

**“We call it Springbok-German!”:
Language Contact in the
German Communities in South Africa**

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ERRATA

- p. xiii (also p. 26, para. 2; p. 56, para. 3): “Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie” for “Vereenidge Oostindische Compagnie”
- p. 30, para. 2: “Duitsers” for “Duitse”
- p. 36, para. 4: “with German relatives” for “German with relatives”
- p. 41, para. 2: “ingeboude muurkas” for “ingeboud muurkas”
- p. 57, para. 3: “Thirty Years War” for “Thirty Year War”
- p. 72, para. 1 (also p. 125, para. 2): “disentangle” for “entangle”
- p. 124, para. 2: “voortrekkers” for “voortrekker’s”
- p. 203, quote: “Mit den umwohnenden Buren” for “Mit dem umwohnenden Buren”
- p. 248, para. 2: “west of Piet Retief” for “east of Piet Retief”
- p. 316, para. 4: “documented” for “document”
- p. 325, para. 1: “want” for “wand”
- p. 339, para. 1: “research has been carried out” for “research has been carried”
- p. 339, para. 4: “remaining” for “remain”
- p. 341, para. 1: “plausibly” for “plausible”
- p. 341, para. 1: “considerable” for “considerably”
- p. 341, para. 3: “exerted” for “exert”

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A/Afr. | Afrikaans |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| BMS | Berlin Mission Society |
| DSH | <i>Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg</i> |
| EKD | <i>Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland</i> ('Evangelical Church in Germany') |
| ELCSA(N-T) | Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Natal-Transvaal) |
| E/Eng. | English |
| FELSiSA | Free Evangelical-Lutheran Synod in South Africa |
| G/Grn | German |
| HMS | Hermannsburg Mission Society |
| KZN | KwaZulu-Natal |
| L1 | first language |
| L2 | second language |
| MP | Mpumalanga |
| NP | noun phrase |
| PanSALB | Pan-South African Language Board |
| PP | prepositional phrase |
| RMS | Rhenish Mission Society |
| SELK | <i>Selbständige Ev.-Lutherische Kirche</i> ('Independent Evangelical Lutheran Church') |
| Std. Grn. | Standard German |
| V2 | verb-second (position) |
| V-final | verb-final (position) |
| VOC | <i>Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie</i> ('Dutch East India Company') |

TRANSCRIPTION KEY

- (()) non-verbal communication
- (.) short pause (up to 1 sec)
- (0.2) pause (here, 2 seconds)
- () unclear
- (is) indistinct, unsure transmission
- spelled words
- ha- false start
- = consecutive turn-taking
- [] editing comments (to facilitate understanding)

ABSTRACT

Varieties of German are spoken all over the world, some of which have been maintained for prolonged periods of time. As a result, these transplanted varieties often show traces of the ongoing language contact as specific to their particular context. This thesis explores one such transplanted German language variety – Springbok-German – as spoken by a small subset of German Lutherans in South Africa. Specifically, this study takes as its focus eight rural German communities across two South African provinces, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, which were founded in the second half of the 19th century.

The study employs a broadly ethnographic approach and integrates participant observation with interviews and (limited) questionnaire data. On the one hand, it addresses issues of language maintenance and shift, and on the other, presents findings from an analysis of grammatical features, that is morphosyntactic and syntactic features, of this particular German language variety.

The thesis explores the domains where speakers continue to make use of German, by discussing practices at home, within the church and community, and at school. It also briefly considers German media consumption. The findings reveal that the home and the church/community constitute the strongholds of German language maintenance, although intermarriage is having an increasing impact on these patterns. Changes in the demographics of the communities, e.g. out-migration of younger speakers and barely any in-migration, are also shown to be detrimental to the continued survival of German in this region. Conceptualising these communities as ethno-religious ones where (Luther) German functions as a ‘sacred variety’ (cf. Fishman, 2006a) helps to account for the prolonged maintenance patterns as exhibited by the communities. The study explores how the communities are shaped by their German Lutheranism and a 19th century understanding of *Volkstum*, and how this resulted in an insistence on preserving the German language and culture at all costs. This is still transparent today.

This study also seeks to provide new insights into the structure of Springbok-German, and, for this purpose, explores a number of (morpho)syntactic features, including case marking, possessive constructions, word order, and infinitive complements. Although the overall findings indicate that Springbok-German is (still) relatively conservative, there are clear indications of emerging structural changes. While reduction in the case system, for example, is not as advanced as in other transplanted German varieties, the accusative/dative distinction is becoming increasingly blurred. Changes are also apparent in possessive constructions and word order. In this context, the study considers the fundamental question of the role language contact plays in such situations, i.e. whether the respective changes can plausibly be attributed to contact with Afrikaans and/or English, or whether they are best seen as the result of language-internal tendencies. The conclusion follows that it is difficult to ascertain the precise role of external influence vs. internal developments. The developments in Springbok-German are best seen as resulting from a combination of both, shaped furthermore by the social conditions as prevalent in this particular language contact setting.

This is to certify that,

1. this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution.
2. to the best of my knowledge the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.
3. this research was conducted ethically and complied with the requirements of the Monash Standing Committee on Ethics in Research involving Humans (SCERH Project Number: 2005/507).
4. this thesis is not more than 100,000 words in length, excluding footnotes, tables, interview extracts, bibliography and appendices.

Signed

Katharina Franke
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INTRODUCTION

German-speaking minorities have found linguistic and cultural niches in diverse places around the world and have assimilated into the respective host societies at different times, to varying degrees and for a wide number of reasons. While there are numerous studies on transplanted (or extraterritorial) German across continents, including Europe, Russia, the Americas and Australia (cf., for example, Altenhofen, 1996; Berend, 1993; Berend & Knipf-Komlósi, 2006; Berend & Mattheier, 1994; Clyne, 1968, 1981; Eichinger, 1997; Erb, Knipf-Komlósi, Orosz, & Tarnóí, 2002; Gilbert, 1971; Kaufmann, 1997; Keel & Mattheier, 2003; Kipp, 1980, 2006a; Kloss, 1966; Salmons, 1993), this study presents findings on a German language variety within an African context. With regard to German language varieties, Africa is still a relatively under-researched geographical area. Specifically, this study looks at the situation of a community of German speakers in South Africa.

German in South Africa traces its beginnings back to the Dutch colonisation of Southern Africa in the 17th century. During the 17th and 18th century, German speakers quickly assimilated into Dutch colonial society, leaving few traces of their German origin. Later immigrants, arriving from the mid-19th century onwards, formed small settlements in rural areas, some of whom have persisted in maintaining German to the present day. This study investigates eight such German settlements, the Springbok-German communities, in the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, drawing on in-depth interviews and ethnographic observation from extended field stays. In light of the fact that only limited research currently exists on German speakers in South Africa, this thesis, first and foremost, addresses the need for detailed documentation of a language contact situation by providing insights into the nature of language maintenance/shift patterns among these speakers. Furthermore, by considering a number of morphosyntactic and syntactic phenomena, it builds on previous studies of German in South Africa and contributes to the rich body of literature on

extraterritorial German, language contact studies, and research into language maintenance and shift.

Investigations into German language varieties outside of the German-speaking mainlands¹ include an overwhelming amount of qualitative studies (cf., for example, the various contributions in Berend & Knipf-Komlósi, 2006; Berend & Mattheier, 1994; Keel & Mattheier, 2003; Salmons, 1993). In recent years, quantitative methods have also been employed (e.g. Fuller & Gilbert, 2003; Kaufmann, 1997, 2003). Research on transplanted German has been very fruitful, with dialectological approaches, sociolinguistic and variationist frameworks as well as the specifically German research tradition of *Sprachinselforschung* employed to investigate German language varieties worldwide. Generally speaking, this study is situated within a language contact framework (cf. Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2007; Clyne, 2003; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988) but draws extensively on research from language maintenance and shift studies (cf. Clyne, 1991; Fishman, 1966) in its investigation of the sociolinguistic situation of the Springbok-German speakers.

The fact that comparatively little research has been focused on the German settlements in South Africa (and Namibia) is perhaps due to the relatively small numbers of German speakers in Namibia and South Africa – figures range between 16,000 to 20,000 and 30,000 to 40,000 speakers for Namibia and South Africa, respectively (J. Born & Dickgießer, 1989, pp. 145, 207). Of particular concern is the documentation of patterns of language use and tendencies for shift to English and/or Afrikaans in Namibia (cf. Gretschel, 1995; Klein, 1984; Pütz, 1992) and South Africa (cf. Bodenstein, 1995; de Kadt, 2002b; Grüner, 1979; Schaberg & Barkhuizen, 1998; Scheffer, 1991).

The present study provides further insights into how a distinct community of German speakers in rural South Africa preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage and explores the ways in which speakers might be shifting to other languages, namely English and Afrikaans. This thesis, taking the speech community as its starting point,

¹ Included here are central European areas where German has official or regionally official/special status, i.e. in Germany, Austria, the German-speaking part of Switzerland, and bordering areas, such as parts of Belgium, Luxembourg, South Tyrol and Alsace/Lorraine (for further information, cf. Clyne, 1995).

firstly discusses the sociolinguistic patterns of eight settlements. It also seeks to provide an explanation of speakers' prolonged language maintenance by conceptualising the settlements as ethno-religious communities and highlights diverging language shift trends across these. This is followed by an examination of language contact phenomena that have manifested in this particular German language variety.

While colonial varieties of German have often been in contact with only one other language – for example, Pennsylvania German in contact with English in North America, Low German with Portuguese in Brazil, and with Spanish in Mexico – the language contact setting in Southern Africa is more similar to that of earlier German settlements in Kazakhstan, where German dialects were in contact with two language varieties: Russian and Kazakh. In South Africa – this is largely also applicable to Namibia – German is in contact with two Germanic languages, English and Afrikaans, and usually also an African language, depending on the geographical location of the settlements. The eight South African settlements investigated here are located in areas where Zulu – a Bantu language – is spoken by the majority of black South Africans, while English and/or Afrikaans is spoken by the white population.

This is a unique language contact situation where German is in contact with three language varieties: English, Afrikaans and Zulu. While English and Afrikaans play a significant role in speakers' daily lives across domains, the use of Zulu is much more restricted. Linguistic interferences due to language contact with Zulu are restricted to the lexicon, whereas English and Afrikaans appear to have exerted influence on semantic, morphosyntactic and phonological features of the German spoken in these settlements. Lexical borrowings from Afrikaans and English are prevalent and have been extensively documented by Stielau (1980) and Scheffer (1991). In addition, Stielau draws attention to a number of changes in morphosyntax, syntax and phonology. Although an investigation of phonological features would no doubt yield interesting results, the scope of the current project is limited. Thus, the final section of this study is concerned only with morphosyntactic and syntactic phenomena such as case usage/markings, possessive structures, infinitive complementation, word order changes pertaining to exbraciation of clause constituents (*Ausklammerung*), and subordinate

clauses – features which have often been documented in transplanted German language varieties. This thesis therefore aims to provide insights into tendencies and potential causes of language change in the German language variety spoken in South Africa.

Chapter outline

The thesis is structured around eight chapters but can effectively be divided into three parts. The first part, chapters 1-3, contextualises the study within the research framework and provides important historical background information. The second part, comprising chapters 4-6, focuses on sociolinguistic issues to do with language maintenance and shift across communities, while the third part of the study, chapters 7 and 8, discusses selected linguistic variables.

To begin with, chapter 1 contextualises the present study by reviewing the relevant literature. It looks at the central issues that have arisen in language contact studies, and studies dealing with language maintenance and shift. Chapter 1 also provides the South African context for this study by describing the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa, highlighting important issues such as the role that English plays in South African society today. Lastly, chapter 1 surveys previous studies that have examined sociolinguistic and linguistic aspects to do with German speakers and the German language in South Africa.

Chapter 2 then introduces the socio-historical context for the study by providing a narrative account of German migration to South Africa. This is followed by a discussion of how best to define the speech community under investigation, labelled the Springbok-German communities, and includes a demographic overview of current speaker figures. The chapter concludes by describing the location and community structures of the eight settlements.

Chapter 3 brings the first part of the thesis to a close by considering methodological matters. It discusses the main research purpose, outlines the ethnographic approach employed, and gives details on the method of data collection – sociolinguistic

interviews and questionnaires – and participants. It concludes by briefly considering some limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 opens the second part of the thesis by presenting an overview of the current language contact situation across the Springbok-German communities. It discusses patterns of multilingualism among speakers and outlines which German language varieties are spoken in the communities. A large part of the chapter is taken up by exploring general patterns of language use, utilizing the domain approach. Chapter 4 discusses general trends of language use within the home, church and community, and school, and indicates some tendencies for language shift.

Before exploring aspects of language shift, chapter 5 first tries to uncover the roots of German language maintenance across the Springbok-German communities. By conceptualising the communities as ethno-religious, based on their Lutheran faith and a 19th century notion of *Volkstum* ('ethnicity'), it is possible to understand why the communities have persisted in maintaining German for generations. Chapter 5 looks at the socio-historical context but also considers German language maintenance and the different functions the German language serves in the communities today.

Chapter 6 then examines the dynamics of language shift by focussing on changes in marriage patterns, and socio-economic and demographic changes. Having established the general trends of language shift, this chapter explores diverging tendencies of shift, which are apparent in clusters of communities. On the one hand, there are dissimilarities between communities in different regional areas, and on the other hand, communities differ along religious lines, resulting in diverging patterns for maintenance and shift.

The last part, chapters 7 and 8, takes a closer look at a number of morphosyntactic and syntactic features prevalent in the data of collected spoken Springbok-German. It examines the following individual phenomena systematically: case usage and possessive constructions, infinitive clause constructions, exclamation (*Ausklammerung*), and word order in subordinate clauses, as well as a number of isolated features, including double negation, 'gehen+infinitive'-constructions and the use of the auxiliary *tun* 'do'. In so doing, this investigation explores fundamental questions of

language change in language contact settings, and reflects on the widely debated issue of contact-induced vs. language-internal language change. The thesis concludes with a summary of the research findings and consideration of future research directions.

1 SITUATING THE STUDY

As languages do not exist in a vacuum insulated from the influence of other languages, and as their speakers may frequently interact with speakers of other languages, it has to be assumed that all languages are open to mixing to varying degrees at varying times and places.

James Milroy (1997, p. 317)

Mechanisms of language change and (socio)linguistic outcomes of languages in contact² have sparked an enormous amount of interest since the early work of Schuchardt (1882-1883, 1884). Indeed, the effects of language contact is a topic that has already fascinated historical linguists such as Müller (1875), Paul (1886), Schmidt (1872), Schuchardt (1884) and Whitney (1882) (cited in Clyne, 1987b, p. 453; cf. also Ureland, 1990). Although the debate continued well into the 20th century (e.g. Sapir, 1921), the structuralists devoted less attention to the study of language contact during the 1940s and 1960s. However, following the classic studies by Weinreich (1968) and Haugen (1953) – giving renewed impetus to the study of language contact as a socio-linguistic phenomenon – the field has expanded enormously and now embraces a multiplicity of paradigms, objectives, and methodologies. The language contact paradigm was “originally restricted to the ‘language as a system’ perspective” (Clyne, 1992, p. 18) but has since been extended to encompass sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects by looking at “contact *processes* and interactional aspects” (p. 18, emphasis in original). It is now a vastly multidimensional and interdisciplinary field, incorporating anthropological, sociological, political, (social)psychological and of course, (socio)linguistic approaches, focussing on the implications and aspects of both societal and individual bilingualism³ (cf., for example, the various entries in Goebel, Nelde, Starý, & Wölck, 1996). The field of language contact is now sufficiently huge so that

² It is, of course, “not actually languages that are in contact, but the speakers of the languages” (J. Milroy, 1997, p. 311). For convenience, I will use the phrase ‘languages in contact’ here, implying that it is their speakers who are in contact.

³ Multilingualism is traditionally subsumed within the notion of bilingualism (cf. Clyne, 1997; Clyne, 2003, p. 4), and I thus use the terms bilingualism and multilingualism interchangeably here.

the following can only provide the most general idea of areas investigated, with a certain degree of overlap in objectives and approaches across paradigms. Studies can be very roughly divided into two research strands: those that investigate changes in the linguistic structure of the languages in contact, and those that focus on the situation in which the languages are used.

The former area of research considers, for instance, questions related to the transferability and diffusion of linguistic features, convergence of language varieties, mixed language varieties, and the underlying linguistic and social motivations in contact settings, all of which have generated much discussion. There are various ways to understand what is involved in language change in contact situations, ranging from historical linguistic perspectives (e.g. Harris & Campbell, 1995; Lass, 1997; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988), cross-linguistic (e.g. Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2007) and contrastive linguistics (e.g. Hawkins, 1986), psycholinguistic models (e.g. Aitchison, 2003), to ethno- and sociolinguistic approaches (e.g. Clyne, 1967, 1991, 2003; J. Milroy, 1997). Studies, of course, make use of intersecting paradigms, e.g. Mesthrie's (1991) study of Bhojpuri in South Africa utilises a sociolinguistic and historical linguistic framework.

Studies on sociolinguistic patterns and psycholinguistic constraints of code switching (e.g. Auer, 1998; Clyne, 1987a; Gardner-Chloros, 1997; Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b), language acquisition and processing issues in bilingual speakers (e.g. Muysken, 2000; Nicol, 2001; Romaine, 1995), accommodation practices (e.g. Giles & Powesland, 1997), and language attrition and loss (e.g. De Bot, 2001; Freed & Lambert, 1982; Waas, 1996) also seek to shed light on linguistic phenomena in contact situations. Further, processes and outcomes of pidginisation and creolisation have generated an enormous amount of research (e.g. Arends, Muysken, & Smith, 1995; Lefebvre, 2004; Mühlhäusler, 1997; Patrick, 1999).

Studies that have focussed on social factors and the contact setting involved have raised a multiplicity of issues to do with language maintenance and shift. This area has received increased attention since Fishman's (1966) seminal publication *Language loyalty in the United States*, situated within a sociology of language paradigm (e.g. Clyne, 1991; Extra & Maartens, 1998; Gal, 1979; Veltman, 1983). In its most dras-

tic outcome, language shift leads to a language dying out in an entire speech community, which is known as language death (e.g. Dorian, 1999, 1989). Research on cross-cultural pragmatics and intercultural communication (e.g. Chick, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1991) is another area that has been researched within the context of language contact. Within German linguistics, the subfield of language enclave research, *Sprachinselforschung*, has looked at very specific contact situations and their (socio)linguistic implications (e.g. Berend & Knipf-Komlósi, 2006; Berend & Mattheier, 1994; Keel & Mattheier, 2003).

In essence, linguists' understanding of language formation, language change, the particular linguistic aspects and social facets which shape individual language contact situations has grown significantly since Weinreich's (1968) and Haugen's (1953) early work. This thesis is primarily concerned with linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects in language contact settings involving immigrant communities by specifically looking at the (socio)linguistic consequences of language contact between German speakers and English/Afrikaans speakers in South Africa. In doing so, this study takes the bilingual speech community (cf. Gumperz, 1972),⁴ rather than the individual person, as its starting point, addressing two aspects: it explores the kind of dynamics or factors involved in the language maintenance/shift patterns observed in the Springbok-German communities (cf. chapter 2 for a definition), and secondly, it is interested in the linguistic outcomes on the (morpho)syntactic level resulting from the language contact between German and English/Afrikaans.

In this chapter, I first contextualise the study within the wider sociolinguistic and historical linguistic framework employed by briefly discussing the relevant issues within language contact and language maintenance/shift studies related to migrant communities. In the second part of the chapter, I give an overview of the language situation in South Africa to provide the sociolinguistic backdrop. I then discuss the literature on German as a transplanted language in South Africa, thereby highlighting

⁴ For an overview of the various definitions proposed and a detailed critique of the concept, cf. Patrick (2002; also Raith, 1987).

the scarce amount of presently conducted studies, which in turn has given the impetus for the current research project.

1.1 CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY WITHIN THE RESEARCH

1.1.1 *Language contact and structural change*

Language minorities (indigenous and immigrant) are invariably characterised by a myriad of factors and dynamics, involving historical, social, political, economic and, of course, linguistic aspects, among others. In language contact situations, language minorities have often arisen out of the imposition of another language onto some speakers, either as the result of conquest or colonisation (e.g. the European colonisation of South America, Asia or Africa) or through migration processes (e.g. Italian migrants in Australia). In these contexts, “language contact is always the historical product of social forces” (Sankoff, 2002, p. 640), rather than taking place in a historical vacuum. Accordingly, languages “reflect the sociolinguistic history of their speakers” (Aikhenvald, 2007, p. 47).

Language contact tends to leave linguistic traces in the languages in contact, depending on the kind of contact and the degree of bi- or multilingualism among the speakers of the languages in contact. For example, situations of ‘balanced’ language contact, where the languages in contact exist in a state of equilibrium – e.g. in *Sprachbund* areas such as the indigenous Australian one (cf. Dixon, 2001) – have different linguistic effects on the languages in contact than situations where only some speakers are bilingual in an otherwise relatively monolingual community. In the latter type of contact situation, one or more dominant languages are in contact with a minority language,⁵ either an immigrant language (e.g. Turkish speakers in Berlin) or an indigenous (autochthonous) one (e.g. speakers of Celtic languages in Europe), resulting in an ‘unbalanced’ language contact situation. Here, linguistic traces may be found within the minority language(s), or conversely, the L2 of speakers (i.e. the target lan-

⁵ In this study, the term ‘minority language’ encompasses immigrant varieties and indigenous varieties. I refer to the former interchangeably as ‘ethnic language/variety’ and ‘immigrant language/variety’.

guage) may show interference forms and/or patterns from the substrate, i.e. speakers' L1 influences their L2.

To systematise contact-induced language changes, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) suggest an analytic framework that considers the extent of linguistic interference and the directionality of linguistic influence in language contact, that is 'borrowing' vs. 'substratum interference' (or 'interference through shift') (for a similar distinction, cf. also van Coetsem, 1988). They draw a clear distinction between borrowing and substratum interference, whereby the former refers only to "the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language, not to interference in general" (p. 21),⁶ while the latter is concerned with changes in the L2 (or target language) of the speaker by way of the minority language, i.e. through imperfect learning of the target language.⁷ I concentrate here on changes in the L1 of speakers, i.e. cases of 'borrowing', not shift-induced interference.

Arguing that "linguistic interference is conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones" (p. 35), Thomason and Kaufman relate linguistic outcomes of language contact to different types of contact scenarios. Based on this, they propose a 'borrowability scale' (pp. 50, 74-76), applicable only to 'borrowing' situations (i.e. not those where contact-induced shift plays a role). Linguistic features are said to be borrowable depending on the type and strength of contact between the speakers of the languages in contact. For example, only non-basic vocabulary is expected to be borrowed in situations of casual contact between speakers, while widespread stable bilingualism and intense cultural contact is likely to involve heavy borrowing of grammatical structures. In any case, structural borrowing, whether slight or heavy, is preceded and/or accompanied by heavy lexical borrowing. Language change as the result of (slight to moderate) substratum interference, on the

⁶ The term 'borrowing' is used in a variety of ways in the literature, most frequently to cover all contact-induced changes. I follow Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) narrower definition for borrowing here, and use the broader term 'interference' to refer more generally to "[t]hose instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact" (Weinreich, 1968, p. 1). Cf. also Curnow (2001) for a discussion on whether or not borrowing includes addition, loss and/or retention of features.

⁷ Substratum interference is defined by Thomason and Kaufman (1988, p. 38) as "a subtype of interference that results from imperfect group learning during a process of language shift."

other hand, “does not begin with vocabulary: it begins with sounds and syntax” (p. 39).

Whilst contact-induced changes have been widely documented for phonological and lexical aspects, the way in which language contact affects grammatical categories or syntactic structures appears to be much more complex. King (2000), in a study of French speakers on the Canadian Prince Edward Island, found that lexical items from English were borrowed extensively, which then “triggered particular language-internal changes, resulting in the emergence of a number of structural changes in PEI French” (p. 173). Sankoff (2002, p. 655) questions whether structural features can be borrowed directly at all, or whether, perhaps, heavy lexical borrowing or pragmatic influence by the superstrate language leads to syntactic change within the substrate along language-internal lines (cf. also Myers-Scotton, 1998, cited in Curnow, 2001, p. 412; also Winford, 2003, p. 64).

Also, in situations of on-going language shift, heavy structural influence on the substrate or convergence may in fact reflect language attrition by the younger speakers who are more proficient in the majority language than in the minority language (Curnow, 2001, p. 421; Sankoff, 2002, p. 656).

Nevertheless, the overall consensus in the literature seems to be that “[n]o linguistic feature – be it a form, or a pattern – is entirely ‘borrowing-proof’” (Aikhenvald, 2007, p. 2) given enough time (a fuzzy notion, admittedly). The dynamics and preferences for what can be transferred, in what order and how this takes place are multifaceted. It is likely that a transferred feature will be reanalysed “in terms of its formal adaptation, and also its semantics and function” (p. 22). Essentially, some features tend to be more resistant to change than others, and different hierarchies, constraints, universals and facilitating factors have been proposed which deal with the borrowability of features more or less successfully (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2007; Haugen, 1950; Moravcsik, 1978; M. Ross, 2001; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988).

Typological distance between the languages in contact is a major linguistic factor in predicting what kind of features will be transferred; it seems that the linguistic outcomes in contact languages which are genetically closely related are harder to

predict than for those which are typologically distant. According to Thomason (2001, p. 71), the latter are likely to follow the borrowability scale, as advanced by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), while changes in typologically related languages are more likely to be motivated by multiple factors, both language-internal as well as external. Language contact situations need to be analysed in terms of internal and external (socio)linguistic factors (as far as is possible, i.e. historical records may not necessarily be available), and explanations to do with contact-induced changes should not necessarily preclude internal ones or vice versa.

In fact, Thomason and Kaufman (1988, pp. 57-64) caution strongly against what they perceive to be a prejudice in historical linguistics in that internally motivated causes are in some ways seen as superior to external explanations. Instead, they argue, languages need to be considered as complex systems, not as constituting separate subsystems. It is essential to view language as an integrated whole because “[i]f a language has undergone structural interference in one subsystem, then it will have undergone structural interference in others as well, from the same source” (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 60). From a sociolinguistic point of view, Milroy (1997) expresses similar sentiments, i.e. assuming language change to be the result of internal developments by default is a notion inherited from 19th century comparative linguistic thinking. Since “linguistic change is initiated by speakers, not by languages” (J. Milroy, 1997, p. 311), a perspective that places the speaker at the centre of enquiry, who resists or passes on linguistic innovation, is more fruitful in extrapolating causes of language change in language contact situations.

Sankoff (2002), criticising Thomason and Kaufman’s insistence on external factors playing a predominant role in language change in contact situations, comments that “in rejecting the contribution of internal linguistic structure, T&K [Thomason & Kaufman] have thrown out the baby with the bathwater” (pp. 640-641).⁸ This assertion is somewhat curious, given that Thomason and Kaufman maintain that

⁸ Sankoff’s (2002) criticism seems to stem, at least in part, from the fact that Thomason and Kaufman, “[l]acking a quantitative perspective, [...] [they] are forced to deny the importance of internal linguistic factors” (p. 640).

in cases of multiple causation, examining the language in question as a complex system of subsystems “does not commit us to the untenable position that an external cause excludes an internal one” (1988, p. 61). Rather, an explanation which takes in multiple causation is “clearly preferable to a variety of unconnected, exclusively internal explanations for the separate changes, even when each hypothesized internal explanation is in itself quite reasonable” (*ibid.*).

Untangling the different motivations for language change in cases of complex language contact situations, e.g. involving genetically similar languages, or speaker populations with multiple L1s, can be difficult and even impossible to establish precisely. In Aikhenvald’s (2007, p. 10) words: “Identifying the details of multiple causation is often fraught with the unknown – like pieces of a puzzle irrevocably lost”. This is particularly so in the case of contact situations where historical records are scarce or even non-existent, and so “there is often no way to tell for any particular feature whether it has been retained, is an internal development in a group of languages, or has been diffused (or from which language to which)” (Curnow, 2001, p. 423).

Besides linguistic factors involved in language contact, a plethora of extralinguistic factors play a major role in language contact, making it difficult to predict the outcomes in contact situations.⁹ Among the aspects invoked by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) as most fundamental in determining the linguistic outcomes is the ‘intensity of contact’ between the speakers of the respective languages, that is, the extent to which cultural pressure is exerted by the numerically and/or politically stronger speaker population. Thomason (2003, p. 689) admits that it is a “vague notion, but it is difficult to pin down more precisely in a way that applies to a wide range of contact situations”. It can be conceived of as an amalgam of a range of social parameters including demographic, economic, political and historical factors such as the following (cf. Aikhenvald, 2007, pp. 36-45; Clyne, 2003; Sankoff, 2002, pp. 641-

⁹ Clyne (1987b) points out that the importance of social factors in language contact was already acknowledged by Schuchardt in the late 19th century, who “always gives exhaustive social data (e.g. on social setting and ‘ethnic mix’) to support his linguistic examples” (p. 456).

643; Thomason, 2003, p. 689; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, pp. 65-72; Weinreich, 1968):

- the frequency and type of interaction/contact between speakers of the respective contact languages (e.g. the degree of bilingualism and shift, i.e. stable/unstable; the duration of contact, i.e. prolonged/sporadic);
- the type of community (internally closed/externally open);
- language attitudes of speakers (linguistic purism/no resistance to foreign influence), and issues of identity (e.g. ethnicity);
- prestige hierarchies and relations of power/status between the languages and their speakers;
- the relative sizes of the speaker populations;
- the lifestyle of speakers (urbanised groups, agriculturalists, nomadics, etc.);
- the socioeconomic and social organisation of the respective speaker populations;
- gender and marriage patterns.

Some of these social factors – and other correlates including social networks (e.g. J. Milroy & Milroy, 1978), class and age (cf. the work by Labov, e.g. 1972a) – may also play a role in language change within relatively monolingual settings (e.g. speakers of different dialects of the same standard variety, both socially and regionally distinct). As for language change in monolingual settings, social factors in bilingual contexts do not work in isolation of each other but form a complex, integrated whole with linguistic ones. In other words, “linguistic structures change not in ‘response’ to social changes, but linguistic and social change are mutually constitutive” (Deumert, 2006, p. 2138).

What has emerged from this cursory overview of issues involved in language contact and structural change is that the picture is far from straightforward; instead, it is highly complex. Language change in language contact situations is largely unpredictable and determined by linguistic and social factors, even though linguists differ as

to whether cross-linguistic and/or language-internal aspects take precedence over social determinants or vice versa; in fact, it is much more likely to be a reflection of both.

1.1.2 Language maintenance and shift

Research on language maintenance and shift issues has contributed enormously to our understanding of bilingual communities, and to the causes and the process of language shift. While, in cases of political and social upheaval, (i.e. through conquest/colonisation), language shift to the dominant language may be slow, taking place over many generations of bilinguals, in immigrant situations speakers often undergo rapid linguistic assimilation to the mainstream society. The latter scenario generally involves a three-generation process whereby the first generation speakers have little or no competence in the majority language, their children will be proficient in both languages, and by the third generation, speakers will have largely shifted to the majority language with no or little knowledge of the immigrant language. This has been well documented for the North American context (cf. Edwards, 1998; Fishman, 1966; Haugen, 1953; Veltman, 1983) but also for immigrant communities in Australia (cf. Clyne, 1991; Kipp, Clyne, & Pauwels, 1995) and Europe (cf. Extra & Verhoeven, 1993).

For some immigrant communities, prolonged language maintenance – that is beyond three generations – has been noted: these speech communities are often characterised by strong religious beliefs (e.g. ultra-orthodox Jewish communities in New York, Fishman, 1980) and constitute ethno-religious communities (cf. Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006). Language enclave research (*Sprachinselforschung*),¹⁰ having traditionally focussed on transplanted German language varieties, has also sought to under-

¹⁰ There does not appear to be any clear consensus regarding the English equivalent of the German term *Sprachinsel*; a multitude of terms exists, ranging from *speech island* (Rosenberg, 2005), *language island* (Földes, 2006), *linguistic island* (Clyne, 1994; Kipp, 2006b), *linguistic enclave* (Kloss, 1971), *settlement enclave* (cf. Swann, Deumert, Lillis, & Mesthrie, 2004) to *language enclave* (Louden, 2006b). These terms tend to be used synonymously in the literature; some authors even extend the term ‘speech island’ (or its equivalents) to denote the concept of ‘minority language’ (2001).

stand why some communities maintain their ethnic language for many generations (cf., for example, the contributions in Berend & Knipf-Komlósi, 2006; Berend & Mattheier, 1994; Keel & Mattheier, 2003).

The course of language shift¹¹ is typically characterised by some period of bilingualism within the shifting community. This is generally described in terms of domains or spheres of life within which the minority language is still maintained while the majority or dominant language is increasingly used in others, generally more formal or public ones (Fishman, 1964). The family or home domain carries a pivotal function where intergenerational transmission occurs – a crucial aspect of continued language maintenance. Religion or the church domain also tends to be a sociolinguistic stronghold where the minority language(s) may survive for some generations.

In explaining why speakers (as individuals, but also as groups) shift from one language to another, or conversely, why and how other speakers maintain their L1, the literature suggests a multiplicity of factors, described in a variety of models (for overviews cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987; Clyne, 2003; Dressler, 2006; Riehl, 2004; Romaine, 1995). For instance, in his analysis of the German language situation in the United States, Kloss (1966) proposes six clear-cut and six ambivalent factors involved in maintenance efforts (for an extended list of factors, cf. Conklin & Lourie, 1983). Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels (1995) note a number of individual and group factors as relevant to language maintenance/shift within the Australian context, including birthplace, knowledge of English prior to migration, closeness of the immigrant language/culture to the mainstream Australian one, etc. (cf. also Clyne, 1991).

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) suggest a model for classifying factors, which affect the ethnolinguistic vitality of ethnic communities. This model was originally developed for indigenous language minorities but has also been applied to immigrant settings, e.g. Danish speakers in the United States (Kristiansen, Harwood, & Giles, 1991). Among the amalgamated factors identified, which affect the decline of lan-

¹¹ Defined by Fishman (1991) as a process whereby “speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses every generation” (p. 1).

guage varieties, are economic changes, demographic factors, institutional/governmental support for the minority language, and (perceived) status of the (ethnic) language variety (e.g. its socioeconomic status, prestige status).

Other factors that impact upon language usage patterns include marriage patterns, i.e. exogamy has been found to promote language shift among Dutch speakers in Australia (Pauwels, 1985). Gender relations can affect not only the linguistic outcomes in language contact settings but may also impact upon language usage patterns (de Kadt, 2002a; Gal, 1979; Holmes, 1993). Intergenerational transmission is crucial in language maintenance and influences the extent to which the minority language is used among the younger generation (Sridhar, 1988). As mentioned, the role played by the church/religion is another domain that can be influential in promoting language maintenance (e.g. Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006; Pauwels, 1994; Salmons, 1983; Woods, 2004). Educational attainment is often a vehicle of socioeconomic (and geographical) mobility, and as such, a critical factor in language maintenance and shift, i.e. higher education levels are often associated with increased language shift to the dominant variety (e.g. de Klerk, 2000; Walker, 1984). Further, since language and people's identity construction – whether their social (or group) identity(ies) or their individual identity – are bound in complex and inseparable ways (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, p. 315), ethnic languages can also function as markers of ethnic identity, and as such, can influence language maintenance efforts (cf. Fishman, 1977, 1966; LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Willoughby, 2006). The link between language maintenance and ethnicity has also been described in terms of an ethnic group's core values (Smolicz, 1981). Language may constitute one of these core values and ethnic groups differ in their emphasis on core values, e.g. some groups place a greater importance on language than others, thereby promoting language maintenance or language shift (but cf. Clyne, 1988; 1991, for a critique).

To sum up, sociolinguistic factors whether they are favourable or detrimental to language maintenance, do not constitute a fixed set of factors but depend on the specific situation of a speech community. They are multifaceted and interrelated, and do not occur in isolation but interact in complex ways as a result of the historical, po-

litical, economic and social context of each language contact situation. As Clyne (2003, p. 69) puts it, “language use reflects people’s multiple identities, different constituent parts of which may be emphasized at various times and in different places”. In the remainder of this chapter the focus is shifted from the wider research framework to the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa, and then, more specifically, to German speakers in South Africa.

1.2 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The language ecology of South Africa is as complex as its social, economic and political history. Although English has been a dominant variety in South Africa for over two hundred years, the linguistic situation is unlike the Australian or North American context. To begin with, South Africa now has eleven official languages, nine Bantu languages and two Germanic ones. English is acquired as a mother tongue¹² by only a minority of speakers, yet its sphere of influence and extensive use is unprecedented by any of the other official languages. Nevertheless, there is a high level of functional multilingualism (especially among black South Africans) and extensive inter-group communication, and many of the African languages, such as Zulu,¹³ continue to thrive as first languages. In Webb’s (2002, p. 64) words, “South Africa’s languages are reflectors, conveyors and constituents of the complexly differentiated society”.¹⁴ This section presents an overview of the languages spoken in South Africa, followed by

¹² Terminology with regard to languages and social groups is notoriously difficult in South Africa (for a discussion, cf. Mesthrie, 2002b). The term ‘native language/speaker’ is generally avoided because of its association with the label ‘native’ for ‘Black African’, used especially during the apartheid era. ‘Native’ is now considered quite offensive. In a country where multilingualism is common, the term ‘first language’ is slightly opaque given that speakers may have multiple first languages, and the boundaries between what counts as a first or as a second language (or third, etc.) can be indistinct and fluid. I follow here the more common practice within South African sociolinguistic writing here by using the term ‘mother tongue’ (for a discussion, cf. also Webb, 2002, p. 67).

¹³ Following the practice in Mesthrie (2002d), I use the anglicised form for the names of Bantu languages here, i.e. without their language appropriate prefix, e.g. ‘Zulu’ rather than ‘isiZulu’ (cf. also Herbert & Bailey, 2002, p. 74; Webb, 2002, p. 97). For reasons to use prefixes, cf. Kamwangamalu (2001, p. 432).

¹⁴ For excellent overviews of the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa, cf., for example, the volume edited by Mesthrie (2002d), Kamwangamalu (2001) or Webb (2002).

demographic information, a brief discussion of language policy issues and the role played by English in present-day South Africa.

1.2.1 A sociolinguistic profile

Present-day South Africa is constituted into nine provinces (Map 1-1). The 2001 census places South Africa's population at 44.8 million people.

Map 1-1: Political map of present-day South Africa, showing the provinces post-1994 (adapted from Mesthrie, 2002c, p. 21).



Although since 1994 (post-apartheid), there are no longer any racial classifications, race continues to divide the South African population along social and economic lines. Based on the distinction of population groups made in the 2001 census, the distribution is as follows: Black African (79.0%), White (9.6%), Coloured (8.9%), and Indian/Asian (2.5%).¹⁵ The majority of South Africa is urbanised (53.7%),¹⁶ and the

¹⁵ In labelling the various populations groups, I largely follow the terms used in the census data collection and associated publications; association with these population groups is based on self-perception and self-classification (Census in brief; Statistics South Africa, 2003).

¹⁶ This figure is based on the 1996 census, since the 2001 census does not give figures for the urban/rural divide. It is likely that a current estimation of urban dwellers would be much higher given the increasing urbanisation of the South African population.

major urban centres include Pretoria, Johannesburg and Vanderbijlpark (Gauteng), Cape Town (Western Cape), Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage (Eastern Cape), and the Durban, Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg area (KwaZulu-Natal).

There is a high degree of linguistic diversity in South Africa, and the languages spoken today are estimated to be around 25.¹⁷ They belong to several language families: the Khoesan (now almost extinct), Bantu languages (of the Niger-Congo family), Indo-European ones and, to a far lesser extent, Chinese and Dravidian languages. Included in the Bantu languages are the Nguni languages Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele and Swati, the Sotho languages Pedi, Sotho and Tswana, and Venda and Tsonga – all of which have been official languages since 1996. Of the Indo-European languages, the Germanic languages English and Afrikaans are official languages (both of which encompass diverse varieties, cf. below), while Portuguese and German, the numerically stronger immigrant languages of European background, are considered heritage languages (other immigrant languages include Polish, Italian, Greek, French and Dutch). Further minority languages in South Africa are a number of Indic languages, including Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati and Konkani, and Dravidian languages such as Tamil and Telugu (some of which are also considered heritage languages). Small numbers of speakers of Chinese varieties are also found in present-day South Africa. Three languages – Sanskrit, Arabic and Hebrew – are used for religious purposes (Kamwangamalu, 2001; Mesthrie, 2002c).

In addition to the Bantu languages mentioned above, a number of other Bantu languages, such as Shona or Kalanga, are spoken by some migrant mineworkers or recent (legal and illegal) immigrants from neighbouring countries. Urban varieties, such as Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho, exist in urban areas such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, where residents are often engaged in (re-)negotiations of identity and linguistic behaviour (cf. Slabbert & Finlayson, 2000). The pidgin language Fanagalo (or 'Fanakalo') is presently "best understood as describing a continuum of varieties which, in their

¹⁷ The LANGTAG (Language Plan Task Group) report places the figure for languages spoken in South Africa much higher, at about 80, including the official languages (cited in Webb, 2002, p. 67).

typical linguistic features, range from Zulu at one pole to South African English at the other” (Adendorff, 2002, p. 181).

Table 1-1 is based on figures from the 2001 census and provides an indication of speaker numbers on home language use, i.e. the language most often spoken within the home (note that this does not account for speakers who have multiple mother tongues).¹⁸ The census provides figures for South Africa’s eleven official languages and subsumes unofficial languages such as Portuguese, German or Shona within the category ‘other’.

Table 1-1: Home language by speaker numbers (in million), percentages and geographical areas of concentration in South Africa, 2001 (source: Statistics South Africa, Stats Online, Census 2001).

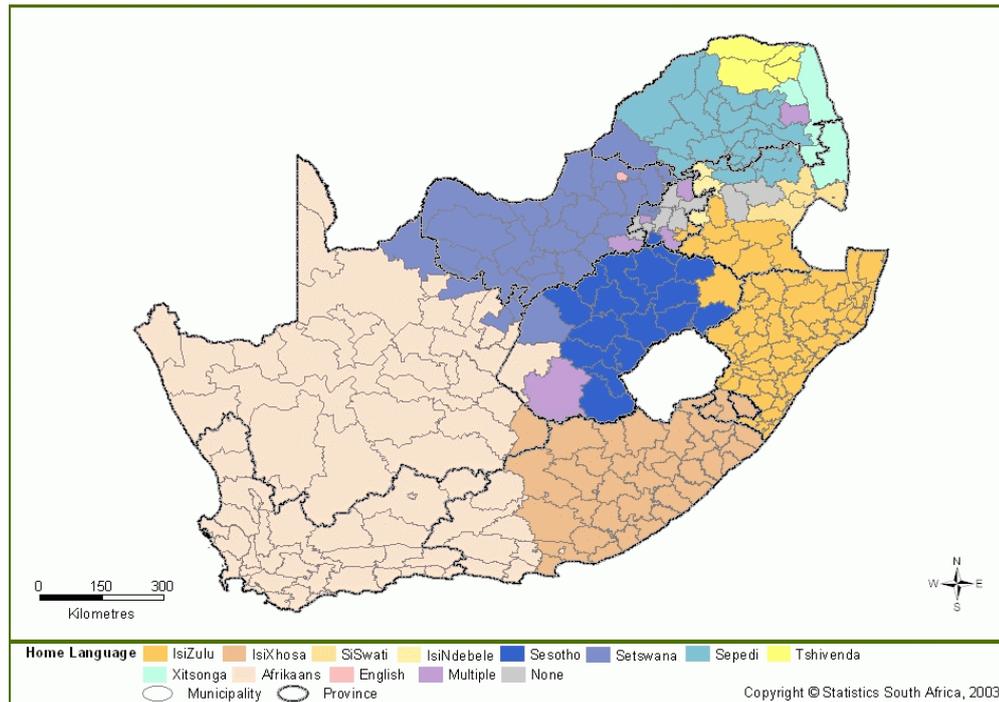
| Home language | Speaker numbers | Percentage | Geographical areas of concentration |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| Zulu | 10.7 | 23.8% | KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng |
| Xhosa | 7.9 | 17.6% | Eastern Cape, Western Cape |
| Afrikaans | 5.9 | 13.3% | Western Cape, Gauteng, Northern Cape |
| Pedi | 4.2 | 9.4% | Limpopo, Gauteng |
| Tswana | 3.7 | 8.2% | North West, Gauteng |
| English | 3.7 | 8.2% | KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Western Cape |
| Sotho | 3.6 | 7.9% | Free State, Gauteng |
| Tsonga | 1.9 | 4.4% | Limpopo, Gauteng |
| Swati | 1.2 | 2.7% | Mpumalanga, Gauteng |
| Venda | 1.0 | 2.3% | Limpopo, Gauteng |
| Ndebele | 0.7 | 1.6% | Mpumalanga, Gauteng |
| Other | 0.2 | 0.5% | Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal |
| Total | 44.8 | 100.0% | |

Map 1-2 shows the geographical distribution with regards to home language concentration across South Africa. Although not evident in Map 1-2, Afrikaans is distributed nationally, with concentrations in the Western and Northern Cape, the Free State and in Pretoria. English is mostly spoken in urban areas, dominant in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and the Durban/Pietermaritzburg area. The African languages have regional

¹⁸ With regard to home language use, census data generally need to be treated with caution, as these figures do not necessarily reflect the sociolinguistic reality. Herbert and Bailey (2002, p. 67) point to the unreliability of census data since “there is little interest in defining what counts as ‘a speaker’. In South Africa, it is often taken to be axiomatic that Zulu persons speak Zulu, Xhosa persons speak Xhosa, etc.”.

concentrations, though they are also widely spoken in urban areas. There are, for example, concentrations of Pedi speakers in Pretoria, Zulu speakers in Johannesburg, and Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

Map 1-2: Geographical distribution of home languages across South Africa (source: Statistics South Africa, Stats Online, Census 2001¹⁹).



The picture created by the above graphic representations of home language use, however, is that speakers essentially use one home language while, in fact, many speakers in South Africa are proficient in several language varieties. Further, more than one variety might be used, for example, within the home domain on a daily basis.

Moreover, the concept of ‘mother tongue speaker’ is particularly complex in South Africa since speakers may have multiple mother tongues and/or speakers may not be able to identify one specific language as their mother tongue. Mesthrie (2002c, p. 12) provides a telling example of the kind of dynamic multilingualism not uncom-

¹⁹ <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2001/digiAtlas/index.html>

mon in South Africa, particularly among urban dwellers. This account is from a 23-year-old male student from Germiston, located in the urban Gauteng area:

My father's home language was Swazi, and my mother's home language was Tswana. But as I grew up in a Zulu-speaking area we used mainly Zulu and Swazi at home. But from my mother's side I also learnt Tswana well. In my high school I came into contact with lots of Sotho and Tswana students, so I can speak these two languages well. And of course I know English and Afrikaans. With my friends I also use Tsotsitaal.

Although English is spoken within the home domain, i.e. as a mother tongue, by only a minority of speakers (8.2%),²⁰ this disguises the fact that English is the most dominant language in South Africa today. It is by far the most influential and extensively used language variety in government, in education and in the media. The following section accounts briefly for the rise of English in South Africa.

1.2.2 Language policy and the role of English

Language is a controversial issue in South Africa, reflecting its complex history and the language policies pursued by different governments during different eras.²¹ For instance, while Afrikaners fought for the right to educate their children in Dutch/Afrikaans in the face of ongoing Anglicisation efforts by the British during the late 19th and early 20th century (the so-called *taalstryd* 'language struggle'), black Africans strongly opposed mother tongue education in schools which was enforced under apartheid (Reagan, 2002, p. 422). A corollary of the latter situation, that is as a consequence of the Bantu Education Act (1953)²² and other official language policies im-

²⁰ Figures for use of English as home language according to the individual population groups are as follows: 0.5% Black African, 18.9% Coloured, 39.3% White, and 93.8% Indian/Asian. As these figures show, it is only among the population of Indian descent that English is used almost exclusively as home language, i.e. as a mother tongue (cf. Mesthrie, 1996, for an overview of South African Indian English).

²¹ Language planning and policy is one of the most widely discussed topics in South African sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. For recent discussions on the language planning and policy situation and implications for language practices in present-day South Africa, the reader is referred to, for example, Heugh (2002), Kamwangamalu (2001), Mesthrie (2006), Reagan (2002), and Webb (2002).

²² The Bantu Education Act enforced a policy of mother tongue education in primary schools (up to grade 8); this was strongly opposed by black South Africans since "[t]he apartheid regime used such programmes to reinforce ethnic and tribal identity among black schoolchildren, seeking to 'divide and conquer' by encouraging ethnolinguistic divisions within the black community" (Reagan, 2002, p. 423). The attempt to extend Afrikaans as medium of instruction (to half of the school subjects) in 'black' secondary

posed by the apartheid regime, this has led to increasingly negative attitudes towards African languages by black South Africans. As Maartens (1998, p. 35) points out,

[a]s a result of the official language policies over the years, most African people attach little value to their mother tongue and believe it to be deficient or impoverished in a way that makes it unsuitable for use in a modern society.

African languages are accorded little prestige in the public domains and can be described as marginalised (Webb, 2002, p. 83) though, as Mesthrie (2006, pp. 151, 156) points out, they are also positively associated with traditional African values and cultures, carrying covert prestige in their respective language communities. Nevertheless, the insignificant (public) value placed on African languages by their speakers – in contrast to the high prestige of English – also contributes to the increasing shift to English among black South Africans. This situation further complicates the already complex language policy and planning situation in present-day South Africa and “represents a major challenge to attempts to promote the use of the Bantu languages as, for instance, languages of learning and teaching in formal education” (Webb, 2002, p. 88).

In the last century, South Africa had a language policy of official bilingualism (since 1910, English and Dutch; the latter was replaced by Afrikaans in 1925), reflecting, however, only the linguistic diversity of white South Africans. The political changes brought about by the end of the apartheid government led to more frequent discussions of language-related matters. In the course of the socio-political changes South Africa underwent in the 1990s and in the ensuing proposals for a new constitution, eleven languages were identified; these were to function as South Africa’s official languages (Heugh, 2002).

The new constitution was passed in 1996, and encompassed clauses on language policy. South Africa now promotes official multilingualism, seeking to elevate the status and functions of official languages historically suppressed (i.e. the African

schools later culminated in the violent Soweto uprisings of 1976. The rejection of Afrikaans, and Bantu-education in general, in black South African communities also advanced the position of English in the same communities.

languages). The constitution emphasises the support for the development and use of the official languages as well as unofficial ones such as the Khoi, Nama and San languages, and also sign language varieties. In addition, it promotes and ensures respect for “all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu” (South African Constitution, chapter 1, section 6; cited in Webb, 2002, p. 51).

The post-apartheid rise of English and the role English plays (or is to play) in South African society has been hotly debated in recent years (cf., for example, the contributions in de Klerk, 1996; Kamwangamalu, 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Louw, 2004; Maartens, 1998; McDermott, 1998; Webb, 2002). English was first brought to the Cape with the beginning of the British colonisation of South Africa in 1795, following a substantial period of Dutchification, during which the Cape was under Dutch control by the VOC, the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (‘Dutch East India Company’), between 1652-1795, and again briefly between 1803-1806. The ensuing period of British control was marked by an “aggressive Anglicisation policy” (Maartens, 1998, p. 26, cf. also Deumert, 2004, pp. 261-262) during which the use of English was extended first to the state schools, then to the courts and other government sectors, and eventually to all public domains. In the course of the Anglicisation process, Cape Dutch (Afrikaans) became stigmatised as ‘kitchen Dutch’, and was hence largely restricted to usage within the home (Maartens, 1998, p. 26) or to private schools where (Cape) Dutch could be used as the medium of instruction (Kamwangamalu, 2001, p. 366). The Anglicisation efforts by the British government played an instrumental part in the rise of (white) Afrikaner nationalism towards the end of the 19th century, in what was essentially a struggle against Anglo-cultural imperialism (cf. Branford, 1996; Lanham, 1996; Louw, 2004; Watermeyer, 1996).

English quickly gained ground in urban environments, while Afrikaans was more widespread in the rural areas among the white (and coloured) population. The African languages continued as the medium of communication among black South

Africans.²³ From 1925 onwards, English and Afrikaans (replacing Dutch) were the sole official languages of South Africa, and with the beginning of the Nationalist government in 1948, “attempts were made to enforce Afrikaans over English in every sphere of public life” (Lanham, 1996, p. 26). As a consequence, English declined in use among (white) Afrikaans speakers, although Afrikaans-English bilingualism has been on the rise again since the end of apartheid in the early 1990s. Among the coloured population, many of whom are Afrikaans-speaking, a slight shift to English as home language has been noted in recent years (Branford, 1996, p. 41). During apartheid, English was dominant across the economic, higher education and industry sector, while Afrikaans functioned predominantly in the civil service and government, and in the police and defence forces (Mesthrie, 2002c, p. 23).

As mentioned above, English has been but one of the eleven official languages of South Africa since 1996, yet its sphere of influence and the prestige it has been accorded is unrivalled by any other language variety. Even though English is a colonial language in South Africa – as in many other Anglo-phone African countries – and implicated with issues of power and struggle against it (i.e. representing British colonial dominance), attitudes towards English held by black South Africans are largely positive. Towards the end of apartheid, English became associated with liberation and resistance among black South Africans within the context of an oppressive apartheid regime (cf. Gough, 1996; Kamwangamalu, 2001; Lanham, 1996). ‘Black English’ now functions as a “symbol of identity, solidarity and the aspirations of black South Africans” (Lanham, 1996, p. 27). It is seen as the key to socio-economic advancement, self-empowerment and to the “privilege and prestige of the ‘whites’” (McDermott, 1998, p. 112). The relationship between the African languages and English constitutes, in Mesthrie’s (2006, p. 160) words, a “modern day paradox”. He goes on to say that,

the standard varieties of African languages are associated with the rural areas, which are no longer centres of prestige. High-status black South Africans are more likely to be ur-

²³ KwaZulu-Natal is somewhat of an exception to this, i.e. there is widespread use of English among white speakers in rural areas. Historically, this province has been a stronghold of English since its annexation by the British government in 1843.

ban-wise 'modern' people, who speak English and non-standard urban varieties of African languages, showing extensive borrowing of vocabulary, code-switching and neologisms.

While English may, in the future, fulfil the function of a *lingua franca* across population and language groups, and even though it currently enjoys enormous social prestige (especially among black South Africans), the rise of English also had, and continues to have, negative corollaries (cf. Branford, 1996; Kamwangamalu, 2001; Louw, 2004; McDermott, 1998; Ridge, 2004; Webb, 1996, 2002). For one, it is perceived as a remnant of colonialism and as a symbol of elitism and social exclusivity, i.e. as the language of the educated urban elite, and yet concurrently, English is inextricably associated with modernity and, therefore, upward socio-economic mobility. Striking differences with regards to competence levels among black South Africans exist and many black South Africans have not been able to acquire the necessary proficiency to use English effectively as a medium of communication within tertiary education and/or to obtain higher-paid jobs (Webb, 2002, p. 12). Lack of English or low proficiency levels hence act as barriers to higher education and socio-economic advancement. The powerful status of English is further seen as suppressing and alienating indigenous African traditions and cultures, and considered a major threat to African language maintenance. Concomitantly, the (public) usage and status of Afrikaans has been severely declining in recent years. Questions of 'normative' English usage (a standard?, many standards?) also arise in the face of several English varieties having emerged in South Africa, e.g. 'Black English', 'Indian English', 'Afrikaans English' or sociolinguistic descriptions such as 'extreme', 'respectable' or 'conservative' South African English (cf. Chick & Wade, 1997; de Klerk & Gough, 2002; Lass, 2002; Mesthrie, 2002a, 2006; Titlestad, 1996; van der Walt & van Rooy, 2002; Webb, 1996).

Despite the constitutional endorsement of a policy of official multilingualism, South Africa is facing an "increasing practice of [English] monolingualism" (Webb, 2002, p. 26) in government, education, the media and the economic sector. There exists, in effect, a "very real mismatch between the multilingual policy of official documentation and actual language practice in government, education and business" (Maartens, 1998, p. 35). The lack of practical implementation of the language clauses,

stipulated in the constitution, has also been criticised by some. For example, Kamwangamalu (2001, p. 411) remarks that “not much progress has been made yet in attempts to implement the policy” , in particular as pertaining to mother-tongue education. Webb (2002, p. 51) points out that the language stipulations contain several ‘escape clauses’ concerning usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, and the needs and preferences of the population involved (national or provincial).

Questions also exist as to the nature of linguistic rights and their protection in practical terms with regards to the unofficial (heritage) languages. Relevant to the present study is, for example, the stipulation in the constitution which explicitly protects German as a language ‘commonly used by communities’. Although the recognition of a number of immigrant languages of European and Indian background as heritage languages is commendable, it also “brings some new dangers of a sharp divide between those that are recognized as official and those that are not” (Mesthrie & McCormick, 1999, p. 4). For some immigrant languages, notably Portuguese and certain Indian ones, “very real fears about the further marginalization of heritage languages” (Mesthrie & McCormick, 1999, p. 4) exist in the face of focussed attention on the official languages (in the media, government, education, academic scholarship etc.). This also holds true for sections of the German-speaking community, where fears exist as to the protection of their linguistic right to continue German mother tongue education for the first few years of primary schooling and/or as a school subject for mother tongue speakers, and, to a lesser extent, also for foreign language learners.

Having presented an overview of the language situation in South Africa, I now focus my attentions on the (socio)linguistic literature that exists with regard to German speakers in South Africa.

1.3 GERMAN AS A CONTACT LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Although German speakers have formed part of the South African population since the beginning of the Dutch era in the 17th century (cf. chapter 2), they have received

relatively little (socio)linguistic attention to date. There are some overview articles in existence – similar in scope and content – which deal with the language situation of the German communities²⁴ and German in South Africa in general (Bodenstein, 1995; Böhm, 2003b; de Kadt, 1995, 1998, 2002b). There is, therefore, a distinct lack of a current and comprehensive literature pertaining to linguistic aspects on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to the sociolinguistic dynamics involved in on-going language maintenance efforts, and also to language shift tendencies.

This is not to say that no previous studies exist; a limited number of studies deal with issues of language maintenance and shift in selected German communities (Annas, forthcoming; de Kadt, 2000; Grüner, 1979; Scheffer, 1991) or individual speakers (Schaberg & Barkhuizen, 1998). Annas (2008) and de Kadt (2000) focus on the pivotal role that ethnic identity construction plays in language maintenance efforts. Rabe (2005) also explores questions of identity, though contrastingly, in a (white) Afrikaans-speaking community whose speakers identify themselves not as Afrikaners but as ‘Duitse’. There are even fewer linguistic enquiries; Stielau (1980) presents a linguistically-oriented study on German in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Scheffer (1991) examines the German spoken in Pretoria, and de Kadt (2001) makes observations on Wartburg German, KwaZulu-Natal. In the following section, these studies are reviewed in detail, first those which focus on linguistic aspects, followed by studies which deal more closely with sociolinguistic matters (though there is, of course, a certain overlap, i.e. Scheffer (1991) documents linguistic as well as sociolinguistic issues).

²⁴ Applying the term ‘speech community’ (Gumperz, 1972) to German speakers in South Africa is not as straightforward as it may sound, because, for one, the term ‘German speech community’ could encompass all German speakers across South Africa, regardless of their sociolinguistic or socio-historical background (i.e. recent immigrants vs. descendants of earlier settlers; urban vs. rural speakers; etc.). This is not, however, a viable option since German speakers are dispersed across South Africa and do not see themselves as a cohesive community (cf. also de Kadt, 2000, p. 74). This is discussed further in chapter 2. For the purpose of this review of the literature, ‘German community’ is used to refer to the local community of German speakers, e.g. Wartburg Germans or Pretoria Germans who have regular and frequent interaction with each other and share various social norms and values.

1.3.1 *German as a contact language: Linguistic investigations*

As mentioned, there are to date three studies which deal with linguistic aspects of German as spoken in South Africa. Scheffer (1991) recorded lexical items in the speech of German speakers in an urban setting, Pretoria. De Kadt (2001), in a study of teenage language skills in Wartburg, also notes some linguistic variation, while Stielau (1980), though fairly dated now, still presents the most comprehensive study of German in KwaZulu-Natal so far.

Natal German in the 1960's: Stielau (1980)

Stielau's (1980) study of 'Natal German'²⁵ – the term she uses to describe the variety of German spoken in the province KwaZulu-Natal (historically known as Natal, hence 'Natal German') – is based on language data collected in German communities across rural KwaZulu-Natal²⁶ in the mid-1960s. Intending to provide an overview of the (then) current language situation, Stielau sees her study as situated within the broad field of language contact. Her study, first and foremost, documents the effects of language contact of English and Afrikaans on Natal German by examining lexical borrowing and changes on the (morpho)syntactic level.

Stielau's methodological approach combines spoken language data with written material and a translation exercise, though in her presentation of the data she is, unfortunately, largely unclear about the source of her examples, e.g. whether from spoken or written material, male or female speakers/writers, which community the material comes from, etc. Her motive for not distinguishing between spoken and writ-

²⁵ In their respective studies, Stielau (1980) uses the label 'Natal German', whereas de Kadt (2001) employs the more specific term *Wartburg German*. Wartburg is located in the province of KwaZulu-Natal and could hence be subsumed under the label Natal German. In reviewing these studies, I use the terms applied in the respective publications. However, I specifically employ the term *Springbokdeutsch* (or its English equivalent 'Springbok-German') to refer to the variety investigated in this thesis, that is the variety spoken by German speakers in rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal. *Springbokdeutsch* is the self-ascribed label used by speakers and hence to be preferred over Natal German.

²⁶ These communities are largely made up of the descendants of the 19th century missionaries and settlers (cf. chapter 2).

ten language data is given in a footnote, and reveals a narrow understanding of language use across different media of communication:

Da in der Dokumentation das Material aus Gründen der Übersichtlichkeit alphabetisch geordnet wurde, konnten diese schriftlichen Belege nicht von denen der alltäglichen Umgangssprache abgehoben werden.

Eine Trennung zwischen Ausdrücken aus dem gehobenen Bereich des Unterrichts oder des schriftlichen Verkehrs oder dem der Umgangssprache schien mir auch deshalb nicht angebracht, weil die Beispiele zeigen, daß das gleiche Phänomen sich in allen Bereichen manifestiert. (footnote 5, p. 7)

Her approach to the collection of spoken language data is restricted to noting down “Besonderheiten” (p. 9), that is, “Neubildungen und Abweichungen” (p. 7) she encountered in the speech of German speakers from various communities in KwaZulu-Natal. Interviews were not conducted since “[f]reies Sprechen hatte sich in den Vorversuchen als nicht sehr ergiebig erwiesen” (p. 9).

Stielau’s collection of written data is of a limited size, consisting of students’ essays and exams (from students at the former University of Natal), and a few letters. No further information regarding the collection of the written data is provided, such as how many texts she collected or how they were made available to her. Based on the “vorgefundenen Abweichungen im Sprachgebrauch der Deutschnataler” (‘the variation found in the language use of Natal Germans’, p. 8), Stielau designed a translation exercise to examine sentence structure and word order. This exercise involved the translation of 70 sentences and word lists (items referring to everyday life) from either English or Afrikaans into German. Participants for the translation exercise included 65 students from the German high school in Hermannsburg, 25 participants from the Paulpietersburg and Vryheid area, and 25 persons from Durban and Izotsha.

The largest part of her study focuses on lexical borrowing; as such, morpho-syntactic and syntactic features are examined to a much lesser extent. Her findings reveal that Natal German has borrowed lexical items extensively from English and Afrikaans, and to some extent from Zulu. Most of the borrowed items refer to economic concepts, household items, animals, plants, diseases, farming practices, etc. – items and concepts that were first encountered in the new environment in South Africa and/or have something to do with modern life. Examples cited include *die*

Mamba ‘mamba’, *der Springbock* ‘gazelle’, *der Jacaranda* ‘Jacaranda tree’, *Tick fever* ‘tick fever’ and *farmen* ‘to farm’ (p. 233). Loan words in Natal German may constitute loan translations (*Sandsturm* ‘sand storm’), loan renditions (*Regenzeit* ‘rain season’), or may be borrowed as foreign lexical items (*conveyer belt*). Lexical items are integrated morphologically to differing degrees: morphologically integrated nouns, i.e. characterised by German plural endings are, for example, generally assigned masculine gender. Stielau contends that borrowed verbs are principally always integrated morphologically and inflected as weak verbs (pp. 46, 234). Certain function words such as conjunctions and prepositions are also borrowed and integrated as loan translations.

In terms of morphological and syntactic changes, it is difficult to clearly identify and assess tendencies of change because of the anecdotally-based methodology of Stielau’s study. Nevertheless, a few points can be made: Stielau (pp. 209-223) notes variation in case marking, verbal paradigms and tense/aspect usage, infinitive complements and also word order.

Changes pertaining to the verbal paradigm involve a tendency for vowel alternation (ablaut) in present tense inflections in a number of regular and irregular verbs, e.g. *er kauft* ‘he’s buying’, *er läuft* ‘he’s running’ (p. 212). Stielau (1980, p.212) further mentions the loss of ablaut in the inflection of some irregular verbs, e.g. *er befiehlt* ‘he commands’, and in a number of imperative forms of irregular verbs, e.g. *Nehm!* ‘Take!’. With regards to changes of tense/aspect features, Stielau (p. 209) notes the increasing use of the indicative replacing subjunctive forms.

Natal German shows variation in case usage, exhibiting tendencies towards case reduction. This involves the replacement of genitive case in possessive constructions by analytic constructions and a potential case merger of the accusative and the dative. Stielau (p. 213) also comments on tendencies observed in infinitival complementation. Accordingly, infinitive clause constructions are frequently formed with the complementiser *um* ‘for’ and the infinitival marker *zu* ‘to’ and are not restricted to clauses expressing purposives. Word order in Natal German appears to have undergone relatively little change; Stielau (p. 223) notes *Ausklammerung* (‘exbraciation’) of

sentence constituents, largely concerning prepositional phrases only, and the movement of the negation particle *nicht* ‘not’ to the position right of the finite verb.

- (1) *Ich kann nicht diese traurige Geschichte vergessen.*
 I can not this sad story forget
 “I can’t forget this sad story.”

Some examples of the use of the adverb *besser* ‘better’ are provided (p. 225), seemingly in violation of the V2-constraint (cf. Louden's data on Pennsylvania German, Louden, 2006a). It is, however, more likely that this type of construction constitutes an unanalysed calque from the English expression rather than a V2-violation.

- (2) *Du besser gehst früh schlafen.*
 you better go early sleep
 “You’d better go to bed early.”

Although Stielau’s study presents interesting linguistic data on German as used in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1960s, her study also displays several limitations in its theoretical framework, methodology and the analysis of the language data (cf. de Kadt, 2000, 2001; Franke, 2007; Schaberg & Barkhuizen, 1998; Schweizer, 1982). I will only point to the most important of these here, namely her approach to language data collection, presentation and analysis.

As mentioned, Stielau gathered written as well as spoken language data without subsequently differentiating the data in her presentation (and presumably also her analysis). The examined lexical items are arranged alphabetically and, as a consequence, the written material is amalgamated with the spoken language data. The material on morphological and syntactic changes, though not arranged alphabetically, carries no indication of whether the examples provided are based on spoken or written language. By not differentiating between spoken and written data, Stielau completely disregards the fact that speech and writing are essentially different forms of communication and are context-dependent. Although it may not always be straightforward to clearly identify the boundaries between spoken and written language (i.e. informal written language use may in fact resemble spoken language use more closely than written texts, e.g. text messages), distinguishing between spoken and written

data is nevertheless a fundamental (standard) sociolinguistic practice (cf. Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985; L. Milroy, 1987; Roberts & Street, 1997).

Secondly, with regards to the documentation of borrowed lexical material (as mentioned, an alphabetical list of lexical items), there are only a few explanations illustrating the language use context and providing some further information. Likewise, her overview of morphosyntactic and syntactic features of Natal German is largely restricted to a collection of examples, often without linguistic analysis and occasionally without any description of the features. Since Stielau claims to document linguistic features of Natal German within the context of language contact research, this lack of adequate description and analysis of features (qualitatively as well as quantitatively) must essentially be seen as a severe limitation.

Finally, Stielau's understanding of bilingualism and code-switching is quite odd. It seems that in her understanding bilingual speakers, when switching from one variety to another (for whatever reason), regularly engage in translation activities. Translating can thus be considered a 'natural' linguistic activity, and hence can be used as a means for collecting 'natural' language data:

Der Einwand, daß die Situation des Übersetzens unnatürlich sei und also nicht zu natürlichem Sprachgebrauch führen könne, kann hier wegen der besonderen Lebensumstände der Deutsch-Südafrikaner nicht gelten. Von den meisten wird nämlich häufig erwartet, daß sie im Laufe eines Tages mehrmals die Sprache wechseln: von Deutsch zu English zu Afrikaans. (p. 8)

Although elicitation techniques are frequently used in language contact research, Stielau's notion to regard translation (or elicitation) as 'natural' language data is puzzling given that even early studies of bilingual communities (e.g. Haugen, 1953; Weinreich, 1968) did not equate bilingual speakers' language use with the ability to translate adequately. Similarly, early studies of code-switching (e.g. Blom & Gumperz, 1972) did not regard code-switching as a form of translation but as a bilingual communicative strategy. Since Stielau's study was published as a revised edition in 1980, based on her doctoral research of the 1960s, it is somewhat surprising that she fails to address more recent and/or fundamental developments in linguistic research, e.g. understanding speakers' language use in terms of specific domain distribution (Fishman

advanced his domain concept as early as the 1960s, e.g. Fishman, 1965) or within a social network structure (e.g. Gal, 1979; J. Milroy & Milroy, 1978).

Teenage language skills in Wartburg: de Kadt (2001)

In a paper drawing on language data collected in 1998, de Kadt (2001) investigates written proficiency levels of high school students of German background. The focus of her study are 24 students (aged between 12-13 and 17-18 years) at the Wartburg-Kirchdorf high school in the village of Wartburg, KwaZulu-Natal, and hence, the German investigated is labelled 'Wartburg German' (cf. footnote 25).

For the purpose of examining students' language skills, a number of written exercises were designed, including a translation exercise that required "carefully selected sentences to be translated from English to German" (p. 65), a vocabulary test, an exercise involving error analysis of a text written in "typical Wartburg German" (p. 65) and a production test using the verb *schenken* 'to give'. A background questionnaire elicited information on language use at home and school, attitudes towards German, and students' self-reported proficiency level of German.²⁷

Overall, de Kadt notes a "strongly colloquial level of language use" (p. 67), reflecting that, outside of the school context, German is rarely used for writing and is mainly restricted to spoken domains, e.g. within the family and at church. (Except for three students) German is spoken at home, though six students also report speaking English within the home domain. Almost half of the group of students (11) use German only German with relatives, while the others use German and English or Afrikaans. German is also used with close friends: seven of the students use only German with friends, while the majority uses both English and German. German books or magazines are read only to a minimal extent and outside of school students rarely have occasion to use German for written communication. This suggests that "the German used in Wartburg is to a large extent an oral language" (p. 66).

²⁷ Note also that de Kadt (2001) relies solely on written language data in her analysis of features of 'Wartburg German'. While there is no ambiguity as to where de Kadt's data stems from, it is nevertheless a shortcoming of previous research to have neglected spoken language data.

Turning to the language proficiency levels investigated, de Kadt contrasts speakers' language skills with Standard German norms, noting a number of structural phenomena pertaining to attrition of verbal endings, word order, case marking, and gender-based agreement between nouns and pronouns, and nouns and articles. Unfortunately, however, de Kadt refrained from quantifying her data because "this would create the impression of homogeneity [...] within this highly coherent group of respondents [where] usage patterns varied enormously" (p. 72). Consequently, it is unclear how some of her observations, such as features said to occur 'often' or 'occasionally', are to be interpreted, and thus these need to be treated with caution.

Her data show that the sentence structure remains virtually intact, with only a few instances of the finite verb occurring in second position in subordinate clauses. The complex relative clause 'the man you told me about' resulted in atypical structures, with the preposition generally occurring to the left of the finite verb as in *der Mann den du mir über erzählt hast*.

Students also showed reduction of verb infinitives and past particles, e.g. *gelien* (instead of *geliehen*) 'borrowed', though, in a number of cases, this may be at least partially "attributed to similarity between the two nasal consonants involved" (p. 71). She mentions two further instances where aberrant past particle forms were produced (*geben* instead of *gegeben* 'given' and *gesuchen* instead of *gesucht* 'searched'). Although isolated incidents, it is interesting to note that the form *gesuchen* was produced, corresponding to the form of irregular past participles, instead of the more common regular past particle affixation, especially since *suchen* follows the regular verb paradigm. Furthermore, de Kadt notes "a strong tendency in Wartburg German to substitute the single neuter form *es* ('it')" (p. 71) for pronouns referring to masculine or feminine nouns, i.e. use of *es* 'it' instead of *sie* 'she' or *ihn* 'he'. Lack of gender-based agreement between nouns and articles also seems to be weakening. No examples are, however, provided to illustrate her findings.

Regarding case marking, de Kadt's results indicate a potential case merger of accusative and dative case (supporting Stielau's earlier findings). De Kadt also comments that specific verbs, such as *helfen* 'to help', are generally produced with dative

constructions although there appears to be a high degree of variation in usage. Her lack of quantification makes it, however, difficult to assess the variation found in terms of indications for a case merger, and case reduction in general. This becomes even more problematic given her claims that genitive case is still largely available among the younger generation. For one, de Kadt relies on written data and the production of genitive case in constructions such as *Inges Haus* 'Inge's house' could well be restricted to more or less formal writing in school, where 'correct', i.e. prescribed usage would be encouraged through German language classes. The observation that genitive case is still available seems to be based on the occurrence of a number of possessive structures of the type above, i.e. proper noun constructions, which are commonly used in modern German. Her conclusion thus seems somewhat questionable. It is also interesting to note that Stielau, based on her data collected some forty years earlier, reports the loss of genitive case.

In general, de Kadt's findings indicate an overall style reduction, i.e. students are only able to express themselves in an informal style, resembling colloquial spoken language. Her analysis of the linguistic data could have, however, benefited from a quantitative breakdown of the forms and features observed. Furthermore, there are only relatively few examples provided in her paper; additional examples could have illustrated her findings more clearly. Lastly, an analysis of spoken language features to contrast her findings from the written material would have, no doubt, provided further valuable insight. Nevertheless, and despite these shortcomings, de Kadt's study presents useful data on written language skills from a set of younger generation German speakers in Wartburg. In particular, her findings of students' language practices are instructive for the present study, complementing the data gathered for this project.

German in Pretoria: Scheffer (1991)

While Stielau (1980) and de Kadt (2001) both investigate German speakers in rural settlements in KwaZulu-Natal, German speakers residing in the urban environment of

Pretoria form the focus of Scheffer's (1991) doctoral research. First, the sociolinguistic functions which German fulfils in the community are outlined, followed by a detailed examination of contact interferences, restricted to the lexical level within Pretoria German (also labelled *südafrikanisches Siedlerdeutsch* 'South African Settler German' by Scheffer). For this purpose, two separate questionnaires, one dealing with sociolinguistic aspects, the other asking for linguistic information, were devised and distributed between September 1978 and January 1979.

German speakers in Pretoria do not form a single, coherent community but live scattered across suburbs, intermixed with Afrikaans and English speakers, with whom they have regular and close contact. For 1980, Scheffer cites the figure of 4,379 speakers of German in Pretoria (0.7% of the white population in Pretoria) (p. 19). They are generally multilingual (German, English, Afrikaans), though competence levels may vary widely. A distinction is made between old immigrants and recent immigrants. The old immigrants are the descendants of earlier settlers, who, in some cases, trace their history of settlement in South Africa to rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal or the North-West province. They are generally South African citizens, while the newer immigrants tend to have German citizenship. These older immigrants constitute the focus of Scheffer's research, since they form the core of the German community in Pretoria. They constitute a more homogenous group than the recent immigrants, belonging to the upper middle or upper class of South African society and are members of local German Lutheran churches (p. 17). Sixty-five speakers (35 males and 30 females) participated in the study, all of whom had attended the *Deutsche Schule Pretoria* between 1950 and 1959. The majority of participants (38) were third, fourth or fifth generation immigrants, while 27 belonged to either the first or second generation (p. 18).

Home, church and school (that is the *Deutsche Schule Pretoria*) are the three domains that play a crucial role in German language maintenance in Pretoria. Particular significance is placed upon German religious institutions (there are three German Lutheran congregations in Pretoria) and social organisations, e.g. the German Club (founded in 1888), which incorporates a soccer club, a chess club, a male voice choir

and a German-African youth association (p. 44). These organisations and institutions are “in der Tat förderlich für deutsches Brauchtum in Pretoria” (p. 55) and foster a sense of community among Pretoria Germans. The *Deutsche Schule Pretoria* is also instrumental in the role it plays within the community, i.e. by providing German language instruction, it contributes vitally to on-going language maintenance efforts (p. 73). Outside of these domains, German has very limited communicative functions, with English generally being assigned the most significant role. English and Afrikaans are used for communication in public domains, where English is predominant in business and trade, at tertiary education institutions and for communicating technological or scientific concepts. Afrikaans is used in the government domain and also in tertiary education institutions.

All three languages, used by participants more or less on a daily basis, carry different, though complementary, communicative functions. Although the use of German tends to be restricted to informal situations, it is not socially stigmatised and speakers express positive attitudes towards all three languages, which Scheffer sees as an important aspect of the on-going language maintenance efforts (p. 63).

As English or Afrikaans are used in more formal communicative encounters, this corresponds to the domain distribution for German for use in the home, church, and social organisations. The school context diverges from this distribution since it is slightly more formal: German is here used as a medium of instruction, alongside English and Afrikaans. This leads Scheffer to conclude that the language situation of the German speakers in Pretoria is a diglossic situation, with German carrying out the L(ow)-functions (despite its being used in church services and at school), while English and Afrikaans fulfil the H(igh)-functions (p. 90).

Detrimental to language maintenance of German is, first and foremost, intermarriage with Afrikaans/English speakers, though, among the older immigrants at least, this does not necessarily lead to language shift. The fact that mass media are largely only available in English and Afrikaans, and especially the strong pressure exerted by English in the face of advancing technology and social prestige, are also mentioned. Outside of the German community, speakers’ social networks extend to

Afrikaans and English speakers; this is especially the case for work situations and at tertiary education institutions (pp. 205-206). Nevertheless, German functions as a group cohesion mechanism signalling speakers' identity and value system: "Der verbindende Faktor der deutschen Kulturgemeinschaft ist in erster Linie auch die deutsche Sprache" (p. 29).

Regarding the contact interferences investigated, Pretoria German shows lexical items borrowed from Afrikaans and English. English borrowings mostly refer to economic and scientific concepts; these are also used as "modewoorde of woorde wat sosiale prestige uitdruk" ('buzz words which carry social prestige', p. 143),²⁸ e.g. *Helikopter* 'helicopter' or *fabulous* 'fabulous'. Afrikaans lexical items are, on the other hand, largely borrowed to describe "plaaslike, kultuurspesifieke aangeleenthede" ('local, culture-specific matters', p. 143), e.g. *Seekuh* 'hippopotamus' (Afr. 'seekoei') or *eingebildete Schränke* 'built-in wardrobes' (Afr. 'ingeboud muurkas').

The lexical variation found is then classified into two groups: foreign words (unintegrated borrowings), most of which are of English origin, and loan words (integrated borrowings), mostly calques of Afrikaans origin. The latter tend to be integrated phonologically and morphologically, e.g. *Kosthaus* 'boarding school' (Afr. 'koshuis'), while the former remain unintegrated, e.g. *building contractor* 'building contractor'.

Scheffer further notes that not only are complete lexical items borrowed but Pretoria German also shows phonological and morphological influence, e.g. *Behäusung* (std. Grn. *Behausung*, Afr. 'behuising') 'dwelling'; *kahlfuss* (std. Grn. *barfuss*, Afr. 'kaalvoet') 'barefoot'; *anmutigen* (std. Grn. *ermutigen*, Afr. 'aanmoedig') 'encourage'. Lexical items may undergo semantic extension, e.g. *Wenn Udo seine Freundin ausnimmt, gehen sie normalerweise ins Kino*. 'When Udo takes out his girlfriend, they usually go to the movies.' (Afr. 'uitneem', std. Grn. *ausführen*), or *Müllers sind sehr soziale Leute*. 'Müllers are very sociable people.' (Engl. 'sociable', std. Grn. *gesellig*). There are a number of idioms and phrases, such as *einen Mord pflegen* 'to com-

²⁸ Interestingly, Scheffer's dissertation is composed in both German and Afrikaans, with German restricted to the introductory chapters.

mit murder' (Afr. 'n moord pleeg', std. Grn. *begehen*) or *ich geb nicht um* 'I don't mind' (Afr. 'ek gee nie om nie', std. Grn. *es macht mir nichts aus*), which have been borrowed into Pretoria German (pp. 156-181).

Whilst Scheffer provides a detailed analysis of the sociolinguistic situation of a subset of German speakers in Pretoria and a thorough examination of lexical borrowings, his study is based on written data – as are Stielau's (1980) and de Kadt's (2001) – and, given that the data was collected almost 30 years ago, is now slightly dated. The present study thus takes a first step towards broadening the previous research by systematically examining a number of linguistic features of the spoken language. Before I turn to the subject of the present study I will, however, review further studies dealing with issues of language maintenance and shift among German speakers in South Africa.

1.3.2 German as an immigrant language: Language maintenance and shift

While Grüner (1979) makes general observations about language practices in the rural German community of Kroondal, de Kadt (2000) and Annas (2008) explore language use as it relates to ethnic identity construction in two German communities. Rabe (2005) examines the use of German idioms and expressions as manifestations of an Afrikaans-speaking community with German settler history. Looking at three linguistically-mixed families in comparable detail, Schaberg and Barkhuizen (1998) examine and compare language use and language maintenance efforts as a case of individual (family) bilingualism.

Three families of German descent: Schaberg & Barkhuizen (1998)

Identifying tendencies for language shift to English/Afrikaans in three linguistically-mixed families, Schaberg and Barkhuizen (1998) draw on research of bilingual communities, e.g. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) model of ethnolinguistic vitality and Smolicz' (1981) concept of core values. Interestingly, and in contrast to other studies dealing with German speakers in South Africa, the focus of Schaberg and Bark-

huizen's study is on the individual, that is, on three families, not the wider German community.

The families in their study are reported to be of similar socio-economic background, with the wife in each case being of German descent (second- or third-generation) and the spouse being of English South African background (though in one case, the husband is said to be a "bilingual English/Afrikaans South African" (p. 138)). All three families have children and live in or close to urban areas, i.e. two families live in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape, whereas the third family resides in Cape Town.

Schaberg and Barkhuizen's findings are based on semi-structured interviews ("biographical interviews" (p. 137)) with the three women and their parents, conducted in English. The interviews covered topics such as participants' perceptions of their culture, perceived language proficiency and transmission to their children, and general language background questions. The parents were interviewed to provide a broader generational perspective, although the findings of the study seem to rest largely on the interviews with the three women.

Essentially, Schaberg and Barkhuizen note that all three families are undergoing language shift to English. Attention is drawn to the significance of external support networks for the maintenance of an ethnic (minority) language. German is not accorded a high status within the wider community in which the three families live, so for "these families there is just too much pressure, both from within and without the families, to shift away from using German" (p. 140). Their communicative network (outside of the immediate family) is Afrikaans- or English-based, with minimal or no support for maintaining German, and these women feel that efforts to transmit the ethnic language through one parent is too burdensome. This also relates to the wives' proficiency levels, which are perceived to be relatively poor, thus influencing the women's choice or 'feelings of capability' to pass on German. Although the perspective of the husbands is not completely neglected, i.e. two of the husbands are reported by their wives as not having objections to their children learning German, the interviews focussed largely on the women's side of the story. Interviews with the husbands could have provided a more complete picture, especially their attitudes to-

wards maintenance of German or German in general (for them a foreign language), and might have allowed further insight.

Another dominant factor cited as contributing to the language shift to English is the powerful role English plays in South African society. Schaberg and Barkhuizen comment that “[t]he power of the majority language to swamp the minority language is being experienced by these parents” (p. 141), leaving little room for German language and cultural maintenance. Given the families’ lack of adequate support networks and/or affiliation with the wider German community, German was hence not found to constitute a cultural core value essential for constructing a distinct identity. In fact, “[m]ost of the interviewees had the attitude that in South Africa, German can help, but it is not necessary” (p. 141), and saw themselves as “South African of German descent” (p. 141).

In their study, Schaberg and Barkhuizen thus illustrate how important language support networks are in language maintenance efforts and individuals’ language choices. None of the families is integrated within a wider German language and/or cultural community. However, it is uncertain how applicable their findings are to German speakers in urban areas in general who see themselves as part of wider German community networks, given their small sample size. Within the context of family bilingualism, that is, within linguistically-mixed marriages, their study nevertheless shows that the task of transmitting an immigrant language to the next generation can be an overwhelming and daunting experience for those involved.

German in Kroondal: Grüner (1979)

Describing German language use in the community of Kroondal, West Transvaal (present-day North-West province), Grüner (1979) notes the three pillars upon which maintenance of German rests: family, church and school. At the time of Grüner’s observations in the mid-1970s, German was being maintained across all three domains. German also functioned as the medium of communication at various community

events, e.g. annual church and school bazaars or the annual “German Day” celebration.

Continued language maintenance of German in Kroondal, a village which Grüner describes as having a “homogene Bevölkerung deutscher Herkunft” (p. 20), may only be possible if speakers actively seek to maintain German across all three domains. German as a community language will only survive as long as the benefits and intrinsic values of speaking German are highlighted, especially in light of the growing “Gefahren” (p. 26) posed by intermarriage with Afrikaans speakers or by the relocation of younger speakers to other (generally urban) areas. In Grüner’s view, speakers’ understanding of what being German means is based on German cultural habits and traditions (“Brauchtum”), with the German language playing a central role. He also emphasizes that German constitutes a “wichtiges Bindeglied zwischen Südafrika und eben den deutschsprachigen Staaten Europas” (p. 22), stressing the historical significance German has as a language of the community’s forefathers (p. 23).

