ≠AN≠ANS AUTO /ONKHOEN !AROMA

Ta sa autos di !nari ≠khanisa mataresa /ûs /guisa hî re. Matare //guiais ge nera !naga sao !aromatets di /oa-/oa hâ hîa /gui ra toa:

1. Sa autosats doaba xu xoa//nâ kai hâ, !naris tamas ka jo //o!aris khao !gâ
2. //Amaxu ≠an-≠an sats ga ma ≠ga ha i o, /asa /non-khoeb /ons ai daba !khunis !aroma (//ama-aob tamas ka i o aos di xoa !gaos, //gau//gausen ≠khanin di ≠habeb /kha); tamas ka i o
3. Tsî !huba xuts ta autosa ≠oa-u !khaes di ≠an-≠ans /kha.

Sa /kharib di NaTIS beros ge ≠an tide, sa autos di !narihes. //o-!aris, //amaxus tamas ka i o !huba xu ≠oa us xa, sats ga ≠an-≠an si tama i o.

Autos hîa !nubu //aeroba sîsen-û he tamas

theft or permanent disablement (scrap) of your vehicle;
2. you have given **"Notice of Change of Ownership"** (giving details, signature and copy of buyer's ID) after you have sold the vehicle; or
3. you have given notice of export when you permanently take the vehicle out of Namibia.

The Registering Authority will not know about the theft, permanent disablement, sale or export of your vehicle unless you notify us on the appropriate form.

A vehicle that is temporarily unfit for use (undergoing repairs etc) must be

OSHIWAMBO

ONKUNDANA YA SIMANA
KOOYENE YII HAUTO AYEHE MOSHIGWANA

Ino etha ashike oku futa ombapila (olisinisa) yo shihauto shoye. Owuna oshinakugwanithwa sho ku futa ombapila (olisinisa) yo shihauto shoye, niihohela mbjono hayi gwedhwako ngele wandopa okufuta pethimbo, ngele ino ninga iinima tayi landula ko mbelewa yo NaTIS mpoka wa shangitha oshihauto shoye.

1. Owa tseyithile ombelewa kutya oshihauto shoye oshayakwapo nenge ita shilongo we natu shi kuthe kopate
2. Owa tseyithile ombelewa kutya owa landithapo oshihauto shoye (to gandja uukwatya wa nakulanda, okopi yo ka mutse kanakulanda, nosho woo ofoloma ndjono tayi adhika kombelewa yo NaTIS, yina oku shayinwa ku nakulandapo oshihauto shoye; nenge
3. Owa tseyithile ombelewa kutya oshihauto shoye oweshi tembudhamo moshilongo, ano shaka kalelela pondje yo shilongo.

Ombelewa itayi shiwa kutya oshihauto shoye osha yakwapo, itashi longo we, oweshi landithapo nenge oweshi tembudhamo moshilongo ngele ino yi tseyithila. Toshi ningi pamukalo gwoo fooloma dhono hadhi udhithwa to dhi adha pombelewa kehe yo NaTIS moshilongo.

Oshihauto ngele osha yonuka ashike pakathimbo(ngele tashi pangelwa nosho tuu). ombaapila (olisinisa) yo shihauto shika oyina okufutwa ngele ndjoka onkulu oya kusha.

Kuuyelele wa gwedhwapo mona ombelwa yo NaTIS yili popepi nangoye.

RUKAVANGO

MAPUKURURO GOMULYO
KOVAWEKI MATUWA NAVENYE

Waha hageka tupu kufuta mfuto zankenye elima, zokufutira mbapira-pulisiro zetuwa. Ove to kara ngoroworo mekwamakwamo, mokufuta mfuto zombapira-pulisiro (ntani nomakongo, yimo tupu hena nomafutiso peke, nsene yipira kukutompoka mokufutira hena mbapira-pulisiro zetuwa nosiruwo) dogoro ngo ruganeko simwe soyo yina kukwamako, koVapulisili vEtjangeso momukunda goge.

1. Ono tjarura etjangeso lyetuwa lyoge, konyima zapa va li vaka, ndi nsene kwa zonauka eparu mudima;
2. Wa gava edidiliko "lyokusinta mwenya etuwa" (nokugava mapukururo nagenye, esayino ntani nefano lyosikupuro lyomurandi) konyima zapa wa randesa etuwa olyo; ndi;
3. Wa gava edidiliko lyokutwara ponze zosirongo eparu mudima, apa no twara etuwa ponze zaNamibia.

Vapulisi Etjangeso kapi ngava diva ko yuma yokuhamena widi, ezonauko lyokukarerera eparu mudima, erandeso ndi etwaro ponze zosirongo lyetuwa lyoge, ntudi noku ngoyi tu divisa poforoma zokuwapera.

Etuwa olyo lina pili kuwapera moku li ruganesa mosiruwo tupu sosisupi (eli vana kuwapaika, nayimwe hena ngoso) mbapira-pulisiro zalyo za hepa kuzifutira hena, apa ngali sika ezuva lyokuhulilira, lyombapira-pulisiro zonkurunkuru.

Mokugwana ko mapukururo gomanzi, gwanekera no Vapulisili vEtjangeso momukunda goge (mberewa zaNaTIS).

SILOZI

LIN'USA LA BUTOKWA
KWA BALUYI BA LIMOTIKALA

Musike mwa tuhela feela kulifa mitelo ya limotikala za mina ili yeo mulifanga ka silimo nisilimo, musa siata ni iikoloti hamoho cwalo ni lin'ambekelo haiba musa lifi ka bunako,haisi hase muezize ze latelela kwa ofisi ya mina ya man'olisezo a limotikala:

1. Mun'olise kuli hamusana motikala, kasamulaho aku uzwiwa kapa kusa se beliswa fa mukwakwa;
2. Semufile temuso ya kuli motikala haisali ya mina ka kufa ka butungi saino ni pampili ya buizibahazo ya muleki wa mina; kapa
3. Semufile temuso ya kuli motikala ya mina izwile mwa Namibia mi hai sa kuta

Ofisi ya mina ya man'olisezo haina kulemuha haiba motikala ya mina i uzwizwe, ishwelezi, ilekisizwe kapa ku zwisiwa mwa naha haiba musa ba lemusi ka kutazeleza ma pampili a filwe.

Motikala ye siyo swalelele fa mukwakwa yesa koni ku sebeliswa kapa yesa swelwi ku lukiswa, iswanela kulifelwa hape haiba mutelo wa yona se ufelile.

Haiba mutabela ku utwa ze kakutala mu buze kwa ofisi ya mina ya man'olisezo a limotikala.

DEUTSCH

WICHTIGE INFORMATION
FÜR ALLE
FAHRZEUGEIGENTÜMER

Bitte hören Sie nicht einfach mit dem Zahlen der jährlichen Autolizenz auf. Es bleibt Ihre Verantwortung, die Lizenzgebühren (und Spätgebühren und Bußgelder, sollten Sie es versäumen, die Lizenz rechtzeitig zu erneuern) zu zahlen bis Sie eins der folgenden bei Ihrer örtlichen Autozulassungsstelle gemacht haben:

1. Sie das Auto abgemeldet (deregistriert) haben nachdem es gestohlen oder permanent untauglich geworden ist;
2. Sie die "Notice of Change of Ownership" (mit Details, Unterschrift und Kopie des IDs des Käufers) [illegible] ita shilongo we natu shi kuthe kopate
2. Owa tseyithile ombelewa kutya owa landithapo oshihauto shoye (to gandja uukwatya wa nakulanda, okopi yo ka mutse kanakulanda, nosho woo ofoloma ndjono tayi adhika kombelewa yo NaTIS, yina oku shayinwa ku nakulandapo oshihauto shoye; nenge
3. Owa tseyithile ombelewa kutya oshihauto shoye oweshi tembudhamo moshilongo, ano shaka kalelela pondje yo shilongo.

Ombelewa itayi shiwa kutya oshihauto shoye osha yakwapo, itashi longo we, oweshi landithapo nenge oweshi tembudhamo moshilongo ngele ino yi tseyithila. Toshi ningi pamukalo gwoo fooloma dhono hadhi udhithwa to dhi adha pombelewa kehe yo NaTIS moshilongo.

Oshihauto ngele osha yonuka ashike pakathimbo(ngele tashi pangelwa nosho tuu). ombaapila (olisinisa) yo shihauto

SETSWANA

KITSISO YA BOTLHOKWA
GO BENG BOTLHE BA DIKOLOI

Se khutle fela ka go duela madi a ngwaga a koloi ya gago. E santse e le maikarabelo a gago go duela teseletso ya go kgwetsa (le melato, le dikatiholo, fa o palelwa go ntsahafatsa teseletso ya go kgweetsa ka nako) go fitlhela o dirile dingwe tsa tse di latelang kwa Balaodi jwa ikwadiso jwa selegae:

1. o tshwanaetse wa kwalolola koloi morago ga bogodu kana e senyegile gotlhelele;
2. o neetse "Kitsiso ya phetolo ya mang o moswa" (ka go neela dintlha, mosaeno le khopi ya sellankana sa Omang sa moreki) morago fa o sena go rekisa koloi, kana:
3. o setse o neetse kitsiso ya thomelo-ntle ka nako fa o ntsha koloi gotlhelele

konyima zapa va li vaka, ndi nsene kwa zonauka eparu mudima;
2. Wa gava edidiliko "lyokusinta mwenya etuwa" (nokugava mapukururo nagenye, esayino ntani nefano lyosikupuro lyomurandi) konyima zapa wa randesa etuwa olyo; ndi;
3. Wa gava edidiliko lyokutwara ponze zosirongo eparu mudima, apa no twara etuwa ponze zaNamibia.

Vapulisi Etjangeso kapi ngava diva ko yuma yokuhamena widi, ezonauko lyokukarerera eparu mudima, erandeso ndi etwaro ponze zosirongo lyetuwa lyoge, ntudi noku ngoyi tu divisa poforoma zokuwapera.

Etuwa olyo lina pili kuwapera moku li ruganesa mosiruwo tupu sosisupi (eli vana kuwapaika, nayimwe hena ngoso) mbapira-pulisiro zalyo za hepa kuzifutira hena, apa ngali sika ezuva lyokuhulilira, lyombapira-pulisiro zonkurunkuru.

REGISTERING AUTHORITIES

Mark	District	Tel number
AR	Aranos	063 272173
B	Bethanie	063 283044
EN	Eenhana	065 263092
GO	Gobabis	062 564116
G	Grootfontein	067 243101
KA	Karasburg	063 270032
KR	Karibib	064 550016
KM	Katima Mulilo	066 253117
K	Keetmanshoop	063 221246
KH	Khorixas	067 331886
L	Lüderitz	063 203885
MA	Maltahöhe	063 293048
M	Mariental	063 241363
OH	Okahandja	062 501051
OK	Okakarara	067 317084
OM	Omaruru	064 570028
ND	Ondangwa	065 240187

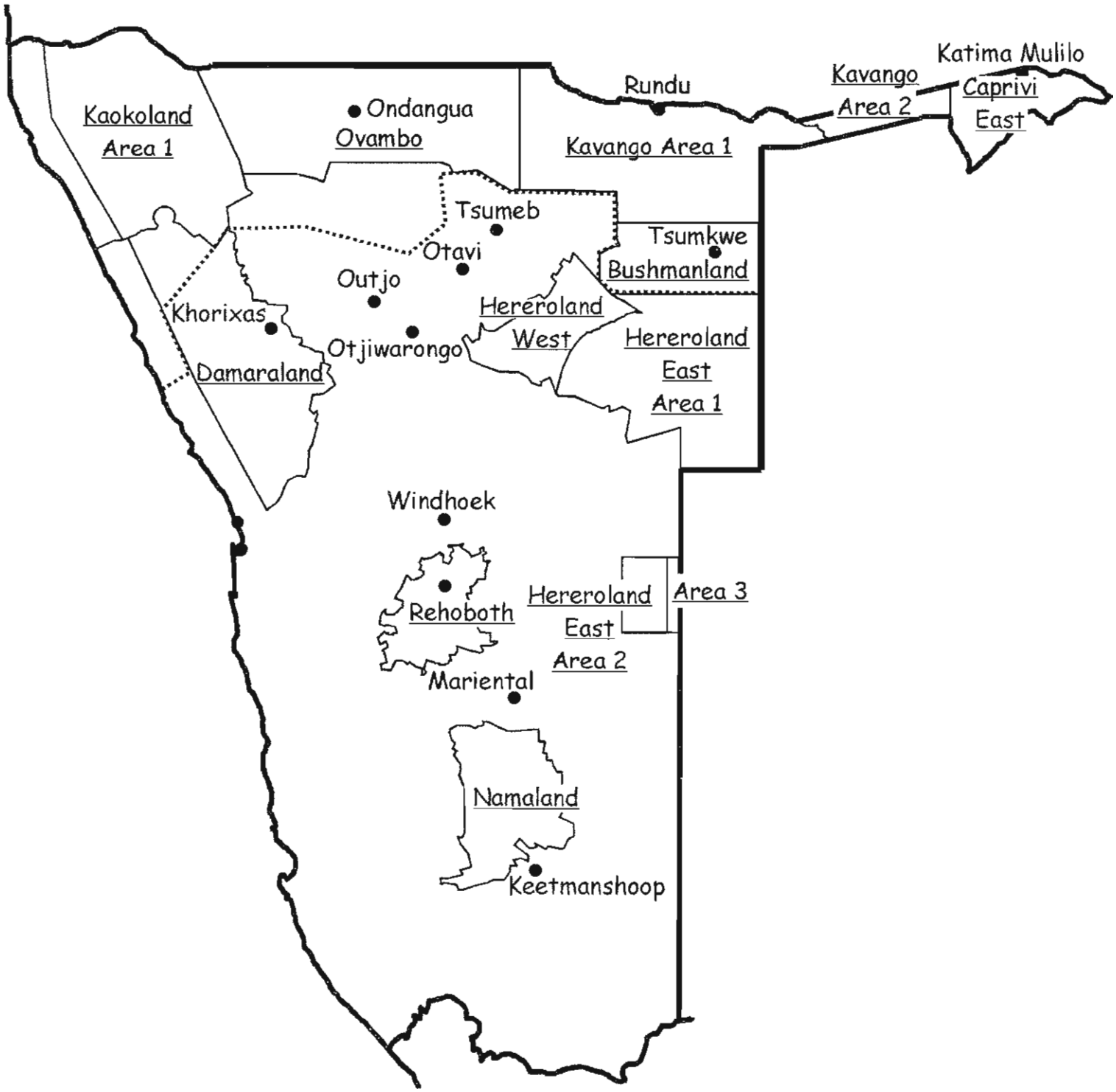
muleki wa mina; kapa
3. Semufile temuso ya kuli motikala ya mina izwile mwa Namibia mi hai sa kuta

Ofisi ya mina ya man'olisezo haina kulemuha haiba motikala ya mina i uzwizwe, ishwelezi, ilekisizwe kapa ku zwisiwa mwa naha haiba musa ba lemusi ka kutazeleza ma pampili a filwe.

Motikala ye siyo swalelele fa mukwakwa yesa koni ku sebeliswa kapa yesa swelwi ku lukiswa, iswanela kulifelwa hape haiba mutelo wa yona se ufelile.

