

The historical dynamics of Kaaps – then and now

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Abstract

In this contribution, the processes in the formation of language operating in the past and at present are discussed, and applied in particular to Kaaps. Concepts such as pidginisation and creolisation as mechanisms of renewal, and also as linguistic effects of social forces, are clarified, in addition to the often contentious process of standardisation. The focus will also fall on the important role of Cape Muslim Afrikaans as nuclear dialect of Kaaps, and Kaaps as the matrix dialect (or matriclect, for short) of Afrikaans. In addition, the historical value of Arabic Afrikaans (the written form of Cape Muslim Afrikaans from ca. 1815 to 1950), both as phonetic record and lexical documentation of the vocabulary of the speakers, are highlighted. Lastly, the historical and modern characteristics of Kaaps are scrutinised as a language variety in which both the timber rings of centuries gone by and the buds of new developments are in evidence.

INTRODUCTION

As can be deduced from the abstract, I would like to elucidate the dynamics of Kaaps within a historical context, and in doing so, scrutinise the factors that have played a historical role in the formation and the continuing development of this important form of Afrikaans. In the process I wish to demonstrate something of the kaleidoscope of perspectives which are possible, particularly as regards the hypotheses of inception.

But firstly, something about the name ‘Kaaps’. The nomenclature of language varieties, and languages as such, often reflects a feature by means of which it can be recognised. Often it

is something with which speakers like to identify, such as the geographic location, or culture, or function for which it is utilised. It is furthermore important, for purposes of legitimisation, that the naming of a variety be appropriated by the speakers themselves. Obviously, this is not always possible, especially when it is a matter of retrospectively naming a particular variety, as in the case of Hellenistic Greek or Classical Arabic. In the case of Kaaps there is clearly a strong identification with the geographic environment – hence the preference for this name, which is short and expressive, and captures the most important identifying characteristic of the name.

FACTORS IN LANGUAGE FORMATION

The roots of Kaaps are, as we know, to be found some 350 years ago, when speakers of various languages – some typologically widely divergent – voluntarily or under duress, made contact for the first time in the shade of Table Mountain, and a new language started taking root from this contact. The genesis of languages from contact situations worldwide can be traced back in many cases (if not in most) to a determinative confluence of circumstances to which speakers of different languages are exposed. Scholars such as Sarah Grey Thomason, Thomas Kaufmann and others speak about contact-induced change (1991:35 *et seq.*), on the basis of which, depending on the nature of the contact, the process of language change could then be classified. When various languages influence one another, a mixed language, to a greater or lesser extent, comes into being. If we would like to determine how the formation of a new language at the Cape occurred, and be able to speak with insight about this process, it will be important to keep in mind a few facts about such a process of inception and give an account of all possible factors which might play a role. The central role of Kaaps, which is not only one of the originating varieties of Afrikaans as a whole, but has indeed undergone change over various generations, cannot be extricated from any investigation of Afrikaans as language.

There have already been a multitude of theories about the genesis of Afrikaans, as we know all too well, and

unfortunately there has either been a simplistic focus on a single central *cause*, or the *result* of the development has been judged myopically. My objective is to provide a balanced account of what we can learn from the dynamics of the historical development (both causes and results) of Afrikaans and, more specifically, Kaaps, at the Cape of Good Hope. In this process we must take account of two determining factors underlying the development of a new language.

Social factors

The first determining fact is that social factors, rather than only linguistic factors, determine both the use and the form of such a new language. This already became noticeable early in the previous century. Two remarks about the causes of language change, both in the case of so-called homogenous and mixed languages (where lexical borrowing, amongst others, plays an important role), will suffice to underline this observation. Kiparsky notices, *inter alia* (in 1938:176):

Die Fähigkeit der sogenannten “homogenen” Sprachen, Entlehnungen (...) aufzunehmen, hängt nicht von der linguistischen Struktur der Sprache, sondern von der politisch-sozialen Einstellung der Sprecher ab.¹

And some twenty years later, Coteanu (1957: 147) writes about mixed languages:

Selon nous, cette question ne dépend pas du caractère de la structure grammaticale des langues

¹ The capacity of the so-called homogenous languages to accommodate borrowings does not depend on the linguistic structure of the language, but on the socio-political mindset of the speakers.

en contact, mais d'une série de facteurs de nature sociale.²

One of the most important social factors is the attitude towards speakers of a form of language, and subsequently towards the form of language itself. It is especially the attitude of the speakers towards their own home language which determines whether and how much contact-induced language change will take place. A positive attitude towards such a home language could decelerate such a process of change to a certain extent, while the attitude towards the language with which contact is made, could either accelerate or defer the process.

