



**Language contact and change through translation
in Afrikaans and South African English:
A diachronic corpus-based study**

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This thesis is being submitted to Macquarie University and the North-West University in accordance with the Cotutelle agreement dated 1 January 2016.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

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ABSTRACT

Languages are constantly changing and there are numerous reasons as to why languages change. One of these is contact-induced language change. It refers to the situation where languages synchronically influence one another in shared socio-semiotic environments. Translation is a site of language contact, but it has hardly been considered a factor in contact-induced language change. This study sets out to investigate the role of translation-induced change using an innovative corpus design developed specifically for the purpose of testing the role of translation in multilingual settings. The corpus combines a bidirectional comparable and parallel design with both synchronic and diachronic components. The corpus is furthermore divided into four time frames based on key events in South Africa's history (1910-1947, 1948-1975, 1976-1993, 1994-2016) and four registers (creative writing, instructional writing, persuasive writing and popular writing). The corpus design, in other words, will help determine how certain linguistic features are treated the same or differently in English and Afrikaans writing, across time periods and registers, both in original writing, in translations and their source texts, and in comparable translated and non-translated texts in each language. The linguistic features selected to study the role of translation in language change are genitive variation and modality. Ultimately, the study aims to determine (a) how translation-induced language change can be differentiated from other factors that are involved in contact-induced change and (b) if there is evidence for translation-induced language change in the development of Afrikaans and South African English in the twentieth century. The results show that while it is possible to distinguish the role of translation from other factors that are involved in language change, there is limited evidence for translation-induced change in Afrikaans and South African English. This is because translators are quite aware of target-language norms, which gives the ability to adapt and normalise their translations in such a way that it closely follows the norms and linguistic tendencies of original texts in the same language.

Key words: Translation-induced language change, language change through translation, language change, contact-induced language change, translation studies, corpus-based translation studies, genitive variation, modality, Afrikaans, English

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXTUALISATION

Languages are constantly changing and do so in many different ways (Keller, 1994). This change is the consequence of two interrelated processes, namely linguistic innovation and linguistic conventionalisation. Innovation is an individual, psycholinguistic process by which new linguistic forms come about, typically unintentionally, when people try to communicate (Croft, 2000). These may occur in native, monolingual communities, but the potential for the occurrence of linguistic innovations is increased in situations where people of different languages come into contact with one another (Croft, 2000). If these innovations are integrated in a language because of replication, linguistic conventionalisation occurs (Croft, 2000). Furthermore, language change may occur because of internal factors and/or external factors. Internal factors are dynamics that operate from within the language and, as such, any linguistic change that is traceable back to structural considerations in a particular language and which also occurs independently of sociolinguistic factors is considered to constitute internally motivated change (Hickey, 2012). External factors are thought to be caused by factors active outside the language and therefore any variation in a language that can be linked to the society or community using that language is classified as externally motivated change (Hickey, 2012). Most views of language change tend to dichotomise the role of internal and external factors, even though some have argued that doing so is an oversimplification, and that the relationship between these two factors is complex (see Hickey, 2012, for more information).

Language contact is an important external factor that plays a role in language change. Contact-induced language change refers to the situation where languages influence one another synchronically in shared socio-semiotic environments (Steiner, 2008). Whenever people of different languages come into contact, there is a natural inclination to seek ways to bypass the communicative barriers they face by looking for compromise between their forms of language use. Trudgill (2004) argues that there is a general human tendency to *behavioural coordination* in that groups with different ways of using language will spontaneously converge on a common norm. This process of linguistic accommodation occurs because individuals adopt commonly selected linguistic forms from their encounters with other people, thus increasing a set of shared linguistic features and contributing to group cohesiveness and group formation (Schneider, 2008). Situations of language contact therefore introduce opportunities for innovations while creating particular social conditions at the same time that may lead to the conventionalisation of features, through accommodation or other types of convergence. The result of this process of compromise is that contact languages are shaped by processes of language mixing and innovation, and linguistic accommodation at the same time.