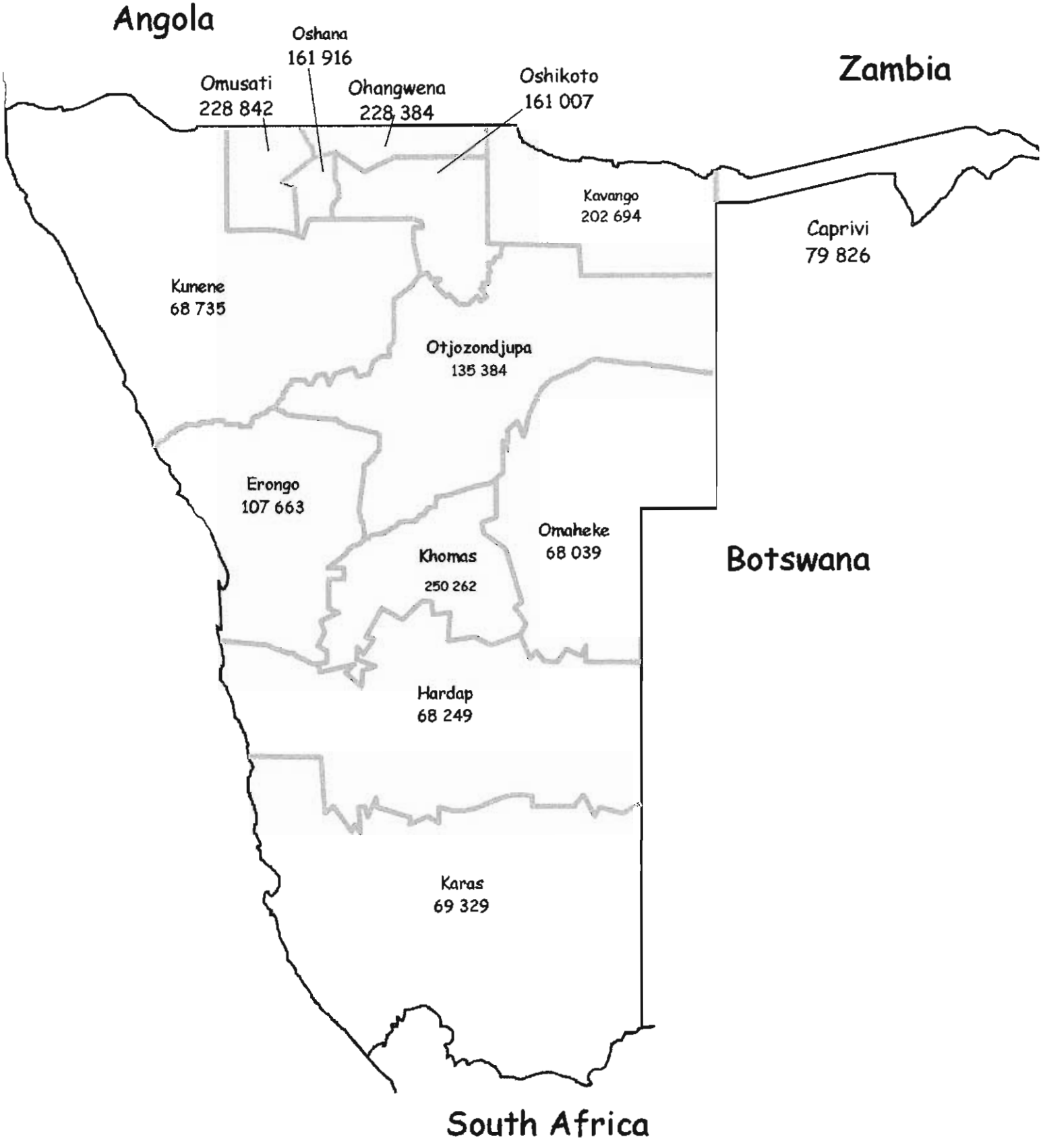
Haiba mutabela ku utwa ze kakutala mu buze kwa ofisi ya mina ya man'olisezo a limotikala.

Map 1 Odendaal



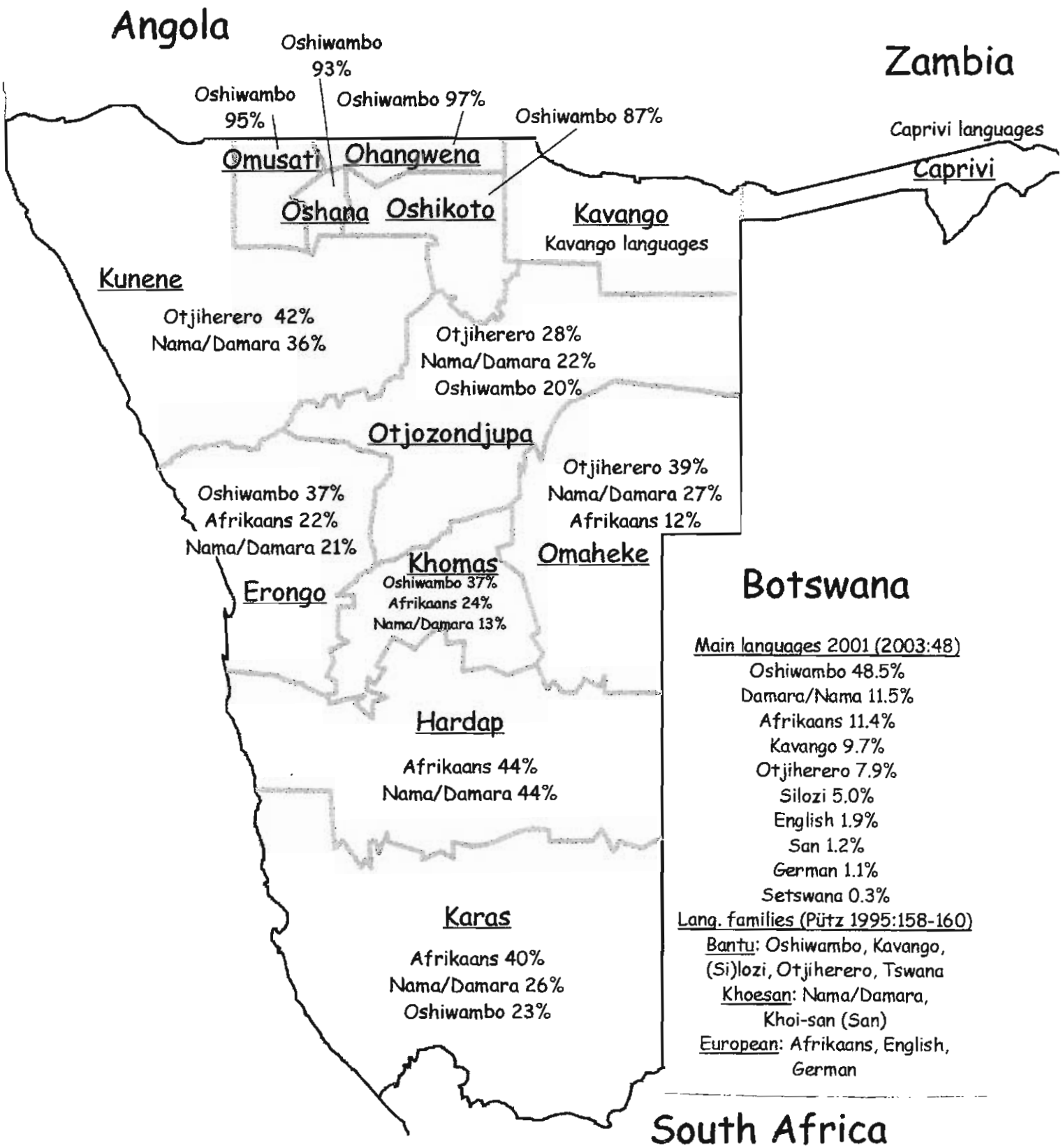
(Map: Kobus van Zyl 2006; data various sources)

Map 2 Density



(Map: Kobus van Zyl; data Census 2001)

Map 3 Spread of languages 2001



Main languages 2001 (2003:48)
Oshiwambo 48.5%
Damara/Nama 11.5%
Afrikaans 11.4%
Kavango 9.7%
Otjiherero 7.9%
Silozi 5.0%
English 1.9%
San 1.2%
German 1.1%
Setswana 0.3%

Lang. families (Pütz 1995:158-160)
Bantu: Oshiwambo, Kavango, (Si)lozi, Otjiherero, Tswana
Khoesan: Nama/Damara, Khoi-san (San)
European: Afrikaans, English, German

(Map: Kobus van Zyl; data Census 2001)

Fig. 4.1 Rehoboth listing in the SWA telephone directory of 1979/80 [1]

PRO TANTO (0658)

CONTINUOUS DEURLOPEND
BEDEKER AHF Okatjeru ... 1 7331
BURKHARDT M Klaver ... 1 7513
COETZEE CN Osonjiva ... 1 7603
CONRADIE NS Otutundu ... 1 7404
DE KLERK JC Otjinakul ... 1 7211
DIEKMANN FE Vaalwater ... 1 7631
ERASMUS JJ Colorado ... 1 7512
FARMVERWALTUNG Ostre - Sud ... 1 7330
HERBST SPC Aroma ... 1 7640
HONIBALL WJ Samoa ... 1 7222
HÖPKER L Ostre - S PS2016 Otjiwarango ... 1 7330
JAGAU Heinrich Ostre - S ... 1 7330
KEBBEL HHW Okawrumbika ... 1 7302
KOTZE JAB Hieromtrent ... 1 7312
KRONE F Wesselton ... 1 7522
LAKEMEIER KP Okatjituo ... 1 7402
LAKEMEIER S mev Otjikururume ... 1 7421
LEPEN JJ Laerplaas ... 1 7221
LEPEN WO Penwood ... 1 7540
MACK W Rugby ... 1 7432
MALAN NM Wagnog ... 1 7213
MANDT PEAW Ousema - S ... 1 7431
MEISSNER C Ostre N ... 1 7340
MITTEN JacobusS ... 1 7202
NIEUWOUDT GJ jnr Falmouth ... 1 7411
NIEUWOUDT GJ Falmouth ... 1 7440
POTGIETER JT Olympia ... 1 7503
PRETORIUS SAJ Tweedrag ... 1 7630
PRETORIUS W Tweedrag ... 1 7620
ROBBERTS A Roberts 401 ... 1 7231
ROBBERTS JPV NewMarket ... 1 7204
ROBBERTS PJ Doringboom ... 1 7212
RUCH Bernhard Endeka ... 1 7612
SAOLOWSKI M Okawikenga ... 1 7430
SONRADA PH Oubave ... 1 7304
STROETKER ARO Okawikenga ... 1 7413
VAN DER MERWE DPJ Colorado0 ... 1 7511
VAN DER MERWE JM Corrigenda ... 1 7611
VAN DER MERWE Paul de Welgeluk ... 1 7622
VAN DER MERWE PJ Welmer ... 1 7303
VAN DER WALT AdT Hoeveld ... 1 7240
VAN DER WALT JH Moravia ... 1 7502
VAN VUUREN PDR Saskatschewan ... 1 7322
VAN WYK AJ Dai - Papel ... 1 7621
VAN WYK JWA Fiegenfeld ... 1 7602
VENTER JP jr Langverwag ... 1 7203
VENTER JP Vrede ... 1 7531
VISHER HA BurgKeller ... 1 7321
WILCKENS R OtdekarembaN ... 1 7403
ZWEIGER F Ondiri ... 1 7520

PROSIT (0658)

CONTINUOUS DEURLOPEND
BOTHA Leo Smalstreep ... 1 6740
BOTHA LeonA Smalstreep ... 1 6740
BRIEDENHANN Timo Transvaal 188 ... 1 6303
BURKHARDT M Omihe ... 1 6421
CASPARY HN Gravelotte ... 1 6231
COETZEE JS Okosonkuto W ... 1 6730
DEDIG R MonDesir ... 1 6430
DEDIG W Miershoop Bus593 ... 1 6403
DE WET P Omaka ... 1 6703
FARMVERWALTUNG GrossOzombutu ... 1 6311
GEURTSE WH Amperdaar ... 1 6230
GRENSING R Omusema - Uarei ... 1 6401
HAENZEL KH Sukses - N ... 1 6422
HÄNICHE D Selbourne Bus190 ... 1 6411
HANJCKE D Selbourne ... 1 6411
HENNING JM Etjo - S ... 1 6713
HENTZEN AAG te Wewelsburg ... 1 6213
HENTZEN LFF Ozombutu - N ... 1 6321
HOENCK FW Mrs Neu - Kluvensiek ... 1 6522
HOENCK HJU Otjiku ... 1 6240
KOEHLER Martin Doornkom Box613 Otji - warongo ... 1 6531
KOEHLER P Steenboksvlakte Box321 Otji - warongo ... 1 6513
KRÖNKE HLC Ousema - N ... 1 6503
LOUW AJ Havana ... 1 6521
LOUW HJKobus Maranata ... 1 6413
LOUW JEPN Vastrap ... 1 6202
LOUW WDB Heidewg ... 1 6232
MCLOUD Mac Utrecht 183 ... 1 6511
MEYER ML Fr Evere ... 1 6512
NAUDE SD Omatako ... 1 6722
NUWE WESTELIKE ONTWIKKELINGSMPY. Erindi Omaue ... 1 6402
OPPERMAN LJC Okateitei ... 1 6412
OTTE AM Mrs Selborne ... 1 6412
PRETORIUS WS dr Otjitua ... 1 6440
SCHMIDT AEL Ongurukena ... 1 6212
STOMAN WG Okozongutu ... 1 6712
STRAUSS HCN Cornwell ... 1 6540
SUKSES HOTEL ... 1 6302
VON OPPEN W Bernadette ... 1 6313
WILCKENS WCM Dirs Ongangasemba Box35 Kalkfeld ... 1 6711
WOEST JB Sukses ... 1 6312
WOORTMAN GWO OmatakaVw ... 1 6211

REHOBOTH (06272)

CONTINUOUS DEURLOPEND
ADAMS LT Perseel 565 ... 156
ADMINISTRASIE VAN REHOBOTH ... 171
Dr Lemmer Hoërskool ... 46
Koshuis ... 23
Junior Sekondêre Skool ... 105
Kliniek ... 126
Landdrs ... 4
61
AFRICA BenjaminJ Dr Med Practnr Box2 ... 9
ALBERTS HM Plaisand ... 1302
BARCLAYS NATIONAL BANK LTD MainSt ... 50
BARCLAYS - NASIONALE BANK BPK Hoofstr ... 50
BASSON L Perseel 707 ... 157
BAYER FW AroamsSuid ... 1522
BAYER H Aroams ... 1530
BENZ JL Wyodraal ... 1612
BENZ P Vrederust ... 1621
BERTOLINI C Uitvlug ... 1204
BERTOLINI O Kamanis ... 1223
BEUKES A Perseel 522 ... 28
BEUKES B Uitdraai0os ... 1613
BEUKES MichaelJ Bus120 ... 116
BEUKES RG Bus14 ... 78
BEUKES S Korchas ... 1240
BOCK H Bus146 ... 120
BOK W Karee Boomviel ... 1402
CASH MARKET ... 44
CHARLES JJ ... 113
CHRIST DE Khpvley ... 1440
CHRISTIAANS AA Kanichab ... 1602
CHRISTIAANS JC Splitskop ... 1503
CHRISTIANS RC Bus26 ... 11