Afrikaans is seen to be making inroads into the actual language use of speakers (Kroondal is situated in a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking area). Such interferences in the speech of Kroondal Germans essentially pose a problem for German speakers from Germany and miscommunication is likely to occur in exchanges between the two groups. Although Grüner’s insistence on linking the benefit of German language maintenance among German speakers in Kroondal with contact to Germany is somewhat puzzling, it accounts for the importance he places on Standard German being taught at the Kroondal primary school. Consequently, there is considerable detail on how this should best be achieved, i.e. hours given to German language instruction, etc., the kind of interferences that are acceptable (i.e. not considered to cause communicative problems) and those that should be avoided or best be “ausgemerzt” (p. 38).

Although Grüner seeks to describe the language situation in Kroondal, his observations are only interesting in so far as they pertain to a description of German customs and German language instruction at school. It seems, first and foremost, that Grüner’s study is informed by a prescriptive approach while, to cite de Kadt (2002b, p.

155), “there has been little attempt to examine the actual (multilingual) usage patterns”.

Being German as a marker of ethnic identity: de Kadt (2000)

The village of Wartburg is the focus of another study by Kadt (2000): the German community of Wartburg presented as a case of sidestream ethnicity with identifiable ethnic boundaries. In order to understand the way in which the German-speaking community of Wartburg constructs itself as a distinct group rather than as individual German speakers, de Kadt draws on Fishman (1985). She explores the link between ethnicity as expressed through ethnic boundaries of language, religion, culture and values.

De Kadt’s analysis is based on interviews with 30 German and five English speakers from Wartburg and a further five German speakers from an urban area, Durban, whose views might contrast with those expressed by the Wartburg participants. Short questionnaires from 60 students at the Wartburg-Kirchdorf school, the local high school, complement her interview data. De Kadt also draws on a variety of written sources, including three commemorative publications about the local church and school, and publications on the history of the German settlers in South Africa.

While Wartburg has a sizeable German-speaking population (according to de Kadt, approximately 70% (p. 70); cf. chapter 2 where census figures are discussed), English is widely spoken by the white population and Zulu by black South Africans (though this is, of course, a somewhat simplistic description). That race plays a significant role in South African society even today becomes clear in de Kadt’s observation that “the boundary separating them [the German speakers] from Zulu-speakers remains so matter-of-course that it is not even reflected on” (pp. 74-75). What de Kadt describes is a case of sidestream ethnicity exclusively within the white population of Wartburg, i.e. the German speakers reflect on themselves as constituting a distinct group within the wider white community of Wartburg.

The use of German emerges as the primary characteristic of what constitutes the ethnic group, maintained through a social network within a “very tightly knit community, in which all know one another personally and see one other [sic] more or less on a daily basis” (p. 74). It is in their social life that the use of German appears to play the most central role in the community, though language is not the only boundary which sets them apart from the English speakers of Wartburg. In fact, language and religion appear to be closely linked since almost all German speakers are Lutheran; the church forms an integral part in their community life despite a split within the community into two church congregations, the *Landeskirche*²⁹ and the Freikirche. The latter has the larger congregation and is regarded as the more conservative of the two, placing a much greater emphasis on cultural maintenance that is, the “German way of life” (p. 76) but also including the maintenance of German as the language for church services. According to de Kadt, it is the Freikirche parishioners who form “the ethnic core of the community” (p. 76). The “German way of life” is characterised by maintaining certain German customs and traditions, such as celebrating Christmas and Easter in a typically German tradition, certain ways of preparing food, and listening to German music. In addition, the community adheres to values and attitudes which are identified as specifically German; these include hard-working, honest, faithful, frugal and family-oriented, and can be interpreted as constituting another ethnic boundary.

Whilst the language boundary constitutes a pivotal element in the construction of the ethnic (Wartburg) German group identity, it is also the one boundary that is frequently crossed. When speakers come into contact with English or Zulu speakers (contact with the latter is restricted to work-related matters), they consequently switch to English or Zulu. Crossing the language boundary for business transactions or work-related matters does not generally present a serious conflict; German is maintained in other core areas which are significant for the survival of the ethnic group, such as within the home, the church domain, at (German) social events, and to some extent at the Wartburg-Kirchdorf high school.

²⁹ The term *Landeskirche* is synonymous with the term *Hermannsbürger Synode* (cf. chapters 2 and 5).

Since language is such a salient factor, acceptance into the ethnic community is contingent on being a speaker of German (or, at the very least, having passive competence thereof), and on joining and participating fully in the church community. De Kadt notes that “[j]oining the parish seems to function as indicating acceptance of the local value system” (p. 80). For this reason, linguistically-mixed marriages between German and English speakers are seen as highly problematic, particularly by members of the more conservative Freikirche congregation who are “adamant that the English-speaker would have to learn German” (p. 80).

In explaining the survival of German speakers in Wartburg, de Kadt (p. 84) points to the link between language, religion and culture, which, she contends, is rooted in a 19th century understanding of language, culture and nationhood – a view which was strongly reinforced by the early missionaries (cf. Pakendorf, 1997). External factors, such as the availability of adjoining land where the early colonists and missionaries could settle, the arrival of complete families and the lack of urban areas as markets, facilitated the establishment of isolated settlements and thus furthered the survival of the ethnic group. For the present, maintenance of German within the church and the family remains central to the survival and maintenance of the group as a distinct ethnic group. The German community sees their ethnic group identity as couched in terms of a social organisation with a certain way of life, defined primarily through the language boundary but also in light of religious beliefs and commitments, traditions and customs, and distinct values that are perceived to be typically German. De Kadt (p. 86) sums up the situation in the following way:

Rather, the boundary set up in terms of these “German speakers” consists of a number of strands, or is perhaps more exactly described as a series of boundaries, which at times concur, at times run separately. Of these the boundary of language is perhaps the most immediate and visible, given that it constrains access; but it is strongly reinforced by boundaries of religion, customs, and values, and together these constrain the whole person.

To sum up, the German community is constructed by a complex set of boundaries with a clear outer boundary, setting the German speakers apart from speakers of other languages. There is also a myriad of inner boundaries pertaining to, for example, the two church congregations, i.e. setting Freikirche parishioners apart from *Lande-*

skirche members. The outer as well as the inner boundaries have the function of signalling belonging to the German community, and it is only when “the boundaries set up by religion and values are crossed that these German-speakers can be seen to be questioning, abandoning, or rejecting their ethnicity” (p. 86). Maintenance of German then carries less central value, and gradual language shift to English seems inevitable.

Paarl’s German settlers: Annas (2008)

The link between ethnic identity and language is also raised in a study by Annas (2008) on German speakers in Paarl, Western Cape. However, Annas’ study provides, first and foremost, a historical overview of the German settlement of Paarl, a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking town, and hence only superficially touches upon issues of identity, lacking the thorough analysis de Kadt (2000) applies in her study of Wartburg Germans.

Paarl is one of the oldest towns in South Africa (established in 1687) and is generally considered as the birthplace of the Afrikaans language (the enormous Afrikaans Language Monument was erected there in 1975). Although Paarl has a long history of German settlement, speakers were generally assimilated into colonial Dutch-speaking society (cf. also chapter 2). Since the VOC had previously not permitted Lutheran services, it was only in 1779 that German settlers were allowed to establish a Lutheran church; church services were, however, held in Dutch. Almost a hundred years later, in 1876, a second (German) Lutheran congregation was inaugurated, which, in contrast to the older Lutheran church, sought to hold the church services solely in German and to uphold the maintenance of German.

From the end of the 19th century up until the outbreak of World War I, “the German community at the Cape experienced a rich cultural life” (p. 64), which included a German folksong association, a youth group, a brass band, a choir and a sewing club in Paarl. Maintenance of German as mother tongue became such an important aspect of the German community of Paarl that, in 1879, a small private school was established where German was used as the medium of instruction (p. 64).

Given the financial burden that was placed on the community and the low enrolment figures, the school became fully funded by the state in 1920. It was finally closed at the end of 1939.

After World War II, Paarl benefited from the steady stream of immigrants flowing into South Africa, among which were many German speakers. From 261 members in 1947, this figure had doubled to 530 in 1962 (p. 68). These relatively large numbers of German immigrants, predominantly young males, allowed the re-launch of the German club and the establishment of a German male choir. Since most of the new immigrants could not speak English or Afrikaans, “they relied on one another for company and these organizations provided them with a platform to find their feet” (p. 68).

The influx of German speakers has diminished in recent years, and today only about 300 German speakers remain in Paarl, a town with a population of approximately 100,000 people (p. 68). Most of the immigrants are integrated into the wider (white) Afrikaans-speaking community since intermarriage with non-German speakers is common. In many cases, German is no longer spoken at home and is thus rarely transmitted to the next generation. As a consequence, the German Lutheran church began to offer services in Afrikaans in 1972 and later also in English. With regards to the three German institutions in Paarl, the Lutheran church, the choir and the German club, Annas notes that they “rarely attract young people, new immigrants, and visitors from Germany” (p. 69).

To explore how current German-speaking residents of Paarl construct their primary identity, as well as the nature of emphasis laid on culture and language maintenance, Annas conducted seventeen interviews with male and female speakers across generations. The participants were either recent or post-World War II immigrants, or were born in Paarl. By including both more recent immigrants from Germany as well as earlier immigrants (pre-1976) in his study, a divide between the two groups emerges. German cultural or religious institutions such as the German club or the local Lutheran church do not attract the recent immigrants but are instead frequented by the older immigrants only. These cultural and religious institutions do not form

part of the newer immigrants' lives who, therefore, do not tend to socialise with the older German speakers. Further, what "the German club promotes as a 'kleines Stück der alten Heimat' is both a concept and a way of life they [the recent immigrants] would rather want to get away from" (p. 72). They are more likely to be involved in linguistically-mixed institutions, e.g. the local tourism board or sports clubs. Despite the use of a common language across the two German immigrant groups, Annas notes that "their perceptions of what German is are too different" (p. 72) for attracting the new immigrants.

The German Afrikaans-speaking community in Philippi: Rabe (2005)

The focus of a study by Rabe (2005, based on her doctoral research ten years earlier)³⁰ are Afrikaans speakers of German descent in the Western Cape region. These speakers immigrated to South Africa in the mid- to late 19th century. Working within a cultural historical framework, Rabe (2005) looks at idioms and expressions which have to this date survived in the Afrikaans variety of this Philippi community.³¹

As in the case of German communities noted above, this community is also centred around a Lutheran church, at Philippi in the Cape Flats (near Cape Town). Settlers to this area came in three stages: in 1858-62, 1877/78 and 1883. While immigrants of the first group came from various parts of Germany and spoke several German dialects, the latter two groups had their roots in Northern parts of Germany and spoke Low German varieties (p. 148). While the first group of immigrants gave up their German dialects and assimilated into Cape Dutch society within one generation, the other two groups continued to speak "hoofsaaklik Duits/Platduits" ('mainly German/Low German', p. 149) until the middle of 20th century, after which they largely shifted to Afrikaans. Those speakers born after World War II were the first to have Afrikaans as mother tongue. The first Afrikaans church service was held in 1958,

³⁰ My thanks to Johan Wassermann who first brought Lizette Rabe's research to my attention, and to Desiree Joubert for help with the Afrikaans translations.

³¹ In an earlier publication, Rabe (2003) explores in more detail how the Philippi community comes to view itself as German – again, from a cultural historical perspective.

prior to which they were held in Standard German (*Schriftdeutsch*). Standard German was also taught in the local school, though “[v]ir talle van die immigrante was Hoogduits eintlik ’n ‘vreemde’ taal” (‘for many of the immigrants High German was basically a foreign language’, p. 148).

As a result of their settlement history, the community at Philippi developed a “grens-identiteit” (‘borderline [hybrid] identity’, p. 149) with Afrikaans as their mother tongue and German Lutheran traditions as their cultural and historical resources. This unique identity is also captured by the use of German expressions. It is especially the older generation which still uses (standard) German and Low German proverbs, idioms and expressions in their Afrikaans variety. These were collected during interviews with community members, and include proverbs and expressions such as *Lügen haben kurze Beine* ‘Lies don’t travel far’, *Was du heute kannst besorgen, verschiebe nicht auf morgen* ‘A stitch in time saves nine’, or *Donnerwetter!* ‘Gosh!’, *Geh zum Kukuk!* ‘Go to blazes!’ and *Meine Güte!* ‘My goodness!’ (pp. 157-167).

The last part of this chapter has looked at both linguistic studies and sociolinguistically-oriented enquiries of German in South Africa, highlighting that, while some research has been conducted, it is of a limited nature. What is, however, worth pointing out, is that these studies have all focussed on different communities of German speakers across South Africa, ranging from urban or near-urban ones (Pretoria, Paarl and Philippi) to rural ones (Wartburg, Kroondal, and others in KwaZulu-Natal), providing a broad cross-section of research.

1.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has situated the ensuing study in its theoretical context by surveying research into language contact and language maintenance/shift. Drawing on Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) research, the issue of ‘borrowability’ was discussed, highlighting how, given enough time, almost any linguistic feature can be borrowed. Attention was also drawn to the fact that extra-linguistic factors are always involved in language contact, shaping each situation and making it difficult to predict the outcomes of lan-

guage contact precisely. The next section looked briefly at factors to do with language maintenance and shift in speech communities, pointing out that aspects which may prove detrimental to language maintenance in one situation may not pose a threat to on-going maintenance efforts elsewhere.

The focus then shifted to the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa. This section provided an overview of the language profile and illustrated the multilingual nature of South African society. This was followed by a survey of the role of English and language policy issues, indicating the pervasive presence of English across public domains. It also mentioned that while German is not one of the official languages, it is considered a heritage language according to the constitution.

The last section then concerned itself with studies that have examined German in South Africa. Although some of the linguistic studies are now somewhat dated, they nonetheless provide interesting data, e.g. Stielau's (1980) investigation of Natal German, or Scheffer's (1991) research on lexical borrowing within a subset of the German community in Pretoria, complemented by an overview of the sociolinguistic situation. De Kadt's (2001) analysis of written language skills of teenagers in Wartburg is a more recent study and is highly relevant to the present study. Questions of ethnic identity and language is another field of interest, e.g. de Kadt (2000) on Wartburg Germans, and Annas (2008) and Rabe (2005) who look at settlement histories of German speakers in Western Cape communities. Family bilingualism is explored by Schaberg and Barkhuizen (1998) in a study of three linguistically-mixed families in urban areas. Noticeable in all studies is the frequent mention of the role played by the church, and in some cases also the school, regarding language maintenance efforts, and also as an institution supporting group cohesion (or, in the case of Schaberg and Barkhuizen's (1998) study, lack thereof as facilitating language shift).

To enrich our understanding, to further our insight, and to enhance the present state of research into the German communities in South Africa, the present study thus seeks to systematically examine linguistic features of German in South Africa as well as sociolinguistic aspects of a subgroup of German speakers in South Africa, the

Springbok-Germans. The next chapter provides both the historical background for this study as well as an overview of the Springbok-German community.

2 SETTING THE SCENE:

THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKDROP

This chapter provides the (socio)historical setting for the present study of the rural Springbok-German communities in KwaZulu-Natal. In the first part, I provide a concise narrative account of German immigration to South Africa by looking back at the first settlement of German speakers at the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th century, and then briefly tracing the various settlement and migration patterns until the post-WWII period. The second part narrows the focus on the subset of German speakers examined in this thesis, the Springbok-Germans. Taking the concept of ‘speech community’ as its central point of departure, this section delineates what is meant by ‘Springbok-German communities’. This is complemented by details of census figures of German speakers in South Africa in general but with an emphasis on the rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. The last section then sets the scene for the remaining chapters by outlining community structures and introducing the Springbok-German communities by providing some geographical and socio-economic background information.

2.1 GERMAN SPEAKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A HISTORICAL SKETCH

German speakers have been part of migration movements to Southern Africa since the early 1700s. This has included a number of different migration streams, from individuals settling at the Cape as entrepreneurs, farmers or soldiers, to missionaries and settlers in Natal who would arrive in larger groups and remain in closed settlements in rural areas. Later still, families or individuals would come to South Africa post-World War II to settle in the larger cities. Today, German speakers live scattered

across South Africa,³² largely concentrated in urban areas but settlements in rural South Africa continue to exist. This section sketches some of the historical developments, giving special attention to the arrival of the German missionaries during the 19th century.

2.1.1 German settlers at the Cape Colony: 17th to 19th century

From the outset of the European colonisation of the Cape of Good Hope, German speakers have formed a large part of the Cape population (cf. Bodenstein, 1995; de Kadt, 2000; de Wet, 1992; Grünwald, 1992; Hellberg, 1954; Ponelis, 1993; Raidt, 1983; Roberge, 2002; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955).

In 1652, the VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, the ‘Dutch East India Company’) established a refreshment station at what later became Cape Town for the purpose of supporting merchant ships en route between Batavia (present-day Indonesia) and Amsterdam. Although the refreshment station expanded only gradually at first, geographically as well as in terms of a slowly growing population, it soon became the heart of the Dutch colonisation of the Cape, with the VOC as its official ruling body. In the beginning, the station was made up entirely of soldiers and VOC officials and their families, but within a few years, in 1652, the first VOC personnel were released by the company as free settlers (*burghers*) to set up farming communities in the surrounding areas of Table Bay (R. Ross, 1999).

From around the 1680s, immigrants from the European mainland, predominantly single males from the Netherlands, Low and High German-speaking areas and French-speaking Huguenots, also began to arrive, contributing to the expansion of the original refreshment station into various larger settlements (Roberge, 2002, p. 80). The early Cape society was “though loose and heterogeneous, a rigidly stratified society” (Ponelis, 1993, p. 2), and notably, almost completely made up of men. Many were of German origin, and a large number were employed by the VOC, frequently serving

³² As noted in the introduction, there are also larger concentrations of German speakers in Namibia; for further details, cf. Gretschel (1984, 1995), Kleinz (1984), Nöckler (1963), Pütz (1991b, 1992), Riehl (2002), Shah (2007).

as soldiers in the garrison or as private tutors and/or schoolmasters for VOC officials and their families. Until 1789, the VOC enlisted about 10,000 employees of German background, 4,000 of these later became free settlers at the Cape. There were not only many soldiers of German origin in the garrison but many among the high-ranking officials in the top echelons of the VOC hierarchy were also of German descent. Several of the tutors/schoolmasters had previously been employed as soldiers in the service of the VOC “since enlistment as a soldier was a common means for obtaining free passage to the colonies, employed even by well educated people” (Ponelis, 1993, p. 45). By the end of the 17th century, almost a sixth of the Cape population was of German descent. About half a century later, by the 1750s, two thirds of the VOC officials now had German ancestors (Ponelis, 1993, p. 18; Raidt, 1983, p. 11).

In addition to the VOC officials, approximately 15,000 German speakers arrived at the Cape before 1789. These were mostly “illiterates from the working class, but some were middle class and a few belonged to the nobility” (Ponelis, 1993, p. 19). They consequently contributed to the strong German core that made up the population of free *burghers*. Based on sample figures for (white) free adult men by de Wet (1981, p.118, cited in Ponelis, 1993, p. 9), the proportion of Dutch settlers between 1657 and 1707 was 52%, Germans made up 34% and French 8%.

The rising rates of immigration of German speakers to the Cape can be traced back to the destruction and devastation of Germany caused during the Thirty Year War, leading to a massive influx of Germans to the Netherlands from where they often emigrated to the Cape (Ponelis, 1993, p. 19). By the 1750s, German speakers outnumbered the Dutch settlers by far and, by the end of the 18th century, “more than half of the white population of the Cape was of German descent” (de Kadt, 1995, p. 107).

Although one third of the settlers in the Cape (Dutch) society was of German descent, it does not necessarily follow that they also maintained their language and culture. On the contrary, the linguistic and cultural assimilation of German speakers into mainstream colonial Cape (Dutch) society was exceedingly swift, due to a number of factors, one of them being the scarcity of women at the Cape. This frequently

led to exogenous marriages and unions, not only with Dutch or French speakers, but also with the indigenous Khoi or freed slaves. Ponelis (1993, p. 19) maintains that the number of German-speaking women was essentially too marginal to establish family life based on German (cf. also Grünewald, 1992; Hellberg, 1954; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955). Hellberg (1954, pp. 6-7,12) also comments that, in contrast to subsequent migration patterns, the early settlers did not immigrate as families and/or did not settle in closed communities. As mentioned, it was predominantly single males who came to the Cape during the 17th and 18th century and, since they did not share common interests or affairs with one another or even a common standard language, they were soon assimilated into colonial society.

Language shift to Cape Dutch/Afrikaans was also facilitated by the fact that most settlers “spoke varieties, closely related to Dutch, such as Low German and the Rhenish Middle German varieties of High German” (Ponelis, 1993, p. 19). Some had also been exposed to Dutch in the Netherlands, since migration to the Netherlands had often preceded their arrival at the Cape. As many were subsequently employed by the VOC, which pursued a language policy of using Dutch-only for all official purposes (cf. chapter 1, section 1.2.2), they were often required to speak (or acquire) Dutch. Although, as mentioned, some free settlers and VOC officials of German background spoke closely related varieties of Dutch (i.e. they were speakers of Low German dialects), there were also many settlers who spoke widely differing varieties (Low vs. High German dialects).

Moreover, many German immigrants who came from Northern and Middle German regions were of Lutheran background. The VOC, in its function as the governing body at the Cape Colony until 1795, denied them, however, the right to establish Lutheran communities and/or churches. Since the only official religion of the Cape Colony was that of the Dutch Reformed Church (Calvinism), Lutherans were neither permitted to erect their own church buildings nor hold public worship or communion services. It was only from 1776 onwards that Lutherans were allowed to conduct their own communion services. Two years later, in 1778, they were granted

permission to worship in public (Chidester, 1992, p. xiv). The Lutheran community erected their first own church building in Cape Town in 1780 (Hellberg, 1954, p. 84).

Besides individual farmers and artisans of German stock settling in the Cape Colony during the 17th and 18th century, German missionaries of the Moravian Brotherhood (*Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde*) arrived in southern Africa in the early 18th century. The Moravians were the first mission society to come to the Cape and, in due course, they established a mission station at Baviaanskloof (later renamed Genadendal), thus beginning their work among the local Khoi in 1737. After a few years, however, the first Moravian missionary Schmidt was expelled from the Cape because of “confessional differences with the Dutch Reformed Church and conflicts over church law” (Winkler, 1989, p. 55). Moravian missionaries were only allowed to return to the Cape half a century later in 1792 (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911], p. 71; R. Ross, 1999, p. 36; Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 48). By the 1830s, they were joined in their efforts by a range of other Protestant mission societies from England, Scotland, Scandinavia and America, including a number of German ones. In 1830, the German Protestant mission station, Wupperthal, was founded in the Western Cape region, set up by the Rhenish Mission Society but later taken over by the Moravians (Grünwald, 1993, p. 70). Since neither the missionaries of the Moravians nor those of the Rhenish Mission Society were accompanied by settlers and did not intend to establish German-speaking settlements (unlike those of the Hermannsburg Mission Society; cf. below), they were eventually assimilated linguistically and culturally.

Immigration to the Western Cape region continued throughout the 19th century. Among these settlers were many peasants, tradesmen and artisans, traders and merchants, but increasingly also doctors, pharmacists, engineers and architects. The Cape Flats near Cape Town were in part populated by German speakers who later established a Lutheran congregation at Phillipi (Hellberg, 1954, pp. 19-21). While the use of German was continued by subsets of these immigrants for some decades, by the mid-20th century, these speakers had largely shifted to Afrikaans (Rabe, 2003; 2005, cf. chapter 1). From the 1860s onwards, German speakers were increasingly drawn to the diamond fields near Kimberley, and later to the gold fields on the Witwatersrand, at-

tracting new immigrants, but also those who had already settled elsewhere in the Cape Colony or in the Eastern Cape region (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 166).

During the years of 1877 to 1884, the British government offered free passage and farming land at low-cost to willing Europeans, in the course of which waves of German speakers settled at the Cape. Winegrowers from southern and mid-western Germany settled around Constantia, Paarl and Stellenbosch, others moved to Graaf Reinet, Worcester, Oudtshoorn, and Mosselbay (Grünwald, 1993, p. 75; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 166). Cape Town was especially popular among the immigrants; for example, for the year 1886, Schmidt-Pretoria (1955, pp. 163-166) records the names of 509 recently immigrated German speakers as residing in Cape Town.

Raidt (1983, p. 20) contends that it generally took about eight to ten years for immigrants to shift away from their native German dialects to the local Cape Dutch variety – later Afrikaans – which many acquired with native-like ability. Although German speakers were well represented within the Cape society, the majority of German settlers underwent swift language and cultural shift, assimilating into colonial society leaving only a few traces of their origin.

2.1.2 German settlements in the Eastern Cape in the mid-19th century

From the mid-1850s onwards, German speakers began to settle in the Eastern Cape region, especially in the more urban coastal areas of Port Elizabeth, East London and King William's Town. A number of rural German settlements were also established near East London and King William's Town, mostly as the result of military intervention, and later due to the arrival of German peasants. Place names such as Hamburg, Potsdam, Berlin, Stutterheim, Braunschweig, Frankfurt and others still bear witness to the "German villages" as they were initially called, some of which still exist today (Hellberg, 1954, p. 14; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955).

In December 1847, as a consequence of the War of the Axe the previous year – a war that resulted from a series of violent conflicts to do with demands over Xhosa land and African labour (R. Ross, 1999, p. 50) – the British government annexed the frontier area between the neighbouring Xhosa tribes in the Eastern Cape region and

its (Western) Cape Colony as a protectorate under the name of ‘British Kaffraria’ (Davenport & Saunders, 2000, p. 139). In the ensuing period, the British administration sought to establish a buffer zone by colonising the area with European settlers in order to stabilise peace-keeping efforts. Unexpectedly, in 1857, the British were aided in their endeavours by the terrible outcomes of a prophecy made by a young Xhosa girl, Nongqawuse. This girl foretold the renewal of Xhosa power and the disappearance of the whites into the sea if the Xhosa slaughtered all their cattle and destroyed all their grain. As a result, some 40,000 Xhosas died of starvation, having destroyed most of their crops, and slaughtered up to 90% of their cattle (R. Ross, 1999, p. 53).

To re-populate and stabilise the region, the British government promoted settlement by offering free passage and financial support to prospective immigrants. Besides thousands of British pioneers, the offer was also taken up by Germans, including a British-German Legion of German mercenaries (Grünwald, 1993, p. 71; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955). This legion had been instigated for the purpose of fighting in the Crimean War (1853-1856) alongside Turkey and England against Russia – a conflict that ended in ceasefire before the legion of German mercenaries was brought into action. Following a request by the governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey, the legion was offered free passage to the Cape, a small holding of land each and financial support to set up a military settlement in the border area near East London (Grünwald, 1993, p. 71; Hellberg, 1954, p. 13; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 64). They were encouraged to bring their wives and families, or to marry before their departure from England, since it was believed that this would ensure long-lasting settlement of the region (Hellberg, 1954, p. 14; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 65).

In 1857, three regiments of a total of 2,362 German mercenaries³³ settled in a number of places, such as Hamburg, Berlin, Braunschweig, Potsdam, Hanover, Frankfurt and Stutterheim (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 65). The latter settlement traces its origins back to 1837, when it was established as a mission’s station by the Berlin Mission Society (for more details on German mission societies, cf. section 2.1.3). A year

³³ About 380 of these were accompanied by their wives (Grünwald, 1993, p. 72; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 66).

later, in 1858, more than one thousand of the German mercenaries were transferred to India, of whom only 400 returned to South Africa in due course (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 84). Others deserted their military station altogether, leaving desolate hamlets behind. The few who remained in the region around East London and King William's Town were united into church congregations, becoming farmers, traders or artisans over time and, in some instances, teachers and civil servants (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 85).

To boost population numbers in the area, the British administration encouraged several parties of German peasants and artisans to join the military settlers. Arriving in 1858 and 1859, these settlers – about 2,700 in all – came, for the most part, from Pomerania and the Uckermark region in Prussia, finding their first housing in the abandoned quarters left behind by many of the military settlers (Grünwald, 1993, p. 73; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 105). Although they had been promised several acres of land upon their arrival in East London, many of them faced poverty and destitution as they waited in vain to be assigned their land. Some later found employment in East London or King William's Town, while others resettled in Western parts of the Cape Colony (Grünwald, 1993, p. 74).

The last immigrants to the Eastern Cape region arrived in East London in 1877, coming primarily from regions in Prussia and Bohemia. In contrast to previous groups, they did not settle in the already-established communities, but founded new ones (e.g. Kwelegha-Brakfontein and Lilyfontein), mainly to the east or north-east of East London, or settled in East London (Grünwald, 1993, p. 74; Hellberg, 1954, pp. 16-17; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, pp. 120-122).

These settlements remained relatively closed and underdeveloped communities, economically isolated from the British government and receiving only marginal support for educational and religious facilities. They struggled to survive through severe periods of drought and economic depression (Grüner, 1992, p. 134; Grünwald, 1993, p. 74; Hellberg, 1954, p. 18). When diamonds were discovered in the Kimberley region in 1869, many of these settlers moved there in the hope of a better life and, by the late 1870s, only a few German immigrants were left in the region around East

London and King William's Town. By the early 1900s, all but two of the German community schools administrated by the local churches became government schools and English soon took over from German as the medium of instruction throughout all year levels (Grüner, 1992, p. 136; Schwär, 1958). Some of the 1858 and 1859 settlers of German Baptist persuasion soon joined or merged with English Baptist congregations, shifting to English as home language in the process (De Gruchy, 1995, p. 36; Grüner, 1992, p. 135; Hellberg, 1954, p. 106).

Since this region was dominated by the British colonial powers, the pressure to conform to mainstream English society intensified. This was particularly the case during the two world wars, when anti-German sentiments were at their peak, particularly towards those Germans who had not enlisted as soldiers to fight alongside the British. Many immigrants who, at that stage, had retained their German citizenship, were deported to British internment camps in South Africa (Hellberg, 1954, p. 108; Schwär, 1958).

German continued to be spoken in this area until the 1930s, as some of these settlers were Lutherans who placed a great emphasis on preserving the German language as well as the German culture. Nonetheless, it declined steadily, and by the early 1940s, the use of German within the home had almost completely disappeared, as most speakers had shifted to English (Hellberg, 1954, pp. 108, 113). Various attempts were made to instigate German Saturday schools over the following years, and although successful for short periods of time, overall these efforts proved fruitless. For some time, German continued to be used in the domains of church and, to a much more limited extent, family and home. Hellberg (1954, p. 108), for example, reports that in the early 1950s only about 10% of the German community in East London still used German as their home language. This was also due to the fact that, increasingly, German speakers entered into exogenous marriages with English speakers. Similar tendencies were observed for the surrounding German communities in King William's Town, Braunschweig, Frankfurt, Berlin, Potsdam, Kwelegha-Brakfontein, Keiskama Hoek, and Stutterheim (Hellberg, 1954). According to de Kadt (2002b, p. 153), German language church services continued to be held in Stutterheim until the 1980s,

though it is mostly only place names and a few German family names which still bear witness to the former German settlements.

2.1.3 Immigration to Natal from the mid-19th century onwards: Mission societies

Immigration to Natal from the mid-19th century onwards was dominated by the German Protestant Hermannsburg Mission Society, and to a lesser extent, the Berlin Mission Society. The first Germans to immigrate to Natal were the so-called Bergtheil settlers and following them were groups of missionaries and settlers sent by the Hermannsburg Mission Society. Towards the 1870s, these settlers and missionaries were increasingly joined by individual families and single persons, most of whom had acquaintances, friends or relatives among the earlier immigrants (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, pp. 162, 168). It is these groups that form the focus of the present study.

The Jonas Bergtheil settlers: Cotton farmers

The first German peasants to settle in Natal were brought to South Africa by a Bavarian Jewish entrepreneur named Jonas Bergtheil. After having spent a few years in the Cape region as a merchant, Bergtheil co-founded the Natal Cotton Company in 1847 in order to acquire land for the purpose of cotton cultivation (Hattersley, 1950, p. 86). Since the recently annexed British colony Natal suffered from severe labour shortages, Bergtheil went to Europe to win able-bodied farmers whom he could persuade to settle in South Africa permanently, in order to help establish a colony for cotton cultivation for the company (Grünewald, 1993, p. 63; Hattersley, 1950, p. 87; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 41). Following initial difficulties in recruiting farmers in England and Bavaria due to the abysmal conditions in his contracts, he nevertheless successfully contracted 125 people – families as well as single men – from Bramsche and Osnabrück, Northern Germany (Grünewald, 1993, p. 63; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, pp. 44-45). They arrived in Durban in 1848.

From the beginning, however, the settlers were plagued by droughts and cotton crop failures as the soil turned out to be infertile; the peasants were also inexperienced in cotton cultivation (Grünewald, 1993, p. 65). In time, many turned to the cultivation of vegetables and livestock farming in order to survive. In 1848, the new colony received the name *Neu Deutschland*, 'New Germany' (Hattersley, 1950, p. 87; Hellberg, 1954, p. 9; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, pp. 50-51), and soon "a village with neat gardens and, before long, a church, schoolhouse, and even a local yeomanry corps, [which] bore witness to the thrift and industry of the newcomers" (Hattersley, 1950, p. 87) was established.

Some ten years after their initial arrival, it became clear that the cultivation of cotton was entirely unsuccessful. Some families thus left New Germany and, after consulting with missionaries of the Hermannsburg Mission Society (which had established a mission station in the nearby Hermannsburg; cf. below), they founded the settlement of *Neu Hannover* (New Hanover) in the Natal Midlands in 1858 (Grünewald, 1993, p. 66; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 187). Others moved to more promising urban areas, such as Pietermaritzburg, or found employment in Durban and elsewhere (Hellberg, 1954, p. 10; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 52).

Bergtheil eventually allowed the settlers to purchase the land they had been cultivating for years, which also induced a number of families to return to New Germany (Grünewald, 1993, p. 66; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 52). Today, New Germany is an affluent suburb of Durban, and still has a high proportion of German speakers among its residents and across adjoining suburbs.

Missionary movement and German mission societies in South Africa

Following the Bergtheil settlers in 1848, a steady influx of German immigrants began to settle in Natal. In 1854, the first group of missionaries, accompanied by settlers, of the Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS) arrived in Natal, with the purpose of evangelising the local indigenous people. In subsequent years, this group was followed by

other groups of missionaries and settlers and, from the 1870s onwards, individual persons and families joined those in the already established settlements.

The German Protestant mission societies had grown out of the pietist movement within the German Lutheran Church (Gensichen, 1982; Pakendorf, 1997, cf. chapter 5). This influential movement, lasting from the late 17th to the mid-18th century and revived in the 19th century, stressed devotional, inward and practical aspects of Christianity and a focus on missionary activities. In the late 18th and early 19th century, the missionary movement began to unfold on a larger scale in Southern Africa; among the mission societies operating were English, Scottish, Scandinavian, American, and German ones. Throughout the 19th century, mission stations were established across the Cape Colony, Natal and the Boer Republics (Villa-Vicencio, 1995).

As noted in section 2.1.1, missionaries of the Moravian Brotherhood arrived in South Africa in the 18th century, working predominately in the Cape region. They were joined by German missionaries of the Rhenish Mission Society in 1829, also operating largely in the Cape Colony (e.g. establishing Wupperthal near the Northern frontier) and present-day Namibia (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911]). In 1834, they were followed by missionaries from the Berlin Mission Society (BMS), who set up mission stations first in the Cape Colony and in the Orange Free State and, from 1847, also in Natal and later in the Transvaal region (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911]; Winkler, 1989). None of these German mission societies sent out their missionaries in groups, but as individuals or in couples with the purpose of establishing mission stations (and not German settlements) from which they could reach the local population. For this reason, maintenance of the German language and German culture received little attention. Their work was primarily seen as converting the indigenous people to the Lutheran faith and providing basic education (i.e. literacy teaching); the missionaries' mother tongue was hereby of little importance. Instead, it was the language spoken by the locals that mattered.

Whilst the missionaries of German Protestant mission societies were generally of petty bourgeois background, the Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS), which entered the South African mission field in 1854, recruited mostly peasants (Gensichen,

1982, p. 181; Pakendorf, 1997, p. 256; Winkler, 1989, pp. 23-24). In any case, becoming a missionary promised a change in socio-economic circumstances and status (Gensichen, 1982, p. 181). As chapter 5 documents in detail, the HMS took an unusual missiological approach in their undertakings by sending out groups of missionaries together with settlers (or 'colonists' as they were called; used interchangeably here) who not only established mission stations, but also German-speaking settlements.

After a long journey to and from Ethiopia, a group of eight missionaries and eight settlers³⁴ arrived in Durban, Natal. They had initially sought to undertake mission work among the local Galla in East Africa, but encountered such difficulties that they were required to turn around. Having already made contact with a missionary from the BMS in Durban en route to Ethiopia, they returned to Durban in August 1854, and decided to carry out their work in Natal among the local Zulu tribes instead (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 145; Winkler, 1989, p. 23).

The same year, the first mission station as well as a German settlement was founded, then named 'New Hermannsburg' (later 'Hermannsburg'), by the original group of missionaries and settlers. Seven years later, in 1861, there were already 62 German speakers residing in Hermannsburg, forming part of the German settlement (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 147).

Over the next 45 years, a total of 116 missionaries were sent out to South Africa by the HMS, who established mission stations (and, in many cases, also German settlements) across Natal and the British protectorate 'Bechuanaland' (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, pp. 155-157). Until 1867, settlers, that is, artisans and farmers, always accompanied the parties of missionaries as the explicit aim was to establish mission stations and self-sufficient German Lutheran settlements, independent of government support. After 1867, when the HMS administration decided to release all colonists from its service, it continued to send missionaries only.

From the late 1860s onwards, the released colonists and individual German immigrants who joined them began establishing farming communities across Natal,

³⁴ Among these first settlers were a bricklayer, two blacksmiths, a butcher, three farmers, and a tailor (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955, p. 145).

which were only loosely tied to the HMS but held together by the local German Lutheran congregation (discussed in more detail in chapter 5). For example, Harburg, near New Hanover in the Natal Midlands, was established in 1886. Some settlers also moved into the northern region of Natal, founding several communities including Lüneburg in 1867. These settlements have retained a distinct German Lutheran character, having preserved the German language to this day.

In contrast to the more prosperous Natal Midlands region, the German Lutheran settlements in Northern Natal endured severe hardship, as this region was repeatedly raided by Zulu tribes during the Anglo-Zulu Wars of 1879-1880. At one point, the settlers fortified their church as a safe haven where they took shelter for nine months (Hellberg, 1954, p. 59; Trümpelmann, 1949, p. 9). The Anglo-Boer War (also known as the South African War) at the turn of the century brought further calamity to this region when hostilities between the British and Afrikaners escalated in the struggle for white supremacy in South Africa (cf., for example, Davenport & Saunders, 2000; R. Ross, 1999; Welsh, 1998). Farm burnings were widespread in areas where military action took place (Davenport & Saunders, 2000, p. 226). In the Lüneburg area, many farms were also burned down and destroyed, with livestock raided and killed (Hellberg, 1954, p. 59). Chapter 6 deals in more detail with the differences between the two regions as it concerns language shift tendencies.

Most of the missionaries and settlers originally came from Northern Germany or, though to a lesser extent, from Prussia and Pomerania (Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955). To this day, the Hermannsburg Mission Society has its headquarters in Hermannsburg in the *Lüneburger Heide*, a historically Low German-speaking region in Northern Germany. Although the HMS missionaries and settlers were largely of Low German-speaking background, they were deeply influenced by the ideology of the HMS, coloured by 19th century notions of *Volkstum* ('ethnicity'; language being the essence of *Volkstum*). They thus placed a strong emphasis on German Lutheranism and maintaining German (cf. chapter 5).

2.1.4 *Post-World War II: Urban migration*

Comparatively little is known about the influx of German-speaking migrants to South Africa post-World War II. De Kadt (2002b, p. 150) mentions that substantial numbers of German speakers in urban areas are recent immigrants, including pre- and post-World War II. In contrast to the dominant German migration streams to the Eastern Cape or Natal in the 19th and early 20th century, the urban German communities are not characterised by influxes of groups of German speakers; instead, most immigrants arrived as single people or families. These migrants have primarily been attracted to urban areas, i.e. Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria, for economical reasons; many are today found in professional or managerial positions, working largely within international trade and commerce (de Kadt, 2002b, p. 150; cf. also Hellberg, 1954). Although German-medium educational, religious and social facilities continue to exist in all major urban centres, residents tend to be more scattered across suburbs than in rural areas, especially in Natal where the German Lutheran settlements grew out of the combined efforts of settlers and missionaries. In the case of Pretoria, Scheffer (1991, p. 16) points out that the recent (post-World War II) immigrants do not form a homogenous group, unlike those residents in urban areas who are descendants of the earlier (HMS) missionary families (and who have since re-located). On the other hand, the urban German speakers, though inherently heterogenous, do form some sort of (speech) community or linguistic niche, generally with the local German school³⁵ or various church congregations as their focal points. At least, this seems to be the case in Pretoria (Scheffer, 1991) and Cape Town (A. Deumert, p.c.). It is in the urban areas that the majority of German speakers live today.

2.1.5 *Summary*

Having provided a narrative overview of German immigration to South Africa, it has become clear that there were many different migration streams. During the 17th and 18th century, individual German settlers were often employed by the VOC and tended

³⁵ There are German International Schools in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria (cf. also chapter 4).

to assimilate rapidly into Cape society. Besides individual immigrants who settled at the Cape region, in Natal or the Boer Republics throughout the 19th century and early 20th century, there were also groups of settlers, e.g. the military settlers or later groups of peasants around East London in the Eastern Cape, or groups of missionaries and settlers in Natal sent by the HMS. Although earlier migrants had also found urban areas attractive places to settle (especially Cape Town and Johannesburg), rural settlements continued to be established until the early 20th century. Post-World War II immigrants have, however, primarily settled in urban centres, often working in professional employment.

Given these very diverse migration streams, German speakers in South Africa today cannot be said to form a single coherent speech community. However, subsets do tend to form some sort of community, in this case the Springbok-German communities. The next part of this chapter clarifies what is meant by ‘Springbok-German communities’, and is followed by a survey of current figures of German speakers in South Africa.

2.2 THE SPRINGBOK-GERMANS: DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

2.2.1 *Defining the speech community*

Because of the various migration streams, German speakers do not form a single speech community in South Africa today. This section attempts to delineate the communities under investigation within, what is here called, the ‘Springbok-German communities’. Although these communities cannot be defined in clearly fixed terms – since they are neither static nor homogenous – conceptualising them as a loosely defined speech community is, however, useful for the purpose of this study.

Even though the term ‘speech community’ is notoriously difficult to define and remains “evidently fraught with difficulties” (Patrick, 2002, p. 576; cf. also Raith, 1987), it remains a useful and central concept in sociolinguistic research (cf. Deumert, 2004; Dorian, 1982; Gumperz, 1972; Labov, 1972a; Romaine, 1982b). Demarcating the boundaries of speech communities can be particularly problematic in multilingual

societies where “[v]arying degrees of proficiency and knowledge, as well as the existence of diffuse and overlapping norms [exist]” (Deumert, 2004, p. 77). The boundaries may be fluid, and speakers may at times claim greater membership or affiliation to the speech community than at other times. Overall, the speech community may be characterised by varying degrees of membership, involving core, semi-core and peripheral members. This study utilises the concept ‘speech community’ largely in the sense of Gumperz (1972, p. 219), that is, “any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage”. In other words, the term ‘speech community’ is used here in a broadly interactional, functional sense, referring to a (socio-)linguistic collectivity whose members are characterised by frequent social interaction, common linguistic knowledge, and a shared set of social (group-specific), religious and linguistic norms. Since its boundaries are essentially fluid, and members can be described as core, semi-core and peripheral members, it is inherently heterogenous though remains locally-bound.

As de Kadt (2000, p. 74) notes with regard to German speakers in South Africa generally, “it is typically local groups of German-speakers who form communities”. Although each local community constitutes an individual ‘speech community’ of German speakers (e.g. Wartburg Germans, Lüneburg Germans), the rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga form an overarching (though loosely constituted) speech community: the ‘Springbok-German communities’. Generally speaking, German speakers in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and Mpumalanga (MP) do not see themselves as being part of some intangible ‘imagined community’ (cf. Anderson, 2006) made up of all German speakers across South Africa (cf. de Kadt, 2000, p. 74). Nonetheless, there is a clear sense of a cohesive network of Springbok-German communities across KZN and MP. Members of the Springbok-German communities are typically, though not necessarily, the descendants of the 19th century settlers and missionaries, or first (or later) generation German immigrants who migrated during the first half of the 20th century (cf. section 2.1). Although de Kadt (2000) notes in her study on ethnic identity construction in Wartburg that “none of the members of this

community offered a group self-appellation” (p. 74) and only spoke of themselves “as being ‘German (-speaking) South Africans” (ibid.), the label ‘Springbok-German’ is frequently used in the communities, and is thus applied here. It indicates speakers’ affiliation to a larger network of local German Lutheran communities, essentially reflecting their shared historical background, but also their religious affiliation and shared linguistic practices and social activities.³⁶ There are, however, different strands or clusters found in the Springbok-German communities, and it is difficult to entangle these; they are not clear-cut and instead intersect along geographical, religious and sociolinguistic lines, forming a number of overlapping clusters and subgroups.

With reference to the Springbok-German communities, the term ‘congregation’ describes members of the local church parish, e.g. a parish might have an English- and a German-speaking congregation, both part of the same parish and, potentially, also of the same local community. ‘Settlement’ refers more specifically to a place of settlement, though with regard to the Springbok-German communities, this often coincides with the name for the local parish and/or the larger community, e.g. New Hanover is both a settlement (or today a municipal area) but also the name for the German Lutheran congregation there. It is commonly also used to describe the local German community, which extends beyond the church congregation to include the local school, etc. (cf. section 2.3.2). On the other hand, a congregation can exist without there being a German settlement as such, as in the case of Augsburg (cf. section 2.3.3).

To begin untangling the various strands, the religious dimension is crucial (cf. chapter 5). There are two German Lutheran synods in South Africa,³⁷ both firmly based on their German roots: the FELSiSA (‘Free Evangelical-Lutheran Synod in South Africa’) and the ELCSA(N-T) (‘Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Natal-Transvaal)’), more often referred to as the ‘Freikirche’ and the ‘Hermannsburg

³⁶ Springbok-German also refers to the variety of German spoken by community members (cf. chapters 7 and 8).

³⁷ Other German synods and/or umbrella organisations were also founded in Southern Africa; for example, in the Cape region (the *German Evangelical-Lutheran Synod*) in 1895 or, in Namibia, where congregations of the Rhenish Mission entered into the *German Church Alliance* (together with the Cape synod and other congregations) in 1926.

Synod',³⁸ respectively. As noted in section 2.1.3, the rural communities in KZN and MP were founded by missionaries of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in the mid to late 19th century. The Freikirche synod resulted from a conflict, primarily over theological issues, with the Hermannsburg Mission Society (originally part of the *Hannoversche Landeskirche* in Germany), having split from it in 1892 (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911]; Hellberg, 1954; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955). Initially three missionaries/pastors and their congregations decided to become independent, i.e. “free”, from the influence and teaching of the society and affiliated churches in Germany. Over time, the Freikirche synod established a number of congregations and today has 20 parishes across KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Gauteng and the Western Cape. Table 2-1 provides an overview of congregations of the Hermannsburg synod and the Freikirche synod in rural KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and the Northwest province (NW).

Table 2-1: Congregations according to synodal affiliation across KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and the North-West province; in bold: congregations which form part of the present study (source: adapted from the websites of the FELSISA and ELCSA(N-T)).

| Hermannsburg Synod (ELCSA(N-T)) | Freikirche Synod (FELSISA) |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Augsburg (MP) | Greytown (KZN) |
| Bethany/Izotsha (KZN) | Lüneburg (KZN) |
| Braunschweig (KZN) | Newcastle (KZN) |
| Gerdau (NW) | Panbult (MP) |
| Harburg (KZN) | Shelley Beach (KZN) |
| Hermannsburg (KZN) | Uelzen (KZN) |
| Kroondal (NW) | Vryheid (KZN) |
| Moorleigh (KZN) | Wartburg (Kirchdorf) (KZN) |
| New Hanover (KZN) | Wittenberg (MP) |
| Piet Retief (MP) | |
| Verden-Dundee (KZN) | |
| Vryheid (KZN) | |
| Wartburg (KZN) | |
| Winterton (KZN) | |
| Number of congregations: 14 | Number of congregations: 9 |

³⁸ De Kadt (2000) uses the term *Landeskirche* to denote the Hermannsburg Synod.

Not listed in the table are parishes in urban areas, i.e. in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, and the Gauteng area.³⁹

Although the division between the two synods is deeply rooted in the historical events and associated doctrinal issues and, as such, is firmly entrenched in the minds of speakers – i.e. speakers are always aware of which congregation, and thus which synod, someone belongs to – for the moment it suffices to say that there is regular and frequent contact among members of both synods and many families are spread across synods (this is further explored in chapters 5 and 6).

There are thus two clusters of communities which result from synodal affiliation; communities, however, also fall into subsets based on their geographical location. As noted earlier, German speakers in urban areas come from a wide variety of backgrounds; on the one hand, they are the descendants of earlier migrants and, on the other, they are recent (post-World War II) immigrants. The local school and/or church can function as their focal points and, in as much as this involves shared interests and values, speakers can be said to constitute some form of speech community (cf. Scheffer, 1991, for Pretoria Germans). Where there is a historical link between German speakers in urban areas who trace their ancestry to the 19th century settlers in Natal and/or a religious link, i.e. speakers belonging to one of the urban congregations of the Freikirche or Hermannsburg synod, the boundary between the rural Springbok-German communities and urban ones becomes fuzzy. Although many Springbok-Germans in rural communities have family members living in urban areas who could be said to belong to the Springbok-German communities, the sociolinguistic situation and dynamics in the urban areas are sufficiently distinct from the rural ones. For example, few parishes offer German language services now, having mostly shifted to English or Afrikaans. It is thus a highly heterogenous speaker population in terms of migration background, education, occupation, etc. and, as such, it is best not to consider German speakers in urban areas as forming part of the Springbok-German com-

³⁹ Further information on the urban communities can be found on their websites. Cf. FELSiSA: <http://www.felsisa.org.za/index.html>; and ELCSA(N-T): <http://www.elcsant.org.za>.

munities. This is, admittedly, a slightly blurred boundary but for the purpose of delimiting the Springbok-German communities, an important one.

A much less vague clustering exists in regards to the geographical location of the rural communities, the most noticeable one pertaining to a divide between *Nord-natal* ('Northern Natal') and *Mittelnatal* ('Natal Midlands').

Table 2-2: Regional clusters of German communities in rural KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and the North-West province; in bold: communities investigated.

| Northern Natal | Natal Midlands | Southern Natal | other |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Augsburg (MP) | Greytown | Bethany/Izotsha | Gerdaau (North-West) |
| Braunschweig | Harburg | Shelley Beach | Kroondal (North-West) |
| Lüneburg | Hermannsburg | | Moorleigh |
| Newcastle | New Hanover | | Winterton |
| Panbult (MP) | Wartburg | | |
| Piet Retief (MP) | | | |
| Uelzen | | | |
| Verden-Dundee | | | |
| Vryheid | | | |
| Wittenberg (MP) | | | |

For historical reasons, Northern Natal does not only encompass local communities in KZN but also MP, reflecting earlier political boundaries. When communities in the Northern part of Natal were first established, this region formed part of the South African Republic (the later Transvaal region), integrated into the province of Natal after the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 (Welsh, 1998). Speakers also commonly refer to *Südnatal* ('Southern Natal'), i.e. along the coast, south of Durban, as another subset of communities. No umbrella labels exist for the communities in the Drakensberge or those in the North-West province.

The distinction that remains in the foreground of the present study is that which pertains to regional clustering, i.e. the study focuses on four local communities in Northern Natal and four in the Natal Midlands. While the synodal affiliations are also taken into account, the reason why the regional clustering takes precedence relates to the diverging sociolinguistic situation of the two clusters. For the moment, it is sufficient to say that the Natal Midlands region is characterised by a greater influ-

ence from English, whereas Afrikaans is accorded a much greater role in Northern Natal (cf. chapter 4).

To sum up, the Springbok-German communities can be loosely defined as a speech community in the sense that they constitute a network of local communities, characterised by their socio-historical background (i.e. descendants of 19th century missionaries and settlers from Northern Germany), their German Lutheran faith, their social activities and norms, and their shared language. Diverging synodal affiliations and different regional clusters exist, of which the more pronounced ones are between the Hermannsburg synod and the Freikirche synod, and between Northern Natal and the Natal Midlands. The next section discusses data from previous census collection, in as much as this is available on German speakers in South Africa.

2.2.2 Census data

It is, unfortunately, problematic to establish precise numerical information on the number of German speakers in South Africa today; the South African census has excluded German as an option on the question about home language use in its surveys since 1996. Instead, one of South Africa's eleven official languages is selected, which basically means a choice of either English or Afrikaans for the German speaker, or alternatively, speakers may opt for the category of 'other' language. In this case, German is subsumed within the category of 'other' and is not coded separately, i.e. all languages mentioned in this category are coded as 'other' languages. As a consequence, there are no current, official figures on the number of German speakers available, although the German embassy in Pretoria suggests that the figure may be around the one million mark (S. Mangos, p.c.). Although there is on-going migration of German speakers to South Africa (particularly for business/work-related purposes), such high estimates seem somewhat questionable when considering data from pre-1996 census collections.⁴⁰ The 1970 census lists 51,021 speakers of German and, by 1980,

⁴⁰ Pre-1996 census data needs to be treated with caution since data collected excluded the so-called 'homelands', rural areas declared politically independent of South Africa, and thus not included in the

this figure had decreased by approximately 20%, to 41,057 speakers. Kamwangamalu (2001, p. 365, based on Grobler et al. 1990, p. 17) gives the number of 40,240 German speakers for the late 1980s; while this makes German the second largest European minority language after Portuguese (57,080 speakers in the late 1980s), these figures are still relatively small. Data from the 1991 census records a total figure of 48,271 speakers of German across South Africa – 29,738 First Language speakers and 18,533 Second Language speakers. Included in these figures are also speakers with German, Austrian and possibly Swiss citizenship, who may only have been in South Africa temporarily (e.g. on contract work for German companies). For the 1980 census, de Kadt (2002b, p. 148) cites a figure of 28,000 citizens of either Germany or Austria, leaving a total of 13,057 German speakers of second or later generations. In 1980, the majority of German speakers lived in urban areas, predominantly in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town, while the German communities in rural KwaZulu-Natal and in the Northwest province were comparatively insignificant. De Kadt (2002b, p. 149) cautiously suggests a figure of 4,000 speakers for rural KwaZulu-Natal, in addition to approximately 2,000 in the urban area of Durban-Pinetown-Inanda.

The South African census provides data on national, provincial, municipal and electoral ward level, and the following table is based on data according to wards. Table 2-3 shows figures for four municipalities in rural KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga: Umvoti, uMshwathi, eDumbe and Mkhondo. Of these, the last one is situated in Mpumalanga. There is a higher concentration of German speakers across these municipalities (compared to other municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal/Mpumalanga), which is also why the current research was conducted in these districts (cf. chapter 3).

census collection. Pre-1996 census data collections have also been criticised for their lack of transparency and allegations of political manipulations have been raised (Maartens, 1998, pp. 18-20).

Table 2-3: Speakers of ‘other’ languages according to electoral wards, in absolute numbers (source: Statistics South Africa, Stats Online, Ward 2003 data).

| Municipality | Settlement/Town | Ward | Population group ‘White’ 2001 | ‘Other’ language | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| | | | | 1996 | 2001 |
| Umvoti | Greytown | 2 | 335 | 29 | 45 |
| Umvoti | Greytown | 3 | 1,210 | 53 | 36 |
| Umvoti | Hermannsburg/Sevenoaks | 5 | 153 | 120 | 39 |
| Umvoti | Hermannsburg/Kranskop | 10 | 812 | 187 | 240 |
| uMshwathi | New Hanover (west) | 1 | 169 | 8 | 12 |
| uMshwathi | New Hanover | 2 | 181 | 116 | 27 |
| uMshwathi | Dalton/Fawn Leas (north) | 3 | 239 | 60 | 45 |
| uMshwathi | Harburg/south of Wartburg | 6 | 356 | 202 | 99 |
| uMshwathi | Wartburg/Dalton | 7 | 762 | 538 | 327 |
| uMshwathi | Wartburg | 8 | 345 | 27 | 30 |
| eDumbe | Lüneburg | 1 | 472 | 330 | 234 |
| eDumbe | Paulpietersburg (north) | 2 | 49 | 27 | 21 |
| eDumbe | Paulpietersburg | 3 | 908 | 184 | 186 |
| eDumbe | Paulpietersburg (southeast) | 7 | 58 | 22 | 12 |
| Mkhondo | Piet Retief | 7 | 3,828 | 332 | 237 |
| Mkhondo | Commondale/Moolman | 9 | 305 | 190 | 135 |
| Mkhondo | Wittenberg/Commondale (west) | 15 | 138 | 215 | 63 |
| Total | | | | 2,640 | 1,788 |

Table 2-3 shows only wards which have substantial numbers of white South Africans; those wards not depicted here are generally close to 100% Black African and/or Indian/Asian,⁴¹ and are thus unlikely to comprise German speakers. For the wards with higher numbers of white South Africans, it can be assumed – with caution – that speakers of ‘other’ languages would mostly be German speakers. This provides us with a reasonable estimate of speakers, though not an absolutely precise one since (a) speakers of languages other than German may be included in this category, and (b) German speakers may very well choose to select English or Afrikaans in answer to the question on home language use instead.

⁴¹ Figures for ‘Coloureds’ are relatively insignificant for municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal, e.g. the 2001 census lists 86,677 Black Africans, 2,593 Whites, 2,487 Indians/Asians, and only 537 Coloureds for the Umvoti district. Figures for the whole of KwaZulu-Natal are: 8,002,407 Black Africans, 798,275 Indians/Asians, 486,448 Whites and 141,887 Coloureds.

For the 2001 census, this analysis provides an estimate of less than 2,000 German speakers across four municipalities (excluding those individuals who use German as home language but who selected English or Afrikaans on the census survey). This presents a decrease of 32% from 2,640 to 1,788 speakers of ‘other’ languages across the respective districts in KwaZulu-Natal. As mentioned earlier, de Kadt (2002b) assumes a figure of approximately 4,000 speakers for rural KwaZulu-Natal – that this figure is not altogether implausible is supported by the information presented in Table 2-4, which sets out figures for parish members from selected German congregations across KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga.⁴²

Table 2-4: Parish members in selected rural communities in South Africa, in absolute numbers; in bold: communities examined in this study (source: Hellberg (1954) and own data).

| Communities | Parish members 1953 ⁴³ | Parish members 2007 |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Augsburg | 280 | 323 |
| Bethanien | 384 | 227 |
| Glücksstadt | 97 | 0 |
| Harburg | 155 | 250 |
| Hermannsburg | 368 | 140 |
| Lilienthal | 249 | 0 |
| Lüneburg | 236 | 329 |
| Moorleigh | 227 | 60 |
| New Hanover | 255 | 268 |
| Panbult | 84 | 82 |
| Piet Retief | 240 | 204 |
| Shelley Beach | n/a | 90 |
| Uelzen | 353 | 111 |
| Verden-Dundee | 150 | 97 |
| Wartburg | 362 | 155 |
| Wartburg-Kirchdorf | 334 | 351 |
| Winterton | 178 | 90 |
| Wittenberg | n/a | 339 |
| Total | 3,952 | 3,116 |

Excluded from these figures are individuals who have not registered with the local church parish as members but nevertheless use German as home language. The pic-

⁴² Figures were only made available for the communities listed in the table.

⁴³ Based on figures from Hellberg (1954).

ture is further complicated as these figures may also include speakers who have not de-registered from their parish but have relocated, for example, to urban areas. Typically, members will de-register from their local parish if they move away permanently. In addition, individuals registered may not necessarily be native German speakers, i.e. Afrikaans or English speakers, generally the husband or wife of a German speaker. The numbers are, however, likely to be fairly low as some of the parishes have established separate English or Afrikaans congregations, e.g. Wartburg-Kirchdorf has a sister parish for the English-speaking members. Figures for these parishes are excluded here.

Parishes vary considerably in size, ranging from as low as 60 members in Moorleigh to 351 in Wartburg-Kirchdorf. Overall, the trend is for congregations to decrease, from 3,952 in 1953 to 3,116 in 2007 (a decrease of 21%); the apparent increase in figures for some parishes, e.g. Harburg increased from 155 to 230, should be seen as the result of parishes closing down and members joining other congregations. Figures for parishes, however, fluctuate constantly, highlighted by the fact that de Kadt (2002b, p. 149) cites 275 members for the Hermannsburg and 316 for the Lüneburg parish, while 140 and 329 members, respectively, remain registered at this point in time (November 2007).

Based on the figures from Table 2-3 and Table 2-4, and considering that there are also speakers in German communities in KwaZulu-Natal not included in the tables, it could indeed be estimated that there are still between 3,500 and 4,000 speakers of German across rural KwaZulu-Natal. Although these figures are rather small compared to the overall estimates from previous census data collections for the whole of South Africa, what needs to be taken into consideration is that,

- a) although characterised by group migration, the rural communities have always constituted small parishes;
- b) linguistic niches exist in all the major urban areas accounting for large numbers of speakers;

- c) many rural speakers have now re-located to urban areas (or elsewhere, e.g. overseas) for various reasons and have thus de-registered from the local church parish; and
- d) increased intermarriage and language shift to English and Afrikaans has led to speakers leaving their local German church parish.

2.3 COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

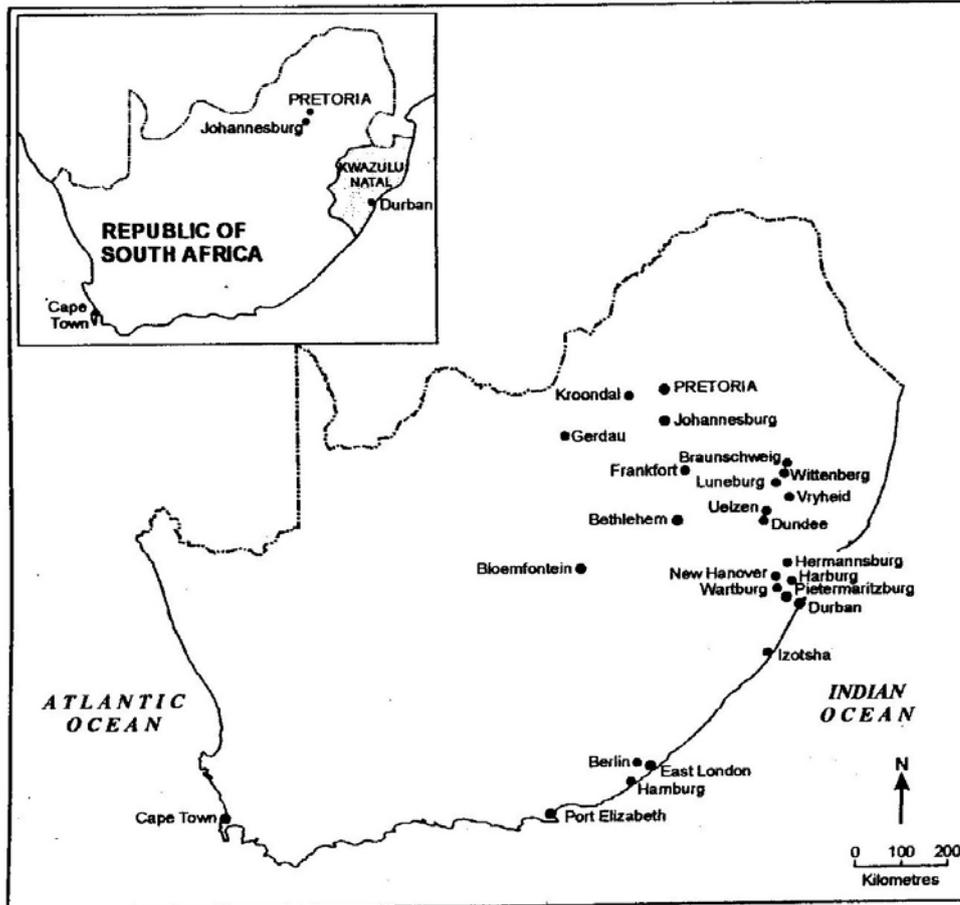
To conclude the socio-historical and demographic backdrop for this study, the final section first gives a general overview of the existing German-speaking communities in the rural areas, and then provides the context for the next chapters by introducing the communities of the current research in detail.

2.3.1 Overview of the Springbok-German communities

Today, rural German-speaking communities are found in KwaZulu-Natal, southern Mpumalanga, the Northwest province, and possibly also the Eastern Cape and the Free State. As de Kadt (2002b, p. 152) points out, the settlements in both the Free State and the Eastern Cape were considerably smaller than any of the settlements established in KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga or the Northwest. Given that, in the early 1950s, German speakers in the Eastern Cape, the Free State and the Western Cape were reported to have largely shifted to English and Afrikaans as home language(s) (Hellberg, 1954), it is likely that, where German has survived at all, this would be among the older generation only, or among recent immigrants and individual families (cf. Schaberg & Barkhuizen, 1998). German clubs and church parishes may still be maintained to some extent. De Kadt (2002b, pp. 152-153), for example, mentions a German club and a German-Afrikaans parish which are still active in Bloemfontein in the Free State, and German-English parishes existing in East London and Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape.

Map 2-1 gives an indication of the approximate location of (former) German settlements. Although the map does not show all settlements which still exist to date, it is nonetheless a valuable reference tool.

Map 2-1: German-speaking communities in South Africa (source: de Kadt (2002b, p. 149)).



As indicated in Map 2-1, the largest conglomeration of communities is found in the eastern part of South Africa: in KwaZulu-Natal. There are two German communities in the Northwest province and four in Mpumalanga, while 16 remain in KwaZulu-Natal, excluding those in the urban Durban-Pinetown-Inanda area, which has four German parishes alone (Renshaw Road, Westville, New Germany and Hillcrest). There are also two formerly German parishes in Pietermaritzburg, one of the two provincial capitals of KwaZulu-Natal. One of the parishes in Pietermaritzburg is now

English-speaking only, while the other conducts bilingual English-German services. The congregations of Bethany (1888)⁴⁴ and Shelley Beach (1884) are located near Izotsha along the South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal. Winterton (1921) and Moorleigh (1907) are in close proximity to each other and are located near Estcourt in the central Drakensberg region. Most communities, however, are found in the Natal Midlands or in Northern Natal. The Natal Midlands include the communities of Wartburg (1892), Wartburg-Kirchdorf (1882), New Hanover (1858) and Harburg (1886) – all situated about a 45 minute drive from Pietermaritzburg. Hermannsburg (1854), the very first German settlement established by the Hermannsburg missionaries, is found near Greytown, a small country town also in the Natal Midlands which itself has a German church congregation (1973). Northern Natal spans a much greater geographical area and incorporates the following congregations: Vryheid (1921), Braunschweig (1892), and Lüneburg (1869). Across the provincial border in Mpumalanga are the communities of Augsburg (1923), Wittenberg (1890), Piet Retief (1911), and Panbult (1925). Although Augsburg is officially situated in the province of Mpumalanga, members tend to view Augsburg as a “border congregation”; it is generally considered to form part of the Northern Natal communities since the provincial borders did not exist during the time of original settlement. Communities that are situated neither in Northern Natal nor in the Natal Midlands but somewhat in-between are Uelzen (1894), Verden-Dundee (1888), and Newcastle.⁴⁵

In contrast to the many German settlements in rural KwaZulu-Natal, there are only two communities located in the Northwest province: Gerdau (1905), near Lichtenburg, and Kroondal (1896), near Rustenburg, a community relatively strong in numbers (currently about 400 parish members). All of these rural communities were originally established by the missionaries and settlers of the Hermannsburg Mission Society and, even today, they are largely made up of the descendants of the earlier settlers. A number of communities, i.e. congregations, closed down over the years due

⁴⁴ Numbers in brackets indicate the year of foundation. Unfortunately, dates were not available for all congregations.

⁴⁵ No date available for when it was originally founded.

to insufficient numbers of congregants (often having merged with other communities), including Glücksstadt (1891), Lilienthal (1897) and Bergen (1885).

The next section provides some geographical, historical, and socio-economic background information for the communities in rural KwaZulu-Natal which form the focus of this study.

2.3.2 *The Natal Midlands*

The Natal Midlands, a predominately agricultural region in the heart of KwaZulu-Natal, spans a geographical area with Pietermaritzburg, a large commercial city, in the south and Greytown, a small country town, in the north. Its boundaries are only loosely defined, though the town of Mooi River could be seen to represent its western-most edge. To the east, no boundary as such exists as there are no major towns or even larger villages; most of this area constitutes former homeland territory and is still characterised by tiny villages and unsealed roads.

A major road, the R33, runs through the heart of the Natal Midlands by joining Pietermaritzburg with Greytown. It is along this road that a number of German-speaking communities are found. Not far from Pietermaritzburg, roughly 30 kilometres north-east, are the communities of Wartburg, Wartburg-Kirchdorf, Harburg and New Hanover. They are situated in close proximity of each other, ranging between 10 and 20 kilometres. The community of Hermannsburg is situated further north, about a 45 minute drive from Wartburg or some 25 kilometres east of Greytown.

As industry is relatively rare in these parts of the province (except for the area surrounding Pietermaritzburg), the main form of subsistence for these communities continues to be farming. While pig and cattle breeding and the cultivation of maize were once widespread, farmers have increasingly turned to forestry as the main source of income. This is especially the case in and around Hermannsburg, where the timber from the tree plantations is processed in the nearby sawmill. It is subsequently exported to predominantly Asian countries such as Japan and Taiwan, thereby providing farmers with a much more stable and secure income.

Map 2-2: Map showing the Springbok-German communities in the Natal Midlands (source: adapted from J. Hall, 2000, p. 13).



In the area around Wartburg, New Hanover and Harburg, sugar cane has traditionally been cultivated, though forestry is increasingly becoming common as well. Typically, the farms are geographically scattered and the actual communities are surrounded by large farm holdings and farmland, not necessarily those of the German-speaking community only.

Being religiously-based from the start, the communities are structured around the church, and hence, it is the church building which is the most conspicuous sight in these settlements. Most communities will also have a community hall, a manse and generally a primary school. A farm cash store may also be found, depending on the size of the settlement.

Hermannsburg

The village of Hermannsburg, the first settlement established by the HMS missionaries in 1854, is a typical farming community, surrounded by large farm holdings and geographically scattered farmsteads. It is perhaps best known for its local private school, the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* ('German School Hermannsburg'), a school with a strong German tradition and history, dating back to 1856 when it was first established.

Photo 2-1: Entrance to the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*.



Today, the school incorporates a kindergarten, a primary and secondary school as well as a boarding hostel. It admits students from all language backgrounds and currently has 191 students across all year levels (including kindergarten) and 34 teaching, administrative and support staff. There are 110 students attending the high school and 81 primary school and kindergarten children (for more details, cf. chapter 4).

Aside from the school, the Hermannsburg Mission House Museum is another key feature of Hermannsburg. It is housed in the original buildings of the first mission station built in 1854 by missionaries of the HMS. Today it is located on the school grounds and documents the history of the HMS in South Africa. It officially opened as

a museum in 1992; up until the mid-1980s, it still served as the manse for the local pastor and his family. Although it is a small museum, it regularly receives visitors and tourist parties, most of them from Germany.

Photo 2-2: The Hermannsburg Mission house Museum.



Located along the road leading to the school are the church grounds of Hermannsburg, comprising the church building, graveyard, church/community hall and present-day manse. Hermannsburg is considered the “mother congregation” of all congregations established by the HMS in KwaZulu-Natal. As shown in Table 2-4, the church parish has 140 congregational members, though this figure is not necessarily indicative of the number of Hermannsburg residents as such. Some teachers at the school, mainly those who have only temporarily relocated to South Africa from Germany, do not belong to the German Lutheran congregation yet are actively involved in the school community. While the church congregation and the school community are linked on many levels, there is also a somewhat indistinct division between them, with some activities attended by church members only (church brass band rehearsals, choir practices, etc.). Nevertheless, the brass band may also perform at a school celebration or other events involving the school.

The local piggery, another conspicuous sight of Hermannsburg, is owned by the school and its associated school board committee (a trust fund), as are the paddocks and fields surrounding the school property. At one time, Hermannsburg even boasted a small convenience store, including a post office, though this has been closed for over ten years and remains a dilapidated building with no other businesses in the area. In addition to the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* (DSH), there is also a local government school, not altogether far from the location of the DSH, which the local Zulu-speaking children attend. What needs to be born in mind, however, is that while the government school may fall within the geographical demarcation boundaries of Hermannsburg, it in no respect forms part of the German and thus white Hermannsburg community. Racial barriers are very much a reality in KwaZulu-Natal, whether they exist solely in the minds of people or manifested in overt attitudes and behaviour; the very notion of racial segregation underlies and often guides work-related and social interaction between the local indigenous people and white persons in any of the German communities, though this is by no means exclusive to these particular communities. But it does serve as an explanation as to why the local government school is not seen as part of Hermannsburg community – a community that is exclusively made up of white people and who strictly adhere to the German Lutheran faith.

Wartburg, Harburg and New Hanover

Of the Natal Midlands communities near Pietermaritzburg, New Hanover was the first one to be established in 1858, followed by Wartburg-Kirchdorf in 1881, Harburg in 1886 and Wartburg in 1892. Similar to Hermannsburg, these communities are surrounded by farmland and large farm holdings; most farmers in this area are involved in sugar cane cultivation and/or forestry and, to a small extent, dairy farming.

Wartburg and New Hanover are larger villages, while Harburg can be described as a hamlet. Of these, Wartburg is the largest with about 1,500 inhabitants, almost all of whom are and, for the most part, of German origin. De Kadt (2000, p. 70)

suggests that about 70% of the white population is of German background; the rest are mostly English with some Afrikaans speakers. The most unusual characteristic of Wartburg is the existence of two German church congregations (and church grounds), Wartburg-Kirchdorf and Wartburg, located within a few hundred meters of each other. As mentioned above (cf. section 2.2.1), the Springbok-German communities belong to either of two Lutheran church synods in Southern Africa with German roots: the ELCSA(N-T) (Hermannsburg synod) or FELSiSA (Freikirche synod). Wartburg-Kirchdorf was initially founded as 'Kirchdorf' by missionaries of the Hermannsburg synod and re-established itself to become 'Wartburg-Kirchdorf' in 1881. The Wartburg congregation only came into existence in 1892 as an offshoot of the Wartburg-Kirchdorf congregation and today remains affiliated with the Hermannsburg synod. Wartburg-Kirchdorf, the only parish of the Freikirche synod in the area, is the numerically larger church, having 351 members. The Wartburg parish, in contrast, is rapidly decreasing in numbers and currently only counts 155 people among its members.

Both church parishes had initiated the establishment of schools and, in 1931, the two congregations agreed to merge the schools to form the Wartburg-Kirchdorf Government School. For the present, the school remains a government school and, while still upholding its German roots and traditions to some extent, it is now run in English. In 2007, Wartburg-Kirchdorf school was attended by 471 students. Also connected to the school is a nearby boarding hostel, run jointly by the Wartburg-Kirchdorf and Wartburg parishes (cf. chapter 4).

Photo 2-3: The local restaurant and hotel in Wartburg, the “Wartburger Hof”.



Besides the two German Lutheran congregations in Wartburg, which exist amongst other English and/or Zulu church congregations, there is an old people’s home, also run by the two churches, a range of shops including a petrol station and supermarket, the local council administration, and a popular pub and hotel, the ‘Wartburger Hof’. Businesses in Wartburg largely operate in English, though German can be heard at the local German butchery or at the Wartburger Hof. The inn also serves as the meeting point for the fortnightly *Stammtisch*: a social gathering of both young and old German speakers of the Wartburg and Harburg communities. The Wartburger Hof is also popular with German tourists, and is frequented by many of the English speakers of this area.

Harburg, in contrast to Wartburg, is best described as a hamlet and is largely made up of the church grounds, including the church, cemetery and manse. The church parish currently counts 230 congregants and belongs to the Hermannsburg synod. Harburg also has a community hall and a primary school which, however, was forced to close in December 2005 due to insufficient student numbers. Akin to Hermannsburg, Wartburg and New Hanover, Harburg is surrounded by farmland and widely scattered farmsteads and, as in other farming communities, members of the Harburg community live far apart and not necessarily in the vicinity of the Harburg

hamlet. Instead, several of the congregants live in and around Dalton, some 15 kilometres east of Harburg. Dalton is not a German settlement or community as such, yet one regularly hears German spoken there due to the relatively substantial number of German speakers who frequent the local supermarket and have other business there. While business is generally conducted in English, German may be spoken with, for example, the local car mechanic, physician or accountant, all of whom are of German background (cf. chapter 4).

Photo 2-4: The German Lutheran church at Harburg.



The geographical size of New Hanover features somewhat in-between Wartburg and Harburg. Akin to Wartburg, New Hanover has a few shops, a petrol station, a sawmill, a pub, and a German church parish incorporating a primary school, an old people's home, a cemetery and manse. The New Hanover German Lutheran congregation has 290 members, which makes it the largest parish of the Hermannsburg synod in the Natal Midlands. In contrast to the Wartburg-Kirchdorf school, New Hanover primary school is an independent school, now largely run in English and with a student population of about 100 students (cf. chapter 4). A striking difference to Wartburg, where the church buildings etc. are scattered across town, is that the old people's home, the

school (including its sports fields and swimming pool), and a few houses are all within walking distance of the grounds of the New Hanover Lutheran church. This German part (or settlement) of New Hanover is located along a minor road and is geographically quite separate from the rest of New Hanover; that is, the shops, the petrol station and the pub, all of which are located along the main road.

Photo 2-5: New Hanover's first church bell.



Since all these communities are located within close proximity of each other, contact between members occurs frequently, if not on a daily basis (cf. chapter 4).

Having introduced the communities in the Natal Midlands, I will now turn to Northern Natal thereby focussing on four communities in particular.

2.3.3 Northern Natal

The Northern Natal communities extend over an even greater geographical area than the Natal Midlands communities and stretch across the provincial border into Mpumalanga. To delineate the boundaries of Northern Natal is, however, somewhat difficult. Northern Natal is often considered as entailing the region north of the Tugela

river, yet this makes for a rather vast area which includes large parts of former homeland territory. The actual region of Northern Natal has its southern-most edge much further north than immediately north of the Tugela river. Vryheid, a larger country town, is generally regarded as being situated at the southern boundary of Northern Natal, while its northern limit is rather undefined. In terms of the German communities, Augsburg (and sometimes also Wittenberg) tends to be considered part of Northern Natal even though they are found across the provincial border in Mpumalanga.

Map 2-3: The Springbok-German communities in Northern Natal (source: adapted from J. Hall, 2007, p. 19).



Northern Natal does not stretch far into the region east of Vryheid; in fact, the R33, connecting Vryheid with Piet Retief (PR), could be considered as constituting its eastern boundary. Utrecht, north-west of Vryheid is located in Northern Natal while Newcastle, west of Utrecht, is not. Piet Retief is generally not regarded as being situated in Northern Natal, but for the purpose of this overview, I will include Piet Retief.

The German communities are found scattered across Northern Natal, mostly north of Vryheid and in more or less close proximity to the R33, a major road which runs between Vryheid and Piet Retief. Lüneburg is found some 55 kilometres north of Vryheid, and just across the provincial border, Augsburg is about 65 kilometres from Vryheid. Near Lüneburg is the small parish of Braunschweig. Wittenberg is situated further north, some 20 kilometres south of the country town Piet Retief.

Akin to the Natal Midlands, farming is the dominant source of income across communities in Northern Natal and, as cattle farming becomes more and more difficult and costly because of repeated stock theft, farmers have increasingly turned to forestry and timber processing. As in the Natal Midlands, farms are scattered geographically and farm holdings are situated among those of the largely Afrikaans-speaking population.

Northern Natal is far less urbanised than the Natal Midlands, and distances between towns and commercial centres are much greater. While the Natal Midlands are in relatively close proximity to urban centres such as Pietermaritzburg (45 minutes drive) and Durban (90 minutes drive), the largest towns in or near Northern Natal are Vryheid, Piet Retief or Newcastle, and though constituting sizeable country towns, they are not comparable to urban centres such as Pietermaritzburg or Durban.

Lüneburg and Wittenberg

Lüneburg and Wittenberg are grouped together here as both congregations belong to the Freikirche synod (FELSISA), while Augsburg and Piet Retief are members of the Hermannsburg synod (ELCSA(N-T)). Lüneburg and Wittenberg are relatively similar in size and structure, having 329 and 339 parish members respectively, although Wit-

tenberg is somewhat smaller in terms of its actual geographical size. Lüneburg is a small settlement largely made up of the church grounds, including the church buildings, manse, community hall, adjacent school buildings, the nearby cemetery and a memorial site commemorating events in the history of the German settlement of the area around Lüneburg. Besides the church grounds, Lüneburg also has a typical farm cash store, a local German butchery and a holiday farmstead. All roads in and around Lüneburg are unsealed, which only accentuates the remoteness of this tiny village.

Photo 2-6: School and church grounds at Lüneburg.



Wittenberg is even smaller than Lüneburg and is best described as a hamlet, surrounded by farmland and neighbouring farmsteads. It only comprises the church grounds (church building, cemetery and community hall – there is no manse) and the adjacent school buildings and sports fields. The only people living in Wittenberg are the headmaster of the school and his family, living in the headmaster’s house adjoining the school, and the boarding hostel matron (including the boarding hostel children during school term). There are no businesses at all in Wittenberg, but it is located in relative proximity to the town of Piet Retief.

The Lüneburg as well as the Wittenberg school are primary schools and both include boarding establishments. Although both schools are government-aided

schools, they operate on a trust-fund basis and are predominantly attended by German mother tongue speakers. Increasingly, Afrikaans speakers are also found among the school children, but only very few English mother tongue speakers attend either school. As of 2007, Lüneburg primary school had 105 students and seven teachers, similar to Wittenberg, which had 93 students and eight members of staff (cf. chapter 4).

Augsburg and Piet Retief

As mentioned, the Augsburg and Piet Retief congregations are members of the Hermannsburg synod, yet they could not be more different from each other. The German congregation in Piet Retief, which is a sizeable Afrikaans country town (population is approx. 32,000; Statistics South Africa), is simply one among many church congregations found there, though it is the only German-speaking one. The majority of the parishes in Piet Retief are Afrikaans-speaking, and even the German congregation (204 congregants, established in 1911) is now frequently visited by Afrikaans mother tongue speakers. There is a high school and several primary schools, none of which teaches German as mother tongue or foreign language. Instead, parish members send their children to either Lüneburg or Wittenberg for primary school education, and only later to the Afrikaans-medium high schools in Piet Retief, Ermelo or elsewhere. Piet Retief serves as the commercial centre of the area (the next closest larger town is Vryheid, some 110 kilometres south of Piet Retief), and business is generally conducted in Afrikaans. It is not infrequent, though, that German can be overheard in shops and businesses as a sizeable proportion of German speakers live in and around Piet Retief, and several businesses are owned by German speakers or German speakers may be employed in various shops.

Photo 2-7: Entrance to the church grounds at Augsburg.



Augsburg, in stark contrast, consists of little more than the church grounds; it was founded relatively late, in 1923, which explains why it is not a settlement as such but is made up of only the church grounds, including the manse, community hall, cemetery and some tennis courts/sports fields. The manse is no longer in use, and the pastor now resides in Paulpietersburg, the nearest town. It is situated in very close proximity to Comondale village, which has a convenience and liquor store (farm cash store), a petrol station and a sawmill. Consequently, there was no need to establish any businesses since the Comondale store and the sawmill already existed and, to this date, Augsburg remains extremely tiny in physical size. In contrast, it has one of the most active youth groups and is relatively substantial in congregational size (323 members). As in all the other communities, farming, especially forestry and timber milling, continues to be the main form of subsistence in both the Augsburg/Comondale area and the Piet Retief area.

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided the historical background on the different stages and streams of migration of German speakers to Southern Africa, from the mid-17th century to post-World War II migration. While Lutheran congregations and German set-

tlements were established across South Africa, only those in present-day KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and the North-West province have resisted linguistic and cultural assimilation to a substantial degree.

This chapter has also sought to define the Springbok-German communities as an overarching speech community, that is, as a network of local German communities which are characterised by fluid boundaries, multiple clusters or subgroups, but which share historical roots, religious beliefs, and linguistic and social practices. It has also provided an overview of previous census data and endeavoured to present rough estimates of current numbers of speakers in rural KwaZulu-Natal, based on figures from local ward data and parish members. The general structure of the communities in rural KwaZulu-Natal was described in the previous section, with selected communities, which form the basis of the current research, introduced in detail. This leads me to the next chapter, where the methodology employed is outlined, providing details on the fieldwork, participant recruitment strategies and the data collection.

3 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Having provided the historical context, an estimate of current population figures across communities, and an overview of community structures, this chapter now outlines the methodological approach employed in this study. Following a brief discussion of the overall research purpose and design of the study, I provide details on the ethnographic framework within which the fieldwork was conducted, how participants were recruited and the data collected, i.e. by means of sociolinguistic interviews, and to a lesser extent, questionnaires. This chapter concludes by reflecting on limitations that the approach of the present study necessarily entails.