Often the choice of a form of language is determined by power relations (and hence also attitudes), and it may even occur that a language is conceded or sacrificed in favour of another language spoken by speakers with more power – social, military or commercial. It is clear that the social prestige of a language of power will accelerate the contact-induced change in such a case. This power game was and is very evident in the language history of the indigenous Indian languages of South America, where the speakers of more than a thousand languages sacrificed their language and culture in the course of the nineteenth century to Portuguese and Spanish as colonial, dominating languages, and the indigenous languages thus disappeared forever from the face of the earth – a large majority of them without any record having been preserved. The only inheritance of the speakers of such languages is possibly

the transfer of patterns (especially phonological and syntactic) to creole forms of Spanish, Portuguese and also French, which persisted – more will be said about this later.

A comparable scenario occurred at the Cape, although it pertained here to immigrant communities, in that the mother tongues of more than 14 300 slaves from the Indonesian archipelago, 16 300 from India, and comparable numbers of speakers from Madagascar (15 800) and the rest of Africa (16 600) fell by the wayside here at the Cape in the course of a few generations between 1652 and 1808 (Davids 2011:37 *et seq*), and the speakers had to learn another language, the Dutch of the UEIC³ officials, to be able to survive socially. This acquired language was then transmitted to their children. This was also the fate of the indigenous Khoi-Khoi, as well as that of the UEIC employees who spoke other European languages. The fact that the target language they had to acquire was 17th century Dutch, and not Portuguese or Spanish or English, is the result of global events at the time. We know that a number of commercial companies of the little country on the North Sea formed a mighty parent company known as the aforementioned United East India Company (“Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie”), also known as the Dutch East India Company. Under the management of a governing direction, the so-called “Heren XVII” (17 Lords), they built up a great transmarine commercial empire. Subsequently, seventeenth-century Dutch became a powerful commercial language, similar to the ways in which Low German

2 To us this issue is not dependent on the grammatical features of the languages in contact, but on a range of social factors.

3 United East India Company

replaced Latin as the commercial language of Europe in the 16th century, becoming the language in which the Hanseatic cities from Russia to England, and from Sweden to Germany concluded transactions. As prestigious language, Dutch therefore performed a similar role in the seventeenth century as that of English in large parts of the world today.

LANGUAGE VARIATION

A second determining fact is that a human language is never a homogenic phenomenon, in other words, that language variation will occur everywhere. There is never a homogenic form for all speakers, and even for situations in which language is used. One adapts one's language to what you know about your interlocutor, to what could conventionally be expected in the conversation, and to what one would like to achieve by means of the speech produced; and inevitably one's ability to express oneself in the language form that is expected plays an equally important role. Hence language is made up of a whole variety of systematic forms, each of which is determined by such factors. Afrikaans as a language is also not a homogenous concept, precisely because the speakers do not all live in the same locality and have not grown up with the same patterns of language use. This language variation, which occurs naturally in any language community, further influenced the process of language formation at the Cape and steered it in a particular direction. By the same token, a variety of Afrikaans such as Kaaps will also display internal variation in consonance with the social factors affecting it.

In the section below reference is then made to the process of formation and dynamics of language change as regards Kaaps, against the background

of the social and linguistic factors within which this form of language became established as a heterogenous construct.

CONTACT LANGUAGES: PIDGINISATION AND CREOLISATION

A question often posed about Afrikaans as overarching appellation for all its varieties, is whether the language has come about through a process of linguistic pidginisation and/or creolisation. About this question there has been a lot of head-banging and disagreement. The reason was that, as a corollary of language attitudes among speakers, and indeed also a socio-political mindset over years, a stigma was attached to the concept "creole", probably because the primary denotation was not linguistic, but biological and based on racial considerations. During the last few decades creole studies as a linguistic field of study has developed in leaps and bounds, and at least two international associations have been established, one focusing on creoles based on and developed from Romance languages, and the other on creoles based on Germanic languages. As a consequence, at least among language historians, a much more objective view regarding these language forms has come about, and the dynamics of contact-induced language change, also in the form of pidgins and creoles, have been recognised.