CLOETE CC ... 117
CLOETE J ... 106
CLOETE Paul ... 66
COLOURED RELATIONS & REHOBOTH AFFAIRS Primary School ... 107
DE BEER GD ... 149
DE LA RAY Mark Bahnhofstr ... 152
DEMOKRATIESE TURNHALLE ALLIANSIE ... 93
Perseel 50
DENTLINGER B Erf 279 ... 60
DENTLINGER O Naus ... 1521
DENTLINGER H KwartelWes ... 1512
DENTLINGER H Tierkolkies ... 1502
DENTLINGER J Awasab ... 1211
DE WET GERHARD: sien onder Dordabissentrale
DE WET L L: sien onder Dordabissentrale
DIANNEWINKEL Bus210 ... 17
DICKS CL Swartkoppies ... 1421
DIERGAARDT M Kojeka ... 1221
DIERGAARDT Matheus KamKam ... 1220
DIERGAARDT Matheus KamKam ... 1222
DOLFYN FISH & CHIPS ... 101
DRAGGENDER AA ... 77
DROTSKY CE Bahnhofstr ... 80
ECHO RESTAURANT ... 52
EIMAN AJ Atsigas ... 1622
ESTERHUIZEN C RivierSlagtery ... 1340
ESTERHUIZEN OS ... 122
EVANGELIESE LUTHERSE KERK IN SWA Pastorie Bus4 ... 14
Hospitaal Bus6 ... 10
FERREIRA JBR Box74 ... 59
FREDERICKS CR Box94 ... 83
FREYGANG KJ ... 146
GEBIETS DRANKWINKEL ... 56
GILLE F Hamis ... 1430
GOLDEN STAR RESTAURANT ... 53
HANSSTEIN M ... 43
HASSELMANN JJ Perseel 123 ... 112
HENCKERT OC ... 135
HEUNIS WA ... 17
HUSSELMANN PM Perseel 994 ... 155
I CLOETE & KIE (EDMS) BPK Bus137 ... 54
IZAKS Naughty ... 121
JACKO SUPERMARKET ... 68
JANSKOFSKI A Noukomob ... 1413
JANTJIES Jonas Ysterwre Bahnhofstr ... 24
JANUARY HJB Uitval ... 1312
JARMANN AG Erf 973 ... 154
JARMEN T ... 127
JOHR O Dubis ... 1412
KANOBIB SKOOLHOOF Kanobiaski ... 1113
KAROO LEWENDE HAWE BPK ... 144
KATJIMUNE T Vaalhoek ... 1321
KINNEAR WA ... 132
KLAZEN JOSEPH BAKERY ... 25
KLEIN WJ ... 129
KLEURLINGBETREKKINGS & REHOBOTH AANGELEENTHEDE Laerskool ... 107
KONTANTWINKEL ... 48
KOOPMAN GS Bus159 ... 137
KOOPMANS WINKEL Koopmansrus ... 1112
... 1104
LANDBOU - TEGNIESE DIENSTE Staatsweerits ... 29
LANDDROS ... 4
61
LEHMANN AF ... 130
LEHMANN E ... 147
LOUW Allen ... 20
LOUW PG Welkom ... 1630
LUDWIG NR Bus22 ... 22
MAGISTRATE ... 4
61
MALL JH Erf 10 ... 1
MATHEUS Gille Mooiloof ... 1122
MCNAB JCE Rochelle ... 1411
METHODIST CHURCH OF SA Box21 ... 18
METHODISTE LAERSKOOL ... 153
MORKEL KF ... 76
MOUERS Jacobus Bus138 ... 136
MOUTON JJC Republiekwg ... 72
NACK SA Bus81 ... 133
NACK SE NarrisNoord ... 1311
NAMACHA SERVICE STATION Box12 ... 123
NASIONALE SLAGHUIS ... 27
NATIONAL CAFE Stand 80 ... 39
OCKHUIZEN J ... 69
OCKHUIZEN T Wortel 54 ... 1111
OLIVIER CA Doornboom ... 1513
OLIVIER CA Neels ... 143
OLIVIER CD Dolf Bus95 ... 71
OLIVIER H ... 119
OLIVIER H Duruchas ... 1303
OMOEGA GROENTEWINKEL ... 60
PEP STORES PENINSULA LTD ... 170
PHILANDER H Koichas ... 1203
PLATT JR KanobibGeluk ... 1140
POLICE ... 3
POLISIE ... 3
POSKANTOOR
Posmeester ... 100
Fonogramme ... 15
Navrae ... 90
Tegnikus ... 200
POST OFFICE
Postmaster ... 100
Enquiries ... 90
Fonograms ... 15
Technician ... 200
PRETOLISTORE ... 166
PRETORIUS WA ... 51
REHOBOTH BELEGGINGS & ONTWIKKELINGS KORP BPK ... 74
REHOBOTH BOOKMAKER SERVICE Perseel 121 ... 169
REHOBOTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH ... 70
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WELMAN JJ MarienhofSuid ... 1511
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WOHLER F Kanobib ... 1132
WORTEL STOOR Wortel 257 ... 1130

REHOBOTHSTASIE

MON - FRI 0830 - 1400 SAT 0800 - 1200 MA - VR 0830 - 1300,1400 - 1700 SA 0800 - 1200

†Through to Windhoek when Rehobothsta closed

†Deur na Windhoek as Rehobothsta gesluit is
ADAMS CA Bus571 ... 710
BAHNHOF GARAGE ... 630
BEETON Willie Bahnhofhtl ... †610
DENK KH Mooiplaas Bus576 ... †510
GOEDKOOP SLAGHUIS ... 580
HOTEL BAHNHOF ... †550
KINNEAR WA ... 600
POSKANTOOR Fonogramme ... 780
POST OFFICE Phonograms ... 780
REHOBOTH STORE Box510 ... 530
RIETZ P Kafee ... †590
S A RAILWAYS ... 520
S A SPOORWEE ... 520
SMIT IJ Spoorwegbs 13 ... †620

RIO COPPER

MON - FRI 0830 - 1300,1400 - 1700 MA - VR 0830 - 1300,1400 - 1700
RIO TINO EXPLORATION (PTY) LTD ... 1

ROSH PINAH (063342)

MON - SAT 0800 - 1300 1400 - 2000 SUN & HOL 0900 - 1000 1700 - 1800 MA - SA 0800 - 1300 1400 - 2000 SO & VAK 0900 - 1000 1700 - 1800

†Through to Keetmanshoop when Rosh Pinah closed

†Deur na Keetmanshoop as Rosh Pinah gesluit is
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BRUWER Don Perseel 36 ... 47
BURGER BF ... 37
BURGER FM Huis 53 ... 79
BUYS BR ... †16
COETZEE ES ... †19
COETZEE JJP ... 18
COETZEE TJ Huis 32 Bus69 ... 45
COETZEE WB Huis 72 ... 59
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[1] According to Namibian census returns of 1981, Rehoboth had some 30 000 inhabitants at the time. As shown above, the town had only 180 telephone lines in 1979/1980. Some 130 of them were private numbers - including those of two Baster medical practicioners, Drs B.J. Africa and F.F. Stellmacher. Van Wyk was the most numerous surname in the Rehoboth directory listing - like today (2010).

- 'Ouma Sara' columns in *Die Spioen*

A. *Die Spioen* (14.9.2001:6)

Ouma Sara aan die woord

1. Dagsê my kjinners
2. Ja my kjinners die jaar staan iende se
3. kant toe en nog had ons nêks ien
4. Report gadoen nie. Daar es nou so 'n
5. streiery by die museum en alles kom
6. mar net nie reg nie. Baieste
7. verkragtêngs kom ien die land voor en
8. minse wêl maar net die hôr nie. Minse
9. kom ons krie word ons reg en los herie
10. dênge waarmee ons besêg es. Jêlle
11. sien wat gabeur ien anner lande, nou
12. wie es ons dat dêt nie ok met ons
13. gabeur nie. Dan kom ek by die ienste
14. dêng en dês or daai antietjies wat tog
15. so graag ien Roosters gaan "suip".
16. Eko! es daar geen meer respek ien
17. jêlle. Jêlle sien hoe es die jeug van
18. vandag dan wêl jêlle nog met sielke
19. "stront" staan. Gadra assemblief vêr
20. jêlle en wees soos groot minse. Dan
21. assemblief jêlle by die koerante
22. skriewe tog ien plein Afrikaans or wat
23. ien hierie dorp en elders aangaan,
24. moenie sielke hoge woorde gabriek nie.
25. Vêr wie probeer jêlle beiendriek.
26. Nogal nie vir my nie. Daai Wiendoekse
27. koerante skriewe hoeka so hoog
28. Afrikaans. Alles van die beste.
29. Groetnês tot 'n volgende kjeer.
30. Jêlle altied liefhebbende Ouma Sara

A. *Die Spioen* (14.9.2001:6)

"Ouma Sara speaking

Hallo my children
Yes my children the year is drawing to an
end and we haven't done anything about
Report yet. There is now such
strife at the museum and things
simply won't work out. Many
rapes are occurring in the country and
people simply won't listen. People
let us pull together and leave these
things with which we are busy. You
see what happens in other countries,
so who are we that it cannot also
happen to us. I want to raise another matter
and that is those aunties who
like to 'booze' so much at Roosters.
Listen here! Do you have no respect
left. You see what the youth is like
today and then you continue with such
'bullshit'. Please behave
yourselves and be like adults. Then
please you people at the newspapers
write in plain Afrikaans about what
is happening in this town and elsewhere,
don't use such high words.
Who are you trying to impress.
Not me. Those Windhoek
newspapers anyway write such high
Afrikaans. All of the best.
Greetings until next time.
Your ever loving Ouma Sara."

B. *Die Spioen* (9.7.2004:6)

Ouma Sara aan die woord

Dagsê my eikende kjinners
My kjinners es jêlle ouma darem nie
blie or hierrie "daagga gatté" wat so
vasgevat word. Ja, hêlle dênk mos
hêlle kan maak soos hêlle wêl. Hêlle wêl
mos ons kjinners se lewens verwoes. Ek
hoop hêlle word met wortél en tak iet
garoei, want hêlle es net 'n sliegté
ienvloed vir ons kjinners. En my
kjinners jêlle wat so maklik daai dagga
gebruik: Eko! dênk aan jou toekoms, hy
es hoeka ien sy "moer" ien, probeer om
nou die laaste spinnedradé bymakaar
te hark en jou lewe beter té lewe. Dês
nie anner minse wat die skield gegjee
sal word nie, maar minse sal sê dat jy
daarvoor gasoek had. Kom ek sê vêr
jêlle, jêlle es sommar "plien commin"
soos baieste minse prat. My kjinners
ek wêl afsliet met die woorde: "Hou
julle iet die 'kak' iet dan sal jy nie ten
grondé gaan nie."
Groetnês van jêlle eikende Ouma Sara.

B. *Die Spioen* (9.7.2004:6)

"Ouma Sara speaking

Hallo my own children
My children your ouma is
glad about these 'dagga smokers'
who have been dealt with. They think
that they can do what they like. They
want to destroy the life of our children. I
hope they will be
exterminated because they are a bad
influence on our children. And my
children you who so easily use dagga:
Listen! think of your future, which
has anyway gone to blazes, try
to gather the last cobweb strands
and live better. Other
people will not be blamed,
but people will say that you
were looking for it. Let me tell
you, you are 'simply common'
like many people say. My children
I want to close with the words: 'Keep
out of the "shit" then you
will not go to ruin.'
Greetings from your own Ouma Sara."

Remainder of REHOBOTH DORPSGROND No. 302
Remainder of REHOBOTH DORPSGROND No. 302
Remainder of REHOBOTH DORPSGROND No. 302
Remainder of REHOBOTH DORPSGROND No. 302
Remainder of REHOBOTH DORPSGROND No. 302
Remainder of REHOBOTH DORPSGROND No. 302

Lilja Shatika – Oshiwambo

I appreciate the uniqueness of the Oshiwambo culture as well as our history. I also appreciate the manner in which we get our food which is through hard work and our way of life which shapes us. Our culture is just dynamic and nice.

Brumelda Huslund #Eixas – Damara

I appreciate the fact that we are a true Namibian culture, the way we dance, our traditional wear which shows that we are proud of our culture. We Damaras believe in traditional healing which is also something I appreciate. Damaras are one of the traditions that have a strong religion which makes us more prosperous and everything we do, we do according to God's will. I am proud to be a Damara because I am a ǂNisa Damara from Khorixas.

• Selma Shipanga

Our cultures and traditions shape us. They determine our behaviour to certain things and play a big role in what we say, eat. celebrate and do at certain times or on certain occasions. At times, our cultures even determine the type of careers we venture into.

The Polytechnic of Namibia last week celebrated its Annual Cultural Festival which saw both students and lecturers putting on their finest traditional dress and indulging in their different traditional cuisines.

-The Youthpaper took to campus to find out what the different students appreciated the most about their cultures. Here's what they had to say:

Winnie !Nanuses – Damara

I appreciate our way of dressing because it is different from all the other cultures. ! appreciate our food such as the donkey meat and our language.

Jackson Tjirera – Herero

What I appreciate the most is the way we Hereros behave, we are taught to behave according to certain traits, for example to respect our elders and also to mind the language we use when talking to elders.

We are also taught to carefully choose our words so that our language is always accepted in the community. Another aspect I appreciate is the fact that our parents talk to us about our ancestors and what they have fought for to ensure we live in freedom today.

Olivia Louw – Baster

I appreciate the pride that we have to be called Basters. We are not coloureds, we are Basters from Baster land which is Rehoboth. They appreciate Sam Kubis, a day we Basters celebrate on May 8 every year which is part of our history, where we celebrate our forefathers. I appreciate the fact that we Basters are a close-knit community and we very much believe in togetherness.

Bianca Basson – Herero

I appreciate the fact that we are very much proud of our culture and when we wear our traditional attire, we wear it with pride and we always look good. Our traditional attire is always

Fenni Hamukwaya – Oshiwambo

What I appreciate the most is our traditional food such as the mopane worms and the marathon chicken.

and our way of life which shapes us. Our culture is just dynamic and nice.

• Selma Shipanga

Our cultures and traditions shape us. They determine our behaviour to certain things and play a big role in what we say, eat. celebrate and do at certain times or on certain occasions. At times, our cultures even determine the type of careers we venture into.

The Polytechnic of Namibia last week celebrated its Annual Cultural Festival which saw both students and lecturers putting on their finest traditional dress and indulging in their different traditional cuisines.

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us more prosperous and everything we do, we do according to God's will. I am proud to be a Damara because I am a ǂNisa Damara from Khorixas.

Winnie !Nanuses – Damara

I appreciate our way of dressing because it is different from all the other cultures. ! appreciate our food such as the donkey meat and our language.