If language contact is sufficiently widespread and intense, it may influence the conventions of the involved languages as there are no limits, in principle, to what speakers of different languages will adapt and adopt from another language given the right opportunity (Winford, 2003). The degree of influence can occur on a borrowing continuum that ranges from slight borrowing of vocabulary to the creation of new languages. This range of phenomena is known as *contact-induced language change*. The impact of language contact, in one form or another, is so extensive that it is believed that many languages, if not most, have been influenced at some point in their history by contact with other languages (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2014). Some of the factors that are

often mentioned as conditioning language change through contact include cultural pressure, intensity of contact, prestige of the languages involved and language ideology. Typological closeness between languages and bilingualism are also often mentioned as important conditioning factors (Weinreich, 1956). This is because typological closeness allows bilinguals to create mental connections between the linguistic units of their two languages that are perceived to correspond with one another. The cognitive advantage of this interlingual identification is that it allows bilinguals to syncretise their two languages as well as their processing operations, which enables them to use similar processing operations for equivalent linguistic elements in both languages in their repertoire (Matras, 2009). Thus, bilingual language users can simplify the selection procedure by decreasing the degree to which their linguistic systems are separated from one another, which essentially enables the two languages to converge (Kühl & Braunmüller, 2014; Matras, 2009). In this way syncretisation of the two languages, by means of convergence, is thought to reduce the cognitive load bilinguals incur when they are engaged in communicative interactions (Matras & Sakel, 2007). As a result, cross-linguistic influence occurs when bilinguals connect two or more languages according to their semantic, functional or phonological properties.

Translations may also be an important means of contact. In some instances, external changes do not require the speakers of the languages to engage in actual social contact: contact can be induced indirectly, such as through book learning by writers, lexicographers and teachers, who convey new vocabulary to others by means of dictionaries, religious texts or literature (Winford, 2003). At present, the role of increasingly globalised mass communication through digital media is an important form of indirect contact – especially the effects of widely disseminated English media on other languages. However, the importance of English media as a locus of language contact should not overshadow considerations taken from a more localised, individual and interactive perspective. This perspective should acknowledge that the use of social media and mobile technologies provide unparalleled opportunities for a different type of language contact through hybrid written and/or spoken mediums where other types of accommodation processes play an important role. In terms of written publications, the possible processes of contact and convergence that occur in publishing norms should also be considered. On the one hand, in the increasingly networked and global publishing world, the transfer of publishing norms may occur (especially from prestigious languages or publication houses), thereby constituting a process of contact. In multilingual contexts, on the other hand, publishing in different languages may take place in centralised vehicles, such as publishing houses or newspaper and magazine groups, where contact and transfer between norms for written language for different languages could occur.

Two languages that have experienced “extensive and intimate contact” (De Klerk, 1996, p. 12), and for this reason are likely to have influenced and shaped each other to a significant degree, are South African English and Afrikaans (a language that developed from Dutch). The contact between these two languages is evident in the loan translations that were introduced into English by means of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans, which Schneider (2007) attributes to the typological similarities between Dutch and English. Some South African English words for fauna and flora are direct borrowings from Afrikaans, as are a wide range of cultural terms for local objects (Schneider, 2007). In addition, some Afrikaans phonological variables were introduced into pronunciation linked to early Afrikaans influence (Lanham, 1996), which has led Lanham and Macdonald (1979) to state that Afrikaans has contributed to the norms that make up the social

accents of White South African English as “the Afrikaner as English speaker shares in the consensus as to the dimensions of social meaning which different varieties of SA English convey” (p. 18). There is also evidence that the influence of Afrikaans on English extends to deeper, structural levels and therefore is not merely limited to superficial levels (in terms of lexicogrammatical or lexical levels), with Lanham and Macdonald (1979), Jeffery and Van Rooy (2004), Wasserman (2014) and Wasserman and Van Rooy (2014) presenting evidence in favour of this view. However, Lass and Wright (1986) and Mesthrie (2002) challenge this possibility, though only on the basis of certain grammatical features.

Afrikaans also shows traces of its contact with English. Some English-influenced structures that can be found in Afrikaans include loan words and loan translations (Rousseau, 1937), semantically empty verbs, compound nouns, and separable verbs, among other features (Donaldson, 1991). In terms of phonology, phonological influence from English is mainly found in English loanwords and in international vocabulary where the two languages share cognate forms (Donaldson, 1991). Because of the high degree of bilingualism of Afrikaans speakers (Van den Berg, 2005; Watermeyer, 1996), productive transfer of English expressions and words also occurs, where some of these are adjusted to Afrikaans syntactic, morphological, phonological and grammatical patterns, with a considerable number of English words that are internalised as part of the Afrikaans lexicon (Gouws, 1995).