3.1 RESEARCH PURPOSE AND OVERALL DESIGN OF THE STUDY

One of the early concerns that emerged was the need to delineate the scope of the research within which the project could be undertaken on a practical level, while still addressing gaps in previous research and presenting current findings on the Springbok-German communities. Initially, I employed the notion of conducting research on German speakers across the whole of South Africa; this had to be re-evaluated. Not only was such a large project impractical, there was also the problem that German speakers in South Africa constitute very different migration vintages, having come at different times and settling all across South Africa (cf. chapter 2). As discussed, they do not form a single, coherent speech community. The focus of the present investigation was thus reviewed with the result of concentrating research efforts on the Springbok-German communities in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. Because of the considerable number of German settlements found in KZN and MP, only a limited and thus inadequate survey could have covered the entire area. The current study thus focuses on eight communities: the Natal Midlands communities of Hermannsburg, Wartburg, New Hanover and Harburg, and the Northern Natal communities of Lüneburg, Wittenberg, Augsburg and Piet Retief, described in the previous chapter.

As noted, these communities can be neatly grouped into two distinct regional clusters: the Natal Midlands and Northern Natal. They were selected on the basis of two varying dominant contact languages: English in the Natal Midlands and Afrikaans in Northern Natal (cf. chapter 4).

From the outset, an analysis of (morpho)syntactic features of *Springbokdeutsch* was to be based on spoken language rather than written data. Although a reliance on oral language data is by no means exclusive to sociolinguistics or language contact studies, interviews have traditionally constituted the most common method for gathering sociolinguistic data, particularly for the purpose of collecting naturalistic speech (L. Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 57). Although naturalistic speech can be loosely defined as spontaneous, everyday speech, it is a somewhat problematic and often contested concept. Wolfson (1997), for example, rejects the notion of ‘natural speech’ outright, arguing that naturalistic language needs to be recognised as “nothing more than speech appropriate to the occasion” (p. 125) as, within its context – whether formal or informal – all speech is natural. Despite being a problematic concept, ‘naturalistic speech’ remains a useful one in that it involves the notion of everyday discourse, also referred to as the ‘vernacular’. As Labov (1972b, p. xix) puts it, everyday discourse is “language as it is used in everyday life by members of the social order, that vehicle of communication in which they argue with their wives, joke with their friends, and deceive their enemies”. The concept of the vernacular is fundamental to sociolinguistic studies, but, as Milroy (1987, p. 57) points out, the term is “not particularly well defined”, conveying, on the one hand, the idea of casual speech as used in informal settings (everyday discourse) while, on the other hand, referring to a low-status variety distinctive of a social group or geographical area. Yet common to both meanings is the underlying dimension of the vernacular constituting an institutionally stigmatised and often publicly unrecognised language variety. If the term ‘vernacular’ is, however, employed in a rather abstract sense, and not as a counterpart to standard language or as a speaker’s completely natural form of speech, Milroy (1987, p. 60) asserts its merits as “the most appropriate subject of study”. Since it has frequently been noted that linguistic changes or innovatory variants first emerge in the vernacular of speakers, in

order to make inferences about the structure of Springbok-German and language change tendencies, it was important to collect language data that represented speakers' vernacular in the broadest sense. I wanted to gain access to a casual style in which linguistic features may appear that may otherwise be avoided in situations where participants employ a more careful or guarded speech style, such as when talking to a community outsider during an interview (cf. Labov, 1972b). As some community members were acutely aware of my 'status' as a native German speaker, a community outsider and a "language expert" in their midst, they were initially guarded in their speech, perhaps to conform to expectations they perceived I held. Because of people's natural suspicion towards community outsiders and to minimise the observer's paradox as much as possible (cf. Labov, 1972b), it was essential to spend extensive time in the field in order to gain access to the vernacular and to collect "natural" language data.

To address and examine both sociolinguistic issues and language changes of Springbok-German, it was thus important to adopt a methodology that incorporated not only collecting primary spoken language data, but that also allowed me to observe and analyse underlying sociolinguistic tendencies from within these communities. Ethnographic field research allows for such an approach, and is broadly defined by Emerson (2001, p. 1) as "simply research conducted in natural social settings, in the actual contexts in which people pursue their daily lives". This kind of ethnographic framework forms the basis for this study, and in doing so, integrates participant observation in the respective communities with semi-structured interviews. Furthermore, being immersed in the communities is advantageous in that contact with key community members can be established without too much difficulty. These members in turn can (and did) prove to be crucial in recruiting potential participants for interviews. The methodology used in this study is thus a two-fold approach: field studies incorporating participant observation and interviews. In addition, questionnaire data has been gathered, though it is of limited scope.

3.2 (SOCIO)LINGUISTIC FIELDWORK: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

This study is thus embedded in an ethnographic framework for the reason of ascertaining and understanding the issues involved in language maintenance and/or language shift, as reflected in people's interactions and activities in the respective communities. Secondly, the method of conducting interviews allows gathering language data for linguistic analysis as well as for collecting information on the language situation and related issues as shared by participants. This section illustrates the ethnographic approach taken and provides detailed information on the conducted field research.

In following a broadly Labovian approach, the analysis of language variation found in Springbok-German is based on observable data collected across the eight Springbok-German communities that form the basis of this study. Sociolinguistic studies have traditionally relied on (extensive) field research in form of immersion in the community under investigation (cf., among many others, Gal, 1979; J. Milroy & Milroy, 1978, 1985; Trudgill, 1974). In this respect, sociolinguists have learned much from anthropological and sociological writing on field methods, which repeatedly draws attention to a great number of issues that field researchers regularly encounter. A recurrent concern of researchers is how to gain access to communities, frequently a difficult and protracted endeavour, which may even remain fruitless in the case of access being denied by community members or officials. Conducting field research in a foreign country often entails an additional strain on researchers as they face not only added administrative matters, such as gaining research permissions and visas, but may also find themselves confronted with political and/or social problems not encountered in their home country. Once physical access to the community is gained, it will take, yet again, considerable time and effort to build rapport with community members and for the field researchers' presence to become accepted as legitimate. During the course of the fieldwork, researchers face the challenge of establishing a position that allows them to become knowledgeable and familiar with the local situation while, at the same time, remaining an unobtrusive observer. Maintaining a balance between these two perspectives may be stressful and bring about ethical

dilemmas, and, at times, may even be difficult to sustain at all. Equally important in terms of gaining access to the community is the recruitment of participants, often greatly helped when the field researcher manages to become acquainted with key community members.

I undertook three field trips to South Africa, each with a slightly different objective: the first, preliminary visit to the field took place in October and November 2005, a second, extended trip the following year from late April to early August 2006, and a third field trip in June 2007. The aim of the first field trip was to familiarise myself with the language contact situation in the communities and also with the socio-economic, historical and social background of the speakers. Furthermore, it was crucial to establish contacts with community members for an extended period of field studies the following year, and also to carry out a small pilot study by conducting a few preliminary interviews. During the first period in the field, I remained solely in one community, Hermannsburg (excluding a short stay in Harburg thereby fostering relations with a key community member). In contrast, the second phase of fieldwork entailed intensive periods of data collection through participant observation (field notes) and interviews. During this time, I travelled extensively between communities, particularly in the last month of fieldwork. This allowed me to make observations and to interact with community members within a wider range of communities and, significantly, to encounter and understand the (at times) very different perspectives held by speakers from across the Springbok-German communities. The last field trip served to confirm tentative conclusions of the language situation and to clarify a number of other issues that had arisen in the analysis. Time was predominantly spent in the Northern Natal community of Wittenberg, but I also briefly visited the Wartburg area in the Natal Midlands. In what follows, I will first describe the fieldwork conducted during the pilot study and then outline the main phase of the field research.

3.2.1 *The pilot study: Hermannsburg in the Natal Midlands*

The pilot study was carried out in the village of Hermannsburg; Hermannsburg was singled out for the pilot study simply for practical reasons: contact was established

here prior to any of the other communities. Through a series of what later seemed like coincidences, contact was made with the curator of Hermannsburg Mission's House Museum, an elderly lady named Irmela.⁴⁶ During October and November 2005, I spent seven weeks in Hermannsburg, staying on the grounds of the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* (DSH) in the primary school hostel, visiting the museum and Irmela almost daily. Irmela proved to be invaluable in more ways than one, providing me with information about the existing communities and on the historical settlement patterns of the Lutheran communities in rural KZN in general. She also acquainted me with local norms, values and traditions. But, most importantly, over time Irmela introduced me to local community members, which greatly facilitated my entry into and acceptance within the community. Community members, not surprisingly, can view field researchers as intruders and may be suspicious or doubtful of the researcher's motives or purposes. Consequently, gaining the status of Irmela's "protégée" alleviated some such suspicions and gave my presence in the community greater credibility.

By living on the school's property and taking my meals with the boarding school students, I was able to observe interactions between students and also – but to a more limited extent – between students and teaching/boarding school staff. Further opportunities for observation of interactions between students and parents or teachers arose by simply wandering the school grounds and by 'hanging out'. When I was not helping out in the museum and spending time with Irmela, I visited the kindergarten during morning tea time or attended the teaching staff's morning tea recess.

I also regularly attended Sunday morning church service at Hermannsburg Lutheran church, an integral part of community life, and almost instantly after my arrival I became involved in a fund-raising production for the DSH, organised by teachers, students' parents and the community. During the initial three weeks of fieldwork, rehearsals took place two nights a week, building up to four, five times a week nearing the performance night. It was during those first few rehearsals that I gradually became accustomed to the local circumstances, and obtained a sense of the

⁴⁶ Pseudonyms are used for all people involved in the study.

language contact situation and potential issues that would impact on questions to do with language maintenance and shift. My contribution to the preparation of the event and, ultimately, my participation in a few production items meant that I was no longer considered a complete outsider to the community but was somewhat accepted, though still very much on a peripheral level. My participation was generally well received, especially by a number of community members who, although at first failing to account for my presence in the community for research purposes, offered invaluable help later on. On another occasion I offered to help out in an event hosted by the kindergarten – the annual *Oma & Opa Tag* (Grandparent’s Day) where grandparents of children attending the kindergarten come for a morning visit. This again gave me ample opportunity to observe sociolinguistic interactions and also presented me with the chance to introduce myself to other community members, i.e. grandparents, some of whom I later interviewed.

In essence, the field research during the pilot study phase focused on establishing rapport with the community of Hermannsburg on several levels, and whilst I remained an observer I also participated in various community activities to an extent, gaining insight into community life from a “new” but inquisitive insider’s perspective.

3.2.2 Returning to the field (1): Research in the Natal Midlands

At the end of April 2006, I returned to South Africa for a second field stay, this time with the purpose in mind to carry out further field research in Hermannsburg and also Wartburg and Harburg in the Natal Midlands, but, more importantly, to conduct field studies in the Northern Natal communities. After spending an initial three weeks in Hermannsburg, predominantly conducting interviews, I went to stay on a farm near Dalton in the Natal Midlands communities for a month. Although Dalton is not a German community as such, it is surrounded by Wartburg, Harburg and New Hanover, and has a high proportion of German speakers (cf. chapter 2). The opportunity to stay on a working farm provided me with a different, much more social and communal perspective; formerly I had had much less opportunity to closely observe people pursuing their day by day activities, even though I had caught glimpses of everyday

life whenever I visited people's homes for interviews. The farm where I was staying belonged to a couple, Isolde and Werner, to whom I was introduced during the previous field trip in 2005. As further outlined in section 3.3 on participant recruitment, being introduced as a 'friend of a friend' became vitally important for gaining access to communities and for recruiting community members for interviews. Having the chance to stay in the home of this couple provided me with excellent opportunities for observation of social interactions between community members as, Isolde and Werner had countless visitors, including their four children and many grand children, other relatives, friends and neighbours from the community. As in Hermannsburg, I attended various special events, e.g. church fêtes (*Kirchenbasar*) and the annual *Jugendtag* ('Youth Day') organised by the Freikirche of Wartburg-Kirchdorf, and also regular activities such as church services. When I was not visiting people at their homes to conduct interviews, I spent much time in conversation with Isolde and her visitors. I also regularly visited the pastor of the Wartburg congregation (Hermannsburg synod) and his wife, Ronald and Ivonne, who further acquainted me with social norms and traditions of the rural German communities. Whilst I did not actively participate in any community event as such (as I had in Hermannsburg in 2005), I nevertheless took part in various activities, thereby strengthening my rapport with community members. Participation remained on a peripheral though visible level, such as when helping out at a food stall at the farmer's market in Wartburg or when visiting a kindergarten as part of the Wartburg church outreach programme with two elderly ladies from the church. Further opportunities for observation presented themselves during the many hours of interviews and casual conversation, whether that be at a rugby game with a group of young Wartburgers and Harburgers, on long walks through the New Hanover settlement with an elder of the church, or simply at people's homes when visitors dropped in.

3.2.3 *Returning to the field (2): Research in Northern Natal*

In mid-July 2006, I began a short but fruitful field stay in the Northern Natal communities. I had briefly been to Vryheid in May that year, and during this time, had be-

come acutely aware of the higher concentration of German speakers in northern KwaZulu-Natal. It soon became evident that German enjoyed a kind of vitality there that was not as apparent in the Natal Midlands communities. The fieldwork in Northern Natal was necessarily different from the studies conducted in the Midlands communities: (a) because I did not stay in any one place for longer than a week, often only visiting people for two or three days, and (b) because I spent less time there yet visited more communities across a greater geographical area during this time than I had done in the Natal Midlands. This may seem uncommon in terms of general ethnographic practices, and a more extended field stay in these communities would no doubt have brought further benefits. This is part of the reason why a third, though brief, stay was undertaken the following year. What needs to be noted is that Northern Natal is characterised by a greater sense of unity across the various communities, evident in the number of regular and special cross-community events, and also frequently expressed by the people (cf. chapter 6).

Once again, the initial contact was established through being referred to community members as a 'friend of a friend'. I began the month of fieldwork in Piet Retief, followed by stays on working farms in the Comondale (Augsburg) area. I subsequently spent time in Wittenberg, staying within the primary school's grounds in the boarding hostel, and was then welcomed to a homestead near Lüneburg. There I also visited the local German primary school. This was followed by a further visit to Piet Retief, and also Comondale. This approach allowed me to become deeply immersed in a number of communities and gave me ample opportunities for participant observation. The nature of the field research in Northern Natal is especially varied, ranging from stays at family farmsteads where I participated in everyday family activities and interactions, to stays at the Wittenberg primary school where I was exposed to the school's and students' activities and, even more so, experienced life in the boarding hostel. The general spirit of hospitality, so distinctive in Northern Natal, also meant that people were eager to include me in their daily activities and regular meetings as well as to invite me to special meals and outings. I attended and occasionally participated in meetings such as the weekly rehearsal of the Augsburg church brass

band, informal Bible study group meetings, church services and church fêtes. Further opportunities for observation presented themselves on a number of occasions during which relatives or family friends called in for a visit at the farms where I was staying or, alternatively, I was invited to accompany those I was staying with on their visits to relatives and friends. Sometimes the opportunity arose then and there to conduct an interview while, at other times, any active participation on my part was insignificant, or I simply faded into the background during people's conversations. Yet it was unquestionably a challenge at times to remain the unobtrusive outsider; this became all the more difficult when people went to great lengths to arrange special outings, such as a day trip with two families including a spectacular boat trip or an impromptu sketch show set up by pupils of the Wittenberg boarding school.

3.2.4 *One final visit to the field*

Almost a year after the previous field stay, I returned to Wittenberg in Northern Natal in June 2007 in order to confirm my understanding of language maintenance/shift issues across clusters. Again, I stayed at the boarding school hostel. This time, however, my field stay took a different turn as the situation in Wittenberg was not as anticipated, given the constraints of a nation-wide strike involving all public and government-aided schools. During the two weeks of my stay, classes were cancelled and exams that had to be written by the students took place in the boarding school hall. This was an unusual situation, but it also presented me with new avenues for participant observation, namely plenty of opportunity to observe and interact with groups of mothers who were waiting at the boarding hostel while their children were sitting exams. There were further opportunities for observation during social get-togethers, such as being invited to a typical South African braai, a barbeque, at a farmstead. I accompanied the boarding school matron, Reta, to various social engagements, including a birthday party, while also spending much time with her at the boarding school. In addition, I conducted a few in-depth interviews, for example with the headmaster of the Wittenberg primary school.

Thereafter I travelled to Dalton in the Natal Midlands to spend another week on the farm with Werner and Isolde. Although I did not carry out any further interviews as such there, I spent much time exploring and discussing some of the key issues with community members. In addition, I attended the centenary of the Wartburg church building (*Kirchweihfest*), attended by some 450 people from across Springbok-German communities, where I had further opportunity for observation on a social level.

In summary, the field research was carried out with the objectives to gather observable linguistic data whilst also observing community members' interactions to understand current language use in the context of sociolinguistic practices. For this purpose, the field research was embedded in an ethnographic approach to data collection. In the next section, I will outline how community members were recruited for interviews during the field research.

3.3 PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

I largely recruited participants for interviews through one sampling strategy, that is, through the help of key community members and a subsequent 'snowball' approach. Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 32) outline this technique as one that "utilizes the social networks of participants in the study to recruit potential new participants". Since the researcher is introduced to potential participants as a 'friend of a friend', it is an approach that can work extremely well in rural, close-knit communities where the initial contact with local residents may be hard to establish as a complete outsider, once the first contact is established.

Having gained entry into the community of Hermannsburg in October 2005, I initially approached potential participants myself and, while this led to a few interviews, using snowballing as a participant recruitment technique turned out to be much more successful. I first sought help from Irmela, the local museum curator in Hermannsburg, in recruiting participants. Irmela seemed delighted to assist me in arranging a number of interviews in Hermannsburg, as well as setting up my visit to

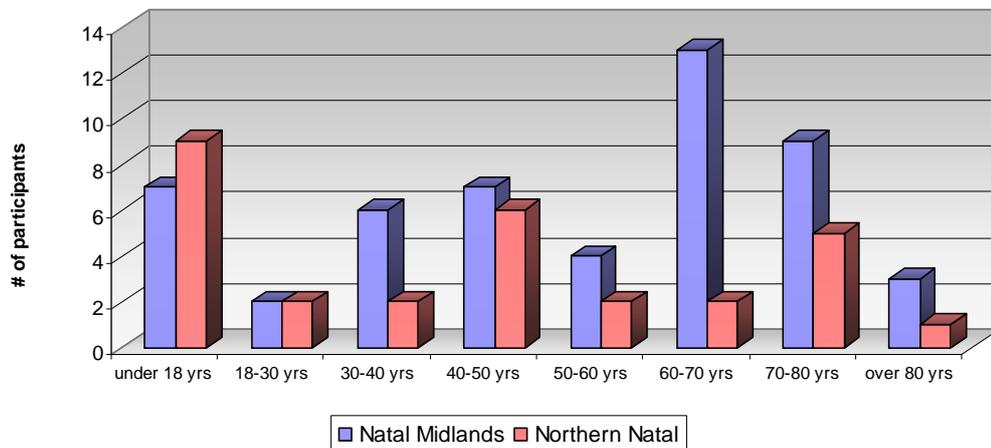
Lüneburg in Northern Natal in July 2006. In a similar fashion, I approached Isolde in Dalton for help with setting up interviews with community members from predominantly the Harburg community, but also a few from Wartburg. Being a pastor's daughter, Isolde is well-recognised and respected within these communities, and here the 'friend of a friend' approach worked very well, as is evident in the forthcoming and friendly attitude people displayed when interviewed. In contrast to the straightforward recruitment in Harburg, I encountered more trouble recruiting interviewees in the community of Wartburg. Early on in my stay in Dalton, I was introduced to the pastor of the Wartburg Lutheran church, Ronald, and his wife, Ivonne. As both of them understood well what my research entailed, they were willing to introduce me to potential participants. This, however, was not as simple an approach as it had been in Harburg or Hermannsburg, for the reason that Ronald and Ivonne, in an eager attempt to set up interviews with some of their congregation members, misconstrued that all I wanted were samples of people's speech. In the Natal Midlands, I commonly met with the attitude of people feeling that their German was either "too poor" or "plain wrong" to warrant giving me an interview, let alone be recorded. Interestingly, I did not encounter much in the way of attitudes of linguistic inadequacy or inferiority in the Northern Natal communities. As a consequence of Ronald and Ivonne's eagerness, however, some people were quite intimidated and naturally declined; fortunately, there were a few others who were nevertheless willing to participate.

Further to the recruitment of participants through these key contacts, the 'friend of a friend' approach was also employed with other community members. While 'snowballing' already constituted the focal means for arranging interviews in Hermannsburg and Wartburg, this became even more so the case in the Northern Natal communities of Augsburg, Wittenberg and Lüneburg. Since contact with community members in Northern Natal was established only relatively late during the field research, the snowball technique became essential for gaining entry and creating rapport with the locals. Once achieved, recruiting participants turned out to be even easier than in the Natal Midlands, owing to the fact that the Northern Natal communities are characterised by a general spirit of hospitality, warmth and unity across communi-

ties. This is not as apparent in the Natal Midlands, perhaps due to the hardship and struggle the Northern Natal communities experienced in the first twenty or so years after their founding. As sketched out in chapter 2, the Natal Midlands communities did not experience any such traumatic events, and this might explain the greater sense of unity and “togetherness” of the German communities in Northern Natal as they had to rebuild their farms and settlements (cf. chapter 6).

The community members involved in this study include male and female interviewees, representing a variety of occupational backgrounds and diverse age groups, and both Lutheran church synods (although the majority of participants are affiliated with congregations from the Hermannsburg synod). In total, 80 people actively took part in the study by allowing me to interview them or to make recordings of casual conversation. Figure 3-1 provides an overview of participants’ age groups across the Natal Midlands and the Northern Natal communities.

Figure 3-1: Participants according to age groups across the two regional community clusters.



As a consequence of having spent less time in the Northern Natal communities, I conducted fewer interviews there, which explains the higher number of participants in the Natal Midlands (51 interviewees in the Natal Midlands vs. 29 interviewees in Northern Natal), and hence a broader range of age groups sampled. Although a number of participants (31) had already retired when I carried out my field research, some

sought work on a part-time or voluntary basis. Others in full- or part-time employment fell broadly into three occupational categories: (a) farmers (or farmers' wives), (b) staff at one of the schools I visited, such as boarding school staff, teachers or administrative staff, or (c) a variety of occupations, including a professional hunter, a (retired) brick-layer, a museum curator, medical staff, a travel agent, a pastor, etc. As noted above, participants came from both the Freikirche and the Hermannsburg synod Lutheran church synod. Table 3-1 shows participants' church affiliation and congregational membership.

Table 3-1: Overview of participants' church affiliation and congregational membership.

| Church parish | Male | Female | Total |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Hermannsburg synod | | | |
| Augsburg | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| Braunschweig | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Harburg | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| Hermannsburg | 6 | 15 | 21 |
| Piet Retief | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| New Hanover | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Wartburg | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Freikirche synod | | | |
| Lüneburg | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Wartburg-Kirchdorf | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Wittenberg | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| unknown | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Total | 22 | 58 | 80 |

As evident in Table 3-1, there is a much higher proportion of participants from the Hermannsburg synod as compared to interviewees from the Freikirche synod. The reason being that entry was first gained into the community of Hermannsburg, the 'mother' of the Hermannsburg synod in South Africa. I proceeded to recruit participants through key community members, all of whom belong to various congregations of the Hermannsburg synod. The table also shows three members as belonging to the Braunschweig congregation – although I did not specifically conduct fieldwork in this community, these three speakers are highly involved in the Lüneburg community (as

teachers and the former headmaster of Lüneburg primary school), which is where I established the contact with them.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

In addition to participant observation and field notes, this study relies on questionnaire data and spoken language data, the latter collected during semi-structured interviews. While the questionnaire was intended as a means by which to gather some preliminary (and quantifiable) data on language use, the interviews allowed the exploration of topics to do with language maintenance/shift in-depth, and also provided the spoken language data for analysis of (morpho)syntactic features.

3.4.1 *The questionnaire*

The questionnaire (cf. Appendix II) used in this study was designed to gather data on language use patterns for preliminary analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in the Springbok-German communities. Its questions are similar to others used in language maintenance and shift studies (cf. Müller, 2000; Willoughby, 2006), drawing specifically on Willoughby (2006).

It was designed in German and, following questions on personal background information, asked about participants' language knowledge and usage in different spheres of their lives. The last part posed (hypothetical) questions about future practices. The questionnaire was distributed to high school students at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* (DSH) during German language instruction classes. Since information was primarily sought from speakers with German as mother tongue, it was handed out only in classes for 'German as a mother tongue' – about a third of the students at the DSH are of German background (cf. chapter 4). All the participants had German language backgrounds and, in most cases, both parents were German-speaking. The students ranged in age between 13 and 17, involving Year 8 to Year 12, and the sample is heavily biased towards female participants, reflecting the demographics of the DSH and the availability of students on the days of data collection.

Table 3-2: Overview of questionnaire participants.

| | Male | Female | Total |
|--------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Year 8 | - | 2 | 2 |
| Year 9 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Year 10 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Year 11 | - | 2 | 2 |
| Year 12 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Total | 3 | 14 | 17 |

Because of its limited scope and its purpose in providing preliminary information on the sociolinguistic situation, the data gathered from the questionnaire is not used extensively in the present thesis. Where used, it has been quantified to some extent, (cf. chapter 4).

I conducted follow-up interviews with seven of the high school participants where the data collected through the questionnaire was explored in more detail. In general, the questionnaire data was extremely valuable for all ensuing interviews, in that it guided me in issues to explore to do with general language usage, language maintenance/shift, religion and language, etc., and provided a general overview of the situation.

3.4.2 The interviews

As has been mentioned, the analysis of syntactic and morphosyntactic features of Springbok-German is of central interest to this study, and is entirely based on spoken language data collected during three field trips.

Including the interviews from the pilot study (2005) as well as from the main phase of the research (2006) and the final stay (2007), I conducted 57 interviews with 80 individuals across the eight German-speaking communities. Many of these interviews resemble casual conversations, i.e. they are quite unstructured (rather than semi-structured) interviews revolving around a number of question topics. This is particularly the case with those interviews conducted towards the end of the field research. Since the aim was to gather language data which resembled people's everyday

speech, i.e. the vernacular, it was important to conduct the interviews as informally as possible. Within Western society, an interview is a well-recognised speech event, and people are generally familiar with the expected question/answer turn-taking pattern. It has frequently been pointed out (cf. L. Milroy, 1987; L. Milroy & Gordon, 2003; Wolfson, 1997) that this constitutes a problem for sociolinguistic enquiry, since the nature of interviews mandates a formal speech style, thereby constraining the use of other, less formal styles and often entailing an absence of free-flowing conversation. However, this is precisely what sociolinguists often seek in order to collect speech samples of people's vernacular. Wolfson (1997, p. 120) mentions that, by violating the established rules for interviews, i.e. by encouraging people to converse freely about topics of their choice, in confusion, suspicion and even anger towards the researcher may result.

Keeping these issues in mind, I initially used a set of springboard questions and, as the interview went on, would gradually encouraged people to talk freely and to share their thoughts and opinions. Questions posed ranged from personal background questions, e.g. where they had grown up, questions about their family history and ancestors, such as about the initial migration to South Africa, as well as requests for their opinion regarding the future of German in South Africa. During a number of interviews, I also asked people what they thought of Springbok-German, who spoke it, and when and where. These kinds of questions, however, did not always yield fruitful answers and, on occasion, people were somewhat embarrassed about the 'poor' state of their German and hence avoided any consequential discussion. In these cases, sensitivity was required on my part to make participants feel at ease again and to help them stop thinking about their perceived linguistic inadequacies. Occasionally, when interviews seemed really slow going and cumbersome, diverting the topic to encounters with snakes or wild animals generally proved successful, as these are not uncommon occurrences in rural South Africa and most people had exciting stories to share. Although these questions are not, strictly speaking, 'danger of death' questions, as developed by Labov (1966, 1972a, 1972b) in his early study of the vernacular of Lower East Side residents (New York City), they posed enough of a diversion to

make participants feel comfortable again, and (temporarily) forget the formal constraints of the interview situation. In some instances, political or economic issues turned out to be the key for free-flowing conversation; in particular, questions about land claims on farms made by the government and/or various interest groups, which affected many of the farmers I spoke to. As I became more and more familiar with local norms, values, expectations and people’s views and opinions in general, my approach to interviewing people changed slightly in that I felt more confident to simply converse with participants about current issues or anything that came to mind. The initial springboard questions continued to be used only when conducting the interview seemed difficult and people appeared less inclined to converse freely.

Table 3-1 provides an overview of the number of interviews conducted in the various communities. What needs to be born in mind, however, is that participants may be registered as a congregational member and/or attend church services elsewhere. Many participants take part in two or three communities simultaneously; they may hold a teaching post at the local school in one German community but be a congregational member of a German church parish in one community, and live and work in another. Consequently, it was problematic to assign participants to one particular community only, which is why this table reflects the number of interviews conducted based on place of interview rather than based on community membership.

Table 3-3: Overview of interviews conducted (according to place of interview).

| Place/community | Interviews | Male | Female |
|-----------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Comondale/Augsburg | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Dalton/Harburg | 9 | 5 | 7 |
| Hermannsburg/Greytown | 23 | 7 | 20 |
| Lüneburg | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| New Hanover | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Piet Retief | 4 | 1 | 6 |
| Wartburg | 7 | 3 | 7 |
| Wittenberg | 7 | 1 | 9 |
| Total | 57 | 22 | 58 |

As can be noted in Table 3-3, the non-German communities of Dalton and Greytown (Natal Midlands) as well as Comondale (Northern Natal) feature as places of interviews conducted. People interviewed in the Dalton area generally belong to the Harburg church congregation and those interviewed in and around Comondale are affiliated with the Augsburg church parish.

According to Table 3-3, the number of interviewees does not necessarily reflect the number of interviews conducted. The reason being is that, occasionally, couples were interviewed or, as in other cases, people “joined” the person I was interviewing at some point through the interview and were quite willing to contribute and share their experiences and opinions with me as well. Another factor that needs to be noted is the high proportion of female vs. male participants, owing to the fact the research was conducted in farming communities, and most farmers were extremely time-constrained. Generally speaking, female community members were more inclined to spend some time with me in casual conversation. The research also favours older people, who were, in general, less time-constrained and welcomed the “diversion” from their daily routine. Lastly, the sample is biased towards those people who are naturally more apt at talking to a stranger; again, in most cases, these were female participants.

The length of the interviews varies greatly, ranging from barely 20 minutes to almost three hours, amounting to a total of 70 hours of interview data. Most of the interviews conducted in Hermannsburg are of a shorter length, as people were more time-constrained; time for interviews was often only available in-between other commitments. I interviewed one teacher, for example, just after his last class for the day had finished in the early afternoon and before he had to rush home. In contrast, most interviews carried out in the Dalton area and also in Northern Natal lasted much longer, because people seemed to be much less time-constrained or were more willing to set aside time for an interview. As I was often invited for morning or afternoon tea, interviews were consequently much less structured and are characterised by a high degree of free-flowing conversation. While carrying out fieldwork in the community of Wittenberg, I also conducted two unstructured and thus highly conversational in-

interviews with two small groups of three teenage girls each. Despite the fact that both interviews lasted for less than 20 minutes, they nevertheless constitute valuable spontaneous conversational data.

3.5 LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the methodological framework within which this study is embedded. I first outlined my reasons for focussing my attention exclusively on eight rural German-speaking communities, thereby also elaborating on why an ethnographic methodology as a framework was chosen. This allowed me to gather linguistic and sociolinguistic data through participant observation, as well as semi-structured and unstructured interviews. After having described the field research, I outlined participant recruitment techniques and methods of data collection.

In closing, I will reflect on some of the limitations of this study. As is common in any sociolinguistic and ethnographic fieldwork, observing participants going about their everyday activities from within their communities requires a substantial time investment on part of the researcher. This study is based on fieldwork carried out over a period of seven months (two months of preliminary study, followed by four months of intense field stays, and one month of follow-up field research). Although this time-frame is by no means insignificant, the data collection was constrained to the time spent in the field in South Africa. A more extended field stay of twelve months or more would, no doubt, have generated an even greater quantity of language data from an even broader section of the rural German-speaking population. In this way, the existing female vs. male interviewee bias of the sample might have been circumvented or at least minimised.

This also leads to questions of representativeness of the present sample, which come into play when one seeks to make any generalisations about (socio)linguistic usage. Whilst the rural German speakers in South Africa form a heterogeneous group, it is not as complex and diverse as the German cultural and linguistic niches found in urban areas. One of the main reasons is that the urban speakers reflect a wide range of

migration backgrounds, whereas the rural Springbok-Germans are almost exclusively descendants from the early missionaries and settlers (i.e. there are hardly any recent immigrants among the rural speakers; cf. chapter 6). Occupational and professional backgrounds among the rural speakers are also not as greatly varied as they are in urban centres, since the communities under investigation are farming communities. Farmers make up a large proportion of the population, with teachers, pastors and other church-related positions, as well as small business owners making up another substantial part. Furthermore, the rural communities are characteristically German Lutheran, in contrast to the urban niches which may or may not adhere to any particular faith. This relative homogeneity among the rural speakers leads me to contend that, while the present sample is not representative of all the German-speaking communities, it adequately reflects the (German-speaking) population of the eight communities under study. The study takes participants from a range of occupational and social backgrounds into consideration, cuts across almost all age groups (cf. Figure 3-1), and includes a total of 80 participants. This is not unlike many other sociolinguistic studies, notably Labov's (1966) New York City study, comprising a (random) sample of 88 speakers, or Trudgill's (1974) generalisations on the speech of Norwich inhabitants (60 speakers). While sample sizes such as these are too small for strict statistical analysis, linguistic samples are, in general, much smaller than those, for example, found in social science studies. In regards to sociolinguistic studies, Sankoff (1980a, pp. 51-52) points out that,

[i]f people within a speech community indeed understand each other with a high degree of efficiency, this tends to place a limit on the extent of possible variation, and imposes a regularity (necessary for effective communication) not found to the same extent in other kinds of social behavior. The literature, as well as our own experience, would suggest that even for quite complex communities samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns.

Although the present study falls short of Sankoff's desired sample size of 150 participants, and despite its weaker level of representativeness, it nevertheless presents a sufficient and practical size for the purpose of this study. What also needs to be taken into account is that this study is embedded within an ethnographic framework, and

therefore also relies on observations made during the various field research trips. This leads me to reflect on one other limitation, which has to do with field research and data collection, namely the well-known observer's paradox (Labov, 1972a, 1972b). As Labov (1972a, p. 209) so aptly states it "[t]he aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed: yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation". I mentioned in section 3.4 how topics to do with wild animals or snakes served as a means of creating a more relaxed atmosphere and diverting participants' attention from the formal constraints of the interview situation. While this allowed for a situation that is more conducive to free-flowing conversation, and according to Labov (1972a, p. 209) "allow[s] the vernacular to emerge", this was not always successful and, despite the attempt to divert their attention from the interview, it was still an 'unnatural' situation. Again, using an ethnographic framework for participant observation helped to reduce, but not eliminate entirely, this obvious limitation.

Having outlined the methodological framework utilised in this study, this concludes the first part of the thesis. In the next part, I will look at the data collected through the above described methods by first providing a comprehensive description of the language contact situation.

4 MULTILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE USAGE PATTERNS: DESCRIBING THE SITUATION

It was noted in chapter 1 that language shift in immigrant communities typically takes place within three generations. Conversely, ethno-religious communities, and also what has been described as language enclaves, are often characterised by decelerated assimilation to the dominant language(s) and mainstream society, resulting in situations of prolonged periods of stable bilingualism (Mattheier, 1994, p. 334; cf. Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006, cf. chapter 5).

Although not applicable to all speakers in the communities, language maintenance for more than six to seven generations is still typical for the Springbok-German communities. While the subsequent two chapters are concerned with identifying the roots of this situation of prolonged language maintenance, examining subtle differences in maintenance efforts between the Northern Natal and Natal Midlands communities, and shifts away from German, this chapter gives a macrolevel overview of general language choice patterns across the Springbok-German communities by drawing on Fishman's (1965) domain concept. It first revisits the sociolinguistic situation in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, and then provides some detail on the language varieties spoken by Springbok-German speakers. The second part of the chapter looks at the domains where German is habitually used and carries certain communicative functions. It also points to areas which indicate growing tendencies for language shift. By viewing the communities as ethno-religious communities, the next chapter then entangles the reasons why the Springbok-German communities saw continued German language maintenance as a viable and desirable option in the first place. Chapter 6 concludes the second part of the thesis by considering whether or how the current language situation is likely to be sustained in the future.

4.1 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION AND MULTILINGUALISM AMONG SPRINGBOK-GERMANS

Language knowledge is a key factor in determining speakers' language choice patterns in bilingual communities. Since multilingualism is a common feature in Africa, the typical pattern of language use involves speakers' mother tongue and an indigenous lingua franca and/or an alien official language, e.g. English, French (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). The complex language situation in South Africa was surveyed in chapter one, and whilst a high level of multilingualism exists among black South Africans, other population groups, notably Whites and Indians, tend to speak fewer languages, generally restricted to English and Afrikaans (Webb, 2002, p. 80).

4.1.1 Language in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga

In the 2001 census, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) came out as the province with the highest population (9,4 million people, 21.0% of the total South African population), while Mpumalanga (MP) is the province with the third lowest population (3,1 mio. people or 7.0% of South Africa's population).

Figure 4-1: Population groups in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, in percentage (adapted from: Statistics South Africa, Stats Online, Census 2001).

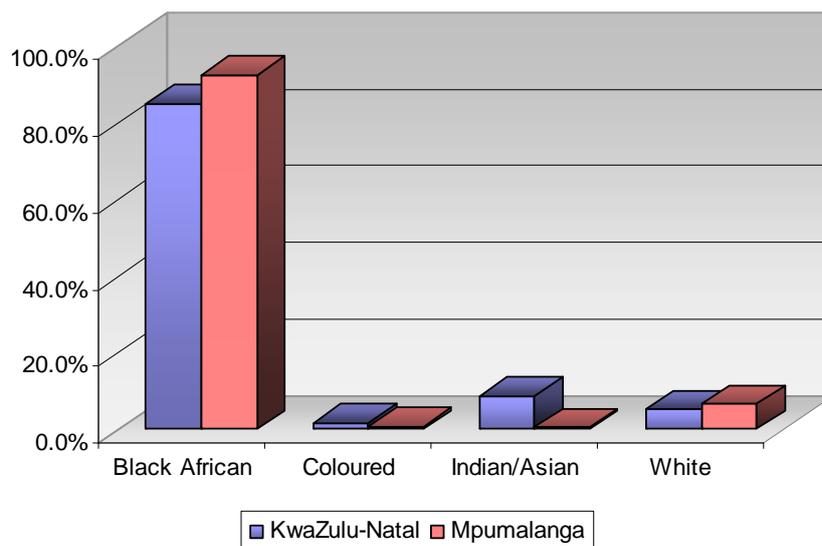


Figure 4-1 shows the distribution of population groups in KZN and MP, based on data from the 2001 census. In both provinces, white South Africans constitute only a very small fraction of the total population (5.1% in KZN and 6.5% in MP). As mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.2), the most widely spoken language in KZN is Zulu, followed by English, Xhosa and Afrikaans. In MP, Swati and Zulu are spoken by the majority of inhabitants, followed by Pedi and Ndebele.

Table 4-1: Home language in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga in 2001, in percentage (source: Statistics South Africa, Stats Online, Census 2001).

| Language | Mpumalanga | KwaZulu-Natal |
|-----------|------------|---------------|
| Swati | 30.8% | 0.1% |
| Zulu | 26.4% | 80.9% |
| Ndebele | 12.1% | 0.2% |
| Pedi | 10.8% | 0.1% |
| Afrikaans | 6.2% | 1.5% |
| Tsonga | 3.8% | 0.0% |
| Sotho | 3.7% | 0.7% |
| Tswana | 2.7% | 0.1% |
| English | 1.7% | 13.6% |
| Xhosa | 1.5% | 2.3% |
| Other | 0.3% | 0.4% |
| Venda | 0.2% | 0.0% |
| Total | 100.2% | 99.9% |

The relatively strong presence of English in KZN has to do with the province's colonial history and a relatively substantial English-speaking Indian population (8.5%).

4.1.2 Two community clusters: Afrikaans- vs. English-dominant regions

Speakers in the Springbok-German communities in the northern part of KZN (Northern Natal) generally have a better knowledge of Afrikaans than of English and vice versa for speakers in the Natal Midlands. These differences in language competence are the result of a predominance of either English or Afrikaans mother tongue speakers in the white/Indian population in the respective region. Although increasingly, Afrikaans speakers are also found in urban areas, the concentration of Afrikaans

speakers in the former (northern) districts of Vryheid, Kliprivier, Dannhauser, Glencoe and Dundee can be ascribed to events in the province's colonial history (cf. de Villiers, 1998, p. 56).

Beginning in 1836, a population movement known as the Great Trek took place which, over the next twenty years, saw about fifteen thousand people, mostly of Cape Dutch descent, leave the British-controlled Cape Colony to settle in areas outside of British jurisdiction (Welsh, 1998, p. 146). Many settled in the Transvaal area or the Orange Free State, though a major part of these so-called 'voortrekkers' also came across the Drakensberge and settled in Natal, where the Boer Republic of Natalia was proclaimed in 1838. Although the voortrekker's presence in this area initially threatened Zulu power and conflicts erupted, the voortrekkers soon "became the dominant force in Natal to the south of the Thukela river" (R. Ross, 1999, p. 41). The British authorities saw this establishment of Boer power in Natal as a threat to their small trading settlement at the strategically-placed Port Natal, present-day Durban. Fearing further (southward) expansion and ensuing chaos and exploitation by the voortrekkers, the British Colonial Secretary of the day, Lord Stanley, ordered the annexation of the entire region in 1842, formalised in 1843. Whilst some voortrekkers remained on the farms they had claimed, most of them retreated back into the High Veld area, the Transvaal and Orange Free State region, as "the majority viewed English rule as an evil from which they had escaped" (R. Ross, 1999, p. 41).

Although most voortrekkers left Natal again, "the historical Afrikaner settling patterns are still reflected in the present-day spatial distribution of Afrikaans in KZN" (de Villiers, 1998, p. 57). The Thukela (also 'Tugela') river thus still divides KZN rather neatly into two regions: north of the Thukela river, Afrikaans begins to become more widespread among the white population, while the region south of the Thukela is English-dominant. This is also reflected in Table 4-2, which gives an indication of white persons using Afrikaans and English as home language across four municipalities in KZN and MP. The municipalities represented are those where the relevant Springbok-German communities are found – uMshwathi and Umvoti are municipali-

ties in the Natal Midlands, while the eDumbe and Mkhondo municipalities are in Northern Natal and Mpumalanga, respectively.

Table 4-2: Figures for speakers of Afrikaans and English as home language among the white population across four municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, absolute and relative numbers (source: Statistics South Africa, Stats Online, Census 2001).

| Municipality | White population | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|
| | Afrikaans | English | Total |
| uMshwathi (KZ221) <i>Wartburg, New Hanover, Harburg</i> | 230 15.1% | 1296 84.9% | 1526 100% |
| Umvoti (KZ245) <i>Hermannsburg</i> | 938 40.8% | 1361 59.2% | 2299 100% |
| eDumbe (KZ261) <i>Lüneburg</i> | 792 76.1% | 249 23.9% | 1041 100% |
| Mkhondo (MP303) <i>Augsburg, Piet Retief, Wittenberg</i> | 4154 86.9% | 625 13.1% | 4779 100% |

As Lüneburg, Augsburg, Wittenberg and Piet Retief are situated in the Afrikaans-dominant region, and Wartburg, Harburg, New Hanover and Hermannsburg are found in the heart of the region dominated by English, it is to be expected that this distinction also manifests itself in the patterns of language use among German speakers and, to some extent, their language skills. Interestingly, speakers' attitudes towards (white) English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans also vary across these regions. More so, however, this and other historical developments have left traces in the history of the German settlements, and there is something of a very fine dividing line between the Northern Natal and the Natal Midlands communities. Chapter 6 attempts to entangle the underlying dynamics involved.

4.1.3 Language knowledge

Research on bilingualism recognises that speakers who know more than one language are not double monolinguals. They do not necessarily have productive competence in two or more languages, let alone possess the same level of skills across the four categories (speaking, listening, writing and reading) in each language (Romaine, 1995, pp.

12-14). As such, no generally applicable norm or model exists with regards to the measurable level of proficiency a bilingual speaker has to have in order to be considered bilingual (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 3; cf. also Pienemann & Kessler, 2007). Instead, Weinreich's (1968, p. 1) view of bilingualism as a social phenomenon is commonly employed in sociolinguistically-oriented studies and also adopted here: "The practice of alternately using two [or more] languages will be called bilingualism, and the persons involved, bilingual". In other words, bilingual speakers are those who use at least two languages habitually, who consider themselves to be bilingual and are recognised by others as bilingual speakers (Clyne, 2003, p. 4).

The high incidence of multilingualism among Springbok-German speakers is one of the most conspicuous characteristics of these communities.⁴⁷ Similar to members of the Portuguese community in South Africa, who are currently still trilingual in Portuguese, English and Afrikaans (Barnes & McDuling, 1995), German speakers tend to have knowledge of at least three, if not four, language varieties: German, English, Afrikaans and, in some cases, also Zulu (cf. also Bodenstein, 1995; de Kadt, 2000, 2001, 2002b; Stielau, 1980).

Self-reports are frequently used in language maintenance/shift studies to determine an approximate indication of speakers' confidence levels to speak a given language (e.g. Kaufmann, 1997; Müller, 2000; Starks, 2006; Willoughby, 2006). It is not always clear what exactly speakers mean when they say that they 'know a language', as 'knowing a language' can cover anything from knowing a few words, to being able to read or write, to displaying knowledge of appropriate speech behaviour in particular contexts (Webb, 2002, p. 77). Nonetheless, reported language abilities can be useful for providing a general picture of the language choices community members can potentially make.

⁴⁷ It is not unlikely that observations presented here on the language situation, speaker competencies and language use are also, at least to a degree, applicable to Springbok-German communities in KZN and MP per se (e.g. the Southern Natal cluster, those communities in the Drakensberg mountains, or others in Northern Natal not especially investigated), given the parallel socio-historical circumstances and the similar present language situation. There is, however, anecdotal evidence which suggests that language shift is much more advanced in the Southern Natal communities (Bethany and Shelley Beach) and those in the Drakensberge (Winterton and Moorleigh).

As chapter 3 outlined, some questionnaire data on the use of German and other languages was collected from seventeen high school students, aged between 13 and 17, at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*. While the questionnaire did not specifically ask participants to rate their ability to speak a given language, it did seek to establish the languages in which participants felt they had competence. Participants were asked to indicate which languages they, their parents and their grandparents spoke. Even though the data from the questionnaire essentially gives only an indication of the languages participants *think* their parents and/or grandparents speak, it is likely that participants are reasonably aware of the language knowledge of their parents (and probably also their grandparents). Although Table 4-3 can only provide an impressionistic indication of language knowledge, the findings from the questionnaire seem to reflect the widespread level of multilingualism among Springbok-German speakers reasonably well (cf., for example, de Kadt, 2002b, and the interview extracts below).

Table 4-3: Overview of speaker numbers according to language knowledge as indicated in the questionnaire. *n* indicates the number of persons for whom information was available (there were two sets of siblings among the participants; hence the number for mother/father is 15, rather than 17; the number for grandparents also varies because some had already passed away).

| | Grn, Eng, Afr, Zulu | Grn, Eng, Afr | Grn, Eng, Zulu | Grn, Afr | Grn, Eng | Grn | Afr, Eng, Zulu | Afr, Eng |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|----------------------|-------------|
| Participants (<i>n</i> = 17) | - | 17 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mother (<i>n</i> = 15) | 7 | 7 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Father (<i>n</i> = 15) | 12 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Maternal grandmother (<i>n</i> = 14) | 5 | 4 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Maternal grandfather (<i>n</i> = 9) | 3 | 2 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | 1 |
| Paternal grandmother (<i>n</i> = 13) | 7 | 3 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - |
| Paternal grandfather (<i>n</i> = 13) | 8 | 4 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Total (<i>n</i> = 96) | 42 | 40 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 3 |

Despite its shortcomings, Table 4-3 highlights the languages participants and their family members speak – or are perceived to speak – including Afrikaans, English and German in 85% of cases. Knowledge of Zulu stands in contrast to the wide knowledge

of the other three languages, though it is possible that participants are unaware of Zulu competence their grandparents have, for example, because of a lack of exposure. Also noticeable is that none of the participants indicated that they themselves speak Zulu, differing from their parents' and grandparents' generation where Zulu language skills are not uncommon (cf. section 4.1.4).

Since English and/or Afrikaans are frequently used among the Springbok-Germans in many informal situations, e.g. with Afrikaans- or English-speaking friends and/or family, the assumption that Springbok-Germans are competent in these language varieties is quite a fundamental and ordinary one and, as such, only occasionally reflected on by speakers. The kind of dynamic multilingualism common among Springbok-Germans was mentioned during a few interviews, as illustrated in the following extracts with speakers from the Natal Midlands communities.

Extract 4-1 [#37; Natal Midlands] ⁴⁸

986 Hermann ... Ich kann Deutsch sprechen, das is meine Muttersprache. (.) Und wie ich der Milchmann von Neu Hannover war, hab ich mit meine schwarzen Arbeiter Zulu gesprochen. (.) Und mit meine Kunden Afrikaans und Eng- Englisch. Ich sprech vier Sprachen jeden Tag! ...

Extract 4-2 [#36; Natal Midlands]

1219 Philip ... ich denk viele Leute sind ganz erstaunt, dass (.) viele (.) vier Sprachen reden. (.) Ich denk das kriegt man nich oft, dass (.) Leute vier Sprachen (.) ziemlich fließig reden könn.

German is typically acquired within the home as speakers' mother tongue (or one of their mother tongues), while English and/or Afrikaans, if not also acquired in the home, is later formally learnt at school. Knowledge of Zulu is typical for those growing up on farms where there is more intense contact with Zulu speakers.

⁴⁸ Throughout the thesis, interview extracts are given with the line numbers from the interview, and specify the participant's number and the geographical region, i.e. Natal Midlands or Northern Natal. Further information about the participants can be found in Appendix I. Accompanying English translations of interview extracts can be found in Appendix III. As indicated, extracts have been slightly edited to facilitate readability.

In the absence of concrete data on speakers' proficiency levels for English, Afrikaans and Zulu, there is only anecdotal evidence suggesting that speakers' communicative competencies vary widely across the Springbok-German communities. Given the pronounced linguistic difference between the Northern Natal region and the Natal Midlands (Afrikaans- vs. English-dominant), speakers in the Northern Natal communities tend to have a greater command of Afrikaans, mostly having had their (secondary) schooling through the medium of Afrikaans. In contrast, speakers in the Natal Midlands typically receive their schooling through the medium of English, and thus tend to have greater competence in English.

Extract 4-3 serves as an example to highlight that speakers are not necessarily equally competent in all the languages they speak. Philip, a young farmer from Wartburg, received his secondary schooling in English and later undertook tertiary studies at Stellenbosch (Western Cape), a university which traditionally uses Afrikaans as medium of instruction. He then spent three years in Piet Retief in Northern Natal, using Afrikaans on a daily basis, after which he returned to the family farm in Wartburg, Natal Midlands. Trying to pinpoint his proficiency levels, he comments how his Afrikaans competence is now at a similar level to his German language skills – while he was still at secondary school, his Afrikaans knowledge was much more limited.

Extract 4-3 [#36; Natal Midlands]

1234 Katharina Also liegen dir beide Sprachen gleich gut, würdest du denken? Also fühlst dich in beiden [wohl]?

...

1237 Philip ... Ich würde sagen, wenn mein Englisch (.) ähm (.) hundert Prozent is, (.) ähm (.) würde ich sagen, mein Deutsch is sicher fünfundneunzig. (.) Mein Deutsch, würde ich sagen, fehlt hauptsächlich an vielleicht an Wortschatz. (.) Das is aber weil wir nich sehr viel eigentlich (.) ähm (.) oder weil alles (.) ähm hauptsächlich Englisch is eigentlich. ... Und (0.2) mein Afrikaans würde ich denn sagen, (.) vielleicht nich ganz wo mein Deutsch is, aber ziemlich dicht bei ungefähr. (.) Aber das hab ich erst nach'er Schule gelernt. ... Als ich noch auf Schule war (.) würd ich sagen, mein Afrikaans wär vielleicht (.) auf siebzi- auf auf fünfundsechzig oder siebzig Prozent Fläche gewesen.

Before considering the linguistic repertoire that exists within the communities with regard to German, the next section looks in more detail at speakers' knowledge of

Zulu, and points to intergenerational differences which are beginning to emerge in the knowledge and use of Zulu language skills.

4.1.4 Zulu competence

As mentioned above, Zulu⁴⁹ is spoken by the vast majority of black South Africans in KZN (80.9%), and although English is making inroads into the rural areas, the vitality and importance of Zulu in rural KZN remains unquestionable for the present (Zungu, 1998, p. 46). On the other hand, white South Africans proficient in Zulu (or any other African language for that matter) are not a common occurrence, often due to feelings of indifference or even hostility towards learning an African language: “Those whites who are proficient in Zulu are the few lucky ones who grew up on the farms amongst Zulu-speaking communities” (Zungu, 1998, p. 40). Webb (2002, p. 80) also comments that “[t]oday Asian, coloured and white South Africans are still only “bilingual” in this sense: they know only Afrikaans and English”, while more than 69% of black South Africans in urban areas know three or more languages (p. 80, based on figures from van Vuuren & Maree, 1994). White speakers who speak an African language are most likely to be found in rural areas of the country (Webb, 1992, p. 437).

The German speakers in rural KZN/MP who interact frequently with Zulu speakers and display, though to varying degrees, competence in Zulu, are thus somewhat of a minority among white South Africans. Although there is no statistical data verifying the incidence of Zulu competence amongst rural German speakers, the following interview extract nevertheless illustrates that knowledge of Zulu is by no means unusual among these German speakers.

Extract 4-4 [# 37; Natal Midlands]

| | | |
|-----|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 460 | Katharina | Gibt's nich viele Weiße, die sich die Mühe machen, die Sprache zu lern? |
| 461 | Hermann | Doch untern den Deutschen sind sehr viele, die gut Zulu sprechen. |

⁴⁹ There are several varieties of Zulu, especially in the urban areas. These may not be reflected in the “rather archaic standard spoken and written form of the language” (Zungu, 1998, p. 39). The term Zulu is used here broadly to refer to the standard or traditional Zulu spoken in the rural areas (cf. Zungu, 1998).

Since the German communities in KZN and MP constitute farming communities, they have relatively intensive farm labour demands, which are almost exclusively supplied by black South Africans, mostly Zulu speakers. Further interactions between Zulu and German speakers occur between domestic workers and employers – generally speaking, domestic workers are employed in almost every household, though employment may not necessarily be on a daily basis, e.g. a domestic worker may only be required once a week. Some farm owners, however, employ a variety of domestic workers, including cooks, gardeners, housecleaners, handyman, etc. who work on a daily basis. Consequently, it is especially farmers and their families who are in regular and intense contact with their mainly Zulu-speaking employees while others, e.g. the local German pastor, teachers, administrative assistants, may have less frequent or intense contact. Other, more public, communication contexts between German and Zulu speakers include trade and business in the local area, e.g. at local shops, businesses, or at service stations, though English is becoming more widespread there.

As mentioned above, competence levels vary enormously, and it is especially the older generation and the farm owners/managers who tend to have the greatest command of Zulu. Although self-reported, and thus not reflecting objectively measured proficiency levels, the following interview extracts illustrate the relatively high proficiency levels of older speakers and/or those who have grown up on farms and remain in close contact with Zulu speakers. Although commenting that his Zulu competence is not of the same standard as his English or German skills, Philip acquired Zulu almost from infancy.

Extract 4-5 [#36; Natal Midlands]

- 22 Katharina Sprichst du fließend Zulu? ...
 23 Philip Hm (.) nich so fließend wie ich zum Beispiel Englisch oder Deutsch rede. (.) Aber (.) ja, ziemlich fließend schon ... ich hab aber Zulu auch gesprochen ungefähr als Muttersprache, (.) weil ich sprech Zulu seitdem ich (.) geboren bin ungefähr, oder so wie ich's, so wie ich schon sprechen konnte, hab ich auch schon Zulu gesprochen.

Waltraud represents another example of how Zulu is commonly acquired by those growing up on farms.

Extract 4-6 [#33; Natal Midlands]

- 19 Katharina Wie sieht's mit Zulu aus?
 20 Waltraud Zulu liebe ich! Das spreche ich auch sehr gerne. ((laughs))
 21 Katharina Warum?
 22 Waltraud Oh es is einfach eine wunderschöne Sprache! (.) So effektiv mit ihrn Beschreibungen und du hörst einfach was passiert he? ... und das is auch ein sehr großer Plus für mich zum Beispiel, wo ich in der Clinic arbeite und wir sehr viele schwarze Patienten haben. (.) Denn könn sie dir gleich in ihre Sprache sagen was sie haben, und denn sagst du "oh das tut mir ja leid" in Zulu und so weiter ...
 23 Katharina Hast du's auf der Farm gelernt?
 24 Waltraud Ja, und hab's auch immer beibehalten. (.) Ich hatte ein Jahr ähm (.) gearbeitet, wo man übersetzte, Zulu (.) Englisch und Englisch Zulu. Das war noch ganz früher in dem Bantu Affairs, wie es da hieß. (0.2) Hat ich eine Büroarbeit.

Although some speakers are more indifferent in their attitude towards Zulu – seeing it essentially as a tool for communication with their employees – others, like Waltraud, express very positive attitudes towards Zulu, valuing its semantic richness and seeing it as an advantage in intercultural communication. Although Zulu holds a relatively strong position among African languages, “no Bantu language is viewed as having much value” (Webb, 2002, p. 86), and Zulu is generally accorded a low status in public domains in KZN (Kamwangamalu, 2001; Zungu, 1998). Since the German speakers are proficient in English – the most powerful language in South Africa – and have generally attained a relatively high socio-economic status, their social aspirations are quite different from those of many black South Africans, who view English as the key to upward social mobility. Knowledge of Zulu among the German speakers is thus not attached with the same stigma of “ruralness” or “backwardness” it carries among, especially younger, black Zulu mother tongue speakers (Zungu, 1998, p. 45). Conversely, since it is not seen as a barrier to advanced socio-economic circumstances, it can be viewed as a valuable and powerful asset for intercultural/-personal communication (cf. also Webb’s personal account, i.e. a white South African’s, on the powerful use of Zulu in a traffic transgression situation, 2002, p. 137).

Waltraud, in the extract above, points out how knowledge of Zulu is highly useful in her current occupation as an administrative and medical assistant at the local clinic. Being able to relate to patients in Zulu helps to put the patient at ease and assists the patient-doctor encounter. The attitude that Zulu is a useful language in which to be competent was commonly encountered during the fieldwork, frequently

expressed by interviewees but also those not formally interviewed. As noted above, it is not, however, an attitude that is common among white South Africans in general. As Zungu (1998, p. 46) comments, “medical doctors, banking staff/managers, factory managers and white lawyers, magistrates and merchants are not keen to learn Zulu in KwaZulu-Natal”. It is likely that, because of the structure of the farming communities and their much higher demand for farm labourers supplied by black South Africans, competence of Zulu is a much greater asset than in other public contexts. Interestingly though, an attitude with regards to the lack of Zulu competence of (white) English South Africans prevails among the German speakers in the Natal Midlands. While some English farmers in the area have Zulu language skills, (white) English-speaking South Africans are often regarded as ‘lazy language learners’ who would not take the trouble of learning another language.

Extract 4-7 [#37; #38; Natal Midlands]

| | | |
|-----|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 466 | Katharina | Is bei Engländern anders, also bei Englischsprechenden? |
| 467 | Hermann | Ähm. (0.2) Doch da sind auch Engländer, die könn gut Zulu sprechen. Doch einige die ha- (.) die ham auch Intresse dran, doch (doch). (.) Aber meistens sprechen die dann einfach Englisch. Engländer is'n bisschen faul mit Sprachen! ... |
| 468 | Minchen | Der, der kommt überall durch mit sein Englisch. |
| 469 | Hermann | Der kommt eben mit sein Englisch überall durch. |

Although proficiency in Zulu is common among German speakers, for many it is domain-specific, in as much as Zulu is used in the domain of work, i.e. with farm labourers and domestic workers. Intergenerational differences now also begin to emerge: Younger German speakers, especially if they do not grow up on farms, tend to acquire few, and often only very rudimentary, language skills in Zulu.

As mentioned above, all seventeen participants who took part in the questionnaire specified that they were proficient in Afrikaans, English and German but not Zulu. While only four students indicated that they had some basic Zulu skills,⁵⁰ it is likely that at least some of the other thirteen students also had some rudimentary

⁵⁰ This information was scribbled next to the tick box and was phrased as “ein bisschen Zulu” (‘a little bit of Zulu’), though one participant indicated “halb Zulu” (‘half Zulu’) – unfortunately, no follow-up interview was conducted with this student to clarify exactly what she implied by her comment.

knowledge of Zulu – for one, because Zulu was taught as a (fourth) language subject at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* for a few years, and those students in Year 11 or 12 would have had Zulu language instruction (provided they had been attending the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* since Year 8).

Since the question was phrased in terms of ‘what languages do you speak?’, it is not surprising that most students left the box for Zulu unchecked, given that they probably felt they lacked spoken competence despite knowing a few words and phrases, especially if they compared it to their English, Afrikaans and German proficiency levels. Extract 4-8 is an example of one such participant, taken from a follow-up interview with Leon, then a student in Year 11 at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*.

Extract 4-8 [#20; Natal Midlands]

- | | | |
|----|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 25 | Katharina | Sprichst du eigentlich Zulu? |
| 26 | Leon | Äh (.) paar Wörter. |
| 27 | Katharina | ((laughs)) |
| 28 | Leon | Ja, ich weiß ich hab nie im Unterricht sehr aufgepasst. |
| 29 | Katharina | Ach, habt ihr hier Unterricht? |
| 30 | Leon | Hatten! (.) Äh, Klasse Acht und Neun (.) und dann jetzt aber nich mehr. Jetzt wurde’s abgeschafft. |
| 31 | Katharina | Und aber sonst so? (.) Sprichst du nich? |
| 32 | Leon | Nee () ich kann grüßen und (.) so scht- teilweise vom Satz verstehen oder so, aber nich nich sprechen (.) also paar Wörter (.) ja. |

The following extract is from an interview with Susanna, an accountant in her early twenties, who had also attended the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* and received some formal Zulu language instruction, yet she describes her competence level as very basic, pertaining largely to greetings and a few isolated words and phrases.

Extract 4-9 [#23; Natal Midlands]

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 130 | Katharina | Sprichst du eigentlich Zulu? |
| 131 | Susanna | Ah nee. (.) Ich kann ‘n paar Wörter, aber ... ich kann nich viel ((laughs)) (.) Ja, ich kann mich nich verständigen in [Zulu]. (.) Also ich kann hallo und tschüß sagen ... |

A decrease in Zulu competence by German speakers goes hand in hand with the ongoing trend for language shift towards English among Zulu speakers in KZN (cf. Chick, 1998; Zungu, 1998), making it even less of a necessity for white South Africans to acquire Zulu for interaction with Zulu speakers in everyday life. Changes in German speakers' circumstances, i.e. relocation to urban areas or in their work-related networks also provide less opportunity to use Zulu in everyday life. For some speakers, this involves attrition of their language skills. Talking about when she acquired Zulu and where she would use it, Klara, for example, is highly conscious of her lack of Zulu skills. She comments that her Zulu communication skills used to be much better, especially during a time when she and her husband operated a small farm cash store, where Zulu was virtually the only means of communication with Zulu speakers who would frequent the shop.

Extract 4-10 [#4; Natal Midlands]

- 321 Klara Jetzt wo wir nich mehr 'n Laden haben (.) und (.) ähm und nich mehr jeden Tag [Zulu] sprechen ...
- ...
- 349 Klara Ich krieg jetzt ein Mädchen [domestic worker] einmal die Woche. ... Und dann dann merk ich das. (0.2) Ich kann nich mehr Zulu sprechen.
- ...
- 364 Katharina Wo hast du Zulu denn dann gelernt? Weil in der Schule habt ihr das ja nich gelernt, oder?
- 365 Klara Nein, nee. (.) Ähm, ich bin auf der Farm groß geworden. (.) Und (.) ja, und dann hab ich lange in der Post gearbeitet und da musste ich schon Zulu kennen. (.) Weil, ähm (.) damals konnten die meisten Schwarzen nich (.) nich Englisch oder irgendwie anders Sprachen und. (0.2) Ja, und dann war ich (.) im Hotel (.) dann. (0.2) Da musst ich auch ziemlich (.) mit den Arbeitern fertig werden. (.) Ich, ich denke oft, ich hab da am besten (.) Zulu gesprochen. (.) Und im Laden dann auch ...

Furthermore, changes in the social structure on the farms, and in South African society in general, have effects on language acquisition patterns. That is, Zulu children growing up on farms who played with the farmer's children or the employment of Zulu-speaking nursery maids who cared for the farmer's children, no longer appears to be a reality in present-day KZN/MP, thus limiting the opportunities for white South Africans to acquire Zulu early on. Note, however, in Extract 4-11 that while Charlotte's brother acquired a high level of Zulu competence through early and close

contact with Zulu-speaking children, Charlotte herself failed to acquire it to any substantial level.

Extract 4-11 [#50; Natal Midlands]

- 397 Katharina ... Bist du auf 'ner Farm aufgewachsen?
 398 Charlotte Ja, ja. (.) Ich bin auch auf einer Farm aufgewachsen.
 399 Katharina Habt ihr auch viel Zulu gesprochen?
 400 Charlotte Ja. (.) Aber ich hab es auch nie richtig gelernt. (.) Mein Bruder kann es fließend und ich hab das nicht gelernt. ((laughs)) Aber ich hab auch sehr wenig mit Schwarzen gespielt und gesprochen. (.) Und er hat immer Fussball gespielt ...

Extract 4-12 [#27; Natal Midlands]

- 199 Katharina Wenn ich nochmal auf die Farm zurückkommen kann, hast du auch Zulu da gelernt als Kind?
 200 Christel Ja. (.) Hm ... meine Mutter hat früh angefangen zu arbeiten. Sie war (.) hat in der Post gearbeitet, in Fawnleas, das ist so (.) vier Kilometer von zu Hause. (.) Und wir waren dann auf der Farm. Mein Vater (hat) viel auf der Farm da [gearbeitet] ... Wir hatten (.) ähm also schwarze Mädchen, die uns aufgepasst haben von Kind auf. (.) Und (.) ähm, ja, dadurch lernte man dann Zulu. Die sprachen dann nur Zulu mit uns. ...

Although Stielau (1980) notes that “im großen und ganzen sprechen Deutsch-Südafrikaner ein einwandfreieres Zulu als die Anglo-Südafrikaner” (p. 48), some speakers comment that they use Fanakalo (sometimes also referred to as ‘kitchen kaffir’, cf. Stielau, 1980, p. 48, or ‘kitchen Zulu’, cf. Zungu, 1998, p. 39) as their primary means of communication with Zulu speakers. Fanakalo tends to be viewed as a pidgin; its origins are somewhat uncertain and contested (cf. Adendorff, 2002, for an overview of the debate). It is now generally understood to have emerged some time during the early to mid-19th century in Natal, and is targeted on Zulu rather than English (i.e. Europeans seeking to learn Zulu than vice versa). The use of Fanakalo generally involves a power relationship, e.g. between employer and employee, with the less powerful participant being black African. Because of its link to labour exploitation, Fanakalo carries strongly negative connotations for many black South Africans, though as a marked choice in a social context, it can also be instrumental in “signaling solidarity” (Adendorff, 2002, p. 180) among its users. Adendorff (pp. 180-188) dis-

tinguishes between Mine Fanakalo and Garden Fanakalo, with the former displaying greater syntactic complexity and semantic richness.

Although no data which documents exchanges between German speakers and Zulu speakers has been recorded, impressionistic evidence suggests that some form of Garden Fanakalo is used as a means of communication by those lacking greater communicative competence in Zulu.

Extract 4-13 [#65; Northern Natal]

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 99 | Katharina | Und könn die meisten Kinder irgendwie auch 'n bisschen Zulu? |
| 100 | Klaus | Die von den Farm komm, ja, ja, die von den Farm. (.) Die, die könn und auch hier so und da. Ach, das Basische könn viele Kinder. (.) Sie könn so, wir nenn es Fanagalo. (0.2) Äh, du sprichst so'n durcheinander. ... |
| 101 | Katharina | Ich hab von Fanagalo nur als Minensprache mal gehört? In den Minen Johannesburgs? Ist das das Gleiche? |
| 102 | Klaus | Ja, Fanagalo. (.) Fanagalo. ((laughs)) (.) (könn) Ja, auch äh in der Küche, wenn, wenn ich's mit schwarze Mädchen in der Küche sprech und ich (.) ich versuch mit ihr zu kommunikiern. (.) Die paar Zulu-Worte, die ich kenn und mit Afrikaans und so weiter. (.) Das nenn wir einfach Fanagalo. Aber du bist recht, das is in der in der in der Minen sprechen sie auch so ... |

Adendorff (2002, p. 188) comments that Garden Fanakalo relies on strong contextual support for the decoding of communicative messages and, as Extract 4-13 indicates, code-switching (here to Afrikaans) is common in these communicative contexts.

To sum up, whilst contact between German speakers and Zulu speakers occurs not infrequently, it tends to be restricted to certain domains, i.e. interaction with employees (domestic workers, farm labourers) or service personnel (at service stations, shops, etc.). Speakers further display varying levels of proficiency in Zulu, ranging from near-native to barely a few words and, in many cases, their competence is domain-specific (i.e. restricted work and farm-related topics). Some speakers appear to draw on Fanakalo as an interactional resource for communication with employees. Some evidence has also been presented to suggest that younger Springbok-German speakers show a decline in Zulu competence.

Following an overview of the language spectrum of German varieties, the second part of this chapter discusses language use across domains where Springbok-German is used regularly.

4.2 THE GERMAN LANGUAGE SPECTRUM

Whilst a detailed analysis of structural features is reserved for later chapters (chapters 7 and 8), attention is drawn here to the German linguistic repertoire existent in Springbok-German communities.

4.2.1 German language varieties

Several German language varieties are spoken in the Springbok-German communities, including Low German varieties and other German dialects, e.g. Upper Saxon, Berlinish, and varieties more closely aligned to what is commonly described as colloquial Standard German (cf. Barbour & Stevenson, 1990). What is, however, spoken by the majority of German speakers in KZN and MP is generally termed *Springbokdeutsch* ('Springbok-German'), and is said to have developed "its own characteristics" because of "the new geographical location, implying the cutting of links with the source language and a new proximity to other languages" (de Kadt, 2002b, p. 155).

Colloquial Standard German varieties and German dialects, such as Upper Saxon, tend to be restricted to individual speakers or families who are first generation migrants, temporary residents from Germany, or speakers who have spent extended periods in Germany.⁵¹

Low German (a collective term within which a number of varieties are subsumed) is still spoken by some speakers in the Natal Midlands, notably in the Wartburg and New Hanover area (cf. also Stielau, 1980, p. 4). Chapter 2 noted that the original settlers came to a large extent from Low German-speaking dialect areas in Northern Germany; New Hanover, for example, was founded by immigrants from the Osnabrück region, descendants of the Bergtheil settlers. The Low German dialect spo-

⁵¹ A case in point is the then-current pastor of the Wartburg parish who is a second generation migrant, with family ties in Berlin, where he has also spent extended periods of time (largely for study purposes). In the course of the interview and during subsequent, frequent visits, he conversed with me, who has grown up in Berlin, in, what is typically labelled, the 'Berliner Schnauze' (cf. Schlobinski, 1987). Other examples include the kindergarten teacher at Hermannsburg who speaks an Upper Saxon variety, having migrated to South Africa from Dresden in the mid-1990s. There are also two German language teachers at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* who have temporarily migrated to South Africa, and who can be said to speak a colloquial or near-Standard German.

ken by these descendants is commonly called ‘Osnabrücker Platt’ or simply ‘Osnabrück’, belonging to the East Westphalian dialects. Others are said to speak ‘Heidscheses Platt’, an Eastphalian variety, or ‘Oldenburger Platt’, a North Saxon dialect (cf. Durrell, 1989; Goltz & Walker, 1989; Sanders, 1982).

Extract 4-14 [#27; Natal Midlands]

- 65 Christel ... Plattdeutsch kommt von der mütterlichen Seite. (.) Osnabrück, aber (.) das is ja auch ‘n Dialekt, also Platt, (.) die- mein, mein Vater spricht noch Osnabrück. (.) Aber ich kann nich. (.) Is doch ‘n bisschen anders als Plattdeutsch. ...

Extract 4-15 [#33; Natal Midlands]

- 44 Waltraud Ja, also es gibt ja verschiedene Dialekte und wenn man dann mit andern Plattdütschen zusamm kommt und die sagen “Nein, man sagt so und so”, denn sag ich immer “Ach wat! Wie us (segt wi) dazu! (.) Us dialekt is so.” ((laughs)) Weißt du? ...
- ...
143 Katharina Was würdest du jetzt sagen, sprichst du für’n Dialekt? (.) Also du selber? Weil du meintest, da sind verschiedene Dialekte, das da [gesprochen werden].
- 144 Waltraud Ja, ich war ja, also ich denk das Heidsche. Ich weiß nicht. (.) Ich mein, dann haben wir ja auch noch hier in unser in Südafrika in Natal ähm (.) Familien, die auch noch Osnabrücks reden. (.) Also das is ‘n Kauderwelsch! (.) Also, das kann ich nicht.

Extract 4-16 [#37; Natal Midlands]

- 998 Hermann Die O. und Ö. [family names] sprechen Osnabrück. (.) Und das versteh ich nich alles. (0.2) Zum Beispiel, äh (.) ‘das Mädels hat Zahnschmerzen.’ (.) ‘Dat Wicht hat Kusenpien.’ (0.3) Das is Osnabrück. ...
- 999 Katharina Gibt’s denn noch ‘n andres Platt, was gesprochen wird?
- 1000 Hermann Ja, ja, das das das Hermannsburger Platt, das gewöhnliche Plattdütsch. (.) Ja. (.) Das gibt’s auch noch, ja.

Since the middle of the 20th century, the use of Low German has been severely declining in the Springbok-German communities, and it is now largely restricted to a few families and/or among older speakers in the respective communities (cf. also Stielau, 1980, p. 3). Extract 4-17 underlines how Low German appears to be mainly spoken by some older speakers now.

Extract 4-17 [#36; Natal Midlands]

- 1247 Philip ... mein Vater spricht Plattdeutsch. Ich weiß aber nich, was für ‘n Dialekt.

- ...
- 1250 Katharina Ja. (0.2) Hast du nie gelernt?
- 1251 Philip Ähm. (.) Nein, nich, nich als solches obviously. (.) Er spricht aber noch öfter mit verschiedene Leute hier in der Gegend, die die Plattdeutsch könn. Er spricht immer Plattdeutsch mit sie. ... Ich hab nie mein Opa gekannt. Er is zwei Jahre bevor ich geborn war, is er gestorben. ... Mein, mein Opa, ich denk, hatte hauptsächlich Plattdeutsch gesprochen. (0.2) Und ähm (.) mein Vater hat es dadurch gelernt. (.) Nein und er redet noch mit, ach, da sind verschiedene Leute in der Gegend, die es noch reden, ja.
- 1252 Katharina Sind es vorrangig Ältere oder auch Jüngere?
- 1253 Philip Hauptsächlich Ältere.

Although no spoken language material documenting conversations in Low German is available, anecdotal evidence from the interviews and ethnographic observation suggests that Low German still fulfils certain in-group functions, and among those who speak Low German, there is a certain pride in being able to speak these varieties. For example, most of the members of the New Hanover brass band are Low German speakers, and it was pointed out – with some pride – that among themselves they would converse in Low German. The fact that it is, however, no longer transmitted to the next generation, would make continuous language decline, and ultimately death, seem to be the inevitable outcome.

Extract 4-18 [#33; Natal Midlands]

- 9 Katharina [Plattdeutsch] sprichst du gar nicht, oder?
- 10 Waltraud Doch, da sind so einige in der Umgebung, in der Gemeinde, mit den wir nur Platt snacken oder ich wenigstens. Es is einfach, (.) 's glaub ich, so eine Angewohnheit und auch eigentlich schön für mich, (.) dass ich das nicht verliere. ... Aber ich finde auch das Plattdeutsch das stirbt immer mehr und mehr aus. (0.2) Weil die Kinder von den Eltern, die platt warn, (.) Platt snackten, die äh reden gar nich mehr Plattdeutsch mit ihrn Kindern. (.) Ja.

While Low German is restricted to the Natal Midlands region,⁵² Springbok-German is spoken across the Springbok-German communities, and though it appears not to be restricted to the Natal Midlands and Northern Natal, there is little information on other regional clusters (e.g. the Southern Natal communities, or Kroondal in the North-West province).

⁵² A community member also mentioned that Low German is still spoken by several people in the Winterton area.

In diesen Sprachinseln stellt das Deutsch eine eigene Mundartssprache dar, die z.B. als 'Springbockdeutsch', 'Hermannsburger Deutsch' oder 'Kroondaller Deutsch' bekannt ist. An anderen Orten blieb sie so erhalten, wie sie um die Jahrhundertwende in Deutschland gesprochen wurde. Hinzutreten regionale Abwandlungen, bedingt durch den Einfluß von Afrikaans und Englisch. (Bodenstein, 1995, pp. 41-42)

Although it is a moot point whether Springbok-German has been retained in its 19th century form in some communities, most speakers would no doubt agree that Springbok-German constitutes a distinct variety, not least because of extensive lexical borrowing from English and Afrikaans (cf. Stielau, 1980, cf. also chapters 7 and 8). The point is that Springbok-German is best understood as a continuum and not as constituting a uniform variety across all Springbok-German communities. Broadly speaking, variation exists between the Natal Midlands and the Northern Natal communities, precisely because of what was described in section 4.1.2 as dominant English vs. Afrikaans influence in the respective community clusters. There is enormous interspeaker variation, with some speakers approximating (colloquial) Standard German norms relatively closely, while others show much more interference on the lexical level but also concerning (morpho)syntactic features (cf. chapters 7 and 8).

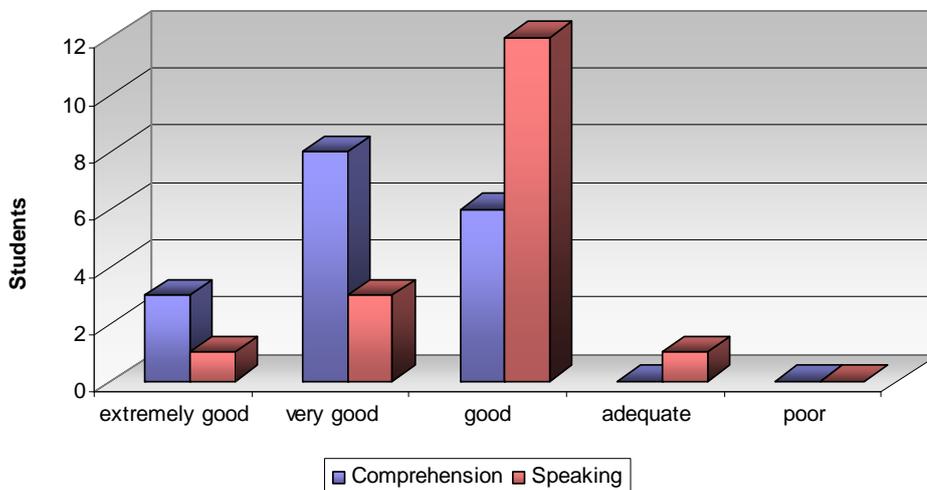
Turning to language skills, as noted above, one method to gain an understanding of speakers' abilities to speak a given language is to ask them to rate their language skills; another is to test language skills experimentally, especially widespread in research on second language acquisition (cf. Romaine, 1995).

In her study on Wartburg German, de Kadt (2001) used a variety of written tests to determine the German proficiency level of 24 high school students from German backgrounds, but also asked students to rate themselves (cf. chapter 1). Based on the background questionnaire, she notes that students perceived the fluency of their German to be 'very good' (ten students) or 'good' (fourteen students). It is not quite clear whether speakers were assessing their abilities across all four language modalities, i.e. reading, speaking, listening, writing, or only with regards to their spoken fluency. The last appears to be more likely though since de Kadt (p. 66) comments that "all [students] agree that they could say what they wanted without much thought".

Whilst the current study did not test speakers experimentally or elicit self-reported data on all four modalities, the questionnaire did seek to establish how well students would rate their German comprehension and speaking skills on a scale ranging from ‘extremely good’ to ‘poor’. At the time of the questionnaire data collection (May 2006), it was still unclear exactly how the language variety spectrum was composed, and thus the questionnaire used the very broad label *Deutsch* (‘German’) in its questions. While speakers could potentially have interpreted this more narrowly as referring to their Springbok-German skills only, it is, however, more likely that students considered their overall German language skills in the sense of deviating or adhering to Standard German norms, especially since the data collection took place during German language classes at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* (DSH).

Figure 4-2 illustrates the results, and shows that while one student assessed her spoken language skills to be excellent, the majority considered their spoken abilities to be ‘good’ (twelve students) or ‘very good’ (three students). Only one student rated her spoken language skills as ‘adequate’. Comprehension skills were rated somewhat higher; eleven students deemed their comprehension abilities to be ‘very good’ or higher, while the remaining six students considered them to be ‘good’. Overall, these results reflect de Kadt’s (2001) earlier findings for self-reported fluency levels as indicated by students at the Wartburg-Kirchdorf high school.

Figure 4-2: Students’ self-assessment of German language skills (*n* of students = 17).



The complex nature of speakers' self-assessments of their language skills (and also language attitudes) is highlighted by the student who considered her spoken abilities to be 'adequate'. During a follow-up interview with this student, Inga appeared to have good, if not very good, spoken communicative competence without any (obvious) problems expressing herself. Since code-switching is common among family members and with her friends, Inga's low assessment of her spoken German is likely to be a reflection of what she considers 'High German' or 'correct German' in contrast to 'casual German', characterised by frequent code-switching and perhaps less normative features. The former is something which Inga does not particularly enjoy speaking but is required to employ in German language classes and also with her grandparents.

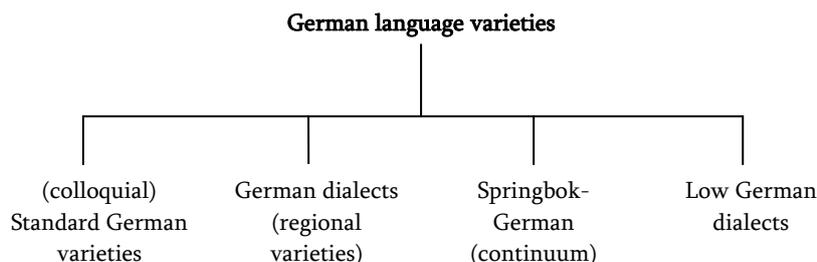
Extract 4-19 [#16; Natal Midlands]

- 37 Katharina Und Deutsch sprichst du nich gerne?
 38 Inga Ja, ich weiß nich, es is irgendwie. (.) Wenn es so 'n casual Deutsch is, dann is'es fine, aber wenn es so was wie mit Herrn K. [German teacher from Germany] (.) wo man so ganz aufpassen muss, was man dann sagt und so, dann ...
- ...
- 47 Katharina Ok. (0.3) Also denkst du, dass das Deutsch, was du zu Hause oder mit Freunden oder wem auch immer redest, sich sehr unterscheidet von dem Deutsch, was du in der Schule reden musst?
- 48 Inga Also. (.) Also wenn ich mit mein Großeltern spreche, die sind Hochdeutsch. (.) Die, ja (.) und also mit den(en) muss man auch so ungefähr aufpassen, was man sagt und so. Die korrigiern auch. (.) Aber mit mein Eltern und mit mein Freunden is mehr so 'n casual. (.) Und denn in der Klasse muss man auch aufpassen, was man sagt oder so. ...

Although puristic notions of 'High German', i.e. Standard German, being the only 'proper German', and thus the variety which one should speak, are not that widespread in the Springbok-German communities, they do exist. In the main, they can be found among teachers, pastors and other professionals with relatively strong ties to modern-day Germany, and also among first and second generation immigrants. These speakers have a more or less great exposure to Standard German norms and, in the case of German language teachers, a natural interest in the perpetuation of these norms.

Figure 4-3 summarises visually the range of German language varieties found in the Springbok-German communities, highlighting that the language spectrum in these communities involves more than one distinct German language variety.

Figure 4-3: German language varieties found in the Springbok-German communities.



Since the remainder of the thesis, especially chapters 7 and 8, focuses on Springbok-German, the next section looks more closely at the linguistic repertoire that speakers have or make use of with regards to Springbok-German.

4.2.2 Linguistic repertoires: The Springbok-German continuum

Multilingual speakers not only make choices about which language to use in which situational context (cf. the next section 4.3), but also engage in linguistic behaviour that involves the switching between different language varieties within the same conversation. Whereas monolingual speakers are said to shift between speech styles (or ‘registers’) of a given language variety, multilingual speakers, having access to linguistic repertoires that are made up of different language varieties (as opposed to varieties of a single language), not only shift between speech styles but may also engage in switching between different language codes, i.e. code-switching.⁵³ Although code-switching is common in interaction between Springbok-German speakers, especially in social contexts, a detailed analysis of the social dynamics involved in conversational

⁵³ Following Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1997), ‘code-switching’ is used here as a cover term to include inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching, the latter also being called ‘code-mixing’ in the literature. Code-switching behaviour has been approached from many different perspectives, ranging from psycholinguistic to conversational discourse approaches; for an overview cf. Myers-Scotton (1997).

code-switching lies outside the scope of the present thesis. Instead, this section focuses on broadly describing the range of speech styles which speakers have available to them when using (Springbok-)German in different situational contexts.