Olivia Louw – Baster

I appreciate the pride that we

Jackson Tjirera – Herero

What I appreciate the most is the way we Hereros behave, we

Table 8.12 Comparison between Teachers and Learners with regard to ideas for the improvement of Rehoboth, 2002

Teachers				Learners			
age	Rh. stay	Improve Rehoboth?	What can you do?	age	Rh. stay	Improve Rehoboth?	What can you do?
23	23	tar roads	launch cleaning project	18	4	to keep the place clean	more shops, clean place
43	30	roads, more shops	church, better education for the next generation	16	16	housing	nothing without money
48	35	tar roads	help with development	16	5	roads	to keep it clean
45	45	improve cultural differences, poor people	educate people to accept and bridge differences	18	18	change streets, more jobs	treat each other with love and care
41	41	more investors from outside	give classes to the unskilled and women	17	17	cleaning projects	pick up papers on way to the shop
41	17	streets	pay water and electricity accounts, vote, clean town	18	4	improve water meters	pay water accounts
53	18	roads	become involved	16	16	tar roads	projects, collect money
57	57	roads	I have done what I could[6]	17			
49	20	tar roads, business	help educate street children	16	13	do more for Rehoboth	help by doing projects
47	27	tar roads	help where I may be needed	17	17	recreation, tar roads	help police, stop abuse
42		tar road, develop Rh.		17	17	tar roads, hosp., business	maybe stop drugs
53	53	infrastructure like roads, etc.	co-operate with people who matter	16	16	roads, housing	help money, plants, clean town
43	12	tar roads, factories, work, police	internal co-operation with people in high places	16	4	roads, prettier houses	help clean town, pick up papers
39	39	education, infrastructure	forget language, start community projects	18	1	street lights, tar roads, stop streets	keep clean and neat for tourists

[6] A Rehoboth youth leader (aged 32) expressed similar sentiments in an interview (October 2002). He was disheartened by the indifference of the younger generation when he launched community projects like planting trees and providing more dustbins to clean up the town.

Table 8.13 Mini-profiles of Teachers (n=15) and their responses to questions relating to Basterness[7]

	age	Rh. stay	Block	Favourite food	How does one become Baster?	Like about Basters	Dislike about Basters	Basters losing something?
F	23	23	A	meat, bread	at birth	uniqueness	mother tongue dying	tradition
F	43	30	A	meat, bread	at birth	songs (*sang*)	manners, very unsocial	culture
F	48	35	A	meat (*braaivleis*)	by birth or marriage	hospitality	hard-headedness	old traditions, culture
F	45	45	A	meat, bread	birth in Rehoboth	culture	language	tradition
F	41	41	D	meat, meat products, pineapple	by birth or marriage	traditions, *braaivleis*	racism	tradition, Afrikaans
F	41	17	B	*braaivleis*	marriage, and stay in Rehoboth	hospitality	colloquial speech (*spreektaal*)	culture
F	53	18	D	vegetables, fruit	races (intermarriage)	a steadfast nation, proud of their culture		culture, values
M	57	57	F	meat	born	uniqueness	humility (*nederigheid*)	land, identity
F	49	20	A	meat, vegetables, fruit	when white marries any other Col. race	culture		identity
F	47	27	F	*braaivleis*	born in Rehoboth	culture		Afrikaans, which must now die
F	53	53	A		born in Rehoboth	culture		no
F	42			bread	at birth	they always have sympathy with each other		no
M	53	53	0	meat	birth	belief in the Heavenly Father, traditions	refractoriness (*wederstrewigheid*)	tradition, integrity
M	43	12	D	meat, bread, chicken, *potjiekos*	both parents Basters, proudly one[8]	traditions, togetherness, proud nation, friendly, helpful, work pride	vandalism, alcoholism, drugs, loitering	pride, Sam !Khubis promise, deep Christianity
M	39	39	A	*braaivleis*, bread, potato-salad	birth	Afrikaans, power of a language	young children without respect for adults	religion, language values

[7] Only one teacher wants L1 English for the next generation – the rest all prefer L1 Afrikaans.

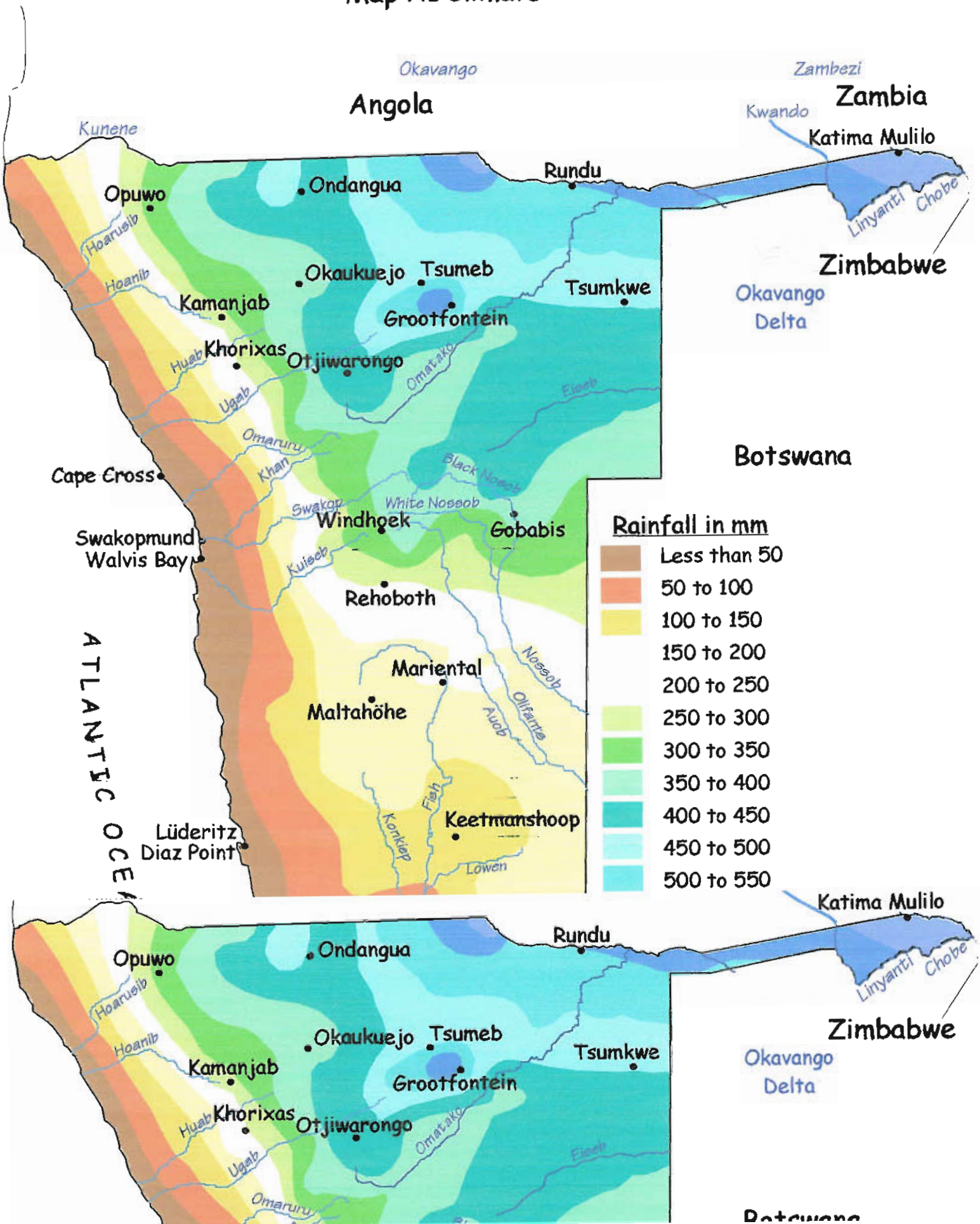
[8] This person's exact words were: "When both your parents are Basters. I am proud to be a Baster!"

Table 8.14 Mini-profiles of Learners (n=15) and their responses to questions relating to Basterness

	age	Rh. stay	Block	Future occupation	Favourite food	How does one become a Baster?	Like about Basters	Dislike about Basters	Basters losing something?	L1 child
F	18	4	A	air hostess	pizza	when you behave like a Baster	culture	manners	building up their country	Afr.
M	16	16	F	accountant	fast food	when different races have sex	skin colour	manners	Rehoboth	Eng.
F	18	18	A	accountant	meat	born Rehoboth, both parents Basters	nice tea and bread	drinking		Afr.
F	16	5	B	businesswoman	meat	live with one	culture	manners	nothing	Afr.
F	17	17	F	secretarial	chicken		traditions			Afr.
F	18	10	G	model	meat	lineage	manners			Eng.
F	17	17	A	priv. secretary	meat, bread					Afr.
F	17	0	B	accountant	macaroni	when you come from two races				Afr.
F	18	4	F	attorney	bread, eggs (*eier-smoortjie*)	born	friendliness	like to lie	nothing	Eng.
F	16	16	A	economist	braaivleis, salads	when two races combine	culture	manners	nothing	Afr.
F	16	13	F	teacher	meat, cooked food (*kookkos*)		culture	manners	manners towards other	Afr.
M	17	17	B	accountant	meat, vegetables	when 2 persons have sex, child is Baster	support each other	foul language	nothing	Eng.
M	17	17	B	accountant	meat, bread, milk	when a black woman, and white man marry	made Whk. what it is	suffer under other nations	nothing	Afr.
F	16	16	G	accountant	meat	lineage	manners	foul language		
F	16	4	G	hairdresser	meat, bread	mother and long stay in Rehoboth	stand up for each other	drinking, not good manners	their language Afrikaans	Eng.

i

Map A1 Climate



A. Sound-recorded interviews, 2000-2007 (birth dates in brackets; 3 Revds: A-C)					
	gen.	date	place	person	subject
1	M	9 May 2000	Sam !Khubis	J.T. Beukes (1888)	war veteran
2	W	10 May 2000	Windhoek	Dr Rose-Junius	Beukes-docs
3	W	8 June 2000	Windhoek	Mrs X (p. 178)	life-story
4	W	10 June 2000	Rehoboth museum	Mrs Beukes	exploratory
5	W	11 April 2001	Rehoboth	Mrs Olivier (1928)	life-story
6	M	2 June 2000	Rehoboth	Mr Beukes (1913)	life-story
7	W	29 March 2001	Khomasdal	Mrs Muller	teacher
8	W	29 March 2001	Khomasdal	Mrs Alexander	education
9	W	30 March 200	UNAM	Dr Lombard	Afrikaans
10	M	4 April 2001	Windhoek	Mr Gille (1925)	life-story
11-12	M	10, 11 April 2001	ELCA, Windhoek	Past. Vollmer (1918)	life-story
13	W	24 May 2001	Rehoboth	Dr Rose-Junius	cultural feast
14-15	W	May 2001	TUCSIN, Windhoek	Dr Sandelovsky	Rehoboth
17	W	9 May 2002	Rehoboth	Mrs Olivier	Baster history
18	M	7 June 2002	Rehoboth	Mr Feris (1922)	life-story
19	W	2 Sept. 2002	Windhoek	Business woman	Rh. commerce
20-21	M	2002, 2004	Rehoboth	Kaptein McNab	Baster history
22	M	13 Sept. 2002	Rehoboth	Revd A	religion, Rh.
23	M	21 Oct. 2002	Windhoek	Mr Koos Pretorius	politics
24	M	23 Oct, 2002	Windhoek	town planner	Rehoboth
25	W	28 Oct. 2002	Rehoboth	teacher	MOI
26	M	29 Oct. 2002	Rehoboth	principal	MOI
27	M	29 Oct. 2002	Rehoboth	Mr Metzler	Rehoboth
28	W	6 Nov. 2002	Rehoboth	Mrs Beukes (1922)	life-story
29	M	6 Nov. 2002	Rehoboth	Revd B	religion, Rh.
30	M	6 Nov. 2002	Rehoboth	Revd C	religion, Rh.
31	M	14 Nov. 2002	Windhoek	educator	Rehoboth
32	M	12 July 2007	Windhoek	"John"	Afrikaans
B. Sound-recorded lecture, meeting, play, auction, wedding 2000-2004					
1	W	Feb. 2000	Rehoboth museum	Limpricht	genealogy
2		4 May 2001	Rehoboth	community	pol. session
3		30 Aug. 2003	N.T.N. Windhoek	play (Majiedt)	Rh. history
4		30 July 2004	Rehoboth	Town Council	land auction
5	W/M	8 Aug. 2004	Rehoboth	Gille/Strauss	wedding
C. Video-recordings, 2000-2007					
1		7-8 May 2000	Sam !Khubis	commemoration	proceedings
2	M	2 June 2000	Rehoboth	Mr Beukes (1913)	life-story
3	W, W	10 June 2000	Rehoboth museum	two Baster cousins	trad. cooking
4	M	4 April 2001	Windhoek	Mr Gille (1925)	life-story
5	M	12 April 2001	ELC Archives	Past. Vollmer	life-story
6		24 May 2001	Rehoboth	Cultural festival	culture
7	M	10 June 2001	ELC Archives	Past. Pauly (1917)	life-story
8	M	30 Sept. 2002	Rehoboth	Kaptein McNab	Baster history
9	W	6 Nov. 2002	Rehoboth	Mrs Beukes (1922)	life-story
10	W	7 May 2005	Sam !Khubis	Dr Rose-Junius	key note address
11	M	12 July 2007	Windhoek	"John"	"Mooi Afrikaans"

2001 Namibian census (2003: Appendix B) - Code List 4: Language codes (Column D1)

Bushman Languages (Saan)

Kung

Heikum

Other bushman languages

Caprivi Languages

Lozi (Sikololo)

Sifwe

Sisubiya

Siyeyi (Yei)

Totela

Otjiherero Languages

Herero

Mbanderu

Herero n.e.c. (i.e. not elsewhere classified)

Kavango Languages

Rukwangali

Rushambyu

Rugciriku

Thimbukushu

Kavango n.e.c.

Nama/Damara Languages

Nama/Damara

Damara/Nama

Oshiwambo Languages

Kwanyama

Ndonga

Kwambi

Mbalantu

Ngendjera

Kwaluundhi

Kolonkhodi

Oshiwambo n.e.c.

Tswana Languages

Tswana

Afrikaans

Afrikaans

European Languages

German

English

French

Italian

Dutch

Portuguese

Other European Languages n.e.c.

Other African Languages

Xhosa

Zulu

Sotho

Swahili

Other African Languages n.e.c.

Other languages n.e.c.