Despite the close contact between Afrikaans and English, the extent to which elements from these two languages have influenced each other was downplayed in bilingual Afrikaans-English dictionaries published during the early to mid-twentieth century. In the English sections of these dictionaries, a purist bias existed that aimed to reflect and over-represent items used mainly in Standard British English, with a scant representation of items that derive from Afrikaans (Gouws, 1995). In the Afrikaans section of these dictionaries, as little indication as possible was given of the considerable influence of English on Afrikaans (Gouws, 1995). In the case of Afrikaans, it was mainly because of strong fears of Anglicisation that lexicographers tried to present a “pure” variety of Afrikaans – an attempt that is also reflected in other Afrikaans language resources of the twentieth century (see Beukes, 1993; Gouws, 1995).

The limited standardisation of Afrikaans is illustrated by the fact that there was an absence of extensive dictionaries or other language resources documenting the language available in 1925 when it was first granted official language status. According to Beukes (1993), its only linguistic resources at the time was the bilingual *Patriot Woordeboek* [Patriot Dictionary] (1904) and the first *Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls van die Akademie* [Afrikaans Word List and Spelling Rules of the Academy] (1917). Consequently, fears that Afrikaans may be vulnerable to the influence of English drove a ferocious stigmatisation of borrowings from English (Van den Berg, 2005). In order to expand Afrikaans vocabulary in order to comply with The Official Languages of the Union Act, 1925 (Act No. 8 of 1925) that required official documentation to appear in both English and Afrikaans, Dutch was drawn upon to expand Afrikaans’ linguistic resources – a new Dutchification of Afrikaans (see Uys, 1983). In this process, Afrikaans spelling norms were adjusted to resemble those of Standard Dutch, vocabulary was enriched drawing on Dutch, and the Dutch language was used as the official comparison measure in the *Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls (AWS)* during the twentieth century (Van Rooy & Van Den Doel, 2011).

Taken against the background of contact-induced changes, deliberate attempts such as these during the early twentieth century may have curbed the potential influence these two languages could have exerted on one another during this period of time. However, considerable changes in the relationship between the two languages and attitudes about this relationship during the progression of the twentieth century may have had an effect on language contact and may have provided different conditions for innovations as well as conventionalisation. For instance, sentiments about the acceptability of English borrowings in Afrikaans became more positive from the mid-twentieth century and a growing number of Afrikaans linguists started to question the validity of using Standard Dutch as a yardstick against which to measure Afrikaans (Van den Berg, 2005). According to Van den Berg (2005), after the demise of apartheid towards the end of the twentieth century, contact between speakers of different languages increased, which led to a greater tolerance of borrowing. Afrikaans linguistic resources started to reflect this tendency with the ninth edition of the *AWS* (2002) listing English words and as well words from colloquial Afrikaans, and the volumes of the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* [Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language] published since 1994 making no reference to Anglicisms. This trend is reflected in resources of South African English as well. For instance, in the fourth edition of Branford's (1991) *Dictionary of South African English*, a selection of grammatical South Africanisms is provided (Lass, 2002) along with a considerable list of loanwords and loan translations (W. Branford & Cloughton, 2003) of which some are due to Afrikaans influence.

Throughout the twentieth century, widespread translation between Afrikaans and English has been an important source of contact for these two languages, although the role of translation has also changed during this time due to socio-political reasons. Even though there were instances of translation before the twentieth century, the demand for translation increased considerably when the South Africa Act of 1909 accepted Dutch and English as official languages with equal rights, freedom and privileges (Mwepu, 2008). This act required all public and parliamentary documents to be available in both languages (Van Der Merwe, Du Plessis, Waal, Zimmerman, & Farlam, 2012). Translation between English and Afrikaans was a requirement when "Dutch was defined as including Afrikaans" (Van Der Merwe et al., 2012, p. 211) as an official language in 1925. This bilingual policy required the translation of various text types for all government departments (Mwepu, 2008) and the demand for translation was so great that a translation office known as the Central Translation Bureau was established in 1930 (Beukes, 2007; Mwepu, 2008; Pienaar & Langenhoven, 1932). At the time, virtually all official documentation was produced in English, which necessitated translation into Afrikaans (Beukes, 1993). By the mid-twentieth century, Afrikaans translators were held in high regard and were elevated to the role of language heroes along with other language practitioners, because of the contribution they made towards constructing an Afrikaner nation; for domesticising the Public Service for Afrikaners, which had been limited predominantly to English speakers; and because of their involvement in the vernacularising of Afrikaans (Beukes, 2007). In terms of literary works, a "veritable epidemic of translations from other languages" (p. 36), such as German, French and Spanish, occurred toward the 1960s while comparatively fewer works were translated from English – a situation ascribed to the fact that English was already available to most Afrikaans readers (Brink, 1976).