Intra-speaker variation can involve “any level of language organization, from the phonological and morphosyntactic to the lexical, semantic, pragmatic, and discursal” (Schilling-Estes, 2002, p. 376), and is defined in the following way:

Style shift – that is, shifts into and out of different language varieties [within a single language], and shifts in usage levels for features associated with these varieties – may be quite deliberate and involve the self-conscious use of features of which the speaker and audience are very aware, or they may be unconscious, involving features that people do not even realize they are using. (Schilling-Estes, 2002, p. 376)

Styles ranging from ‘formal’ to ‘conversational’ to ‘intimate’ have often been identified, especially for monolingual settings. Labov (1972a), for example, conceptualised stylistic variation along a vernacular-standard continuum, involving careful and casual speech situations and three reading styles, whereas Bell (1984) focused on speakers’ audience design. Labov’s continuum has been criticised for being too unidimensional as certain speech styles, e.g. reading styles, do not necessarily fit into a continuum of a vernacular-standard range (L. Milroy, 1987, pp. 173-178). Attention to speech also does not neatly correlate with level of formality, “since it is quite possible for speakers to quite consciously shift into vernacular rather than standard speech patterns” (Schilling-Estes, 2002, p. 382).

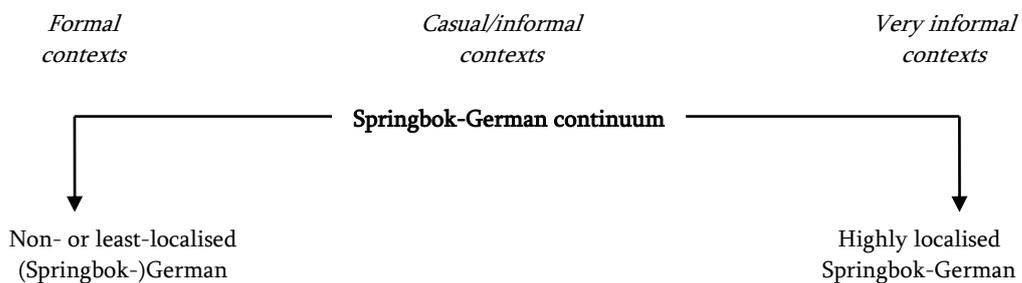
Bilingual speakers have an even greater range of speech styles available to them, i.e. involving styles from more than one language variety. Gal (1979), in her ethnographic study of Hungarian speakers in Austria, recognises that “bilingual speakers do, in fact, regularly use a range of styles within each language” (p. 65), and presents the stylistic repertoire of speakers in Oberwart along a continuum of styles, involving Standard Austrian German at one end point and Standard Hungarian at the other. Local varieties of German and Hungarian are found along the continuum; speakers style-shift between Standard German and Local German, and Standard Hungarian and Local Hungarian, respectively. Depending on the realisation of certain linguistic variables and the presence of various lexical items, identified as either more

educated and prestigious or less prestigious and local, speakers are “able to sound more ‘local’ or less ‘local’ in either language” (pp. 68-69). While there is also some code-switching between Hungarian and German, this remains infrequent and is not a linguistic option available to all speakers (p. 118).

Similarly, Springbok-German speakers can sound more “local” or less “local” when speaking (Springbok-)German, largely depending on the extent of code-switching and lexical borrowing involved. In the same way as boundaries between speech styles can be difficult to pinpoint among monolingual speakers, the linguistic repertoire of Springbok-German speakers is best thought of as a fluid and multidimensional continuum, depending on the interlocutor but also on the situational context and speakers’ individual backgrounds.

Figure 4-4 can only be a very rough schematic representation of the linguistic range which exists among Springbok-German speakers. Note that the dichotomy of ‘formal’ to ‘informal’ context gives only a rough indication of the situational setting. For example, while speech styles used in ‘formal contexts’ are not exclusively reserved for formal situations (such as classroom language instruction) styles that show very few localised features are most often used in situations involving formal communicative encounters.

Figure 4-4: Schematic representation of the stylistic repertoire of Springbok-German.



On the other hand, styles with the least localised features also tend to be used most frequently with and among German speakers from Germany, e.g. tourists or tempo-

rary residents, whereas style choices involving extensive code-switching and heavy lexical borrowing are most often used among peers at local social gatherings or among family members, and often involve a great amount of shared knowledge.

Whilst the left end of the continuum involves styles with the least localised features, for example, showing no or very little lexical borrowing and generally no code-switching, the opposite end point includes highly localised forms, e.g. lexical borrowing, phonological interference and/or extensive code-switching. The difference between the two end points is most salient in the extent of lexical borrowing and the presence or absence of code-switching behaviour. While highly localised characteristics are likely to involve phonological, morphological and probably also syntactic features, a systematic analysis of inter-speaker variation concerning individual speech styles and salient linguistic variables is beyond the scope here. Figure 4-4 is primarily intended to present the general idea that Springbok-German is composed of a variety of speech styles or registers, and should be conceptualised as a continuum, involving intra-speaker variation but also showing variation between speakers.

Naturally, not all speakers control the same range of styles or registers; it is only speakers with strong ties to individuals in modern-day Germany (whether business-/work- or study-related, and/or relatives and friends), and first and second generation migrants/temporary residents who tend to have control of more formal styles (which could be said to approximate colloquial Standard German varieties). Common lexical borrowings used among Springbok-German speakers may be substituted for their Standard German equivalent (e.g. *Fridge* 'fridge', std. Grn. *Kühlschrank*, or the more archaic *Eisschrank*), or in the very least, speakers will be aware that they are using local lexical items. The same speakers also tend to be the most conscious of Standard German norms (cf. section 4.3.2 below).

The boundary between a Springbok-German variety that shows few or no localised features, i.e. approximating colloquial Standard German, and varieties of colloquial Standard German – commonly referred to as “Hochdeutsch” – is fuzzy and also, to some extent, arbitrary. Whether someone makes use of ‘non-localised’ Springbok-German or a variety of colloquial Standard German depends primarily on how speak-

ers would identify their German language variety(ies). A first generation migrant is much less likely to view himself as speaking Springbok-German, while a speaker whose family has been in South Africa for five generations would generally label the German language variety they commonly use as Springbok-German. If this speaker has also spent extensive time in Germany, and may thus be familiar with colloquial Standard German norms, the boundary between what constitutes ‘non-localised’ Springbok-German and colloquial Standard German varieties becomes blurred. It is essentially a matter of the speaker identifying (or labelling) one or the other as the variety being used. Few speakers, excluding recent migrants or temporary residents, would, however, say that they spoke colloquial Standard German; rather, they would more often acknowledge their Springbok-German to be characterised by local expressions and sayings.

4.2.3 Summary

With the exception of Stielau (1980), who mentions the use of Low German among speakers in the Natal Midlands, previous studies generally paid little attention the fact that it is not just “German” which is spoken among Springbok-Germans. Although de Kadt (e.g. 2002b) acknowledges that Springbok-German is a distinct variety – in contrast to Stielau (1980), who does not see Springbok-German as a variety in its own right – the sociolinguistic spectrum which exists is only marginally taken into account in her study on Wartburg German, in as much as she notes enormous variation in usage patterns among the high school students (de Kadt, 2001).

To sum up, section 4.2 described the German language spectrum existent within the Springbok-German communities, highlighting the fact that more than one German language variety is spoken, including Low German varieties, German (regional) dialects, and Springbok-German. Section 4.2.1 revealed that Low German dialects are still spoken among several families and individuals in the Natal Midlands communities to this date, mainly in the Wartburg and New Hanover communities. Colloquial Standard German and other German varieties, such as Upper Saxon, on the other hand, are spoken to a very marginal extent only by selected individuals. As sec-

tion 4.2.2 showed, Springbok-German is best understood as a continuum with considerable intra- and also inter-speaker variation, and ranges from ‘non-localised’ to ‘highly localised’ speech styles and characteristics. Overall, speakers tend to be aware that German competence levels vary widely among speakers, especially between the Northern Natal and the Natal Midlands communities. Whether this is indeed a distinction that can be described in terms of sociolinguistic patterns of (morpho)syntactic features, or whether it is largely restricted to salient lexical differences between the regional clusters, is considered in chapters 7 and 8.

Having established the extent of multilingualism present in the Springbok-German communities, the last part of this chapter looks at language usage patterns across domains.

4.3 LANGUAGE USAGE: GENERAL TRENDS

Whilst family interactions, a relatively informal context of communication, hold a particularly strong position in the maintenance of language and culture generally, situations of stable bilingualism in immigrant communities are often characterised by the presence of community strongholds. Institutions such as the church, school, or social organisations tend to play a crucial role in promoting language and cultural maintenance (Fishman, 1980).

These institutions, especially religious ones, often reinforce a set of shared values or beliefs, and can thereby create and foster a sense of solidarity, unity or belonging among members of the community. Given that language and identity are inextricably linked, this relationship can become even more pronounced in immigrant contexts where a speech community wishes to set itself apart from the mainstream society (or the wider community), expressed, for example, by continuing to use their ethnic language. However, whether and/or how individual members identify themselves with the values and beliefs imposed by the community as a whole has consequences for the language choices they make (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 23) and, consequently, the importance and value they attach to their ethnic language. In other

words, community members who do not share the core beliefs or values, or only some of them, as promulgated by the community, may be situated more towards the periphery of the community rather than being firmly entrenched within its core (cf. Clyne, 1988).

A speaker's position within the community can also be seen as reflecting the strength of their interpersonal network ties: speakers have complex bundles of network ties, including both 'strong' (among kins and friends) and 'weak' (among acquaintances) ties with other speakers. Especially if a speaker's network ties are chiefly strong and also multiplex (e.g. if two individuals are both siblings and neighbours), and if a network is relatively dense (that is, many ties among speakers are inter-linked), then "such a network has the capacity to support its members in both practical and symbolic ways" (L. Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 118). This can affect certain types of language change in monolingual communities (cf. L. Milroy, 1980), and conversely, social network analysis has helped to explain language maintenance efforts in multilingual communities (cf. Gal, 1979; Wei, 1994).

The present chapter concentrates on giving a general picture of language usage in Springbok-German communities, broadly utilising Fishman's (1965) domain approach. The subsequent chapter then seeks to embed the on-going language maintenance efforts within an ethno-religious framework, but also looks at socio-historical circumstances that have allowed the Springbok-Germans to uphold their language. Chapter 6 then explores indicators for language shift.

4.3.1 *Domains of language use: Overview*

There are various approaches to conceptualise language choice patterns speakers in bilingual communities make. While intra-language variation tends to be described in microlevel terms, i.e. focussing on a given set of variants that speakers use in certain contexts (cf. Labov, 1972a), situations where speakers make use of two (or more) language varieties have attracted the development of macrolinguistic models (e.g. Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1965). Integrative conceptualisations deal with language choice in face-to-face interaction (e.g. Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Rubin, 1968; Sankoff, 1980b),

and models that seek to explain language choice from person-centred perspectives are interested in speakers' psychological processes rather than social structures (e.g. Giles, 1973; Giles & Powesland, 1975).

From a sociological perspective, one way to examine language choice patterns macrolinguistically is the domain concept which goes back to the work of Fishman (1964, 1965; extended in Fishman, 1972) and explores the question *Who speaks what language to whom and when?* Speakers in multilingual communities tend to use language varieties consistently in certain 'domains', that is clusters of situations or spheres of activity, characterised by specific role relationships, settings and times: "[d]omains are defined [...] in terms of institutional contexts and their congruent behavioral co-occurrences" (Fishman, 1972, p. 441). Typical domains include family, religion, work or education, though no invariant set of domains exists, as socio-cultural patterns will be reflected differently across speech communities (Fishman, 1972, p. 441).

The concept has been criticised for being too broad and for the fact that domains are not as clear-cut as Fishman implies. Further criticisms pertain to the concept being too static in its conception, i.e. not taking dynamic interaction processes between speakers enough into account, or it not being an adequate tool to describe spontaneous language behaviour (e.g. Breitborde, 1983, cited in Mioni, 1987, p. 173; cf. also Rindler Schjerve, 1996, p. 801). Since it is intended as an abstraction of "the socio-cultural patterning which surrounds language choice" (Fishman, 1965, p. 75) in speech communities, it does not seek to describe why or in which contexts individuals make certain language choices and, as such, remains a highly useful conception for systematising language choices in speech communities as based on overarching social structures. The fact that interaction between speakers is not always clear-cut, and that the choice of language variety often needs to be negotiated is not necessarily incompatible with the domain concept, as long as the latter is understood as broadly systematising language behaviour. Identifying domains as parameters of language usage is also useful for establishing factors which underlie the sustained maintenance of the

minority (or ethnic) language or, conversely, it can help in identifying areas/spheres of life where language shift is taking place or likely to occur.

Somit erweist sich der Domänenansatz als geeignetes Instrument um die systematische Variation des bilingualen Sprachgebrauchs in aggregierter Form zu untersuchen und zu präzisieren, über welche gesellschaftlichen Instanzen die beiden Sprachen aufrechterhalten werden bzw. wie sie sich in Situationen des Sprachenwechsels verlagern. (Rindler Schjerve, 1996, p. 800)

Ethnographically-oriented approaches also tend to focus on speech communities (rather than individual speakers) but do not employ large scale methods which sociological approaches utilise; that is, whereas macrolinguistic approaches tend to rely on large scale questionnaire data (e.g. from census collections), ethnographically-oriented studies take interactions between speakers into close account (e.g. Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Dorian, 1981; Gal, 1979; Wei, 1994). Speech community members are observed on a face-to-face level over prolonged periods of time, allowing insight into community structures, social norms and cultural values, which shape how and when speakers use certain language varieties.

Despite not having extensive questionnaire data at hand, the ethnographic approach taken in this study nevertheless makes it feasible to establish major domains of German language usage across the Springbok-German communities. In addition, the methodology employed also allows for the examination of language choice patterns on a smaller level, something that has largely been neglected in previous studies of German speakers in South Africa.

Previous studies noted that speakers in the rural settlements have continued to use German in various public and private contexts, at church and school, as well as within the family domain, until to date (Bodenstein, 1995; de Kadt, 2000, 2001, 2002b; Grüner, 1979; Stielau, 1980). Based on interview data and ethnographic observation, Table 4-4 provides a more comprehensive summary of the domains where Springbok-German is one of the language varieties frequently employed by speakers in the Natal Midlands and in Northern Natal.

Table 4-4: Language usage/choice according to domains across the regional community clusters (G = Springbok-German; LG = Low German; E = English; A = Afrikaans; Z = Zulu). Brackets indicate restricted or less common usage. To a certain extent, Standard German also plays a role in educations.

| Cluster | Domains of Language Use | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|
| | Family | Neighbours | Friends Acquaintances | Church | Social gatherings | | Education (primary/secondary) | Business/Trade | | Work | | Strangers Outsiders |
| | | | | | within community | outside community | | local | non-local | local | non-local | |
| Natal Midlands | G, (E), (LG) | G, E, (A) | G, E, A, (LG) | G, E | G, E, (LG) | E | E, G | E, Z, (G) | E | E, Z, (G) | E | E |
| Northern Natal | G, (A) | G, A | G, A, E | G, (A) | G, A | A, E | A, G | A, (G) | A, E | A, Z, (G) | A, E | A, E |

German⁵⁴ holds a particularly strong position within the family domain (immediate as well as extended family), among friends and acquaintances, and among German-speaking neighbours. The church domain is another stronghold of German language maintenance and, to some extent, the schools (discussed further below). While it is not completely unlikely that the domains ‘neighbours’ and ‘friends’ are subsumed within the ‘home’ domain by de Kadt (2001, 2002b) and others (Bodenstein, 1995; Stielau, 1980), what has previously been overlooked is the still relatively strong position of German as a community language. It is frequently used at social gatherings within the community, and also in local business transactions where both interlocutors are German-speaking, e.g. with the car mechanic or the accountant, or at the medical clinics, although extensive code-switching is likely to take place.

The last domain is especially applicable to the Wartburg area, where local business owners are frequently German-speaking, including several guesthouse owners, the proprietors of the pub/restaurant in Wartburg and New Hanover, car mechanics, accountants, medical doctors and staff, and owners of stores selling farm produce. Paulpietersburg in Northern Natal, the nearest town from Lüneburg and the Augsburg/Commondale area, also has a relatively high concentration of German-speaking business owners, including, among others, the local physiotherapist, the doctor; there are also various German-speaking guesthouse owners in Paulpietersburg and within the wider area. While there are no businesses in Augsburg/Commondale (except for the local farm cash store and a saw mill) or Wittenberg, the local butcher in Lüneburg is run by a German speaker, as are a number of businesses in the Piet Retief area.

The use of German in work-related contexts is relatively restricted, in as much as this pertains to, for example, two German-speaking farmers conversing about farm-related matters, or teachers at one of the German schools having a conversation in German. Here as well, if German is employed at all, code-switching is likely and frequent. Unless it is known that community outsiders (i.e. strangers) are German

⁵⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, in chapters 4 to 6 the term ‘German’ is used as an umbrella term, broadly covering what has been described as the ‘Springbok-German continuum’. It specifically excludes Low German varieties.

speakers, e.g. tourists from Germany, English or Afrikaans will be employed as the default language choice with unfamiliar persons. Those with competence in Zulu are further likely to use Zulu for interaction with black Africans, at least in the local areas.

In bilingual (but also monolingual) speech communities, language choice is often negotiated in individual contexts, depending, to a large extent, on the interlocutor but also on the topic and location (cf. Gal, 1997; Myers-Scotton, 1993b; Sankoff, 1980b; Wei, 1994). Although, as Romaine (2000, p. 45) reminds us, “[d]ue to competing pressures, it is not possible to predict with absolute certainty which language an individual will use in a particular situation”, interaction in the Springbok-German communities is predictable in the sense that it depends heavily on the interlocutor, i.e. a German speaker is likely to use German with a German-speaking neighbour, while an English-speaking neighbour will be addressed in English. The tendency in the Natal Midlands is to use English with all non-German (white) speakers, even with those English speakers who actually have a good command of German. Afrikaans speakers in Northern Natal, on the other hand, are more likely to have a conversation in German with German speakers, provided they have some proficiency in German (cf. chapter 6 on intermarriage).

Variable language use also arises when topics are introduced which deal with, for example, technical or business matters. Topics such as these tend to trigger a switch to English or Afrikaans, or alternatively involve extensive code-switching between English/Afrikaans and German. Generally, in situations where non-German speakers are present, e.g. at social gatherings, speakers will switch to English or Afrikaans, with some code-switching to German.

Even though speakers can and do vary in their language use, i.e. speakers do not always use the same variety in the same type of situational context and the extent of code-switching varies enormously, the identified domains give a general picture of the spheres of life where German is typically and habitually used. The following sections discuss in more detail the use and maintenance of German within the home, at church and at social events within the community, at school and briefly media con-

sumption. Diverging patterns which exist between the regional clusters are identified as are indications for shift discussed in the following chapters.

4.3.2 *German within the home*

One of the most crucial aspects of continued language maintenance efforts in immigrant communities is speakers make use of the ethnic language within the home domain. Family interactions tend to be highly informal, and the home domain is, in many cases, one of the most important strongholds of ethnic language maintenance. As Pauwels (2005, p. 124) observes, the “family together with CL [community language] education supported by appropriate government policies on language, linguistic and ethnic diversity constitute the main pillars for successful LM [language maintenance]”. Although ethnic language use within the family by no means guarantees the survival of the ethnic language as such, transmission of the ethnic language to the next generation is a crucial step for on-going language maintenance (cf., for example, Barnes & McDuling, 1995; Clyne, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Huffines, 1980; Kipp, 1980; Kipp et al., 1995; Pauwels, 1985; Sridhar, 1988; Wei, 1994). Given that the family unit – in its composition and centrality as a social unit – carries special importance for continued language maintenance, it is not surprising that the home domain should be one of the strongholds of German language maintenance efforts in the Springbok-German communities.

As chapter 2 documented, precise census figures for home language use of German are unavailable; however, reasonable estimates can be put forward. Table 4-5 (replicating some of the data from Table 4-2) lists the use of Afrikaans, English and ‘other’ as home language among the white population across four municipalities in KZN and MP. The eight Springbok-German communities investigated in this study are located in these municipalities, and thus it can plausibly be assumed that speakers of ‘other’ languages pertains to the use of German as home language.

Table 4-5: Speakers of Afrikaans, English and ‘other’ as home language among the white population across four municipalities in KZN and MP, in absolute and relative numbers (source: Statistics South Africa, Stats Online, Census 2001).

| Municipality | White population | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| | Afrikaans | English | Other | Total |
| uMshwathi (KZ221) <i>Wartburg, New Hanover, Harburg</i> | 230 11.1% | 1296 62.8% | 538 26.1% | 2064 100% |
| Umvoti (KZ245) <i>Hermannsburg</i> | 938 36.4% | 1361 52.8% | 278 10.8% | 2577 100% |
| eDumbe (KZ261) <i>Lüneburg</i> | 792 53.6% | 249 16.9% | 436 29.5% | 1477 100% |
| Mkhondo (MP303) <i>Augsburg, Piet Retief, Wittenberg</i> | 4154 80.5% | 625 12.1% | 381 7.4% | 5160 100% |
| Total | 6114 54.2% | 3531 31.3% | 1633 14.5% | 11278 100% |

The figure of 1,633 of white persons using a language other than English or Afrikaans (i.e. German) as home language also roughly corresponds to figures for parish membership (cf. section 4.3.3). It is also likely that the figure of approximately 1,600 speakers who use German as home language across these four municipalities is slightly underestimated, since some speakers may not have selected ‘other’ language but instead chosen ‘English’ or ‘Afrikaans’ in the census questionnaire (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.2). Since the questionnaire does not allow multiple answers, selecting English or Afrikaans over ‘other’ languages may have been especially the case for persons in linguistically mixed marriages. That is, for German speakers who have intermarried with English or Afrikaans speakers and where both English and German, or Afrikaans and German are used as home languages. For those who have largely shifted to English or Afrikaans as home language, this may not, of course, apply (cf. also chapter 6 on intermarriage).

In some of these families where German is used as home language, it has been maintained since the arrival of the early missionaries and settlers in the mid-1850s, i.e. up to the seventh or even eighth generation now. Others, whose descendants migrated in the latter part of the 19th century or in the early 20th century, are German-speaking in the fourth, fifth or sixth generation. Extract 4-20 is an example of a family whose descendants go back to settlers who migrated to South Africa in the 1880s, and

who continue to maintain German as home language, among the parents' generation but also among the children (7th generation).

Extract 4-20 [#11; Natal Midlands]

- 14 Elmarie ... Äh, unsere Vorfahren, (.) die sind so etwa in achtzehnhundertachtzig (.) ähm ausgewandert ... Die Vorfahren von Carl [her husband] seiner Seite, das waren Missionare. (.) Aber von meiner Seite nicht, da waren keine Missionare dabei. Die sind dann als Handwerker mitgekommen (.) und kamen ursprünglich aus der Lüneburg Heide, (.) also Norddeutschland. (0.2) Ähm, wenn ich jetzt an die Großkinder von meiner Schwester denk, die sind jetzt schon die sechste Generation (.) hier in Südafrika. (0.2) Und wir reden noch (.) nur Deutsch. (.) Also, (.) ähm, es ist sehr interessant (.) wenn Leute ein (.) fragen, wo kommt man- wo kommst du her und so weiter. Und sie hören, man redet Deutsch, (.) dann denken sie, wir sind entweder (.) aus Deutschland direkt gekommen oder die Eltern sind aus Deutschland gekommen oder höchstens vielleicht die Großeltern. ...

As Elmarie reflects on here, migrants maintaining their ethnic language beyond three generations is fairly unusual, and there are ample studies documenting the swift shift to the dominant language in immigrant settings (cf., e.g., Clyne, 1991, for Australia). Immigrant communities which succeed in maintaining their ethnic language for generations have sometimes been described as 'language enclaves' (or 'speech islands'), and are characterised by an awareness of their ethnic origin, as well as their cultural and linguistic identity. The prolonged maintenance of German across Springbok-German communities has much to do with such ethnolinguistic awareness, in that speakers are conscious of having their family roots go back to 19th century Germany, but, more so, it is rooted in a kind of German Lutheran Pietism, and in the role the Lutheran church has and continues to play. In many cases, speakers are extremely proud of being ethnically, linguistically and religiously different from the "mainstream" white population in South Africa (cf. de Kadt, 2000). On the other hand, settlement patterns (group vs. individual migration) and the tight-knit structure of the internal community network have facilitated language maintenance.

For the moment, it is sufficient to say that, while language maintenance of German remains a choice made by individual family members as such, it is strongly influenced by the ethno-religious community that speakers are part of, or rather, with which speakers choose to affiliate and identify themselves. Generally speaking, for the

Springbok-Germans, maintaining German within the home domain is a vital aspect of understanding who they are and where they come from. It is intrinsically tied up with their ethnic roots in 19th century Germany, their German Lutheran faith and their sense of functioning and belonging together as an ethno-religious community (cf. chapter 5).

With the majority language(s) often intruding into the family domain, ethnic language use among family members can vary considerably, especially among the younger generation. So far, the discussion has concentrated on German being commonly used within the family; there is, however, a great deal of variation between families as to which language varieties are used, and how much code-switching and lexical borrowing is acceptable. While, in some families, code-switching is frequent and their Springbok-German is characterised by localised features, thus constituting ordinary language use (i.e. the default choice), other families, or more specifically family members, tend to discourage switching between different language varieties. It is generally parents with control of more formal, or less localised, speech styles who are more inclined to enforce linguistic norms than those who do not command more formal speech styles. In other words, parents (or grandparents) who are aware of Standard German norms frequently insist that their children also adhere to these norms by using what is generally referred to as “Hochdeutsch” in the communities and within the home. They often also correct grammatical and idiomatic mistakes, and inconsistencies their children (or grandchildren) produce.

Extract 4-21 [#66; Northern Natal]

- 11 Helga Ich denke meine Elten, (.) überhaupt meine Mutter, juch! (.) Sie war sehr streng mit uns. (.) Wenn wir gesagt haben ‘mit mich’, (.) dann haben wir’s gut zu hören gekriegt. ...

Extract 4-22 [#11; Natal Midlands]

- 152 Elmarie ... mein Deutsch is nich gut. (.) Und ich bin sehr sehr dankbar, wenn Carl mich drauf aufmerksam macht, wenn ich mal ‘mit dich’ sag. Dann sagt- guckt er mich nur an, da weiß ich ‘oh ja, das war ja mit dir’ oder so ... Er hat den Vorteil gehabt, dass seine Mutter aus Deutschland kam. Also hat er sehr gutes, korrektes Deutsch zu Hause gehört. (.) Sie hat als-, [die] Geschwister wurdn immer verbessert. (.)

Und er hat das weitergemacht mit mir, und wir habn's zusamm weitergemacht mit unsern Kindern ...

Elmarie comments that her German has improved remarkably because of her husband correcting her grammatical inconsistencies – something she is very grateful for. Prescribing normative language use does not, however, necessarily translate into adopting ‘correct German’. The following (typical) exchange was recorded in Northern Natal, around a family dinner table, and shows that while Nadine, the 15 year old daughter, knows the phrase *verwandt mit* (‘related to’), she repeatedly uses the unidiomatic *Familie von* (‘family of’), inciting both her parents, Stefan and Rieke, to correct her language use.

Extract 4-23 [#52; #56; #57; Northern Natal]

- | | | |
|----|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 64 | Nadine | Ach nee?! Wir sind Familie von () [some name]. |
| 65 | Stefan | Nich ‘Familie von sie’. |
| 66 | Nadine | Verwandt! |
| 67 | Stefan | Wir sind ‘verwandt mit ihr’ (.) ‘Familie von’ () Wie oft soll ich’s dir sagen! |
| 68 | Nadine | () |
| 69 | Stefan | Ja (0.2) Ja, ich werd’s wieder tun. (.) Und du willst einfach nich lern. (0.3) Du willst es nich kapieren ... |
| | ... | |
| 72 | Nadine | Mama! (.) Weißt du was? (.) Ich bin Familie, wir sind Familie von Pastor T.J. |
| 73 | Rieke | Nich ‘Familie’. ‘Verwandt’ (heißt es)! |
| 74 | Nadine | ‘Verwandt’ (heißt es). |

While it is not surprising that first generation German speakers, having migrated (or temporarily relocated) to the rural areas in KZN and MP, have a reasonably firm grasp of Standard German norms, it is interesting to note that an attitude of speaking ‘correct’ German within the home prevails among some families who are descendants in the sixth or seventh generation (as in Extract 4-23). These speakers generally have strong ties with individuals in modern-day Germany, most commonly relatives and/or friends and, in many cases, have spent extended periods of time in Germany.

In Extract 4-24, Leon, a seventh generation descendant of one of the early missionaries, talks about the language practices insisted on at home. His father is a bishop within the Hermannsburg synod and has intermittently spent some years in

Germany, both for theological training and studying, and for visiting family. Leon himself has also been to Germany a few times, visiting relatives and holiday-making.

Extract 4-24 [#20; Natal Midlands]

- 55 Katharina Legen deine Eltern da Wert drauf, dass ihr zu Hause Deutsch sprecht? Also, ihr habt sicher von Kindheit an Deutsch gesprochen?
- 56 Leon Ja, ja. (.) Oh, mein Vater liegt- er legt sehr viel Wert drauf. Ich mein (ich geh). (.) Er verbessert mich ständig und (.) sagt, ich muss, also, ich darf zu Hause eigentlich kein Englisch sprechen. (.) Wenn ich das (.) das englische Wort gebrauch, dann wartet er erstmal bis ich das deutsche Wort sag, vordem er antwortet oder so. (.) Also er versucht's schon so gut (.) äh zu behalten wie wie möglich.

Generally, members who are actively involved in the communities and have strong links to contemporary Germany are not only conscious of Standard German norms but also very much inclined to uphold them, especially within the home and church domain.

4.3.3 German within the church and in the community

Whilst ethnic language use within the home is fundamental in transmitting the ethnic language to the next generation, public institutions with which an ethnic language is associated can promote and strengthen maintenance efforts and contribute to sustaining the ethnolinguistic vitality of a speech community. In speech communities where religion or religious institutions play a part, the use of an ethnic language across the community in private and/or public contexts is generally interrelated with the use of the ethnic language within the religious domain. The latter is commonly a cornerstone of ethnic language maintenance within ethno-religious communities (cf. Chew, 2006; Clyne, 1988; Clyne, 1991; Dzialtuvaite, 2006; Hofman, 1966; Kipp, 1980, 2006a; Kloss, 1966; Pauwels, 1994). Where congregations are (or become) increasingly heterogenous, whether ethnically or generationally, this is likely to result in a shift to the dominant language so that a language common to all parish members can be used (Hofman, 1966, pp. 136-137; Woods, 2004, p. 21). Chapter 5 explores the aspect of language and religion in detail; here, it is sufficient to say that the way of life in the

Springbok-German communities is profoundly shaped by speakers' religious beliefs and the central role occupied by the Lutheran church.

As Chapter 2 documented, the Springbok-German communities were founded between the mid-1850s and the early 20th century. Since the beginning, German language services have been held for the German settlers, and all of the eight communities still continue German language services to this date. Table 4-6 gives a summary of the use of German as the language of the church service, i.e. the liturgy (some elements are retained in Latin), the sermon, hymns and prayers. In cases where English language services are provided, whether in addition to German services (in separate buildings on the church grounds) or on alternate Sundays, these tend to be less formal and often make greater use of contemporary worship music (e.g. hymns accompanied by organ in the German service vs. worship songs accompanied by guitar in the English service).

The differences between the two regional clusters and also across the two German Lutheran synods are striking. While the communities in the Natal Midlands are increasingly faced with linguistically heterogenous congregations and a growing need to conduct services in English, the Northern Natal communities are not as hard pressed to provide church services in Afrikaans. More conspicuous, however, is the fact that the surveyed congregations of the Freikirche synod do not conduct services in a language other than German, though the Wartburg-Kirchdorf congregation does have an English-speaking sister parish (also in the town of Wartburg). Linguistically, the two congregations remain strictly separate, with the English-speaking congregation largely catering for English South Africans in the area.

Table 4-6: Language of church service across communities. *Year founded.

| Congregation | Synod | Region | Church service |
|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Harburg (1886)* | Hermannsburg | Natal Midlands | English and German language services held at the same time |
| Hermannsburg (1854) | Hermannsburg | Natal Midlands | English and German language services held on alternate Sundays; once a month English/ German language service combined |
| New Hanover (1858) | Hermannsburg | Natal Midlands | English and German language services held at the same time |
| Wartburg (1882) | Hermannsburg | Natal Midlands | English and German language services held on alternate Sundays |
| Augsburg (1923) | Hermannsburg | Northern Natal | German language service with summary of sermon provided in Afrikaans |
| Piet Retief (1911) | Hermannsburg | Northern Natal | German language service; once a month service held in Afrikaans |
| Wartburg-Kirchdorf (1881) | Freikirche | Natal Midlands | German language services only (separate English language congregation) |
| Lüneburg (1869) | Freikirche | Northern Natal | German language services only |
| Wittenberg (1890) | Freikirche | Northern Natal | German language services only |

As the communities in the Natal Midlands increasingly deal with language shift to English (cf. chapter 6), the church parishes have opted for different solutions to accommodate the growing need for English language services. Hermannsburg and Wartburg now alternate their German and English language church services, i.e. one Sunday the service is held in German, the next in English, then in German again, and so forth. New Hanover and Harburg, on the other hand, have established two congregations, being numerically large enough to do so, and offer two Sunday services, one in German and one in English. The services are held at the same time in adjacent buildings (the German language service is always held in the actual church building). As already mentioned, Wartburg-Kirchdorf continues to conduct their services in German only, but has also established a separate English-speaking congregation.

Classes for confirmants, i.e. young people aged around 13 who are to be confirmed in the Lutheran faith and thus undergo religious instruction by the pastor, are increasingly held in English now, as the younger generation struggles to understand the German of the Luther Bible and the (Small) Catechism. Other activities such as

Bible study groups and prayer groups are offered in both German and English, or use extensive code-switching.

As pointed out, the Northern Natal communities are markedly different in their language use for Sunday church services. Lüneburg and Wittenberg offer only German language services. The same applies to the Augsburg parish, but the pastor here accommodates the Afrikaans speakers in the congregation by providing a summary of the sermon in Afrikaans. Of the four surveyed communities in Northern Natal, only Piet Retief offers a Sunday service in Afrikaans, albeit once a month only. In similar fashion to the Natal Midlands, Bible study groups and prayer groups are offered in both German and Afrikaans, though notably, it is not uncommon for Afrikaans speakers to attend the German-speaking groups. Confirmants' classes tend to be held in German, though some code-switching to Afrikaans may be used to facilitate understanding.

Ethno-religious communities which do not continue to grow through influxes of speakers from the country of origin – and thus cannot boost the number of parish members that way – have to rely on their youth (and individuals from the host society, for example, through mixed marriages) for future growth. As Woods (2004, p. 22) points out, young people, however, are frequently the agents of change in ethnic church parishes, not only with regard to adapting the worship style to more contemporary forms, but they often also influence the language(s) being used during the church service. In the Natal Midlands, tendencies for language shift to English are apparent, advanced especially by the younger generation and those in mixed marriages. The youth groups (*Jugend*)⁵⁵ here are small; Wartburg, furthermore, does not have a youth group at all due to insufficient numbers. The Freikirche parish Wartburg-Kirchdorf, on the other hand, has a vibrant youth group, and is in regular contact with other synodal youth groups. The majority of the younger generation prefer

⁵⁵ Young adults are accepted to participate in youth group activities once they have been confirmed in the Lutheran faith. They thus tend to include teenagers, 13 years and up, and young adults into their early twenties.

to attend the English language services (where two services are offered), which have less formal worship styles.

Extract 4-25 [#50; Natal Midlands]

290 Charlotte Die neuen deutschen (.) ähm (.) Eltern, ja, auch die jungen Deutschen, (.) die gehn lie- lieber zum englischen Gottesdienst.

In contrast, all of the parishes in Northern Natal have active youth groups and there is regular interaction between them. The Piet Retief and the Wittenberg *Jugend*, for example, meet frequently on Sunday afternoons for social purposes, e.g. playing volleyball, having barbeques or playing board games. Larger gatherings are also held infrequently, where all the youth groups from Northern Natal come together to socialise.

Both synods organise annual youth retreats, commonly called *Rüstwoche*, lasting from two-three days for the younger participants (primary school children) and up to five days for teenagers and young adults. The youths from all synodal parishes come together to worship, pray and study the Bible, do outreach, and socialise. Talking about youth activities within her parish but also on a synodal level (here the Freikirche synod), Elmarie describes the annual *Rüstwoche* tradition.

Extract 4-26 [#49; Natal Midlands]

98 Elenore ... Einmal im Jahr habn wir eine Rüstwoche. (.) Also, wir haben die Jugendrüstwoche, (.) Teenagerüstwoche und dann (dies) Kinderlager. Es ist immer im Dezember, eine Woche lang. (.) Dann komm die ganzen irgendwo zusamm, zum Beispiel in Hermannsburg komm die Teenagers zusamm. (.) Also, alle Teenagers aus der ganzen Synode, (die) sind eingeladen. Und auch Freunde, ich meine die auch nicht zur Synode [gehören]. Es ist überhaupt kein Problem. (.) Und dann sind es so ungefähr so hundert Teenagers, die da zusamm sind. (.) Kinderlager is in Kirchdorf, in Wartburg. Das sind gewöhnlich so hundertzwanzig Kinder, die zusamm komm. (.) Und dann die Jugendrüstwoche ist dieses Jahr in Wittenberg. Das sind auch gewöhnlich so hundert, hundertzehn Jugendliche, die da zusamm [kommen].

Other activities within the Freikirche synod include the annual *Sängerfest* ('Choir Festival') and the *Jugendtag* ('Youth Day'). The latter is celebrated over a weekend in conjunction with the annual *Posaunenfest* ('Brass Band Festival'), held on the Sunday

of the respective weekend. The *Jugendtag* is generally attended by about 250 teenagers and young adults from all Freikirche parishes, whereas parishioners of all ages are present at the *Posaunenfest*, usually around a thousand people. The Hermannsburg synod also holds an annual *Posaunenfest* and *Sängerfest*, the *Jugendtag* is, however, celebrated only by the Freikirche. The youth of each Freikirche parish have their particular coloured *Tracht* ('traditional dress') and are dressed accordingly at the *Jugendtag*.

Extract 4-27 [#78; Northern Natal]

- 583 Klara ... wir haben einmal (.) im Jahr in unsrer Synode dann haben wir unser Posaunenfest. In Deutschland haben sie ja da auch (immer) Posaunenfest. ... Dann haben (die) jetzt den Sonnabend vor dem Posaunenfest, dann haben wir immer Jugendtage. (.) Und denn hat jede Gemeinde seine eigne (.) seine eigne Tracht angezogen. (.) Jeder seine eigne Farbe, denn konnte man immer sehen 'sie kommt vom Lüneburg.' (.) 'Die kommt von von Kirchdorf.' (.) 'Die kommt von äh Pretoria und die andre kommt von Wittenberg' und so weiter.
- ...
 594 Katharina Sie tragen 's [die Trachten] denn dann bei diesem (.) bei dem Jugendtag?
 595 Klara Ja. (.) Bei dem Jugendtag. (.) Ja. (.) Ja. (.) Am Vormittag werd- werden denn (.) werden denn immer also. (.) Erst (sing sie) (.) werden geistliche Lieder eingeübt und denn haben (.) und denn is dann schöner Jugendgottesdienst. Und denn is 'ne Teepause und denn ... und nachmittags haben sie denn Sport. (.) Tauziehn und Ball über'n Strick und Medizinball und alles. (.) Äh, das is wunderbar. So lern die Jugend (.) Jugend denn sich denn auch gegenseitig kenn. (.) Und (.) und so kommt es denn auch, (.) dass (.) dass unsre Kinder noch deutsche Männer kriegen könn.

As Klara points out, events such as the *Jugendtag* provide opportunities for youths from across all parishes to meet, and possibly to find their prospective spouse from among the German speakers – a vital aspect of on-going language and cultural maintenance efforts.

Overall, these kinds of activities foster the cohesion of the individual parishes within the larger network of the Freikirche synod and the Hermannsburg synod, respectively, and while there is interaction and exchange between individual parishes of the two synods, the large annual events tend to attract parishioners from the respective synods only. The individual parishes also celebrate their annual *Kirchenbasar* ('church fête'), attended by Springbok-Germans from across communities, and some parishes also organise Christmas markets. Since (brass) music is an important element

of life in the communities, all congregations have a *Blaschor* ('brass band', often referred to as 'Oompaband') and church choirs, generally a *Frauenchor* ('female choir') and a *Gemeindechor* ('parish choir'), and sometimes also a *Männerchor* ('male choir').

Extract 4-28 [#15; Natal Midlands]

- 408 Bernhard ... heute Abend haben wir noch Männerchor. (0.2) Ich gehör zum Männerchor.
 409 Katharina Ach, macht ihr dienstags? Und mittwochs is Gemeindechor?
 410 Bernhard Mittwoch Gemeindechor, dienstags Männerchor.
 411 Katharina Und wann is dieser Blaschor?
 412 Bernhard Blaschor is donnerstags.
 413 Katharina Ah donnerstags. (.) Ja, wenn man da überall mitmacht, dann is man ja ausgebucht für die Woche, ne?
 414 Bernhard Ja total, ja. (.) Ich, ich, ich geh immer zu vier Sachen, aber ich hab mich jetzt bei'n Oompaband abgemeldet.

German is generally used at the weekly choir and brass band rehearsals, and also at the annual church fêtes and other celebrations, e.g. commemorative centenaries, celebrating the existence of individual communities, schools, associations or even church buildings. For example, the Wartburg parish held a centenary *Kirchweihfest* in 2007, commemorating the erection of their church building in 1907; the New Hanover community celebrates its foundation 150 years ago this year; the *Posaunenverband* ('Brass Band Association') of the Hermannsburg synod marked their 75 years existence with a celebration in 2000; in 2006, the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* held an event lasting three days, commemorating the founding of the school in 1856; etc. Publications documenting the historical aspect of the cause of celebration are generally produced for these kinds of commemorative events, oftentimes published in (heavily edited) Standard German. In the Natal Midlands, English is increasingly heard at these larger events during the official part of the celebration (i.e. announcements, speeches, etc.), particularly when they involve the schools, since these are more and more attended by English speakers (cf. the section 4.3.4 below). However, German is commonly used in conversation among the Springbok-Germans.

But it is not only at these community events that German plays an important role; it is also used during the many social gatherings among friends and neighbours, for example, at the *Stammtisch* at the Wartburger Hof, the local pub/restaurant in

Wartburg. The *Stammtisch* tends to attract young persons in their 20s and 30s, but is occasionally also visited by the older generation.

Section 4.3.1 already mentioned that German is used at family gatherings. Commemorating their ancestors, e.g. to celebrate the arrival of the first settler or missionary of whom they are the descendants, or the existence of their family name in South Africa for a hundred years, is a vital part of community life. This tends to involve large gatherings and often attracts extensive numbers of family members (anything between fifty to a few hundreds). Family histories are usually produced for these occasions.

To sum up, German continues to play a vital role in the Springbok-German communities, although there is increasing pressure from English in the Natal Midlands region. Here, some parishes have introduced English language services, either alternating them with German language services or conducting them at the same time. Two congregations in the Northern Natal communities, Lüneburg and Wittenberg, hold only German language services, while Piet Retief and Augsburg cater to Afrikaans speakers in as much as they offer a service in Afrikaans once a month or provide a summarised version of the sermon in Afrikaans.

The communities engage in numerous and lively activities and events throughout the year – ranging from weekly choir and brass band rehearsals, annual festivals to special commemorative events. German is commonly used in interaction among Springbok-Germans at these church-related meetings and events, though, for official purposes English may also be used in the Natal Midlands and Afrikaans in Northern Natal. Among friends and relatives in social settings, German is frequently used, though extensive code-switching may take place, depending on topic and interlocutor.

4.3.4 German at school: Language instruction and language use

Besides religious institutions promoting the use of the ethnic language, educational institutions play a vital role in ethnic language maintenance. Formal ethnic language instruction is paramount in transmitting the ethnic variety to the next generation by

ensuring that children's proficiency is fostered through the development of their literacy skills and an awareness of standard language norms in the ethnic language. In ethnic communities where children actually receive ethnic language instruction, this has often proceeded outside the normal school curriculum in after-hours ethnic language schools (e.g. in Australia at the so-called Saturday Schools, cf. Clyne, 1991; Willoughby, 2006). Alternatively, students from ethnic language backgrounds may be able to select their ethnic language as an optional school subject as part of the normal curriculum (e.g. Portuguese in South Africa, cf. Barnes & McDuling, 1995; for Australia, cf. Willoughby, 2006) or outside normal school hours (cf. Willoughby, 2006).

On the other hand, ethno-religious communities have often set up parochial schools, where children of the community receive monolingual or bilingual day schooling "according to the precepts of their [the community's] particular 'brand' of religion" (Kipp et al., 1995, p. 126). These schools are linked to the community's religious affiliation and, as noted above, religion or the church is often a stronghold of language maintenance in ethno-religious settings. Kloss (1966, p. 209), for example, notes that for German-speaking Catholic communities and Old Lutheran congregations in the U.S., prolonged language maintenance is hinged on the fact that "their religion led them to found and retain parochial schools more consistently than did most other German-speaking groups". In the Springbok-German communities, parochial schools were set up early in the development of the settlements, some of which remain open to this date.

In South Africa⁵⁶ today, German is offered as mother tongue instruction (through immersion programmes and as language subjects) and as a foreign language subject.⁵⁷ As mentioned in chapter 2, there are three primary schools and two primary/secondary schools in the communities, all of which were established by the early German missionaries and settlers and, to varying extents, are continuing German language instruction to this date. New Hanover in the Natal Midlands, and Wit-

⁵⁶ Education is a highly complex issue in South Africa; for a brief overview, cf. Murray (2002).

⁵⁷ For an overview of the *Deutsche Auslandsschulen* ('German Schools Abroad') and German as a foreign language subject in South Africa, cf. Böhm (2003a). It is unfortunate, however, that the article contains some factual inconsistencies with regard to the rural German communities and schools in the rural areas.

tenberg and Lüneburg in Northern Natal, each have a primary school. The New Hanover Preparatory School is an independent school whereas both the *Lüneburg Schule* and the *Wittenberg Schule* are government-aided; that is, they receive subsidies from the government and operate on a trust-fund basis. The *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*, the oldest independent school in KZN and a German School Abroad (*Deutsche Auslandsschule*⁵⁸), is located in Hermannsburg and incorporates a kindergarten, primary and high school. The town of Wartburg in the Natal Midlands also has a school with German roots, the Wartburg-Kirchdorf School, which has been a government school since 1931.⁵⁹ All schools have boarding hostels attached; two of these are funded by the schools, Hermannsburg and New Hanover. The other three are supported by the respective church parishes: in Northern Natal, both Lüneburg and Wittenberg, and, in the Natal Midlands, the hostel in Wartburg. In the latter case, the boarding hostel is run jointly by the Wartburg-Kirchdorf congregation and the Wartburg congregation.

Under apartheid, the Wartburg-Kirchdorf School, the *Lüneburg Schule* and the *Wittenberg Schule* were so-called Model-C Schools – schools which admitted only white children. The New Hanover School and the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*, being independent schools began, however, to admit scholars from other ethnic backgrounds prior to 1994.

⁵⁸ The *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* is one of four *Deutsche Auslandsschulen* in South Africa. While it is considered a “landessprachige Schule mit verstärktem Deutschunterricht”, the German schools in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria are “Deutschsprachige Schulen” (cf. Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen, n.d.). All four schools offer the South African school leaving certificate, the *Matric*, but only the latter three (Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria) also offer the German *Abitur*.

⁵⁹ For more information on the schools in the Natal Midlands, cf. their websites: *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* www.hmbschool.co.za; Wartburg-Kirchdorf School www.wartburg.co.za; New Hanover Preparatory School www.newhanover.co.za. The *Lüneburg Schule* and the *Wittenberg Schule* do not as yet have websites.

Table 4-7: Overview of 'German Schools' in the Springbok-German communities.⁶⁰ *Based on 2007 data.

| School | Year founded | School Motto | Type | Total of students* | Total of staff* |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg</i> (Natal Midlands) | 1856 | <i>Treu und fest</i> – True and steadfast | kindergarten, primary, high school; boarding hostel | 163 (+ 24 children in kindergarten/pre-school) | 34 |
| Wartburg-Kirchdorf School (Natal Midlands) | 1881 | <i>Dennoch fest und frei</i> – Steadfast and free in spite of all odds | (pre-)primary and high school; boarding hostel (Grade 5-12) | 471 | 21 |
| New Hanover School (Natal Midlands) | 1858 | <i>Treu und wahr</i> – Steadfast and true | primary school | approx. 100 | n/a |
| <i>Lüneburg Schule</i> (Northern Natal) | 1870 | <i>Arbeit adelt</i> – Work ennobles | primary school; boarding hostel | 105 | 7 |
| <i>Wittenberg Schule</i> (Northern Natal) | 1903 | <i>Ora et labora</i> – Listen and study | primary school; boarding hostel | 92 | 8 |

Although students from every language and ethnic background can now apply for admission at the schools, the schools in Northern Natal in particular are almost exclusively attended by white South Africans, i.e. by German mother tongue and Afrikaans mother tongue speakers, while the schools in the Natal Midlands are more ethnically and linguistically diverse. For example, of the 191 students who attended the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* in 2007, students with a German background and students with English as home language were represented almost equally; that is, 36% (69) and 37% (70), respectively. Zulu speakers constituted 13% (25) of students, while Afrikaans speakers formed a minority (6%) as did speakers of African languages other than Zulu (8%) (S. Cockburn, p.c.).

Scholars at the *Lüneburg Schule* and the *Wittenberg Schule* in Northern Natal, on the other hand, were almost exclusively made up of students from white South African backgrounds in 2007.⁶¹ The reasons being, on the one hand, that Afrikaans as the medium of instruction has little appeal to black South Africans who prefer English as the language of instruction (cf. chapter 1, section 1.2). On the other hand, tuition

⁶⁰ The *Michaelis Schule* in Vryheid is another school that is attended by a large proportion of Springbok-German speakers.

⁶¹ Only one child at the *Wittenberg Schule* came from a non-white background, and none at the *Lüneburg Schule*.

fees are far above what lower income earners can reasonably afford, and thus it is mainly white South Africans who are in the socio-economic bracket that allows them to send their children to these schools.

At the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* (DSH), there are 34 teaching, administrative and support staff, though not all are German-speaking or of German background but may be English- or Afrikaans mother tongue speakers.⁶² The boarding hostel staff at the DSH are all German-speaking, being either *Bundesdeutsche* (German citizens) or of Springbok-German origin. As of 2007, among the teaching staff were two teachers from Germany. Traditionally, the DSH has had at least one German language teacher from Germany (*Auslandsdienstlehrkraft*), placed through the Central Agency for Schools Abroad (*Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen*) and funded by the Federal Republic of Germany.⁶³

Both the New Hanover School and the Wartburg-Kirchdorf School, while upholding their German roots and German traditions to some extent, are now largely run in English, with the majority of their students and teaching staff coming from English (and also Zulu) language backgrounds. Roughly a third of the students at the Wartburg-Kirchdorf School, and about 20% of scholars at the New Hanover School still come from German language backgrounds.

In contrast, although Afrikaans speakers are increasingly found among the school children at the *Lüneburg Schule* and the *Wittenberg Schule*, only very few English mother tongue speakers attend these schools. The majority of scholars continue to come from Springbok-German backgrounds; that is, 60% of children in Wittenberg and 72% in Lüneburg. The boarding hostel staffs at both the Lüneburg hostel and the Wittenberg hostel are also of Springbok-German background, as are the respective headmasters of the two schools and the majority of their teaching staff.

⁶² A few native English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking teaching staff have an excellent command of German whilst others may have a greater aural competence but lack spoken proficiency and some do not speak German at all.

⁶³ Cf. Böhm (2003a, p. 47) for more details on the three types of teachers working at the *Deutschen Auslandsschulen*.

The five schools vary in their approach to providing bilingual education and German language instruction. Table 4-8 provides a summary of German language instruction and the use of German as medium of instruction in these schools, based on enrolment data from 2007.

Table 4-8: Summary of ‘German Schools’ in the Springbok-German communities. Based on 2007 enrolments (I. Meister, Subject Advisor for German, KZN Department of Education, p.c.).⁶⁴

| School | Medium of instruction – year level | German language instruction | ‘German as mother tongue’ students | ‘German as foreign language’ students |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg</i> | 1-3: German 1-12: English | compulsory subject (<i>Deutsches Sprachdiplom</i>) | primary: 16 secondary: 50 | primary: 31 secondary: 70 |
| Wartburg-Kirchdorf School | 1-2: German 1-12: English | optional subject | primary: 44 secondary: 56 | primary: not offered secondary: 42 |
| New Hanover School | 1-7: English | optional subject | 16 | 10 |
| <i>Lüneburg Schule</i> | 1-4: German 1-7: Afrikaans | compulsory subject | 76 | 29 |
| <i>Wittenberg Schule</i> | 1-3: German 1-7: Afrikaans | compulsory subject | 55 | 37 |

Four schools continue to offer programmes involving German as the language of instruction: the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*, the Wartburg-Kirchdorf School, the *Lüneburg Schule* and the *Wittenberg Schule*. As mentioned, the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* is one of the four *Deutsche Auslandsschulen* in South Africa. Unlike the other three, however, it is a ‘landessprachige Schule mit verstärktem Deutschunterricht’.

Die meist nicht-deutschsprachigen Schüler erwerben an diesen Schulen den Sekundarabschluß des Sitzlandes und das Deutsche Sprachdiplom. Deutsch als Fremdsprache ist an diesen Schulen für alle Schüler Pflichtfach, teilweise wird auch Fachunterricht auf deutsch erteilt. (Böhm, 2003a, p. 47)

⁶⁴ Two other primary schools in KZN where students can take ‘German as a mother tongue’ subjects include the *Deutsche Schule Durban* (58 scholars enrolled in 2007), and the *Michaelis Schule* (43 scholars enrolled in 2007) in Vryheid.

The DSH offers German immersion for the first four years of schooling. German language instruction is compulsory for both German mother tongue speakers and those whose mother tongue is English, Afrikaans or an African language. Consequently, students enrol in one of three German language streams: mother tongue speaker, semi-native speaker and non-native speaker, and are required to sit an exam for the official German Language Certificate (*Deutsche Sprachdiplom*), Level II of which provides entry to German tertiary institutions.

Whilst the German heritage is still upheld at the New Hanover School and Wartburg-Kirchdorf School, English has long become the language of instruction. German language immersion is still optional for the first two years at the Wartburg-Kirchdorf School, where German is also offered as a non-compulsory school subject in two language streams, either for mother tongue speakers or second language learners. German language instruction for mother tongue speakers is only provided for primary school children. From year 8 onwards, students may elect to begin studying German as a foreign language or, for mother tongue speakers, to continue with German as a school subject until year 12. As Table 4-8 shows, figures for 2007 enrolments saw 44 students enrolled in mother tongue language instruction in primary school and 56 students in high school (compared to 42 foreign language learners). In 2006, there were negotiations underway to introduce the *Deutsches Sprachdiplom* at the Wartburg-Kirchdorf School as well.

Although, like the Wartburg-Kirchdorf school, the New Hanover School is run in English, it only offers German language instruction from Grade 3 (Standard 1) onwards, totalling 16 learners across year levels 3-7 in 2007. Parents with children in Grade 1 and 2 may, however, choose after-hours German language instruction for their children, though this option tends to be taken up by only very few parents (in 2007, for example, there were only two children who received after-hours German language instruction).

In Northern Natal, German is offered as immersion up to Grade 4 at the *Lüneburg Schule* and Grade 3 at the *Wittenberg Schule*. Students are encouraged by the respective headmasters and teachers to speak German during recess, playtime and at

school events. Until recently, students at the *Lüneburg Schule* were punished if caught speaking Afrikaans on the school grounds. As mentioned above, the majority of students (about 70%) are German mother tongue speakers and German is thus often spoken during recess and playtime when the children interact freely with each other. The boarding hostels attached to both schools are run entirely in German; there, the use of German is compulsory for the Afrikaans-speaking children also staying at the hostels. They are encouraged as much as possible to use German, and acquire it quite rapidly. Naturally, code-switching occurs, especially to aid communication with the Afrikaans-speaking children. Taken from the interview with the headmaster at the *Wittenberg Schule*, Extract 4-29 summarises the situation nicely.

Extract 4-29 [#65; Northern Natal]

- 22 Katharina Wo komm die meisten Kinder her? Aus welchen Gemeinden?
 23 Klaus Zur Zeit sind die meisten aus, aus, aus Piet Retief und Augsburg. (.) Mehr als äh Wittenberg. Wittenberg hat zur Zeit wenig Kinder. ... Afrikaanse Kinder haben wir so (.) dreißig, (.) die denn alle Deutsch als Fach nehmen solln. (.) Im Schülerheim müssen sie Deutsch sprechen. Bei der Schule versuchen wir, sie, dass sie soviel wie möglich Deutsch sprechen. (.) Aber sie müssen Deutsch als Fach [nehmen]. Sie müssen! ... Ja, wenn sie in Klasse Eins hier angefang [haben] oder denn in der Vorschule anfang und denn Klasse Eins hier weitermachen und denn bis kl- bis der siebten Klasse, (.) dann, dann könn sie schon (.) schon gut sprechen. (.) Sie lern es schnell, die Kinder, sehr schnell. (.) Besonders wenn sie im Schülerheim sind, dann lern sie's sehr schnell. ...

In contrast, the language used among students and friends during recess and in the boarding hostels in the schools in the Natal Midlands tends to be English, since the proportion of scholars from German language background is much lower than in Northern Natal, as many English and also Zulu speakers now attend these schools as well. As noted in section 4.3.1, language use depends predominantly on the interlocutor, i.e. German is used only among German speakers, and only if there are no English speakers present. The following extract is taken from the interview with Leon, who stays at the boarding hostel at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* during school terms.

Extract 4-30 [#20; Natal Midlands]

- 33 Katharina Und bei euch im Schülerheim, was redet ihr'n da? Redet ihr meist Deutsch, oder?
 34 Leon Äh, hängt ab mit welchen Freunden ich bin. (.) Mit paar Englisch, mit paar Deutsch, aber (.) äh (.) weil hier am meisten sicher (.) mehr Englischsprachige sind, is'es dann ... so am meisten dann Englisch. (.) Also mit paar Deutsch, die auch Deutsch sind.

To sum up, the two primary schools in Northern Natal not only offer German language immersion for the first years of schooling but also insist on the use of German during recess and in the boarding hostels. Furthermore, German language instruction is compulsory for all scholars. The schools in the Natal Midlands, on the other hand, are attended by a lower proportion of students from Springbok-German backgrounds, and thus the use of English is more widespread. Only at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* is German a compulsory school subject (and offered as immersion programmes for the first three years), partly because the school relies upon funding from Germany, but also because it is keen to uphold and emphasise its German roots and tradition.

4.3.5 German language media

In the Springbok-German communities, there is little consumption of German language media (books and magazines, broadcasting), although they are not inaccessible. While speakers tend to be aware of German language publications, such as the *Afrika-Kurier*,⁶⁵ published in Pretoria, few speakers in the Springbok-German communities are actually interested in subscribing to these kinds of periodicals. With the advent of the internet, online shopping for German language books and other items (e.g. DVDs and CDs) has become easier, yet remains a largely underutilised source.

German radio broadcasting is offered by *Deutsche Welle* via satellite. In the Natal Midlands, *Radio Khwezi*,⁶⁶ a local radio station broadcasting from the mission station KwaSizabantu, airs daily for an hour in German. The older generation, in particular, tunes in for the daily programme, since popular folk music is regularly broad-

⁶⁵ http://www.geocities.com/Afrika_Kurier/index.html

⁶⁶ <http://www.khwezi.org.za/>. The daily German news bulletin is sponsored by *Deutsche Welle*.

cast. The younger generation are largely disinterested in the particular type of music, preferring popular English radio stations such as *EastCoastRadio*.

Television broadcasting was introduced to South Africa only relatively late in 1975. Given the political climate at the time, it was feared that the influence of television programmes, which had bad language and showed certain kinds of violence, sex, and liberal ideas, would corrupt the minds of South Africans (Cowling, 2005, p. 116). The influence of English and Afrikaans language television programmes has thus only been felt in the Springbok-German communities in the last twenty or so years. In particular older speakers comment on the detrimental effect that television has had on language usage within the home, affecting reading habits and the intergenerational transmission of German.

In Extract 4-31, Elmarie – who is actively engaged in the community and concerned about the current situation of German language maintenance – laments that children are more inclined to watch (English language) television programmes than read German language books or listen to German language cassettes and CDs.

Extract 4-31 [#11; Natal Midlands]

- 20 Elmarie ... äh leider hat TV da eine ganz große Rolle gespielt. Also Fernseher, denk ich, hat (.) viel zu beigetragen, dass die Mütter heutzutage ihren Kindern nicht mehr Bücher vorlesen. (.) In diesem Fall nun spezifisch deutsche Bücher. (.) Ähm, sie hören nicht mehr Kassetten oder CDs zu oder viel weniger. Sie gucken lieber Fernsehen oder Videos. ...

Television and radio broadcasting from Germany can be received by via satellite as digital pay-tv, offered by *Deukom*⁶⁷ across Southern Africa. This service offers viewers seven German television channels and three radio stations, including the international broadcaster *Deutsche Welle*. Few speakers in the Springbok-German communities actually subscribe to the *Deukom* service due to relatively costly fees, a lack of interest in German television programmes, and the fact that American and British shows are invariably dubbed into German, causing irritation on part of the Springbok-Germans.

⁶⁷ www.deukom.co.za. This service is also available in Namibia, cf. Shah (2007, p. 21).

Extract 4-32 [#23; Natal Midlands]

- 140 Katharina Habt ihr zu Hause *Deukom*?
- 141 Susanna ((shakes head)) Nee. (0.3) Ich glaub nur die Deutschlehrer haben hier [Hermannsburg] *Deukom*. ...
- 142 Katharina (0.5) (Da) kommt man ja auch weniger an deutsche Filme ran (.) Würdest du's gucken, wenn du könntest?
- 143 Susanna Wenn's 'n deutscher Film is. Ich mag nich (.) so englische Filme, die auf deutsch [sind]. (.) Also mag nich englische Filme auf deutsch gucken, aber (.) sonst würd ich, ja. (.) Ja, ich hab nich Probleme mit deutsch. ((chuckles))
- 144 Katharina War das komisch als du in Deutschland warst, wenn du dann amerikanische Serien oder Filme gesehen hast und [das] dann auf deutsch war?
- 145 Susanna Ja, ich find's richtig nervig eigentlich. ((laughs)) (Wie) der Mund sich bewegt und sie sagen was andres aber. (.) Ähm, da mach ich lieber diese (.) ti- Untertitel, also die (.) das find ich besser. ...

Extract 4-33 [#19; Natal Midlands]

- 25 Ludwig ... na wenn ich *Deukom* hätte, würde ich schon [deutsches Fernsehen gucken].
- 26 Katharina Ihr habt kein *Deukom*?
- 27 Ludwig Nee (.) Nee, also (.) ähm, meine Frau, weil sie eben englisch [ist] ... ähm und sie mag gerne *BBC Prime* und und die *Movie Channels*, also ham wir *DSTV*. (.) Und um *Deukom* noch dazu zu haben, das ist zu teuer. (.) Es wär schön. (.) Ich würde es gerne so haben, aber (.) man muss am Ende auch bisschn realistisch sein. ...

As Cowling (2005, p. 121) points out, soap operas – both local and international – are “the most watched programs on all channels” in South Africa. The only German language programme which appears to attract some interest is thus, not surprisingly, the German soap *Gute Zeiten, Schlechte Zeiten* (‘Good times, bad times’), albeit only among a small subset of speakers, i.e. those who have *Deukom* decoders or share decoders with others (particularly prominent in the community of Hermannsburg, Natal Midlands). Noticeably fewer speakers in Northern Natal have access or are interested in having access to the *Deukom* service; their television preferences are largely focused on English and Afrikaans language programmes (among younger speakers, the soap *Sewende Laan* (‘Seventh Avenue’) is especially popular).

The next section concludes this part of the chapter by taking a step back and looking more broadly at language use across domains again. The intention is to see if the use of German in one domain is interrelated to German language in other domains.

4.3.6 *Implicational language use?*

To find out whether the use of German, or the tendency to use German, in one domain is in some way linked to the choice of German in another, interviewees were systematically ordered in an implicational scale. Implicational scales “depict hierarchical co-occurrence patterns in the acquisition or use of linguistic variables by individuals or groups, such that x implies y but not the reverse” (Rickford, 2003, p. 143). They were first introduced in (socio)linguistics by DeCamp (1971), in his analysis of Jamaican Creole continuum, and continue to be popular in Pidgin and Creole studies to show the diffusion of creole features across speech continua (cf. Bickerton, 1973; Bickerton & Odo, 1976; Escure, 1982). They are frequently used in second language acquisition, documenting acquisition patterns (cf. Pienemann & Mackey, 1993; Rickford, 1991), or in socio-historical studies indicating the diffusion of linguistic – often (morpho)syntactic – variables throughout speech communities (cf. Deumert, 2004). To a lesser extent, implicational scales are used in studies on language maintenance and shift, showing how individual speakers of bilingual speech communities can be ranked according to their varying language usage across domains (cf. Gal, 1979; Wei, 1994; Willoughby, 2006).

Whilst perfect scales are not to be expected in empirical research (Deumert, 2004, p. 232), in order to make the strongest predictions of implicational language usage or linguistic continua, the ‘index of reproducibility’ (IR; also ‘index of scalability’) is calculated. A figure of 85% can be accepted as approximating a perfect scale (Deumert, 2004, p. 233; but cf. Rickford, 2003, who suggests a scalability figure of 90%). Accordingly, up to 15% of cases are allowed to deviate from the expected or perfect pattern. What counts as a deviation is, however, not agreed upon: Romaine (1982a) for example, treats empty cells as deviations, while Bickerton (1973) does not. Romaine’s criticism of Bickerton stems largely from the fact that in Bickerton (1973), he puts forward scales with IRs of 95% while only 29% of cells are actually filled ones.

Figure 4-5: Implicational scale for observed and reported German language use according to domain, according to speaker (G = German; GX = German and other language(s), i.e. English, Afrikaans, Zulu; X = English, Afrikaans and/or Zulu). n = 60 speakers. Scalability: 93.5%. Deviations indicated by *.

| Participant | Age | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|-------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|
| 3 | 68 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | X | X | X |
| 6 | 70 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX* | G | G | GX | X | X | X |
| 78 | 72 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 76 | 77 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 79 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 43 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 80 | 33 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 64 | 78 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 14 | 68 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX* | G | GX | X | X | X | X |
| 77 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | X* | X | X | X |
| 67 | 60 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 61 | 42 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X* | X | X | X |
| 62 | 44 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X* | X | X | X |
| 66 | 38 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 70 | 13 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 71 | 13 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 73 | 12 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 75 | 11 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 56 | 46 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | X* | X* | GX | X | X |
| 57 | 42 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | X* | X* | GX | X | X |
| 11 | 48 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 23 | 23 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | G* | GX | X | X | X |
| 63 | 88 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | X | X | X | X |
| 69 | 70 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | X* | GX | X | X | X |
| 41 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 42 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X* | GX | X | X |
| 50 | 44 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 31 | 45 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 25 | 65 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | X* | GX | X | GX* | X |

The implicational scale in Figure 4-5 includes 60 interviewees. Not all interviewees from the study are included in the scale, since typical language usage could not be established well enough for all speakers. For speakers not included, too little information was available to substantiate the accounts of their language usage.

The IR arrived at for the implicational scale in Figure 4-5 is 93.5%, taking only filled cells into account. Given that 91% of cells are indeed filled, it seems reasonable to treat only those cells as deviations which do not conform to the expected pattern. If empty cells were considered as deviations, the IR would drop to 85.2%, but still remains within the acceptable range of 85% (although only just).

As Figure 4-5 reveals, the use of German is indeed implicational across domains – at least for the subset of speakers interviewed – decreasing from the most intimate spheres of life – that is interaction with close family members – to linguistically much more heterogenous domains such as in interaction with neighbours, at work, when shopping or with strangers. The next two chapters will explore the here portrayed use of German in more detail.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a macrolinguistic overview of the language situation in the Springbok-German communities. It first detailed the degree of multilingualism commonly exhibited by speakers, i.e. the Springbok-Germans tend to be proficient in at least three language varieties – German, English and Afrikaans. In particular, the older generation and speakers who have grown up on farms exhibit Zulu language skills, though to varying degrees.

The next section outlined the German language spectrum found in these communities, involving Low German and other (mainland) German varieties. The majority of speakers, however, speak a transplanted German language variety: Springbok-German. This variety is best understood as constituting a continuum, characterised by a range of speech styles of which speakers may make use, depending on the situational context. More formal styles show little, if any, localised features, tend to be

used only by speakers with strong ties to Germany, and/or are restricted to formal contexts such as German language instruction at school.

Using Fishman's (1965) domain approach, the last section examined language use across the domains in general, followed by a more detailed discussion of language practices within the home, the church and community, and at school. This revealed that, while the home and the church/community are central to language maintenance and continue to function as the key spheres of maintenance efforts, tendencies for shift are also apparent. The implicational scale also confirmed these findings, showing that it is predominantly within the family and at church that speakers make extensive use of German. The next chapter now turns to the roots of the prolonged language and cultural maintenance exhibited by the Springbok-German communities.

5 ETHNO-RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE: GERMAN LUTHERANISM AND THE SPRINGBOK-GERMAN COMMUNITIES

*Lutherischer Glaube und deutsches Volkstum, das ist das Erbe,
welches auch unser Leben gestaltet.*
H. Hahne (1949, p. 356)

The religious background of the Springbok-German communities, steeped in German Lutheranism and a 19th century notion of *Volkstum*, is fundamental to understanding their language maintenance patterns. This chapter seeks to make sense of the current practices of German language use by conceptualising these communities as ethno-religious communities, where religion – that is, German Lutheranism – plays as much a role as German culture, traditions and values. Since life in these communities is, first and foremost, centred around the (German-Lutheran) church, as well as religious and cultural practices, it may be said that activities and events permeate everyday life, creating a setting conducive to German language maintenance. This is aided by certain socio-historical circumstances, in so far as the fact that the Springbok-German communities found themselves in a favourable position whereby German could be maintained for generations.

More generally, this chapter introduces the issue of religion and language by looking at ethno-religious communities and the use of language for religious expression. In offering an explanation for German language maintenance in the Springbok-German communities, the main part of this chapter deals with the roots of the communities by considering the ideological background of the missionaries' and settlers'. An understanding of the 19th notion of *Volkstum* and the importance of their German Lutheran faith is fundamental here. Since speech communities are not detached from

the wider social, historical and political context, and environment in which speakers live, another section takes a look at the socio-historical circumstances in rural South Africa. The chapter closes by discussing German as a sacred variety in the Springbok-German communities, as the language of the forefathers, and lastly, as a variety which is associated with practical and professional benefit.

5.1 RELIGION AND LANGUAGE: ETHNIC LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Language and religious expression are fundamentally linked, whether in monolingual settings or in bilingual speech communities (cf. Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006). As Fishman (2006a, p. 14) formulates it in his decalogue for a sociology of language and religion, “[t]he language (or “variety”) of religion always functions within a larger multilingual/multivarietal repertoire”. Members of speech communities distinguish between ‘religious’ and ‘non-religious’ settings, or “more or less sanctified contexts and pursuits” (ibid.) in situations where religious beliefs and practices are indissoluble from the wider culture of the speech community. Boundaries between varieties used in religious and non-religious contexts can be extremely difficult to pinpoint, especially for community outsiders. They also vary from one sociocultural setting to the next.

In Socioculture A it may involve variation from a Classical to a Vernacular (e.g., among Moslem Arabs or among devout Hindu Tamils); in Socioculture B, it may involve variation from Vernacular 1 to Vernacular 2 (e.g., among Christian Tamils); in Socioculture C, it may involve variation between two different varieties of the same Vernacular (e.g., among English speaking Quakers or among Lutheran speakers of German, or among speakers of Turkish of widely different political views). (Fishman, 2006a, p. 15)

The linguistic repertoires of (ethno-)religious communities can thus vary substantially, involving ‘religious’ (‘ecclesiastical’ or ‘classical’) varieties, standardised varieties and/or vernaculars. Distinguishing the boundaries between varieties is often clearest in situations such as Fishman’s scenario A, involving the use of ecclesiastical varieties, examples of which include Classical Greek, Classical Hebrew, Sanskrit, Classical Tamil or Quranic (Classical) Arabic, having ‘sacred value’ as the language of sacred Scrip-

tures.⁶⁸ These types of situations are often characterised by situations of diglossia, where the use of ecclesiastical varieties as the H(igh) variety is exclusively reserved for the religious domain or certain religious practices. Outside of the religious domain, ‘non-ecclesiastical’ varieties, e.g. ethnic language varieties or non-standard varieties of the standard (mainstream) variety, are used as the L(ow) variety(ies).

Other varieties, such as those mentioned in Fishman’s scenario C, may over time assume the role of a ‘holy’ or ‘sacred’ language to be used for religious expressions, and eventually be viewed as co-sanctified varieties, such as Luther German for subsets of Lutherans or Yiddish for Hasidic Jews (Fishman, 2006a, p. 17, 2006b, p. 254), not uncommonly also resulting in diglossic situations. This is often linked to a “belief that religion is not ‘pure’ without the ‘right’ language” (Woods, 2004, p. 13), i.e. that a certain variety is the only authentic one to use in religious practice.

In this way, use of a certain variety within the religious domain can become central to expressing and practising an individual’s faith or a community’s religious beliefs and, as such, can be an important aspect in the construction of (religious) identity. That identity construction is not an end in itself but, rather, constantly renegotiated throughout a person’s lifespan is widely recognised in the literature (cf. S. Hall, 1990; LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Tabouret-Keller, 1997). Identity construction is often context-dependent, and identity affiliations can be multifaceted and fluid, e.g. an individual may shift between, interweave or emphasise different strands of their professional identity, their ethnic identity, or their religious identity at different times and in different contexts (cf. Joseph, 2006; Tajfel, 1978).

Immigrants, bringing their religious beliefs with them to the new country, often hold on to their religious identity more than they did in the home country (Dzialtuvaite, 2006, p. 80; Warner, 1998, p. 3) and, often, ethnic and religious identity overlap: denominational (or religious) affiliation on the one hand, but, on the other, also cultural and (ethnic) language community affiliations (Woods, 2004). Denominational membership can also be a symbol of ethnic identity, and thus these “competing

⁶⁸ Fishman (2006b, p. 253) defines ‘religious variety’ as “a variety not employed for quotidian vernacular purposes and, in most instances, no longer employed for quotidian written purposes either.”

allegiances have implications for both language maintenance and language shift on an individual and community level” (Woods, 2006, p. 199). Religious principles and practices can be interlinked with on-going use of an ethnic variety and/or an ecclesiastical variety, the latter frequently constituting a symbol of social cohesiveness, e.g. the use of Hebrew/Aramaic and Yiddish among subsets of Ultra-Orthodox and Hasidic Jewish communities in the U.S. (cf. Fader, 2007; Fishman, 1981; Isaacs, 1999; Poll, 1981).

Religious beliefs not only shape the way in which an individual constructs aspects of their identity by being affiliated with a certain denomination or (ethno-)religious community, but these also have a considerable influence on the way of life in a community, reflected in the values, norms, attitudes and practices espoused by its members. For ethno-religious communities, certain beliefs may even lead to (deliberate) isolation from the dominant or mainstream society. How geographical and social isolation from the wider community can foster sustained ethnic language maintenance over generations (cf. Kloss, 1966, on ‘religio-societal insulation’ as favourable to language maintenance), has been shown, for example, for Low German-speaking Mennonites in Mexico (cf. Moelleken, 1986) and Russia (cf. Rosenberg, 1994), for Pennsylvania German in Mennonite communities in Canada (cf. Burrige, 2002b), and among the Amish in the U.S. (cf. Huffines, 1980; Loudon, 2006b). Among these kinds of ethno-religious communities, abandonment of the ethnic variety and/or ecclesiastical variety is perceived to involve the possible loss of religious beliefs themselves (Moelleken, 1996, p. 395).

As noted, diglossia is a common characteristic of (ethno-)religious communities. The linguistic repertoires of speech communities are not, however, necessarily stable but may change over time, especially in immigrant settings, i.e. those within which ethno-religious communities find themselves. The relationship between varieties associated with religious expression and those outside the religious sphere of life may thus not always be diglossic, and “even those that are, can and do undergo slow but constant ‘leakage’ and change” (Fishman, 2006a, p. 15).

An ethnic language may be used within the religious domain, fulfilling certain functions in public contexts; for instance, as the variety used for the liturgy or the ser-

mon, but also that used in more informal contexts such as prayer. But the situation may not always be a strict diglossic one. Latvian, for example, is used across a number of religious contexts in a Lutheran congregation in Melbourne, including religious discussions outside of church, for prayer, as the language of the sermon and the liturgy, but it is also the variety used by community members for social interaction outside of the religious domain (Woods, 2004).

On the other hand, among the religious Templar community in Melbourne – a diglossic speech community (Standard German and Swabian) – Standard German was effectively used as a medium for communication within the church domain until the late 1960s. Faced with increasing shift to English among the younger generation in the early 1970s, however, the Templar society first introduced (Standard) German-English and, later, English-only church services. Despite an advancing influence of English, “the use of Swabian still predominates in many social situations and functions” (Pauwels, 1994, p. 214) as a “bearer of ethnic and cultural heritage” (ibid.). Similarly, Salmons (1983) notes that, while German still fulfilled some functions within the religious domain in Texas German communities (until the early 1980s), Standard German was regularly used in church services. Outside of church, with family and the wider community, it was generally a non-standard variety of German that speakers used among themselves (cf. also Salmons & Lucht, 2006).⁶⁹

The use of an ecclesiastical variety or a co-sanctified variety does not necessarily imply that it is used in a productive function, e.g. in sectarian Pennsylvania German communities in Canada where a form of Luther German is used only for Bible readings and for hymns (Burrige, 2002b). In other ethno-religious communities, a standard variety functions as the H-variety and tends to be more productive. Gal (1979, p. 106), for example, reports that in the Austrian village of Oberwart, Standard Hungarian is used throughout the church service (the language of the sermon, the hymns, etc.) and also with non-local Hungarian speakers. In contrast, speakers tend to

⁶⁹ Keel (2003, p. 307) mentions the use of four German varieties for a Hutterite settlement in the U.S. state Kansas: Basic Hutterite German, Standard Hutterite, Preachers’ Hutterite German, and a spoken form of literary German.

utter their private prayers using the local (Oberwart) Hungarian variety, which is also the variety used among community members but not (Hungarian-speaking) outsiders.

As already noted in the previous chapter, public institutions such as the church, where the ethnic language is regularly used, are thus vital in sustaining maintenance efforts in ethno-religious communities (cf. Chew, 2006; Clyne, 1988; Clyne, 1991; Dzialtuvaite, 2006; Hofman, 1966; Kipp, 1980, 2006a; Kloss, 1966; Pauwels, 1994).

5.1.1 Lutheranism and the German language

Today the Lutheran church is a denomination found around the world, with many more adherents outside of Germany than within. Although adherents now worship in a multitude of languages (Pranger, 2008, p. 17), Lutheranism is still often associated with Germany and/or the German language. The position of Martin Luther as a German figure is clearly fundamental here.

In a 16th century religious movement, Luther sought to reform doctrines of Western Christianity (i.e. the Roman Catholic Church), resulting in the Protestant Reformation and, significantly, the translation of the Bible into vernacular German, completed in 1534 (Jepsen, 2008, p. 123). Luther's translation of the Bible and his theological writings (e.g. the Catechisms, the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, etc.) have since been the hallmarks of Lutheranism.

In an open letter, discussing his views on language and the appropriate way to translate Scripture for the common people, Luther (1530) asserts the following:

We do not have to ask the literal Latin how we are to speak German, as these donkeys do. Rather we must ask the mother in the home, the children on the street, the common man in the marketplace. We must be guided by their language, by the way they speak, and do our translating accordingly. Then they will understand it and recognize that we are speaking German to them.⁷⁰ (In: *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke*; translation G. Mann)

⁷⁰ In the original, Luther (1530) writes: "[...] denn man mus nicht die buchstaben inn der Lateinischen sprachen fragen / wie man sol Deudsch reden / wie diese Esel thun / Sondern man mus die mutter ihm hause / die kinder auff der gassen / den gemeinen man auff dem marckt druemb fragen / vnd den selbigen auff das maul sehen / wie sie reden / vnd darnach dolmetschen / so verstehen sie es denn / vnd mercken / das man Deudsch mit ihn redet."

Luther's conviction that the Scriptures needed to be translated into the local vernacular stems from his theological understanding of salvation. To Luther, access to God is only possible through a personal relationship, and for that purpose, people need to be able to understand God's Word in their mother tongue. Translating the Bible into a kind of vernacular German understood by the "mother in the home", "the children in the street" or "the common man in the marketplace" is thus fundamental aspect to personal examination of Scripture.

Although Luther has often been seen as the 'creator of literary German', this has less to do with his actual influence in giving shape to a German literary language and more to do with his fundamental work in reforming church doctrines, and his position in being the father of Lutheranism.

Die altprotestantische Meinung, die in Luther den Schöpfer unserer Schriftsprache verehrte, hat niemals jenen engen grammatisch-philologischen Sinn gehabt, den man ihr erst im allzu "positivistischen" 19. Jhd. unterlegte; sie wurzelte vielmehr in der religiösen Überzeugung, daß der Begründer der evangelischen Kirche, wie er im geistigen Range den Vätern der alten Kirche und den Aposteln gleichzuachten sei, so um seiner begnadeten Ausdrucksgewalt willen als "ein Vater deutscher Sprache" zu gelten habe ... (Berger, 1996 [1948], p. 303)

Even though the precise influence of Luther's Bible translation in shaping a German literary language is contested (cf. the contributions in Wolf, 1996),⁷¹ by introducing the use of vernacular language within the religious domain, Luther's impact on religious practices and in shaping a kind of Lutheran piety – an intense and heartfelt devotion to the Bible and the Lutheran faith – was monumental (Jepsen, 2008, p. 123). For many Lutherans, Luther's translation of the Bible and, to some extent, the German language in general, took on some kind of authenticity as a co-sanctified variety (Woods, 2004, p. 46).

This has been especially noted among German Lutherans in transplanted settings, and among sectarian movements whose teachings and doctrines have their (par-

⁷¹ Cf. also Wells (1985, p. 189) who, for example, comments that Luther's "influence on the external shape of the nascent German book language has been exaggerated"; cf. the discussion in Hartweg & Wegera (1989), and, as mentioned, the contributions in Wolf (1996).

tial) origin in the reformation (e.g. Hutterites, Mennonites⁷²). The role which religion and (Luther) German play is certainly varied across Lutheran ethno-religious communities. Where (Luther) German tends to be treated with a certain kind of ‘holiness’ and the use of German has remained a central and sacred aspect of their religious life, prolonged language maintenance of German, or a non-standard variety (e.g. Texas German, Pennsylvania German) in other domains has also tended to be more successful (cf. Burrige, 2002b; Fishman, 2006b; Huffines, 1980; Lehmann, 1981; Salmons, 1983; Woods, 2004). In ethno-religious communities where no such ‘holiness’ was ascribed to Luther German – or to the German language more generally – this has often also coincided with language shift to the dominant language among German Lutherans (cf. Hofman, 1966; Kipp, 1980; Woods, 2004).

As described in chapter 4, German plays a fundamental role in the Springbok-German communities, both within and outside the religious domain. To explain why these communities have so far been so successful in preserving German, the next section looks more closely at the historical roots of the Springbok-German communities.

5.2 THE ROOTS OF GERMAN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE: SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

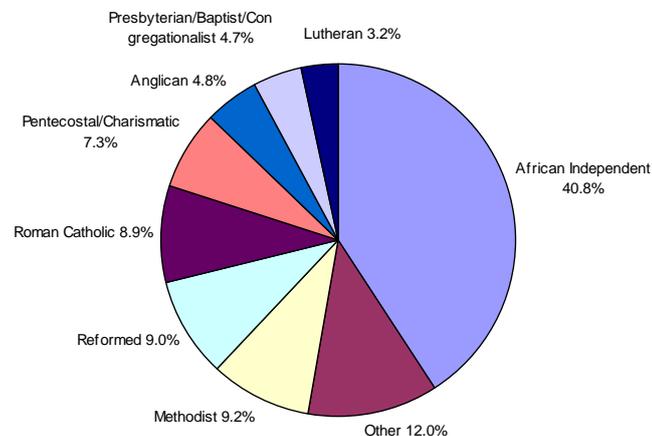
It is important to consider the settlers’ social and religious background, and how it is shaped by their origin in German Protestant missions. It is deeply influenced by romantic and pietist ideas, and notions current in 19th-century thinking. Only then can their desire to remain separate and their insistence on upholding the German language and culture be understood. To begin with, this section takes a cursory glance at the religious scene in South Africa today, highlighting the fact that Lutherans constitute only a small minority among other Christian denominations. This is followed by a detailed account of the roots of Springbok-German language maintenance.

⁷² For more details on sectarian movements post-reformation, cf. Cameron (1991, pp. 319-338).

5.2.1 German Lutheranism in South Africa

South Africa is not only a multilingual and multiracial country, and is a place where a wide spectrum of religions is found. Among these are indigenous religions, commonly known as African Independent or Traditional Religions, a multitude of Christian denominations, such as Roman Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostals, etc., and other “world religions” including, among others, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism (cf. Chidester, 1992). During apartheid “[t]he country’s inherent religious diversity was not officially acknowledged” (Kamwangamalu, 2006, p. 88), and South Africa was essentially seen as a Christian nation, where the Dutch Reformed Church played a most influential role in the creation of the ideology of apartheid, and in legitimising racial discrimination based on biblical myths and church doctrines (Chidester, 1992, pp. 187-221; Kamwangamalu, 2006, p. 86).