Chinese, Arabic

Korean, Japanese

Malay

Exact wording and layout of the language questions in the 1991 and 2001 Namibian national census questionnaires

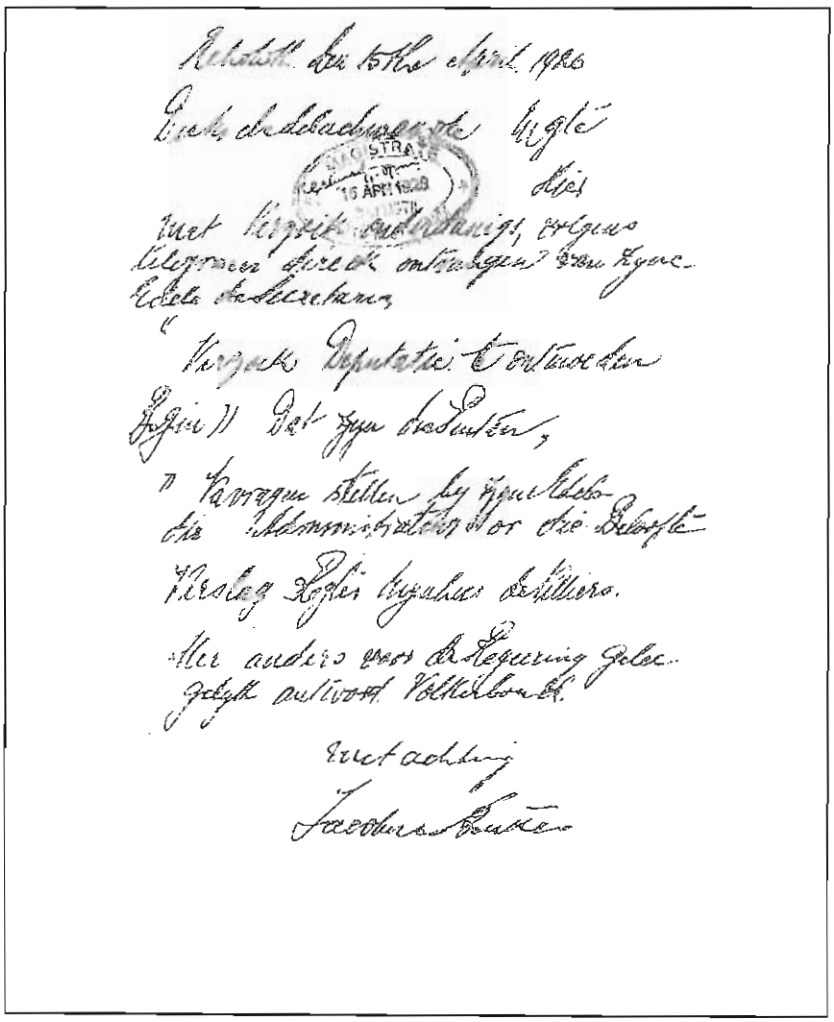
1991	**To be asked of all persons 6 years**		**2001**	**For persons aged 6 years and above (education)**
language spoken	literacy		G	D
What is the main language spoken by at home? (See language codes) A10 (2)	Can **read and write** in any language? 0 No Yes (See language codes) A11 (6)		What is the main language spoken in this household? (See language code list)	Can (name) write and read a message in any language? if No 00 if Yes. enter language codes from code list 4 99 Don't know

Table A1: Namibian education statistics (EMIS 2007) at a glance

2007: Total schools	**1661**	**State**	**Private**
Primary School	1 048	994	54
Combined School	428	399	29
Secondary School	176	160	16
Other	9	9	0
Total learners	**570 623**	**544 514**	**26 169**
Primary	409 508	392 117	17 391
Secondary	158 162	150 378	7 784
Other	2 953	1 959	994
Total teachers	**20 333**	**894**	**19 439**
Average learner: teacher ratio	**28.1**		
Teacher qualifications		**Without teacher training**	**With teacher training**
Less than Gr 12	1480	317	1 163
Gr 12 or 1-2 years' tertiary	3285	469	2 816
More than 2 years' tertiary	15 568	108	15 460
Total class rooms	**19 290**		
Permanent	16 518		
Prefabricated	1 171		
Traditional	1 420		
Hired	181		

Dutch letter of Jacobus Beukes on 15 April 1926 to the League of Nations

(source: NAN - SWAA A206/3)



Afrikaans letter of Jacobus Beukes on 23 January 1956 to the UN "Secretariat"

Hoogedele Stads Heer §

Ons is 'n klein kleur volkie ontrent /30, 000. Ons beskou ons self gering en onkundig onder die hoderne ontwikeling. Ons diepe wens en begeerte is om ons gerêtige en vettige eiendom te behou vir ons na komelinge onder die beskerming deur die Demokrasie. Dit is ons onderdanige bede. Sluit hierby met goie verwagting onder die Demokrasie,

Dienswillige Die Uwe,

Jacobus Beukes,

(Source: Jacobus Beukes-collection)

Breakdown of language situations "in and outside the classroom" in 1992 (Tangeni Erkana 1993:36-38) in the respective educational regions when MOI English was implemented.

Ondangwa: This region's lingua franca is Oshiwambo and it has some 229 000 learners. English and Oshiwambo are used in the classroom and outside, Oshiwambo.

Rundu: The region has some 43 000 learners and the languages spoken are Rugciriku, Rukwangali and Thimbukushu. Afrikaans is present but mainly in the business centre. Language use in class is supposedly Afrikaans and/or English but mostly it is the African language of the area. Afrikaans and English are virtually non-existent.

Katima Mulilo: The some 25 000 learners are taught only in English and Silozi, which is Zambian and not an indigenous Namibian language. The linguistic background of the learners is Sisubia, Chifwe, Chiyeyi, Chitotela and others. Silozi is the adopted MT of the learners. Language use in and outside the classroom is English and Silozi.

Khorixas: The language composition of the region's some 26 000 learners and the three levels are basically the same as Windhoek. Oshiwambo is virtually non-existent.

Windhoek: Almost all languages spoken in Namibia are found in this region with its some 84 000 learners. About 80% of the teachers were taught in Afrikaans and the rest in English, German and other European languages. The region has three levels:

1. City (1st world): Afrikaans, English or German is used in and outside classrooms.
2. Townships (3rd world): National languages are used and rarely any English.
3. Farms (3rd world): In class Afrikaans, English, KKG or Otjiherero. Outside class Afrikaans and English are non-existent.

Keetmanshoop: Most of the some 23 000 learners speak Afrikaans (the region's lingua franca) and KKG. There is a small number of German, English, Oshiwambo and Otjiherero learners. Since the teachers' education background is mainly Afrikaans, Afrikaans is used mostly in and outside the classroom. English is almost non-existent.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS - UNATIONS NEWYORK - ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

FILE NO.: TR 240

21 October 1959

Sir,

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 2 October 1959, enclosing a letter sent to you in September 1959 by the Secretary of South West Africa, and to inform you that these letters have been referred to the Committee on South West Africa for consideration.

Yours truly,

W.F. Cottrell

W.F. Cottrell
Acting Secretary
Committee on South West Africa

Mr. Jacobus Beukes
Post Box 46
Rehoboth
South West Africa

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

PAR AVION - VIA AIR MAIL

UNITED NATIONS OCT 21 8 PM 1959 NEW YORK

Mr. Jacobus Beukes
Post Box 46
Rehoboth
South West Africa

MAGISTRAAT,

REHOBOTH,

28 JULIE, 1926.

Menere,

In antwoord op 'n telegram deur julle aan die Sekretaris vir Suidwes Afrika gestuur en wat as volg lees:-

"Geliewe volgende teks aan Nations Geneva
"telegrafeeren (begin) Rechten gemeente noch in
"transfeer x Plydt onskuldig teekening overeen-
"komst ten 5 April uitslag op vooraf petitions
"niet ontvangen toestand donker bidt antwoord x
"Koste sal hier in betaal word",

is my opgedra julle meetedeel dat die Eerste Minister van mening is dat dit g'n goeie doel kan dien nie om julle telegram soos dit tans lees aan die Volkerebond te stuur daar men die inhoud nie sal begryp nie. Onderandere is dit nie duidelik wat julle met 'Rechten gemeente noch in transfeer en "plydt onskuldig teekening overeenkmost ten 5 April" bedoel nie. Julle refereer seker nie na die Rehoboth Ooreenkoms van 1923 nie daar dit op 17 Augustus geteken is.

As julle wens 'n telegram aan die Volkerebond te stuur dan moet die inhoud daarvan duidelik wees en liewer in Engels. Indien julle wil kan ek julle help met 'n telegram optetrek.

Ook moet ek daarop wys dat 'n antwoord op julle petisie aan die Volkerebond aan julle deur hierdie kantoor gestuur is gedurende November l.l.

Julle dienstwillige dienaar,

Burgers Jacobus Beukes
en andere,
REHOBOTH.

Ag. Magistraat.

Surnames of 23 Baster families gathered by Fischer in 1908 with extensions (in bold) by Lichtenecker in 1931 - followed by Baster surname data of Helmuth Hitzeroth of 1964/65 (Source: Cornelia Limpricht 2002:32):

1 Mouton (Rittmann)
2 Gertze
3 Koopman (Frieslar); **Hagen, Mögle, Erdmann, Wiese, Johr, Du Toit/Detoi**
4 Beukes; **Campbell, Lukas, Lembke, Philipps, Du Toit/Detoi**
5 Cloete; **Gerlach, Alcok, Freigang**
6 Diergaart (Diergaardt, Johrmann, Hochtritt, Rittmann, Mac Nap - McNab); **von Goldammer, Carew, Willmann, Lubas, Bezon, Wede**
7 Isaak; **Freigang, Vilander**
8 Wimmer (Gumpel)
9 Steenkamp (Breds - Britz, Bezuidenhoet, De Tooi, Philipps); **Jantze**
10 Morkel (Kubas, Eyman); **Carew, Rietmann, Swart, Dewald, Breds - Britz - Brits, Körner**
11 Van Wyk (Maasdorp, Beylefeld, Olivier, Eyman, Bezuidenhout, von Goldammer, Körner); **Smit, Brand, Benade**
12 Vries (Jossop)
13 Engelbrecht
14 Claasen (Klazen, Olivier, Campbell); **Klazen, Breds - Britz, Alcock, Christian**
15 Slenger; **Slinger, Campbell**
16 Bok; **Iberson**
17 Witboi (Dragoener, Bezuidenhout)
18 Orlam (Frey, Swart, Binar)
19 Vrey (Frey)
20 De Klerk (Paulse, Philipps); **Smit, Wilmore, Kaffer**
21 Benz (Smit, Skiper, Schabort); **Franks**
22 Schalkweyk
23 Cotzee (Kleyn - Kleen, Olivier, Brell)

A doctoral candidate Helmuth Hitzeroth tried to extend Fischer's genealogical studies in Rehoboth in 1964/65 but found it no longer viable. He changed his subject and gave his data to the Rehoboth Museum in 1996. (Farm names are followed by surnames. The ones in bold were new surnames that he found on farms.) Fischer, Lichtenecker (1931) and Hitzeroth gathered data from more than 5000 people (source Limpricht 2002:32).

Aroams: **Bayer, Bougard**, Carew, **Dentlinger, Delport, De Waal**, Olivier
Diergaardts Aub: Brand, Bruwer, Diergaardt, **Ferris**, Mouton, **Ross, Visser, Ukena**
Benoud: Beukes, Cloete, Diergaardt, Gertze, Morkel, Mouton, **Januarie**
Brakpan: Beukes, Bok, Louw, **Zwarts**
Duruchaus: Slenger, Van Wyk
Geelkop: De Klerk, Frieslar, Slenger, Van Wyk, Witbooi

Groendraai: Beukes, Cloete, Den Berg, Diergaardt, Engelbrecht, Louw, Mouton, Van Wyk,
Karnas: Beukes, Bock, Brand, Diergaardt, Dragoener, **Megitt (Magjiedt)**, Mouton, **Platt**, Van Wyk, **Zwarts**

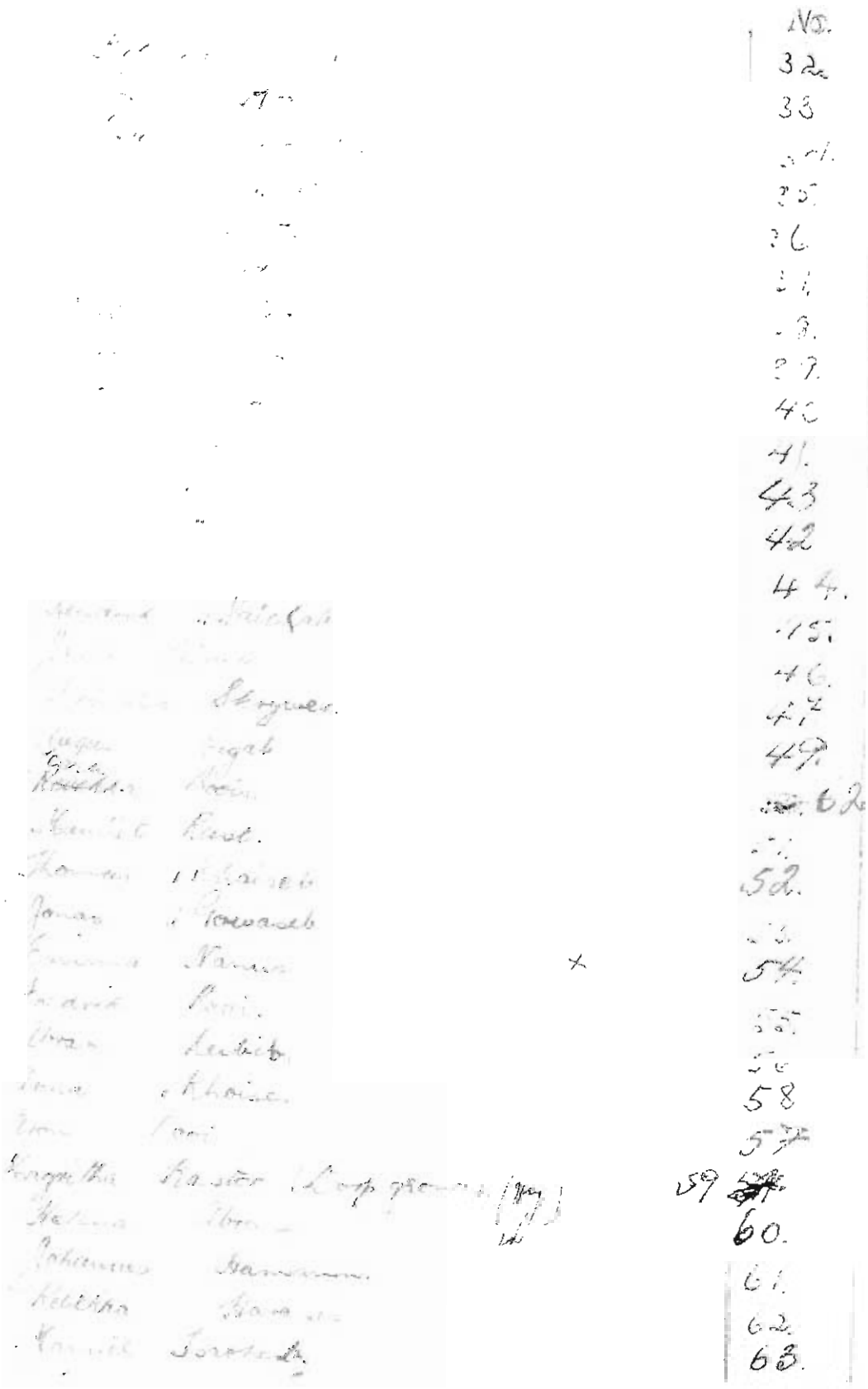
Kauchas:	Beukes, De Klerk, Diergaardt, Mouton, **Smit, Read**, Vries
Klipgat:	Cloete, De Klerk, Engelbrecht, Gertze, **Urion, van der Westhuizen**, Vries,
Zwarts Kwakwas:	Beukes, **Buis**, Cloete, **Davids**, Diergaardt, **Hansen, Hesselmann (Husselmann)**, Isaak, **Jansen, Kahmann, Kisting**, Morkel, **Ockhuizen, Smit, Willmore**, Van Wyk, **Zwarts**
Kobos:	Beukes, Bezuidenhout, **Christiaans**, Coetzee, **Jansen, Lukas, Oerson, Annis, Angermund**, Van Wyk
Lekkerwater:	Beukes, Vries
Tsumis:	Beukes, Bok, Carew, Diergaardt, **Denk, Finis**, Gertze, **Januarie**, Koopman, **Mall, Strauss, van Rooy**, Zwarts
Usib:	Bok, **Brandel**, Cloete, **Groenewald**, Morkel, Mouton, Van Wyk, **Zaahl**
Uitdraai:	Benz, Beukes, Bok, De Klerk, Diergaardt, **Mostert, Platt**, Zwarts
Wyndraai:	Benz, **Eksteen**, Gertze, Isaaks, **Jansen**, Louw, **Waterboer, Hammerslag**