To provide a measure of clarity about these concepts, some relatively recent definitions, compiled from various sources (e.g. Holm 2002 and Crystal 2013), can be considered. (a) A *Pidgin* can be regarded as:

A simplified form of language, usually a mixture of two or

more languages, one of which is normally a European colonial language, with a rudimentary grammar and vocabulary, for basic communication among speakers of different languages, and not used as a home language.

And (b) a *creole language*:

A language which originates when a new generation is born among speakers of a pidgin, and the prototype (or learner's variety) created by the parents is expanded for all necessary functions and used by the children.

Comparative studies done over the years, also with regard to linguistic change in world languages such as English and French, suggest that there are few linguistic characteristics unique to contact languages, and that massive borrowing also occurs in languages

which are not regarded as creoles. Many publications have appeared over the years (e.g. Bickerton 1977, Holm 2002, Hymes 1971, Thomas & Kaufman 1991, etc.) in which languages and language varieties are compared with a view to identifying classification features, and a whole spectrum of descriptive denominations have come about of both pidgins and creoles, which, only with reference to creoles, range from "classic creole" via "semi-creole" and "creolised" to "semi-creolised", according to a numerical predominance of features indicating the simplification of grammatical structure, the transfer of syntactic characteristics, the absorption of borrowings, etcetera. As an example of a comparison between a source language and a creole, the text of the Our Father prayer in French and that of the Mauritian Creole can be juxtaposed (*Nouvo Testaman dan Kreol Morisien*, Mat. 6:9):

Kreol Morisien	French
Nou Papa ki dan lesiel	Notre Père qui es aux cieux,
Fer rekonet ki to nom sin,	Que ton Nom soit sanctifié,
Fer ki to reigne vini,	Que ton règne vienne,
Fer to volonte acompli, Lor	Que ta volonté soit faite
later kuma dan lesiel. Donn	Sur la terre comme au ciel.
nou azordi dipin ki nou bizin.	Donne-nous aujourd'hui notre pain de ce jour.
Pardone-nou nou ban ofans,	Pardonne-nous nos offenses,
Kuma nou osi pardone lezot	Comme nous pardonnons aussi à
ki fine ofans nou.	ceux qui nous ont offensés.
Pa less nou tom dan tentation	Et ne nous soumet pas à la tentation,
Me tir-nu depi lemal.	Mais délivre-nous du mal.

In the formulaic language of this prayer, the two languages, French and Mauritian Creole, possible come closest to each other as regards lexicon and grammar, and the differences are minimised. (Incidentally: In comparison

to Afrikaans, we possibly have a parallel, in the case of *Kreol Morisien*, with the former (tentative) Patriot spelling, which was based on pronunciation, as against the modern-day orthography of Afrikaans, which became dutchified

to some extent, and can be compared to the frenchified spelling of *Kreol*

Morisien.)(Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauritian_Creole)

Kreol Morisien

Nou Papa ki dan lesiel
 Fer rekonet ki to nom sin,
 Fer ki to reigne vini,
 Fer to volonte acompli,
 Lor later kuma dan lesiel.
 Donn nou azordi dipin ki nou bizin.
 Pardonn nou, nou bann ofans,
 Kuma nou osi pardone
 lezot ki fine ofans nou.
 Pa less nou tom dan tentation
 Me tir-nu depi lemal.

Kreol Morisien: frenchified spelling

Nous Papa qui dans le-ciel,
 Faire reconnait(re) que ton nom saint,
 Faire que ton règne veine,
 Faire ta volonté accompli
 Sur (Lors) la-terre comment dans le-ciel.
 Donne-nous aujourd’hui du pain qui nous besoin.
 Pardonne-nous nous nos offenses,
 Comment nous aussi pardonne
 les autr(es) qui a offense nous
 Pas laisse nous tom(ber) dans tentation,
 Mais tire-nous depuis le mal.