Figure 5-1: Breakdown of Christian denominational groups in South Africa, in percentage; based on the Census 2001 (adapted from Hendriks & Erasmus, 2005, p. 99).⁷³



The 2001 census reports 79.8% of South Africa’s population to be associated with Christian churches/denominations, the remainder either being ‘non-religious’ or ‘not

⁷³ ‘Other’ include denominations such as the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, the Church of the Latter Day Saints, the Salvation Army, the Church of the Nazarene, and other Orthodox churches.

specified' (16.4%), or followers of other religions (3.8%), including Hinduism, Islam and Judaism. Figure 5-1 provides a breakdown of the Christian denominational groups. The majority of individuals is associated with the African Independent churches (40.8%), followed by Dutch Reformed churches (9.0%), Roman Catholic (8.9%) and Pentecostal/Charismatic churches (7.3%). Only a small proportion of the population is connected to Lutheran synods in South Africa (3.2% or 1,130,986 persons). For the last group, the breakdown into population groups is as follows: 87.1% are Black African, 10.5% Coloured, 0.1% Indian/Asian, and 2.3% (25,974) are White.

One of the major challenges the Lutheran churches in South Africa continue to face is the on-going division of the various Lutheran synods along racial lines – a result of racial discrimination under the apartheid era. The Lutheran churches have largely grown out of the missionary efforts of the 19th century; black and white congregations have existed separately ever since. The main division is between the 'Evangelical Lutheran Church South Africa' (ELCSA) and the 'United Evangelical Lutheran Church South Africa' (UELCSA), the latter being the roof for the former black congregations (Farisani, 2008; Winkler, 1989). Although some collaboration occurs now, especially between these two synods who jointly control the Lutheran Theological Institute and stress non-racialism, in reality, both the Hermannsburg synod (ELCSA (N-T), a subdivision of the ELCSA) and the Freikirche synod (FELSISA) continue to involve only white South Africans, at least in the rural areas (de Kadt, 2002b, p. 152; Farisani, 2008, p. 39).

5.2.2 *In the beginning: Protestant mission societies*

Like other church synods in South Africa – though at a somewhat later stage than the other European settler churches – the Lutheran synods grew out of the missionary movements in the 19th century, among them Norwegian, Swedish, American and German Lutheran mission societies (De Gruchy, 1995, p. 30). Missionary activities only began to be undertaken on a large scale in southern Africa after control of the Cape Colony was ceded to the British in 1806 (Chidester, 1992, p. xiii).

That the missionaries played a highly complex and ambiguous role in the transformation of social structures of indigenous people, and of the economic and political landscape of South Africa has been widely debated (cf., for example, Chidester, 1992; Etherington, 1982; Sundkler & Steed, 2000; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Although the missionaries coming to South Africa from the 17th to 19th century contributed to the development of South Africa significantly by introducing literacy and education through local missions' schools, and by carrying out translations of the Bible into various African languages, their impact was also felt negatively, since the missionaries "were interlinked with the economic, social and military advance of European colonial interests" (Kamwangamalu, 2006, p. 90). By the late 19th century, many missionaries working in southern Africa – the British missionaries being particularly prone to this – had turned into enthusiasts and agents of political, cultural and economic imperialism, some feeling not only superior, but also believing that change was necessary to propel their evangelisation efforts among the local tribes significantly (Chidester, 1992, pp. 35-73; Etherington, 1982; Villa-Vicencio, 1995, pp. 64-68; Winkler, 1989). Not all, however, were "[t]rapped within an imperialist cultural ideal" (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 65). Some mission societies were anti-imperialist in their ideas or only very marginally interested in politics, among them the Norwegian and American missions and, significantly, the Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS) (Etherington, 1982, p. 194).

That the German Protestant missions in the second half of the 19th century were little inclined to political leanings is partly a result of the socio-economic background of many missionaries. They were "mostly recruited from the 'aristocracy of labour' and the *petite bourgeoisie*, those emerging classes for whom a missionary career seemed to promise a change in status" (Gensichen, 1982, p. 181; cf. also Paken-dorf, 1997, p. 256), providing opportunities for upward social mobility.⁷⁴ These missionaries were shaped by Pietist traditions, much like the first missionaries in the

⁷⁴ Only the Leipzig Mission insisted on sending out fully trained theologians. All other mission societies recruited from the lower socio-economic parts of society (Gensichen, 1982, p. 181).

18th century, which had been revived a century later.⁷⁵ Consequently, neither their religious background nor their socio-economic standing “were likely to dispose them to an active interest in international politics” (Gensichen, 1982, p. 181). Indeed, in South Africa, the German mission societies kept a “low public profile and a near-total silence with regard to controversial political issues” (Pakendorf, 1997, p. 256).

As noted in chapter 2, four major German mission societies were engaged in South Africa in the 19th century: the Moravian, Rhenish (RMS), Berlin (BMS) and Hermannsburg mission societies.⁷⁶ By sending missionaries accompanied by settlers into the mission field, the HMS took an unusual missiological approach, thus accounting for the presence of German settlements in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Like other German missionary movements in the 19th century, the HMS emerged from an evangelical revival, led by pastor Louis Harms, which broke out among peasant farmers in the small Northern German village of Hermannsburg in 1848:

The awakening in that area was not related directly to the larger revivals led by the ‘*Brüdergemeinde*’ or the Pietists, but like those awakenings was also a reassertion of pietism and orthodoxy against the rationalism prevalent in post-Enlightenment Germany. (Winkler, 1989, p. 15)

A year later, Harms established the HMS and, from commencement of the society, he envisaged that the missionaries he trained would live in a kind of ‘Christian communism’ as a religious community, characterised by a lifestyle that was communal and based on principles of equality and humility (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911], p. 374; Winkler, 1989, p. 21). This notion went hand in hand with Harms’ idea that “the Christianisation of the world would be most efficiently and expeditiously effected by sending out colonies of missionaries” (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911], p. 374). At the same time, the HMS missionaries and settlers would not only establish missions’ stations across Natal and, later, in the Transvaal area, but also *Siedlungsdörfer* (‘colonies’), the latter evolving into the Springbok-German communities.

⁷⁵ For an overview of the pietist movement within the history of Lutheranism, cf. Gritsch (2002).

⁷⁶ Since the Moravians and the Rhenish mission societies worked predominately in the Cape region (and to some extent in the Orange Free State), they are left aside here. The HMS and the BMS both operated in Natal and in the South African Republics. The HMS’s missionary efforts were much more significant in the area of the South African Republic, while settler activities were more concentrated in Natal.

From the beginning, Harms saw the HMS as indissolubly tied to the Lutheran Church, the Hanoverian *Landeskirche* ('State Church') in Germany (cf. Hahne, 1949; Winkler, 1989). In the different climate in South Africa, two very different Lutheran congregations developed: black congregations established on the mission stations, and white settler congregations in the colonies.⁷⁷ The white settler congregations viewed themselves as transplanted German congregations or *Tochtergemeinden* ('daughter congregations'), and thus remained an integral part of the Lutheran Church in Germany (Hahne, 1949, p. 334). Only in more recent years have the white congregations begun to see themselves as rooted in South Africa (Winkler, 1989, p. 22), though strong ties to Lutheran churches in Germany, the 'Evangelical Church in Germany' (EKD) and the 'Independent Evangelical-Lutheran Church' (SELK), remain.

The Lutheran background of the missionaries and settlers thus formed the theological basis for the settlements. The Luther Bible, the Catechisms and the hymnal became treasured, if not sacred, items of expressing a distinct German Lutheran faith, and remain at the (religious) heart of the Springbok-German communities to date.

Harms' strategy of sending out small contingents of missionaries – until 1867, always accompanied by settlers (and their families) – thus stands in stark contrast to other German Protestant missions operating in South Africa (e.g. the BMS or the RMS). As Winkler (1989, p. 33) comments, the BMS was slow to form German congregations – on the one hand, because they were sent out on their own or in couples, and on the other hand, because there were relatively few German settlers in the rural areas where the BMS was operating. Notably, the "BMS thus did not have as strong a

⁷⁷ The two types of congregations developed separately, on the one hand, because of the political climate of racial discrimination in South Africa (and (white) Lutheranism was fundamentally grounded in a dualistic interpretation of the Lutheran 'Two Kingdoms Doctrine', i.e. non-involvement in political issues and a perceived 'guest status' of the missionaries in South Africa). On the other hand, it was the result of adhering to the romanticist notion of *Volkschristianisierung* ('conversion of peoples') and the establishment of *Volkskirchen* ('folk churches' or 'people's churches'), tied to the local people/ruler. The German missionaries sought to convert entire African tribes, and the establishment of *Volkskirchen* was bound to particular ethnic groups, and therefore separate development was advocated. For an in-depth treatment of the separate development of the black and white Lutheran congregations in South Africa, cf. Winkler (1989); cf. also Pakendorf (1997), Farisani (2008).

community as its social base, as the HMS did in the German farming community” (Winkler, 1989, p. 33).

In the 1860s, the BMS started to work in the cities, something that the HMS was reluctant to do since it saw itself primarily as a *Bauernmission* (‘peasants’ mission’) working in rural areas, and also because the majority of the settlers and missionaries came from peasant backgrounds. By the turn of the century, the BMS had established congregations in the cities (e.g. Pretoria in 1889, Johannesburg in 1890, Bloemfontein in 1875), which were not, however, linked to the Lutheran Church in Germany, unlike the settler congregations founded by the HMS.

Although the German Lutheran congregations were initially part of the HMS’ work (in that they were established for and by the colonists and missionaries), these settlements soon became autonomous farming communities. Being dependent on the missionaries for spiritual support, they soon began to employ missionaries as pastors serving the German settler congregations only. Churches and schools were built, forming the core of the communities and constituting the institutions through which their Lutheran beliefs and the German language and culture were being preserved and transmitted (cf. chapter 4). Above all, these settlements were united by their Lutheran faith and North German peasant background as distinct ethno-religious communities (Winkler, 1989, p. 26).

Excursus: Schisms in the German-speaking Lutheran churches in South Africa

The history of the two main German-speaking Lutheran Churches operating in KwaZulu-Natal and the former Transvaal area is riddled with successions of schisms and reunions. As noted, the HMS was strongly linked to the Lutheran Church in Germany, the Hanoverian *Landeskirche* (‘State Church’). In 1878, the Hanoverian Freikirche (‘Free Church’) was established by the then director of the HMS, Theodor Harms (the brother of the mission society’s founder, Louis Harms). This development was largely a result of internal conflicts over dogmatic issues within the *Landeskirche*. T. Harms was at the time also a minister of the *Landeskirche*, where he came “into

collision with his ecclesiastical superiors” (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911], p. 378), and thus founded the Freikirche. In 1890, the HMS rejoined the *Landeskirche*, though a party of adherents remained in the Freikirche, who “professed to be the representatives of the pure Lutheran tradition” (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911], p. 378).

Although this development in Germany did not directly affect the congregations in South Africa as such, it nevertheless had far-reaching consequences for the German settlements. While, at first, there was only disagreement among the German speakers – in particular the missionaries – regarding the issues involved (one pertaining to Holy Communion), this ultimately culminated in such a severe rift that it caused several communities to split. As a result, the congregations of Lüneburg, Bergen (now closed down) and part of the Kirchdorf congregation (to form Wartburg-Kirchdorf) refused to re-unite with the Hanoverian *Landeskirche*, and instead remained attached to the Freikirche. These congregations then established the *Free Evangelical-Lutheran Synod in South Africa* (FELSISA) in 1892 (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911]; Hellberg, 1954; Schmidt-Pretoria, 1955).

Those who did not object to the HMS re-uniting with the Hanoverian *Landeskirche* are commonly called the ‘Hermannsburg synod’. It was originally constituted as the *Hermannsburg German Evangelical-Lutheran Synod* in 1911, comprising then only eleven congregations from Natal, linked to the Hermannsburg Mission Society and the Hanoverian *Landeskirche*. From the beginning, an “emphasis [was placed] on the Lutheran Confession and preservation of the German heritage” (Scriba, 2006, electronic article). Fifteen years later, in 1926, a second German Lutheran synod was established, the *German Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Transvaal*, to include the German congregations in the Transvaal area. Over the years, the Hermannsburg synod underwent several reformations and integrated with other Lutheran church synods and organisations. It was only in 1963 that the Hermannsburg synod became independent of the HMS (and thus the Hanoverian *Landeskirche*), though close ties are maintained to this day.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ For more details on the various mergers, cf. Scriba (2006), Winkler (1989).

In 2005, the Hermannsburg synod, since 1981 named *Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Natal-Transvaal)*, or ELCSA(N-T), comprised 9,770 members across 44 congregations in urban and rural areas, not all of which are still German-speaking. The synod now advocates three official languages, English, Afrikaans and German, both in its services and across community/church life. It is officially connected to the *Evangelische Kirche Deutschland* (EKD; 'Evangelical Church in Germany'), leading to occasional exchanges of pastors who serve in congregations in the respective country, for limited periods of time. Student pastors typically spend a year studying in either Germany (Hermannsburg) or North America at a partner institution (Scriba, 2006).

As mentioned above, a party of missionaries and settlers in South Africa refused to re-unite with the *Landeskirche*, but stayed with the Hanoverian Freikirche. Initially, it was three missionaries and their congregations who decided to become independent, i.e. "free", from the influence and teaching of the *Landeskirche* in Germany, and professed a more conservative – pure – Lutheran tradition. They established the Freikirche synod ('Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa', or FELSiSA), a "theologically more conservative breakaway from the main-stream of German-speaking Lutheranism" (Winkler, 1989, p. 10, footnote 18). Over time, the Freikirche established a number of other congregations, and today it has 20 parishes across KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Gauteng and the Western Cape. Although the church maintains that it "cannot and may not remain a 'German island'" (Viklund, 2006, electronic article), the majority of its members are descendants of the missionary and settler families. Maintaining strong ties with the *Selbständige Ev.-Lutherische Kirche* (SELK, or 'Independent Evangelical Lutheran Church') in Germany, the Freikirche has, in the past, relied on pastors being sent from Germany to serve in their congregations. This is, however, beginning to change. Student pastors still generally complete part of their training either in Germany, either at the *Lutherische Theologische Hochschule* in Oberursel in south-west Germany or at a seminary in the

United States, connected to FELSISA's sister synod, the Missouri Synod⁷⁹ (Viklund, 2006).

Besides their strong Lutheran convictions, it is important to look at the ideological roots of the early settlers and missionaries, in order to understand why German language maintenance has been so desirable for these ethno-religious communities. The next section thus considers the notion of *Volkstum* as the basis for preserving a distinct *Deutschtum* ('Germanness').

5.2.3 19th century ideas: The notion of 'Volkstum'

Although the German Protestant missions of the 19th century emerged during a time when German nationalism began to assert itself, they were only very marginally interested in representing imperialist ideas. This was largely because Germany only entered the Scramble for Africa relatively late, towards the 1880s, when most mission societies had already been operating for decades (Gensichen, 1982). The Hermannsburg Mission Society was no exception to this; in fact, Louis Harms, the mission's founder, remained politically conservative, if not anti-imperialist.

Vom neu erwachten Nationalitätenprinzip sprach er [Harms] als "britischem Stolz, französischer Ruhmsucht, deutschem Weisheitsdünken und russischer Eroberungslust", und davon erwartete er nur "eine grauenhafte Zukunft". (Backeberg, 1949, pp. 319-320)

The German missionary discourse in the first half of the 19th century was profoundly influenced by romanticist notions of nationhood, language and history as peculiar to specific ethnic groups (Pakendorf, 1997, p. 263). In a similar vein, Harms and the missionaries he trained were shaped by the idea of *Volkstum* (in the sense of 'ethnicity' or 'nationhood') and revived pietist traditions, i.e. a heartfelt devotion to the Lutheran faith, but also a strong emphasis on community (in contrast to the subjective individualism of the pietism of the 17th and 18th century). For Harms, *Volkstum* was essentially a cultural concept, involving a people's customs, traditions and, above all,

⁷⁹ The Missouri Synod in North America is known to be one of the most conservative Lutheran church bodies (cf. Hofman, 1966, p. 154).

their language – this being a fundamental part of their “Wesensart” (‘essence’) – and in no sense tied to political loyalties, either in their home country or abroad (Backeberg, 1949, p. 320). The German culture, their *Volkstum* was, in turn, intrinsically linked to German Lutheranism; something, Harms stressed, that must not be forgotten by those who worked in foreign soil.

You must not forget that you are Lutherans, Germans and Missionaries. One must be humble in heart before God and men, but one must not cast oneself away and that one does, if one departs from one’s own ways. (F. Wittenberg, quoted in Leuschke, 1992, p. 58, cf. also Winkler, 1989, p. 68)

The distinct *Volkstum* of the German settlers expressed itself perhaps most clearly in terms of a rigorous German Protestant work ethic that internalised self-discipline and diligence. Rooted socio-economically in a (North German) peasants’ lifestyle, the missionaries and settlers emphasised values such as frugality, orderliness, cleanliness and self-reliance, a value system which “they strove to inculcate in their children” (de Kadt, 2002b, p. 153).⁸⁰ A strong commitment to family and community, *Kirchlichkeit* (‘churchliness’) and strict adherence to the Lutheran faith became characteristic of the German settlements in Natal and the Transvaal (cf. Backeberg, 1949; de Kadt, 2000, 2002b; Pakendorf, 1997; Winkler, 1989).

The continued use of German was (and is) interwoven into this. It is part of the spirit of the German *Volkstum* but also of German Lutheranism (the Luther Bible, the Catechism, the hymnal). Thus, while cutting political ties with their homeland, the HMS missionaries and the accompanying settlers remained theologically rooted within Lutheranism and, ideologically and culturally, within a notion of a specific German *Volkstum*.⁸¹

The intellectual development of practically all German missionaries of the nineteenth century can be traced back to the time when [...] the vulgarised ideas of Herder and the Romantics had already become part of the political programme of rising European nation-

⁸⁰ With regard to the mission stations established by the HMS, Winkler (1989) points out that “[i]n the dominant theology spread by the German Lutheran missionaries, the gospel was linked to a rigorous German work ethic. Well-kept farms were established not far from one another, staffed by missionary families, and emphasizing self-reliance” (p. 20).

⁸¹ The notion of *Volkstum* also helps to explain why separate development was advocated for the black and the white Lutheran congregations in South Africa (cf. footnote 77).

alism. The idea that humanity is organised in larger groups who may share certain similarities with others but nevertheless form discrete and organic entities, was treated as axiomatic by the missionaries. Equally it was taken for granted by them that it is primarily through an own language that a Volk or nation expresses itself and distinguishes itself from other similar groups. (Pakendorf, 1997, p. 264)

In this way, language, culture and religion became the defining aspects, which had to be preserved at all costs if the German settlements were to survive as distinct ethno-religious communities among the other (white) ethnic groups around them, i.e. the British and the Boers. Their struggle to remain separate became particularly acute in the light of linguistic, cultural and socio-economic similarity with the surrounding Boer farmers, with whom the early settlers quickly established good neighbourly relations.

Mit dem umwohnenden Buren hatten die Hermannsburger gleich gute nachbarliche Beziehungen. Die verwandte Art, und vor allem die Gleichartigkeit der beiden niederdeutschen Sprachformen (Afrikaans und Plattdeutsch), durch die von Anfang an eine Verständigung möglich war, schufen ein herzliches Verhältnis. [...] aus kindlicher Freude am Fremdartigen hatte man sich in der jungen Niederlassung bald solch ein Sprachgemisch angeeignet, daß einer der Missionare glaubte voraussagen zu können, die Muttersprache werde "innerhalb drei Jahren ganz von der burischen verdrängt sein, oder es wird sich wenigstens ein gräßliches Kauderwelsch gebildet haben, das nicht zu verdauen sein wird. Denn wir sind schon jetzt ziemlich im Gange damit, plattdeutsch, holländisch, englisch, kaffrisch so durcheinander zu werfen, daß es seine Art hat". (Backeberg, 1949, p. 321)

To avert both linguistic and cultural assimilation, Harms was adamant about the importance of preserving the German Lutheran faith, the German *Volkstum* and the German language. The lasting influence Harms exerted on the early missionary and settler families was considerable and, although the settlers were released from the mission society in 1867, the socio-economic, theological and ideological foundation for closed German Lutheran settlements had been laid, ensuring that their German Lutheran identity and their German *Volkstum* would be preserved.

Thus, language as the spirit of *Volkstum* remained imbued in the minds of the German settlers and, to this day, students at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg* are

reminded of it upon entering the dining hall where it reads: “*Pflegt die deutsche Sprache, wahrt das deutsche Wort, denn der Geist der Väter lebt in ihnen fort.*”⁸²

Photo 5-1: Slogan in the junior dining hall at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*.



Harms' emphasis on community clearly manifested itself in regard to his ideas for a lifestyle of 'Christian communism'. Initially, a communal house was erected in Hermannsburg, where the first eight missionaries and eight settlers resided together in community of property and on equal footing; this was, however, quickly found to be impractical. The clash in material and spiritual interest created such a degree of friction between the settlers and missionaries that the notion of community of property and shared salaries was completely abandoned with Harms' death in 1865 (Du Plessis, 1965 [1911], p. 375; Etherington, 1982; Winkler, 1989, p. 21). This meant that the settlers as well the missionaries could now acquire private properties and land holdings, and often did so within close vicinity of each other.

Geographic isolation of speech communities has been frequently noted as favourable to language maintenance (cf. Gal, 1979; Hofman, 1966; Kipp, 1980; Kloss, 1966, to cite but a few). The remoteness of the Springbok-German communities, espe-

⁸² "Cultivate the German language, preserve the German word, because the spirit of the fathers lives on through them." (translation K.F.)

cially in Northern Natal, also allowed greater retention of the German language and culture. As de Kadt (2002b, p. 158) notes, “isolation forced the settlements to be economically self-sufficient, and placed no limits on economic growth, which meant that they could expand to include the following generations.” By being able to purchase adjacent blocks of (farming) land, the settlements could expand geographically, and yet still remain closed German Lutheran communities (cf. also Bodenstein, 1995; de Kadt, 2002b).

The settlements were also strengthened numerically by a more or less constant influx of entire families, supporting on-going language maintenance efforts, and retaining Lutheran church services. In Backeberg’s (1949, p. 317) words, this allowed the “geistigen Nährboden des Mutterlandes” to flourish in the strange lands because of “eine dauernde Auffrischung des Volkstums”. By the end of the 19th century, new congregations had been formed, including Wartburg-Kirchdorf (1882), Harburg (1892), and Wartburg (1892) in the Natal Midlands, and Wittenberg (1890) in Northern Natal.

The continued upholding of the German *Volkstum* within the family and the community was further ensured by the practice of not marrying outside the German Lutheran community. In fact, the early missionaries and settlers – all single men and initially prohibited from marrying so that they could concentrate on the work at hand – were expected to marry ‘suitable’ German brides, sent by Louis Harms from Germany, further reinforcing the idea that the German culture and language had to be preserved at all costs (Backeberg, 1949, p. 322; Leuschke, 1992, p. 58).

Und nur so wurden die Siedlungen vor Zersetzung bewahrt. Nur so war es möglich, daß die Ehen, und damit die Familien, sich wieder aus Gliedern des eigenen Kreises zusammensetzten. Die Frage der Familienbildung wurde sehr wichtig genommen. Auf Hochzeiten, die jedesmal Höhepunkte des Zusammenlebens waren, hielt man noch lange am alten Brauchtum der niedersächsischen Bauernheimat fest. (Backeberg, 1949, p. 327)

The fear of being absorbed into an alien culture – especially in the light of such cultural affinity as existed with the Boers – and thus losing their identity as German Lutherans, was so deeply instilled into the minds of the German missionaries and settlers that preserving the German Lutheran faith and the German language and culture was,

without question, a matter of survival. Although the material and economic interests of the German Lutheran settlers largely coincided with those of white settler society of the late 19th and early 20th century (Winkler, 1989, p. 69), they strove to retain a separate ethno-religious identity based on this notion of *Volkstum* and their religious beliefs as German Lutherans.

5.2.4 Socio-historical circumstances

It has been widely noted that socio-historical circumstances and events may also facilitate or hinder language maintenance among ethnic language speakers (cf., for example, Clyne, 1972; Gal, 1979; Keel, 2003; Kipp, 1980; Kloss, 1966; Mesthrie, 1991; Riehl, 2006). In the Springbok-German communities, the socio-political and historical circumstances, while devastating at times (e.g. during the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1901), were largely much more favourable than in other countries where German immigrants had settled in the late 19th and early 20th century (e.g. in Australia, North America). In addition, the fact that the settlements could flourish economically and were in a position to remain self-contained was due to the availability of adjacent farming land and their industrious Lutheran work ethos (de Kadt, 2000; Winkler, 1989).

Unlike earlier German immigrants coming to South Africa (e.g. to the Cape region from the 17th – 19th century), the HMS settlers and missionaries distanced themselves not only from other Lutheran church bodies, e.g. in the Cape region, but also culturally and linguistically from the two dominant white social groups; the Boers and the British. The first HMS missionaries and settlers arrived in Natal at a time when British colonial power was beginning to manifest itself in Natal. In 1843, the former Boer Republic of Natalia had been annexed by the British, and the Boers had retreated back into the Transvaal and Orange Free State (R. Ross, 1999, p. 41). Initially, the HMS missionaries and settlers were more sympathetic towards British colonial power. As the British, however, became more dominant, and “as Germany became more nationalist, as industrialization (industry was perceived to be in British hands) increased, the HMS’s sympathies swung more towards the Boers” (Winkler,

1989, p. 27). With the Boer and the British both beginning to engage in a struggle for white supremacy in the late 19th century, the Germans in Natal found a niche – socially, religiously and politically – that situated them between British colonial and economic power, and Boer (Afrikaner) political power.

While the German speakers in Natal were not opposed to the British as the dominant colonial power, they had little in common with the surrounding English farmers and, in fact, became aligned more closely to the Afrikaners from the end of the 19th century, especially in Northern Natal. This was aided by a similar culture, language varieties and socio-economic background (being of farmers' stock) which they shared. The dividing line "was only the Calvinism of the Boers which was not acceptable to the strongly confessionalist Lutherans" (Winkler, 1989, p. 56). In contrast, the English farmers in the Natal Midlands were gentleman farmers, and culturally, religiously and linguistically distinct from the settlers' and missionaries' German Lutheran beliefs, their German *Volkstum* and language (cf. de Kadt, 2000, p. 84).

At the turn of the century, during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1901), the German farming settlements in Northern Natal suffered from the hostilities between the British and Afrikaner ruling powers. This war, which was "fought to determine which white authority held real power in South Africa" (Davenport & Saunders, 2000, p. 230), was expensive in lives lost on both sides, but claimed many more civilian lives of the Afrikaner population. Looting and farm burnings were widespread in the Free State and the Transvaal area (including Northern Natal), and many Afrikaner women and children were interned in concentration camps, which became renowned for their deplorable conditions (Davenport & Saunders, 2000, pp. 226-227; R. Ross, 1999, p. 73). Their shared sufferings brought them even closer together (cf. chapter 6).

Overall, the Springbok-German communities in the Natal Midlands and in Northern Natal prospered economically; the former benefited particularly from the introduction of sugar cane in the early 1930s. Even the two world wars left these communities relatively intact. While the German speakers in the Eastern Cape around East London were seriously affected by anti-German sentiments during the two world

wars (Grüner, 1992, cf. also chapter 2)⁸³ – language shift was, however, already underway in the Eastern Cape – these wars seem to have had less drastic consequences for the Springbok-German communities. Indeed, covert support for the rise of German nationalism was not uncommon in the Northern Natal region, influenced by pro-German Afrikaner attitudes (Davenport & Saunders, 2000, p. 346; R. Ross, 1999, p. 109), and by German Lutheran clergy or missionaries who were educated in Nazi Germany (Winkler, 1989, p. 56).⁸⁴ In the English-dominated Natal Midlands, the situation was different; anti-German sentiments were running higher, and if one was identified as being pro-German, consequences could be serious. At the same time, paramilitary movements, such as the anti-Semitic ‘Greyshirts’, a Nazi-type organisation drawing its members from subsets of the Afrikaner population (Davenport & Saunders, 2000, p. 349), also found their backing amid Springbok-Germans, both in the Natal Midlands and in Northern Natal.

Extract 5-1 [#37; Natal Midlands]

1209 Hermann ... also wir sind ja nun Deutsch hier in Südafrika, okay? ... Zweiter Weltkrieg ... Meine Großmutter (.) kriegte ein (.) deutsches Blatt, Modeblatt! (.) Aus Amerika. (.) Das hieß ‘Die Abendschule’. (.) Und dann, (.) wir hatten eine deutsche Postdame ... die hat H.s [family name] angegeben, die Brüder (.) Hermann und mein Vater. ... (.) ‘Sie gehörn zu einer Abendschule.’ (0.5) Ja! Polizei gekomm, sie abgeholt. (.) Mussten vorm Gerichtshof. (.) Dann hat der der Magistrat aber, der Richter kannte sie ... Dann, dann, dann hat er das privat gemacht, also in sein, in sein Büro. (.) ‘Sagt mal, was tut ihr eigentlich, Mensch? Ihr seid wohl Deutsch, aber diese Abendschule? Was macht ihr?’ Sagt mein Vater, ‘Was? Abendschule? Wir gehörn zu keiner Abend-’ ‘Ja, aber ihr kriegt doch so’n Blatt!’ (.) ‘Ach! Das is meine Mutters Modeblatt! Da sind Liebesgeschichten drin und und und (.) und äh ähm Muster für Kleider und alle so was. Ich hol dir das!’ ... ‘das is’es (.) da is’es’ (.) ‘Ja,

⁸³ Grüner (1992, p. 137), for example, mentions that those German speakers in the Eastern Cape who would not enlist voluntarily for military service suffered abuse and discrimination and, in some cases, people were interned as enemies of the state. There were anti-German campaigns directed against the two German schools in East London and King William’s Town, during the course of which these schools had to close down.

⁸⁴ (White) South African society was deeply divided over the issue of entering the war against Germany in 1939. White persons who were attached to Britain wanted to ensure an Allied victory whereas those who were more closely drawn to the Germans and wanted to preserve the race-class structure in South Africa (influenced by Nazi doctrines) backed Germany and its allies. A cohort of leading Afrikaner intellectuals had studied in Germany or the Netherlands in the 1930s and 1940s where they had come in direct contact with National Socialist ideas. Unlike the English South African public, the majority of the Afrikaner population held pro-German attitudes (Davenport & Saunders, 2000, pp. 346-353; R. Ross, 1999, pp. 109-110).

- nun gib. (.) Also passt euch auf. Also macht nich so'n Mist, ne?' (.) Aber sie habn doch mein Onkel und mein Vater äh die Waffen abgenomm. (.) Die ham sie verlor'n.
- 1210 Katharina Sie ham trotzdem Angst gehabt, dass da-
- 1211 Hermann ... aber dann war'n aber wieder das andre Extrem hier, war'n auch Leute, die hießen die Greyshirt- die Grauhemden. (.) Das war'n pro-Nazileute. ...
- 1212 Katharina Bei den Deutschen oder bei den Engländern?
- 1213 Hermann Nein! Deutsch! ... Dies war Deutsch, die Grau- the Greyshirts. (.) Da gehörten aber auch Buren zu. (.) Nich Engländer, Buren gehörten dazu. ...

There appears to be little evidence, however, that the Springbok-Germans in the Natal Midlands were openly harassed and discriminated, though those who were identified as *Reichsdeutsche* ('ethnic Germans', i.e. those not naturalised) were generally interned during the time of the two world wars.

Thus, unlike the situation in the Eastern Cape – or, for that matter, in Australia, North America, Eastern Europe or Russia (cf. Berend, 2003; Clyne, 1972; Keel, 2003; Kipp, 1980; Kloss, 1966; Knipf-Komlósi, 2003; Rosenberg, 2003; Salmons, 1983) – where simply speaking German on the streets was dangerous and Germans were regarded as enemies of the state (cf. Grüner, 1992), the situation seems to have been much less volatile in the German settlements across Natal.

As Pakendorf (1997) demonstrates, the German Protestant mission societies in South Africa kept a low profile throughout the 19th and 20th century, and continually dissociated themselves from political issues, an attitude which probably also ran in the Springbok-German communities (cf. also Winkler, 1989, who outlines the doctrinal reasons). Perhaps because they remained relatively isolated rural enclaves and kept to themselves, they largely escaped the resentment and public emotion echoed by the majority of the English-speaking South African population. Given the pro-German opinions among leading Afrikaners and the broader Afrikaner population, it is not surprising that the Springbok-German communities – especially in the Afrikaner-dominated region of Northern Natal (and also in the Transvaal) – should have survived the events of World War II so well. Thereafter, with the National Party coming to power in 1948 and increasing racial segregation, the Springbok-German communities were aided in their endeavours to preserve German by “the ‘difference’ ethos of

apartheid [which] was supportive of the efforts of German-speakers to maintain their language” (de Kadt, 2000, p. 85).

5.2.5 Summary

On-going German language maintenance efforts across Springbok-German communities are reflected in a desire to remain separate and distinct as ethno-religious communities, rooted in 19th century ideological notions of the German *Volkstum*. Not to forget the value of preserving their *Volkstum*; that is, their culture intertwined with language as well as with their Lutheran beliefs, was imbued in the minds of the early missionaries and settlers, sent out by the HMS to South Africa. Separate German settlements were set up, while a constant influx of entire families ensured population growth. Socio-historical circumstances were, for the most part, favourable and left the communities unscathed.

5.3 GERMAN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE TODAY

Language maintenance in the Springbok-German communities is deeply embedded in speakers’ religious beliefs, their historical origin as missionaries and settlers from Northern Germany, and an understanding of *Volkstum* (i.e. *Deutschtum*) involving the preservation of German values, customs and traditions. The result of wishing to remain separate – religiously, linguistically and culturally – and aided by favourable socio-historical circumstances, has made it possible for these Springbok-Germans to maintain German across various domains to this day, as chapter 4 has shown. To conclude this chapter, the last section takes a look at the role German language maintenance plays in the communities today.

5.3.1 German as a ‘sacred’ variety

At the beginning of the present chapter, it was noted that speech communities in which religious beliefs play an integral role tend to distinguish between ‘religious’ and

‘non-religious’ contexts of language use. Their linguistic repertoire can thus involve a range of varieties, such as standardised varieties, vernaculars and/or ‘ecclesiastical’ varieties (cf. Fishman, 2006a). Chapter 4 discussed the linguistic repertoire with regards to German language varieties, highlighting that while some speakers have command of colloquial Standard German varieties, the majority speaks a distinct South African German variety, i.e. Springbok-German, showing more or less localised features, depending on context and speaker.

On the basis of Fishman’s (2006a, p. 15) classification of ethno-religious sociocultures, the Springbok-German communities can be identified as constituting the third type; that is, an ethno-religious community where speakers make use of at least “two different varieties of the same Vernacular”. This generally means varieties of a single standard language involving a standardised variety and one or more informal, or non-standardised, varieties. As in other ethno-religious communities of German Lutheran background, Luther German has taken on the role of the sacred variety in the Springbok-German communities, exclusively used in ‘religious’ contexts. Springbok-German, on the other hand, serves as the informal variety used across ‘non-religious’ domains. Standard German is also used within the church domain, as part of the liturgy, sermon and hymn singing, increasingly replacing Luther German. Its boundaries between ‘religious’ contexts and ‘non-religious’ ones are less clear, as colloquial Standard German varieties are also used in German language instruction at schools and, occasionally, in some other contexts such as with non-local German speakers (cf. chapter 4).

In religious contexts, Luther German plays a very limited and unproductive role, and is primarily restricted to readings from the Bible during church services. Because Luther’s translation is often found inaccessible for private readings or (group) Bible study, more modern translations of the Bible in Standard German are also used, as well as various English and Afrikaans translations. In the German language services, the liturgy is strictly Lutheran and tends to be very traditional and formalised, using both Latin and (archaic) Standard German elements. (As noted in chapter 4, English language services tend to be more informal and do not follow the liturgy as

closely, if at all.) The congregations vary with regards to the hymnals – some congregations use more modern versions than others, but all make use of Standard German versions in their German language services. For a long time, some of the more conservative congregations – notably of the Freikirche synod – insisted on using hymnals published at the turn of the century, and have only introduced modern (printed and updated) versions in the last few years.

Extract 5-2 [#65; Northern Natal]

- 271 Klaus ... sie [Wittenberg congregation] hatten zum beispielst neulich noch ein altes Gesangbuch. (.) [Sie sind] sehr stolz auf dies Gesangbuch. ... Wenn wir hier zur Kirche [gehen], kann S. [Klaus' wife] nix lesen. (.) Is die alte Schrift!
- 272 Katharina Oh ja?
- 273 Klaus ... Sie warn stolz auf das, war Teil von Tradition, Kultur, dies Gesangbuch. (.) Und es hat ihn' lange genomm, bis sie soweit zu kriegen, um mal ein schönes neues Gesangbuch reinzubring ...

In ethno-religious communities, the language of the sermon appears to be the most meaningful indicator of language maintenance “because the sermon is probably most sensitive to the linguistic needs and preferences of the congregation as a whole” (Hofman, 1966, p. 133). In chapter 4, it was outlined that the Springbok-German communities have been providing German language services since the mid-19th century. While the liturgy, the readings from the Bible and the hymns are in Standard German – some of which are in archaic and stilted (Standard) German, and thus comprehension can be difficult, especially for the younger generation – the sermons tend to be slightly less formal. Typically, pastors who have been educated or have spent extensive time in Germany have control of more formal registers of (colloquial) Standard German varieties, and generally make less use of local Springbok-German lexical items in their sermons than those without formal training in Germany. The use of Standard German – and to a lesser extent Luther German – is thus an integral part of the German language church service.

The boundaries between Luther German as the sacred variety and Standard German, which is widely attached with the notion of being “korrektes Deutsch” (‘correct German’) among Springbok-Germans, are fuzzy. Being the standardised variety,

the latter has certainly been accorded with some kind of authority and, next to Luther German, Standard German carries authenticity as the ‘proper’ language to be used for public religious expression. In a sense, it functions as a co-sanctified variety, though it is not exclusive to religious contexts in the way that Luther German is. In after-school religious education, many parents still insist on their children being taught the actual wording of key Lutheran teachings, e.g. the (Small) Catechism, the Ten Commandments.

Extract 5-3 [#11; Natal Midlands]

- 36 Elmarie ... trotzdem bleibt Grundsatz für uns, wo wir die Möglichkeiten haben, ... werden wir die deutsche Sprache weiter fördern, wenn es auch (.) extra Mühe und Arbeit kostet. Und das tut es. Ich denk jetzt zum Beispiel an ähm (.) den Religionsunterricht. ... Einige möchtn, dass sie den Unterricht in Deutsch bekomm, dass sie den Katechismus in Deutsch lern. (.) Das meint, ich muss innerhalb diese(r) Stunde (.) zweisprachig unterrichten. ... Es wär viel leichter, wenn ich einfach sagen würd, ‘ich mach es einfach nur in Englisch’. (.) Aber ich hab zu den Mütter- zu den Eltern gesagt, (.) ‘Ich tu es. Ich bin bereit.’ (.) Nicht nur, um sie zufrieden zu (stellen?), sondern weil es für mich genauso wichtig is, dass so weit wie’s geht, sie die (.) den Katechismus, die Gebote und alles, doch in Deutsch weiterlernen. Wenn sie’s als Kind nich lern, dann später im Leben wird die Chance immer kleiner, he, dass sie das dann noch nachholen könn. ...

The wording of these – given the archaic nature of the documents and teaching – is often learned by rote, while understanding often needs to be facilitated by explanations in Springbok-German or English/Afrikaans (cf. chapter 4). As Elmarie, a music teacher and a pastor’s wife, comments in Extract 5-3, offering bilingual religious education for the children who belong to their congregation demands effort and time, and she is well aware of how much easier it would be for her if she was to offer religious education in English only. Maintaining German and teaching religious education through the medium of German is, however, recognised as vital for the continued survival of German, especially by core members of the community (i.e. those heavily involved within the church and community activities). That German can only be maintained because of personal effort and involvement is frequently stressed, and the lack of interest and willingness by fellow Springbok-Germans is cause for much discontent.

Those who do not view maintaining German as being strongly tied to their Lutheran beliefs, and who do not place a high value on preserving German, tend to take part in the English language services, placing less emphasis on their children receiving German language instruction at school. This tendency is much more noticeable in the Natal Midlands, where two different language services are offered at church and the influence of English is much more palpable in general. As noted, in the Northern Natal communities Afrikaans language services are provided much less frequently. In a way, Standard German – and German more generally – is losing its status as ‘holy’ or ‘sacred’ variety in the Natal Midlands as the language of Lutheranism and the Bible, and also as the ‘language of the forefathers’. English is gradually assuming the functions within the religious – and non-religious – domain(s) previously assigned to German. Distinctions need to be made between the two church synods, however, as the Wartburg-Kirchdorf congregation of the Freikirche synod continues to hold onto German much more than congregations of the Hermannsburg synod; the former allow little English influence into their church services. This is discussed further in the next chapter.

5.3.2 German as the language of the forefathers and the community

As noted above, Luther German is restricted to ‘religious’ contexts, even there, it is limited in its functions. Standard German, although used outside of the religious domain, is relatively restricted in its sphere – exceptions include German language instruction at the schools and with non-local German speakers – since it is Springbok-German which serves as the functional German language variety used across the domains of home and community.

As discussed in chapter 4, the boundary between what speakers consider colloquial Standard German and (non-localised) Springbok-German is by no means clear-cut, and is largely a matter of speakers identifying with one or the other. Unless speakers have spent extensive periods of time in Germany, i.e. several years, or are first or second generation immigrants, they are likely to label the German language variety they use in everyday encounters as Springbok-German. Despite the lexical and

grammatical changes that are commonly attributed to it, it is nevertheless seen as the language of the forefathers, and there is a pride among the Springbok-Germans because it has been preserved for generations.

Extract 5-4 [#69; Northern Natal]

- 121 Rhea ... Es is ja eigentlich hier besonders, (0.2) dass Deutsch noch viel länger gesprochen wurde. (.) Wenn auch südafrikanisches Deutsch. (.) Meine Großeltern, (.) meines Mannes Großeltern sind schon von Deutschland gekomm. (.) Bei mir is nur meine Eltern gekomm. Aber (.) (die) (.) über die Generationen hat es sich doch ziemlich gehalten. (.) Wenn auch, (.) ... wir nenn es Springbokdeutsch. (.) So 'n bisschen (.) fehlerhaft und wir haben die schönsten Ausdrücke oder die schrecklichsten manchmal. ((laughs))

Speaking Springbok-German is, in a sense, tantamount to being Springbok-German or, more precisely, those who identify themselves as Springbok-German – descendants of the earlier North German missionaries and settlers but rooted in the rural settlements in South Africa – also tend to label their German language variety as Springbok-German. Upholding their *Deutschtum* and the German language within the home and the community is, for many, a question of preserving who they are, i.e. Springbok-German, and remembering where they came from, i.e. missionaries and settlers from Northern Germany.

Extract 5-5 [#11; Natal Midlands]

- 152 Elmarie ... da sind trotzdem noch genug Deutsche, dass da auch noch Deutsch geredet wird. Die deutschen Sitten und Traditionen, die man auch pflegen will, zu Weihnachten mit Advent und (.) ähm. Da- das is alles für mich Teil von der ganzen Sache ... Und ähm an der Stelle könnt ich vielleicht auch sagen, (.) ähm find ich, is es auch sehr gut, wenn man [mit] den Kindern (.) über (.) äh das Thema redet (.) 'Wo komm wir eigentlich her?' (.) 'Warum bist du eigentlich in Südafrika?' (.) 'Wer warn deine Vorfahrn? Wo kam sie her aus Deutschland?' (.) Dass sie wissen 'Ich bin ein Teil von ein großen Puzzel. Ich bin nich einfach nur durch Zufall hier. Da is'n Grund weswegen ich hier bin.' oder so. Und ich finde das is so gut, wenn sie drauf aufmerksam gemacht werdn. (.) Ähm, (.) das legt auch irgendwie wieder Wert auf (.) dieses ich, ich bin deutsche Südafrikaner. ...

Extract 5-6 [#27; Natal Midlands]

- 357 Christel ... ja, ich möchte es gerne, dass meine Großkinder ein Tag noch Deutsch könn. (0.2) Ich denk, is wichtig. (.) Und in eine deutschen Schule komm.
- 358 Katharina Weil es Teil von dir is?

- 359 Christel Is einfach, weil es Teil, ja Teil von unsre, wo wir herkomm (.) is. (.) Möcht' es gerne. ...

Their distinct *Deutschtum* is not separate from their Lutheran way of life; the German culture is as much part of community life as are the Lutheran church services and other religious-cultural activities, e.g. the annual Wartburg Christmas market, as a well-known German cultural institution, is always held at the church grounds of the Wartburg-Kirchdorf parish. Community life is organised around religious activities, cultural customs and traditions, and events commemorating the past, i.e. the forefathers. Remembering their heritage as farmers and peasants, their historical origin in North Germany, and events important in the history of the communities and individual families, e.g. celebrating 150 years since the arrival of the forefathers in South Africa, is vital to the continued survival of the Springbok-German communities. Upholding the German language as the language of the forefathers is thereby an essential aspect.

Not only is there a pride among Springbok-Germans in having preserved the German language to date, there is, among subsets – and more so among members of the Freikirche synod than among those of the Hermannsburg synod – a deep gratitude that the Springbok-German communities have remained distinct from the other (white) cultures in South Africa; an appreciation and gratitude that their Lutheranism and their *Deutschtum* have survived to this day.

Extract 5-7 [#78; Northern Natal]

- 605 Klara ... ach, wir haben wirklich ein Schatz hier (.) an unsrer (.) Gottesdienst und den Unterricht, den unsre Kinder haben könn und alles. (0.2) Dass wir das alles noch haben dürfen, is ja wirklich nur ein Geschenk.

Extract 5-8 [#11; Natal Midlands]

- 14 Elmarie ... und wir haben uns dadurch auch gegenseitig wieder Mut gemacht, dass wir bewußt sein sollen von und auch wirklich dafür danken, dass es nicht einfach nur, so hier nichts dir nichts is. Es ist wirklich für uns ein besonderes Geschenk ...

It was noted earlier in the chapter that the construction of one's identity is not stable, and speakers may be affiliated to multiple groups and strands. In this way, the Spring-

bok-Germans do not only see themselves as the descendants of German immigrants, but also as part of South African society. Community members who, however, emphasise their Springbok-German identity more acutely are also more strongly inclined to preserve the German culture and language across the community and within the home. They tend to be highly engaged in the community and the church, supporting the use of German wherever possible (cf. Extract 5-3 above). To varying extents, speakers maintain links to modern-day Germany by keeping in contact with relatives and friends, and/or for study and work purposes. The latter is particularly the case for (lay) members of the clergy who study at German Lutheran seminars. Links with Germany also exist at the community level. The community of Lüneburg, Northern Natal, for example, set up a twin town agreement with the town of Lüneburg, Germany, thereby bolstering support for linguistic and cultural maintenance in the community and facilitating exchanges between Springbok-German speakers and speakers from Germany (*Bundesdeutsche*) on a more or less regular basis.

Extract 5-9 [#77; Northern Natal]

- 477 Eckhart ... Ich war lange Vorsitzende vom deutschen Kulturverein (.) hier auf Lüneburg. (.)
Denn hat ich viel Verbindung mit äh (.) Lüneburg Deutschland.
- ...
- 479 Eckhart Hat ich Partnerschaft (.) so angenomm für Lüneburg hier. (.) Und denn kam (der)
(.) oft auch äh (.) Leute aus Lüneburg, haben uns hier besucht und welche von hier
sind mal da hingefahren. (.) Is da so'n (.) Verhältnis gekomm ...

However, despite frequent contact between (subsets of) Springbok-German speakers and *Bundesdeutschen*, and despite the praise Springbok-Germans express for Germany (e.g. efficiency, punctuality, and above all the culture and history speakers treasure), there is a very clear sense in the communities that the Springbok-Germans are, as a group, quite separate from German speakers in Germany, sharing only certain customs, traditions, the common language, and naturally family bonds. There is an “us-them” distinction that is reflected in attitudes – e.g. “we in South Africa are friendly and relaxed” vs. “you in Germany are unfriendly and stressed” – and habits. The Springbok-Germans are most certainly shaped by a (white) South African mentality of hospitality, easiness and friendliness, and a strong sense of community.

While (core) members of the Springbok-German communities would certainly identify themselves as being Lutheran and German-speaking, i.e. Springbok-German, on the community level, they are also distinctly South African.

Extract 5-10 [#27; Natal Midlands]

- 147 Katharina Siehst du dich jetzt mehr als Südafrikanerin oder doch sehr stark nach Deutschland gezogen oder gebunden oder?
- 148 Christel Ich bin Südafrikanerin. (0.2) Ähm. (.) Ich (.) ich hab Deutschland sehr genossen wie ich da war. (.) Ich weiss aber nich, ob ich da leben möchte. ...

Speakers who see themselves as less integrated into the communities, whether because of weak religious affiliations or because they feel culturally less connected to the Springbok-German communities, may thus not emphasise their Springbok-German identity strongly. The more distant speakers' ancestors migrated to South Africa – i.e. whether at the turn of the century or in the mid-1850s, and the fewer links speakers have with modern Germany, i.e. through relatives and friends, work-related and having been there on holidays – the stronger speakers tend to affiliate with (white) South Africans in general.

For some, especially those Springbok-Germans who have never been to present-day Germany, it is merely another country, incidentally a place where their mother tongue is spoken but is otherwise of little significance. In addition, modern Germany is so far removed from their distinct cultural “brand” of Springbok-German *Deutschtum* that few speakers can identify with a Germany that has so dramatically changed since the turn of the 20th century.

Extract 5-11 [#; Natal Midlands]

- 36 Katharina Ok, als was siehst du dich denn?
- 37 Ludwig Als Südafrikaner. (.) Ich, ich kann nich sagen, dass ich mich deutsch föhl. ... Also (.) was man (.) was wir unter so als das alte Deutschland (.) bezeichn ... Wo ich sie [German speakers from Germany] kenngelernt hab, (.) merkt man, dass (.) die Deutsche, die in Deutschland wohnen (.) zur Zeit, (.) sind nicht dieselben (.) kulturweise oder so wie man sich das vorgestellt hat, (.) vordem man Leute von Deutschland getroffen hat. ...
- 38 Katharina Was hast du dir denn vorgestellt? Also was meinst du mit altes Deutschland zum Beispiel?

- 39 Ludwig Also (.) also, das, das, das Bild was man als Südafrikaner (.) in meiner Erfahrung hat von Deutsche aus Deutschland sind Leute, die hart arbeiten, die sehr genau arbeiten. ... Und was man jetzt (.) so erfährt oder was ich jetzt erfahren hab, ist dass (.) in Deutschland is'es man eigentlich so wie irgendein andres Land. (.) Ähm (.) pride in their work (.) is nich mehr so da. ... Aber (.) dies- die Einstellung (auf) (.) pride in the country, pride in being german (.) ähm (.) work ethic und so weiter. (.) Ähm (.) das hab ich mir immer vorgestellt. (.) Und das hab ich von meine Eltern und sie von ihre Eltern gekriegt. (.) Weil (.) zu der Zeit wie ihre Familien von Deutschland kam, war das so. ...
- 40 Katharina Also ist dir das Deutschland von heute in dem Sinne fremd?
- 41 Ludwig Ja! Ich denke so. ... Also wenn man nun hier sagt, (.) seh ich mich an als deutschstämmig [an]? (.) In a sense, ja. (.) Aber vielleicht mehr (.) durch jetzt diese Erfahrungen (.) als jemand der deutsch spricht, der in Südafrika wohnt. Aber (.) aber das Deutschland, das ich dachte das existiert, (.) existiert nicht mehr. (.) War vielleicht nie da. ...

Although identifying himself as German-speaking and part of the Springbok-German communities, Ludwig, a teacher at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*, feels alienated from present-day Germany. Like others, his notion of Germany is rooted in the past, a notion passed on from his grandparents' generation and characterised by strong work ethic, nationalistic pride and certain folkloristic traditions and customs that are not commonly practised in Germany today. Nevertheless, Ludwig is keen to maintain the German language and their particular Springbok-German customs and traditions, such as folk and brass band music, church fêtes, etc., as something that is, however, quite distinct from contemporary Germany.

Other members, like the young farmer Philip in the extract below, who are situated more on the periphery of the communities, do not (strongly) affiliate themselves with the distinct *Deutschtum* of the Springbok-German communities at all. His affiliation to the Springbok-Germans is purely on a local level (i.e. with other Springbok-Germans of the Wartburg area rather than Springbok-Germans in general), and based primarily on the shared language rather than the cultural background.

Extract 5-12 [#36; Natal Midlands]

- 316 Katharina Interessiert es dich rauszufinden, wo deine Vorfahren herkam?
- 317 Philip Hm?
- 318 Katharina Da mal hinzufahrn oder so?
- 319 Philip Vielleicht einigermaßen, aber auch nich. Ich denk (.) weil das schon (.) fünf Generation zurück sind. ... Es hat ungefähr jetzt ähm keine, keine Bedeutung mehr.
- 320 Katharina Siehst du dich trotzdem als Deutsch?

- 321 Philip Ähm, (.) Deutsch sprachenmäßig, aber (.) und vielleicht so 'n bisschen aus der Familie aus, aber nich als solches kulturmäßig. ... Viele Leute, die, die staun sich immer, wenn sie hörn 'oh wir reden Deutsch hier im Hause' ... (.) 'Wann sind, wann sind euer Vorfahrn denn hier angekomm?' Achtzehnsechzig! Ich mein, das is hundertundfünfzig Jahre her. (.) Und denn eigentlich sind wir mehr südafrikanisch als viele Englische, die hier sind oder afrikaanse Leute schon. ... und das is ungefähr das Gleiche mit alle die Deutsche- Deutschen hier in der Gegend. ... Leute sind stolz, um vielleicht Wartburger zu sein oder (.) deutsche Südafrikaner (.) zu sein. (.) Aber (.) und ah auch die meisten hier in der Gegend ... oder sollt ich sagen, die wenigsten in der Gegend, (.) ähm die wolln (.) nach Deutschland reisen und fühl'n sich irgendwie angelockt, nach Deutschland hinzu- hinzureisen. ...

Having recently left the Lutheran church to join a Charismatic one places Philip even more so on the fringe of the community. Like others who are not part of the core community, Philip sees himself, first and foremost, as South African, albeit of German background, though this has little relevance in his daily life.

To sum up, Springbok-German is generally seen as the language of the forefathers and there is widespread pride found in the Springbok-German communities in having maintained the German language, their *Deutschtum* and their Lutheran beliefs to this day. Continued survival of the community springs from a way of life that seeks to remain separate on the church and community level, and by remembering the past. Emphasising their humble origins and commemorating important events in the history of the communities has helped them to keep their *Deutschtum* alive. This last section takes a brief look at the role that German has been ascribed as an 'extra' language, i.e. having German language skills as being of practical benefit.

5.3.3 German as an 'extra' language

As chapter 4 established, the Springbok-Germans are typically multilingual, and there is a certain pride among speakers in being multilingual. Being competent in more than one language variety is of instrumental value, seen as an asset that allows access to speakers of other language varieties (cf. chapter 4, section 4.1.4 on Zulu language competence). In a similar way, being able to speak German is viewed as being of practical benefit.

While there can be little doubt that speakers place an emphasis on maintaining German within the home and the community because of their Lutheran beliefs

and their German background, some also stress the importance of German as an “extra” language and, in a sense, its material value. Having German language skills is associated with professional benefit. In other words, some speakers consider their German language skills, acquired within the family, as potentially opening up employment opportunities such as within the tourism industry (one of the fastest growing sectors in South Africa⁸⁵), with German companies (e.g. *Volkswagen* or *Siemens*), or businesses which deal extensively with Germany (e.g. import/export) in South Africa, or even abroad (i.e. in Germany).

Not surprisingly, it is mainly the younger generation, especially young professionals and parents, who acknowledge that the use of German beyond the immediate domains of the home, church and community within the Springbok-German communities, brings great advantages.

Extract 5-13 [#36; Natal Midlands]

- 681 Philip ... und (.) ich würde definitiv es tun wolln [maintaining German] und sogar probiern. Aber um ehrlich zu sein, denk ich, würde es schon sehr schwer sein. (.) Ich denk, das ‘n großen Wert, (.) dass man (.) eine extra Sprache hat. Macht nichts aus was es is. (.) Ähm. (.) Natürlich, (.) ich hab jetzt Deutsch als ‘ne extra Sprache, was ‘n großes Vorteil is (.) ähm in Südafrika und überall in der Welt. ...

Extract 5-14 [#23; Natal Midlands]

- 115 Susanna ... Ich hab schon immer gesagt, auch wenn ich nich ‘n deutschen Mann heirate, werd ich sicher machen, dass meine Kinder Deutsch sprechen. ... Ich denk s’richtig ‘n Vorteil, wenn man mehrere Sprachen spricht. Nich unbedingt weil es Deutsch is, aber (.) einfach weil es einfach noch eine Sprache is auch, die man gebrauchen kann. (.) Und (.) immerhin, Deutsch wird ziemlich viel gesprochen so in der Welt. (.) Also, es is nich verkehrt, wenn man (.) [Deutsch] sprechen kann.
- 116 Katharina Also siehst du’s eher wichtig für Berufschancen, als im Gegensatz zu vielleicht Herkunft? Weil du vielleicht deutsche Vorfahrn hast und das weitergeben möchtest?
- 117 Susanna Ja. (.) Ich denke, es is sehr wichtig für Berufschancen. Ich glaub, das ‘n großer (.) Grund, weshalb ich’s machen würde. (.) Aber (.) ich würd auch lieber (.) meine Muttersprache mit mein Kindern sprechen als immer ‘ne Fremd- also ‘ne Fremdsprache mit Kindern zu sprechen. (.) Mhm. (.) Aber ich glaub ‘n großer Grund wär wahrscheinlich beruflich einfach. (.) Ja (.) ja.

⁸⁵ Travellers from Europe accounted for 16% of all foreign travel to South Africa in 2007; within that subset, travellers from the U.K. made up 35%, followed by German travellers to 18% (254,934 persons) (South African Tourism, 2008, pp. 12, 21).

Extract 5-15 [#27; Natal Midlands]

128 Christel ... meine Tochter, die hat ein Job in in London. (.) Große Firma und auch jedes Mal wenn da irgendetwas is von Deutschland, dann muss sie (.) dann muss sie dabei sein, weil sie's eben versteht.

German is no longer tied only to the community and the home but, as speakers increasingly seek employment outside of the communities, and especially where speakers relocate to Germany on a temporary or permanent basis, it can be an important asset for some speakers. On the other hand, not everyone ascribes some sort of professional benefit to having German language skills, seeing that English enjoys enormous social prestige and is the most dominant language in South Africa today (cf. chapter 1, section 1.2.2 on the role of English in South Africa).

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed language maintenance in the Springbok-German communities by conceptualising them as ethno-religious communities (Fishman, 2006a). Having introduced the issue of language and religion, this chapter established that the German language has been an integral part of Lutheranism since Martin Luther. Vital to understanding the reasons behind the prolonged language maintenance in the Springbok-German communities is the notion of *Volkstum*, as popular in the 19th century, and the early immigrants' background as missionaries and settlers. Preserving their Lutheran faith and their *Volkstum* was imbued in the minds of these immigrants, and this way of thinking is still prevalent in the communities today. The last section looked at the different functions the German language has in the communities today: Luther German and Standard German as a 'sacred' language, Springbok-German as the language of the forefathers and as the community language and, more generally, German as a language for practical purposes. Following a discussion of why speakers are shifting away from German in general, the next chapter addresses the diverging tendencies across the regional clusters but also the synodal cluster in the Springbok-German communities in detail.

6 DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE SHIFT

Having explored the roots of German language maintenance and current practices in the previous chapters, chapter 6 now takes a look at the dynamics of language shift in the communities. The first part of this chapter explores the most salient aspects, such as changes in marriage patterns as well as socio-economic and demographic changes. Having established common factors of language shift for the Springbok-German communities, the second part then deals with the finer nuances by discussing differences between community clusters. On the one hand, this involves looking at the two regional clusters and, on the other, considering diverging trends across the two synodal clusters.

6.1 COMMON FACTORS MOTIVATING SHIFT

As noted in chapter 1, the causes and processes of language shift are complex, diverse and interrelated, reflecting the historical, political, social and economic circumstances around which language shift takes place. While language shift often comes about within three generations in immigrant communities, other ethnic communities do not necessarily follow that pattern. As the previous chapter has demonstrated, the latter are often characterised by strong links between the speech community's ethnic language use and religious beliefs.

A multiplicity of factors which facilitate or slow down language shift have been suggested, among them socio-economic changes and (upward) mobility, demographic factors, government support for the ethnic language, marriage patterns and gender relations, and issues of (ethnic) identity construction (cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987; Clyne, 1991; Giles et al., 1977; Kipp et al., 1995; Kloss, 1966; Romaine, 1995; Willoughby, 2006).

As chapter 5 demonstrated, what lies at the heart of prolonged language maintenance among the Springbok-Germans is, above all, their Lutheran faith and a deep

conviction that preserving the German *Volkstum* (or *Deutschtum*) is crucial to their survival as ethno-religious communities. This is strengthened by a pride in being of (North) German stock, as well as values and attributes such as a strong work ethos, frugality, efficiency, conscientiousness, etc. Integral to their *Deutschtum* is the view that the German language is something special, if not 'sacred' and, as an intrinsic part of their *Deutschtum*, worth preserving.

Maintaining German tends to be much more integral to those speakers who are core members, i.e. those who are highly involved in the community. Their commitment is reflected in regular church attendance and active participation at community events, such as bazaars and fêtes, and other social activities, e.g. brass band membership. They form a vital part of the ethno-religious community, endorsing its values and principles, and affiliating themselves strongly with the German Lutheran heritage. On the other hand, speakers who are less involved in the community and/or rarely attend church can be more adequately described as semi-core members or may even be situated on the periphery of the community. They are generally also less inclined to maintain German, and place less emphasis on their Springbok-German identity and more so on being South African. A decision to leave the German church parish altogether (and thus the community) often brings with it a shift to English or Afrikaans. This again shows that the church plays a most crucial role, not only in answering spiritual needs but also in providing the basis for German language maintenance.

Within the Springbok-German communities, what is advancing language shift across regional clusters is, above all, the increasingly common practice – and indeed the need – to marry outside the community, often leading to language shift within the home domain. Tendencies towards shift are also apparent among the younger generation and those who relocate to urban areas or other rural areas where there are few German speakers. Close and regular contact with German speakers in Germany, on the other hand, and/or active involvement in social and religious activities of the communities help to cultivate aspects of speakers' German Lutheran identity, and thus strengthen the continued use of German.

6.1.1 *Intermarriage*

The practice of endogamous marriage has been noted widely to be conducive to ethnic language maintenance (e.g. Clyne, 1991; Kipp, 2006a; Pauwels, 2005); conversely, intermarriage often opens the door for use of the majority language within the home, especially if the partner speaking the majority or dominant language does not also have competence in the ethnic language. High rates of exogamous marriages involving high rates of language shift in the second generation have, for example, been documented extensively for a number of ethnic communities in Australia, including speakers of Hungarian, German, Maltese, Dutch, Polish and French (Clyne, 1991, 2003; Kipp et al., 1995; Pauwels, 1985; Pütz, 1991a; cf. also Stevens, 1985, on U.S. data). Other ethnic communities, such as the Turkish, Greek or Lebanese, which show lower rates for language shift in the second generation are also those which tend to marry more within the community than outside (Clyne, 2003, p. 28).

Pütz (1991a), in examining language use of German speakers in Canberra, notes that mixed marriages among these speakers often involve an inevitable shift to English “given the necessity of the use of a *lingua franca* for interpersonal communication” (p. 488). Monolinguals entering the ethnic community do not necessarily become actively proficient in the ethnic language and, while they may occasionally develop some form of passive competence, in the case of exogamous marriages, this frequently results in language shift to the dominant or more prestigious language variety within the family (cf. Gal, 1979; Lieberman & McCabe, 1982; Pauwels, 1985; Prokop, 1993; Salmons, 1983; Schaberg & Barkhuizen, 1998; Schabus, 1994).

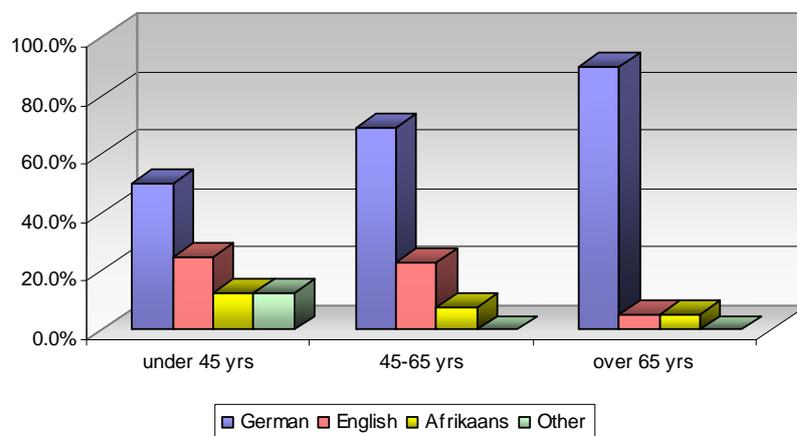
In the Springbok-German communities, intermarriage today plays a significant role when it comes to language choice and use. Mixed marriages are now much more widespread than thirty or so years ago, and it is likely that the rate of intermarriage will further increase given the demographic changes that are affecting the communities, mainly out-migration (cf. section 6.1.2 below). For those speakers who remain in the rural areas, the chances of choosing a marriage partner from within the community thus become more and more limited, and exogenous marriages is often

the outcome: in the Natal Midlands between German and English speakers, and in Northern Natal between German and Afrikaans speakers.

Until about the early 1970s, it was common practice for speakers to marry within the community, i.e. the general expectation was to marry a German Lutheran. Inter-marriage was relatively infrequent, on the one hand because it was less accepted and desired, and on the other because the communities were numerically still sufficiently strong that speakers could marry someone from within the community (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.2; section 6.1.2 below). Backeberg (1949, p. 332), basing his account on church records of marriage ceremonies performed in German Lutheran churches across South Africa, comments that only rarely did speakers enter into exogamous marriages in the rural areas. Across South Africa, the rate of endogamous marriages, entered into between 1939 and 1947, was over 80%, and presumably even higher in the rural areas. Only 2.4% of exogamous marriages were between German and English speakers, while the incidence of marriages between German and Afrikaans speakers was, comparatively, much higher at 14.1%.

Der Grad der Vermischung unserer deutschen Siedlungen mit Buren und Engländern ist schwer statistisch festzustellen. Trotzdem geben die Geburtsangaben des synodalen Mitteilungsblattes einen gewissen Querschnitt der heutigen Lage. Danach sind von den in der Zeit von Januar 1939 bis Dezember 1947 geborenen Kindern bei 83,5 Prozent der Fälle beide Elternteile deutsch. Bei 14,1 Prozent ist ein Elternteil afrikaans oder holländisch und bei 2,4 Prozent ein Elternteil englisch. Auffallend dabei ist, daß auch in überwiegend englischen Gegenden Ehen zwischen Deutschen und Buren häufiger sind als zwischen Deutschen und Engländern. In den großen geschlossenen Siedlungsgebieten fanden sehr wenig Ehen mit Nichtdeutschen statt. Um so höher ist die Zahl in vereinzelt liegenden Gemeinden und in den Städten. (Backeberg, 1949, p. 332)

Figure 6-1 shows the proportion of exogamous marriages among the participants of this study. Included are those speakers who are either married or in de-facto relationships, though most speakers are in marriage relationships. In the thirteen cases where both husband and wife were interviewed, only one partner was included in the figure.

Figure 6-1: Mixed marriages among participants ($n = 41$), in percentage.

The proportion of German–German marriages is highest among speakers 65 years and older (90.0%), that is, those speakers who married prior to or during the 1970s. For those who were married in the last thirty years, the proportion of endogamous marriages decreases to 69.2% for the 45 to 65 year old participants, while among those under the age of 45, it drops to 50%.

Although mixed marriages are relatively common and accepted these days, as noted, they used to be less desirable, and potentially led to serious objections by the family. The following extract is taken from an interview with Phillip (aged 28 years) from the Wartburg community, and illustrates the sentiment (i.e. shocking behaviour) that was felt about intermarriage some two generations earlier.

Extract 6-1 [#36; Natal Midlands]

- 701 Philip ... ein andres interessantes Ding (.) ähm (.) is, ich denk zwei Generationen zurück. Das würde mein (.) Vaters Vaters Generation gewesen sein. ... Ja, mein Vaters Onkel ... war die erste Person in die Gegend, die jemanden nich Deutsch geheiratet hatte. (.) Und das war so 'n scandal in der Gegend gewesen!
- 702 Katharina Echt?
- 703 Philip Ja! (.) Ähm, Leute warn schockiert! Und wie kann er das tun! Und (.) ähm (.) ganz, eine ganz merkwürdige Sache ...

One of the reasons why intermarriage has become more and more a way of necessity is that the Springbok–German communities have not been growing to any substantial extent since the mid-20th century. On the contrary, the communities have been

dwindling more and more, especially in the last ten years; on the one hand, due to speakers moving out of the rural areas into urban centres and, on the other, because relatively few immigrants from Germany have been settling in the rural areas (discussed further in section 6.1.2 below). Given that the Springbok-German communities have not experienced substantial population growth in the last sixty years, the gene pool among the Springbok-German speakers has remained rather limited ever since the first settlers and missionaries arrived. Many families are extensively related, and this has resulted in a range of genetic disorders and birth defects among some sections of the communities, especially among Springbok-German families who belong to the Freikirche synod (cf. section 6.2). Families now tend to be well aware of the considerable risk that the limited gene pool presents, and while endogamous marriage is still thought to be the ideal choice in many respects, the risk of hereditary disorders is also a strong incentive for speakers to marry outside the communities or, at least, to choose someone with whom there are less extensive kinship relations (cf. also Schabus, 1994, who describes a similar situation for a community of German dialect speakers in Peru).

Extract 6-2 [#37; Natal Midlands]

- 293 Hermann Ja, darum bin ich nach Nordnatal gegangen, weil so viel Verwandtschaft is hier. (.) In unser Familie wird- haben wir (.) stark da über gesprochen.
- 294 Katharina Um 'ne Frau zu suchen?
- 295 Hermann Ja, auch ja, auch ja. Aber, ähm (.) Verwandtschaft heiraten. Es kommt von Großvater K. (.) Meine Mutter war sehr also (.) drauf äh (.) drauf eingestellt, dass man nich Verwandtschaft heiratet. (.) Aber die hier, mein Bruder, der hat (0.2) der hat (.) seine zweite Kusines Tochter geheiratet. (0.2) Es is schon bisschen weiter, aber es is doch. (.) Ja.

Thus, as a consequence of limited in-migration and increasing out-migration, speakers who remain in the rural areas have little choice but to marry a non-German speaker. For one, because they may not want to expose themselves to the potential risk of hereditary disorders if they married one of the locals, and also because there is also a scarcity of young Springbok-Germans, especially in the Natal Midlands.

While language shift within the home to English or Afrikaans is certainly facilitated by Springbok-German speakers increasingly marrying outside the German

Lutheran community, it should be born in mind that language use is by no means uniform across families. Some families make extensive use of code-switching as a communication strategy, especially in families where the non-German (mother tongue) speaker has acquired some proficiency in German. Interestingly, there seems to be some gender bias as to who acquires German language skills, in as far as it is commonly the wife, not the husband, who gains (limited) German competence. In other words, in families where the husband/father is the German speaker, it is more likely that German is spoken at home, and the wife typically acquires some German language skills.

Extract 6-3 [#50; Natal Midlands]

366 Charlotte ... Viele, die hier englisch verheiratet sind, [sind] mit englische Frauen [verheiratet]. 'n wenn die Männer Deutsch sind, dann lernen die Frauen oft auch das Deutsch. (0.2) Sehr klapprig öfter mal. Aber (.) mit den Kindern sprechen sie dann auch Deutsch, bis dass die Kinder ungefähr zur Schule gehn. (.) Und dann fühl'n sie sich 'n bisschen unsicher und dann wird nur Englisch gesprochen. Und die Kinder verlieren das eigentlich ganz schnell, wenn das nich weitergemacht wird.

The practice that the English-speaking wife learns German is, however, increasingly rarer in the Natal Midlands, and is an issue frequently commented upon, especially by older speakers. In contrast, there is a greater tendency among non-German speakers generally in Northern Natal to gain some knowledge of German (cf. section 6.2 for further discussion). The increasing 'unwillingness' of English speakers to learn German, or to make an effort, is generally attributed to the notion of the English being "lazy language learners" (cf. chapter 4, section 4.1.4 on Zulu competence), an attitude that prevails in the Natal Midlands but also in Northern Natal.

Extract 6-4 [#33; Natal Midlands]

272 Waltraud ... das Problem is halt nur dann, wenn du Deutsch-Englisch oder Deutsch-Afrikaans heiratest. (.) Weißt du, denn is ja leicht, (.) dass man denn die Muttersprache (.) nich so mitzieht. (.) Oft is'es einfach, denk ich, Faulheit.

Extract 6-5 [#19; Natal Midlands]

- 73 Ludwig ... aber dann sprich mal mit die Deutschen und sie haben genau dieselbe (.) Meinung (.) über die Englischen 'Sie wolln ja nie Deutsch sprechen. Wir müssen immer Englisch [sprechen]'. ...

'Unwillingness' to acquire German on the part of the English speaker is one side of the problem, the other is that the German speaker appears reluctant – or too 'lazy' – to uphold German within the family.

Preserving the use of German within and outside of the home requires effort and a willingness to actively pursue opportunities for using the language. Those who view the German language as something that is special or even 'sacred', a language that not only represents their historical origin as German Lutherans but also symbolises the essence of Lutheranism, are often those who are strongly motivated to preserve German across domains. Those who do not tend to be less involved in the community, and are more likely to shift to English or Afrikaans. Mixed marriages may thereby accelerate the process considerably. Speakers who marry within the community are more inclined to remain deeply rooted in the rural German Lutheran community, and show greater willingness to support German language maintenance efforts, both in the local community and across communities.

6.1.2 Socio-economic and demographic changes

Social and economic mobility, urbanisation or proximity of the settlement to urban areas as well as the demographic makeup – homogenous vs. heterogeneous in terms of ethnic/linguistic background of speakers – is frequently attributed to advancing language shift in immigrant, but also indigenous, communities (cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987, pp. 35-37; Romaine, 1995, pp. 40-42).

In the case of German settlements in Siberia and central Asian states, language shift to Russian has been radical, as many settlements have essentially vanished due to extensive out-migration of speakers to Russian urban centres in the last fifteen years

(cf. Berend, 1998; Berend, 2006; Riehl, 2006; Rosenberg, 1994).⁸⁶ Industrialisation, urbanisation and (socio-)economically-motivated mobility has also led to increased assimilation among Hungarian German speakers in the second half of the 20th century (cf. Knipf-Komlósi, 2003, 2006). Similar trends have been observed in American German communities, where post-World War II changes in the social and economic structure gave rise to greater socio-economic and geographic mobility among German speakers in Texas, Wisconsin or among non-sectarian Pennsylvania German communities, this facilitated the shift to English monolingualism (e.g. Guion, 1996; Loudon, 2003, 2006c; Salmons, 1983, 2005; Valuska & Donner, 2004; Wirrer, 2006). Changes in economic structure (from agrarian to industrialised), improved infrastructure (making travelling for business/work easier), and growing urbanisation also tend to bring about changes in social network structures and marriage patterns, leading to exogenous marriages becoming more frequent. This has been observed, for example, among speakers of Hungarian in Oberwart (Gal, 1979).

In South Africa, income has been closely correlated with racial status, particularly pronounced during the apartheid era (R. Ross, 1999, p. 154). The Springbok-German communities, being part of the white minority, were in a position to achieve socio-economic independence, and had already attained a relatively high socio-economic status through efficient farming by the early 20th century (Backeberg, 1949, p. 329). This allowed them to maintain their own schools and provide German language instruction. However, waning population growth in the communities since World War II, mostly because few German speakers have been settling in the rural areas, together with out-migration of speakers has had consequences for maintaining German.

Although, as chapter 2 documented, there are no current or reliable pre-1996 census data on German speakers in South Africa, reasonable estimates were advanced by using electoral ward data, supported by information from the local German Lutheran parishes on membership figures. Based on Table 2-4 (cf. chapter 2), a compari-

⁸⁶ This has also been noted for German language enclaves in Rumania (cf. Dingeldein, 2006; Huemer, 1995).

son of figures for congregational members in the rural Springbok-German communities, a decrease of 21% (from 3,952 to 3,116) can be noted for the years 1953 to 2007. Despite the shortcomings of these figures, the incidence of German immigrants settling in the rural areas to any considerable extent since World War II seems to be relatively small, and is restricted to the arrival of individual immigrants (as opposed to earlier migration patterns which involved groups of missionaries and settler families; cf. chapter 2).

Among the eighty people interviewed, only one speaker was not born in South Africa, having emigrated from Germany to South Africa in the early 1950s. Three other participants were from the second generation, their parents had migrated in the 1920s and 1930s. The families of all other interviewees had been in South Africa for at least three generations, in many cases, between five and seven. During the fieldwork, the impression was that while there are first generation migrants in the Springbok-German communities, they are few in numbers. This was also reflected by a number of speakers who commented during the interviews that the influx of individuals from Germany to the rural areas was minimal (and thus had little impact on the growth of the German Lutheran congregations). The first generation migrants had generally emigrated during or soon after World War II and married one of the local Springbok-German speakers.

Extract 6-6 [#11; Natal Midlands]

107 Katharina Komm denn viele neue Einwanderer aus Deutschland?
 108 Elmarie Minimal.

Extract 6-7 [#37; Natal Midlands]

10 Hermann ... ja nach'm Krieg [Zweiter Weltkrieg] sind dann viele gekomm. (.) Aber die sind dann in diese Groß- Großstädte gegangen, Johannesburg, Durban, solches ja. (.) Ja, die sind nich auf's Land gegangen.

It seems clear then, that the Springbok-German communities ceased growing to any significant extent from the early 1950s onwards, weakened further by changes in family structure. Families now tend to have fewer children, and the extended family liv-

ing under one roof is the exception rather than the norm (cf. also de Kadt, 2000, p. 85). In particular, out-migration – whether to urban areas or abroad – has taken its toll on the sustainability of the German Lutheran parishes, diminishing the size of the communities further, with consequences for marriage arrangements and interrelatedness among speakers (as discussed above). This also impacts on the provision and viability of German language church services and German language instruction in schools. The community-run primary school in Harburg, for example, had to close down at the end of the school year in 2005 because of insufficient student numbers, catering mainly for students from German language backgrounds.

Increasing urbanisation in South Africa since World War II has also had an effect on these communities, and a number of German Lutheran parishes were established in regional and urban centres in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g. Vryheid, Piet Retief, Pietermaritzburg, Durban), as German speakers move from rural to urban areas. This process seems to have intensified in the last twenty years and, in particular, since the end of apartheid in 1994, largely because of better chances of finding well-paid employment in the cities, but also for security reasons. In the mid- to late 1990s, farming communities across KwaZulu-Natal – more so the Natal Midlands than the Northern Natal communities – were struck by violent ‘farm killings’, and given a volatile situation with regard to personal safety, this prompted many families to relocate to urban areas or even abroad.

As discussed in chapter 4, English and/or Afrikaans, and to some extent Zulu, are necessarily used in the domains of work, business and education (school), while social and highly informal domains (e.g. within the home and at social gatherings), and the domain of the church are still dominated by the use of German. Relocation to urban areas then tends to involve a shift to English or Afrikaans in the less formal domains such as community and home. German language use within the church domain is also often affected, since many of the German Lutheran parishes in urban areas have now moved to providing English language services only, though German language services may be offered on a sporadic basis or for special occasions (cf. Scheffer, 1991).

Many of the younger generation move to urban areas to study, often Pretoria, Stellenbosch or Cape Town, or Durban. Unless they have relatives in town, and/or become involved in a German Lutheran congregation or student group there (such as the *Arcadia Jugend* ('Arcadia Youth') in Pretoria, a large youth group made up primarily of students who study at the University of Pretoria), they invariably have little contact with German speakers. If speakers then choose to stay in the urban areas to gain employment, there is little opportunity for them to use German, unless they are actively involved in a German church parish or find other opportunities where German is used on a social basis, e.g. German clubs. They do not tend to be popular with younger people though (cf. Annas, 2008; Scheffer, 1991).

To gain employment in the rural areas is increasingly difficult for the younger generation, as farming is the most common source of income and very few opportunities for professional employment can be found. Over the years, land holdings have been divided up (through passing on land to one's children) and, together with increased stock theft, this has made farming a less viable and attractive option. Land claims; that is, the government buying large land holdings from the current owners (mainly white farmers) in order to re-distribute it, continues to affect the communities severely.

Extract 6-8 [#49; Natal Midlands]

105 Elenore ... die- ganz viele Farmer haben jetzt ihre Farm verloren (.) und ziehn weg. (.)
 Ähm, (.) die ganze (.) Gegend wird sich sehr ändern in den nächsten Jahren, denke
 ich. ...

The recent conflicts over land claims have impacted the Springbok-German communities dramatically, causing financial insecurity and emotional stress for many families. Because of these pending land claims, many of the Springbok-Germans have sold off their farms and moved to different rural or urban areas, in the course of which they often leave the home parish or participate only rarely in community activities, with significant consequences for language maintenance efforts.

Extract 6-9 [#11; Natal Midlands]

- 190 Elmarie ... Bis lang war- warn die Farmer noch unsre Rettung. (.) Sehr, es, es is eigentlich relativ üblich gewesen, dass eine Farm (.) weitervererbt wird.
- 191 Katharina Ja.
- 192 Elmarie Und das dann die Nachkommen automatisch übernomm haben. (.) Aber jetzt mit diesen land claims und mit diese Unsicherheit (.) hört man immer mehr und mehr, dass die jüngere Generation, die, die nächsten dann sagen, (.) 'Ey, ich bleib lieber von der Farm. Papa, verkauf lieber die Farm' oder (.) was immer. ... Aber jetzt, (.) ich würde sagen, wir ham ungefähr hundertfünfzig Gemeindeglieder insgesamt. (0.2) Sicher ungefähr zwei Drittel sind Farmer. (0.2) Und jetzt durch diese land claims (.) müssen siebenundzwanzig Leute (.) umziehn. (.) Umziehn! ... und des is ein schweres Jahr gewesen für die Familien, für die Kinder. (.) Aber auch für die Gemeinde. (.) Aber auch Hermannsburg Schule leidet hierunter ...
- 193 Katharina Ja.
- 194 Elmarie ... Also es greift ganz, ganz gewaltig ein. (.) Ähm, ich weiß von Kirchdorf-Gemeinde sind da, ich kann jetzt gar nich (soviel) sagn, aber es sind (.) viele, viele Farms, (.) die jetzt geclaiamt wurden. ...

At present, the Springbok-German communities are still relatively strong numerically, being able to provide German language services and German language instruction at the various schools. Subsets of the communities are adamant about continuing German language maintenance efforts, despite the changing circumstances, while others realise that without being strengthened numerically, maintaining German will become more challenging and may, sooner or later, be impossible to continue.

6.2 DIVERGING TRENDS

Having outlined how changing marriage practices, socio-economic and demographic circumstances have affected the Springbok-German communities in the Natal Midlands and in Northern Natal, this sections now seeks to ascertain the way in which and the reasons why there are differences with regards to, firstly, language maintenance and shift patterns in the two Lutheran synods (the Freikirche vs. the Hermannsburg synod) and, secondly, across the regional clusters.

6.2.1 *Along religious lines: The Freikirche and Hermannsburg Synod*

As a general tendency, members of the Freikirche synod are more inclined to insist on German language maintenance within the home, the community and especially the

church than members of the Hermannsburg synod. The main reason for this is the conservatism of the Freikirche, both theologically and regarding their German heritage, evident in religious practices, marriage patterns, cultural traditions and customs, language use within the church, and more inward-focused attitudes.

As explained in chapter 5, the Freikirche and the Hermannsburg synod have their origin in the Hermannsburg Mission Society, and were originally linked to the Hanoverian State Church. Initially forming one group of missionaries/settlers, as a result of the forming of the Freikirche in Germany in 1878, a splinter group in South Africa was also in favour of splitting away. Since the split in the late 19th century, the Freikirche synod in South Africa has founded a number of German Lutheran church parishes. It has traditionally remained much more theologically conservative (cf. Winkler, 1989, p. 10) and with a keener emphasis on preserving the German language and culture (cf. Viklund, 2006) than the Hermannsburg synod.

To briefly recap the sociolinguistic situation in the church domain described in chapter 4 (cf. section 4.3.3): Table 4-6 detailed that the three Freikirche congregations, Wartburg-Kirchdorf, Wittenberg and Lüneburg, provide German language services only. Although the Wartburg-Kirchdorf congregation has a sister parish in Wartburg, which caters to English speakers, the two parishes remain quite distinct, not least because of the different cultural and historical background of the Wartburg-Kirchdorf parish. The congregations of the Hermannsburg synod in the Natal Midlands, on the other hand, offer regular English language services, while in Northern Natal Afrikaans services are provided to a lesser extent (cf. also section 6.2.2 below).