The names that follow are listed by Heese among "marriages and other connections between Europeans and Coloureds 1652-c.1795" (2005:93-141). The ones in bold correspond with the names in the lists of Fischer, Lichtenecker and Hitzeroth: Arlow, Armstrong, Bampton, **Basson**, Bogart, Brandel, Brendel, **Bril**, Buis, **Carsten**, Davids, Dely, Donkin, Du Plessis, Eberenz, Eberhardt, **Esterhuizen**, Eykmeie, Fenel, Frank, Frederick, Gille, Gillmore, Gollit, Hill, Jaarman, Job, **Kaiser**, Kassen, Keller, Kinda, Kowas, Krieckel, **Kriel**, **Laurence**, Lavanschek, **Lehmann**, Mansdorf, Megidt - Megitt, **Moss**, **Nel**, Niewoudt, Nobel, Nortje, Peeken, Perenzee, Philander, Pietersen, Plaatjies, Rhodes, **Roos**, Rutant, Saem, Schall, Schieter, Schlawitz, Schmidt, Schneider, **Scott**, Titus, Toute, Ulrich, van der Westhuizen, **Visagie**, Zabel, Zimmer and Zynda.

Table A2: Most numerous surnames among main questionnaire respondents of 2002

Rehoboth (n=29)	**learners** (n=15)	**commuters** (n=22)	**youth** (n=34)	**youth** (continued)
Andrew, Groenewaldt	Mouton	Beukes	Beukes	Titus, Van Wyk
Beukes	V. Wyk	Cloete	Beukes, Coetzee	Johr
Disten, Brendell	Bock, Coetzee	Fortuin, Lappen, Swartz	V. Wyk	Benz, De Waal
Gertze, Izaaks	Beukes	Gertze, Izaaks, Beukes	V. Wyk, Diergaardt	Beukes, Benz, Titus
V. Wyk, Britz	Beukes	V. Wyk, Beukes, Cloete	Boois	Claasen
V. Wyk, Cloete, Husselmann	V. Wyk, Beukes, Cloete	Mouton, V. Wyk, Toute, Diergaardt, Beukes	Bezuidenhout, Beukes, Cloete	Vries, McKay, Hansen
Cloete, Alcock	Beukes	Swartz, Beukes	Rittman, V. Wyk	Isaacs
Beukes	V. Wyk, Coetzee	Kastoor	V. Wyk, Kisting	Majiedt, Strauss
Ludwig, De Klerk, Beukes	V. Wyk	Swartz, Engelbrecht	Swartz, Beukes	Cloete, V. Wyk, Husselmann
Diergaardt, De Waal	Cloete, V. Wyk, Beukes	Platt, Boorman	Beukes	
Johr	V. Wyk	V. Wyk	Cloete	**Windhoekers** (n=12)
Diergaardt, Nels		Beukes	Platt, Boorman	V. Wyk, Diergaardt
Maasdorp	**teachers** (n=15)	Beukes	Beukes	Majiedt, Strauss
Engelbrecht, Louw	Beukes, Cloete	Engelbrecht, Louw,	Pietersen, Mouton	V. Wyk, Diergaardt, Beukes
Isaacs	V. Wyk, Mouton	V. Wyk, Kisting	Beukes	V. Wyk
Boois	V. Wyk, Olivier	Beukes	Morkel	Rittman, V. Wyk
Majiedt, Strauss	V. Wyk	Beukes	Disten, Brendell	Coetzee, Mouton
Vries	Hochtritt	Louw, Beukes	Beukes	Beukes
Beukes	V. Wyk	Beukes, Coetzee	Maasdorp	Beukes, Coetzee
Claasen	Beukes	Orlam, Ludwig	Beukes	Bezuidenhoudt
Benz, De Waal	V. Wyk, Beukes	Johnson	Beukes, Coetzee	V. Wyk, Diergaardt
Vries, McKay, Hansen	Beukes		Andrew, Groenewaldt	V. Wyk, Diergaardt, Beukes
Pietersen, Mouton	Beukes, Diergaardt		V. Wyk, Diergaardt	Bezuidenhoudt, Claasen
Morkel			Diergaardt, Nels	
Beukes			V. Wyk	
Beukes, Benz, Titus				
Titus, V. Wyk				

Names of occupants (1953) of Rehoboth's *Naturelle hutte* ("Native huts")



(source: Jacobus Beukes-collection)

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Wy hebben gehoord, dat de Duitsche Regering de bescherming van het Kunduz-gebied van Nama en Herzoland opgenomen heeft, waarmede wy ten volle te vreden zyn.

Koninglyke Duitschland. Berlyn.

Daar wy nu van Duitschland, dat reeds sedert jaren Zendelingen tot ons gezonden heeft, het vertrouwen kunnen hebben, dat onze belangen en ons welzyn te zien, zoo zouden wy het met dank en blydschap opnemen, wanneer Uwe Koninglyke Majesteit het mid maar met de bescherming van het Kunduz gebied wenschte belasten, maar dezelve ook tot over ons uit te breiden.

Wel zyn wy Bastards sterk genoeg, om tegen de nu reeds jaren aanhoudende vegerijen van verschenden Nama - stammen te succesvol maar dan

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het aanhouden van deze vervolgen, is ons volstrekt gewenschte wyze beschadigd.

Het is dus ons verzoek aan Uwe Koninglyke Majesteit, op grond van Uwen koninglyken protectoraat over de Duitschen, by de uit bescherming neming van de, de regten onzer vryheid en zelfstandigheid te waarborgen.

Deze brief geven wy aan onzen vriend den Afrika reiziger, den Heer Dr: C. Hoffman, die hier in Windhoek den tyd heeft, Uwe Koninglyke Majesteit te bidden hem, dit schryven aan de Duitsche Regering te overbrengen.

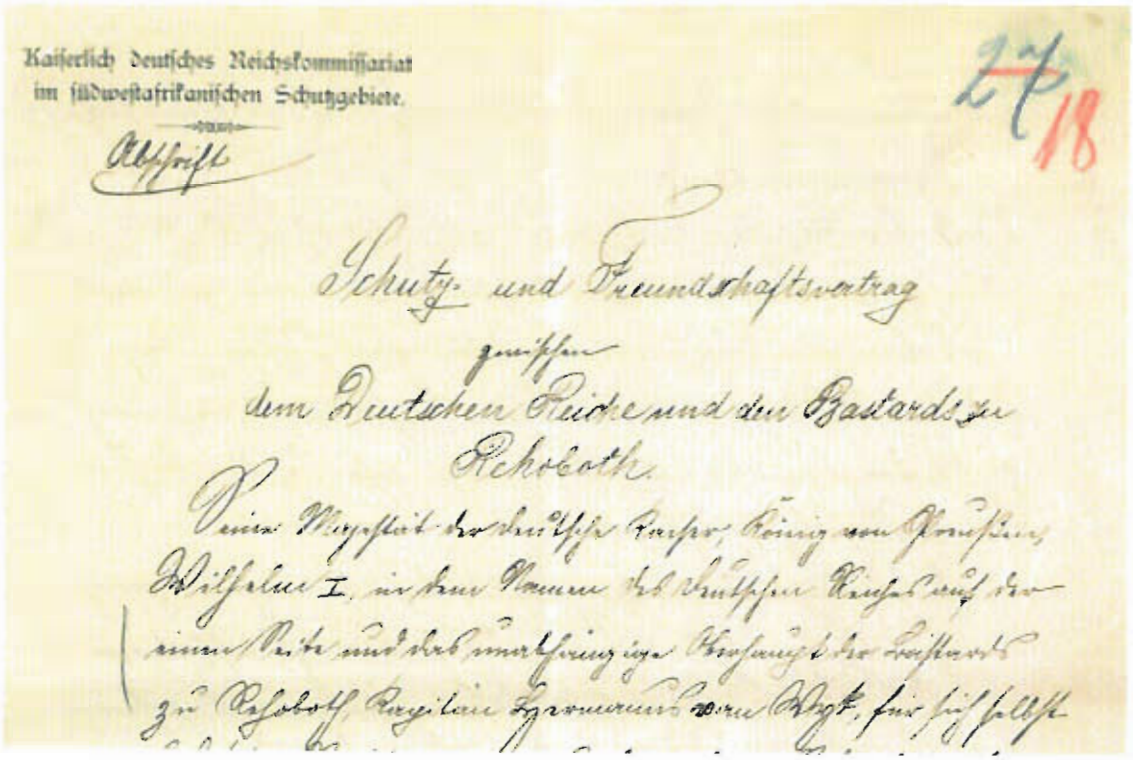
Wy de hoop, dat Uwe Koninglyke Majesteit aan ons bovenstaande verzoek zoude voldoen, zien wy ons niet teleurgesteld.

De Bastards van Rehoboth

(Volgen de Underschriften der Kapiteins met familie Naam)

Source: ELCA VII 28.31:621-622

Handwritten copy of the *Schutz und Freundschaftvertrag* ("Friendship and Protection Treaty") of 1885. Missionary Büttner and Baster kaptein Van Wyk signed the Treaty on behalf of the German and Baster governments. It illustrates the German handwriting of the time. At the bottom of this page is the handwriting and signature in of the Basters' Rhenish missionary, missionary Adolf Blecher, on a school questionnaire of 1911. (*Fragebogen über die Schulen für die Eingeborenen in den deutschen Kolonien. Stand am* 1. Juni 1911). Source: ELCA VII 28.10.


Kaiserlich deutsches Reichskommissariat
im südwestafrikanischen Schutzgebiete.

Abschrift

27/18

Schutz- und Freundschaftsvertrag

zwischen

dem Deutschen Reiche und den Bastards zu

Rehoboth.

Seine Majestät der Deutsche Kaiser, König von Preußen,

Wilhelm I, in dessen Namen der Deutsche Reichskommissar

zum Schutze und Beaufsichtigung der Deutschen

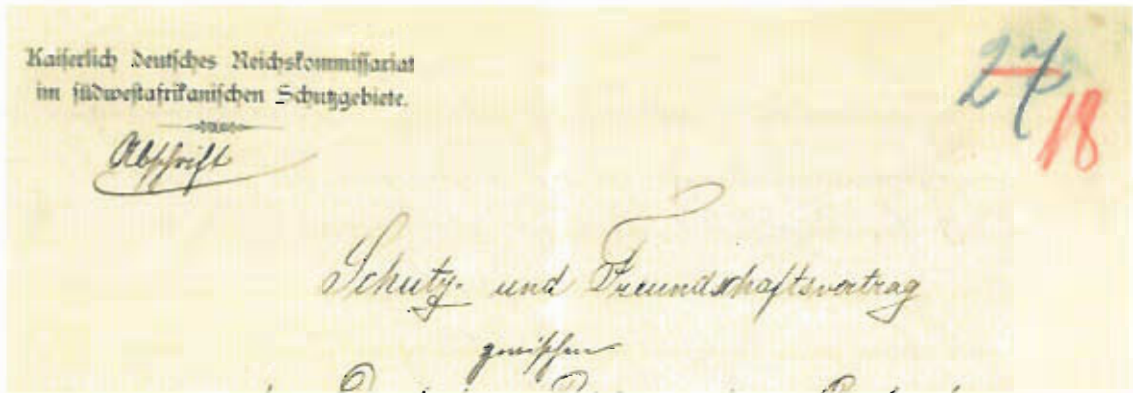
zu Rehoboth, Major Leutwein, vom 1. Bataillon

Source: NAN (ZBU) A.I.A.2 Verträge mit den Häuptlingen

---

g. Wie benutzen die Schüler ihre erworbenen Kenntnisse im späteren Leben, und wie

missionary Adolf Blecher, on a school questionnaire of 1911. (*Fragebogen über die Schulen für die Eingeborenen in den deutschen Kolonien. Stand am* 1. Juni 1911). Source: ELCA VII 28.10.


Kaiserlich deutsches Reichskommissariat
im südwestafrikanischen Schutzgebiete.