In the text of the Our Father, a fair number of resemblances can indeed be identified, which are indicative of a common lexical base, with systematic, but not incomprehensible, differences between the two languages. However, there are also other, less formal text genres in which it is almost impossible to grasp the correlation. This variation is expressed with regard to creoles in three strata (a so-called post-creole continuum), a case of decreolisation, according to the measure of similarity with the so-called source language or lexifying language, namely the acrolect (closest to the lexifying language), the mesolect and the basilect (the furthest removed). The lexifying language, then, is the language from which vocabulary is supplemented and structures are adapted for use in more formal contexts, for instance terminology, justice and the like (cf. Romaine 1988:161-188). In the light of this stratification model, Poneis regards the unitary concept of Afrikaans as a conservative acrolectal creole (Poneis 1993: 30).

FURTHER RESTRUCTURING

Below is an example of decreolisation from the Jamaican creole (cf. Romaine 1988: 158), where the acrolect has merged virtually totally with the (at least written) standard form of English:

Basilect	Acrolect
Mi a nyam.	I have eaten.

A similar stratification could possibly be applied in all languages where a varying measure of influence as a result of intensive language contact occurs, and which would also correlate with the level of formality and self-monitoring. In a recent publication on creolisation and Afrikaans, namely “Partial restructuring: Dutch at the Cape and Portuguese in Brazil”, published in 2012 as part of the festschrift for Hans den Besten, *Roots of Afrikaans: Selected writings of Hans den Besten*, (ed. Ton van der Wouden), John Holm (2012: 399-418) writes that both Afrikaans and Brazilian Portuguese have undergone restructuring and lexical influence, and

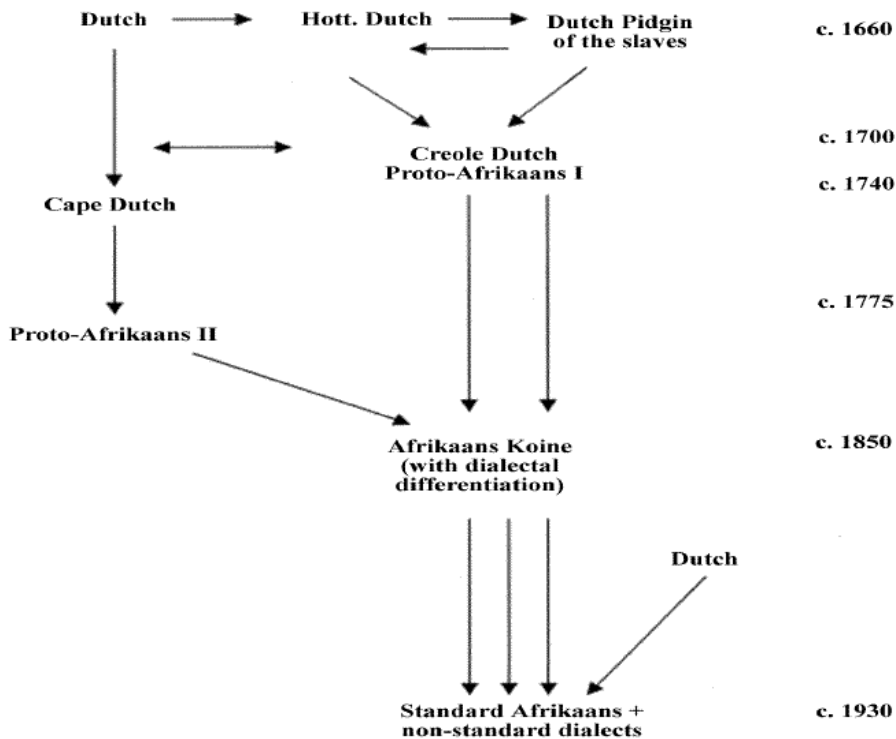
contain features which are indicative of partial creolisation by so-called substrate languages – in other words, which are deducible to the mother tongues of speakers who contributed to the “restructuring” of the target language. Both Brazilian Portuguese and Afrikaans contain structural features which are found in creole languages, but Holm also points out that the boundary between what traditionally was considered as creoles and the so-called non-creoles has become blurred to a large extent. He concludes his contribution by quoting Sarah Grey Thomason (1997:86) in this regard:

[It is] only by understanding the fact that contact languages are the products of historical developments and that historical developments typically involve such fuzzy boundaries [that we can] arrive at a useful classification of contact languages.