The division between the two synods is deeply rooted in the historical events and associated doctrinal issues, and no consensus has yet been reached to overcome the divide. In this context, Scriba (2006, electronic article) mentions that “[t]he Hermannsburg synod and the Lutheran Free Synod tried at various times (e.g. 1923-28, 1955, 1963 and again 1990s) to overcome the separation, but without real success”. It is a rift that is still firmly entrenched in the minds of speakers, especially the older generation, and seems to be ever present in the communities. Of recent years, however, the division is becoming less of an issue and, increasingly individual attempts are

being made to resolve the differences, perhaps because of the social and political changes South Africa has been undergoing since the end of apartheid in the early 1990s. In a socio-economic and political climate that is less certain, the Springbok-Germans are more inclined to stick together in order to preserve what is left of their German heritage.

The separation between the synods has, however, by no means disappeared (yet), and a particular bone of contention that is frequently mentioned is the issue of sharing Holy Communion at the altar. The Freikirche synod exercises “closed communion”, meaning that only members of a Freikirche congregation are permitted to share the bread and wine at communion time offered during certain Sunday services. Visitors, including relatives of Freikirche members but who themselves belong to the Hermannsburg synod, are requested to refrain from joining the rest of the congregation in partaking the communion meal.

As described in chapter 2, the Wartburg-Kirchdorf (Freikirche) congregation and the Wartburg (Hermannsburg synod) congregation are situated in close proximity to each other in the town of Wartburg. The rift between the synods seems to be particularly pronounced between these two congregations, perhaps due to the (unpleasant) historical circumstances surrounding the schism between the two in the late 19th century. In the following extract, Christel, a member of the Hermannsburg synod, comments that marriages between members of these two congregations do not come by easily though they certainly do occur.

Extract 6-10 [#27; Hermannsburg synod; Natal Midlands]

- 339 Christel ... Kirchdorf-Gemeinde und Wartburg-Gemeinde. (.) Die Kirchdorwer, (.) die heiraten viel untenander. ... das is 'ne Freikirche. (.) Und die andre Kirche is die, (.) so wie Hermannsburg, die lutherische- gewöhnliche, lutherische Kirche. Aber die [Kirchdorf- and Wartburg-congregation] werden nich so leicht untenander heiraten.
- 340 Katharina Hm, hm. Immer noch nich?
- 341 Christel Mm. (0.2) Das is ja komm- stammt ja noch von damals, dieser Streit und, und so. Und bis heute vertragen sie sich noch nich hundert Prozent. ((laughs)) (.) Ja, so die Menschen vielleicht untenander, aber doch (.) man kann doch sehen, da sind Hemmungen. (.) Ja.

But not only are the Freikirche congregations characterised by stricter Lutheran convictions and doctrines, they are also generally more intent on maintaining annual festivities celebrating German cultural customs and traditions. One of these is the annual *Jugendtag* ('Youth Day') where traditional *Volkstänze* ('folk dances') are a popular feature, and for which teenagers and young adults still dress in *Trachten* ('traditional costumes'), their colours based on their home congregation (e.g. Wittenberg youths are dressed in green, Lüneburg in red, Wartburg-Kirchdorf in blue, etc.). Although the Hermannsburg synod also holds some of the same annual celebrations, such as the *Posaunenfest* ('Brass Band Festival') or the *Sängerfest* ('Choir Festival'), they do not, for example, have an annual *Jugendtag* (cf. also chapter 4).

Whilst the Hermannsburg synod is relatively welcoming to outsiders, the Freikirche is much more inward-focused and protective, i.e. less inclined to accept outsiders (including those from the Hermannsburg synod) into their midst. Generally speaking, for members of the Freikirche, the expectation – or preference – is to marry within their synod, or at least someone from the Springbok-German communities, though, as detailed above (cf. section 6.1.2), this is becoming less feasible. As a consequence of predominantly marrying within the community, speakers in the Freikirche congregations are also interrelated to a much greater extent, and concerns for birth defects and genetic disorders are much more prevalent.

Extract 6-11 [#11; Freikirche synod; Natal Midlands]

- 92 Elmarie ... Also wenn ich jetzt zum Beispiel (.) meine Heimatgena- Gemeinde nehm, Kirchdorf. ... Ich denke sicher wenigstens fünfzig Prozent, (.) wenn nich so- sogar mehr von der Gemeinde, ist mir relativ nah, also ins zweite Glied, zweite Cousin und Kusine, wo die Großeltern Geschwister waren. (.) Und das is, das is schlimm. ...
- ...
- 98 Elmarie ... ähm, ja mit den Verwandtschaften ist das wirklich ein Problem und da sind auch schon viele, viele Kinder, die ab- also abnormale Kinder, die geboren wurden.
- 99 Katharina Ja?
- 100 Elmarie Mit unter den Deutschen. (.) Wo man nachstellen kann, dass es durch Verwandtschaft is, Blutsverwandtschaft.
- 101 Katharina Ja, ja.
- 102 Elmarie Lüneburg würde ich sagen. Lüneburg, Wittenberg (.) haben prozentual die meisten. (.) Wenn man sich mal richtig hinsetzen würde, man würde sich ziemlich erschrecken wie viele da schon über die Jahre geboren wurden. (.) Einige

schwerbehindert, einige weniger. Ähm. (.) Die Sache ist nämlich, es wird immer komplizierter. ...

The tendency to remain exclusive is also apparent in that, without being invited by a member or accompanying a member, attending Sunday church service is likely to be frowned upon.

Extract 6-12 [#36; Hermannsburg synod; Natal Midlands]

835 Philip ... da war [ist] niemand, der dich (.) der dich jetzt (.) ver- ver- verbieten wird, um da reinzugehn, wenn du nich eingeladen bist. (.) Aber sie werden dich definitiv komisch angucken, wenn du nich mit jemand andres, der ein Mitglied is bei der Kirche is (.) hingehn ...

Extract 6-13 [#65; Hermannsburg synod; Northern Natal]

50 Katharina Sind sie [Freikirche] sehr eng?
51 Klaus Beschützend! (.) En- Eng auch. Und beschützend über sich selber. S'sind so bange, da kommt ein Einfluß rein, den sie nich da haben wolln. (.) Und, und ähm (.) und deswegen sind sie man (.) sehr (.) sind andres. (.) Kirchdorf in, in, in Wartburg, Kirchdorf da, die sind auch so. (.) Wir sind schon viel freier hier so und und lassen schon mehr zu als, als die ...

Non-German influences – whether linguistically, culturally or theologically – are averted wherever possible. Like in other ethno-religious communities, there are, however, subgroups among the Freikirche members, some of which are more moderate and less intent on preserving traditions and customs at all costs (cf., for example, Burridge, 2002b).

In contrast, congregations of the Hermannsburg synod tend to be much more willing to open their doors to outsiders, which also explains the greater propensity for members of the Hermannsburg synod to marry outside the Springbok-German communities, i.e. Afrikaans- or English-speakers. They are less conservative in theology, conduct and dress, and in their language practices, allowing non-German influences – linguistic and cultural – to make their way into the communities to a much greater extent.

Extract 6-14 [#65; Hermannsburg synod; Northern Natal]

273 Klaus ... aber ich denk, wir sind schon weiter als das. Wir akzeptieren (.) Englisch und Deutsch. ... Bei uns sind da schon lutherische englische Gemeinden. ... So wir sind, die warn ursprünglich Deutsch. (.) Aber 'n da sind jetzt mehr Englische als Deutsch. Also, (.) es is jetzt Englisch. (.) Und das wird man so langsam Gemeinde für Gemeinde, denk ich, so über die Jahre wird man so komm. (.) Werden immer mehr Anderssprachigen in der Gemeinde reinkomm. (.) Und denn wird sich ändern auch bei ihn'! (.) Weil auch, auch Freikirchekinder heiraten mit Afrikaans und. (.) So lange wie sie's noch so machen werden ... man kann sagen, sie, sie, sie gucken noch besser nach Deutsch als was wir tun. ...

While both synods place an emphasis on their German heritage and continue to provide German language services as much as it is viable, the Hermannsburg congregations are undergoing a shift away from German more rapidly than those of the Freikirche synod. Because the Hermannsburg synod chooses to be less exclusive and welcomes non-German speakers into their congregations, it is also under more pressure to provide non-German language services.

6.2.2 Along geographical lines: Natal Midlands and Northern Natal

Besides the Springbok-German communities differing across the two church synods, the differences between the Natal Midlands and Northern Natal are even more pronounced, cutting across the synodal clusters. The Natal Midlands are faced with conforming to the pressure exerted by English in a much more dramatic fashion than the Northern Natal communities, which are confronted with increasing influence from Afrikaans. This section first examines the situation – intermarriage being again the vital aspect – and then explores the reasons for the diverging trends in detail.

The impact of English on the Springbok-German communities in the Natal Midlands is most noticeable in the home domain. As discussed previously (cf. section 6.1.1; cf. also chapter 4), marriages between English and German speakers⁸⁷ has led to the pervasive use of English, and unless the English speaker has acquired some com-

⁸⁷ While mixed marriages between German and Afrikaans speakers are not explicitly mentioned here, intermarriage with Afrikaners certainly occurs in the Natal Midlands as well. It was and still is, however, less frequent than intermarriage with English speakers, and I thus concentrate on English speakers here. Nonetheless, the observed patterns and conventions apply similarly to exogamous marriages with Afrikaans speakers in the Natal Midlands.

petence in German, English now tends to function as home language in these families. Where speakers have gained some knowledge of German, German may continue as home language to some extent. English-speaking wives usually join their husbands' parish, whereas German-speaking wives, married to English speakers, often leave the congregation to join their husbands'.

The wife typically acquired some competence in German in order to fully participate in Springbok-German community life, to interact with her 'new' family, and as a sign of respect (cf. Gal, 1979 and the practice of German-speaking wives having to learn Hungarian). While learning German was once expected, or at least desirable of a prospective wife, today it is much less common for the non-German speaker to receive some form of language instruction in German. Occasionally, speakers do make the effort; for example, a group of five English-speaking women married to German speakers in Hermannsburg receive regular though relatively informal language instruction from one of the German language teachers at the *Deutsche Schule Hermannsburg*. Although they do not strive to attain a high level of spoken proficiency, they are motivated to acquire enough German competence in order to be able to follow conversations among Springbok-German speakers. Such dedication, however, remains the exception rather than the rule across the Natal Midlands communities.

Extract 6-15 [#51; Natal Midlands]

534 Hugo ... die meisten englischen Frauen, die hier Deutsche geheiratet haben, machen sich keine Mühe und intressiern sich gar nicht dran [Deutsch zu lernen]...

Extract 6-16 [#27; Natal Midlands]

347 Christel ... ich mein, wenn (.) wenn (.) eine Frau einen englischen Mann heiratet, is automatisch, dass sie dann Englisch reden (.) im Haus. Er wird nich Deutsch reden mit ihr. (.) Oder lern nich so leicht. (.) Die Frau wird eher Deutsch lern, wenn sie 'n deutschen Mann heiratet, (.) wenn sie Englisch is.

Intermarriage in the Natal Midlands then generally brings about a shift to English as home language.

In Northern Natal, exogamous marriages – mainly with Afrikaans speakers – are also relatively common nowadays. Exogamous marriages where the wife is the

Afrikaans speaker are still more likely to involve families retaining German as home language. Extensive code-switching is also a frequent communication strategy. The wife typically acquires some sort of competence in German, or may have already done so in the course of her school education. She also usually joins her husband's German church congregation and becomes firmly integrated into the Springbok-German communities. In cases where the husband is the Afrikaans speaker, this tends to involve a shift to Afrikaans as home language. Overall, however, the impact of Afrikaans in Northern Natal is much less conspicuous as compared to the wide-spread use of English in the Natal Midlands communities, both within the home and across the community and church domain.

Chapter 4 introduced the use of implicational scales, which can help to compare domain-specific language use across domains; that is, the scale (cf. chapter 4, Figure 4-5) sought to establish whether German language use was linked across domains. Figure 4-5 aimed to present an overall picture of the situation, and participants were thus not ordered according to individual communities or clusters of communities. Tendencies between the regional clusters could therefore not be illustrated. In Figure 6-2 and Figure 6-3 participants were thus arranged according to regions, Natal Midlands and Northern Natal, respectively.

Figure 6-2: Implicational scale for observed and reported language choices by speakers in the Natal Midlands (G = German; GX = German and other language(s), i.e. English, Afrikaans, Zulu; X = English, Afrikaans and/or Zulu). $n = 35$ speakers. Scalability: 91.5%. Deviations indicated by *.

| Partici- pant # | Age | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|--------------------|-----|----|-----|----|----|----|-----|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 3 | 68 | G | G | G | | G | G | G | G | GX* | G | G | X | X | X |
| 43 | 75 | G | | G | G | G | G | G | G | | G | GX | GX | X | X |
| 37 | 69 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 38 | 65 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 11 | 48 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 23 | 23 | G | G | G | | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | G* | X | X | X |
| 41 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 50 | 44 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 42 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | X* | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 31 | 45 | G | G | | G | G | GX* | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 13 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 12 | 71 | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 33 | 55 | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | G* | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 49 | 32 | G | G | G | | | G | GX | G* | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 32 | 42 | G | GX* | | G | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 6 | 70 | | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | G* | G* | X | X | X |
| 14 | 68 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | G* | GX | X | X | X |
| 27 | 52 | G | G | G | G | GX | G | GX | G* | GX | G* | X | X | X | X |
| 25 | 65 | G | G | G | G | | G | G | GX | GX | X* | GX | X | GX | X |
| 9 | 55 | G | G | G | G | G | GX | | GX | X* | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 4 | 64 | G | G | G | X* | X* | G | GX | G* | GX | GX | G* | X | X | X |
| 21 | 14 | G | G | G | | | GX* | GX | GX | | GX | G* | X | X | X |
| 51 | 36 | G | GX* | G | | | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 16 | 15 | G | G | GX | | | G | G* | GX | | X* | GX | X | X | X |
| 26 | 16 | G | G | GX | | | GX | GX | G* | | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 17 | 16 | G | GX | GX | | | GX | G* | GX | | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 22 | 14 | GX | GX | GX | | | G* | GX | GX | | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 39 | 33 | GX | GX | | | GX | GX | GX | GX | X* | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 18 | 34 | G | G | G | | | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X | X |
| 20 | 16 | G | G | G | | | G | G | GX | | GX | X | X | X | X |
| 29 | 15 | G | G | G | | | GX* | G | GX | | X | X | X | X | X |
| 24 | 34 | X* | | X* | X* | GX | G | G* | G* | GX | X | X | X | X | X |
| 19 | 35 | G | G | GX | GX | X* | G | X* | GX | GX | X | X | X | X | X |
| 28 | 45 | G | G | GX | GX | X* | GX | X* | GX | GX | X | X | X | X | X |
| 36 | 28 | GX | GX | X | | X | X | X | GX* | X | X | X | X | X | X |

1 = parents; 2 = grandparents; 3 = siblings; 4 = children; 5 = spouse; 6 = church; 7 = relatives; 8 = local social gatherings/community events; 9 = work; 10 = friends; 11 = neighbours; 12 = local shops; 13 = unknown persons; 14 = non-local shops.

Figure 6-3: Implicational scale for observed and reported language choices by speakers in Northern Natal (G = German; GX = German and other language(s), i.e. English, Afrikaans, Zulu; X = English, Afrikaans and/or Zulu). n = 25 speakers. Scalability: 99.1%. Deviations indicated by *.

| Participant # | Age | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|---------------|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 76 | 77 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 79 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 80 | 33 | G | G | G | G | | | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 78 | 72 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | | X | X |
| 64 | 78 | G | | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | | GX | | X | X |
| 77 | 75 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 62 | 44 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 67 | 60 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | | X | X |
| 66 | 38 | G | G | G | G | | | G | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 70 | 13 | G | G | G | G | | | G | G | GX | GX | GX | | X | X |
| 71 | 13 | G | G | G | G | | | G | G | GX | GX | GX | | X | X |
| 73 | 12 | G | G | G | G | | | G | G | GX | GX | GX | | X | X |
| 75 | 11 | G | G | G | G | | | G | G | GX | GX | GX | | X | X |
| 68 | 45 | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX* | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 59 | 53 | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX* | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 61 | 42 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 69 | 70 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | | X | X |
| 56 | 46 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X | X |
| 57 | 42 | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | X | X | X | X |
| 63 | 88 | G | | G | G | G | G | G | G | | X* | GX | X | X | X |
| 65 | 49 | G | G | G | G | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X |
| 55 | 21 | G | G | G | G | | | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 58 | 23 | G | G | GX | GX | | | GX | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | X | X |
| 52 | 16 | G | G | GX | GX | | | GX | GX | GX | | X | X | X | X |
| 74 | 11 | GX | GX | GX | GX | | | GX | GX | GX | GX | X | | X | X |

1 = parents; 2 = grandparents; 3 = church; 4 = siblings; 5 = children; 6 = spouse; 7 = relatives; 8 = local social gatherings/community events; 9 = friends; 10 = local shops; 11 = neighbours; 12 = work; 13 = unknown persons; 14 = non-local shops.

The scales in Figure 6-2 and Figure 6-3 include all speakers from the implicational scale in chapter 4 (cf. Figure 4.5); that is, 35 from the Natal Midlands and 25 from Northern Natal. Taking only filled cells into account, the reproducibility indices (IR) come to 91.5% (Figure 6-2) and 99.1% (Figure 6-3), and the scales can thus be considered to approximate near-perfect scalability. The scales highlight clearly the varying tendencies for language use in different domains across the regional clusters, indicating that, for speakers in the Natal Midlands, there is much more variability with regards to language choice, typically making use of German and another language variety. Furthermore, speakers also increasingly use language varieties other than

German in spheres of life such as church and within the community. This stands in contrast to Northern Natal, where the domains of family, church and community are still clearly dominated by the use of German.

The difference between the two regional clusters

The question that arises is why the communities in Northern Natal are not undergoing shift to Afrikaans in the same way as the Natal Midlands communities are confronted with shift to English. This question does not so much arise with regards to the synodal clusters, because this is largely a matter of religious conviction and the accompanying desire to preserve the heritage. Importantly, it also has to do with attitudes; the Hermannsburg synod is much more open to newcomers and change while the Freikirche is inclined to persist in remaining closed, keeping traditions and preserving the use of German. This – and the fact that the Freikirche congregations have established separate (English/Afrikaans) sister congregations – also explains why the Wartburg-Kirchdorf congregation (Freikirche) in the Natal Midlands is relatively immune to the influence exerted by English, in contrast to Wartburg, New Hanover, Harburg and Hermannsburg. The question, however, remains as to why those communities of the Hermannsburg synod struggle with German language maintenance when German enjoys immense vitality across the congregations in Northern Natal, whether this involves the congregations of the Hermannsburg synod (Augsburg and Piet Retief) or those belonging to the Freikirche (Wittenberg and Lüneburg).

There are a number of reasons for the diverging developments in the regional areas. They are interlinked and include demographics, socio-economic circumstances, geographical isolation, their historical background, language attitudes, and linguistic and cultural (dis)similarities with the dominant (white) cultures.

At first glance, Table 4-5 suggests that the Northern Natal communities do not appear to be demographically stronger than the communities in the Natal Midlands. However, while the Natal Midlands are only made up of the communities Wartburg, Harburg, New Hanover and Hermannsburg, there are a number of communities in

Northern Natal, which belong to the Springbok-German communities but which have not formed part of this study, e.g. Vryheid, Braunschweig in KZN, or Panbult in MP (cf. chapter 2, Table 2-4).

Table 6-1: Parish membership in the Natal Midlands and Northern Natal, in absolute numbers (source: own data); partial reproduction of Table 2.4. *Includes Wartburg and Wartburg-Kirchdorf.

| Congregation Natal Midlands | Parish members 2007 | Congregation Northern Natal | Parish members 2007 |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| Harburg | 250 | Augsburg | 323 |
| Hermannsburg | 140 | Lüneburg | 329 |
| New Hanover | 268 | Piet Retief | 204 |
| Wartburg* | 506 | Wittenberg | 339 |
| Total | 1164 | Total | 1194 |

Since the Northern Natal communities are numerically stronger, this also explains why their parish youth groups tend to be larger than the groups in the Natal Midlands. These groups foster close contact and encourage active interaction between the individual parish youth groups regardless of synodal membership. As mentioned in chapter 4, for example, the Wittenberg and Piet Retief youth groups regularly get together for social purposes, as do all the youth groups across Northern Natal, including those not especially examined in this study, e.g. the Vryheid youth groups. For the communities studied, figures for parish membership are slightly higher in Northern Natal on average, and it should also be noted that the figure for Wartburg is the total for both parishes, i.e. Wartburg and Wartburg-Kirchdorf. The total figure for the Natal Midlands is thus boosted by the parish membership of the Wartburg-Kirchdorf congregation; as noted, a numerically strong and healthy parish (334 members in 2007).

A second factor has to do with attitudes towards the two dominant (white) groups in South Africa, the Afrikaners and the English speakers. On the one hand, attitudes prevail among the Springbok-Germans, which regard English speakers as “just too lazy” when it comes to learning an additional language, whether that is Zulu (cf. chapter 4) or German (cf. section 6.1.1 above). Afrikaners, on the other hand, are

generally viewed as more willing to learn German. This is not only because of the linguistic similarities between the two language varieties – German and Afrikaans – which help language acquisition immensely, but also because of the cultural affinities (and ‘political consensus’) the Springbok-German speakers share with the rural Afrikaner farmers. The Springbok-Germans in Northern Natal tend to view themselves – and are seen by others – as more old-fashioned and conservative, reflecting also the strong influence of Afrikaner values, such as being family-oriented, conservative and dutiful.

Extract 6-17 [#51; Natal Midlands]

498 Hugo ... aber [sie] sind auch nette Leute. (.) Sind vielleicht noch'n bisschen konservativer als was wir sind, ne?

Extract 6-18 [#61; Northern Natal]

1 Helmut ... aber hier bei uns is man noch ziemlich konservativ und so weiter. (.) Und is ja auch richtig ...

As noted in chapter 5, the social background of the English farmers – rooted in aristocracy (cf. de Kadt, 2000) – is far removed from the peasant background of the Springbok-Germans, which are much closer in attitude, religion, culture and status to the Afrikaner farming community. In strong contrast to the English-speaking elite, the Afrikaner elite was much more supportive of German speakers generally, especially during and after the two worlds wars (cf. Davenport & Saunders, 2000; R. Ross, 1999).

Extract 6-19 [#65; Northern Natal]

255 Klaus ... die Afrikaansen warn noch viel mehr (.) ähm (.) pro-deutsch als was die Englichen warn. ... Der Afrikaanse is leichter ein Deutscher geworden als was ein Englicher ein Deutscher wird, wenn ich es so stellen darf. ... Wenn du mit 'ne englische Frau verheiratet bist, (.) ähm (.) werden die Kinder sehr wahrscheinlich englisch werden. (.) Aber wenn du 'ne afrikaanse Frau hast, is da 'ne gute Chance, dass die Kinder werden deutsch werden (.) ... Viele sind mit afrikaanse Fraun [verheiratet]. A. ist afrikaans, (.) die du heute treffen wirst. (.) Sie's afrikaans! Sie is Holländer, so wie S. [Klaus' wife] is auch Holländer. (.) Und sie's Holländer und sie ähm (.) sie spricht besser deutsch als, viel besser deutsch als S. zum Beispiel. (.) Aber, ähm, (.) ich meine man wird nie an an E. [A.'s daughter] und die merken,

dass sie 'ne afrikaanse Mutter haben. (0.2) Aber (der) afrikaans is so viel leichter. (.)
Ein Afrikaanser lernt deutsch so viel leichter als 'ne englische Person. ...

...

265 Klaus ... hier [Piet Retief area] sind viele Afrikaanse, sind voll Afrikaans, die mit dir
Deutsch sprechen. Wenn du im Laden reinkommst, dann spricht er mit dir
Deutsch. (.) Und er is Afrikaner! (.) Er war aber hier [Wittenberg] auf Schule. (.)
Und wie lange das noch so sein [wird] ...

It is thus not surprising that speakers frequently comment on how much easier it is for an Afrikaner to become integrated into the Springbok-German communities than for an English speaker. Consequently, intermarriage with English speakers is more likely to involve a shift away from the German language, the German culture and German Lutheranism more generally.

A third aspect considers the socio-economic and geographical circumstances. Industrialisation, urbanisation and improved infrastructure have impacted upon the regional clusters in different ways; while the Natal Midlands region is situated in relatively close proximity to the urban centres Pietermaritzburg and Durban, the Northern Natal communities are more geographically isolated, especially Lüneburg, which is tucked away on unsealed roads near the Pongola River. The nearest commercial centres in Northern Natal include the regional towns Vryheid, Newcastle and Ermelo, and, on a smaller scale, Piet Retief. Johannesburg is located some 350 kilometres east of Piet Retief, whereas Durban is only about 100 kilometres from Wartburg in the Natal Midlands.

Given their proximity to urban areas and good infrastructure, life in the communities in the Natal Midlands is much less restricted to the local community. Speakers frequently travel the distance to Durban for shopping, entertainment and sports events, visiting relatives and friends, etc. on any given day. In Northern Natal, on the other hand, the communities are at more of a distance from one another as well as urban centres, and distances are too great to make casual use of facilities in the cities. Thus for entire weekends or longer, speakers generally take the trouble of travelling – e.g. to Pretoria – with the main purpose of visiting family. Community life takes place more on a local level and activities are centred around the local community and church, e.g. rather than attending a sports event, people meet for a 'braai' and watch

the game at someone's house. This is not to say, however, that these kinds of activities are not also pursued in the Natal Midlands.

Furthermore, the communities in Northern Natal foster support and exchange across the synodal clusters to a greater extent than occurs in the Natal Midlands. The difference between the synods, although it exists, is much less pronounced here, and there are joint activities and celebrations (e.g. within the youth groups, as mentioned earlier). Church fêtes tend to be attended by members of both synods, especially where they are mainly organised by the school community. In 2006, the annual Lüneburg bazaar, for example, was first and foremost a fundraising event for the school. Because the organisers secured the attendance of a couple of soap actors from the Afrikaans language soap *Sewende Laan* (an immensely popular show among the Springbok-Germans in Northern Natal), the bazaar was attended by a large number of Springbok-Germans, and also drew people from the wider Afrikaans community.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the socio-historical circumstances were largely such that the Springbok-German communities could flourish economically and expand geographically. In the late 19th century, the communities in Northern Natal were much more in the frontline of hostilities during the Anglo-Zulu War (1879-1880) and again during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1901). During the Anglo-Boer War, Germans from Northern Natal and elsewhere in South Africa were also among those who joined the Boer commandos (Trümpelmann, 1949, p. 16; Welsh, 1998, p. 322). Although military action did not take place directly where the German settlements in Northern Natal are located, many farms were destroyed and livestock theft was common. Shelter was often sought with relatives and friends in the Natal Midlands, who, being situated in the heart of British Natal, were not subject to farm burnings and looting. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Springbok-Germans from both regions were conscripted – or volunteered their services – into the respective armies, and had to fight against fellow Germans at times (cf. also Trümpelmann, 1949).

Extract 6-20 [#37; #38; Natal Midlands]

856 Hermann ... und denn weißt du, mit die Flüchtlinge, die Deutschen, die dann geflüchtet sind und, und. (.) Weißt du, dass da (.) Deutsch gegen Deutsch gekämpft haben?

- 857 Katharina Nee.
 858 Hermann Da warn Deutsche hier, (.) die ham de- mit den Engländern (.) da oben beim (.)
 gegen seine Cousins ge- ge-
 859 Katharina Das muss ja schrecklich gewesen sein.
 860 Hermann Ja!
 861 Minchen Also die ein warn auf der Burenseite und die andren auf der Engländerseite.
 ...
 865 Minchen ... diese Gegend hier warn Englisch unterstützt, und die, die da oben in der
 Gegend wohn, habn Afrikaans unterstützt, also die Buren unterstützt.

Extract -21 [#65; Northern Natal]

- 17 Klaus ... mit [dem] Burenkrieg, (.) da wurden äh wurde die Kirche, Pastorenhaus und
 Schule wurde abgebrannt, (.) weil die Deutschen alle in die Kommandos warn. Sie
 warn an die Burenseite gegen die Engländer. (.) Wurde alles abgebrannt. ...

At the end of the war, what had been destroyed in the German communities in Northern Natal was rebuilt. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, economic and political instability drew the communities closer together, and the hardships endured helped to create and foster a greater sense of community and belonging among the Springbok-Germans in Northern Natal than among those in the Natal Midlands. The strong bonds formed between Afrikaners and Springbok-Germans in this region can be traced back to the struggles and hardships endured together, and general pro-German attitudes during and after the two world wars. Even today, especially in the Lüneburg area where stories about the Anglo-Boer War abound, commemorating the past is an important aspect, and speakers are indeed very proud of their ancestors and of belonging to the Northern Natal Springbok-German communities.

While the Northern Natal communities are characterised by a spirit of solidarity and hospitality, and speakers readily welcome newcomers and outsiders into their midst, speakers in the Natal Midlands give an appearance that is more typical of English stereotypes, such as being reserved and formal. This is not to say that there is not also a sense of community among these speakers, as they do identify themselves with being Springbok-German. It is, however, (nowadays) less pronounced. For one, the Natal Midlands never experienced the kind of destruction and destitution endured by those in Northern Natal during the Anglo-Boer War. Furthermore, the communities in the Natal Midlands are commonly seen by speakers, particularly in Northern Natal,

as being the more affluent ones of the two community clusters. As noted above, proximity to urban areas has had effects on community life in the Natal Midlands, and people are much more self-reliant, independent, and more reserved in these parts. In Extract 6-22, Charlotte, who grew up in Augsburg in Northern Natal and later moved to the Natal Midlands, comments on how there is less “Gemeinschaft” in the Natal Midlands these days. Speakers’ affluence is frequently commented upon as the cause of changing social structures, which formerly ensured a sense of belonging and togetherness in the community.

Extract 6-22 [#50; Natal Midlands]

- 582 Charlotte ... ich finde die Engländer auch anders. (.) Oder auch diese Deutschen hier in (.) diese Gegend, fand ich auch (.) sehr steif eigentlich. (.) Sie ham ein nich so leicht zu sich gelassen. ...
- ...
- 803 Charlotte ... und denn denk ich auch in unser Gegend hier is äh (.) viel (.) mit dem Reichtum (.) hat es was zu tun. (.) Das, die ähm (.) könn sich alles kaufen (.) und brauchen nich unbedingt eine Gemeinde mehr haben.
- 804 Katharina Den Zusammhalt meinst du?
- 805 Charlotte Den Zusammhalt, ja.
- 806 Katharina Ah ja.
- 807 Charlotte Die jungen Leute, die kriegen ganz früh schon ein Auto geschenkt und dann könn sie fahren wo sie hinbrau- wolln. Sie brauch- sind nich mehr abhängig von andre Leute und brauchen nich mehr einander. Ich denke, das is oft das Problem in diese Gegend. (.) Wo in Augsburg, (.) da wohn sie sehr isoliert. (.) Und wenn sie haben wolln, dann müssen sie etwas zusamm machen, und ich denke, das macht ‘n Unterschied. (.) Die treffen, (.) die jung Leute treffen sich oft und haben etwas, sie machen etwas zusamm. (.) Sie ham Jugend und (.) ham viele Parties und. (.) Wo hier (.) jeder tut einfach sein Eignes. ...

To sum up, the Springbok-Germans in the Natal Midlands and in Northern Natal can be considered to constitute one overarching speech community, as they belong to the same ethno-religious community of German Lutherans descendant of the early missionaries and settlers (cf. chapter 2). Nonetheless, there are underlying currents which distinguish the Northern Natal communities from the Natal Midlands ones. The key factors have to do with geographical isolation or, conversely, proximity to an urban centre – not an uncommon factor in patterns of language maintenance/shift. Generally speaking, socio-economic stability and affluence coupled with being relatively closely situated near urban areas has had unfavourable effects on community life and,

thus, language maintenance of German in the Natal Midlands. In Northern Natal, life is focussed on the family, the community and the church, which facilitates preserving German for future generations. Intermarriage is common across both regional clusters, but while it tends to involve a shift to English in the Natal Midlands, German is more often maintained within the home in Northern Natal.

Synodal affiliation also has a bearing on language maintenance practices and tendencies for shift. The Freikirche, being the more conservative one of the two synods, continues to provide German language services only. It is likely that the Freikirche will endeavour to preserve their German heritage for one or two generations to come, but much like the Hermannsburg synod, it will invariably also be affected by the changing sociolinguistic situation. The Hermannsburg synod, while keen to maintain German for the moment, is aware of this becoming increasingly difficult with greater rates of intermarriage, as well as the shifting away from German among younger speakers. In order to preach the gospel effectively and continue their Lutheran services, English and Afrikaans will invariably come to play a more central role, and ultimately bring changes to the provision of German language services and community life (cf. Hofman, 1966; Woods, 2004).

6.3 CONCLUSION

To conclude the second part of the thesis, dealing with language maintenance and shift, the main points made are briefly summarised here.

Chapter 4 showed that German is still frequently spoken in a wide variety of situations, most widely within the home, within the domains of the church and the community. It serves some limited functions at school where German language instruction is provided, and within the sphere of work and business. The influence of German language media is fairly trivial and resources are sought by but a few people.

By conceptualising the Springbok-German communities as ethno-religious ones, chapter 5 then explored the roots of the Springbok-Germans prolonged maintenance of German. The link between the German *Volkstum*, Lutheranism and the im-

portance of the German language was established, accounting for current language practices. As the chapter also discussed, speakers who view maintaining German as part of their religious and ethnic affiliations tend to be more willing to make an effort when it comes to upholding German as a community and home language. Where tangible links between Springbok-German speakers and German speakers in contemporary Germany exist, the desire to uphold German is further strengthened. Those who are concerned about losing German also tend to be those most willing to make an effort. Conversely, those who do not see the value or use of German, who can identify little with the cultural and/or religious characteristics of the community, and where German is simply “another language” rather than the treasured tongue of the forefathers and a ‘sacred’ symbol of German Lutheranism, show more of an inclination towards shift.

Chapter 6 looked at the dynamics of shift to English and Afrikaans across the communities but also took the regional and synodal clusters into consideration. Changes in marriage practices, i.e. increasing intermarriage with English or Afrikaans speakers, changes in the demographic make-up of the communities, and socio-economic developments, i.e. increased urbanisation and industrialisation in South Africa, were identified as the main factors which account for language shift away from German. Since the Springbok-German communities are increasingly faced with social, economic and demographic changes, this has made maintaining the German language within the home, and the church and community, and preserving German cultural traditions something that requires more and more effort and energy on the part of the individual. The Natal Midlands are more affected by the changes than the Northern Natal communities where German is currently still fairly stable. Diverging trends are also apparent across synodal clusters, with the Freikirche more conservative, protecting the use and transmission of German more staunchly than the Hermannsburg synod. The latter is more interested in including outsiders, not wishing to have separate services or parishes for their non-German speakers. The next chapter now turns from sociolinguistic issues to linguistic ones and looks at the (morpho)syntactic developments in Springbok-German.

7 MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES

“... the new geographical location, implying the cutting of links with the source language and a new proximity to other languages, has led to South African German (SAG) (*Springbo(c)kdeutsch*) developing its own characteristics.”
E. de Kadt (2002b, p. 155)

Transplanted German language varieties around the world have been shown to have developed their own characteristics, often along typological lines but also affected by the language contact in their respective environments. Likewise, Springbok-German shows changes that have resulted from the contact between Afrikaans and English speakers, and Springbok-German speakers. This last part now examines in what ways Springbok-German has undergone change in the area of (morpho)syntax. By considering the likely sources of origin for the observed developments, the final two chapters also look at the central question of language change in a language contact setting.

7.1 THE ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

Chapter 1 introduced Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) language contact framework, which makes a crucial distinction between ‘interference’ and ‘borrowing’, the latter being concerned with features that are transferred from the dominant language variety (source language) to the variety spoken by the minority group (borrowing language) in situations of prolonged language maintenance (cf. section 1.1.1). Only this type of linguistic influence is of concern here.

In borrowing situations, such as is the case with the Springbok-German communities, the first foreign items to be incorporated into the borrowing variety are lexical items. Structural features, including phonological, morphological and syntactic ones, may also be borrowed provided the contact is long-term and there is strong cultural pressure.

Although lexical borrowing frequently takes place without widespread bilingualism, extensive structural borrowing, as has often been pointed out, apparently requires extensive (though **not** universal) bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers over a considerable period of time. (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 37, emphasis in original)

In this context, the concept of ‘intensity of contact’ is an important one, and involves ‘time’ and ‘level of bilingualism’ as crucial factors (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 47). Although the contact between the Springbok-Germans and English/Afrikaans speakers has not been as intense as in other language contact situations (e.g. in Kupwar, India, or in *Sprachbund* areas such as the Balkans), cultural contact between the dominant (white) social groups – English, Afrikaans and German speakers – existed from the day the missionaries and settlers arrived in Natal. In other words, the Springbok-Germans have been in contact with English and Afrikaans speakers for over six generations, since the mid-1800s. While contact was of a more sporadic nature in the beginning, and the Springbok-German communities remained isolated – geographically, religiously and linguistically – from the wider South African society for some generations (and to some extent still do), the previous chapters also showed that the contact became increasingly closer over the past few generations. As a result, today there is a high degree of multilingualism among Springbok-German speakers.

Contact with non-German speakers now occurs on a regular basis, and extends into the most intimate domains, such as within the immediate family. While English and Afrikaans play a significant role in speakers’ lives – both in the private and public domain – the influence of Zulu remains marginal and is largely restricted to the domain of work and business. In any case, the contact between English and Afrikaans, on the one hand, and Springbok-German on the other, can be described as moderate; or, in Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988, p. 78) words, it is a language contact situation that is characterised by “slightly more intense” cultural contact (scenario 2 in Table 7-1 below). Linguistically, this is reflected in the borrowing of lexical items as well as structural features. The borrowing scale as proposed by Thomason and Kaufman is represented in Figure 7-2.

Table 7-1: Borrowing Scale (adapted from: Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, pp. 74-76).

| Type of Contact | Lexicon | Phonology | Morphology | Syntax |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Casual contact | content words (non-basic before basic vocabulary) | | | |
| 2. Slightly more intense contact (<i>Springbok- German</i>) | function words (conjunctions; adverbial parti- cles) | new phonemes (loanwords only) | | new orderings or new functions |
| 3. More intense contact | function words (adpositions; derivational af- fixes; personal and demonstra- tive pronouns; low numerals) | phonemicisation of allophonic alternations; pro- sodic and syllable structure (e.g. stress rule) | derivational af- fixes (native vo- cabulary) | some (typologi- cal) word order changes |
| 4. Strong cultural pressure | | introduction of new distinctive features; new syllable con- straints; etc. | inflectional af- fixes and catego- ries (e.g. new cases) | extensive word order changes |
| 5. Very strong cultural pressure | | added morpho- phonemic rules: phonetic changes; loss of phonemic contrasts; etc. | changes in word structure rules; loss of morpho- phonemic rules | categorical and more extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax; added concord rules |

In cases of slightly more intense contact, lexical borrowing is heavy. As Stielau (1980) documents, borrowing of lexical items is widespread in Springbok-German and involves both content words (e.g. *Robot* ‘traffic light’, South African Eng. ‘robot’; *morschen* ‘to waste’, Afr. ‘mors’) and function words, such as conjunctions (e.g. *voordem* ‘before’, Afr. ‘voordat’); they are integrated to varying degrees (cf. Franke, 2007). The majority of items are borrowed from English or Afrikaans, though there are also some borrowings from Zulu, such as *Putu* ‘corn pap’ (Zulu ‘uphuthu’) or *Muti* ‘traditional medicine’ (Zulu ‘umuthi’). However, the Zulu lexical items Stielau (1980, pp. 48-50) lists also occur in South African English varieties and Afrikaans, and thus whether they have been borrowed via English/Afrikaans or directly from Zulu is unclear. While an analysis of phonological and prosodic features is outside the scope of the present study, it can be noted here that there are (at least) some changes in prosody. The distinction is particularly pronounced between speakers from the Northern Natal

region and those from the Natal Midlands region, the former showing influence from Afrikaans' prosodic patterns.⁸⁸ There are also changes which affect morphological patterns, e.g. verbal inflections (for further details, cf. Franke, 2007). Moreover, Springbok-German shows changes in morphosyntactic and syntactic patterns, the extent of which is examined below. While some of these developments may be more extensive than what is likely to occur in a slightly more intense contact situation, e.g. word order changes and changes in prosodic structure, and thus seem to resemble the situation in category 3 ("more intense" language contact), there is little evidence that derivational affixes or function words such as adpositions are borrowed (typical of category 3). The present contact setting may, perhaps, be described as constituting a borderline case between category 2 and 3, but it is safer to regard it as a case of 'slightly more intense' contact, i.e. category 2.

The type of (structural) borrowing likely to occur in slightly more intense contact situations then tends to lead to systemic simplification, and can be found in indigenous language contact settings, and often those involving ethnic varieties, i.e. immigrant settings (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, pp. 81-83). This may involve changes in gender assignment, e.g. in Australian German (Clyne, 1981), or changes in word order, as observed in a Low German dialect spoken in Nebraska (Bender, 1980, cited in Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 81, cf. also chapter 8). Changes generally occur in line with typological developments, "causing little or no typological disruption" (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 74). Generally speaking, the developments observed in Springbok-German follow typological directions.

This last part thus examines whether and how the effects of the contact with English and Afrikaans are reflected in grammatical features of Springbok-German. These chapters are based on a systematic analysis of the speech of 37 interviewees who took part in the study. These participants were selected on the basis of representing a wide age range as well as synodal and regional clusters. The present chapter deals with developments in the morphosyntax. It first discusses case marking, focusing on the accusative/dative distinction. A brief overview of case marking in modern

⁸⁸ This is frequently a cause of amusement, if not ridicule, for speakers from the Natal Midlands.

German is provided, and tendencies for case reduction in transplanted German varieties are outlined. This is followed by a detailed examination of the present data. The second part of this chapter discusses nominal possessive structures. Chapter 8 then looks at syntactic aspects, including infinitival complementation and word order changes.

7.2 CASE MARKING IN SPRINGBOK-GERMAN: LOSS OF THE ACCUSATIVE/DATIVE CASE DISTINCTION?

7.2.1 Case marking in modern German: A cursory overview

Modern German⁸⁹ retains a four-case system; case is primarily signalled on determiners (articles and demonstratives) and adjectives within the NP, as “case inflection on nouns is now restricted to the genitive singular *-es* in masculine and neuter nouns, and the dative plural *-n*” (Harbert, 2007, p. 104). Table 7-2 shows the case system for the definite article and illustrates where articles have merged across the paradigm. The feminine singular, for example, shows only a two-case distinction while the masculine singular has retained distinct articles for all four cases.

Table 7-2: Case paradigm of the definite article in modern German.

| | Sg | | | Pl |
|-----|------|------|-----|-----|
| | Masc | Neut | Fem | |
| Nom | der | das | die | die |
| Acc | den | | | |
| Dat | dem | | der | den |
| Gen | des | | | der |

Case distinctions are also retained within the pronominal system in modern German. The fact that pronouns generally retain case distinctions more robustly than determiners or nouns can be observed across Germanic languages (Harbert, 2007, p. 105)

⁸⁹ The term ‘modern German’ is to be broadly understood in a historical linguistic sense as New High German, developed from the 16th century onwards. In using ‘modern German’ as a general point of reference in the discussion here, I follow the use in Eisenberg (2002) and Harbert (2007).

and also holds for modern German. Table 7-3 shows case merging in the 3rd person singular, and also in the 1st and 2nd person plural (loss of the accusative/dative distinction) and 3rd person plural (loss of the nominative/accusative distinction). Both the 1st and 2nd person singular retain distinct pronouns across all cases.

Table 7-3: Personal pronouns in modern German.

| | | Nom | Acc | Dat | Gen |
|----|-----------------|-----|------|-------|--------|
| Sg | 1 st | ich | mich | mir | meiner |
| | 2 nd | du | dich | dir | deiner |
| | 3 rd | er | ihn | ihm | seiner |
| | | es | | | |
| | | sie | | ihr | ihrer |
| Pl | 1 st | wir | uns | | unser |
| | 2 nd | ihr | euch | | euer |
| | 3 rd | sie | | ihnen | ihrer |

Case assignment in modern German is determined by the grammatical role (function) of the NP, i.e. each case is associated with a core ('default') grammatical function. For example, the direct object is assigned accusative case whereas the indirect object receives dative case marking. This is also referred to as structural case assignment. In addition, cases may have other semantic functions, "often of a generally adverbial nature" (Harbert, 2007, p. 112), marking clause constituents that are not dependent on the verb's valency. These can generally be omitted from the clause, and are often referred to as 'free' (or 'absolute') cases. The 'ethical dative' (*Komm mir ja nicht zu spät!* 'Don't be late, will you!') or the 'accusative of time' (*jeden Donnerstag geht Max ins Theater* 'Max visits the theatre every Thursday') represent such free cases (cf. Dürscheid, 2007, pp. 41-42; Eisenberg, 1986, pp. 276-292, 2002; Harbert, 2007, p. 112; Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, pp. 158-164).

Moreover, case may also be assigned lexically, that is, due to special properties of a predicate; for example, the lexically case-marked object of the verb *helfen* 'help' is assigned dative case, e.g. *Marie half dem Kind* 'Mary helped the child'. In addition to verbs, certain adjectives and prepositions also govern case assignment, e.g. the preposition *für* 'for' assigns accusative case while the adjective *ähnlich* 'similar' gov-

erns the dative. A number of prepositions to do with location/direction govern both the dative and the accusative, depending on whether they are interpreted as directional (accusative marking) or static (dative marking). For example, *in den Wald gehen* ‘to go into the woods’ is interpreted as directional and thus assigned accusative case, in contrast to the more static *im Wald spazieren gehen* ‘to go for a walk in the woods’ as signalled by dative case (Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, p. 163).

7.2.2 Case reduction and loss in transplanted German varieties

Developments in case marking have been observed widely for transplanted German varieties; they constitute one of the most frequently reported structural changes and always involve case reduction, if not loss of case inflection altogether. This section briefly surveys developments across transplanted German varieties.

In the varieties spoken by sectarian Pennsylvania German speakers⁹⁰ in the United States, the case system has been collapsing, whereby “the functions once performed by the dative case have been subsumed by the historical nominative and accusative” (Louden, 1997, p. 86). This has resulted in a two-case system for pronouns (nominative and accusative) and one case for nouns – a case system that is identical to the English one. These case mergers constitute a relatively recent development since older speakers may still display an intact case system. Dative usage is also much more frequent among nonsectarians. Among younger sectarian speakers, the dative survives only in relic-like forms and is not productive but fossilised (cf. Huffines, 1989; Loudon, 1997). Nonsectarian speakers, however, show more conservative linguistic norms and use dative forms productively to express dative functions – Pennsylvania

⁹⁰ Pennsylvania German speakers involve two distinct subgroups based on the emphasis placed on religion and their peculiar way of life: sectarian, or “plain” subgroups (Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite groups, among other splinter groups) on the one hand, and nonsectarian, “nonplain” groups on the other hand. Neither of these subgroups constitutes a single ethnic group culturally or linguistically, and indeed, “within the total Pennsylvania German community is enmeshed a variety of subgroups, each having a different relation to the dominant culture” (Huffines, 1980, p. 43). The distinction is an important one as it concerns the linguistic characteristics of Pennsylvania German; the Pennsylvania German spoken by sectarian members shows different characteristics than the varieties spoken by non-sectarians. The distinction is also relevant with regards to sociolinguistic issues; i.e. the two subgroups exhibit diverse language maintenance and shift tendencies. Cf., among others, Burridge (2002a, 2002b, 2007; Burridge & Enninger, 1992), Huffines (1980, 1984, 1989), Loudon (1994, 2003, 2006b, 2006c).

German has, however, almost died out these subsets of speakers. Huffines (1991) shows that patterns of usage are not uniform across nonsectarian and sectarian speakers, that is, while nonsectarian speakers exhibit a higher degree of variation in translation exercises for pronoun use (79% use the dative correctly), sectarian speakers reveal consistency in their use of the accusative to express dative functions (98% use the accusative). This tendency for case syncretism is also apparent in Canadian Pennsylvania German, which has a two-case system for nouns but still preserves a three-case system for pronouns (cf. Burrige, 1998, 2007). For nouns, accusative and nominative case have already merged, and although “this change is not nearly as advanced in Canada as it is in Pennsylvania” (Burrige, 1998, p. 81), the dative is disappearing. This is particularly noticeable in the speech of younger speakers and those of the less conservative groups (K. Burrige, p.c.).

Case reduction and loss have also been observed in other varieties of German in North America, Australian German, Russian German varieties and German varieties in South America. Reduction and loss of case has, for example, been observed diachronically in German Texas for over fifty years (cf. Eikel, 1949; Fuller & Gilbert, 2003; Gilbert, 1965; Guion, 1996; Salmons, 1994, 2003). In the last century, dative case has continually declined and has now almost completed the case merger to a two-case system, namely nominative and oblique case (retaining accusative marking). In a study by Salmons (1994), supported also by findings by Fuller and Gilbert (2003), determiners are marked to 89% as accusative, contrasted with 60% of pronouns. Accordingly, pronouns in Texas German appear to be more resistant to case loss and are “vastly preferred for case marking” (Fuller & Gilbert, 2003, p. 168), despite the overall tendency for case loss. Conversely, case marking on determiners is undergoing change. What is unusual about the case system in Texas German is, however, the potential development of an accusative vs. nominative distinction for the determiner across all three genders in the singular (Table 7-4).

Table 7-4: Definite article in Texas German (adapted from: Salmons, 1994, p. 60).

| | Masc | Neut | Fem |
|-----|------|---------|---------|
| Nom | der | das | die |
| Acc | den | den/das | die/der |
| Dat | | | |

Salmons (1994, p. 67) comments that “[t]his would indicate that Texas German has evolved in the direction of clearly marking subject versus object relations even as it has abandoned further case distinctions”. Other case distinctions, such as the distinction between the static dative and the dynamic accusative is also weakening, characterised by variation with an increased use of accusative marking (Fuller & Gilbert, 2003, p. 172). Nonetheless, substantial variation exists in the distribution of case usage and case inflection for dative contexts between speakers and within the speech of individuals.

This suggests that the end result might well be, or has been, a dialect with no dative case marking – provided the case merger moves, or has moved, faster than language shift. (Fuller & Gilbert, 2003, p. 175)

Similarly, a transplanted German variety spoken in Indiana, Haysville East Franco-Canadian, is also shifting to a two-case system, marking nominative and oblique case (the dative survives only in relic forms). This is, however, done consistently only for determiners in the masculine singular. Feminine and neuter singular do not tend to be distinguished according to case, and even greater variation exists for the pronominal system (Nützel, 1993, p. 315). Michigan German still retains a three-case system, though there is a tendency towards the loss of dative marking, especially in the speech of younger speakers. Possessive pronouns have lost all case markers. Born (2003, p. 156) notes that there is substantial variation in prepositional case government, e.g. the preposition *mit* ‘with’ governs the dative in masculine and neuter singular, while the feminine singular is either marked by accusative or dative case. The distinction between the static dative and the dynamic accusative is no longer maintained, retained only in a few lexicalised forms and otherwise marked by accusative case.

Case reduction is also evident in a Volga German variety spoken in Kansas. While the nominal system retains case distinctions for the masculine definite article

(nominative vs. accusative), the neuter and feminine definite articles are marked for common and dative case. Prepositions, however, are governed by dative case categorically. The indefinite article and possessive pronoun have lost all case marking (Keel, 1994, p. 98, cf. also Berend 2003).

Case syncretism is also apparent in transplanted German language varieties, which are not in contact with English but varieties such as Russian (which has a fully developed case system). Contrasting developments in American German varieties with Russian German ones, Berend (2003, p. 266) writes that while case reduction has been observed for Russian German varieties, the tendency towards case syncretism is less frequent in German varieties in Russia:

Die Kasusmischung ist ein im Kansasdeutschen häufig vorkommendes Phänomen, das auch im Russlanddeutschen um sich greift [...]. Sie ist im Russlanddeutschen aber bedeutend weniger verbreitet und auch nicht in allen Dialekten wie das im amerikanischen Deutschen der Fall zu sein scheint. (Berend, 2003, p. 266, endnote 6)

There are nevertheless several contributions on this topic in the volume edited by Berend and Jedig (1991). One such study is Mironow (cited in Keel, 1994),⁹¹ who conducted a study in the late 1930s on case systems in the German dialects of the Volga River region. Mironow notes the overall prevalence of a two-case system, either the nominative and the accusative, or the nominative and the dative.

Der Verlust der phonetischen Differenzierung der Kasus führt in den Mundarten zu einem immer mehr um sich greifenden Synkretismus im Kasussystem. Viele sowjetdeutsche Mundarten besitzen nur noch zwei Kasus: Nominativ und Akkusativ oder Nominativ und Dativ. Aber die Tendenz zu völligem Kasusverlust macht sich in diesen Mundarten schon bemerkbar. Diese Entwicklung [...] ist möglich geworden, weil die syntaktischen Beziehungen hinreichend durch die Präpositionen und die Semantik der Verben gekennzeichnet und somit formale phonetische Marker überflüssig geworden sind. (Mironow, cited in Keel, 1994, p. 100)

The pronominal system is reduced to two cases; that is, the nominative and the oblique, a merger of the accusative and the dative, retaining accusative forms, e.g. *ich war bei dich* 'I was with you' or *komm zu mich* 'come to me' (from Mironow, cited in

⁹¹ Because of lack of access to the volume by Berend and Jedig (1991), which contains the primary sources, I rely on information provided in Keel (1994) for developments in various Russian German dialects.

Keel, 1994, p. 101). In 1969, Schraml (cf. Keel, 1994, p. 101) records a tendency towards a two-case system consisting of the nominative and dative case in German dialects in the Transcarpathia region (Ukraine). Ten years later, Medwidj (cf. Keel, 1994) makes similar observations for the Transcarpathia region and comments:

Das Kasussystem der Mundarten des Bezirks Tschinadijewo ist nicht mehr stabil. Der Genitiv ist nicht mehr vorhanden, der Dativ wird immer häufiger durch den Akkusativ ersetzt. Auch der Gemeinschaftskasus, der seiner Form nach mit dem Nominativ zusammenfällt, greift immer mehr um sich. (Medwidj, cited in Keel, 1994, p. 101)

This parallels developments observed for Low German-speaking Mennonites in the Altai region (western Siberia), where a two-case system of nominative and oblique case exist. Here, only relic-like forms survive of the accusative (Jedig, 1966, 1981). Investigating a Low German variety spoken in a language enclave in Kyrgyzstan, Hooge (1992, p. 111) reports that the accusative has collapsed and merged into the dative in the pronominal system. Rosenberg (1994, p. 141) thus concludes that a tendency for case reduction is observable in German dialects across Russia, commenting that “der allerorten beobachtete Synkretismus im Kasussystem geht mit großer Geschwindigkeit vor sich und wird auch durch den wachsenden Einfluß des Russischen nicht ernstlich gehemmt”. Similar developments are recorded for German varieties in Hungary: Knipf-Komlósi (2006, p. 54) observes an overall tendency towards case reduction despite a high degree of variation among speakers of a Hungarian German variety.

In essence, case syncretism is not a particularly unusual phenomenon in transplanted German varieties as such. In some transplanted German varieties, this has resulted in two-case systems, where nominative and accusative case are merged (common case) and the dative is retained. Conversely, other German language varieties have lost dative case forms, merged into the accusative, and retain the nominative vs. accusative case distinction. There are also varieties, such as (sectarian) American Pennsylvania German where all case distinctions are lost for certain sub-systems (e.g. the nominal system). In this context, Rosenberg (2005, p. 229) comments that case syncretism is “part of a long-term development from synthetic to analytic structures

in German” – a tendency that is observable across Germanic languages in general. The rate of change may, however, be indicative of external influence.

7.2.3 Reduction of case inflection in Springbok-German?

In her study of ‘Natal German’, Stielau (1980) makes several observations concerning the case system. Firstly, genitive case marking has largely disappeared, having been replaced by analytic possessive constructions (cf. the discussion in section 7.3 below). Secondly, Stielau reports variation in the use of dative and accusative case, pertaining to the signalling of the object function of the NP, e.g. the direct object may be marked as dative as in (3) or conversely, the indirect object may be assigned accusative case (4). This variation affects both the use of pronouns and determiners.

- (3) *Die Katze beißt **ihr**.*
the cat bites her-DAT
“The cat bites her.” (p. 217)
- (4) *Wir spielen **sie** einen Streich.*
we play them-ACC a-ACC trick
“We are playing a trick on them.” (p. 222)

The tendency to use dative case for accusative contexts, on the other hand, seems to concern the pronominal system only, and Stielau (p. 218) is convinced that “keiner der Informanten je sagen würde: *Die Katze beißt der Frau*” (cf. (3)). Variation in the assignment of (lexical) case is also reported for prepositions which govern dative (5) or accusative case (6), and a number of verbs (7).

- (5) *Die Katze läuft hinter **sie** her.*
the cat runs behind her-ACC
“The cat is following her.” (p. 221)
- (6) *Er hat es für **ihr** getan.*
he has it for her-DAT done
“He did it for her.” (p. 217)
- (7) *Ich glaube **dich** nicht.*
I believe you-ACC not
“I don’t believe you.” (p. 222)

In short, Stielau reports widespread variation in the assignment of case. The use of dative case for accusative functions appears restricted to the pronominal system. She explains the variation in the use of pronouns as influenced through Low German, originally spoken by the early settlers, on the one hand, and due to pressure from English and Afrikaans, on the other hand. Both contact languages have one form for oblique case pronouns; this is also the case in Low German dialects (e.g. North Saxon, East Low German), where a distinction is made between nominative and oblique case pronouns only. It is essentially the pressure from English and Afrikaans to which Stielau (p. 219) attributes the conflation of dative and accusative pronouns.

Der starke strukturelle Druck, der von englischer wie afrikaanser Seite auf das Deutsche ausgeübt wird, führt dazu, daß bei Pronomina die deutsche Dativform, die lautlich mit der englischen und der afrikaansen Akkusativ-/Dativform kongruiert, für den Akkusativ eintritt:

E. *ask her* > Dt. *frag ihr*
 A. *vra haar*

While structural similarity between the 3rd person singular dative pronoun *ihr* and the English and Afrikaans pronouns (*her* and *haar*, respectively) might explain the substitution of the dative form *ihr* for the accusative pronoun *sie*, it neither explains the use of 1st or 2nd person singular dative pronouns for accusative ones nor instances such as (5), where the accusative pronoun is used instead of the dative one (no explanation is offered here).

Variation in case usage is also reported by de Kadt (2001) in her study of German language skills of high school students in Wartburg (cf. chapter 1). Testing a number of verbs which require the indirect object to be assigned dative case, and the direct one to be in accusative (e.g. *schchenken* ‘to give as a present’), de Kadt (p. 72) found that

while the pronoun *mir* was used correctly more often than incorrectly (and especially with *geben*), there was considerable confusion when nouns were involved, with regard to both accusative and dative [...].

In contrast to Stielau (1980), who indicates a case merger of accusative and dative case within the pronominal system, de Kadt (2001, p. 72) comments that the “pronoun sys-

tem appears to have been maintained to a greater extent than the article system". Nonetheless, given the enormous variation and confusion in case usage found, de Kadt concludes that the dative and the accusative are eroding towards constituting a single oblique case. Although neither study provides quantitative results, with these qualitative observations in mind, I shall now take a look at the data from the present study.

Case usage: The findings

The data has been analysed quantitatively in two contexts: case assignment within certain prepositional phrases, and case marking of NPs in indirect object function. For this purpose, the following six prepositions governing dative case were investigated: *aus* 'out/from'; *bei* 'at'; *mit* 'with'; *nach* 'towards/after'; *von* 'of'; *zu* 'to'. In addition, three prepositions which assign accusative case, namely *für* 'for', *durch* 'through' and *um* 'for/to', were examined⁹² to establish whether the widespread confusion and variation in case assignment across contexts found by Stielau (1980) and de Kadt (2001) could be confirmed. For analysing NPs in indirect object function, 16 verbs were taken into account, including *helfen* 'to help', *erzählen* 'to tell', *zeigen* 'to show', *sagen* 'to say', *geben* 'to give', *bringen* 'to bring',⁹³ all of which assign dative case to the indirect object.

Overall, the results of the present study show the case system of Springbok-German still comparatively intact; there are, however, indications of accusative and dative case merging, especially in the speech of younger Springbok-Germans. Table 7-5 shows case usage for dative case contexts (i.e. indirect object NPs and PPs) according to category, revealing that case usage remains at present conservative in the determiner system as well as in the pronominal system. Overall, roughly one fourth (23%) of tokens in dative case contexts are marked as accusative. In other words, ac-

⁹² There are a number of other prepositions which also assign accusative case, e.g. *gegen* 'against', *ohne* 'without', *wider* 'against'; these have not been examined quantitatively since they occur only very rarely (if at all) in the present data.

⁹³ Other verbs examined include: *antworten* 'to answer', *fehlen* 'to miss, to lack', *gehören* 'to belong', *zuhören* 'to listen', *schenken* 'to give as a present', *schicken* 'to send', *gefallen* 'to please, to delight', *danken* 'to thank', *erklären* 'to explain'. These occur much less frequently in the data.

cusative and dative case have not yet collapsed, but dative case remains available and is used in the majority of contexts (77%) where this is required in modern German.

Table 7-5: Summary of case usage according to category and case marking in dative case contexts, in percentage.

| Category | Tokens marked as dative | Tokens marked as accusative |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Determiners | 79% | 21% |
| Pronouns | 74% | 26% |
| Adjective | 52% | 48% |
| Total (<i>n</i> = 2482) | 77% | 23% |

As Table 7-5 shows, there is little variation between the use of case-specific determiners and pronouns, with dative case marking done consistently across both categories. For dative case pronouns, the figure drops slightly to 74%; for dative case marking on adjectives, however, the figure decreases to almost 50%.

Looking at case usage in more detail, the findings show that the variation across accusative and dative contexts, as mentioned by de Kadt (2001) and Stielau (1980), is not reflected in the present data. Table 7-6 summarises case usage in prepositional phrases, according to the preposition governing dative or accusative case.

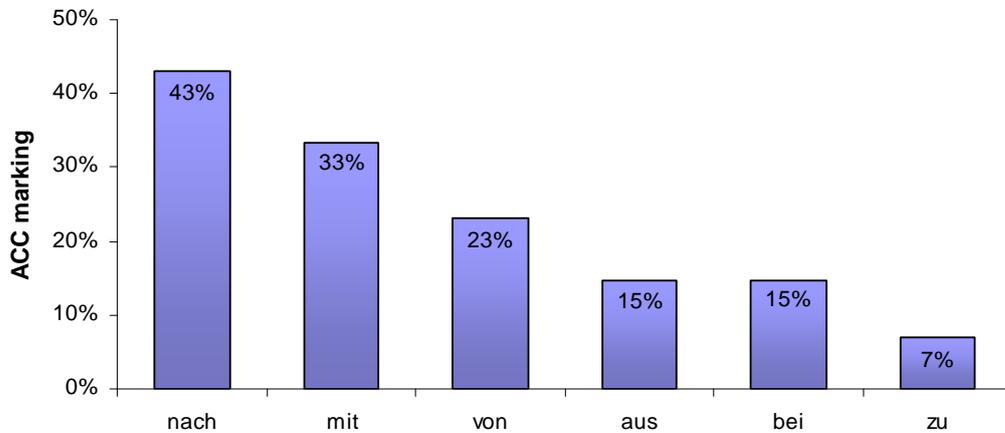
Table 7-6: Summary of case usage in prepositional phrases, in percentage.⁹⁴

| Preposition | Tokens marked as dative | Tokens marked as accusative |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Dative prepositions (<i>n</i> = 2205) | 78% | 22% |
| Accusative prepositions (<i>n</i> = 379) | 2% | 98% |

Accusative marking is done consistently in accusative case contexts (2% are marked as dative), while there is some variation with regards to PPs governed by dative case. Figure 7-1 provides a further break-down of case usage according to preposition, showing that the use of accusative case marking varies according to preposition, i.e. it is most frequently used following *nach* (43%), *mit* (33%) and *von* (23%).

⁹⁴ Tokens which could not be unambiguously identified as either dative or accusative were excluded from the analysis, e.g. instances where the 1st person plural pronoun was used (*mit uns* 'with us'), which lacks the dative/accusative distinction (cf. Table 7-3).

Figure 7-1: Summary of accusative case marking (determiner/pronoun) according to dative case preposition, in percentage.



Of the prepositions most frequently used, *zu* remains firmly associated with dative case while PPs with *von* and *mit* reflect greater variation, illustrated in (8) and (9) below. Note, however, the contracted preposition in the PP *im Kindergarten* in (9) reflecting dative case inflection; this exemplifies the variation in case usage frequently exhibited in the speech of individual speakers.

- (8) male, 49 yrs, Northern Natal
*Und viele **von die Schwarzen** könn auch Afrikaans.*
 and many of the-ACC blacks can also Afrikaans
 “And many of the Blacks also know Afrikaans.”

- (9) male, 35 yrs, Natal Midlands
*Im Kindergarten habn wir gefragt, dass da deutsch gesprochen wird **mit sie**.*
 in-DAT kindergarten have we asked that there German spoken will with them-ACC
 “We asked that they would speak German with them in kindergarten.”

While the lexically governed prepositions are still firmly associated with case marking, speakers are much less certain about assigning the appropriate case to objects. NPs in indirect object function are produced with accusative marking to a higher extent than those in PPs, i.e. 35% of tokens in indirect object function were marked as accusative (Table 7-7), as compared to 22% in PPs.

Table 7-7: Summary of case marking on NPs in indirect object function, in percentage.

| | Dative tokens | Accusative tokens |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Total (<i>n</i> =275) | 65% | 35% |

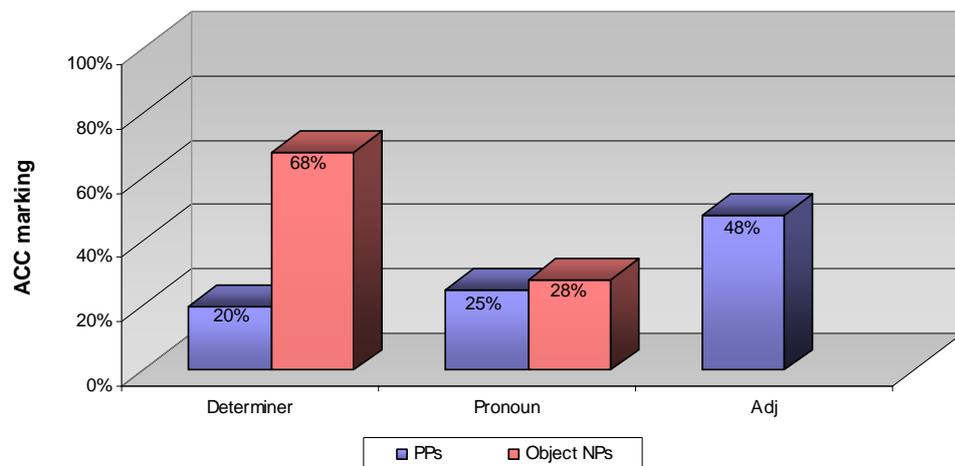
The verbs *helfen* and *geben* are used frequently with indirect objects in accusative case (47% and 45%, respectively), whereas *sagen* (30%), *bringen* (27%), *zeigen* (27%), and *erzählen* (21%) occur with accusative case less often.

- (10) male, 49 yrs, Northern Natal
*Komm ich helf **dich!***
 come I help you-ACC
 “Let me help you!”

- (11) female, 44 yrs, Natal Midlands
*Aber ich denke, wenn die Gemeinschaft **sie** eine Chance gegeben hätte...*
 but I think if the community her-ACC a chance given had
 “But I think if the community had given her a chance...”

Returning to the differences between case marking on pronouns and determiners, as mentioned above, Stielau comments that accusative and dative case personal pronouns show tendencies of conflating into oblique case personal pronouns, while de Kadt’s results indicate a greater attrition of the determiner system than pronouns.

Figure 7-2: Accusative case marking on PPs and on NPs in indirect object function, in percentage.



The findings of the present study are displayed in Figure 7-2, showing not only contrasting trends between the categories, e.g. case signalled on determiners vs. pronoun usage, but differing starkly depending on the syntactic context.

Accusative pronoun usage is relatively consistent across both contexts; 25% of cases in PPs and 28% in object NPs. In contrast, the frequencies for accusative case marking on object NPs are staggeringly high for determiners (68%), as in example (12a). Accusative case is signalled in only 20% of cases on PPs, as in (12b). This reflects the overall uncertainty of speakers with regards to assigning dative case to indirect objects.

- (12) a) male, 49 yrs, Northern Natal
*[Dann] muss ich jetzt **die Kinder** fractions erklären.*
 Must I now the-ACC children fractions explain
 “So then I have to explain to the children how to do fractions.”
- b) female, 52 yrs, Natal Midlands
*Sie haben ein Geschäft da zusammen mit noch **ein Cousin**.*
 they have a shop there together with still a-ACC cousin
 “They’ve got a shop there, together with another one of their cousins.”

Adjectives in PPs are frequently (48%) marked as accusative (there are no instances of adjectival NPs in indirect object function). In this context, it is interesting to note that, in NPs consisting of ‘adjective + noun’, accusative case marking or zero marking is prevalent on the adjective and the noun, as in (13). Zero marking is also common in NPs and PPs, i.e. determiners are occasionally omitted, as in (14), thus avoiding case marking altogether (cf. also Clyne, 1967, pp. 64-65).

- (13) male, 35 yrs, Natal Midlands
*Wenn ich mit **deutsche Jäger** sprech...!*
 when I with German-ACC hunters- Ø speak
 “When I’m speaking to German hunters...”
- (14) female, 44 yrs, Northern Natal
*Du guckst nie nach **Tiere!***
 You watch never after animals-Ø
 “You never look after the animals!”

The overall findings indicate that, while dative and accusative remain available, dative case is beginning to collapse into the accusative in certain environments. To be precise, indirect objects are frequently assigned accusative case, suggesting that this is a change in progress. Although this tendency is not as advanced across all categories, the case system shows weakening with regard to case marking on adjectives and determiners (in line with tendencies in other transplanted German varieties where pronoun usage is generally more stable than the determiner system (cf., for example, Burridge, 2007; Fuller & Gilbert, 2003). Some prepositions governing the dative are still strongly associated with dative case marking, e.g. *zu*, *bei* and *aus*, in contrast to *nach*, *mit* and *von*, which are frequently used with the accusative. Overall, as the next section shows, the accusative/dative distinction is increasingly becoming blurred, reflecting uncertainty or lack of clarity of speakers in distinguishing the accusative and dative cases.

Language change in progress?

Like in other transplanted varieties of German, there is much variation between speakers and within the speech of individuals – tendencies of a change in progress nevertheless emerge. The extent to which individual speakers use certain features can be summarised in a histogram, reflecting grouped frequencies where each column is proportional to the number of speakers. Figure 7-3 shows the use of accusative case marking in dative contexts by individual speaker, reflecting that more than a third of speakers (14, or 37%) show increased use of accusative case. In other words, the speech of the majority of speakers (23 participants) reveals a case system that is still more or less intact, i.e. these speakers use accusative case for dative functions less than 20% of the time.

Figure 7-3: Histogram showing the use of accusative case in dative contexts by individual speaker ($n = 37$).

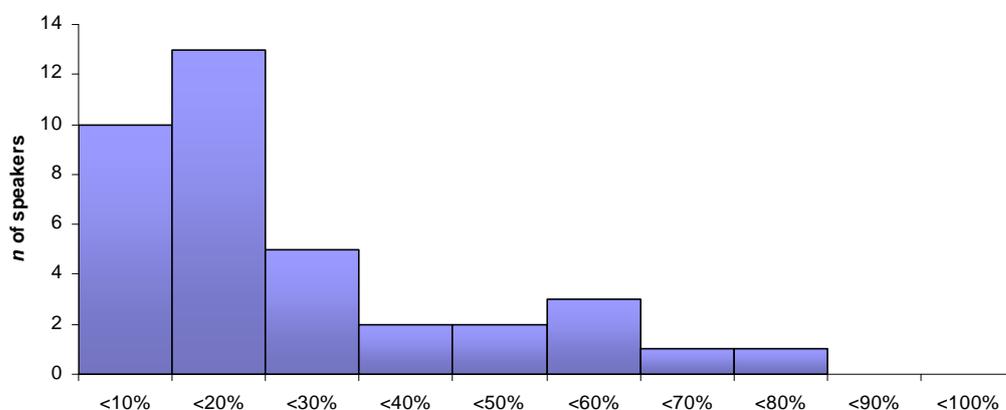
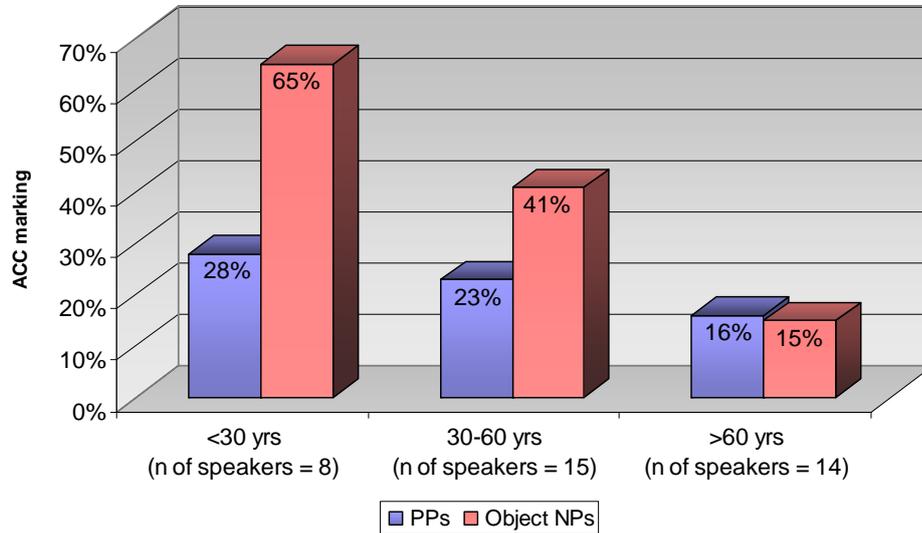


Figure 7-4 illustrates that the blurring of the accusative/dative distinction is clearly age-stratified, reflecting that this is indeed a change in progress. According to Figure 7-4, the use of accusative case for dative case occurs primarily in the speech of younger participants, i.e. those under 30 years of age. In contrast, older speakers make comparatively little use of accusative case, but employ the dative for dative functions. What the histogram in Figure 7-3 above reflects is that fewer speakers under 30 years of age were interviewed, which has been taken into account here. Older speakers, especially those over 60 years of age, are the most conservative in case usage and tend to distinguish clearly between accusative and dative case.

Clear tendencies also exist with regards to the syntactic context, in that accusative marking is much more prevalent on NPs in indirect object function, as noted, reflecting that speakers are less confident about assigning accusative or dative to object NPs. Prepositions, on the other hand, assign case lexically; therefore, there seems to be less uncertainty on the part of the speaker. Using the appropriate case according to the governing preposition is also something that is strongly emphasised in German language instruction at the schools.

Figure 7-4: Use of accusative case in dative contexts by age of speaker according to syntactic context, in percentage (*n* of speakers under 30 yrs = 8; *n* of speakers 30-60 yrs = 15; *n* of speakers over 60 yrs = 14).



To conclude, based on the current findings, the determiner system and adjectival marking is affected more severely by a weakening of the case system. NPs in indirect object function are more likely to be marked as accusative than those in prepositional phrases, as dative prepositions are still firmly associated with dative case. The blurring of the accusative/dative distinction is most noticeable in the speech of the younger generation, suggesting that this change is beginning to manifest itself more clearly in the next generations.

Explaining the change: Contact-induced vs. language-internal causes

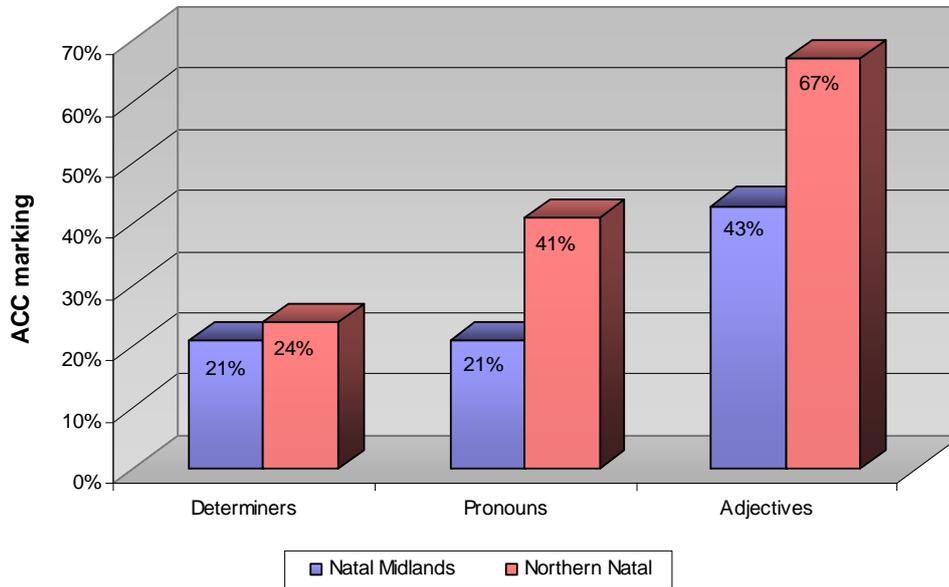
Both Stielau (1980) and de Kadt (2001) attribute case merging tendencies in Springbok-German to language-internal causes and to contact. As chapter 1 noted, language change in speech communities typically results from a combination of intertwined social and linguistic factors (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2007; Sankoff, 2002; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). Concerning the linguistic aspects, the contact languages – English and Afrikaans – both have oblique case pronouns and common case determiners (Eng. *the/a*; Afr. *die/'n*), and neither language variety inflects adjectives or nouns for case

(cf. Donaldson, 2002; Harbert, 2007; König, 2002). Modern German also follows the typological trend found across Germanic languages as developing from synthetic towards analytic structures, though in modern German, this is not as advanced as in other Germanic languages such as English. Case reduction and loss are evident in German dialects (cf. Russ, 1989) and urban vernaculars, e.g. Berlinish (Schlobinski, 1988) and, as discussed above, transplanted varieties such as North American German varieties (e.g. Burrige, 1998; Fuller & Gilbert, 2003; Huffines, 1989; Keel, 1994; Nützel, 1993), Russian German varieties (e.g. Berend & Jedig, 1991; Keel, 1994; Rosenberg, 1994) and Australian German (e.g. Clyne, 1981). Although the developments for case reduction in Springbok-German are not as advanced as, for example, observed in North American varieties,⁹⁵ they are in line with changes in German varieties across diverse sociolinguistic situations, reflecting the typological tendencies towards analytic structures.

Moreover, contact may play a role. Since language contact situations are complex, and given the wide range of linguistic and extralinguistic factors involved, multiple causation is likely. The change in case usage, though in line with typological trends, may have been (or increasingly will be) accelerated by the contact with English/Afrikaans. Since language shift is more imminent in the Natal Midlands than in the Northern Natal, it might be expected that this is also reflected in speakers showing greater dative case reduction, given the more widespread use of English within the home and the community. However, what is reflected in the data is that Springbok-German speakers in Northern Natal use accusative case to a much greater extent than those in the Natal Midlands. Figure 7-5 breaks down case usage into categories (subsuming both syntactic contexts, i.e. indirect object NPs and PPs, here) and displays the proportions according to regional cluster.

⁹⁵ For example, Huffines (1989) reports the marking of accusative by sectarian Pennsylvania German speakers in 98% of cases; Fuller & Gilbert (2003) report 89% of determiners marked as accusative, and 60% of pronouns in their Texas German data.

Figure 7-5: Use of accusative case marking/forms according to category across the Natal Midlands and Northern Natal, in percentage.



The Northern Natal cluster shows higher frequencies for accusative marking than the Natal Midlands cluster, i.e. case reduction is clearly more advanced in the Northern Natal communities. In particular, this affects the pronominal system and case marking on adjectives, while there is less of a distinction between case marking on determiners across the two clusters.

This difference in trends across the two clusters can be explained in terms of the nature of contact that exists between Springbok-German speakers and speakers of English or Afrikaans. The contact between Afrikaans speakers and Springbok-Germans is fundamentally different to that between English speakers and Springbok-Germans. The cultural and historical affinities between the Northern Natal Springbok-Germans and the wider Afrikaans community are more deep-rooted, and the contact can be described as more intense. Speakers more readily identify themselves as having Afrikaans values, and following cultural customs and practices (cf. chapter 6). Furthermore, from a historical linguistic point of view, Afrikaans and Springbok-German (or modern German, for that matter) are typologically closer than English and modern German, and this may exacerbate the pressure for dropping case marking as well.

As noted, younger speakers in both regional clusters are increasingly shifting to English/Afrikaans, and though they may maintain German within the home to some extent, the rate of shift is higher in the Natal Midlands than in Northern Natal. The case system is likely to undergo further reduction in both clusters, but the shift away from German will, in all likelihood, be completed first in the Natal Midlands, and before the accusative/dative distinction can be effectively lost. Attrition of other structural features, including case reduction, is, however, to be expected for both areas.

To sum up, the tendencies for case reduction apparent in the Springbok-German communities follow language-internal lines, but contact-induced pressure from English and Afrikaans is likely to continue to accelerate the process. The precise influence is, of course, difficult to determine. Speakers in the Northern Natal communities show more advanced tendencies for using accusative case in place of dative case, reflecting the greater intensity of contact between Afrikaans and Springbok-German speakers. In the remainder of the chapter, developments in nominal possessives are discussed.

7.3 POSSESSIVE STRUCTURES

Genitive case in German – and in Germanic varieties in general – is relatively complex; it is “the case of the attribute” (Eisenberg, 2002, p. 360) and has myriad functions (cf. Sommerfeldt & Starke, 1992, pp. 104-106, for an overview). Except in some functions as an NP attribute, the use of the genitive has severely declined in modern German, and is now archaic or stilted. As an NP attribute, it indicates possession and also encodes several other semantic functions, such as partitive relations (*ein Drittel des Geldes* ‘a third of the money’), quality (*ein Mann mittleren Alters* ‘a middle-aged man’), or definition/theme (*die Nacht des Schreckens* ‘the night of horror’). In the case of de-verbal nouns, the genitive is interpreted as one of the verb’s thematic roles; that is, as the subject (*der Untergang des Abendlandes* ‘the fall of the occident’) or the object (*die Besichtigung des Museums* ‘the visit to the museum’) (Eisenberg, 1986, pp.

236-237, 2002, p. 373; Harbert, 2007, pp. 148-149; Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, pp. 154-155). Of these, only the *genitivus subjectivus* and the *genitivus objectivus* are more or less widespread in written Standard German, such as newspaper texts, due to a “gehäufte Verwendung von nominalen statt verbalen Konstruktionen” (Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, p. 158); elsewhere, the use of genitive structures is diminishing (e.g. Barbour & Stevenson, 1990; Glück & Sauer, 1997).

I concentrate here on one particular function of the genitive only: the NP attribute indicating possession. After briefly outlining possessive structures in modern German, I sketch out developments in transplanted German varieties. I then discuss the findings from the current study in detail and explore possible explanations for the presented data.

7.3.1 Backdrop – nominal possessives structures in modern German

Semantically, possession within noun phrases broadly refers to (a) the relation of ownership/belonging, and (b) body-part and kinship relations (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2003);⁹⁶ syntactically, these may be realised either as a synthetic (genitive) construction or as an analytic construction with the preposition *von* ‘of’.⁹⁷

The synthetic genitive has been declining since the 15th century (Ebert, 1986, p. 89) and is now typically used in written Standard German only. Of the German dialects, only Frisian expresses genitival relations (including possession) by a synthetic structure, e.g. *mamens kööwel* ‘mother’s dress’ (Walker, 1989, p. 13), although, as

⁹⁶ Since there are no instances of possessive constructions referring to body-parts in the present data, I leave this type of possessive aside here.

⁹⁷ Within the German language literature, synthetic genitive structures are generally subsumed under the term *Genitivattribut* (or *attributiver Genitiv*) vs. *analytischer Genitiv*, while the terminology in the English language literature surrounding ‘genitive’ and ‘possessives’ is more confusing, and varies according to theoretical paradigm. Harbert (2007), for example, uses the umbrella term ‘genitive phrase’, subsuming both synthetic and analytic constructions. Zimmermann (1993) also uses ‘genitive phrase’ but includes only synthetic constructions (analytic ones are simply called ‘prepositional phrases’), whereas Lanouette (1996) prefers to call it the ‘attributive genitive’. Campe (1997), on the other hand, uses the phrase ‘adnominal genitive’ for synthetic structures and ‘*von*-dative’ for analytic ones. Gallmann (1998) refers to the synthetic genitive as a ‘prenominal genitive phrase’ (which can be substituted by the analytic ‘*von*-construction’), and Lindauer (1998) subsumes all genitive constructions under the umbrella term ‘attributive genitive’, and simply terms the analytic construction a ‘postnominal PP’. For reasons of simplicity and clarity, I will use the terms ‘synthetic genitive (construction)’ and ‘analytic construction’ here.

Hoekstra and Tiersma (2002, p. 521) point out, the use of the synthetic genitive has almost died out in Frisian as well.

The synthetic genitive may appear in prenominal position (15a), the so-called ‘Saxon genitive’,⁹⁸ or postnominally (15b). It has, however, become rare for synthetic genitive phrases consisting of a ‘determiner + common noun’ NP, as in (15a), to occur in prenominal position; where this does occur, it is generally considered archaic or stilted (Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, p. 157).

- (15) a) *des Briefträgers Tasche*
the-GEN postman-GEN bag
“the postman’s bag”
- b) *die Tasche des Briefträgers*
the bag the-GEN postman-GEN
“the postman’s bag”

The Saxon genitive involving ‘determiner + noun’ NPs is now largely restricted to proverbs and formulaic expressions (16a), whereas genitive NPs entailing proper names (without determiners) are still commonly positioned prenominally (16b) and frequently occur in modern German (Dürscheid, 2007, p. 71; Eisenberg, 1986, p. 238).