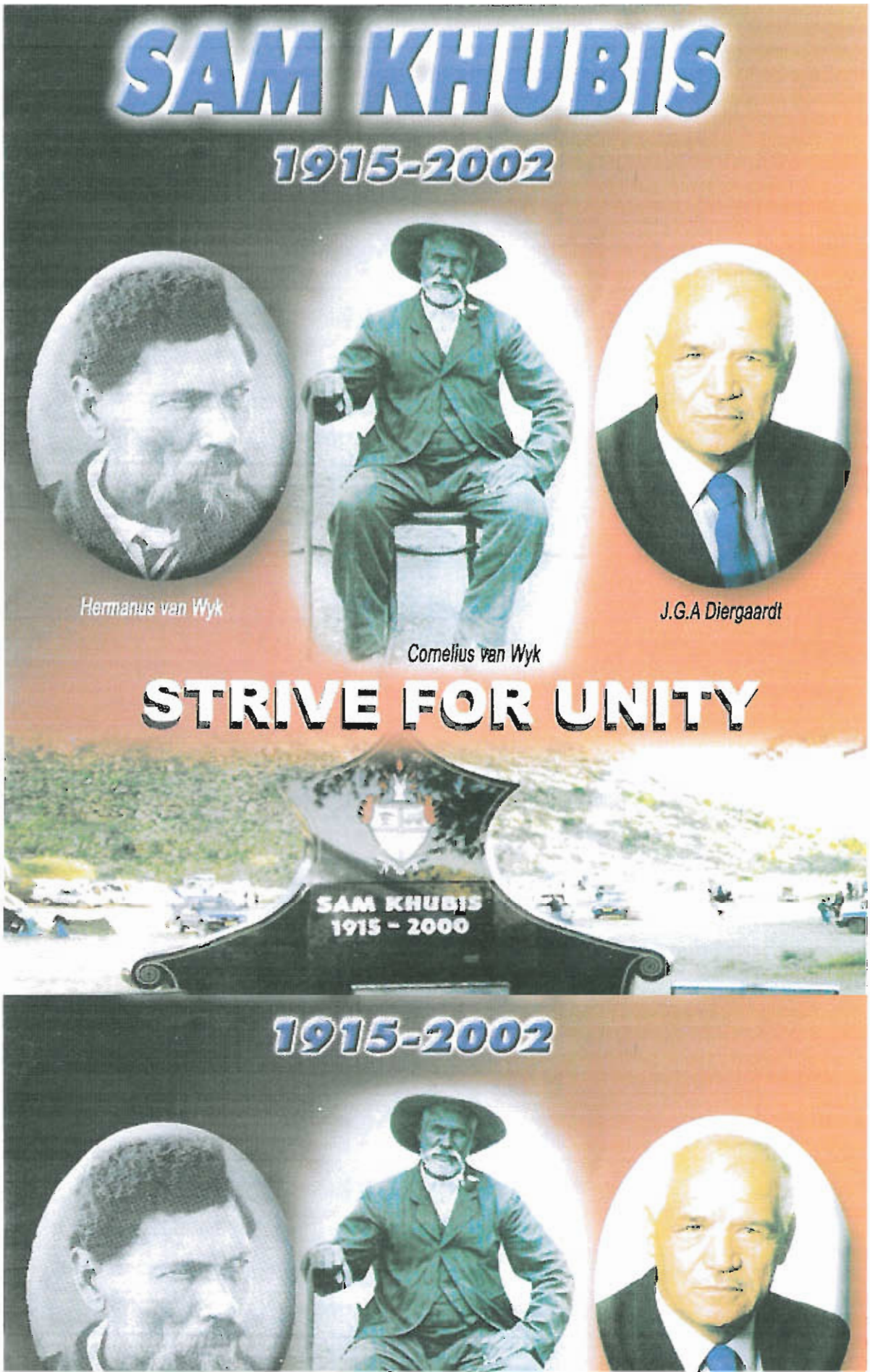
Abschrift

27/18

Schutz- und Freundschaftsvertrag

zwischen

First three Rehoboth Baster kapteins and Sam!Khubis commemorative plaques - with the battle field in the background (front page, 2002 programme)



De Gelofte ("The Oath") of Sam !Khubis in Dutch (2002 programme)

De Gelofte

God van ons Vadieren
Sterke en machtiche God
Heilig is Uw Naam op de ganze aarde
Uw die de hemelen geschapen heeft
Neight Uw oor tot ons
Luister na de smekingen van Uwe kinderen
De dood staart ons in het gesicht
De kinderen der bose zoeken onze levens
Red ons uit de hand van onze vijanden
En beskermt onze vrouens en kinderen
En dit zult vir ons en onze nacheschlacht zijn
Een dag als een Zondag
Waarop wij Uw naam prijzen
En Uw goedertierenheid
Tot in ewigheid niet vergeten
AMEN

Zamkubis: 8 Mei 1915

Article 111 of the Protection and Friendship Treaty of 1885 between the Germans and the Rehoboth Basters

1. ELCA V111 31 (Heidmann 11), p. 653 (handwritten, emphasis added):

Artikel 111: De Kapitein Hermanus van Wyk verplicht *zich zyn land* of gedeelte daarvan niet aan een ander natie of toebehoorige daarvan zonder toestemming van Zyne Majesteit den Duitschen Keizer aftestaan nog traktaten met andere regeeringen aftesluiten zonder Deszelfs toestemming.

2. De Villiers Commission (1927:101, Appendix X – typed, emphasis added):

(Dokument soos ingehandig, sonder veranderings.)

Artikel 111: De Kapitein Hermanus van Wyk verpligt *zich land* of gedeelte daarvan niet aan een ander natie of toebehoorige daarvan zonder toestemming van Zyne Majesteit den Duitschen Keizer aftestaan, noch traktaten met andere regeeringen af te sluiten zonder Deszelfs toestemming.

3. De Waal Commission 1915:32 (typed, emphasis added):

Clause 111: The Chief Hermanus v. Wijk undertakes not to dispose of *his Territory*, or any portion thereof, to any other Nation or subject thereof without the consent of His Majesty the German Emperor, nor to conclude Treaties with other Governments without such consent.

4. De Waal Commission 1915:32 (typed, emphasis added):

Windhuk, den 21 August 1914.

Dem Rat der Bastards wird hiermit bestätigt, dass die Bastardkompagnie eingezogen ist, um die Ruhe un Sicherheit *im Lande* aufrecht zu erhalten und Viehdiebe un andere Rauber zu fangen. *Die Bastards werden nich zum Kampf gegen Weisse verwendet warden.* SEITZ.

Translation.]

Windhuk, 21st August 1914.

The Bastard Council is hereby assured that the Bastard Company is called up for the purpose of keeping peace and safety *in the country*, and to catch cattle thieves and other thieves. *The Bastards will not be employed to fight against whites.* SEITZ

1

Vertroulike vraelys (September/Oktober 2008)

1. In watter jaar is u gebore? .....
2. Is u (omsirkel die antwoord) meisie of seun?
3. Wat is u moedertaal? .....
4. Wat is u tweede taal ..... derde taal ..... vierde taal .....?
5. Watter ander tale kan u net verstaan, maar nie praat nie? .....
6. Van watter taal hou u die meeste?.....
7. Watter taal skryf u die beste?.....
8. Watter taal lees u die beste?.....
9. Watter taal praat u die beste?.....
10. Watter taal is die beste vir werk in Namibië?.....
11. In watter Blok woon u? .....
12. Hoe lank woon u al op Rehoboth? .....
13. By wie het u die heel eerste jare van u lewe gewoon?.....
14. By wie woon u nou? albei ouers ma pa ander familie vriende koshuis
15. Hoeveel van u huismense ry daagliks na Windhoek om te werk? .....
16. Was u al ooit buite Namibië? .....
17. Na watter plekke was u?.....
18. Wat was die rede vir daardie besoeke?.....
19. Het u familie wat elders in Namibië, Suid-Afrika of oorsee woon? .....
20. Noem die plekke waar hulle woon. .....
21. Watter van kom die meeste in u familie voor? .....
22. Waar wil u die graagste eendag woon en werk? .....
23. Watter werk wil u eendag doen? .....
24. Wat het op 8 Mei 1915 in die geskiedenis van Rehoboth gebeur? .....
25. Het u al ooit 'n viering van daardie dag bygewoon? .....
26. Watter eienskappe van die mense van Rehoboth hou u die meeste van? .....
27. Watter eienskappe van die mense van Rehoboth hou u die minste van? .....
28. Watter verbeterings het Rehoboth die meeste nodig? .....
29. Wat kan u self doen om Rehoboth te verbeter? .....
30. Watter verbeterings het Namibië die meeste nodig?.....
31. Wat eet u die graagste?.....
32. Hoeveel keer sit u nog by 'n vuur? daagliks weekliks amper nooit
33. Hoeveel keer gaan u kerk toe? dikwels min nooit

34. Wil u hê dat u kinders eendag net een taal moet hê? .....

35. Watter tale moet u kinders hê as (a) eerste ..... (b) tweede ..... (b) derde taal .....?

36. Watter skoolvak is die lekkerste en hoekom?.....

37. Watter skoolvak is die slegste en hoekom? .....

38. Watter taal word die meeste in u huis gepraat? .....

39. Watter taal wil u die graagste in u huis praat? .....

40. Watter taal praat u met ouer familie? .....

41. Watter taal praat u met jonger familie? .....

42. Watter taal praat u in Rehoboth die meeste? .....

43. Watter taal praat u in Windhoek die meeste? .....

44. Hoeveel ure kyk u per dag TV? .....

45. In watter taal is die TV-programme? .....

46. Watter van die volgende lees u? biblioteekboeke tydskrifte koerante ander boeke

47. Skryf u nog briewe?.....

48. Hoe stuur u die briewe weg? pos faks e-pos

49. Hoeveel keer per dag stuur u 'n SMS? .....

50. In watter taal skryf u 'n SMS?.....

51. Verduidelik wat u met die woord kultuur verstaan: .....

52. Beskryf die kultuur van u familie: .....

53. Is u gelukkig in die kultuur van u familie?.....

54. Indien nie, wat wil u verander aan daardie kultuur?.....

55. Wat beteken die woord soewereiniteit? .....

56. Gebruik u die Internet? .....

    (a) waarvoor? .....

    (b) in watter taal? .....

    (c) hoeveel ure per dag? .....

57. Watter taal vind u die beste om u diepste gevoelens in uit te druk?.....

58. Watter taal verkies u vir: (a) die Bybel? .....

    (b) die dominee se preek? .....

    (c) kerksang? .....

    (d) begrafnisse? .....

    (e) u eie troue eendag? .....

    (f) u eie, persoonlike gebede? .....

59. In watter jaar ..... en in watter taal ..... het u skool begin? (Baie dankie vir u hulp!)

Table A3: Responses to the question, "What work do you want to do one day?"

	Rh.'96	Rh.'99	Rh.'02	Cape '99	Dutch '02	tot.
accountant	4	4	12		2	19
auditor			1			
economist			1			
economic research					1	
business sector	1	4	1	1		
trader stock exchange		1				
bank manager		1				
					Economic field	**32**
doctor	1	4	10	2	1	18
physiotherapist			2	3		
radiographer				1		
psychologist	1	1	5	3		
speech therapist					1	
dietician				1		
chemist				1		
veterinarian			2			
health inspector				1		
health worker					1	
					Medical field	**41**
marine biologist			1			
scientific research		1			1	
develop new things			1			
advertising/market					2	
law	1	1	6	1	2	11
publishing house					1	
architect			2	1		
social worker	1		1	2		
politician					1	
teacher	3		4		1	
police	1					
professor	1					
geologist	1	3				
television			1			
radio	1					
computer	1		2			
insurance		1				
			Stereotypical women occupations (below)			**17**
air hostess	1		3	1		
model			1			
nurse	1	1	1			
typist	1					
secretarial		2	4			
hairdresser			1			
(continued on next page)						

Table A3 continued	Rh.'96	Rh.'99	Rh.'02	N.Cape '99	Dutch '02	tot.
technician		3		1		
electrician		3		1		
mechanic		1				
boilermaker		1				
fitter and turner		1				
motor mechanic		4		1		
					Artisans	16
traffic cop		2				
clergyman		1				
farmer		1				
nature conservation		1		1		
pilot		3				
professional soccer			1			
singer			2			
dance/theatre/music				2	1	

Table A4: Suggested improvements by respondents for their respective countries

	Rh. '96	Rh. '99	Rh.'02	N.C. '99	Dutch '02
education	11 (31%)	12 (21%)	10 (9%)	3 (14%)	5 (18%)
employment	8 (23%)	15 (26%)	20 (19%)	11 (50%)	
hard work	2	2			
use talents	1				
money	2	10	7	1	
less tax			1		
crime			2	2	
safety	1		1		2
violence			1	2	
good judicial system		1			
integration of minorities			1		2
support neighbour countries			1		
government		3	4	1	
equal rights	1	2	3		
no apartheid	1				
racism	1				
peace	1		1	1	
public transport					1
milieu					3
water	1				
nature					1
immigration					2
less (bureaucratic) rules					2
more social care;					1
lower birth rate		1	2		
street children			1		
drugs and children	1				
helping the poor		1			
care for the old		1			
health					2
information AIDS/safe sex			2		
youth centra		1	2		
hospitality					1
God	1		2		
respect			2		1
honesty					1
less materialism					1
discipline	1				
communication	2	1		1	
own language					1
own culture					1
norms and values					2
development		2	9 (8%)		
infrastructure			2		
(continued on next page)					

Table A4 continued	Rh. '96	Rh. '99	Rh.'02	N.C. '99	Dutch '02
technology		1			
own productions			1		
more resorts	1	1	1		
shops/businesses		1	2		
more co-operation		2	3		
Total responses	**35**	**57**	**108**	**22**	**28**

Table A5: Rehoboth commuters to and from Windhoek in peak hours: vehicles, passengers[1] - counted from a stationary position (A, B) and while driving (C, D)

A. Friday, 26 April '02	**Windhoek to Rehoboth traffic**			
stationary, 15:40-18:00	bakkies	sedan	mini-bus	total
2 hours, 20 minutes	257	183	23	463
passengers				2177
B. Monday, 29 April '02	**Rehoboth to Windhoek traffic**			
stationary, 6:30-8:00	bakkies	sedan	mini-bus	total
90 minutes	188	99	25	312
passengers	858	224	333	1415
C. Wednesday, 24 April '02	**Windhoek to Rehoboth traffic**			
driving, 16:40-17:35	vehicles	passengers		
55 minutes	201	700		
D. Tuesday, 30 Sept.'08	**Rehoboth to Windhoek traffic**			
driving, 6:00-7:00	vehicles[2]	passengers		
60 minutes	350	1575		

[1] B and D each have an average of 4.5 passengers per vehicle, while A totals 4.7 and C, 3.5.

[2] On Tuesday, 15 August 2008, the researcher counted 365 vehicles on the same trip - in exactly the same time. Kaptein McNab, who lives in Rehoboth next to the national road to Windhoek, has noticed (p.c. 2008) that the traffic flow to Windhoek differ on certain days. For a reason unknown to him, there are e.g. more cars on the road on Wednesdays.

Verse from a new KKG Bible translation compared to the English equivalent

Tari-e Elob Gaosib !Nâ a Kai?

(Markub 9.33-37; Lukab 9.46-48)

1 * !Nuwu ǁae-i khao!gâ gu ge ǁkhāǀǁkhāsabega Jesub !oa hā tsî ge dî, "Tari-e Gaosib ǀHommi dib !nâ a kai-e?" 2 Ob ge Jesuba ǀgôaro-e ǂgaihā tsî ǁîro-e ǁîgu hoagu nî mûse ge mâ kai. 3 * Tsîb ge ge mî "Amase ta ra mîba go, ûib tsî ǀgaub âga go ga dī-ūnu tama i tsî ǀgôaro-i khama i tama i o, ogo ge Gaosib ǀHommi diba nî ra ǂoa!nâ. 4 ǁNā khoe-i hîa nē ǀgôaro-i khemi ǀgam!gamsen hâ-i, ǀgui-i ge Gaosib ǀHommi dib !nâ a kai. 5 Tsî mā-i hoa-i hîa ti !aroma nēti-i ǀgôaro-e ra !khō!oa-i ge tita ra !khō!oa-e." 6 "Nē ǂkhari ǀgôaron di ǀgui-i hîa ti !nâ ǂgom hâna ga !nôa-ai!naose iba tsî ǁoreb !nâ a ǁnā kai-i hoa-i, ǁnā-i ge ǁkhammiluisa ǀgae!aohe tsî !gamsib hurib dib !nâ nî aoǂgāhe.

Jesus commends the simplicity of children

18 1–5 It was at this time that the disciples came to Jesus with the question, "Who is really greatest in the kingdom of Heaven?" Jesus called a little child to his side and set him on his feet in the middle of them all. "Believe me," he said, "unless you change your whole outlook and become like little children you will never enter the kingdom of Heaven. It is the man who can be as humble as this little child who is greatest in the kingdom of Heaven.