The variation of forms in Afrikaans correlates with variation in contact situations, also historically, where a wide spectrum of contact possibilities can be identified. Apart from the heterogeneous community at the Cape, some 330 000 Dutch UEIC officials stopped over between 1665 and 1795 after several years in the East, after having acquired a mixed Malay-Dutch vernacular (described by Cor de Ruyter, with reference to the Dutch of the southern oceans, as *Austro-Dutch*), in cohorts of 1 500 in 12 ships at a time, for periods of up to 6 weeks at the Cape of Good Hope on the return voyage to the Netherlands (this means a total of about 2 300 per year over the period of 143 years – although the frequency of the visits naturally varied). According to the records, many of them also settled at the Cape. They

were known as “thuisvaarders” (literally ‘home voyagers’), and in all likelihood would have spoken the Malay-Dutch mixed language they had learned to speak in the East, or Austro-Nederlands, with those at the Cape who, as imported slaves, also hailed from that part of the world, and had already been using it in speaking to the Dutch in East-India. De Ruyter’s research shows that many lexical items and grammatical patterns (which deviate from 17th century Dutch) are to be found in Afrikaans which were in general use in the creole of Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka, under Dutch control from 1656 to 1795), Indonesian, and the Malay of Ambon, Kupang and the North Moluccas. If the combined influence of the “thuisvaarders” and East-Indian slaves on the formation of Kaaps is taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the interaction between Dutch and the East-Indian languages did not only start at the Cape, but had started to take effect already before the arrival of the slaves. It is indeed a research area which is relatively unexploited, and lends another dimension to views about the roots of Kaaps.

It is appropriate to refer here to the work of an authority of the diachronic study of Afrikaans, the late Hans den Besten. The social dynamics of interaction via a common contact language which is not the home language of anyone usually leads – as we can also deduce from the definition given above – to a pidgin, until this form of language, through regular use, has become sufficiently lexified to also function as a home language, as a result of which a basilectal, and over time also a mesolectal, creole comes into being. It is this form which Den Besten (1989:226) describes in his Convergence Model as Proto-Afrikaans I:



At the same time, the Dutch-speaking officials and free burghers (coming from different dialect areas) had to make mutual adjustments to be as comprehensible as possible, and the dialectic differences were largely levelled out (i.e. through koineisation). According to Den Besten (1989:226), it lead to Proto-Afrikaans II. As a result of the power relations among the UEIC officials as well as the free burghers on the one hand, and the slave population on the other, lexification of Proto-Afrikaans took place from Proto-Afrikaans II, the result of which Den Besten (1989:226) describes as an Afrikaanse koine. This form would have exemplified both remnants from Dutch and innovations

resulting from the language contact situation, and could be regarded as the foundation of Kaaps. What is important, is that it was the result of two forces supplementing each other – on the one hand, the retention of particular patterns, and on the other, the dynamics of renewal – something which was particularly applicable to the lexicon. At the end of this text, I will refer to some examples of both in present-day Kaaps.

CAPE MUSLIM AFRIKAANS AND KAAPS

Another important aspect regarding the development of Kaaps is the role played by Cape Muslim Afrikaans from

the start, but especially since the first quarter of the 19th century. Through his research, Achmat Davids (2011:1-318) left behind a source of inestimable value in the form of the exposition of the linguistic composition and the areas of provenance of the slaves, as well as establishing the fact that they represented a developed and literate component of the community, who, in spite of the social injustices they had to suffer, set and maintained standards of education from which the present-day powers that be could learn a lesson or two. Research regarding the impact of Malay on Afrikaans as a whole, evident from the work of De Ruyter (De Ruyter & Kotzé 2002:139-16), reveals that it extends considerably further than what has been proposed by Franken and others after him, and hence that the influence that emanated from the early Cape Muslims is still underrated. But as a result of their leading role in this respect, as well as their role as artisans in the local economy, the speakers of Muslim Afrikaans set norms, also as regards language usage, and in this way contributed to the relative status of Proto-Afrikaans I as matrilect of Kaaps. With the term “matrilect” I mean the *matrix* dialect, and not ‘mother-tongue’, as some prefer to interpret the term.