Whereas translation from English to Afrikaans was very active in the early twentieth century, particularly in terms of official documentation, fewer translations were done from Afrikaans to English. Although not a common phenomenon, since the Second World War, Afrikaans fiction and non-fiction was increasingly translated into English (Brink, 1976). These translations were done

either by the authors themselves or by other translators (Brink, 1976). However, Afrikaans started to carry the political burden of Afrikaner nationalism from the mid-twentieth century when a growing number of Afrikaans authors became disillusioned with apartheid (A. Kruger, 2012) – a political movement that resulted in the enforced segregation of coloured and black people from whites. When the first Afrikaans novel was banned under the Publications and Entertainment Act in 1974, Afrikaans authors started to engage in self-translation (into English) as a form of resistance against apartheid’s ideology (A. Kruger, 2012). By publishing their work in English, these authors tried to escape censorship and brought attention to the realities of apartheid in the international domain (A. Kruger, 2012). This trend reflected the general situation for authors writing in English as the intimidating practices and oppressive policies “made the 1960s and 1970s the decades of expatriate literature written and published in English” (Galloway, 2002b, p. 208).

Almost immediately after apartheid came to an end in 1994, the country experienced a boom of translations into the local languages, with insurance, educational material, banking, annual reports and public health information being translated (Wallmach, 2014). In a survey of the types of translation South African translators habitually carry out, H. Kruger (2012) found that corporate texts, closely followed by children’s books, are generally translated. The respondents to H. Kruger’s (2012) study also indicated the languages into which they usually translate, and the largest percentage indicated English to Afrikaans translation, followed by Afrikaans to English translation. Presently, local non-fiction sells well and publishers have capitalised on this fact by carrying out translations from Afrikaans to English and vice versa to maximise sales (Möller & Buitendach, 2015). Fiction, in general, has been less widely translated (Vosloo, 2010). Translations of international texts are also carried out into Afrikaans, with Christian fiction and non-fiction, self-help guides, and popular psychology tending to dominate the market (Kleyn, 2013).

From the discussion, it is evident that there has been widespread contact between South African English and Afrikaans by means of translation and that this contact is on-going. Due to its extensive use, translation arguably has the potential of introducing contact effects to written South African English and Afrikaans. Furthermore, the fact that Afrikaans and English publishing has a shared history in South Africa, often managed in the same publishing environments, the possibility is introduced for further contact effects to occur at the level of convergence in publishing norms. However, the role of translation between English and Afrikaans has also evidently changed over the course of the twentieth century, as translation has been used for different purposes at different times, which is likely to have implications for contact effects. For instance, some types of translation will be more widely read than others, and therefore the potential role of translation as a factor in contact-induced language change will be mediated by the kinds of texts that are typically translated and read at a given time.

Even though translation is a site of language contact, it has hardly been dealt with in the context of contact-induced phenomena of language change. In fact, the majority of language-contact studies only mention translation-induced language change in passing or only discuss it briefly. In recent years, however, translation has been acknowledged as a possible force of language change. This viewpoint is partly a consequence of the fact that there has been a shift away from the description of individual contact varieties and contact situations to the comparison of different kinds of contact situations and effects (Siemund, 2008). This shift in perspective has resulted in

a new view of translation as “a significant means through which ‘imported’ linguistic elements and uses are established in a language” (Ožbot, 2014, p. 133). With this recognition of translation as a possible locus for language change, some translation theorists have started to focus on language change through translation. However, these studies have thus far not situated or theorised this possibility in the context of accepted theories of language change. Consequently, the relationship between broader processes of language change and translation is unclear and it has been difficult to substantiate theoretically the significance of translation as a possible instigator and propagator of language change (Malamatidou, 2016).