- (16) a) *des Königs neue Kleider*
the-GEN king-GEN new clothes
“the king’s new attire”
- b) *Friedrichs Geburtstag*
Friedrich-GEN birthday
“Friedrich’s birthday”

In contrast to Saxon genitive constructions, which have been declining (except for proper name ones) in modern German, analytic constructions are found widely in colloquial and dialectal language use, as well as in written Standard German (cf. Hentschel & Weydt, 1990). The analytic construction with the preposition *von* (17) may occur in prenominal or postnominal position.

⁹⁸ Eisenberg (1986, p. 238) defines it as follows: “Als sächsischer Genitiv wird jedes dem Kernsubstantiv vorangestellte Genitivattribut bezeichnet, unabhängig von seiner Form.”

- (17) a) *Das ist die Katze von Opa.*
that is the cat of grandfather
“That’s Grandpa’s cat.”
- b) *Das ist von Opa die Katze.*
that is of grandfather the cat
“That’s Grandpa’s cat.”

In addition to these two structures, a periphrastic construction⁹⁹ of the type in (18) exists in nonstandard language use (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p. 161; Glück & Sauer, 1997, pp. 50-51; Zifonun, 2003) and also in nearly all German dialects, e.g. North Saxon, Hessian, *Pfälzisch*, Upper Saxon (cf. the contributions in Russ, 1989), Bavarian (Rowley, 1989; Weiß, 1998).

- (18) *der Frieda ihre Schwester*
the-DAT Frieda her sister
“Frieda’s sister”

The periphrastic construction is restricted to the 3rd person singular/plural, and the possessive adjective¹⁰⁰ *sein/ihr* ‘his/her’ is “chosen in accordance with the possessor’s gender and number, [and] agrees with the possessee in number and gender” (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2003, p. 666). Dürscheid (2007, p. 71) comments that periphrastic constructions are more frequently used with proper names:

Möglicherweise wird der possessive Dativ in einer Konstruktion wie *dem Peter seine Freundin* als Ersatzform für den sächsischen Genitiv gewählt, der den Artikel vor Eigennamen nur bedingt zulässt (vgl. *?des Peters Freundin*).

⁹⁹ Strictly speaking, the periphrastic construction is also an analytic one – however, for the sake of clearly distinguishing the variants here, I will use the terms ‘synthetic’, ‘analytic’ and ‘periphrastic’ referring to the three types of possessive constructions (cf. also Harbert, 2007, who distinguishes the periphrastic possessive from other analytic constructions).

¹⁰⁰ Other terms are ‘possessive article’ (Eisenberg, 2002) and ‘auxiliary possessive pronoun’ (Delsing, 1998; Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2003). Although the more common usage seems to be ‘possessive pronoun’ (Drosdowski, 1995; Ebert, 1986; Harbert, 2007; Hentschel & Weydt, 1990; Holmberg & Rijkhoff, 1998), I will follow Burridge (1992) and van Ness (1992) here, in order to distinguish the periphrastic possessive pronoun (i.e. adjective) from the prenominal possessive pronoun (cf. also Harbert, 2007, who is aware of the distinction but employs the term ‘possessive pronoun’). For a detailed discussion from a generative perspective, cf. Olsen (1989).

As can be seen in (18), the determiner in the possessor NP *der Frieda* ('Frieda') is marked as dative, and hence this construction is often also referred to as the possessive dative (cf. Burridge, 1992; Gallmann, 1998; Harbert, 2007, p. 158; also the contributions in Russ, 1989).

7.3.2 Possessives in transplanted German varieties

Turning to developments in transplanted German language varieties, a number of studies have commented on the existence of certain possessive structures. Overall, a tendency towards the use of periphrastic constructions can be observed. Among Pennsylvania German speakers, there is evidence for the use of the possessive dative among nonsectarian speakers, e.g. *em Daadi sei Buch* 'daddy's book' (Huffines, 1991, p. 182). Huffines (1991) notes, however, that the use of the dative to express possession is rarely realised in spoken speech, but occurs primarily in writing (i.e. in her data gathered through translation exercises). In a study on grammatical change in Pennsylvania German (Ohio), van Ness (1992) reports the spread of the masculine/neuter possessive adjective *sei* 'his' in periphrastic constructions (and also attributive ones), with feminine kinship terms as antecedents. Especially among younger women, constructions such as *mei Aunt ihre Garde* 'my aunt's garden' are increasingly realised with the possessive adjective *sei* (van Ness, 1992, p. 192). In Canadian Pennsylvania German, the dative also assumes the role of the historical genitive, and possession is indicated by a periphrastic construction (Burridge, 1992). The possessum is preceded by the possessor marked for dative case and a possessive adjective as in (19).

- (19) *Des is em Dadi sei(n) Aarmschtuul.*
 this is the-DAT grandpa his armchair
 "This is Grandpa's armchair." (Burridge, 1992, p. 228)

Where the dative is giving way, the possessor is marked by common case. The use of the periphrastic construction is generally restricted to animates in nonstandard Ger-

man varieties; in contrast, Canadian Pennsylvania German shows an extension to inanimate objects as in (20), though employed to a lesser extent.

- (20) *Em Disch sei Bee.*
 the-DAT table its legs
 “The legs of the table.” (Burridge, 1992, p. 233)

Based on the examples provided by Guion (1996, p. 457), Texas German generally seems to express possession through periphrastic constructions – Guion only comments that possession is marked by accusative case, i.e. the possessor is realised as accusative (21). This is presumably due to the reduction/loss of dative case. However, she also mentions that a synthetic construction (22) occurs occasionally in the data of two older speakers. This is, however, not a surprising occurrence since the use of synthetic structures with proper nouns is common in modern German as well.

- (21) a) *mit den Vernon sein Gewehr*
 with the-ACC Vernon his gun
 “with Vernon’s gun”
 b) *den sein Bruder*
 the-ACC his brother
 “his brother”
- (22) *Vernons Gewehr*
 Vernon-GEN gun
 “Vernon’s gun”

Similarly, in a Volga German variety spoken in Kansas, possession is indicated through the use of periphrastic constructions of the type above, e.g. *den Jack sei Kinder* ‘Jack’s children’ (Berend, 2003, p. 250). For a Low German variety spoken in Kyrgyzstan, Hooge (1992, p. 111), in contrast, mentions that possession is generally expressed through analytic constructions using the dative, e.g. *daut Hüß vom Vohda* ‘father’s house’.

7.3.3 Possessive structures in Springbok-German

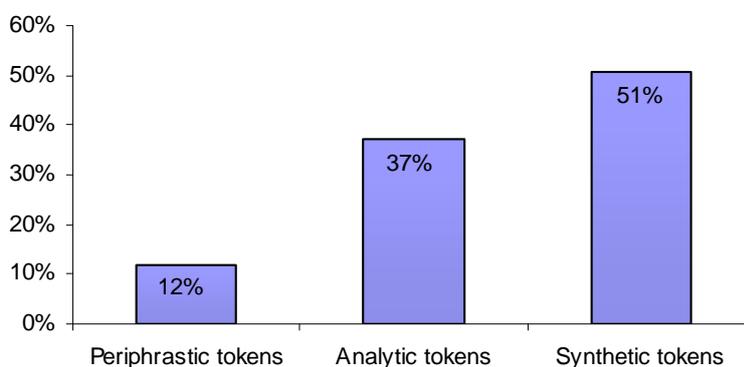
Unlike the tendency towards periphrastic possessive structures reported for transplanted German varieties, the present data shows few periphrastic structures, but, in-

terestingly, a larger number of synthetic genitive constructions. Possession may also be expressed through analytic constructions.

In her study, Stielau (1980, pp. 215-216) comments that possessives are mostly expressed through analytic constructions, e.g. *einige von den Studenten* ‘some of the students’, or as periphrastic ones, e.g. *dem Mann seine Mutter* ‘the man’s mother’, though she also provides a few examples of the type *des Ackermanns Frau* ‘Ackermann’s wife’ (p. 226). They are, however, not restricted to proper names but also occur with common nouns, e.g. *des Sünders Tat* ‘the sinner’s deed’ (ibid.). De Kadt (2001, p. 69), relying on written data, found that students produced synthetic genitives such as *Inges Haus* ‘Inge’s house’ and *meine Tantes Tasche* ‘my aunt’s bag’. Periphrastic constructions also occur in de Kadt’s data, e.g. *meine Tante ihre Tasche* ‘my aunt’s bag’, but only to a minimal extent.

The findings from the present study reveal that synthetic genitive structures are not limited to written data but occur frequently in the spoken language. Figure 7-6 provides a summary of tokens from the present corpus, showing that the majority (51%) of constructions are realised as synthetic constructions, whereas periphrastic ones occur only to a marginal extent (12%).

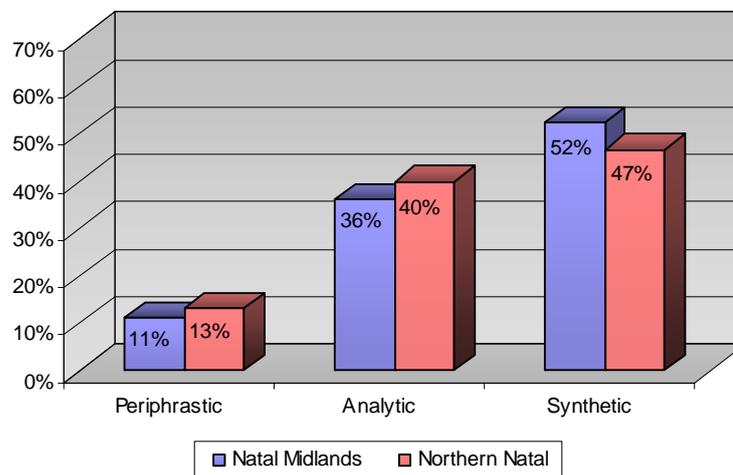
Figure 7-6: Realisation of possessive structures, in percentage.



Half of all possessive structures (51%) are realised synthetically; although this entails proper name usage, synthetic structures do not only occur with proper names in the present data (cf. below). This then stands in stark contrast to developments in other transplanted German varieties and in German dialects where the synthetic genitive has almost died out and survives only in remnants. In modern German, synthetic structures are now largely restricted to the written domain, or proper name usage. In spoken language use, they tend to be substituted by analytic ones (Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, p. 156); the use of analytic constructions has grown since the Early New High German period (Oštir, 1998, p. 92; Wells, 1985, pp. 232-233).

A look at the realisation of possessives structures across regional clusters (Figure 7-7) reveals that speakers in the Natal Midlands make slightly greater use of synthetic structures than speakers in Northern Natal (52% and 47%, respectively). Conversely, analytic constructions are used slightly more frequently in Northern Natal (40%) than in the Natal Midlands (36%).

Figure 7-7: Distribution of possessive structures according to regional cluster, in percentage.



The use of periphrastic constructions is relatively similar across both regions (11% and 13% for the Natal Midlands and Northern Natal, respectively).

Synthetic genitive structures

As noted above, possessive structures were found to be of the synthetic type in 51% of cases in the present data. This is an interesting phenomenon given that the use of synthetic genitive structures has been severely declining – if not died out – across German dialects, in modern German and transplanted German varieties. As Figure 7-7 above shows, there are slight differences between the two regional clusters, with speakers in the Natal Midlands using synthetic structures to a marginally higher extent. Interference from English lends itself readily as an explanation for the relatively frequent usage of the synthetic genitive observed for speakers in the Natal Midlands (cf. de Kadt, 2001; Stielau, 1980). Although the main contact language is Afrikaans in Northern Natal, there is also English influence (as a language of wider communication, the media, etc.), and this might also account for the fairly high usage of these types of structures in a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking area. However, before attributing the use of synthetic genitive structures to contact with English, a closer look at the data is in order. As mentioned in section 7.3.1, synthetic genitive structures may appear in prenominal (Saxon genitive) or in postnominal position in the NP in modern German.

Table 7-8: Distribution of synthetic genitive tokens according to position in the NP, in percentage.

| | Prenominal (Saxon genitive) tokens | Postnominal tokens |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Total (n = 116) | 97% | 3% |

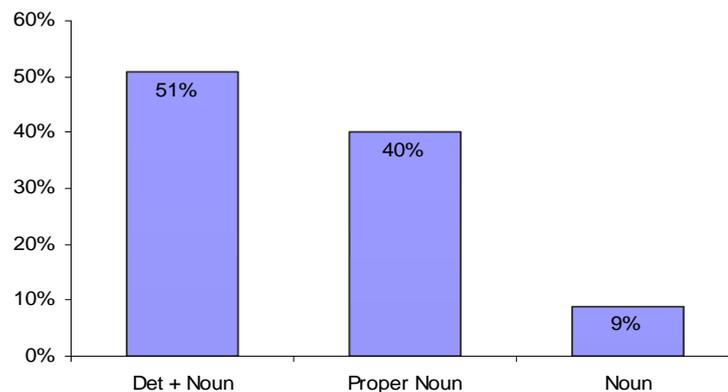
In the present data, the possessive occurs only to an extremely marginal extent in postnominal position within the NP; nearly all genitive structures are found in prenominal position (Table 7-8). Example (23) illustrates a possessive structure realised as a postnominal synthetic genitive; (24) is a Saxon genitive construction. Both constructions are restricted to animates.

- (23) male, 36 yrs, Natal Midlands
in den Rachen des Drachens
 in the mouth the-GEN dragon-GEN
 “into the dragon’s mouth”

- (24) female, 44 yrs, Natal Midlands
Papas Rechnung
 daddy-GEN bill
 “Daddy’s bill”

Distinguishing the synthetic genitives occurring in prenominal position (Saxon genitive) further, they are of three types: (a) bare NPs (common nouns); (b) proper noun constructions; and (c) constructions of the type ‘determiner + (common) noun’. Figure 7-8 shows the relative distribution of the three types in the data.

Figure 7-8: Distribution of synthetic genitive structures in prenominal position in the NP, in percentage.



Tokens are realised as (bare) NPs (25) occur in only 9% of cases, while the majority of constructions (40%) occur as proper name NPs (26), or are of the type ‘determiner + common noun’ NP (51%) (27). Within the determiner category, articles, demonstratives, possessive pronouns and similar constituents, which can occupy the position left to the noun in the NP, are subsumed.

- (25) male, 69 yrs, Natal Midlands
Die warn ja Kaisers Leute!
 The were yes emperor-GEN people
 “They were indeed the Emperor’s men!”

- (26) female, 23 yrs, Natal Midlands
Martins Frau
 Martin-GEN wife
 “Martin’s wife”

- (27) male, 69 yrs, Natal Midlands
Vogts war ein Stationsvorstehers Sohn.
 Vogts was a station master-GEN son
 “Vogts was a station master’s son.”

Of these three constructions, only proper name constructions, as in (26), are commonly used in modern German. In other words, the extended use of the *s*-suffix on common nouns is an unusual development. Note also that genitive case remains unmarked on the determiner in (27), typical for this type of construction, and suggesting reduction of genitive case. In this way, the construction is brought more in line with a similar construction in English.

In modern German, the genitive suffix *-(e)s* cannot be attached to feminine singular common nouns; instead, genitive case is marked on the determiner and/or adjective.

- (28) *?der alten Frau Tasche*
 the-GEN old-GEN woman-Ø bag
 “the old woman’s bag”
- (29) *des Mannes Regenschirm*
 the-GEN man-GEN umbrella
 “the man’s umbrella”

Historically, Saxon genitives were not restricted to proper names (including certain kinship nouns¹⁰¹); on the contrary, they are attested for animate as well as concrete and abstract common nouns and frequently occur in Old High German and Middle High German texts (Bhatt, 1990, p. 115). Saxon genitive constructions of the type ‘determiner + noun’ are attested, at any rate, for Early New High German, e.g. *meines Serviteurs hefftige Liebe* ‘my servant’s ardent love’ (Ebert, 1986, p. 97, citing from Grimmelshausen, J., 1670). Although these kind of Saxon genitive constructions might still be recognised as acceptable in modern German, they are distinctly awkward and old-fashioned (Harbert, 2007, p. 156). Based on surveys of university students in Cologne, Bhatt (1990, p. 116), for example, found that overtly marked Saxon

¹⁰¹ These include a set of nouns denoting kinship terms which may behave like proper nouns, e.g. *Mutter, Vater, Oma, Opa* (cf. Lattewitz, 1994, p. 144).

genitives were more acceptable than those where the noun remained unmarked, i.e. structures like (28), where the noun is unmarked, were considered less acceptable than (29).

Saxon genitive constructions ('determiner + noun') are marked overtly for genitive case on the determiner, and masculine and neuter nouns are inflected with the genitive suffix *-(e)s*. In contrast, possessive constructions involving proper names are inflected with an *s*-suffix regardless of the gender of the noun, e.g. *Mutters Buch* 'mother's book'. This *s*-suffix is historically also a genitive case suffix. Since, however, the *s*-suffix is neither restricted to masculine or neuter nouns, nor does it "depend on the number of syllables in the noun (GE [German] *des Tages* 'the day's' / *des Wetters* 'the weather's', but *Pauls/Mutters*)" (Harbert, 2007, p. 161), it has been re-analysed as a grammatical marker as distinct from the genitive suffix *-(e)s*.

These differences suggest that the *-s* [...] has become a morpheme distinct from the genitive ending from which it originated. In being restricted to proper names (and a small set of kinship terms which are used as proper names), it is similar to a set of special genitive suffixes which have arisen in other GMC [Germanic] languages [...]" (Harbert, 2007, p. 161)

Harbert (2007, p. 161) thus refers to this suffix as a 'proper name possessive marker', and comments that its occurrence on feminine proper names seems to be motivated by the need to encode the genitival relation which would otherwise be specified on the determiner or adjective. Delsing (1998, p. 99) also treats this *s*-suffix as an invariant suffix that "appl[ies] to both masculine and feminine, thus deviating from most other case-endings, which make a gender distinction", and subsumes it within his discussion on proprial constructions in Germanic. Lanouette (1996, p. 101), from a Government and Binding perspective, comments that "[t]he *-s* on such phrases as *Annas Hut* or *Vaters Haus* would then be simply a grammatical marker".

Accordingly, in Springbok-German the *s*-suffix ('possessive marker') is found on proper names (cf. (26)) and common nouns, that is, on masculine and neuter nouns (cf. (27)) and, surprisingly, also on feminine common nouns (30).

- (30) female, 44 yrs, Natal Midlands
Diese Schreibfreundins Mutter kommt jetzt demnächst.
 this pen pal-GEN mother comes now soon
 “This pen pal’s mother is coming soon.”

It may also be attached to the (feminine) possessor (genitive) NP in ‘determiner + noun’ constructions (31). Most of these involve kinship nouns preceded by a possessive pronoun; only 7% of these are inflected for genitive case on the determiner as well as on the noun, such as in (31a). Note that in (31b-c) the possessive pronoun is inflected for number and gender in accordance with the possessor NP but is not marked for genitive case.

- (31) a) female, 70 yrs, Northern Natal
meines Mannes Großeltern
 my-GEN husband-GEN grandparents
 “my husband’s grandparents”
- b) male, 69 yrs, Natal Midlands
meine Mutters Modeblatt
 my mother-GEN fashion magazine
 “my mother’s fashion magazine”
- c) male, 75 yrs, Northern Natal
seine Schwesters Geburtstag
 his sister-GEN birthday
 “his sister’s birthday”

This type of construction also occurs in Stielau’s (1980) and de Kadt’s (2001) data;¹⁰² in (32) the possessive pronoun is inflected for genitive case, while the feminine noun remains unmarked – in contrast to (33) where the *s*-suffix is attached to the noun while the pronoun is not realised with a genitive case suffix.

- (32) *meiner Mutter Geburtstag*
 my-GEN mother-Ø birthday
 “my mother’s birthday” (Stielau, 1980, p. 226)
- (33) *meine Mutters Tasche*
 my-Ø mother-GEN bag
 “my mother’s bag” (de Kadt, 2001, p. 69)

¹⁰² Stielau provides seven examples (it is unclear whether they are spoken or written examples; cf. chapter 1), and de Kadt lists two Saxon genitive constructions (written data).

Constructions, such as *in mein Mutters Auto* ('in my mother's car'), also occur in the speech of second-generation German Australians, which Clyne (1972, p. 74) interprets as a generalisation of the English Saxon genitive construction.¹⁰³ Regarding Springbok-German, both Stielau (1980) and de Kadt (2001) attribute the use of all Saxon genitives to influence from English; within this context, de Kadt (2001, pp. 72-73) even comments that "Wartburg German forms something of an exception to these processes [case loss in transplanted German varieties], in that the genitive case – often the first case lost – is still available". By re-analysing the *s*-suffix as an invariant possessive marker and not as a genitival suffix, the question, however, arises as to whether genitive case is really still available in Springbok-German. I return to this question after taking a look at the invariant possessive marker, the *s*-suffix, as attached to Saxon genitive constructions involving feminine nouns.

Table 7-9 provides an overview of feminine nouns in prenominal position, appearing with the *s*-suffix and without. Over a third appear in proper noun NPs, e.g. *Brigittes Mann* 'Brigitte's husband' – since this is in line with modern German, their occurrence will be left aside here. The other two thirds of feminine nouns occur in 'determiner + noun' constructions, and overwhelmingly refer to kinship terms, e.g. *meine Mutters Cousin* 'my mother's cousin' or *seine zweite Kusines Tochter* 'his second cousin's daughter'.¹⁰⁴

Table 7-9: *s*-suffix inflection on feminine possessive NPs, in percentage.

| | <i>s</i> -suffix | no suffix |
|------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| Proper names (<i>n</i> = 14) | 92% | 8% |
| Determiner + Noun (<i>n</i> = 29) | 87% | 13% |

As can be seen in Table 7-9, 'determiner + noun' constructions are realised to 87% with the *s*-suffix; on the surface, constructions such as (31b), repeated here as (34), resemble the English Saxon genitive construction closely.

¹⁰³ Cf. also Riehl (2004, p. 93) who mentions the existence of possessive constructions such as *meiner Omas Vater* 'my nana's father' in Namibian German.

¹⁰⁴ While both nouns (i.e. *Mutter* and *Kusine*) refer to kinship relations, only the former may be used as a proper name (cf. the earlier comment by Harbert, 2007, p. 161).

- (34) *meine Mutters Modeblatt*
 my mother-GEN fashion magazine
 “my mother’s fashion magazine”

Of the two contact languages, Afrikaans and English, Afrikaans does not have a synthetic genitive structure to indicate possession, but expresses possession through a periphrastic construction (Donaldson, 2002, p. 500). English, on the other hand, has both an analytic and a synthetic construction (in addition to the ‘double genitive’ construction; cf. footnote 105). In English,

[t]here are two semantically and distributionally overlapping genitive constructions. Genitives marked by the suffix *-s* precede the head noun: *John’s book*; those introduced by the preposition *of* follow their head noun: *the leader of the band*. (König, 2002, p. 545)

In (34) above, the noun is marked with the *s*-suffix as possessor in the German construction as well as in the English one. The prenominal suffix *-s* found in English is, however, not the same as the prenominal *s*-suffix found in German. In contrast to modern German, the *s*-suffix in English (and standard Danish, Swedish and Norwegian) allows group genitives (Delsing, 1998, p. 88). The English *s*-suffix (or *s*-genitive) is generally considered a clitic element, which can attach to the end of an entire NP, e.g. *the man that I talked to’s wife*, and thus no longer constitutes an inflectional affix (Harbert, 2007, p. 163). Although neither modern German nor Springbok-German allow such group genitives, the prevalence of constructions such as (35) do suggest interference from English.

- (35) female, 52 yrs, Natal Midlands
mein Vaters Schwesters Sohn
 my father-GEN sister-GEN son
 “my father’s sister’s son”

Although somewhat intelligible, this “double Saxon genitive” construction¹⁰⁵ would be considered very odd, if not ungrammatical, in modern German. It also neither exists in any of the German dialects, nor has not been reported for any of the transplanted German varieties. This is an interesting phenomenon indeed. ‘Double Saxon genitives’ are, however, not a recent phenomenon but go back to Middle High German. They were relatively frequent in Middle High German texts but decreased continually from the Early New High German period onwards; they occur only sporadically in New High German, e.g. *des Königs Kämmerers Braut* ‘the bride of the king’s chamberlain’ (Bhatt, 1990, p. 119; cf. also Wells, 1985, p. 233),¹⁰⁶ and would undoubtedly be considered very archaic and literary by German speakers.

In short, the *s*-suffix is not a foreign morphological marker but entrenched in the history of German and, therefore, differs structurally from the English clitic *-s*. However, the widespread use of Saxon genitive constructions appears to be motivated by the pressure from English, given the strong resemblance of these constructions on the surface level.

To return to the reduction of genitive case in the pronominal system, as mentioned above, the ‘determiner + noun’ constructions in the present data show a lack of case inflection on the determiner. It is interesting to note that Stielau’s (1980, p. 226) data on pronominal possessive structures, collected some 40 years ago, shows genitive case marking on determiners (cf. (32)). In the present study, merely 9% of determiners are marked for genitive case (cf. (31a)), whereas the majority is inflected only for number and gender in accordance with the possessor but not case (cf. (31b-c)). Post-nominal synthetic constructions, on the other hand, may display genitive case inflection. As mentioned, they occur only very marginally in the present data (3%); of

¹⁰⁵ The term “double genitive” is generally used to refer to a genitive construction in English in which the genitive is doubly marked, both analytically and synthetically, e.g. *the picture of John’s*. Consequently, I use the term “double Saxon genitive” here to distinguish this type of construction from the “double genitive”. Cf. Donaldson (1993, p. 98), who uses the term ‘double Anglo-Saxon genitive’ referring to a similar construction in English; but note Wells’ (1985, p. 233) use of the term ‘double genitive’ to denote what I term ‘double Saxon genitive’.

¹⁰⁶ These constructions are labelled *Genitivkette* ‘genitival chain’ by Behagel (Bhatt, 1990, p. 119, citing from Behagel, 1923, p. 526). Cf. also Lanouette (1996, p. 98) who cites ‘determiner/possessive pronoun + noun’ constructions from Early New High German texts.

these, one occurs as a bare NP possessor (*die Tante Vaters* ‘father’s aunt’), whereas the other constructions are marked for genitive case on the determiner, such as (23), repeated here as (36).

- (36) male, 36 yrs, Natal Midlands
in den Rachen des Drachens
 in the mouth the-GEN dragon-GEN
 “into the dragon’s mouth”

- (37) male, 69 yrs, Natal Midlands
das Leben der Pastoren
 the life the-GEN pastors
 “the pastors’ life”

The fact that postnominal synthetic constructions occur only very minimally but are more often realised as analytic structures, suggests a preference for the use of analytic constructions with [-human] referents. Again, this is in line with tendencies in modern German, where postnominal synthetic constructions are largely restricted to the written domain, or substituted by analytic ones in spoken language.

- (38) male, 69 yrs, Natal Midlands
die Muttergemeinde von Wartburg
 the mother parish of Wartburg
 “Wartburg’s founder parish”

A general tendency for reduction – if not loss in certain environments – of genitive case constructions (whether adnominal or adverbial) can be observed for modern German varieties. This seems to be especially the case for dialects and nonstandard language use, though “even in the written, standard language many originally genitive constructions have been replaced or have become stylistically marked” (Wells, 1985, p. 232). While genitive case has not yet completely disappeared in Springbok-German, it also follows this trend, i.e. overt genitive case marking on determiners in synthetic constructions is very marginal.¹⁰⁷ The spread of the *s*-suffix – a grammatical

¹⁰⁷ Reduction/loss of genitive case might also be observed for certain prepositions or adverbs; for a lack of documentation, I refrain from making inferences about genitive case per se. (The data shows very little use of, e.g. prepositions that govern genitive case – the absence of genitive constructions, on the other

marker indicating possession – to feminine nouns may well be motivated by the loss of genitive case inflection on the determiner in order for these kinds of Saxon genitive constructions to be interpreted as possessive/genitival (cf. also Harbert, 2007, p. 157). Given its prevalence, this change is likely to be supported by the existence of the similar construction in English. Morphologically, the *s*-suffix is inherent to German; nevertheless, this type of construction has almost disappeared in modern German now (except in conjunction with proper names). In Springbok-German, on the other hand, it has spread in use on analogy with similar English structures. Arguing for a “multiple-birth” model in language change, Aitchison (1996, p. 11) points out that “[i]n cases of language contact, the superficial similarity between structures from different languages is a major factor.” Although the spread of the *s*-suffix to feminine nouns is likely to have been affected by the loss of genitive case inflection on determiners, the close contact with English seems to have accelerated this tendency.

Analytic constructions

As noted earlier, analytic constructions occur in 37% of cases in the present data. In Springbok-German, analytic structures may refer to animates [+human] and inanimate entities [-human], whereas synthetic genitive constructions do not occur with inanimate entities but are restricted to animates in Springbok-German.

Table 7-10: Overview of distribution according to semantic property, in percentage.

| | [+human] + [+human] | [+human] + [-human] | [-human] + [+human] | [-human] + [-human] |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Total (n = 85) | 34% | 28% | 22% | 15% |

Table 7-10 shows the realisation of analytic constructions with regards to [+human] and [-human] properties of the possessor and the possessum. The following examples illustrate these combinations.

hand, might quite possibly be indicative of reduction/loss of genitive case. Genitive case is, generally, found much less in spoken language than in written language.)

- (39) a) female, 23 yrs, Natal Midlands
die Schwester von mei'm Vater [+human] + [+human]
 the sister of my father
 "my father's sister"
- b) male, 75 yrs, Northern Natal
der Hauptlehrer von Lüneburg [+human] + [-human]
 the headmaster of Lüneburg
 "the headmaster of Lüneburg school"
- c) female, 23 yrs, Natal Midlands
in den Häusern von den Deutschlehrern [-human] + [+human]
 in the houses of the German teachers
 "in the German teachers' houses"
- d) male, 49 yrs, Northern Natal
der Name vom Buch [-human] + [-human]
 the name of the book
 "the name of the book"

The substitution of synthetic genitive constructions with analytic ones is common in colloquial standard German and other varieties of German, e.g. dialects, nonstandard varieties (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p. 161; Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, p. 156). Springbok-German appears to follow this trend with regards to the semantic property of the referent. In other words, analytic constructions are generally used to refer to both animate and/or inanimate entities (39a-d). Only constructions such as in (39a), where both the possessor and the possessum have the property [+human], may also be expressed as Saxon genitives in Springbok-German.

Periphrastic constructions

Although Stielau (1980) maintains that the possessive is frequently expressed through periphrastic constructions, the current data does not confirm her earlier findings.¹⁰⁸ They are used to a minimal extent only (12%); the differences between the regional clusters are relatively minor, as is the variation between male and female speakers (cf. section 7.3.3). In contrast to Afrikaans, which allows periphrastic structures for ani-

¹⁰⁸ However, Shah (2007, p. 28) also reports that possession is commonly expressed using periphrastic constructions in Namibian German.

mates as well as inanimates (Donaldson, 2002, p. 500), the use of periphrastic constructions is restricted to animates in Springbok-German, mainly proper names (40) and nouns denoting kinship terms (41). Only one instance of an extension to inanimates occurs in the present data (42), though this could also be interpreted as an animate entity in the sense of a town being “a collection of inhabitants”.

(40) female, 13 yrs, Northern Natal
Emil sein cell phone
 Emil his cell phone
 “Emil’s mobile phone”

(41) male, 36 yrs, Natal Midlands
mein Bruder seine Kinder
 my brother his children
 “my brother’s children”

(42) male, 28 yrs, Natal Midlands
Piet Retief sein Code
 Piet Retief his code
 “Piet Retief’s area code”

While in some earlier forms of Low German, e.g. Middle Low German, the possessor was marked as genitive, e.g. *meines Vaters sein Buch* ‘my father’s book’ (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2003, p. 667), the possessor is generally marked as dative in nonstandard German and German dialects. As has been observed for Canadian Pennsylvania German and several German dialects (cf. section 7.3.1 above), where the dative is giving way, the possessed entity appears in common or oblique case. Consider the following examples:

(43) male, 69 yrs, Natal Midlands
Also den König oder was von Swaziland sein Sohn!
 well the-ACC king or what of Swaziland his son
 “Well, the king or whoever of Swaziland’s son!”

(44) male, 75 yrs, Natal Midlands
Wir [waren] im Konsul sein Haus.
 we were in the-DAT consul his house
 “We were in the consul’s house.”

Whereas in (43) the possessor NP *den König oder was von Swaziland* (in itself an analytic construction with the preposition *von*) is marked as accusative, in (44) the possessor NP *dem Konsul*, contracted with the governing preposition *in* here, is in dative case. Periphrastic constructions occurring with a determiner or pronoun, as in (41) or (43), are almost consistently realised as accusative (92%), supporting the case made earlier for case reduction towards accusative in Springbok-German (cf. section 7.2). The majority of periphrastic constructions (65%) do, however, involve proper name constructions where the possessor remains unmarked for case (cf. (40)).

According to Stielau (1980), the use of periphrastic constructions is strongly supported by Afrikaans, where a similar construction exists: “Diese Umschreibung mit dem Possessivpronomen hat im Afrikaansen starken Rückhalt: *Kaiser se drama, Busse se teorie, Hendrik se skuld* usw.” (p. 216). This view is incongruous with the present data, i.e. there is little evidence of the periphrastic construction overall, and no marked difference between the Afrikaans and the English language contact areas was found. A higher usage of this type of construction in the Afrikaans contact area might have suggested possible influence from Afrikaans. As Figure 7-7, however, showed, the two regional clusters do not differ in their use of periphrastic structures, i.e. they are used to a marginal extent in both the Natal Midlands (11%) and in Northern Natal (13%).

The main problem with Stielau’s argument (strong influence from Afrikaans) is, however, that she overlooks the structural difference that exists between the Afrikaans periphrastic construction and the German one. Whereas the German possessive adjective is chosen according to the gender and number of the possessor while also agreeing with the possessum, Afrikaans uses the invariant possessive particle *se*, e.g. *die huis se tuin* ‘the garden of the house’ (Deumert, 2004, p. 212).^{109,110} Furthermore, the periphrastic construction is not a recent phenomenon, but is historically rooted in the syntax of German. Ebert (1986, p. 91), for example, comments that periphrastic

¹⁰⁹ For an extensive critique of Stielau’s argument, cf. Franke (2007).

¹¹⁰ Donaldson (1993, p. 99) also mentions that Afrikaans has an analytic *van* ‘of’ construction, which is, however, uncommon.

constructions begin to appear in unambiguous contexts (i.e. clearly identifiable as possessive dative constructions) during the Early New High German period (15th century): “Dieser possessive Dativ ersetze den in den Mundarten aussterbenden adnominalen Genitiv und war offenbar auch im Frnhd. [Frühneuhochdeutschen] eine stilistisch markierte Konstruktion”. In the present data, periphrastic constructions occur in similar contexts as synthetic genitive and/or analytic constructions: (45) and (46) are taken from an interview with a 13 year-old girl from Northern Natal.

- (45) periphrastic construction
Du weißt Otto Jung? Das is Tante Elmarie ihr Sohn.
 “You know, Otto Jung? That’s aunt Elmarie’s son.”

- (46) synthetic construction
Aber sie is meine Mamas Tante.
 “But she’s my mum’s aunt.”

Unlike in other transplanted German varieties, e.g. North American Pennsylvania German (Burrige, 1992; Huffines, 1991; van Ness, 1992), Texas German (Guion, 1996), and Volga Kansas German (Berend, 2003), where periphrastic structures are commonly used to indicate possession, in Springbok-German the periphrastic is used marginally. Instead, speakers make use of analytic constructions, and frequently indicate possession through the use of the *s*-suffix in synthetic genitives. As discussed in section 7.2.3 above, the contact with English is relatively intense, and the widespread use of *s*-suffix structures, having declined severely across German language varieties, finds its support in similar Saxon genitive structures in English.

7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined two structural features of Springbok-German: case marking and possessives structures. It was found that, although not as advanced as in other transplanted German varieties, there are indications for case reduction and a blurring of the accusative/dative distinction in Springbok-German, especially in the speech of the younger generation. Determiners are more affected than pronouns, and while

prepositions governing dative case are still firmly associated with the dative, there is more variation and confusion regarding NPs in object function. Here, determiners are overwhelmingly marked as accusative. It was argued that the findings presented here follow language-internal trends, but are accelerated by the close contact with English and Afrikaans, which is especially the case in Northern Natal.

Concerning possessive structures, it was found that synthetic genitives structures are used widely, followed by analytic structures. Periphrastic ones occur only marginally in the present corpus. The *s*-suffix construction (Saxon genitives) has been extended to feminine common nouns, in analogy to the Saxon genitive construction found in English. Although the *s*-suffix in German and the English *s*-clitic differ structurally, the spread of the construction can – given the intensity of contact – be attributed to the contact with English (cf. section 7.1).

Chapter 8 concludes the linguistic analysis of Springbok-German, and takes a look at infinitive complementation, word order changes, and the development of a number of other features.

8 SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Following the analysis of case marking and nominal possessive structures in the previous chapter, this chapter continues to examine linguistic features. Infinitive clause constructions and changes in word order as pertaining to subordinate clauses and extrication (*Ausklammerung*) are discussed here. Furthermore, the third section briefly considers a number of features, which are not (as yet) widespread but are nonetheless interesting and point to potential areas of change.

8.1 INFINITIVE COMPLEMENTS

Modern German has a tripartite distinction between bare infinitive complements (47), infinitive complements with the infinitival marker *zu*¹¹¹ (48), and infinitive constructions with the complementiser *um* and the infinitival marker *zu* (49). Bare infinitives occur only with a small group of finite verbs, such as modals or some verbs involving causation, movement or perception (e.g. *sie hörte die Kinder lachen* ‘she heard the children laughing’). The infinitive construction with the marker *zu* is a verbal infinitive, linked to the verb in the main clause. The infinitive construction with *um/zu*, on the other hand, is an adverbial (subordinate) infinitive construction (adverbial of purpose), where *um* functions as a conjunction and *zu* remains linked to the infinitive (*ohne/zu* and *anstatt/zu*-constructions are generally included in this category; cf. Eisenberg, 1986, p. 381; Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, p. 261).

- (47) *Emil kann lesen.*
Emil can read
“Emil knows how to read.”

- (48) *Anna fing endlich an den Brief zu schreiben.*
Anna began finally to the letter to write
“Anna began writing the letter at last.”

¹¹¹ For discussions of the syntactic function of *zu*, i.e. as preposition, infinitival marker, affix, or as complementiser, cf. Ijbema & Abraham (2000) or Eisenberg (1986, pp. 365-367). I follow Harbert (2007) and Beukema & Den Dikken (1989) here who analyse *zu* as an infinitival marker.

- (49) *Paul ist gekommen, um Maria bei den Vorbereitungen zu helfen.*
 Paul is come for Maria at the preparations to help
 “Paul has come to help Maria with the preparations.”

In all three types, the infinitive occurs in clause-final position; in *zu*-infinitives and *um/zu*-constructions, the infinitival marker *zu* is placed immediately adjacent to the verb, i.e. unlike *to*-infinitives in English, modern German does not allow so-called split infinitives (cf. Eisenberg, 1986, pp. 362-364; Harbert, 2007, pp. 417-419).

Extension of *um/zu* to verbal constructions is common in spoken, informal German varieties (Deumert, 2004, p. 204), and also some transplanted German varieties. In Pennsylvania German, for example, the non-finite complementiser *fer* ‘for’ (modern German *um*) was historically restricted to mark ‘adverbials of purpose’-complements, but has since spread to encompass infinitival complement clauses generally. The infinitival marker *zu*, on the other hand, has almost disappeared (cf. Burridge, 1998, 2006a; Huffines, 1993; Loudon, 1994, 1997, 2006c). In Canadian Pennsylvania German, there are three types of infinitival complementation: bare infinitives, infinitive constructions with *zu* and those with *fer*. Infinitival complements are generally marked with *fer* while *zu* occurs only marginally now and is predominantly used by older speakers. In American Pennsylvania German, on the other hand, infinitive constructions are marked by either *fer* or \emptyset (bare), having lost the infinitival marker *zu* completely. The occurrence of *fer*-infinitives or bare infinitives appears to be motivated,

depending on the subcategorization properties of its equivalent AE verb. That is, where the AE verb only allows a ‘to’ + infinitival complement, and not an ‘-ing’ suffixed form, ‘fer’ will occur in the PG construction. Otherwise, only the simple infinitive occurs. (Louden, 1997, p. 87)

Burridge (1998; cf. also 2006a), however, takes on a different viewpoint, commenting that “the appearance of the Canadian infinitival complementizer *fer* does not correlate with the subcategorization properties of the equivalent E[nglish] verb” (1998, p. 83). Instead, the presence of *fer* (and also *zu*) is contingent on whether the complement clause “project[s] to an event or an activity in the future” (2006a, p. 66), while bare

infinitives are linked to the main clause verb in that “the stretch of time covered by the two verbs overlaps” (2006a, p. 66).

Australian German also shows omission of the infinitival marker *zu* ‘to’ in verbal infinitives, such as ...*haben wir decidet zu Farm – kommen* ‘have we decided to come to the farm’ (Clyne, 1967, p. 67); unlike Pennsylvania German, this does not seem to have led to a spread of the complementiser *um* ‘for’ to mark *zu*-infinitives. Concerning this, Clyne (1967, p. 67) mentions that “[a]s the German infinitive already expresses English “to”, the German *zu* is sometimes evidently considered redundant” (cf. also Berend, 1998, for dropping of *zu* in Russian German).

According to Stielau (1980, pp. 213-214), the adverbial *um/zu*-construction has been extended to *zu*-infinitive contexts in Springbok-German as well, illustrated in (50). Riehl (2004, p. 88) mentions that *um/zu*-constructions are also frequently used in Namibian German, having almost replaced verbal *zu*-constructions (cf. also Shah, 2007, p. 25).

- (50) *Er probiert um dem Vater zu helfen.*
 He tries for the father to help
 “He tries to help his father.” (Stielau, 1980, p. 213)

- (51) *Ich habe keine Lust, um nass zu werden.*
 I have no interest for wet to become
 “I really don’t want to get wet.” (Riehl, 2004, p. 88)

Springbok-German also shows generalisation of *um/zu* to contexts where only *zu* is used in modern German; however, the use of *um/zu* is not (yet) extensive. Frequencies for infinitive complements from the present data are displayed in Table 8-1. It provides a summary of adverbial *um/zu*-constructions and verbal infinitive complements, which comprise verbal *zu*-constructions, extended verbal *um/zu*-constructions, and those which occur as bare infinitives (predominantly with the verb *brauchen* ‘to need’).

Table 8-1: Summary of verbal *zu*-infinitives and adverbial *um/zu*-constructions, in absolute and relative numbers.

| | Verbal infinitive tokens <i>zu</i> -construction | | | Adverbial infinitive tokens <i>um/zu</i> -construction | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| | <i>zu</i> | <i>um/zu</i> | no marker | <i>um</i> | <i>um/zu</i> |
| # of tokens | 288 | 78 | 43 | 4 | 102 |
| % | 70% | 19% | 11% | 4% | 96% |

In contrast to other transplanted varieties – and contrary to Stielau’s (1980) findings – verbal infinitive constructions are used to a limited extent only in Springbok-German, i.e. they occur in 19% of cases in contexts where *zu*-infinitives are used in modern German. Example (52) illustrates the use of the complementiser *um* in a verbal *zu*-construction.

- (52) male, 28 yrs, Natal Midlands
Leute sind stolz um vielleicht Wartburger zu sein.
 people are proud for maybe Wartburger to be
 “People might be proud to be from Wartburg.”

Zu-infinitives, where the infinitival marker is omitted, are almost exclusively restricted to infinitives occurring with *brauchen* (53a-b). Of these, *brauchen* is mostly used in negation clauses (73%). In non-negated ones, such as (53a), the infinitival marker is exhibited in only 15% of cases.

- (53) a) male, 73 yrs, Natal Midlands
... den brauchtest du sieben Rand ‘n Tag bezahln.
 they needed you seven rand a day Ø pay
 “You only had to pay them seven rand a day.”
- b) female, 13 yrs, Northern Natal
... dann brauch ich nich ‘ne Brille raufun.
 then need I not a spectacles up-Ø-do
 “Then I don’t need to wear glasses.”

The overall lack of the infinitival marker *zu* in non-negated constructions with *brauchen* suggests that *brauchen* is generally treated as modal verb in Springbok-German. *Brauchen*, much like *lassen*, is sometimes treated as a modal verb or as main verb in modern German; in negation clauses with *nicht* ‘not’, the infinitive with *brauchen* commonly occurs without the infinitival marker (Eisenberg, 1986, p. 96;

Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, p. 68). This is, in fact, not a recent development, but omitting the infinitival marker with *brauchen* was already an emerging practice across (mainland) German varieties in the late 19th century (Elspaß, 2005, p. 85). Omitting the infinitival marker in constructions with *brauchen* in Springbok-German can thus be seen as a continuation of an earlier development.

Aside from infinitival complements involving *brauchen*, the infinitival marker is not generally omitted in Springbok-German (in contrast to, for example, what Clyne, 1967, p. 67, reports for Australian German). Concerning adverbial *um/zu*-constructions, there are only four instances identified in the data where the infinitival marker *zu* is dropped and the infinitive appears adjacent to the complementiser *um*, as in (54).

- (54) female, 44 yrs, Natal Midlands
Es is nich (nur) 'ne schlechte Art um advertieren...
 it is not (only) a bad for Ø advertise
 "It's not only a bad way advertising ..."

Their extremely marginal use suggests that these instances may actually constitute performance errors. However, the fact that 19% of *zu*-constructions are generalised to *um/zu* is suggestive of a change underway; this may even involve a generalisation of *um* to an infinitive marker in place of *zu* (cf. *fer* in Canadian Pennsylvania German, Burrige, 2006a). In any case, it is likely that the use of *um/zu* to *zu*-contexts will become more widespread; for one, because Afrikaans shows generalisation of the Dutch *te*-construction to *om/te* (Deumert, 2004, p. 214; cf. also Donaldson, 1993, pp. 272-279), and secondly, as noted above, similar tendencies have been observed for Namibian German and are apparent in informal, spoken varieties of modern German more generally.

8.2 WORD ORDER

This section examines whether Springbok-German has undergone changes in word order, first taking a look at clause constituents which have been placed outside the

verbal brace, i.e. exbraciation (*Ausklammerung*), and then examining V2 ordering in subordinate clauses.

In contrast to, for example, English, word order in modern German is relatively free, although there is “a complex system of braces, dividing the main constituent types into strictly separated fields” (Eisenberg 2002, p.381). Constituents can be moved more freely within the clause, e.g. objects and adverbs can be fronted, because noun phrases and pronouns are marked overtly for case, coding grammatical relations in the clause (Hawkins, 1986, p. 41). The position of the verb, however, is much less variable, and has to do with sentence type. In main (declarative) clauses (55a) and *wh*-questions, the finite verb appears in second position (V2) while, in complex clauses, the auxiliary or modal verb appears in second position and all non-finite elements are placed clause-final, forming the verbal brace (*Verbalklammer*, or *Satzrahmen* ‘sentence frame’) around the other constituents. Subject-verb inversion occurs in yes/no-questions (55b).

- (55) a) *Rita ist von dem neuen Trampolin begeistert.*
 “Rita is excited about the new trampoline.”
 b) *Ist Rita von dem neuen Trampolin begeistert?*
 “Is Rita excited about the new trampoline?”

Standard subordinate clauses, on the other hand, have SOV order where the finite verb is placed clause-final (56). As Eisenberg (2002) points out, “German is regarded as basically verb-final” (p. 382) within, for example, language typology, generative approaches and language acquisition research.

- (56) *Es ist offensichtlich, dass Rita sich über das neue Trampolin freut.*
 “It’s obvious that Rita is excited about the new trampoline.”

To analyse complex sentences in German, the topological model is often used, which divides the sentence into *Vorfeld* (forefield), *Mittelfeld* (middle field) and *Nachfeld* (final field). The verbal brace frames the middle field.

- (57) *Peter hat einen Film gesehen, der ihn schockiert hat.*
 “Peter saw a film that shocked him.”

| forefield | left verbal brace | middle field | right verbal brace | final field |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Peter | hat | einen Film | gesehen, | der ihn schockiert hat. |
| Peter | had | a film | seen | which him shocked had |

The subordinate clause *der ihn schockiert hat* in (57) can be further analysed according to the model, with *der* in the forefield, *ihn* in the middle field, and *schockiert hat* as the right verbal brace.

The forefield is typically occupied by the main constituent of the sentence, generally the subject, an object or an adverbial. In contrast to the forefield, the final field can remain unoccupied. What appears there is most typically a subordinate clause (as in (57)), though adverbials and prepositional phrases may also occupy the final field (cf. below). The middle field is the most complex part of the sentence; almost any type of constituent can appear there, and “there are virtually no syntactic restrictions on the serialization of these elements” (Eisenberg, 2002, p. 383). Typically, the indirect object precedes the direct one (Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, p. 388; Holmberg & Rijkhoff, 1998, p. 82).

As noted above, the position of the verb depends on sentence type, appearing clause-final in subordinate clauses. There is, however, a tendency to place the finite verb in second position in certain types of subordinate clauses, in particular in spoken, informal varieties of modern German. Another tendency in spoken language use is to move constituents outside the verbal brace into the final field, a phenomenon known as exbraciation (*Ausklammerung*) (cf. Braun, 1998; Glück & Sauer, 1997).

Across transplanted varieties of German, changes in word order include exbraciation (cf. Burrige, 1998; Clyne, 1967; Huffines, 1991, 1992; Johnson, 1993; Loudon, 1994; Nützel, 1993), infrequent, ostensible violations of verb-second in main clauses (cf. Loudon, 2006a), the occurrence of V2 in subordinate clauses, exhibiting tendencies towards SVO (cf. Burrige, 1998, 2008; Clyne, 1972; Enninger, 1980), and the re-ordering of verbs in verb clusters, i.e. verb-raising (cf. Kaufmann, 2003; Loudon, 1990). Springbok-German also shows the tendency to move verbal elements closer together by displacing clause constituents towards the right (i.e. exbraciation).

Other changes affecting the word order in Springbok-German include a preference for V2 in subordinate clauses.

8.2.1 Exbraciation

As noted, modern German shows a tendency to move clause constituents outside the verbal brace (*Verbalklammer*), whereby the verbal elements are brought closer together and clause constituents that typically appear inside the verbal brace are moved into the final field. For some clause constituents, it can be obligatory to be displaced to the right of clause-final verbs; this applies to subordinate clauses, and sometimes also infinitive and relative clauses in cases where the verb has more than one argument (Harbert, 2007, p. 358; Hawkins, 1986, pp. 144-147).¹¹² This kind of clause movement is generally not treated as a case of exbraciation, but comes under the heading of *extraposition* (or “heavy shift”) (cf. Dalmas, 1993, p. 208; Hawkins, 1986, p. 143; Holmberg & Rijkhoff, 1998, p. 86).¹¹³ In following Burridge (1998, 2006b), exbraciation refers here to the displacing of ‘lighter’ constituents, such as adverbs and prepositional phrases, outside the verbal brace and into the final field, as in (58).

- (58) *Anna hat lange auf ihn gewartet damals.*
 “At the time Anna had waited for him for a long while.”

| forefield | left verbal brace | middle field | right verbal brace | final field |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Anna | hat | lange auf ihn | gewartet | damals |
| Anna | has | long on him | waited | then |

¹¹² An example of obligatory extraposition of an infinitive clause is: **Ich werde meinem Sohn [morgen den späteren Zug zu nehmen] empfehlen.* → *Ich werde meinem Sohn empfehlen, morgen den späteren Zug zu nehmen.* ‘I will recommend to my son to take the later train tomorrow.’ (Harbert, 2007, p. 359).

¹¹³ Within German linguistics, the term *Ausklammerung* is commonly used. In the English language literature, however, there are various terms which denote the moving of light constituents to the right of the verbal brace, including ‘exbraciation’, used here (cf. Burridge, 1998; Bussmann, 1996; also Hawkins, 1986), ‘broken frame construction’ (cf. Bussmann, 1996), or ‘leaking’ (cf. Hawkins, 1986; Johnson, 1993; Nützel, 1993). It is sometimes also, confusingly, subsumed under the term ‘extraposition’ (cf. Elspaß, 2007; Harbert, 2007; Loudon, 1994), which, although “defined as a process by which an element is moved to the right of, or subsequent to, its canonical position” (Baltin, 2005, electronic article), typically refers only to moving ‘heavier’ elements, such as relative or subordinate clauses, rightward (e.g. *That John is a fool is obvious.* → *It is obvious that John is a fool.*).

It is especially longer constituents which are displaced to facilitate comprehension (Dalmas, 1993, p. 215; cf. also Zahn, 1991) and are frequently used in written language, typically as a stylistic device or in order to avoid a “Überdehnung der Klammer” (Dalmas, 1993, p. 215) by displacing one or more constituents to the right (cf. also Braun, 1998, pp. 125-130). In certain circumstances, subject-NPs may appear in the final field “wenn es einen neuen Referenten einführt, der einen starken Akzent erhält und alleine fokussiert wird” (Pittner & Berman, 2007, p. 89). Prosodic stress is indicated by capitals in (59).

- (59) *Aber jetzt schaltet sich ein **BECKEnbauer**.*
 But now joins himself in Beckenbauer
 “But now Beckenbauer joins in.” (taken from Pittner & Berman, 2007, p. 89)

While prepositional phrases (with adverbial functions) and adverbs may be placed outside the verbal brace, object-NPs, including prepositional phrases with object function, cannot generally be moved into the final field, resulting in ungrammatical structures (Harbert, 2007, p. 359; Pittner & Berman, 2007, p. 89).

- (60) a) **Rudi hat nicht begrüßt **sie**.*
 Rudi has not greeted her
 “Rudi didn’t greet her.”
- b) **Alfred hat gestern gekocht **das Mittagessen**.*
 Alfred has yesterday cook the lunch
 “Alfred made lunch yesterday.”
- c) **Die Gelegenheit wird ihn bestimmt verleiten **zu einem voreiligen Schritt**.*
 the opportunity will him certainly lead to a premature step
 “The opportunity will certainly cause him to act prematurely.” (Harbert, 2007, p. 359)

Moving verbal elements closer together, or conversely displacing clause constituents outside the verbal brace, is a typical feature of transplanted German varieties. Clyne (1967), for example, reports that clause constituents, such as adverbials of time or place, are frequently moved into the final field in the speech of German post-war immigrants in Australia. This is largely due to

the speaker's failure to contemplate his sentence before uttering it or to the complexity of the sentence. Often the speaker does not anticipate using, say, an adverb of time or place and adds it as an afterthought, as it were, following the infinitive or participles, separable prefix or direct object, e.g. *Ich lese das Buch jetzt.* (Clyne, 1967, p. 65)

But it is not always afterthoughts which appear outside the verbal brace. Clyne also notes that object-NPs may be displaced, as in (61), thereby moving the subject and the verbal elements closer together.

- (61) *Ja, Mummy hat gesagt die Wörter für mich.*
 "Yes, Mummy said the words for (to) me." (Clyne, 1967, p. 66)

Since the phrase *Mummy hat gesagt* does not convey any meaning as such, he concludes that "*die Wörter für mich* are obviously not added as an afterthought" (Clyne, 1967, p. 66; cf. also Riehl, 2004, pp. 86-87, who notes similar constructions for Russian German). In general, Clyne (e.g. 1967, 1973, 1994) notes that sentence structure in Australian German is frequently modified under the influence of English, and SVO word order is generalised (cf. also section 8.2.2 below).

Looking at the ordering of adverbials in Delaware Pennsylvania German, Enninger (1980) notes that there is a high degree of variability, adverbials sometimes appearing outside the verbal brace while others are placed before the non-finite elements. He concludes that whether the variable ordering is due to English influence "cannot be decided on the basis of the data" (p. 348). Similarly, Canadian Pennsylvania German increasingly shows light constituents leaking outside the verbal brace. Although the change towards bringing verbal constituents closer together parallels English SVO syntax, "it is impossible in this instance to tell whether E[nglish] influence is directly responsible" (Burridge, 1998, p. 79). The contact with English may simply be a case of accelerating a change already in progress (cf. also Burridge, 2006b).

Examining word order in an East Franconian variety spoken in Indiana, U.S., Nützel (1993, p. 316), in contrast, reports that "82% of such [subordinate] clauses exhibit no leaking to the right of the past participle or verb in a verb-final construction". Where constituents are moved outside the verbal brace, the overwhelming majority of these (90%) occur with prepositional phrases or time/place adverbs; as noted, this is

in line with tendencies in modern German. Nützel (1993, pp. 317-318) thus concludes that SOV word order remains stable in Haysville East Franconian and is unaffected by the contact with English. In the same way, Loudon (1994, p. 89) contends that word order in (American) Pennsylvania German remains relatively unaffected by the contact with English, since the integrity of the verbal brace and V2 is maintained. He notes, however, that constituents such as adverbs of time and place and prepositional phrases may appear to the right of the verbal brace (cf. also Huffines, 1991; 1992; cf. Johnson, 1993, on a Volga German variety spoken in Kansas).

Exbraciation in Springbok-German

The tendency to bring the verbal elements closer together can also be observed in Springbok-German. Stielau (1980, pp. 223-224), who mentions exbraciation of prepositional phrases, comments that these tend to be added as afterthoughts. Shah (2007, p. 32) reports that the displacing of prepositional phrases is also common in Namibian German (cf. also Riehl, 2004, p. 86).¹¹⁴ Based on the present data, moving constituents outside the verbal brace and into the final field is a prevalent phenomenon in Springbok-German. Akin to tendencies in other transplanted varieties and in modern German, exbraciation occurs most frequently with prepositional phrases and adverbials.

Heavy constituents were excluded from the analysis, i.e. light constituents such as adverbials and single prepositional phrases or noun phrases were taken into account. Of the 576 clauses identified in the data are such cases of exbraciation, 502 (88%) involve displacing adverbial expressions or prepositional phrases to the right of the verbal brace. There are 37 instances (6%) of (modal) particles being moved and 37 cases (6%) of object-NPs being moved out of the verbal brace. (62) is a typical example of a prepositional phrase appearing in the final field, with *hab...gekriegt* forming the verbal brace here.

¹¹⁴ This is also a common feature of the German of Afrikaans foreign language learners (cf. Steyn, 1996).

- (62) female, 21 yrs, Northern Natal
Ich hab 'n Busch Rosen von ihm gekriegt für mein Geburtstag.
 I have a bush roses of him got for my birthday
 "He gave me a bunch of roses for my birthday."

Among the adverbial constituents are temporal adverbs and expressions, such as *wieder* 'again', *jetzt* 'now', *immer* 'always', *irgendwann* 'some time', *morgen* 'tomorrow', *gestern* 'yesterday', or *letzte Woche* 'last week', as shown in (63a). Place adverbs, such as *da* 'there', *hier* 'here' and *irgendwo* 'anywhere' are also frequently displaced, as in (63b). Other light constituents include modal particles such as *eigentlich* 'actually/really/well', *aber* 'but/though', *auch* 'too/you know/after all', and *ruhig* 'I don't mind', as illustrated in (64).

- (63) a) male, 69 yrs, Natal Midlands
Dann könn wir bei'n Basar Tee kaufen morgen.
 then can we by the bazaar tea buy tomorrow
 "Then we can buy tea at the bazaar tomorrow."
- b) male, 75 yrs, Northern Natal
... und denn is er ausgewandert hier.
 and then is he emigrated here
 "... and then he migrated here."
- (64) female, 65 yrs, Natal Midlands
Kannst nächstes Mal bezahlen ruhig.
 can next time pay I-don't-mind
 "You can pay (me) next time, I don't mind."

There are also several instances in which exbraciation of adverbs results in verbal elements, i.e. the finite and non-finite constituents, being brought so closely together that they appear directly adjacent to each other, as in (65). This tends to be restricted to relatively simply clauses, and while, strictly speaking, they are not ungrammatical in modern German, they are distinctly awkward and are only marginally acceptable.

- (65) female, 23 yrs, Natal Midlands
Ich hoffe, ich konnte helfen bisschen.
 I hope I could help a-little
 "I hope I could help you a bit."

As mentioned, in cases where the (direct) object-NP undergoes rightward displacement, this is considered ungrammatical in modern German (cf. above, Pittner & Ber-
man, 2007, p. 89). Although this type of constituent movement is exhibited only fairly marginally in the present data, based on the fieldwork observations it is not as un-
common as the (examined) data suggests. Structures (66a-c) are not unlike the con-
structions reported by Clyne (1967, p. 66) for Australian German, and those noted by
Riehl (2004, pp. 88-89) for Russian German.

- (66) a) female, 16 yrs, Natal Midlands
*Ich bin gewohnt **ein** (.) **Farmleben**.*
 I am used a farm-life
 “I’m used to farm life.”
- b) female, 70 yrs, Northern Natal
*Ich werd nie vergessen **den ersten Weihnachten**.*
 I will never forget the first christmas
 “I’ll never forget our first Christmas.”
- c) female, 13 yrs, Northern Natal
*Da haben sie es genannt **ein Buckel-s**.*
 there have they it named a hump-s
 “Then they named it a hump-s [ʃ].”

As noted, constituents may appear outside the verbal brace because they comprise
afterthought material, e.g. adding a temporal expression that the speaker had not an-
ticipated giving at the start of the utterance. Prepositional phrases and NPs which are
co-referential, e.g. refer to a pronoun in the clause, may also occur to the right of the
verbal brace; these generally serve to clarify the referent and tend to be prosodically
marked, as in (67) where the NP *die Trophäe* specifies the third-person pronoun *es*
more clearly (cf. Dalmas, 1993, p. 208, for similar constructions).

- (67) male, 36 yrs, Natal Midlands
***Es** muss schon fachmännisch (.) behandelt werden †, **die Trophäe** †.*
 It must already professional treated become the trophy
 “It has to be done professionally, the trophy [preparing the stuffed animal].”

In contrast, instances where the object-NP is moved, such as those given in (66), can-
not be interpreted as afterthoughts, clarification or as the result of processing difficul-

ties for two reasons: (a) they are short clauses involving relatively little processing by the speaker, and (b) without the object-NP these types of clauses make little sense (whereas afterthoughts and ‘tagged on’ clarifications provide additional information) (cf. Clyne, 1967, p. 66). They may constitute performance errors; however, this seems unlikely when considering that these constructions occur in the speech of various individuals and constructions, such as (65), where light adverbs are displaced in simple clauses, are common. Tendencies towards SVO – or at least a tendency to bring the verbal constituents closer together and a relaxing of the verbal brace – become most visible in these kinds of exbraciations, that is, in the displacing object-NPs and movement of light adverbs. The resulting constructions resemble English or simply SVO sentence structure closely.

While English has strict SVO ordering in declarative clauses, Afrikaans, like modern German, is SOV with V2 in main clauses. Interestingly, exbraciation, including shifted object-NPs, is exhibited not only in the speech of those from the English-speaking Natal Midlands but also those from the Afrikaans-dominated Northern Natal region. Since these speakers frequently displace clause constituents (cf. (62), (63), (66)), this suggests that English might be exerting its influence across both regions (e.g. through media, as a variety of wider communication). On the other hand, although non-finite elements tend to be placed clause-final in Afrikaans, under certain conditions, the verbal elements may also be kept together, resulting in structures such as (68).

- (68) *Kom ons gaan drink 'n bier.*
 come us go drink a beer
 “Let’s have a beer.” (taken from Donaldson, 1993, p. 364).

As Donaldson (1993, p. 364) explains, “[t]he two verbs in such cases can be seen as having fused both semantically and syntactically to form one idea, rather than being merely a combination of copula plus infinitive”. Even though this is not so much a case of exbraciation in the way Springbok-German – or modern German for that matter – shows it, the resulting construction is remarkably similar to those presented above involving object-NP shift.

While contact undoubtedly plays some role in this kind of exbraciation, external influence may only be accelerating language-internal developments. It is clear that the trend in Germanic languages (e.g. Dutch, Yiddish) is generally towards bringing the verbal elements together; however, varieties are undergoing the change at different rates and it is always difficult to determine the role of contact in such a situation as this one.

In earlier stages of German, such as Middle High German, it was perfectly possible for object-NPs to follow the non-finite elements, e.g. *alse die sunne an sich ziuhet den fiuhten luft* ('as the sun to itself draws the damp air'). By the time of Luther, this was generally only possible for heavy object-NPs, e.g. *...bis er ausbaute sein Haus und des Herrn Haus und die Mauer um Jerusalem her* ('...until he completed his house and the Lord's house and the wall around Jerusalem') (Hawkins, 1986, p. 149). As noted above, in modern German moving elements to the right of the verbal brace is, in the main, restricted to prepositional phrases and adverbial expressions; displacing (direct) object-NPs is generally unacceptable. As Hawkins (1986, p. 157) notes, however, "increasingly non-rigid SOV languages [such as German] are exhibiting more and more of the permitted postposing options", e.g. exbraciation of less heavy constituents. Yiddish, for example, is presumed to have been OV in earlier stages but "VO order has become increasingly frequent through time, so that by now the order non-finite verb-object is overwhelming the most frequent order" (Harbert, 2007, p. 360).

Although the role of contact cannot be excluded in the case of Springbok-German – structural changes can certainly be expected to some extent, given the contact setting and the intensity of contact (cf. section 7.1, chapter 7) – the fact that exbraciation occurs across both regional clusters suggests that language-internal developments are more prominently at work here. The contact with English, and possibly also Afrikaans, might simply be reinforcing the tendencies to bring verbal constituents closer together.

In short, akin to tendencies observed for other transplanted German varieties, the findings presented here show that the verbal brace is increasingly being relaxed

by moving constituents such as adverbials of time and place, and prepositional phrases outside the verbal brace. Exbraciation of object-NPs occurs much less frequently in Springbok-German, though it certainly does exist. While the verbal brace remains relatively intact at this stage, the fact that object-NPs and light constituents in simple clauses are displaced suggests a change in progress. The verbal brace is increasingly “violated”, resulting in structures resembling SVO more closely, in cases where no genuine afterthought material or co-referents are added.

8.2.2 Subordinate clauses

In modern German, subordinate clauses are typically introduced by a complementiser (conjunction or relative pronoun), though this is not always obligatory. For example, complements with cognitive verbs can appear without a complementiser as a form of reported speech, e.g. *ich höre, du seist gekommen* ‘I hear (that) you have come’ (Eisenberg, 2002, p. 377; cf. also Hentschel & Weydt, 1990, pp. 389-390). Without a complementiser, main declarative word order, i.e. verb-second, is the norm, in contrast to subordinate clauses with a complementiser, where the finite verb generally appears in final position.

In recent years, the increasing occurrence of V2 in subordinate clauses has, however, been observed for spoken varieties. The spread of V2 pertains mostly to clauses following the conjunctions *weil* ‘because’, but has also been noted for *obwohl* ‘although’ and *während* ‘while’ (cf. Gaumann, 1983; Glück & Sauer, 1997; Günthner, 1996, 2005). More recently, the adverb *wobei* ‘whereby’ is reported as being used as a conjunction both with V2 and V-final order (cf. Günthner, 1996, 2005).

The use of V2 in subordinate clauses is most widely documented for the conjunction *weil* and has been heatedly discussed (cf. Farrar, 1999; Gaumann, 1983; Gohl & Günthner, 1999; Günthner, 1993, 1996; Keller, 1995; Küper, 1991; Pasch, 1997; Schlobinski, 1992; Selting, 1999; Wegener, 1999; Willems, 1994). Although ‘*weil*+V2’ is typically found in spoken, informal varieties, and is most prevalent in spontaneous speech (Farrar, 1999, p. 2), it may also occur in certain written media, such as advertisements, which seek to emulate spoken language usage (Glück & Sauer, 1997, p. 40).

- (69) *Warum kommst du so spät? – Ich komme erst jetzt, weil ich hab noch gearbeitet.*
 “Why are you so late? – I’m only coming now because I worked a bit longer.” (Glück & Sauer, 1997, p. 45)

Studies seeking to explain the increasing use of ‘*weil*+V2’ in spoken German generally maintain that ‘*weil*+V2’ is a fairly recent tendency; that is, since the 1970s (Gaumann, 1983, cf. also Farrar, 1999). These studies tend to point to a functional shift that is said to be taking place, whereby the subordinating conjunction *weil* is argued to be replacing the coordinating conjunction *denn*; since *denn* is realised with V2, the increased use of ‘*weil*+V2’ is due to the analogous *denn*-structure (cf. Küper, 1991; Schlobinski, 1992). Others have suggested that ‘*weil*+V2’-constructions carry new discourse-pragmatic functions, such as indicating a speaker’s uncertainty about the reasons to be given (Schlobinski, 1992), using it as a turn-taking device (Gaumann, 1983; Günthner, 1993), or as a stylistic device (Gaumann, 1983). Furthermore, Günthner (1996; cf. also Küper, 1991) contends that speakers tend to use V2 in situations where the subordinate clause’s illocutionary force lies outside the scope of the main clause, i.e. when “the causal or concessive conjunctions operate within the speech act or epistemic domain or when there is only a very loose relationship between the WEIL-clause and the preceding one” (Günthner, 1996, p. 352; cf. also Keller, 1995). Similarly, increased usage of V2 with *obwohl* has been attributed to changes in the discourse-pragmatic meaning of *obwohl*. Günthner (1996, 2005), for example, suggests that ‘*obwohl*+V2’ may function as a discourse marker, whereby speakers seek to correct or limit the validity of their assertions stated in the foregoing speech act (cf. also below).

Accounting for the recent spread of ‘*weil*+V2’ from a language contact perspective, Farrar (1999, p. 5) contends that two different types of ‘*weil*+V2’-constructions may in fact exist:

In one case (A) the clause is a straight alternative to *weil*+V-final, used mainly in the spoken language. Thus, in type A clauses, there is no evidence of either the conjunction, or the order V2, being used to express anything other than the conventional interpretation of *weil*+V-final, as defined in grammars: a subordination to express secondary causal information. The other type of *weil*+V2 clause (B) is where extra pragmatic information is being expressed, rather than a simple causal relationship, and the dependent clause is giving a commentary on the speech act as a whole.

Arguing against ‘*weil*+V2’ as a historically continuous feature of (spoken) German, and also in order to account for the spread of “type A clauses” (i.e. ‘*weil*+V2’ in free variation with ‘*weil*+V-final’) in her two corpora, Farrar (1999) turns to language contact as a source of explanation. She proposes the change in progress to be (at least partly) motivated by indirect contact from English, a prestigious variety in Germany. Accordingly, ‘*weil*+V2’ may be attributable to the ‘because+V2’-structure in English, having spread mainly through television, advertising, and pop music in the last decades, and supported by language-internal tendencies. Farrar’s (1999) analysis is, however, restricted to *weil*-clauses, and it is doubtful whether indirect English influence can reasonably be invoked as the key motivating factor accounting for the widespread presence of ‘*weil*+V2’.

Instead, it is much more plausible to refrain from viewing the increasing use of ‘*weil*+V2’ as a recent development, and instead regard it as a relic, rooted in the history of German. Verb-second ordering in subordinate clauses goes back to Old High German; in Middle High German, clause-final position for finite verbs was not yet the established order, alternating with V2-ordering (Wells, 1985, p. 256). The change from SVO to SOV in subordinate clauses is, in fact, a relatively late one, having only become more stable in the 18th century (Hawkins, 1986, p. 131; Wells, 1985, p. 256). Moreover, as Elspaß (2007, p. 161) observes, V2-ordering in *weil*-clauses was still common in the 19th century and can, therefore, be considered “by no means a recent development in German”.

Furthermore, the alternating V2-ordering and V-final in subordinate clauses can be viewed as reflecting an important distinction in information structure, i.e. one that is based on pragmatic factors. Accordingly, Hawkins (1986, pp. 135-136) emphasises that “root clauses [V2-clauses] contain pragmatically asserted, new and foregrounded information, while “non-root clauses [V-final-clauses] contain pragmatically presupposed and backgrounded information” (cf. also Burridge, 2008, cf. discussion below).

In transplanted German varieties, tendencies towards realising subordinate clauses with the verb in second position have been observed; for example, studies on

Pennsylvania German have noted that subordinate clauses often exhibit main clause word order (cf. Burridge, 1998, 2008; Enninger, 1980). This is particularly the case where the subordinate clause is introduced by the conjunctions *weil* ‘because’ and *as* ‘that’. According to Enninger (1980, p. 347), this type of V2 ordering in subordinate clauses can be, at least partly, attributed to the influence from English, though it is “very often accompanied, if not caused, by other types of transference”, such as semantic transfers. Further, Riehl (2004, p. 87) mentions a tendency towards moving the verb from final position to V2 in subordinate clauses in Russian German as well as in Namibian German. Clyne (1972, p. 33), in his study of German in Australia, mentions that speakers may substitute German conjunctions with English ones in order to avoid German word order, e.g. *because der Boden ist zu / steiniger Boden* (‘because the ground is too / rocky ground’). Where conjunctions are not substituted, the verb may nevertheless occur in second position in subordinate clauses.

- (70) *daß er kann nicht sein Speise raus / rausschmeißen*
 that he can not his food out out-throw
 “... so that he can’t throw out his food.” (Clyne, 1972, p. 32)

V2 following the complementiser *dass/as* ‘that’ is, however, not a phenomenon that has been reported widely, either for (spoken) modern German or transplanted varieties. It appears to be restricted to Pennsylvania German (cf. Burridge, 1998) and Australian German (cf. Clyne, 1972); Shah (2007, p. 32), however, mentions that *dass* is frequently omitted in Namibian German.

Overview: Subordinate clauses in Springbok-German

In addition to establishing the use of V2 with *weil* and *obwohl*, the present study also sought to determine whether V2 occurs with *dass* in Springbok-German, given that ‘*dass*+V2’ is an unusual feature. Included in the present data analysis are thus utterances containing V2 and V-final in subordinate clauses introduced by three complementisers: *weil*, *obwohl* and *dass*. Unfinished utterances and those containing only a

subject and verb, as in (71), and which could thus be interpreted as either V2 or V-final, were excluded from the analysis.

- (71) female, 44 yrs, Natal Midlands
... weil ich weiß, hier in Wartburg...
 because I know here in Wartburg
 "... because I know, here in Wartburg..."

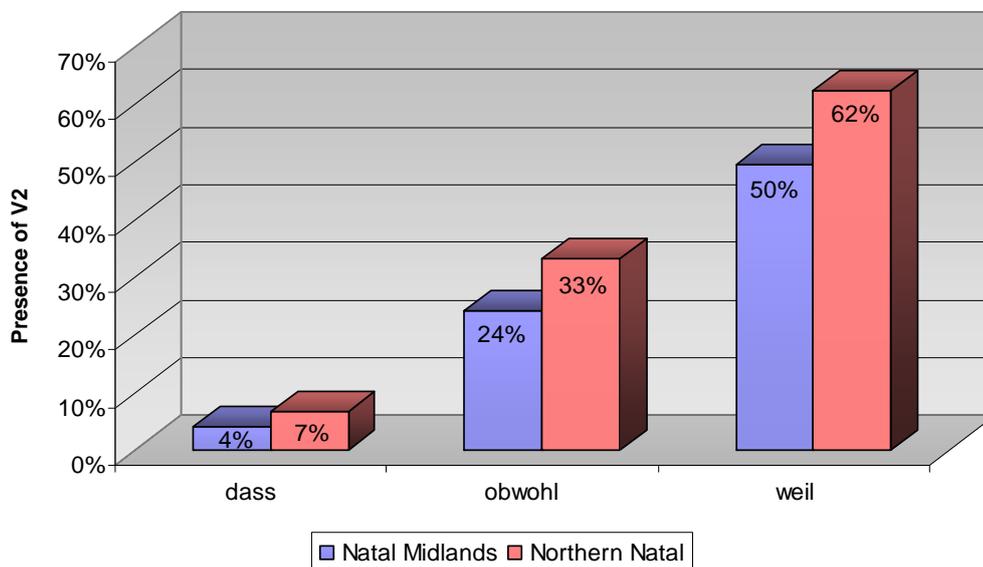
As in other transplanted German varieties, there is variation in constituent order in Springbok-German with regard to *weil*-, *obwohl*- and *dass*-clauses, alternating between V2- and V-final-ordering. As Table 8-2 shows, V2-ordering is most frequent in *weil*-clauses (more than half of all *weil*-clauses exhibit V2 word order, i.e. 53%) and, to a lesser extent, in *obwohl*-clauses (26%). While V2 occurs after the conjunction *dass*, this type of ordering is exhibited to a marginal extent only (5%).

Table 8-2: Use of V2 and V-final in subordinate clauses following the conjunctions *dass*, *obwohl* and *weil*, in percentage.

| Conjunctions | V2 | V-final |
|------------------------|-----|---------|
| <i>dass</i> (n = 653) | 5% | 95% |
| <i>obwohl</i> (n = 38) | 26% | 74% |
| <i>weil</i> (n = 508) | 53% | 47% |

Across the two regional clusters, the distribution for V2-ordering in subordinate clauses according to complementiser looks as follows: overall, V2 is more frequent in the Afrikaans-dominant Northern Natal cluster than in the English-speaking Natal Midlands.

Figure 8-1: Proportion of the use of verb-second (V2) in subordinate clauses following the conjunctions *dass*, *obwohl* and *weil*, in percentage.



Intuitively, these results are surprising as it was expected that if speakers made frequent use of V2 in subordinate clauses, this would largely pertain to speakers from the Natal Midlands where English is the main contact language. However, as Figure 8-1 shows, speakers in Northern Natal employ V2 in subordinate clauses more frequently.

Weil-clauses

As mentioned above, the V-final/V2-distinction in *weil*-clauses correlates to a difference in pragmatic meaning, i.e. presupposed vs. new or unpredictable information. In addition, ‘*weil*+V2’-clauses tend to exhibit a weaker causal link to the main clause than ‘*weil*+V-final’-clauses.

V-final clauses had a “predominantly cohesive function in early Germanic” (Burridge, 2008, p. 3), while independent (main) clauses showed a preference for V2-ordering. In early Germanic, clauses with V-final-ordering were associated with old or topical material, rather than providing new or assertive information. As Hawkins (1986, p. 136) asserts, “it is undisputed that there are important differences in infor-

mation structure between main and subordinate clauses”, i.e. those exhibiting V2-ordering and those with V-final-ordering.

Furthermore, reason clauses showing V-final-ordering were linked strongly to the main (higher) clause in early Germanic, in contrast to V2-clauses, which exhibited a much weaker causal sense (Burrige, 2008, p. 4; cf. also Selting, 1999). This distinction between weak and strong cause was retained in later stages of German (cf. Behagel, 1897, cited in Burrige, 2008); in Old High German, it was captured by *hwanta* ‘because’, which introduced both causal V-final as well as V2-clauses (Burrige, 2008, p. 5). In modern German, this pragmatic distinction is expressed by two causal conjunctions, subordinating *weil* and coordinating *denn*.

Modern German causal conjunctions thus have their origin in Old High German *hwanta* > Middle High German *wan(ne)/wen(ne)* > New High German (modern German) *weil/da/denn* (Selting, 1999, p. 185). *Weil* developed from temporal *die wile* ‘during’ into a causal conjunction, exhibiting, however, V2- as well as V-final-ordering, whereas *denn* developed into a coordinating conjunction with strict V2-ordering. In general, V-final-ordering became more prevalent in subordinate clauses during the 14th to 17th century, and was often accompanied by other syntactic phenomena, such as exbraciation. The use of V-final was socially and regionally stratified, and as Ebert (1986, p. 108) notes for the 15th and 16th century, “[e]inige nach Bildung und Beruf konstituierte Sozialgruppen weisen signifikante Unterschiede in der Verbstellung auf”. Although there are fewer instances of *weil*-clauses with V2 from the 16th century onwards (Selting, 1999, pp. 191-196), ‘*weil*+V2’ seems to have survived into 19th century and early 20th century colloquial German, as it is frequently used in private letters (Elspaß, 2005, p. 85). It seems clear that historical continuity is the case here.

As noted above, in transplanted German varieties and in informal, spoken language use in modern German, *weil*-clauses exhibit varying constituent order. It is argued here that in Springbok-German, ‘*weil*+V2’ and ‘*weil*+V-final’ continue to reflect weak vs. strong causal links to do with pragmatic aspects. As Burrige (2008, p. 5; cf. also Hawkins, 1986, pp. 135-136) notes for Canadian Pennsylvania German,

weil continues the good Germanic tradition of indicating to effect both weak and strong cause via different constituent order conditioned by pragmatic factors to do with information status.

In Springbok-German, *weil*-clauses generally follow the main clause, as shown in (72a-b). The examples below are uttered by the same speaker and constitute typical examples of *weil*-clauses, displaying variation in word order.

- (72) a) female, 44 yrs, Natal Midlands
Da wird nich noch extra aufgeräumt, weil hier jetzt jemand zum Besuch kommt.
 There become not still extra up-tidied because here now someone to-the visit comes
 “We don’t especially tidy up just because someone comes for a visit.”
- b) *Dann musste ich es bei mir haben, weil er hat mich jeden Tag angerufen.*
 Then must I it by me have because he has me every day up-ring
 “Then I had to have it [mobile phone] with me because he’d call me every day.”

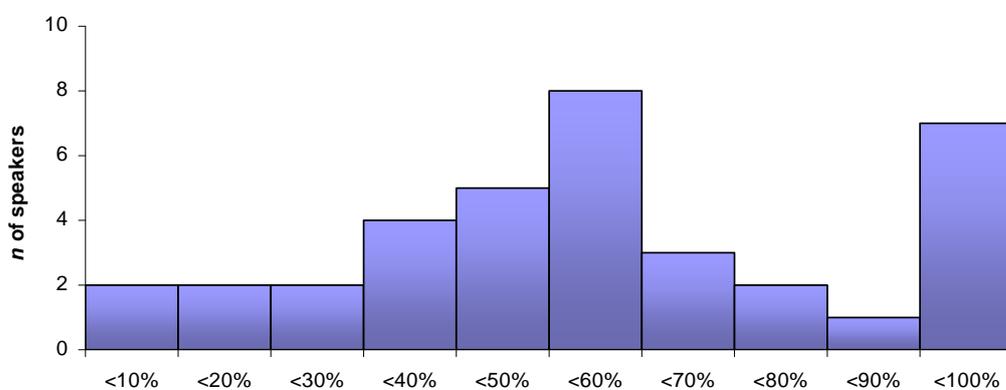
The V-final construction in (72a) carries a stronger causal link to the main clause than the one with V2-ordering in (72b). Furthermore, the *weil*-clause in (72a) is much less assertive and, in a sense, simply provides previously mentioned information. Taken from a lengthy interview, in the course of which we had been discussing the extent to which one would or should tidy and clean one’s house for visitors, the speaker is adamant that she would not carry out a spring clean for any guest. (72a) is part of a longer narrative; it is in a sense “bound” to the main clause, if not to the entire discourse as such. The causal link is strong and this is reflected in her use of ‘*weil*+V-final’.

In contrast, (72b) provides new and highlighted information. At this point in the interview, we had been briefly talking about mobile phones, and here the speaker comments on that she would always leave the phone at home. While her son was at boarding school, however, she had to remember to carry her phone with her, simply because he would call his mother every day. While there is a causal link between the two clauses, it is much weaker than the one in (72a); the *weil*-clause in (72b), furthermore, contains new information, strongly emphasising the fact that the speaker’s son would contact his mother every single day.

Although the distinction between ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ cause – or presenting new information vs. background information – is apparent in Springbok-German, pat-

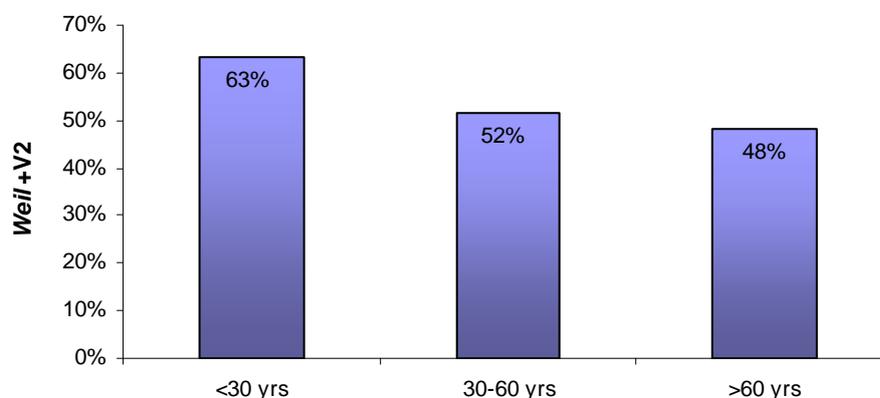
terns of increasing usage may also be motivated by the contact with English and Afrikaans. Almost all speakers make use of ‘*weil*+V2’ as well as ‘*weil*+V-final’ in order to indicate reason, showing word order variation depending on the pragmatic factors involved. Figure 8-2 shows the use of ‘*weil*+V2’ in a histogram, detailing speaker frequencies. The majority of speakers (21) use V2 in *weil*-clauses more than 50% of the time, indicating that ‘*weil*+V2’ is a common feature of Springbok-German.

Figure 8-2: Histogram of speaker frequencies using ‘*weil*+V2’ (speaker $n = 36$).



Given that ‘*weil*+V2’ is not a recent feature of modern German, the use of V2 in *weil*-clauses cannot constitute a recent change in progress. ‘*Weil*+V2’-constructions can be found in the data from speakers of all age groups (Figure 8-3); even older speakers (over 60 years of age) exhibit ‘*weil*+V2’ fairly frequently. ‘*Weil*+V2’ is, however, used slightly more frequently by younger speakers, suggesting that V2 in *weil*-clauses may increasingly become the norm, during the course of which the distinction between weak and strong cause may become blurred or even lost.

Figure 8-3: Use of 'weil+V2' according to age groups, in percentage.