Over and above the noteworthy accomplishment of transcribing Cape Muslim Afrikaans, and also Kaaps as vernacular, into Arabic orthography (Kotzé 2014), not only were norms for the spelling of Afrikaans (thus for Arabic-Afrikaans) agreed upon, but the authors of the *kitaabs* and sheikhs of the madrassahs also developed a formal lexicon which deviated in important respects also from Dutch, to fulfil the need for such a register for use in education and the practice of

religion. In this way, a standard form of Afrikaans came into being in the Arabic script long before Patriot Afrikaans and eventually a Dutch-based orthography were recognised. Because of the fact that the Arabic alphabet was adapted to make provision for the observed pronunciation of the language at the Cape, it also serves as a phonetic record of how Kaaps, in contrast to Dutch, was pronounced in reality, and is largely still being pronounced today.

On account of this leading role played by speakers in the field of language, one could rightfully regard Muslim Afrikaans as the nuclear dialect of Kaaps. Likewise, one could say that Kaaps (also known as Cape Afrikaans), could be regarded as the matrilect of Afrikaans, before (with a view to standardisation for the formal functions of the language) large-scale relexification from Dutch was instituted.

I would like to suggest that the proven vitality of Kaaps could be attributed to two apparently contradictory, but in reality supplementary types of features, namely its historically conservative and progressively modern character. What is meant by this juxtaposition? If a systematic study of the phonology, grammar and lexicon of Kaaps is done, some grammatical constructions, conspicuously of Dutch derivation, occur regularly – something which is indicative of a continuum of much larger dimensions than for instance the French of *Kriol Morisien*, and which could point possibly point to elements of Austro-Dutch, which served as a foundation for the development of Kaaps. By way of illustration, some examples taken from sound recordings made some forty years ago, which formed part of a doctoral study alluded to in par 2.8 below, will be discussed.

KAAPS: CONSERVATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE

An area in the morphology of Kaaps which is conspicuous, is the inflection of adjectives in the attributive position by means of the addition of the suffix *-e*. This category of inflection (i.e. the absence or presence of the suffix) is determined in Dutch by the gender of the noun, and is a general feature of Kaaps in the case of most adjectives, independent of the noun following it (it is also a characteristic of late eighteenth-century Afrikaans in general). In other varieties of Afrikaans, the phonology of the adjective itself determines whether inflection takes place, which represents a totally new paradigm in comparison to 17th century Dutch.

Saoedi-Arabië was eers 'n arme land ("n arm land" elsewhere)

Saudi Arabia was previously a poor country.

Ministers is ryke mense ("ryk mense" elsewhere)

Ministers are rich people.

Jy moet jou oue lesse onthou ("jou ou lesse" elsewhere)

You must remember your old lessons.

'n kleine bietjie ("n klein bietjie" elsewhere)

A little bit.

'n spierewitte *suit* ("n spierwit *suit*" elsewhere)

a snow-white suit

A parallel rule pertains to the attributive inflection of the possessive pronoun "ons" (*our*), which corresponds to the rule for such pronouns preceding masculine/feminine nouns in Dutch:

Hy sal nooit in onse pad staan nie.

He will never stand in our way.

Onse kar is 'n write-off

Our car is a write-off

according na onse prys

according to our price

(The proximity to English syntax and lexicon is another prominent feature, but is a topic for another discussion.)

The use of the genitive particle "se" (which is used in all varieties of Afrikaans with common and proper nouns) in combination with second-person personal pronouns could also represent an analogous extension of the use of "onse", for example in the case of pronominal possessive constructions such as "na u se kant toe" (*to your side*), "u se broer Piet" (*your brother Piet* – honorific form) en "julle se vriende" (*your friends*), which were also recorded.

Another aspect is the attributive inflection of mineral or other material nouns, as in Dutch, for example "n houtse stoel" (*a wooden chair*), "'n silwerse beker" (*a silver cup*), etc.