The possible effects of translation on contact-induced language change are not uncontested, which is not surprising considering that it is unclear how translation can bring about change. Hoey (2011) contends that “if we stay with accepted theories of language, we must conclude that it is not responsible for more than a modicum of language change” (p. 164). In his opinion the effects of translation on non-translation “are likely to be benign” (p. 166) as long as the translations are not done from one overwhelming source language. However, this notion may be countered by the argument that in a context where there is a substantial amount of translation from one language, particularly one that is widespread in other communicative contexts, and one that has high status, a situation may develop where transfer effects evident in translation start disseminating more widely.

Another potential reason why translation may contribute little to language change is because translators, as professionals and language experts, are expected to be highly aware of the differences and contrasts between languages and therefore may be inclined to adhere closely to the target-language norms (House, 2015). This inclination, known as normalisation (Baker, 1996), is widely regarded to be one of the features of translation, which means that translators over-represent features associated with target-language norms regardless of the source and target language or the text type involved in the translation process. In this case, translators strive for functional equivalence by means of cultural filtering, or changing culture- and language-specific source language conventions to those used by the target language, to produce a covert translation (House, 2015). In cases where functional equivalence is emphasised, translation acts as a catalyst of cultural conservatism as the translational process resists change (House, 2015). According to Toury (2012) this is a manifestation of the law of growing standardisation, which is where “textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire” (p. 303). The degree to which normalisation or standardisation will be manifested depends on the particular context, as well as the role that translation plays in the textual production of that context.

However, Toury (2012) proposes a counterweight to the law of increasing standardisation, namely the law of interference. According to this law “phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to force themselves on the translators and be transferred to the target text” (Toury, 2012, p. 310). It is believed that interference occurs as a result of the mental processes involved in acts of translation because of the rapid shuttling between source codes and target codes that alternate in both directions (Toury, 2012). This hypothesis has been substantiated by a number of empirical studies (see for instance Schaeffer, Dragsted, Hvelplund, Balling, & Carl, 2016) that provide evidence for the claim that interference is a basic cognitive condition of translation. Interference can occur in terms of positive or negative transfer. Positive transfer

involves an increase in the frequency of linguistic features that already exist in the target system (Toury, 2012). As such, it is a quantitative development that occurs because the source language possesses features that are morphologically and semantically similar to features of the target language (Mougeon, Nadasdi, & Rehner, 2005). Negative transfer, on the other hand, occurs when deviations from the codified practices of the target system are manifested in a translation (Toury, 2012).

In general, it is believed that tolerance to interference in translation depends on the prestige associated with the different literary systems or sociocultural factors, as there is a tendency toward greater tolerance when the translation is done from a prestigious culture, language or text. In some instances, it may be preferable for translations to aim toward formal or structural equivalence even if it means foregoing naturalness and faithfulness to target-language textual conventions – a process resulting in overt translation. However, in other cases, resistance to interference may activate censorial mechanisms, such as purification, that leads to substantial reduction of its manifestation (Toury, 2012). Its occurrence may also be reduced because translators have internalised the norms of the target culture and apply them as a monitoring device (Toury, 2012). Hence, sometimes there is tension between adequacy (in terms of source text faithfulness) and target-culture acceptability. The degree to which adequacy or acceptability is valued or prioritised is a function of the status of the text, as well as of the role that the text is meant to have in the receiving culture.

The laws of standardisation and interference are always simultaneously in operation, in which case translation can be conceptualised as being pulled in two directions by opposing forces. Teich's (2003) study of German and English translations and their corresponding source texts illustrates this tension as it shows that both normalisation and interference phenomena occur in translation. Even though these two tendencies are always present, it should be kept in mind that the extent to which standardisation or interference is realised or tolerated in translations is dependent on the socio-cultural conditions in which the translation is done and consumed by the target audience (Toury, 2012). Taken against the background of translation-induced contact change, interference may create opportunities for innovations of various kinds of translation. The norm of standardisation, however, mitigates against the dissemination of such features.