Considering the present language contact situation, the increasing occurrence of 'weil+V2' in Springbok-German may also be the result of external influence, i.e. pressure exerted from English and Afrikaans. As noted above in section 8.2.1, English has SVO order in both main and subordinate clauses and, while Afrikaans has V-final word order in subordinate clauses, the conjunction *wand* 'because', corresponding to the German *weil*, is a coordinating conjunction. In stark contrast to modern German then, *wand* introduces a clause followed by V2-ordering rather than V-final:

- (73) *Hy het 'n week vry geneem want hy was moeg.*
 He has a week free took because he was tired
Er hat sich eine Woche freigenommen weil er müde ist.
 "He took a week off because he was tired." (Donaldson, 1993, p. 301)

'Weil+V2' thus finds external support in both the English SVO ordering following *because*, and the coordinating conjunction *wand* in Afrikaans, which accounts for its extensive use among speakers from the Natal Midlands and the Northern Natal regions. As discussed in the previous chapter (cf. section 7.1), structural changes are more likely to occur in language contact situations which are characterised by a greater intensity of contact. Since the contact between Afrikaans and German speakers in Northern Natal is of a more intense nature, this may account for the higher frequencies of *weil*-clauses in the speech of participants from Northern Natal. In any case, the fact that the corresponding structures in both English and Afrikaans display

V2-ordering is, no doubt, an underlying motivating factor in the spread of ‘*weil*+V2’ in Springbok-German.

Obwohl-clauses

As noted, *obwohl*-clauses with V2 have been interpreted as carrying a new discourse-pragmatic function; ‘*obwohl*+V2’ arguably constitutes a discourse marker, intended to correct or limit the assertions made in the foregoing speech act.

Während konzessive *obwohl*-Konstruktionen eine generelle Dissonanz zwischen zwei Sachverhalten p und q postulieren: “Ich esse noch ein Stück Kuchen, obwohl ich schon zwei gegessen hab” (→ “Wenn man schon Stück zwei Kuchen [sic] gegessen hat, isst man normalerweise nicht noch ein weiteres Stück”), wird im Falle des Diskursmarkers *obwohl* der Dissonanzaspekt und Erwartungsbruch auf die Ebene kommunikativer Äußerungen bzw. Handlungen übertragen: “Ich esse noch ein Stück Kuchen, obwohl (-) ich hab schon zwei gegessen” (→ “Also lasse ich es sein”). (Günthner, 2005, p. 52)

Using V2 in *obwohl*-constructions appears to be generally marked by a short pause following the conjunction, as indicated by (-) in the above quote (cf. also Zifonun 1997, p. 2316, cited in Günthner, 2005, p. 55; cf. also Küper, 1991, p. 133).

While *obwohl* is not a causal conjunction, but a concessive one, Günthner’s (2005) analysis of V2- vs. V-final-ordering in *obwohl*-clauses could nonetheless be viewed in light of the differing information structure, i.e. variation in word order conditioned by pragmatic factors (new vs. presupposed material). In this way, *obwohl* does not so much function as a new discourse marker, but as a conjunction, introducing clauses which differ in regards to their pragmatic function.

Table 8-2 above showed that 26% of *obwohl*-clauses in Springbok-German exhibit V2-ordering, illustrated in (74a-b). Overwhelmingly, ‘*obwohl*+V2’-clauses differ in their information content from ‘*obwohl*-V-final’-clauses, i.e. highly assertive claims vs. presupposed information.

- (74) a) male, 36 yrs, Natal Midlands
Hier nach Südafrika für die Ausländer 'ne Kanone reinzubringen fängt auch an
 Here to South Africa for the foreigners a big gun in-to-bring starts also to
schwieriger zu werden, obwohl es hat sich jetzt so 'n bisschen normalisiert.
 difficult to become although it has itself now a little normalised
 “It’s beginning to get more difficult for foreigners to bring big guns into South Africa,
 although the situation has returned to normal again a bit.”
- b) female, 32 yrs, Natal Midlands
Ich mochte eigentlich ganz gerne hier, obwohl dies is 'ne englische Gegend und ich
 Ich liked actually quite a-lot here although this is a English region and I
musste erstmal mich anpassen damit, he?
 had-to first myself adjust there-with TAG
 “I actually like being here a lot even though this is an English region and I first had to
 get used to that, right?”

Although neither speaker in (74) exhibits a pause following *obwohl* (as noted by Günthner, 2005), these clauses can be interpreted as serving a different function than ‘*obwohl*+V-final’-clauses. The information conveyed is foregrounded, whereby the discourse is moved forward. To be more precise, in (74a) the speaker, a professional hunter, comments on how it is increasingly difficult for foreign tourists (hunters) to bring guns into South Africa; he then rephrases his assertion and corrects his claim. In other words, he presents new information following *obwohl*: “it’s getting more difficult to bring guns into South Africa” → “well, actually, coming to think of it, the situation is not as bad anymore”.

Similarly, the use of ‘*obwohl*+V2’ in (74b) can be seen in light of limiting or correcting the foregoing speech act. *Obwohl* also introduces a clause here that carries highly assertive material. The speaker is originally from the Afrikaans-speaking Northern Natal region; here, she comments that she likes living in the Natal Midlands, despite the fact that the Natal Midlands is a largely English-speaking region: “I like it here” → “well, this is an English region and I, therefore, shouldn’t expect to like them, but once I got used to the people, it was alright”.

Contrast this with the ‘*obwohl*+V-final’-clause in (75), where *obwohl* introduces a clause containing backgrounded and presupposed information. Commenting on the fact that some Springbok-German speakers prefer to attend the English language service instead of the German one, the speaker then continues to express her

bewilderment at such preferences. Concerning the *obwohl*-clause, however, it is clear that the material contained is low in information content, i.e. that the local parish offered German church services was in no sense new information at this point in the interview, and the field research more generally. In fact, it was quite taken for granted that I was aware of this.

- (75) female, 48 yrs, Natal Midlands
[sie] gehn lieber zum englischen Gottesdienst obwohl der deutsche Gottesdienst da is...
 [they] go rather to-the english church service although the german church service there is
 "They rather go to the English service even though there's a German one..."

As was shown in Figure 8-1 above, speakers from both regions make use of 'obwohl+V2'; it is, however, slightly more prevalent in Northern Natal. This is somewhat puzzling since the Afrikaans *alhoewel/hoewel* 'although' introduces a clause with V-final. The order following *although* is, as in all other subordinate clauses in English, SVO. To what extent contact (with English) plays a role in the use of V2 in *obwohl*-clauses is uncertain, and it is difficult to determine whether the English word order exerts strong enough pressure to be influencing these patterns in both regions. 'Obwohl+V2' may, on the other hand, simply result from tendencies towards SVO evident across Germanic languages more generally. At present, *obwohl*-clauses seem to indicate a difference in pragmatic function, which is, accordingly, reflected in the position of the verb.

Dass-clauses

It was mentioned earlier that '*dass*+V2' is an occasional feature of transplanted German varieties, e.g. Australian German, (Canadian) Pennsylvania German. While there are relatively few instances of '*dass*+V2' in the data on Springbok-German, as illustrated in (76a-b), it is common for *dass* to be omitted altogether, also resulting in structures with V2 (76c).

- (76) a) male, 49 yrs, Northern Natal
Wir werden es einfach nur machen, dass sie lern zu sprechen.
 We become it simple only make that they learn to speak
 "We'll just offer it so that they learn how to speak [the language]."

- b) male, 69 yrs, Natal Midlands
Ich hab das da nachgelesen, dass die ersten äh Kinder sind noch in Hermannsburg
 I have that there after-read that the first uh children are still in Hermannsburg
konfirmiert.
 confirmed
 “I read in there that the first children were still confirmed at Hermannsburg.”
- c) female, 21 yrs, Northern Natal
 ... *weil sie wissen, ich kenn sie auch schon lange.*
 because they know I know them also already long
 “... because they know (that) I’ve known them for a long time.”

In contexts where *dass*-clauses may lack the complementiser in modern German, restricted to certain cognitive verbs, e.g. *berichten* ‘report’, *lernen* ‘learn’, *hoffen* ‘hope’ or *glauben* ‘believe’, the clause behaves like a main clause with SVO order, as in *ich hoffe, dass er heute kommt* > *ich hoffe, er kommt heute* ‘I hope (that) he’s coming today’ (Eisenberg, 2002, p. 377; Pittner & Berman, 2007, p. 99; cf. also Vikner, 1995). Since ‘*dass*+V2’ occurs only marginally in the present data (5% of all *dass*-clauses), it is unlikely to constitute (as yet) a case of speakers generalising SVO order for *dass*-clauses. However, the tendency for SVO in *dass*-clauses and, more so, omission of the complementiser altogether finds external support in analogous structures in Afrikaans and English. In both language varieties, the construction shows SVO order when ‘that’ is dropped.

Subordinate ‘that’ is very commonly omitted in English. The same practice exists in Afrikaans with the result that the finite verb in the clause is no longer sent to the end of the clause, giving a word order identical to English, e.g.

Ek is seker dat sy môre gaan wen > *Ek is seker sy gaan môre wen.*
 ‘I’m sure (that) she’s going to win tomorrow.’ (Donaldson, 1993, p. 315)

In other words, the fact that Afrikaans shows a change from SOV to SVO word order depending on whether *dat* is omitted or present, and English having SVO order generally, may well be a motivating factor. In any case, omission of *dass* and resulting V2-constructions are likely to be a contact influence: (a) because the dropping of *dass* is not widespread in modern German and generally only occurs in certain contexts (e.g. indirect speech, cf. above); and (b), it is frequent in both English and Afrikaans (and

other Germanic languages, e.g. Danish). Moreover, omitting *dass* has also been reported for Namibian German (Shah, 2007, p. 32).

To sum up, this section examined the presence of V2-ordering in certain subordinate clauses; namely, following the conjunctions *weil*, *obwohl* and *dass*. It was argued that ‘*weil*+V2’-clauses constitute a historically continuous development in German. The differing word order was related to information structure, i.e. *weil* still exhibits the distinction between weak and strong cause, already present in earlier stages of German. In this way, ‘*weil*+V2’ contains new and foregrounded material, whereas ‘*weil*+V-final’ captures backgrounded and presupposed information. In a similar fashion, ‘*obwohl*+V2’-clauses can be viewed as encompassing highly assertive material, in contrast to ‘*obwohl*+V-final’-clauses, which express presupposed information. Moreover, contact seems to affect *dass*-clauses, in that omission of the complementiser is common, influenced by analogous structures in Afrikaans and English.

In transplanted German varieties, word order changes towards SVO – i.e. a relaxing of the verbal brace as well as V2-ordering in subordinate clauses – have often been noted in association with case reduction. While developments in the case system and increasingly rigid word ordering are well documented for a number of Germanic languages, e.g. English and Yiddish, there are doubts about the causality of case syncretism and changes in verb position. Nützel (1993, p. 318), for example, asserts that “case loss alone cannot be the triggering factor for an SOV to SVO shift in word order: Afrikaans has lost case distinctions and remains SOV, while Icelandic maintains a rich morphological inventory and is nonetheless SVO.” Hawkins (1986, p. 51) also maintains that case syncretism may bring about a shift in verb position but this does not necessarily occur in every case. Whether case reduction and changes in word order are indeed causal or not, they certainly do not occur in isolation of each other. In Springbok-German, word order changes towards SVO – or at least towards bringing verbal elements closer together – can be observed as well as increasing case reduction. As discussed in the respective sections, contact with English and Afrikaans plays, no doubt, a role in this situation as well, even though pinpointing the precise extent to which the contact has influenced these changes is difficult.

8.3 ISOLATED PHENOMENA

This section briefly discusses a number of interesting features that do not occur extensively in the current data – perhaps due to the nature of the data (i.e. gathered through interviews) – but which may point towards future structural developments in Springbok-German. The phenomena include tense (go-future), double negation, and the auxiliary *tun* ‘to do’.

Go-future construction

Several Germanic languages have developed future auxiliaries from verbs of motion, mostly employing a ‘go+infinitive’ to express the proximate future, e.g. Dutch, English, Yiddish (cf. Harbert, 2007; König & van der Auwera, 2002). Modern German, on the other hand, only allows the use of a *go*-future construction when actual movement is involved, as in *ich gehe morgen schwimmen* ‘I’m going to go swimming tomorrow’; otherwise, it lacks a ‘go+infinitive’ to express future activity. Of the transplanted German varieties, (Canadian) Pennsylvania German has grammaticalised the movement verb *geh* as a future marker, as in *es geht ihm happene!* ‘It’s gonna happen to him!’ (Burrige, 1992, p. 206; cf. also Burrige, 2002a). Namibian German also shows some generalisation of a future ‘*gehen*+infinitive’-construction, e.g. *ich gehe in Kapstadt wohnen* ‘I’m going to live in Cape Town’, but this has not yet entirely replaced ‘*werden*+infinitive’ as the future marker, and cannot be used with certain verbs, e.g. *sterben* ‘to die’ – **ich gehe sterben* ‘I’m going to die’ (Shah, 2007, p. 33).

There is some evidence in the present data that Springbok-German speakers also occasionally employ a *go*-future construction.¹¹⁵ As in modern German, the constructions may involve actual motion, i.e. they have a spatial dimension, but they also have a clear temporal aspect that modern German lacks. They can imply an immediate future activity (77a) that is going to take place, or may be speculative about future activity as in (77b-d).

¹¹⁵ The relatively marginal use of a *go*-future construction in the data is quite likely to be a reflection of the nature of the data, i.e. the occasion of the interview may not provide the appropriate situational context which prompts a speaker to make utterances about immediate future activity.

- (77) a) male, 79 yrs, Northern Natal
*Warum sagst du denn nicht, ich muss 'n Vortrag **gehn** ausarbeiten?*
 Why say you then not I must a talk go out-work
 "Why don't you say, I have to go prepare a talk?"
- b) male, 35 yrs, Natal Midlands
*... oder ich muss selber im Wörterbuch **gehn** guckn.*
 or I must myself in-the dictionary go look
 "... or I have to go look it up in the dictionary myself."
- c) male, 28 yrs, Natal Midlands
... wir sind noch nicht zum Punkt gekomm, wo wir beschliessen, ok,
 wir are still not to-the point come where we decide ok
*wir **gehn** jetzt **heiraten**.*
 wir go now marry
 "... we're not at a point yet where we say, ok, let's get married."
- d) female, 45 yrs, Northern Natal
*Oh sorry, ich **geh** nich **sagen** Doktor So-und-So!*
 oh sorry I go not say doctor so-and-so
 "Oh sorry, I'm not going to say Doctor So-and-so!"

While (77a-b) are constructions with lexical *gehen* (i.e. involving a sense of movement), (77c-d) are clearly extended to encompass temporal aspects. Although, at present, constructions such as these involve animate subjects only, the fact that they are extended to temporal contexts suggests the genesis of a *go*-future.

Both English and Afrikaans can express the immediate future by using a *go*-future construction, e.g. *I'm going to do it tomorrow* – *ek gaan dit môre doen* (Donaldson, 1993, p. 275). In Springbok-German, the verb *gehen* can function as the auxiliary (77c-d) or, when in combination with a modal verb, it appears as a non-finite element in clause-final position (77a-b). Interestingly, in the latter instance, *gehen* is always placed to the left of the infinitive of the main verb, an ordering that is ungrammatical in modern German. Like modal verbs, *gehen* takes a bare infinitive and in verb clusters, it follows the main verb infinitive, e.g. *ich muss morgen einkaufen gehen*/**gehen einkaufen* 'I need to go shopping tomorrow'. In Afrikaans, however, *gaan* is placed to the left of the main verb in infinitive verb clusters, e.g. *ek sal 'n bietjie meer daaroor moet gaan nadink* 'I'll have to go think about it a bit more' (Donaldson, 1993, p. 363). This indicates that the similar structure in Afrikaans a

likely source of transfer.¹¹⁶ Although ‘*gehen*+infinitive’ is not (yet) extensively used in Springbok-German as a future marker (or rather, its use is not reflected in the data to a very great extent), it may nonetheless develop into a more common future marker. This is a plausible development, especially considering that ‘*gehen*+infinitive’ is frequently used in Namibian German, a contact situation not entirely unlike the one that the Springbok-Germans find themselves in.

Double Negation

Modern German does not allow double negative constructions; although in earlier stages, this was certainly the norm (and still is in closely related language varieties, such as Yiddish). In more recent times, double (or multiple) negation has become heavily stigmatised in standard language use based on the prescriptive notion that “two negatives make a positive” (Harbert, 2007, p. 380, citing Behaghel 1924, cf. also Elspaß, 2005, 2007). They continue, however, to occur widely in colloquial and non-standard varieties as well as in German dialects, e.g. Bavarian (cf. Bayer, 1990), Ripuarian (cf. Newton, 1989) or Low German, e.g. *ik heff keen Geld nich* ‘I ain’t have no money’ (cf. Lindow et al., 1998, cited in Harbert, 2007, p. 380), and tend to be interpreted as markers of emphasis. Changes in negation structures have also been observed for transplanted varieties; Russian German, for example, shows double negation constructions, e.g. *und niemals waren keine Probleme* ‘and there were never no problems’ (Riehl, 2004, p. 88).

There are a few instances of double negation found in the data, either involving the negation particle *nicht* ‘not’ twice (78a), *nicht* and the negation determiner *kein* ‘none/any’ (78b), or *nicht* the pronoun *niemand* ‘no-one’ (78c).

- (78) a) female, 68 yrs, Natal Midlands
 ... *wo die Eltern (denn) **nich** mehr fertig werden zu Hause **nich**.*
 Where the parents (then) not more ready become to home not
 “... where the parents can’t cope at home.”

¹¹⁶ In other infinitive verb clusters in the data involving modals and main verbs, the modals, however, always follow the main verb as in modern German, i.e. no unusual developments were found with the verb clusters in general.

- b) female, 55 yrs, Natal Midlands
*... deshalb les ich also **kein** Afrikaans einfach **nich**.*
 thus read I well no Afrikaans simply not
 "... well that's why I don't read no Afrikaans [books]."
- c) female, 64 yrs, Natal Midlands
Dann kommt man hier nach Haus und zieht schnell Gardin überall zu, dass man auch
 Then come one here to home and draw quickly curtains everywhere to that one also
***niemand nich** sehn kann.*
 no-one not see can
 "Then you get home and quickly draw the curtains shut so that you can't see no-one."

These double negative constructions occur only very marginally and are restricted to speakers from the Natal Midlands. Although some of the constructions resemble the negative concord construction in Afrikaans (negative particle *nie* + scope marker *nie*¹¹⁷) on the surface, pressure from Afrikaans can be fairly safely excluded here, since there is not a single instance of a speaker from Afrikaans-speaking Northern Natal employing double negation. Akin to modern German, standard varieties of English, including (white) South African English, do not allow double (or multiple) negation, e.g. *you ain't seen nothing yet*. Nonetheless, it does exist widely in non-standard dialects and historically older varieties of English, and may even be obligatory in certain varieties, such as African American English (König, 2002, p. 562). Because these structures occur only marginally, external influence seems to be a less likely source; in fact, as noted, double negation is not a recent development but existed in earlier stages of German and, as Elspaß (2005, p. 80) notes, was common in private letters well into the 1920s. The occurrence here may simply be a reflection of earlier usage patterns, though it is curious that speakers in Northern Natal do not make use of it at all. Again, this may be due to the constraints of the collected data (i.e. there is less data available on speakers from Northern Natal), and further research may reveal that double negation is used by speakers in Northern Natal as well. So far, the present data is, unfortunately, inconclusive.

¹¹⁷ In Afrikaans, the negator *nie* 'not' always occurs to the right of the finite verb, and is complemented in sentences that consist of more than a subject and finite verb by the second, obligatory and scope-marking, *nie*. In clauses involving other negators, the scope marker *nie* is optional, e.g. *He skryf nooit (nie)*, 'He never writes.' (Donaldson, 2002, pp. 501-502).

The auxiliary tun

The use of the auxiliary *tun* ‘do’ (*tun*+infinitive’) is restricted to data from Northern Natal. Again, it is used very marginally in the present corpus, and occurs only in the present tense.

While not a feature of modern (Standard) German, the auxiliary *tun* was widespread in Early New High German, and only became stigmatised in the 18th century (Langer, 2000). The ‘*tun*+infinitive’-construction was still common in private communication well into the 19th century (Elspaß, 2005, p. 80), and it continues to be used in various German dialects (e.g. East Low German, cf. Schönfeld, 1989) and in non-standard language use (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p. 166). It has, furthermore, been documented for transplanted German varieties. Burrige (1992, pp. 218-221), for example, notes that the auxiliary *duh* is extremely common in Canadian Pennsylvania German, and its use is not restricted to that of a marker of emphasis, nor is it used to express habitual action (cf. also Costello, 1992; Huffines, 1993).

In Springbok-German, ‘*tun*+infinitive’ also does not appear to be used as a marker of emphasis, but there is some habitual aspect involved, as the examples (79) illustrate. For example, in (79b) the wife comments that, while she leaves her husband to do his own paperwork, she files the documents for him – naturally an on-going, habitual process.

- (79) a) male, 49 yrs, Northern Natal
*Aber wie **tut** man nu wieder **teilen**?*
 But how do one now again divide
 “But how do you do division again?”
- b) female, 44 yrs, Northern Natal
*... ich **tu** sie für ihn **filen**.*
 I do them for him file
 “... I file them [documents] for him.”

In addition to its (limited) use as an auxiliary, *tun* is frequently used as a main verb by all speakers, having largely replaced the verb *machen* ‘make’, which, in its scope and usage, corresponds to the English *do* and the Afrikaans *doen*. *Tun* frequently also oc-

curs in the function of the English dummy *do*, as in (80), where the speaker responds to the question of whether she still speaks Low German.

- (80) female, 52 yrs, Natal Midlands
Nee, ich tu nich mehr.
 No I do not more
 “No, I don’t anymore.”

Here, and with the widespread use of *tun* as a main verb, contact interference is likely. Why ‘*tun*+infinitive’ should only occur in the speech of speakers from Northern Natal is, however, puzzling; again, it may be a reflection of the kind of data collected.

This last section discussed three syntactic features: the genesis of a *go*-future construction, the presence of double negation, and the use of the auxiliary *tun*. These occur to a marginal extent only in the present data. Future research may establish usage patterns more clearly, providing less speculative and inconclusive data; on the other hand, these constructions may remain marginal and embedded in the idiolects of individual speakers.

8.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the analysis of structural features of Springbok-German. Chapter 7 looked at two morphosyntactic features – case marking and possessive structures – followed by a discussion of syntactic phenomena in the present chapter that included infinitive clause constructions and word order. In addition, a number of features were discussed which occur only marginally in the data, that is, ‘*gehen*+infinitive’-constructions, double negation and the use of the auxiliary *tun*.

In chapter 7, and based on the situation described in chapters 4-6, the Springbok-German communities were identified as a language contact setting that is characterised by ‘slightly more intense’ contact between Springbok-German speakers and speakers of English and/or Afrikaans. The majority of Springbok-Germans is in regular and habitual contact with speakers of the contact languages, and contact has existed from the day the early settlers and missionaries arrived in South Africa.

Although some settlements remain more isolated than others, the contact intensified in the ensuing years, especially in the Northern Natal among Afrikaners and Springbok-Germans. This is also reflected in the German language variety that is spoken in these communities.

Chapters 7 and 8 discussed morphosyntactic and syntactic features of Springbok-German at length. The developments documented here – notably the blurring of the accusative/dative distinction, exbraciation, and V2 in subordinate clauses – are also found in modern German, especially in spoken, colloquial varieties. However, the influence of the contact languages onto Springbok-German should not be dismissed outright. The presence of features such as the synthetic genitive – as chapter 7 showed, a feature that is widespread – illustrates how certain changes can be attributed to contact more clearly than others. In general, it is difficult to determine the extent to which language contact and internal tendencies advance language change, particularly in situations of prolonged and close language contact. This is further exacerbated by the fact that, as Thomason (2003, p. 71) points out, changes in typologically related languages, such as English, Afrikaans and German, are much harder to predict than those in distant languages. A case in point is the increased use of V2 in subordinate clauses, in particular, in *weil*-clauses. As the present chapter showed, ‘*weil*+V2’ is entrenched in the history of German, and variation in verb position is closely associated to pragmatic factors. The spread of ‘*weil*+V2’ among speakers of the younger generation may, however, be motivated by the on-going language contact as well. Ultimately, both external influence and language-internal tendencies are sources of language change, motivated by social factors and with the precise outcome difficult to establish. In any case, Springbok-German is affected by the language contact and it is highly likely that it will continue to undergo change in the future.

CONCLUSION

In exploring German as a transplanted variety spoken in South Africa, this study adds to the enormously rich and fruitful body of research concerned with German language varieties spoken outside of the German-speaking countries. Highlighted in chapter 1 was the fact that comparatively little research has been carried in the African context, or more specifically, in South Africa; the significance of this thesis thus lies in its contribution to the evident desideratum for comprehensive studies on German in South Africa.

This study presents a detailed examination of a particular subset of German speakers in rural South Africa. Investigating both sociolinguistic aspects of language maintenance and shift, and (morpho)syntactic features of Springbok-German provided for a comprehensive study of a specific language contact situation. In contrast to previous research on German in South Africa, this thesis takes spoken language, rather than written data as its starting point, and thus presents a pioneering exploration of structural aspects of Springbok-German.

Utilising a macro-linguistic approach, the study showed that German is maintained across a number of private and public domains; that is, the home and, crucially, the church and community. Identifying the motivation which has led these close-knit communities to maintain German for more than 150 years lies primarily in understanding the socio-historical background of the early missionaries and settlers. Ideologically, their roots are steeped in the 19th century notion of *Volkstum* and, theologically, their strong Lutheran beliefs have led to a special emphasis placed on the German language as a 'sacred' language. In their way of life, the Springbok-German communities reflect their insistence on preserving German cultural traditions, values, and evidently, the language.

Increasingly, this is changing. Intermarriage is becoming the norm rather than remain the exception; changes in demographics and socio-economic circumstances across the communities also affect the provision of German language instruction at

schools and will increasingly bring about concerns regarding the feasibility of conducting church services in German. In turn, this will have repercussions for the survival of German as a community language and as a language variety that, so far, continues to be transmitted inter-generationally.

Significantly, this study considers how the English-dominated Natal Midlands and the largely Afrikaans-speaking Northern Natal regions differ, not only with regards to their maintenance practices but also their dynamics for shift. Historically, the two community clusters have witnessed devastation and calamities to varying extents. This and the greater cultural affinities that exist between the Springbok-Germans and Afrikaners have influenced the regions in different ways. Not surprisingly, it was also found that geographical isolation, as applies to most communities in Northern Natal, allows the communities to remain more close-knit and in a much better position to continue preserving German. Synodal affiliation was also found to have a bearing on the extent to which language maintenance is promoted and sustained, with speakers belonging to the Freikirche synod generally more concerned about the continued survival of German than speakers from the Hermannsburg synod. This is not to say, however, that speakers from the Hermannsburg synod make no effort; rather, they are more open and accepting of community outsiders, which has implications for the way in which German is maintained alongside English and Afrikaans.

By systematically examining a number of structural features of Springbok-German, this thesis offers unprecedented insights into the nature of this particular transplanted German variety. Situating the analysis within a language contact framework and following the examination of issues to do with language maintenance and shift, allowed for the identification of the present situation as one characterised by 'slightly more intense' language contact. Relying on the earlier study by Stielau (1980) for documentation of lexical borrowing in Springbok-German, this study focussed solely on outlining developments regarding structural features. By drawing from the corpus of collected spoken data, this study investigates several morphosyntactic and syntactic features, including case marking and possessive structures, and infinitival complementation and word order.

Overall, the findings reveal that Springbok-German is increasingly undergoing structural change, affected by the contact with English and Afrikaans while also following language-internal tendencies. Some features, in particular, are more clearly identifiable as outcomes of language contact than others, notably the increasing use of Saxon genitive constructions. Despite the fact that, historically, the Saxon genitive constitutes a feature rooted in German, and that the constructions in English and German are structurally different, the frequent use in Springbok-German can plausibly be attributed to the existence of the analogous (and typical) structure in English. A feature that was found to occur only marginally (as yet) – the *gehen*-future construction – also bears the imprint of language contact. Contact was also expected to have led to considerable changes in infinitival complementation, as this has been observed widely and in particular in the Namibian context. While there are indications for use of *um/zu*-constructions in place of *zu*-infinitives, this remains infrequent at present.

A clear limitation of the present study is, however, the nature of the data; more extensive data collections – gathered over a longer period of time and representing spoken language from a greater variety of situations – may have allowed for the presentation of more conclusive evidence with regard to a potential genesis of a *gehen*-future, as well as the extent to which *tun* is used as an auxiliary and whether double negation constructions are indeed a (common) feature of Springbok-German.

For some features, it is more difficult to establish the influence exerted from English and/or Afrikaans, not only because the observed developments are in accord with language-internal tendencies across Germanic generally, but more so because they are, in fact, common in colloquial varieties of modern German. The use of V2 in subordinate clauses is a case in point; it is frequent in modern German but similar constructions can also be found in the contact languages. Here, it was argued that ‘*weil*+V2’ reflects a historical distinction in Germanic between weak and strong cause, presenting new and exciting information vs. discourse-old and presupposed material. A similar distinction was found to apply to ‘*obwohl*+V2’-clauses. In contrast, ‘*dass*+V2’-clauses, only a marginal feature of Springbok-German, and the omission of *dass* altogether, resulting in clauses with V2, are more likely to be the result of con-

tact. Concerning V2-ordering in *weil*-clauses, it was, however, suggested that contact influence cannot be safely excluded, since ‘*weil*+V2’ was shown to be slightly more prevalent among younger speakers, thus indicating a potential change in progress, affected by the contact with English and Afrikaans.

The findings also reflect the fact that language change does not advance uniformly across subsystems or even within subsystems. While the accusative/dative-distinction is still largely maintained – among younger speakers, there is, however, increasingly less certainty with regard to assigning the appropriate case – exbraciation, that is, the moving of verbal constituents closer together, is widespread among speakers of all generations. The extent to which these developments can be attributed to language contact is, again, difficult to establish. They have been documented widely for other transplanted German varieties, and exbraciation is, furthermore, common in colloquial varieties of modern German. This study attempted to show that in the majority of cases, multiple causation is likely to be underlying the advancing changes. None of the developments documented here are entirely unexpected; instead, they echo tendencies noted for transplanted German varieties and modern German more generally, accelerated, however, by the language contact situation.

Whilst the (morpho)syntactic developments observed in Springbok-German have been examined separately here, language naturally constitutes a complex whole, and features do not develop in isolation from one another. While in some (borrowing) situations, only vocabulary is borrowed, entire subsystems may be borrowed in other cases. In general, however, changes in one subsystem are likely to affect other subsystems, “though limited phonological restructuring apparently can occur without concomitant syntactic restructuring (and possibly vice versa)” (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 60). Ideally, in order to arrive at a more complete picture of Springbok-German, this study would have also considered changes in the phonological and morphological subsystems; these are avenues for future research.

This study has provided a first attempt to provide a more comprehensive account of the sociolinguistic situation in the Springbok-German communities as well as a systematic exploration of spoken language data with regards to the (morpho)syntax.

Its findings are not only important because they provide a better understanding of the current situation but, more significantly, because they can inform later studies, thus capturing a more detailed view of individual communities and the linguistic nature of Springbok-German. In exploring a language contact situation where German is in contact with English and Afrikaans, the present study is also of significance (a) to studies examining a similar setting in the African context, that is, German in Namibia, and (b), varieties of transplanted German more generally.

While German will survive in this part of the world for (at least) another generation, the present situation signals a degree of urgency in conducting further research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I – INFORMATION ON PARTICIPANTS AND INTER- VIEWS

Appendix I – Information on participants and interviews

| Speaker # | Sex | Age | Pseudonym | Church congregation | Occupation | Date interviewed |
|-----------|--------|-----|-----------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 | male | 93 | Rudi | Hermannsburg | retired | 13 Oct 2005 |
| 2 | female | 75 | Elna | Hermannsburg | retired | 13 Oct 2005 |
| 3 | female | 68 | Rhea | Hermannsburg | retired music teacher | 27 Oct 2005 |
| 4 | female | 64 | Klara | Hermannsburg | retired | 3 Nov 2005 |
| 5 | female | 82 | Elsa | Hermannsburg | retired | 7 Nov 2005 |
| 6 | female | 70 | Irmela | Hermannsburg | curator of the Hermannsburg Mission House Museum | 8 Nov 2005 |
| 7 | female | 65 | Hildegard | Hermannsburg | retired | 8 Nov 2005 |
| 8 | male | 65 | Carl | Hermannsburg | retired farmer | 8 Nov 2005 |
| 9 | male | 55 | Erwin | Hermannsburg | farmer | 10 Nov 2005 |
| 10 | female | 48 | Rhea | Hermannsburg | | 10 Nov 2005 |
| 11 | female | 48 | Elmarie | Greytown | music teacher | 12 Nov 2005 |
| 12 | female | 71 | Isolde | Harburg | retired | 12 Nov 2005; 1 June 2006; 18 June 2006 |
| 13 | male | 75 | Werner | Harburg | retired farmer | 12 Nov 2005; 18 June 2006 |
| 14 | female | 68 | Margarete | Hermannsburg | retired | 15 Nov 2005 |
| 15 | male | 66 | Bernhard | Hermannsburg | retired farmer | 15 Nov 2005 |
| 16 | female | 16 | Inga | Hermannsburg | pupil | 15 May 2006 |
| 17 | female | 17 | Klaudia | Hermannsburg | pupil | 15 May 2006 |
| 18 | male | 34 | Marko | Hermannsburg | travel agency manager | 15 May 2006 |
| 19 | male | 36 | Ludwig | Hermannsburg | science teacher | 16 May 2006 |
| 20 | male | 17 | Leon | Hermannsburg | Pupil | 16 May 2006 |
| 21 | female | 14 | Karolin | Hermannsburg | Pupil | 16 May 2006 |
| 22 | female | 14 | Kordula | Hermannsburg | Pupil | 16 May 2006 |
| 23 | female | 23 | Susanna | Hermannsburg | accountant | 16 May 2006 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|--------|----|-----------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 24 | female | 34 | Selda | Hermannsburg | maths teacher | 18 May 2006 |
| 25 | female | 65 | Edelgard | | B&B owner | 22 May 2006 |
| 26 | female | 17 | Agnes | Hermannsburg | pupil | 24 May 2006 |
| 27 | female | 52 | Christel | New Hanover | administrative assistant | 24 May 2006 |
| 28 | female | 45 | Selda | Hermannsburg | public relations officer | 25 May 2006 |
| 29 | female | 15 | Alma | Hermannsburg (Bethany) | pupil | 29 May 2006 |
| 30 | female | 44 | Konstanze | KwaSizabantu Mission (Wartburg) | teacher & administrative assistant | 30 May 2006 |
| 31 | male | 45 | Ronald | Wartburg | pastor | 31 May 2006 |
| 32 | female | 42 | Ivonne | Wartburg | teacher | 31 May 2006 |
| 33 | female | 55 | Waltraud | Wartburg-Kirchdorf | administrative assistant | 31 May 2006 |
| 34 | female | 85 | Mathilde | Wartburg | retired | 1 June 2006 |
| 35 | female | 65 | Marion | Harburg | | 1 June 2006 |
| 36 | male | 28 | Philip | Wartburg | farmer | 1 June 2006 |
| 37 | male | 69 | Hermann | New Hanover | builder | 2 June 2006 |
| 38 | female | 65 | Minchen | New Hanover | retired music teacher | 2 June 2006 |
| 39 | female | 70 | Inken | Wartburg | retired teacher | 6 June 2006 |
| 40 | male | 33 | Adrian | Wartburg | farmer | 6 June 2006 |
| 41 | male | 75 | Robert | Harburg | retired farmer | 6 June 2006 |
| 42 | female | 75 | Elfrieda | Harburg | retired | 6 June 2006 |
| 43 | female | 75 | Liesel | Wartburg | retired | 8 June 2006 |
| 44 | female | 75 | Ivonne | Wartburg | retired | 8 June 2006 |
| 45 | male | 65 | Ernst | Wartburg | retired | 18 June 2006 |
| 46 | female | 75 | Rhea | Wartburg | retired | 22 June 2006 |
| 47 | male | 75 | Georg | Wartburg | retired farm manager | 22 June 2006 |
| 48 | female | 52 | Selda | Harburg | housewife | 23 June 2006 |
| 49 | female | 32 | Elenore | Wartburg-Kirchdorf | music and German teacher | 23 June 2006 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|--------|----|-----------|-------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 50 | female | 44 | Charlotte | Harburg | housewife, B&B owner | 26 June 2006 |
| 51 | male | 36 | Hugo | Harburg | farmer, professional hunter | 27 June 2006 |
| 52 | female | 16 | Nadine | Augsburg | pupil | 13 July 2006; 14 July 2006 |
| 53 | female | 16 | Carmen | Augsburg | pupil | 13 July 2006 |
| 54 | female | 16 | Nola | Augsburg | pupil | 13 July 2006 |
| 55 | female | 21 | Marlis | Piet Retief | self-employed | 14 July 2006; 21 June 2007 |
| 56 | male | 46 | Stefan | Augsburg | manager | 14 July 2006 |
| 57 | female | 42 | Rieke | Augsburg | clinical laboratory supervisor | 14 July 2006; 15 July 2006 |
| 58 | female | 70 | Mechthild | Augsburg | retired | 16 July 2006 |
| 59 | female | 53 | Louise | Augsburg | B&B owner | 16 July 2006 |
| 60 | female | 23 | Barbara | Augsburg | student | 16 July 2006 |
| 61 | male | 42 | Helmut | Augsburg | farmer | 21 July 2006 |
| 62 | female | 44 | Magdalena | Augsburg | nurse | 21 July 2006 |
| 63 | male | 88 | Vincent | Augsburg | retired farmer | 23 July 2006 |
| 64 | female | 78 | Liesel | Augsburg | retired | 23 July 2006 |
| 65 | male | 49 | Klaus | Piet Retief | school headmaster | 25 July 2006; 16 June 2007 |
| 66 | female | 38 | Helga | Wittenberg | German teacher | 25 July 2006 |
| 67 | female | 60 | Regina | Wittenberg | retired | 25 July 2006 |
| 68 | female | 45 | Roswita | Piet Retief | boarding school matron | 25 July 2006 |
| 69 | female | 70 | Rhea | Piet Retief | retired | 26 July 2006 |
| 70 | female | 13 | Agnes | Wittenberg | pupil | 26 July 2006 |
| 71 | female | 13 | Anna | Wittenberg | pupil | 26 July 2006 |
| 72 | female | 13 | Amalie | Wittenberg | pupil | 26 July 2006 |
| 73 | female | 11 | Bianca | Wittenberg | pupil | 26 July 2006 |

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|----|--------|----|-----------|--------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| 74 | female | 11 | Annelie | Wittenberg | pupil | 26 July 2006 |
| 75 | female | 12 | Agnes | Wittenberg | pupil | 26 July 2006 |
| 76 | male | 77 | Eckart E. | Braunschweig | retired school headmaster | 2 August 2006 |
| 77 | male | 75 | Eckart K. | Lüneburg | retired farmer | 3 August 2006 |
| 78 | female | 72 | Klara | Lüneburg | (retired) housewife | 3 August 2006 |
| 79 | female | 75 | Liska | Braunschweig | retired | 3 August 2006 |
| 80 | female | 33 | Irmela | Braunschweig | school teacher | 3 August 2006 |

* All names are pseudonyms.

APPENDIX II – THE QUESTIONNAIRE

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| <p style="text-align: center;">Katharina Franke Monash University</p> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Forschungsprojekt: Die deutsche Sprache in Südafrika – Sprachgebrauch</h3> <p style="font-size: small;">Dieser Fragebogen enthält Fragen zu Deinem Familienhintergrund und zu Deinem Sprachgebrauch. Wenn Du irgendwelche Fragen nicht beantworten kannst oder willst, kannst Du sie einfach freilassen. Danke!</p> <p>Participant Code: _____</p> <p>Name _____</p> <p>Junge <input type="checkbox"/> Mädchen <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Personlicher und Familienhintergrund</p> <p>1. Geburtsjahr _____</p> <p>2. Geburtsort _____</p> <p>3. Geburtsland <input type="checkbox"/> Südafrika <input type="checkbox"/> Deutschland <input type="checkbox"/> anderes _____</p> <p>4. Wenn du <i>nicht</i> in Südafrika geboren bist, in welchem Jahr bist du hergekommen? _____</p> <p>5. Weißt du aus welchem Ort/aus welcher Gegend in Deutschland deine Familie stammt? _____</p> <p>6. Wo wohnst du (Wohnort)? _____</p> <p>7. Wohnst du während der Schulzeit im Schülerheim (hostel)? <input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein</p> <p>8. Hast du Geschwister? <input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein Wenn ja, wieviele? <input type="checkbox"/> Schwester(n) <input type="checkbox"/> Bruder/Brüder</p> <p>9. Wo leben deine Geschwister? _____</p> <p style="text-align: right;">1</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Katharina Franke Monash University</p> <p>10. Wo sind deine Eltern geboren (Ort/Land)? _____ Mutter: _____ Vater: _____</p> <p>11. Was machen deine Eltern beruflich? Mutter: _____ Vater: _____</p> <p>12. Wo sind deine Großeltern geboren (Ort/Land)? Mütterlicherseits: _____ Großmutter _____ Großvater _____ Väterlicherseits: _____ Großmutter _____ Großvater _____</p> <p>13. Wo leben deine Großeltern (Wohnort)? Mütterlicherseits: _____ Großmutter _____ Großvater _____ Väterlicherseits: _____ Großmutter _____ Großvater _____</p> <p>14. Wo bist du zur Grundschule (primary school) gegangen? _____</p> <p>15. War das eine deutsche Grundschule? <input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein</p> <p>Sprachlicher Hintergrund</p> <p>16. Welche Sprachen sprichst du? <input type="checkbox"/> Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/> Englisch <input type="checkbox"/> Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> andere: _____</p> <p>17. Sprichst du Plattdeutsch oder einen anderen deutschen Dialekt? Wenn ja, welchen? <input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein Dialekt: _____</p> <p style="text-align: right;">2</p> |
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| <p style="text-align: right; font-size: small;">Katharina Franke Monash University</p> <p>18. Sprichst in deiner Familie jemand Plattdeutsch oder einen deutschen Dialekt? Wenn ja, wer und welchen Dialekt?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>19. Welche Sprache(n) sprechen deine Eltern?</p> <p>Mutter: <input type="checkbox"/> Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/> Englisch <input type="checkbox"/> Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> andere: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/> Englisch <input type="checkbox"/> Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> andere: _____</p> <p>20. Welche Sprache(n) sprechen deine Großeltern?</p> <p>Mütterlicherseits Großmutter: <input type="checkbox"/> Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/> Englisch <input type="checkbox"/> Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> andere: _____ Großvater: <input type="checkbox"/> Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/> Englisch <input type="checkbox"/> Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> andere: _____</p> <p>Väterlicherseits Großmutter: <input type="checkbox"/> Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/> Englisch <input type="checkbox"/> Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> andere: _____ Großvater: <input type="checkbox"/> Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/> Englisch <input type="checkbox"/> Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> andere: _____</p> <p>21. Nach deiner Einschätzung, welche Sprache(n) sprichst du am besten?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/> Englisch <input type="checkbox"/> Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> andere: _____</p> <p>22. Sprichst du eine der Sprachen am liebsten? Wenn ja, welche?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein Sprache(n): _____</p> <p>Sprachegebrauch</p> <p>23. Mit wem sprichst du deutsch, z.B. Eltern, Großeltern, Freunden, Deutschlehrer?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>24. Welche Sprache(n) verwendest du am häufigsten in den folgenden Situationen?</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; font-size: x-small;"> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Afrikaans</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Deutsch</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Englisch</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Zulu</td> <td style="text-align: center;">andere</td> <td style="text-align: center;">N/Z</td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Eltern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Geschwistern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Großeltern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Verwandten</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Nachbarn</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table> | | Afrikaans | Deutsch | Englisch | Zulu | andere | N/Z | mit Eltern | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Geschwistern | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Großeltern | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Verwandten | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Nachbarn | <input type="checkbox"/> | <p style="text-align: right; font-size: small;">Katharina Franke Monash University</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; font-size: x-small;"> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Afrikaans</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Deutsch</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Englisch</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Zulu</td> <td style="text-align: center;">andere</td> <td style="text-align: center;">N/Z</td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Freunden</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>in der Schule</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>auf der Schule</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>beim Einkäufen</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>in größeren Orten</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>auf der Farm</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>in der Kirche/Gottesdienst</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>bei Sportveranstaltungen</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>bei Gemeindevorstellungen</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Unbekannten/Fremden</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>wenn du (nach)denkst</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table> <p>25. Wie wichtig ist es dir, deutsch zu verstehen?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> äußerst wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> sehr wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> weniger wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> nicht wichtig</p> <p>26. Wie wichtig ist es dir, deutsch zu sprechen?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> äußerst wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> sehr wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> weniger wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> nicht wichtig</p> <p>27. Nach deiner Einschätzung, wie gut verstehst du deutsch?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> äußerst gut <input type="checkbox"/> sehr gut <input type="checkbox"/> gut <input type="checkbox"/> weniger gut <input type="checkbox"/> nicht gut</p> <p>28. Nach deiner Einschätzung, wie gut sprichst du deutsch?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> äußerst gut <input type="checkbox"/> sehr gut <input type="checkbox"/> gut <input type="checkbox"/> weniger gut <input type="checkbox"/> nicht gut</p> <p>29. Wie oft verwendest du deutsch in den folgenden Situationen?</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; font-size: x-small;"> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Immer</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Häufig</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Manchmal</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Selten</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Nie</td> <td style="text-align: center;">N/Z</td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Eltern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Geschwistern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Großeltern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input 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| bei Sportveranstaltungen | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| bei Sportveranstaltungen | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| bei Gemeindevorstellungen | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| mit Unbekannten/Fremden | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| wenn du (nach)denkst | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">Katharina Franke Monash University</p> <p>30. Wie oft liest du deutsche Zeitungen/Zeitschriften/Bücher (außer der Schule)? <input type="checkbox"/> täglich <input type="checkbox"/> wöchentlich <input type="checkbox"/> monatlich <input type="checkbox"/> jährlich <input type="checkbox"/> nie Wenn nie, warum? _____</p> <p>31. Wie oft hörst du deutsche Radiosendungen (außer der Schule)? <input type="checkbox"/> täglich <input type="checkbox"/> wöchentlich <input type="checkbox"/> monatlich <input type="checkbox"/> jährlich <input type="checkbox"/> nie Wenn nie, warum? _____</p> <p>32. Wie oft siehst du deutsche Filme/deutsches Fernsehen (außer der Schule)? <input type="checkbox"/> täglich <input type="checkbox"/> wöchentlich <input type="checkbox"/> monatlich <input type="checkbox"/> jährlich <input type="checkbox"/> nie Wenn nie, warum? _____</p> <p>33. Wie oft surfst du im Internet auf deutschen Webseiten (außer der Schule)? <input type="checkbox"/> täglich <input type="checkbox"/> wöchentlich <input type="checkbox"/> monatlich <input type="checkbox"/> jährlich <input type="checkbox"/> nie Wenn nie, warum? _____</p> <p>34. Wie oft schreibst du auf deutsch (außer der Schule), z.B. Briefe, emails, sms? <input type="checkbox"/> täglich <input type="checkbox"/> wöchentlich <input type="checkbox"/> monatlich <input type="checkbox"/> jährlich <input type="checkbox"/> nie Wenn nie, warum? _____</p> <p>35. Wenn du in den folgenden Situationen deutsch sprichst, wie wohl fühlst du dich dabei?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;">äußerst wohl</th> <th style="text-align: center;">sehr wohl</th> <th style="text-align: center;">wohl</th> <th style="text-align: center;">weniger wohl</th> <th style="text-align: center;">nicht wohl /N/Z</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>mit Eltern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Geschwistern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Großeltern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Verwandten</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Nachbarn</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Freunden</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>in der Schule</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>in der Schule beim Einkauf</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>in größeren Orten</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>auf der Farm</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>in der Kirche/Gottesdienst</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>bei Sportereignissen</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>bei geselligen Veranstaltungen</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mit Unbekannten/Fremden</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>wenn du (nach)denkst</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>36. Verfolgst du Nachrichten und politische Ereignisse in Deutschland? <input type="checkbox"/> immer <input type="checkbox"/> häufig <input type="checkbox"/> manchmal <input type="checkbox"/> selten <input type="checkbox"/> nie</p> | | äußerst wohl | sehr wohl | wohl | weniger wohl | nicht wohl /N/Z | mit Eltern | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Geschwistern | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Großeltern | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Verwandten | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Nachbarn | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Freunden | <input type="checkbox"/> | in der Schule | <input type="checkbox"/> | in der Schule beim Einkauf | <input type="checkbox"/> | in größeren Orten | <input type="checkbox"/> | auf der Farm | <input type="checkbox"/> | in der Kirche/Gottesdienst | <input type="checkbox"/> | bei Sportereignissen | <input type="checkbox"/> | bei geselligen Veranstaltungen | <input type="checkbox"/> | mit Unbekannten/Fremden | <input type="checkbox"/> | wenn du (nach)denkst | <input type="checkbox"/> | <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">Katharina Franke Monash University</p> <p>37. Verfolgst du Sportereignisse oder kulturelle Ereignisse in Deutschland? <input type="checkbox"/> immer <input type="checkbox"/> häufig <input type="checkbox"/> manchmal <input type="checkbox"/> selten <input type="checkbox"/> nie</p> <p>38. Warst du schon mal in Deutschland? <input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein Wenn ja, wie oft und wie lange jeweils? Was hast du dort gemacht, z.B. Schulaustausch? _____</p> <p>39. Als was fühlst du dich? <input type="checkbox"/> als Deutscher(in) in Südafrika <input type="checkbox"/> als deutschstämmiger(-) Südafrikaner(in) <input type="checkbox"/> als deutschsprachiger(-) Südafrikaner(in) <input type="checkbox"/> als Südafrikaner(in) – ohne besondere Betonung auf die deutsche Herkunft <input type="checkbox"/> weder noch – als _____</p> <p>40. Wie wichtig ist es dir, dass dein Freund/deine Freundin auch deutsch spricht oder eine deutsche Herkunft hat? <input type="checkbox"/> äußerst wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> sehr wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> weniger wichtig <input type="checkbox"/> nicht wichtig</p> <p>41. Würdest du einen nicht-deutschsprachigen Südafrikaner heiraten? <input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein Wenn ja, sollte er/sie dann deutsch lernen? <input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein</p> <p>42. Findest du, dass deine Kinder später auch deutsch sprechen/lernen sollten? Warum (nicht)? _____ _____ _____ _____</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Vielen Dank!</p> <p style="text-align: right;">6</p> |
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| mit Eltern | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| mit Geschwistern | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| mit Nachbarn | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| mit Freunden | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| in der Schule | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| in der Schule beim Einkauf | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| in größeren Orten | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| auf der Farm | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| in der Kirche/Gottesdienst | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| bei Sportereignissen | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| bei geselligen Veranstaltungen | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| mit Unbekannten/Fremden | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| wenn du (nach)denkst | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

APPENDIX III – TRANSLATIONS OF INTERVIEW EXTRACTS

CHAPTER 4

Extract 4-1

986 Hermann ... I can speak German; it's my mother tongue (.) and whilst I was the milkman from New Hannover, I spoke Zulu with my black workers (.) and with my customers Afrikaans and Eng- English. I speak four languages every day! ...

Extract 4-2

1219 Philip ... I think many people are quite astounded, that (.)many (.) speak four languages (.) I think that you don't often get (.) people who can speak four languages (.) fairly fluently.

Extract 4-3

1234 Katharina So are both languages just as good for you, would you say? So do you feel comfortable in both?

...

1237 Philip ... I would say, if my English is (.) um (.) hundred per cent, (.) um (.) I would say my German is probably ninety-five. (.) I would say that my German is perhaps mainly lacking in vocabulary. (.) But that is because we don't actually ... or because everything is (.) um mainly English actually. ... And (0.2) my Afrikaans, I would say then, (.) is perhaps not quite where my German is, but fairly close to it, roughly speaking. (.) But I didn't learn it until after I left school. (.) Um. (.) When I was still at school, (.) I would say my Afrikaans was perhaps (.) at a level of seven- of of sixty-five or seventy per cent.

Extract 4-4

460 Katharina Aren't there many whites who bother to learn the language?

461 Hermann Actually there are; among the Germans there are a lot who speak Zulu well.

Extract 4-5

22 Katharina Do you speak Zulu fluently? ...

23 Philip Um (.) not as fluently as I speak English or German, for example (.) but (.) yes, quite fluently though ... But I also spoke Zulu just about as my mother tongue (.) because I have spoken Zulu since I was born nearly, (.) or as soon as I, as soon as I could speak, I already spoke Zulu.

Extract 4-6

19 Katharina How about Zulu?

20 Waltraud I love Zulu! I really like speaking that too. ((laughs))

21 Katharina Why?

22 Waltraud Oh it is simply a beautiful language! (.) So effective with its descriptions and you can hear what's happening, yeah? ... and that is also a big plus for me, for example,

because I work at the clinic and there we have a lot of black patients (.) because they can tell you straight away in their language what they have and then you say “oh, I’m really sorry” in Zulu and so on ...

- 23 Katharina Did you learn it on the farm?
 24 Waltraud Yes and have always held onto it (.) I, um (.) worked for a year translating, Zulu (.) to English and English to Zulu; that was much earlier in the department for Bantu Affairs, as it was called then; (0.2) I had an office job.

Extract 4-7

- 466 Katharina Is it different for English people, for English-speakers?
 467 Hermann Um (0.2) yes, there are also English people who can speak Zulu well, yes there are who are (.) are interested in it, yeah (sure) (.) but then mostly they just speak English. The English are a bit lazy with languages! ...
 468 Minchen They, they get by everywhere with English.
 469 Hermann Yeah, they do get by with English everywhere.

Extract 4-8

- 25 Katharina Do you actually speak Zulu?
 26 Leon Er (.) few words.
 27 Katharina ((laughs))
 28 Leon Yes, I know I never paid much attention in class.
 29 Katharina Ah, did you have classes here?
 30 Leon Had! (.) er Year 8 and 9 (.) and then no more after that. Now it’s been phased out.
 31 Katharina And otherwise? (.) Don’t you speak it?
 32 Leon No () I can say ‘hello’ and (.) so on - understand part of the sentence or something, but not, not speak (.) so a few words (.) yes.

Extract 4-9

- 130 Katharina Do you actually speak Zulu?
 131 Susanna Er, no (.) I can say a few words, but ... not much ((laughs)) (.) Yes, I can’t make myself understood in [Zulu] (.) Well, I can say ‘hello’ and ‘goodbye’ ...

Extract 4-10

- 321 Klara Now that we don’t have the shop anymore (.) and (.) um and no longer speak [Zulu] everyday
 ...
 349 Klara I have a girl [domestic worker] now once a week (.) who (.) and so I notice that (0.2) I can’t speak Zulu anymore.
 ...
 364 Katharina So where did you learn Zulu then? Because you didn’t learn it at school, did you?
 365 Klara No, nope (.) um, I grew up on the farm (.) and (.) yeah, and then I worked at the post office for a long time and I had to know Zulu there(.) because um (.) at that time most of the blacks couldn’t (.) couldn’t speak English or any other language and (0.2) yeah, and then I was (.) in the hotel (.) so (0.2) I had to (.) deal with the workers there as well (.) I, I often think I spoke (.) the best Zulu then (.) and in the shop then, too ...

Extract 4-11

- 397 Katharina ... Did you grow up on a farm?
 398 Charlotte Yes, yeah (.) I grew up on a farm too.
 399 Katharina Did you also speak Zulu a lot?
 400 Charlotte Yes (.) but I've never learnt it properly (.) my brother can speak it fluently and I have never learnt it ((laughs)) but I also played and talked very little with the blacks (.) and he always played football ...

Extract 4-12

- 199 Katharina If I can come back to the farm again, did you also learn Zulu as a child?
 200 Christel Yes (.) mm ... my mother started working early on. She work (.) worked at the post office, in Fawnleas, that's about (.) four kilometres from home (.) and we were then on the farm. My father worked on the farm there ... We had (.) um black girls, who looked after us as children (.) and (.) um, yeah, from that we learnt Zulu then. They only spoke Zulu to us (0.2) so, yeah.

Extract 4-13

- 99 Katharina And can most children somehow speak a bit of Zulu?
 100 Klaus Those from the farm can, yeah, yeah, those from the farm (.) they, they can and others here and there. A lot of children know the basics (.) they can, we call it Fanagalo (0.2) er you speak it all jumbled up ...
 101 Katharina I've only heard of Fanagalo as mine language? In the Johannesburg mines? Is that the same one?
 102 Klaus Yes, Fanagalo (.) Fanagalo ((laughs)) (.) (can) also, er, in the kitchen, when when I speak it with the black girl in the kitchen and I (.) I'm trying to communicate with her (.) the few Zulu words that I know and with Afrikaans and so on (.) we just call that Fanagalo, but you're right, that is they speak it in the, in the, in the mines, too ...

Extract 4-14

- 65 Christel ... Low German comes from my mother's side. (.) Osnabrueck but (.) yes that is also a dialect, called 'platt'. (.) They - my, my father still speaks Osnabrueck. (.) But I can't. (.) It's actually a bit different to Low German. ...

Extract 4-15

- 44 Waltraud Yes, there are different dialects and if one gets together with other Low Germans and they say "no, one says such and such", then I always say "er, what! Whad've say d'that! (.) dialect is so." ((laughs)) You know? ...
 ...
 143 Katharina What dialect would you say that you tend to speak? (.) You, yourself? Because you indicated there are different dialects that are [spoken] there.
 144 Waltraud Yes, I was yeah, so I think Heidish. I don't know. (.) I think then yeah we have others here in our, in South Africa in Natal as well, um (.) families who also still speak Osnabrueck. (.) Well, that's a gibberish! (.) Yeah, I can't.

Extract 4-16

- 998 Hermann The O. and Oe. [family names] speak Osnabrueck. (.) And I can't understand it all. (0.2) For example, er (.) 'the girl has a toothache.' (.) 'That poor mite's got aching choppers.' (0.3) That's Osnabrueck. ...
- 999 Katharina Is there then another Low German that is spoken?
- 1000 Hermann Yes, yeah, the the the Hermannsburger Platt, the usual Low German. (.) Yes. (.) There's that as well, yeah.

Extract 4-17

- 1247 Philip ... my father speaks Low German. But I don't know what dialect.
...
- 1250 Katharina Yes. (0.2) Have you ever learnt it?
- 1251 Philip Um. (.) No, not not as such obviously. (.) But he often speaks it with different people here in the area who can speak Low German. He always speaks Low German with them. ... apparently. I never knew my grandpa. He, two years before I was born, he died. ... my my grandpa, I think mainly spoke Low German. (0.2) And um (.) my father learnt it that way. (.) Well, and he still speaks with, ah there are different people in the area who still speak it, yeah.
- 1252 Katharina Are they predominantly older or also younger people?
- 1253 Philip m- mainly older.

Extract 4-18

- 9 Katharina You don't speak Low German at all, do you?
- 10 Waltraud Yes, actually, there are a few around, in the community, with whom we only speak Low German or at least I do. It's simply, (.) I think, a habit and also actually nice for me, (.) so that I don't lose it ... But I find also that Low German is dying out more and more. (0.2) Because the children from parents who were Low German speakers, (.) who spoke Low German, they er don't talk Low German to their children at all any more. (.) Yeah.

Extract 4-19

- 37 Katharina (0.3) and don't you like speaking German?
- 38 Inga Yes, I don't know, it is somehow (.) if it's casual German, then it's fine, but then if it's something like with Mr K. [German teacher from Germany] (.) where you have to watch what you say and so on then ...
...
- 47 Katharina Ok. (0.3) So do you think that the German that you talk at home or with friends or whomever, is very different from the German that you have to speak at school?
- 48 Inga Well (.) Well, when I speak with my grandparents, they're High German. (.) They, yeah (.) and so with them you also have to kind of watch what you say and so on. They also correct you. (.) But with my parents and with my friends is more casual. (.) And then in class you have to watch what you say or whatever. ...

Extract 4-20

- 14 Elmarie ... Er, our ancestors, (.) they emigrated in about (.) um eighteen eighty... Carl's ancestors [her husband] on his side, were missionaries. (.) But not from my side, there were no missionaries there. They came then as craftsmen (.) and came originally from Lueneburg Heath, (.) so North Germany. (0.2) Um, if I now think about my sister's grandchildren, they are now sixth generation (.) here in South Africa. (0.2) And we still only (.) speak German. (.) So, (.) um, it is very interesting (.)

when people (.) ask, where we come from- where you come from and so on. And they hear someone speaking German, (.) then they think either we have (.) just come from Germany or our parents are from Germany or at the most perhaps our grandparents. ...

Extract 4-21

11 Helga I think my parents, (.) certainly my mother. Wow! (.) She was very strict with us. (.) If we had said 'with I', (.) then we'd have gotten an earful. ...

Extract 4-22

152 Elmarie ... my German is not good. (.) And I am very thankful when C. [husband] points out to me whenever I say 'with I?'. Then he says, he just looks at me, then I know 'oh yeah, that was, yeah, with me' or something ... He had the advantage that his mother was from Germany. So he heard proper, correct German at home. (.) She had, the brothers and sisters were continually corrected. (.) And he continued that with me, and we've continued that together with our children ...

Extract 4-23

64 Nadine Ah, no?! We are family of () [some name].
 65 Stefan Not 'family of them'.
 66 Nadine Related to!
 67 Stefan We are 'related to her' (.) 'Family of' () How many times do I need to tell you!
 68 Nadine ()
 69 Stefan Yes (0.2) Yeah, I will do it again. (.) And you just won't learn. (0.3) You don't want to get it ...
 ...
 72 Nadine Mum! (.) Do you know something? (.) I'm family, we're family of Pastor T.J.
 73 Rieke Not 'family of'. (It's) 'related to'!
 74 Nadine (It's) 'related to'.

Extract 4-24

55 Katharina Do your parents make a point of speaking German at home? I mean, you've probably grown up speaking German?
 56 Leon Yes, yes. (.) Oh, my father puts- he places a lot of emphasis on it. I mean (I go). (.) He corrects me all the time and (.) says I have to, well, at home I'm actually not allowed to speak English. (.) If I use the (.) the English word, then he just waits until I say the German word before he answers or whatever. (.) So he's trying to maintain it, er, as far as as possible (.)

Extract 4-25

290 Charlotte the new German (.) um (.) parents, yeah, also the young Germans, (.) they prefer to go to the English service.

Extract 4-26

98 Elenore ... once a year we have a retreat. (.) That is, we have the youth retreat, (.) teenager retreat and then (this) children's camp. It's always in December for a week. (.) At that time the whole group gets together somewhere, for example in Hermannsburg the teenagers come together. (.) So all the teenagers from the whole synod,

(they) are invited. And also friends, I mean that don't belong to the synod. It is certainly not a problem. (.) And then there are roughly about a hundred teenagers there together. (.) The children's camp is in Kirchdorf, in Wartburg. There are usually about a hundred and twenty children who come together. (.) And then the youth retreat is in Wittenberg this year. There are also usually about a hundred, hundred and ten young people who come together.

Extract 4-27

- 583 Klara ... Once a year (.) in our synod we have, we have then our annual brass band celebration. In Germany they (always) have brass band festivals there too. ... Then (they) have now, we always have the annual Youth Day the Saturday before the brass band celebration. (.) And then each congregations wears their own (.) their own traditional costume. (.) Each its own colour, because then one could always see 'she comes from Lueneburg.' (.) 'She comes from from Kirchdorf.' (.) 'She comes from er Pretoria and the other one comes from Wittenberg' and so on.
- ...
- 594 Katharina So they wear it [the costumes] then on this (.) on this Youth Day?
- 595 Klara Yes. (.) On the Youth Day. (.) Yes (.) Yeah (.) In the morning hymns are – are then (.) are always (.) (they sing) firstly (.) are practised and then they have (.) and then comes then the beautiful youth service. And then there's a tea break and then ... and in the afternoons they have sport (.) Tug of War and 'Ball over the Rope' and medicine ball and everything. (.) Er, it's wonderful. That's how the youth (.) youth then also get to know each other. (.) And (.) and that's how come (.) that (.) that our children can still get German men.

Extract 4-28

- 408 Bernhard ... this evening we've got the men's choir on. (0.2) I belong to the men's choir.
- 409 Katharina Ah, do you do that on Tuesdays? And Wednesdays is parish choir?
- 410 Bernhard Wednesdays parish choir, Tuesdays men's choir.
- 411 Katharina And when is this brass band?
- 412 Bernhard Brass Band is on Thursdays.
- 413 Katharina Ah, Thursdays. (.) Yes, when one participates in everything, then one is booked up for the week, aren't they?
- 414 Bernhard Yes totally, yeah. (.) I, I, I always go to four things, but I've just given notice to the Oompa Band.

Extract 4-29

- 22 Katharina Where do most of the children come from? From which communities?
- 23 Klaus At the moment most of them are from, from from Piet Retief and Augsburg. (.) More than er Wittenberg. At the moment Wittenberg doesn't have many children. ... we've got around (.) thirty Afrikaaner children, (.) who should all be then taking German as a subject. (.) In the boarding hostel they have to speak German. At school we try to get them to speak as much German as possible. (.) But they have to take German as a subject. They have to! ... Yes, if they started here in Year 1 or start in pre-school and then continue into Year 1 and go up to- to Year 7, (.) then then they can already (.) already speak well. (.) They learn it quickly, the children, very quickly. (.) Particularly if they are in the boarding hostel, then they learn it very quickly. ...

Extract 4-30

- 33 Katharina And in the boarding hostel where you are, what do you speak there? You speak mostly German, don't you?
- 34 Leon Er, depends on which friends I'm with. (.) With a few English, with a few German, but (.) er (.) because here there are mostly certainly (.) more English speakers, it's then (.) um (.) more in- in- (.) so mostly then English. (.) So with a few German who are also German.

Extract 4-31

- 20 Elmarie ... er, unfortunately TV played quite a big role there. So I think television (.) contributed so much that mothers no longer read books aloud to their children these days. (.) In this case now, specifically German books. (.) Um, they no longer or less often listen to cassettes or CDs. They prefer to watch television or videos. ...

Extract 4-32

- 140 Katharina Do you have *Deukom* at home?
- 141 Susanna ((shakes head)) No. (0.3) I think only the German teachers have *Deukom* here [Hermannsburg]. ...
- 142 Katharina (0.5) of course, you also get fewer German films (.) Would you watch it if you could?
- 143 Susanna If it's a German film. I don't really like (.) English films that are in German. (.) So I don't like to watch English films in German, but (.) otherwise I would, yes. (.) Yes, I don't have problems with German. ((chuckles))
- 144 Katharina Was it strange when you were in Germany, if you saw American series or films and they were then in German?
- 145 Susanna Yes, I find it really annoying actually. ((laughs)) (How) the mouth moves, but they're saying something else. (.) Um, I prefer adding the (.) ti- subtitles, so they (.) I like that better. ...

Extract 4-33

- 25 Ludwig ... well, if I had *Deukom*, I would [watch German television].
- 26 Katharina You don't have *Deukom*?
- 27 Ludwig No (.) No, well (.) um, my wife, because she is English ... um and she likes *BBC Prime* and and the *Movie Channels*, so we have *DSTV*. (.) And to have *Deukom* on top of that, that's too expensive. (.) It would be nice. (.) I would like to have it, but (.) in the end one has to be a bit realistic. ...

CHAPTER 5

Extract 5-1

- 1209 Hermann ... so now we are Germans here in South Afrika, OK? ... Second World War ... my grandmother (.) received a (.) German magazine, fashion magazine! (.) from America. (.) It was called '*Die Abendschule*' [night school, but literally, 'the evening school']. (.) And then (.) we had a German post mistress ... who reported H. [family name], the brothers (.) Hermann and my father ... (.) 'they belong to a night school' (0.5) Yes! Police came, picked them up. (.) Had to go to court. (.) But then the the magistrate, the judge knew them, they were actually m- more friendly with my uncle really. (.) Then then then he took care of it privately, so in

his, in his office. (.) 'Tell me, what are you guys doing, man? You are German, but this night school? What are you doing?' My father said 'What? Night school? We don't belong to any night-' 'Yes, but you are getting this magazine!' (.) 'Oh! That's my mother's fashion magazine! There are love stories in it and and and (.) and er um patterns for clothes and things like that. I'll get it for you!' (and he did) 'this is it (.) there it is' (.) 'Yes, now give. (.) Well, take care. And don't make any trouble, will you!' (.) But they've taken er the weapons off my uncle and my father anyway (.) They've lost 'em.

- 1210 Katharina In spite of that they were scared, that they ...
 1211 Hermann ... but but then there was the other extreme here again, there were also people who were called the Greyshirts. (.) They were pro-Nazi people. ...
 1212 Katharina Among the Germans or the English?
 1213 Hermann No! German! ... This was German, the grey - the Greyshirts. (.) But the Boers also belonged to them. (.) Not Englishmen, Boers belonged to them. ...

Extract 5-2

- 271 Klaus ... they [Wittenberg congregation] for example recently still had an old hymnal. (.) they are very proud of this hymnal. ... when we go to church here, S. [Klaus' wife] can't read anything. (.) It's the old script!
 272 Katharina Oh yes?
 273 Klaus ... They were proud of it, it was part of tradition, culture, this hymnal. (.) And it took them a long while, until they got around to bringing in a beautiful new hymnal ...

Extract 5-3

- 36 Elmarie ... Even so, the principle remains for us that wherever possible, ... we will continue to promote the German language, even when it costs (.) extra effort and work. And it does that. I'm thinking now for example of um (.) the religious education class. ... Some would like to have the class in German, to learn the catechism in German. (.) That means that within that hour (.) I have to teach in two languages. ... It would be a lot easier if I just said, 'I'm only doing it in English'. (.) But I've said to the mothers- to the parents, (.) 'I'll do it. I'm prepared to do it.' (.) Not just that to make them happy, but because it is just as important for me, that as far as it goes they, to continue learning them in German, the (.) the catechism, the commandments and everything,. If they don't learn them as a child, then later in life there is a much smaller chance, isn't there, for them to still be able to catch it up. ...

Extract 5-4

- 121 Rhea ... It is actually unique here, (0.2) that German has still continued to be spoken. (.) Even though it's South African German. (.) Of course, my grandparents, (.) my husband's grandparents came from Germany. (.) On my side only my parents came. But (.) (the) (.) over the generations we have sort of kept it up, (.) even though (.) [it's] like like we (.) we call it Springbok-German. (.) So it's a bit (.) inaccurate and we have the most beautiful expressions or the worst sometimes. ((laughs))

Extract 5-5

- 152 Elmarie ... there are still enough Germans for German still to be spoken as well. The German customs and traditions that one also wants to maintain at Christmas with advent and (.) um. Th- that is part of the whole thing for me ... and um with that I

could perhaps also say (.) um I find it is also really good when one (.) um talks about this topic with children (.) ‘Where do we actually come from?’ (.) ‘Why are you actually in South Africa?’ (.) ‘Who were your ancestors? Where in Germany did they come from’ (.) That they know ‘I am part of a big puzzle. I’m not simply here by chance. There’s a reason for why I am here.’ or something. And I think it’s so good, if it’s pointed out to them. (.) Um, (.) it somehow attaches importance to it (.) that I, I am a German South African ...

Extract 5-6

- 357 Christel ... Yes, I would like for my grandchildren to still be able to speak German one day. (0.2) I think it is important. (.) And to go to a German school.
 358 Katharina Because it’s part of you?
 359 Christel It is simply because it’s a part, yeah part of our, where we come from (.) I would really like it ...

Extract 5-7

- 605 Klara ... oh we really have a treasure here (.) at our (.) church service and the instruction that our children can have and everything. (0.2) That we are still allowed to have all that is really simply a gift.

Extract 5-8

- 14 Elmarie ... and through it we have reassured each other, that we should be conscious of and also really thankful for the fact that it’s not just willynilly. It is really a special gift for us...

Extract 5-9

- 477 Eckhart ... For a long time I was president of the German cultural society (.) here in Lueneburg. (.) Because of that I had a lot of contact with er (.) Lueneburg [in] Germany.
 ...
 479 Eckhart I took on a partnership (.) here for Lueneburg. (.) And then (the) (.) often also er (.) people from Lueneburg came to visit us here and some from here travelled there. (.) It formed a (.) relationship ...

Extract 5-10

- 147 Katharina Do you see yourself now more as South African or really strongly drawn or tied to Germany?
 148 Christel I’m South African. (0.2) Um. (.) I (.) I really enjoyed Germany when I was there. (.) But I don’t know if I would like to live there. ...

Extract 5-11

- 36 Katharina Ok, what do you see yourself as then?
 37 Ludwig As South African. (.) I, I can’t say that I feel German. ... So (.) what one (.) what we thought of as the old Germany ... Germans who (.) now live in Germany or [who] were there a few years ago and also go back again. (.) When I got to know them (.) you notice that (.) the Germans who live in Germany (.) at the moment (.) are not the same (.) culture-wise or like you imagined them to be, (.) before you had met people from Germany

- 38 Katharina What did you envisage then? And what do you mean by the old Germany, for example?
- 39 Ludwig Well (.) well the the the picture that one has, as a South African (.) in my experience, of Germans in Germany are, they work hard, they work very thoroughly. ... And what one (.) discovers now or what I have now discovered, is that (.) in Germany it's actually like any other country. (.) Um (.) pride in their work (.) is not really there as much. ... But (.) this- the attitude (to) (.) pride in the country, pride in being German (.) um (.) work ethic and so on. (.) Um (.) I always imagined that. (.) And I got that from my parents and they from their parents. (.) Because (.) at the time when their families came from Germany, it was like that. ...
- 40 Katharina So is the Germany of today in that sense foreign to you?
- 41 Ludwig Yes! I think so. ... So if one now says here (.) do I see myself as of German descent (.) in a sense, yes. (.) But perhaps more (.) now through these experiences (.) as someone who speaks German, who lives in South Africa. But (.) but the Germany that I thought existed (.) doesn't exist any more. (.) Perhaps it never did. ...

Extract 5-12

- 316 Katharina Does it interest you to find out where your ancestors came from?
- 317 Philip Hm?
- 318 Katharina To maybe go there or something?
- 319 Philip Perhaps to some extent, but perhaps not. I think (.) because it's already (.) five generations back. ... It doesn't really have um any, meaning anymore.
- 320 Katharina Even so, do you see yourself as German?
- 321 Philip Um, (.) pretty well German-speaking, but (.) and perhaps a bit from the family side of things, but nothing culturally as such. ... many people, they they are always amazed when they hear 'oh we speak German here at home' ... (.) 'When did, when did your ancestors arrive here then?' Eighteen sixty! I mean that is a hundred and fifty years ago. (.) And then actually we are more South African than many English who are here or even Afrikaans people. ... and that is roughly the same with all the Germans- Germans here in the area. ... People are proud to be Wartburgers perhaps or (.) to be German South Africans. (.) But (.) and er also most of them here in the area (.) um (0.2) er or I should say the fewest people in the area (.) um want to (.) travel to Germany and feel somehow drawn to- to travel to Germany. ...

Extract 5-13

- 681 Philip ... and (.) I would definitely want to [maintain German] and even try, but to be honest, I think I would find it difficult. (.) I think, it's a great virtue (.) for one (.) to have an extra language. Doesn't matter what it is. (.) Um. (.) naturally, (.) I now have German as an extra language, which is a great advantage (.) um in South Africa and everywhere in the world. ...

Extract 5-14

- 115 Susanna ... I have always said, even if I don't marry a German man, I will ensure that my children speak German. ... I think it's really an advantage when one can speak several languages. Not necessarily because it's German, but (.) simply because it is also just a language that one can use. (.) And (.) anyway, German is actually spoken quite a lot in the world. (.) So, it is not a backward step, if one (.) can speak [German].

- 116 Katharina so do you see it more as important for career opportunities, as opposed to perhaps ancestry, because you perhaps have German forefathers and would like to pass it on?
- 117 Susanna Yes. (.) I think it is very important for career opportunities. I think that [is] a bigger (.) reason, why I would do it. (.) But (.) I would also rather (.) speak my mother tongue with my children than always speaking a foreign- well a foreign language with children. (.) Mm. (.) But I think a big reason would probably just be job-related. (.) Yes (.) yeah.

Extract 5-15

- 128 Christel ... my daughter, she has a job in London. (.) Big company and every time, too, whenever there is anything from Germany, then she has to (.) then she has to be there, because she actually understands it.

CHAPTER 6

Extract 6-1

- 701 Philip ... another interesting thing (.) um (.) is, I think two generations back. That would have been my (.) father's father's generation. ... yes, my father's uncle ... was the first person in the area who married a non-German. (.) And that was such a scandal in the area!
- 702 Katharina Really?
- 703 Philip Yes! (.) Um, people were shocked! And how can he do that! And (.) um (.) quite-quite a strange thing ...

Extract 6-2

- 293 Hermann Yes, that's why I went to Nord Natal, because there are so many relations here. (.) In our family it is- we've (.) talked about it intensely.
- 294 Katharina In order to find a wife?
- 295 Hermann Yes, that too, that too. But um (.) to marry relations. It comes from grandfather K. (.) My mother was very, well (.) er (.) set on not marrying relations. (.) But the ones here, my brother, he (0.2) he (.) married his second cousin's daughter. (0.2) It's a bit further, but still it's (.) yeah.

Extract 6-3

- 366 Charlotte ... many here who are married to English with English wives, and if the husbands are German, then the wives often learn German. (0.2) Often very shakily. But (.) with the children they speak German then until the children are just about at school. (.) And they feel a bit unsure and then they speak just English. And the children actually lose it very quickly if it's not continued.

Extract 6-4

- 272 Waltraud ... it just a problem when you marry German-English or German-Afrikaans. (.) You know, then it's easily done, of course, (.) for one not to (.) continue the mother tongue. (.) Often, I think, it's simply laziness.

Extract 6-5

73 Ludwig ... but then speak to the Germans and they have exactly the same (.) opinion (.) about the English 'They never want to speak German. We always have to speak English'. ...

Extract 6-6

107 Katharina So, do many new immigrants come from Germany?
108 Elmarie Minimal.

Extract 6-7

10 Hermann ... yes after the war [Second World War] a lot came then. (.) But they then went to the big- big cities, Johannesburg, Durban, and such. (.) Yes, they didn't settle in the country.

Extract 6-8

105 Elenore ... the- quite a lot of the farmers have now lost their farms (.) and are moving away. (.) Um, (.) the whole (.) area will change a lot in the next few years, I think. ...

Extract 6-9

190 Elmarie ... It happens (.) actually more and more that they move to the big cities because there are simply no more employment opportunities (.) For a long time the farmers w- were still our saving grace. (.) A lot, it has actually been relatively common for a farm to be passed down through generations.
191 Katharina Yes.
192 Elmarie And that the offspring have then taken it over automatically. (.) But now with these land claims and with this uncertainty, (.) one hears more and more that the younger generation, the next generation then saying (.) 'oh I'd rather stay away from the farm. Dad, better sell the farm' or (.) whatever. ... But now, (.) I would say, we have approximately a hundred and fifty parish members in total. (0.2) At least about two thirds are farmers. (0.2) And now because of these land claims (.) twenty-seven people (.) have to move. (.) Move out! ... and this has been a difficult year for the families, for the children. (.) But also for the community. (.) But Hermannsburg School is also suffering from it ...
193 Katharina Yes.
194 Elmarie ... So it's impacting really quite heavily. (.) Um, I know from the Kirchdorf parish there are, I can't say much at all now, but there are (.) many, many farms (.) which have been claimed now. ...

Extract 6-10

339 Christel ... Kirchdorf parish and Wartburg parish. (.) Those from Kirchdorf, (.) they marry a lot amongst themselves. ... that is a Freikirche parish. (.) And the other church is the (.) like Hermannsburg, the Lutheran- the common Lutheran church [Hermannsburg synod]. But the [Kirchdorf parish and Wartburg parish] don't marry so freely amongst themselves.
340 Katharina Hm, hm. Still they don't?
341 Christel Mm. (0.2) It is comes- it's still arises from back then, this conflict and all that. And even today they still don't get along with each other a hundred per cent. ((laughs))

(.) Yeah, so the people perhaps amongst themselves, but of course (.) one can still see, there are inhibitions. (.) Yeah.

Extract 6-11

- 92 Elmarie ... So if I now, for example (.) take my home parish, Kirchdorf. ... I think definitely at least fifty per cent, (.) if not even more of the parish are closely related to me, that is in the second instance, second cousins where the grandparents were siblings. (.) And that is, that is bad. ...
- ...
98 Elmarie ... um, yes with the relations it's really a problem and there are already lots and lots of children, too, the ab- well abnormal children, who have been born.
- 99 Katharina Yes?
100 Elmarie Amongst the Germans. (.) Where you can tell afterwards that it's from relations, blood relations.
- 101 Katharina Yes, yeah.
102 Elmarie I would say Lueneburg. Lueneburg, Wittenberg (.) have the most percentage-wise. (.) If you really sat down and thought about it, you would be fairly shocked at how many have been born over the years. (.) Some severely handicapped, some to a lesser extent. Um. (.) The thing is, well it's becoming more and more complicated. ...

Extract 6-12

- 835 Philip ... there was is nobody, who will (.) who will (.) st- st- stop you from going in there if you haven't been invited. (.) But they will definitely look at you strangely, if you are not (.) going in with someone else who is a member of the church ...

Extract 6-13

- 50 Katharina Are they [the Freikirche] very close-knit?
51 Klaus Protective! (.) Cl- Close-knit, as well. And protective about themselves. They're so afraid of an influence coming in that they don't want there. (.) And and um (.) and because of that they are (.) very (.) are different. (.) Kirchdorf in in in Wartburg, Kirchdorf, they're like that there, too. (.) We're already a lot freer around here and and already allow more influence than than the ...

Extract 6-14

- 273 Klaus ... but I think we've come further than that. We accept (.) English and German ... there are of course English-speaking Lutheran parishes ... so we are, they were originally German. (.) But there are now more English speakers than Germans. So (.) it's now English. (.) And it will happen, parish by parish, I think, so over the years it'll happen. (.) There will be more and more other language speakers coming into the parish. (.) And then it will change for them, too! (.) Because also Freikirche children marry Afrikaners and (.) so as long as they can still do it ... you can say, they they they still look after German better than what we do. ...

Extract 6-15

- 534 Hugo ... Most English women who have married Germans here make no effort and are not at all interested to learn German...

Extract 6-16

347 Christel ... I mean, if (.) if (.) a woman marries an English man, they automatically speak English (.) at home. He won't speak German with her. (.) Or doesn't learn it so easily. (.) The wife is more likely to learn German, if she marries a German man (.) if she's English.

Extract 6-17

498 Hugo ... but they are also nice people. (.) Are perhaps still a bit more conservative than what we are, aren't they?

Extract 6-18

1 Helmut ... but here amongst us people are still fairly conservative and so on. (.) And there's nothing wrong with that, is there? ...

Extract 6-19

255 Klaus ... er the Afrikaners were still a lot more (.) um (.) pro-German than what the English were. (.) (others wanted) the Afrikaners will more easily become a German than for the English to become German, if I may put it like that. (.) Um. (.) It is um (.) if you are married to an English woman, (.) um (.) the children will very probably become English. (.) But if you have an Afrikaans wife, there is a good chance that the children will become German (.) ... Many are [married to] Afrikaans women. A. is Afrikaans, (.) who you will meet today. (.) She's Afrikaans! She is Dutch, just like S. [Klaus' wife], she's also Dutch. (.) And she's Dutch and she um (.) she speaks better German than, much better German than S. for example. (.) But, um, (.) I think one would never be able to tell that E. [A.'s daughter] and the others, that they have an Afrikaans mother. (0.2) But (the) Afrikaans is so much easier. (.) An Afrikaner learns German so much easier than an English person. ...

...

265 Klaus ... here [Piet Retief area] there are a lot of Afrikaans people, it's rife with Afrikaners who speak German with you. When you go into a shop, then he speaks German with you. (.) And he is an Afrikaner! (.) But he was here [Wittenberg] at school. (.) But for how long it'll be like that ...

Extract 6-20

856 Hermann ... and then you know with the refugees, the Germans who had to fled then and and (.) do you know that there (.) Germans fought against Germans?

857 Katharina Nah.

858 Hermann There were Germans here, (.) they fought with the Englishmen (.) up there near (.) against his cousins=

859 Katharina =That must have been really terrible.

860 Hermann Yes!

861 Minchen So one lot were on the Boers' side and the others on the English side.

...

865 Minchen ... this this region here (.) diese Gegend were supporting the English, and those those living up there in that region were supporting the Afrikaners, well, the Boers.

Extract -21

17 Klaus ... with the Boer War, (.) there the er church, manse and school were burned down, (.) because the Germans were all in the commandos. They were on the side of the Boers against the English. (.) Everything was burnt ...

Extract 6-22

582 Charlotte ... I find the English different as well. (.) Or also these Germans here in (.) this area I found them (.) very stiff actually. (.) They didn't let you get to know them easily. ...

...

803 Charlotte ... and then I think also in our area here is er (.) it has a lot (.) to do with wealth (.) that they um (.) they can buy themselves everything (.) and don't necessarily need a community anymore.

804 Katharina The unity of the community, do you mean?

805 Charlotte The unity, yes.

806 Katharina Ah, yes.

807 Charlotte The young people, quite early on they get a car given to them and they can drive to wherever they n- want to. They need- are no longer dependent on other people and don't need each other anymore. I think that is often the problem in this area. (.) Whereas in Augsburg, (.) they live very isolated there. (.) And if they want to have something, then they have to do something together, and I think that makes a difference. (.) They meet, (.) the young people meet together often and have something, they do something together, (.) they have youth activities and (.) have lots of parties and. (.) Whereas here (.) everybody just does their own thing ...