Although it is a variable phenomenon, the so-called verbal hendiadys, which occurs in Afrikaans in expressions such as "Hy staan en slaap" (*He is sleeping*, with a secondary addition of position, i.e. *standing*, by joining the two verbs by means of the conjunction "en" *and*), or "sit en nonsies praat" (*talking nonsense*, with a secondary addition of a sitting position) is used in the Dutch form (infinitive, i.e. "te" plus verb) by some speakers, also among the younger generation, namely:

Dan staan jy daar *te tjank*. (Dutch *te janken*) (*Then you stand bawling there.*)

Daar staat hy my *aan te kyk*. (Dutch *aan te kijken* - and "staat", instead of Afr. "staan") (*There he stands looking at me.*)

Daar sit ek *te praat* met hulle. (Dutch *te praten*) (*There I am talking with them.*)

Lastly, the definite article "die" occurs with many place names, which is also commonly used in Dutch, for instance with street names:

in die Grassy Park

uit die Holland uit
 in die Pretoria
 in die Makka
 in die Princesstraat (cf. Dutch “in
de Leidsestraat”)

This is as far as the historically conservative nature of Kaaps is discussed. But what is meant by the “progressive modern” nature of Kaaps? In the context of this discussion, it refers to the free functioning of general processes of language change (in diachronics, the term “language change universalia” is often used) in the language of speakers of Kaaps in informal contexts. One can point to well-known phonological processes such as

unrounding of rounded front vowels and diphthongs, such as /œy/ and /ø/=[e:]

- [brəitsrək] - bruidsrök
- [dəizən] - duisend
- [ləntəxe:] - Lenteur
- [be:si] - beursie

breaking:

- [h'alp] - help
- [x'al] - geld
- [b'al] - bel(t)

postvocalic /r/-deletion:

- [fəke:t] - verkeerd
- [bɔ:s] - bors
- [xəsti:] - gestuur
- [fe:tax] – veertig

of which many also occur in the speech of younger (and some older) speakers in the northern and eastern parts of the country, especially in informal contexts. In addition, a number of grammatical processes can be identified. These include

- a) the extension van prepositional phrases, such as the addition of a postposition (skryf met 'n pen saam, woon in die Kaap in; *write with with a pen with, live in the Cape in*),
- b) the regularisation of verbal forms, where (i) the indicative form such as “het” (*has*) replaces the deviant infinitive form “hê” (*have*), e.g. “iets wat 'n mens moet het” (*something which a person must have*), and (ii) the replacement of the preterite modal verb plus infinitive, such as “kon sien” (*could see*), by a present-tense modal verb plus perfective main verb, e.g. “hy kan gesien het dat ek praat nie met hom nie” (*he can has seen that I do no talk with him = he could see that I do not talk with him*),
- c) the morphological embedding of loanwords, especially from English. e.g. “ons was ge-*guide* gewees” (*we were guided*), “ons het nog nie ge-*riot* nie, ons het ge-*protest*” (*we had not rioted yet, we protested*), “honderde *wêne*” (Eng. *vans*) het ingekom” (hundreds of vans came in).

The processes are likewise observable in the informal language use of the broad Afrikaans language community, but possibly much more systematically and extensively in Kaaps. In a doctoral study of Cape Muslim Afrikaans (Kotzé 1983), some 48 such processes could be identified. Against the background of the historical considerations it would hence be justified to describe Kaaps in particular, and Afrikaans as a whole, in the nature of things as a contact-induced language, in which not only influences originating from contact languages from the time of the inception of the language played a role, but also to a massive extent from English in the modern context, especially in informal contexts. Kaaps does indeed reflect, through its lexicon,

the intensity of the language contact, for instance in comparison with other, particularly rural, varieties.

VARIATION IN KAAPs

Finally – and here I wish to latch on to a remark at the beginning regarding internal variation in Kaaps, and variation as a universal feature of all languages – Kaaps is also no homogeneous variety. Just as there was a necessity to establish a standard register in Arabic Afrikaans to be able to write appropriately about (e.g.) religious subjects, the difference between formal and informal registers are clearly signalled by phonological, grammatical and lexical features in Kaaps. Listeners to *Islam in Fokus* on the RSG station of the SABC, or to a lecture by academics who are proficient in Kaaps, will recognise this fact when comparing the style and register of formal Kaaps with those of an informal conversation in Adderley Street, Cape Town. This variation is part of the richness of Kaaps as a parental variety of Afrikaans.

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