Table A:6 Rehoboth language repertoires in 1983 in Van Schalkwyk

Part 1: Self-report language repertoires (n=150) - Van Schalkwyk 1983:285-294							
columns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
age	9-13 primary	15-19 high	18-34 literates	40s-60s literates	32-89 illiterates	69-80s n=18	total all
Afr. only	12 (40%)	4 (13%)	2 (7%)	7 (23%)	14 (47%)	4 (22%)	38 (25%)
Eng.	10 (57%)	25 (83%)	27 (90%)	10 (33%)	1 (3%)	2 (11%)	80 (53%)
German	0	3 (10%)	5 (17%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	5 (27%)	14 (9%)
Nama	1 (3%)	0	7 (23%)	17 (57%)	13 (72%)	13 (72%)	38 (25%)
trilingual	0	3 (10%)	9 (30%)	8 (27%)	5 (17%)	6 (33%)	25 (17%)
Dutch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Current study							
Part 2: German and Nama among Afr. Grade 11s (n=209) in 1996, 1999, 2002 and 2008							
	speak	under-stand					
German	17 (8%)	18 (9%)					
Nama	10 (5%)	12 (6%)					

Part 1 of Table A:6 was compiled from Van Schalwyk's data of the Rehoboth Basters in 1983 (Appendix 1983:285-294). As shown in columns 1-5, Van Schalkwyk had respondents in each of the following five categories (n=30 each): Illiterates; primary and high school learners; post-school up to 40 years and 40+ years. The researcher added the "69-80s" category in column 6 to show that these speakers had hardly any English but they had the highest trilingualism count and the most German and Nama. This correspond with the results of the researcher's surveys from 1996-2008 – as illustrated in Chapter 9 (p. 217), in Appendix p. xxvii and Part 2 of Table A:6. As shown in the latter, the young, post-1990 generation of Afrikaans speakers in Rehoboth have hardly any Nama while German is on the increase (because of its popularity as school subject, see p. 217). Out of 209 Afrikaans-speaking Grade 11s in 1996, 1999, 2002 and 2008 only 10 (5%) still had Nama (12 said they could understand the language) whereas 17 (8%) had German and 18 (9%) could understand it.

Table A7: "Other languages" (i.e. other than L1 and L2) plus ones that are only understood, adult questionnaire Oct./Nov. 2002 (n=93)

Rehobothers (n=29)			Commuters (n=22)			Teachers (n=15)			Learners (n=15)		
age	other l.	l.underst.	age	other l.	l.underst.	age	other l.	l.underst.	age	other l.	l.underst.
30			36		Germ	23	N/D	N/D	18		
28			35	Germ	Nama	43		Germ	16		
19			43		Osh	48			18		
56			40		N/D	45		N/D	16		
73	Nama	Germ/Fr	40		N/D	41		N/Germ	17		
30			74	Germ	Eng.	41			17	Port	
44			22			53		Nama	18	Germ	Nama
38			42	Nama	N/D	57	D/N		16		
39		Damara	46		Nama	49			17		
42	D/N/O		29			47		Nama	16		
29		G/Dutch	38		Nama	53		Nama	17		Germ
30			34		Nama	42		Eng.	17		Nama
18			27		Nama	53			16		
29			45		Eng.	43			16		
29			20			39			18		
65		Herero	43			Windhoekers (n=12)					
37	Eng.		52		Germ	age	other l.	l.underst.			
35			46		Nama	29		Eng.			
51		Eng.	40		Eng.	61					
45			40			63	G/Nama				
28			38			28		Germ			
45		Eng.	47		Eng./Germ	49		Germ			
27						32		D/Na			
36						45		Germ			
16		N/D				42					
18	Eng.					23		Germ			
18						25		Nama			
20						56	Germ				
23						53	Germ				

Abbreviations

N/D = Nama/Damara
D/N = Damara/Nama
N = Nama
Osh = Oshiwambo
Fr = French
G/ = German
Germ = German
Port = Portuguese

Table A8: All languages named by Afrikaans Grade 11s for the future the generation

	Rehoboth				N.Cape
	1996 n=25	**1999 n=71**	**2002 n=56**	**2008 n=56**	**1999 n=28**
Afr. L1	3	19	21	25	12
Afr. L2	18	26	25	21	9
Afr. L3	3	5	4	3	2
Total Afr.	**24 (96%)**	**54 (76%)**	**50 (91%)**	**49 (88%)**	**24 (86%)**
Eng. L1	20	48	34	29	16
Eng. L2	4	18	20	22	11
Eng. L3	1	2	1	1	
Total Eng.	**25 (100%)**	**68 (96%)**	**56 (100%)**	**52 (93%)**	**27 (96%)**
German L1	1	1	1	1	
German L2	3	10	6	3	3
German L3	11	22	19	13	2
Total German	**15 (60%)**	**33 (46%)**	**26 (47%)**	**17 (30%)**	**5 (18%)**
Nama L3					1
N/Damara L3	3	1	8	1	
Herero L3	1				
Oshiwambo L3	1	1			
French L1		1	5		
French L2		5		3	2
French L3	3	16	14	5	3
Italian L2					
Italian L3	1		4	1	
Portuguese L1	1				
Portuguese L2		2			
Portuguese L3		5	1	6	6
Dutch L3		2	1		2
Spanish L2				3	
Spanish L3		3	2	16	
Xhosa L2					3
Xhosa L3		1	1		12
Tswana L3					1
Zulu L3					1
any black L3					2
Arabic L3		1	1		
Chinese L3					1
Hindi L3				1	
Indian (sic) L3		1			
Tot. responses	**73**	**187**	**168**	**154**	**83**

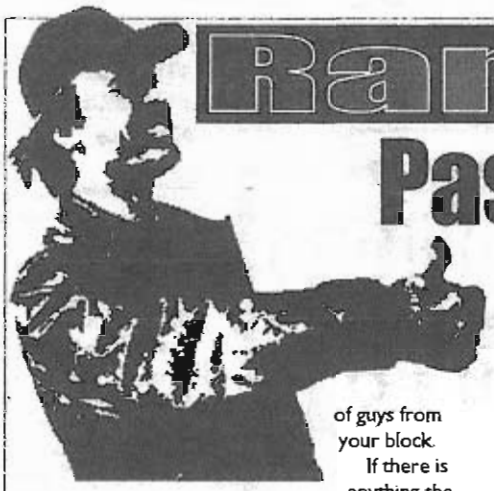
Table A9: Mini profiles of 13 Afrikaans Grade 11s from the same class who want L1 English for their future children, 2002

	gen.	age	Rh. yrs	future job	define culture	own family culture	like?	Afr.	Eng.	G.	N/O	Nam. wishes
1	F	16	16	teacher	tradition, inter- gen. transmittance	Xmas, church, no drinking	no; Eng.	7	17	3		less births; too few facilities
2	F	16	16	psychologist	tradition	my parents live like their parents	yes	8	12			change of life style
3	F	17	10	doctor	town people's doings	to be Baster	yes	12	10	1		info. on AIDS and safe sex
4	F	16	-	attorney	where we come from, background	I am from mixed races and religions	no	9	12	1	N.	nothing with-out schooling
5	M	16	16	nurse	who you are, where you come from			13	6	2		more work opportunities
6	M	16	16	doctor	traditions of different races	transmit traditions to children	no	12	9	2		more work opportunities
7	M	16	8	architect	way of life, tradition	sing, dance, candid conversations	yes	11	8	3		do best at school
8	M	16	16	to develop new things	your beliefs, things you do	no real culture	yes	10	9	1		better salaries for workers
9	M	17	17	book keeping	has to do with tradition	honesty	yes	10	11			more businesses
10	M	17	4½y.	civil engineer	shows from which generation you are	respect Rehoboth	yes	14	7	1	N./ Otji.	education, out-look on life
11	F	18	4m.	secretary	*doen dinge*, way nations speak, tradition	strictly religious	yes	10	9	1		more education and more work
12	M	18	12	doctor	things, conversations		yes	10	12	2	N.	work, development
13	M	19	2½y.	engineer	community		yes	9	9	1		no racism, united
							Tot.	135	131	18	5	

XXX

Table A10: Mini profiles of 7 Afrikaans Grade 11s from one class who want Afrikaans as L1 for future children, 2002

	gen.	age	Rh. yrs	future job	define culture	own family culture	like?	Afr.	Eng.	G.	N/O.	Nam. wishes
14	M	16	13	doctor	sing, dance, drama	belief in God	yes	14	10	1		education, sport, own food productions
15	M	16	15	computers	fests, talent		yes	11	11	1	N.	work
16	M	16	11	professional soccer player	tradition, how old people lived, on to next generation		yes	13	7	3		more work opper-tunities by means of development
17	F	16	9	psychologist	tradition as applied to modern times	spend time with and enjoy each other	yes	12	9			development of unspoilt places
18	F	16	16	air hostess	what ancestors developed	interesting	yes	11	11	2		work towards more oppertunity
19	F	16	6	psychologist	who I am, where I am from; our religion	that which makes our family unique	yes	11	11	1		work, more schools for all areas, children
20	F	17	5	office work or teacher	what you often do; what it means to you	to work on the farm	yes	15	4	2		life of the teenagers
							Tot.	**87**	**63**	**10**	**1**	



Rambler

Pasop! Obama is a Baster

With one white and one black parent what else can you be? Ok, I know it's not news but why is everyone afraid to say it out loud? And why hasn't John McNab claimed him yet? This man could not be more a Baster than any 'Gert Beukes or Paul Diergaardt that you know. If he grew up in Rehoboth his name would probably have been something like Niklaas de Wee or Pieter van Wyk. He appears to be related to the Claasens. And have you seen those ears?

If you ever doubted or went to Wikipedia to verify whether this is true, here are a few reasons I think he should claim a free erf in Block F.

His mother had children with different fathers and gave her kids weird names. His sister's name is Maya. How Baster is that? He is black, but not really. But never tell a Baster he is black unless you want a few teeth removed free of charge.

Just like 79 per cent of all kids from Rehoboth he never really knew his father. Obama struts instead of walks like those guys from Block F or Die Sand. This is tsotsi territory in Rehoboth so you have to have a bit of a rol if you don't want to be taken for a gat every time you pass a bunch of guys from your block.

If there is anything the people from Rehoboth excel in, it is sport. This athletic ability is nurtured from having to run from early, either from your mother who wants to bliksem you for being naughty or if you are older you run from the police or from those guys who want to take your new Purcells from you. Obama is also sporty. The next President of the United States is an ardent follower of American sport and played a bit of basketball. I'm sure Obama would have made a proper lock forward for Rehoboth Rugby Club or Reho Falcon if he grew up in the place where you can kak en pis where you like.

Another very Baster thing about him is the fact that he lived with his grand parents for a while. Some Baster kids do not know any other home than their grandparents'. Like the average Baster laaitje he experimented with drugs and alcohol at an early age. Of course some just can't stop experimenting and later experiment by trying to smuggle all sorts of things including five litre bags of cheap wine into their cells, forced up their arses.

As all good Basters Barack has strong links to a church with a pastor who has some dodgy views of the world. His (former) pastor is a bit of a freak. Rehoboth is bursting at the seams with dodgy pastors.

Basters are very committed Christians. They always attend church on Sunday mornings and behave very holy even though they might have been involved in the crudest behaviour the previous night.

Another Baster feature is the strong wife. I'm sure Barack is told on a regular basis exactly where to get off by Michelle. If you don't behave, the average Baster wife's bulky brothers might just step in to rectify the situation with a a few klappe or a belt.

In Rehoboth you eat red meat seven times a day and in between meals. If he was lucky enough to grow up in Rehoboth he would have had a proper boepens by now and would not have had that emaciated look.

The US Presidency will never be the same again. I'm sure you could not even imagine how rough an Obama Presidency would be if the (up to now) dormant Baster genes go haywire. God forbid that ever happen? The new President would probably have to have much more men in black around him. Not just to keep all those southerners who would want to slay him at bay, but rather to stop the President from f*#king up people who would dare look at him in a funny way.

Don't let the eloquent speeches and nice suits fool you. I'm sure he would revert back to the white socks with his suits and vellies as soon as he doesn't have to appear all modern and dapper. Expect to be told to fokkof, in no uncertain terms, as soon as all the fronting is over and the poisoned chalice hangs neatly around his thin neck.

While he would still make it through the inauguration without a hitch, Obama would definitely rock up gesuip for work on the first working day. Like all proper Baster builders he would insist on an advance on the first day and wouldn't bother coming in the next day.

Don't be alarmed when you hear the leader of the free world swore at one of his colleagues while reaching for his gatsak. Gordon Brown and Nicolas Sarcozy look prime candidates for this abuse. This would be no unpolished exchange or drunken rant, it merely is a traditional way to stamp your authority or mark your territory and let the guys know where you come from, or in some instances even a way of greeting an old pal.

But his presidency would not just be all skiet, skop and donner. He will actually get rid of the crippling deficit in no time. If all the Japanese and Chinese lenders come calling for the installment on the loans old George is rocking up now, they shouldn't expect more than a barrage of swear words and insults. How can you pay a loan back that another guy made? He'll tell them straight up "moenie n*@i soekie!"

The Obama 'Baster' Reference

I REFER to the article in the *Weekender:* 'Pasop Obama is 'n Baster'. If the purpose of the writer was to point in a satirical way to the shortcomings of the Baster nation, then he failed for the single reason that the article stinks of condemnation and racism. I kindly advise you to read the Namibian Constitution and then we will see if you would still sound as bold. Mr McNab does not claim people nor their children as property because he attaches too much value to the freedom and lives of the single individual.

Obama is an outstanding personality with excellent qualities and dynamic powers who is well equipped to be the next president of the most powerful country on earth. He is a role model for young people irrespective of race or colour. I wonder what you would have done if someone tried to spoil the image of our Namibian President. Rambler's view about the Baster is narrow. A Baster is not just a product of black/white parents. They are a product of any two races of the human species. Did you know that the word Baster can also mean "beautiful"? If you are a journalist then you should know that baster or hybrid genes are use in plant and animals to improve quality. Your great grandfather probably did not know the history of the Rhineland basters and now you want to follow the same road as Hitler's Nazis or didn't you know about the gravy train that started under the Namibians and that now even question the origin of the President of Botswana. It is our intention to circulate copies of your article not only to the American Ministry of Foreign Affairs but also the UN and the European Parliament to show that apartheid still flourishes in Namibia

Furthermore, we also intend to forward your article to our lawyers for further action. It is only you who knows where you got your statistics on unmarried women and their children. Moreover, your numbers are challengeable and preferably belong somewhere else. What is true though is that there was not a single street child in Rehoboth before Independence. Nowadays, one can't even go to a shop without encountering them. The majority of these are non-Baster children. You are in control of Namibia or do you want to put the blame on the Basters for this phenomenon? If this article is intended to follow the popular Kemeels of *Die Republikein* then I must disappoint you. Copying should not be used by professional people. My honest advice is that you develop your journalistic talent. study Le Roux and the work of other big figures and ask Kemeels for advice on the subject.

Captain John McNab
Rehoboth