Despite the fact that translation-induced contact change has not been the focus of many studies, research forming part of the *Covert Translation* project has made a significant contribution to the general understanding of translation-induced language change. The translation researchers involved in this project hypothesise that a cultural filter is used in instances of translation where the source text is adapted to the conventionalised expectation norms that are characteristic of the target audience (Kranich, House, & Becher, 2012). Most of the studies that form part of this project focus on how English, as a global lingua franca, influences and changes the communicative norms of languages when the cultural filter becomes permeable as a result of contact, particularly in the context of translation from English to other (mainly European) languages (Baumgarten, House, & Probst, 2004). This research, however, has yielded inconclusive results. A number of the studies in the project support the claim that source-text interference does occur, which leads to Anglophone communicative norms eventually spreading to original German texts, which is indicative of translation-induced convergence (see for instance Baumgarten & Özçetin, 2008; Kranich, Becher, & Höder, 2011; Kranich et al., 2012). Some of the studies, however, do not provide clear-cut evidence for the hypothesis of translation-induced convergence, such as those

of Becher (2009) and Becher, House, and Kranich (2009), as it is possible for divergence phenomena to occur as well.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The research done by the *Covert Translation* project has focussed attention on the need for studying language contact and language change through translation, but the field of enquiry is still in its infancy and more research is needed. The fact that work in the *Covert Translation* project has yielded inconclusive results points to the need for more studies of this kind in order to arrive at a better understanding of the possibility and extent of translation's impact on non-translated language. Furthermore, the results of the *Covert Translation* project should be interpreted against the background of the fact that it is mainly limited to the European context – and predominantly focusses on German – and there is limited direct exchange between English and continental European languages. In addition, most of this research does not consider in much depth how the role of translation as agent of contact-induced change may be disentangled from more general contact effects (see also Neumann, 2011). In order to provide evidence for the claim that translation acts as an impetus for contact-induced language change, it is therefore important to extend research to languages and social settings other than those of the European context. The South African context may be particularly well-suited to addressing the shortcomings of the *Covert Translation* project. In this context, English and Afrikaans speakers have not only been in direct face-to-face contact for more than a century, but there is also a continuous publishing history in both languages. Translational exchange has occurred throughout the twentieth century. Changes in both the conditions of contact, as well as in attitudes towards contact effects have occurred over this time.

English and Afrikaans hold privileged positions in the South African linguistic landscape because of complex sociological and political conditions that have promoted their use in higher-order functions, such as in education, media, government and publishing, despite the fact that South Africa has always been characterised by linguistic diversity. Since 1996, South Africa has 11 official languages, of which the three most widely spoken first languages are isiZulu (22,7%), isiXhosa (16,0%) and Afrikaans (13,5%) according to the 2011 census (Statistics South Africa, 2011). English ranks fourth (9,6%). Even though English is not the mother-tongue of the majority of South Africans, it plays an important role in the country as its role as global language increases. Although not as influential as English, Afrikaans remains an important force and in some publishing sectors even outperforms English. This situation is related to the fact that there is considerable purchasing power in the Afrikaans community, which combines with the loyalty of Afrikaners toward their language to strengthen the publishing industry in this language (Möller & Buitendach, 2015). In addition, the benefits of an infrastructure, originally developed for the needs of Afrikaner nationalism, continues to provide Afrikaans with an advantage (H. Kruger, 2012).

The South African publishing industry consists of three sectors, namely educational, trade and academic (Möller & Buitendach, 2015). According to H. Kruger's (2012) analysis it is evident that both the production and sales of these three sectors are dominated by English. The statistics outlined in annual reports of the Publishers' Association of South Africa (PASA) show the extent to which English is preferred in these sectors. The 2013 PASA survey, compiled by Struik and Borgstrom (2014), shows in terms of educational books produced locally that 76,8% of sales were of English books, 11,8% of Afrikaans books, while all nine African languages combined account

for 11,5%. In the trade sector, a more equal distribution between English and Afrikaans is evident. In this sector, the turnover of local book sales according to language indicates that English books account for 49,3% of sales and Afrikaans books for 48,4%. The nine African languages combined account for only 0,5% while other languages account for 0,1%. The academic sector, in turn, is dominated particularly by English with 97,7% of total book sales coming from English books and 2,3% from Afrikaans books. The fact that nothing is generated in this sector from books in the African languages emphasises the low status of these languages in the country as they are not used in the context of higher education to any degree (H. Kruger, 2012).

In general, the production and sales of books in the African languages are noticeably out of proportion with the number of speakers of these languages – a situation that is amended somewhat, though not sufficiently enough, in the educational sector by policies that prescribe the use of mother-tongue education (H. Kruger, 2012). Publishing companies' decisions regarding which books to translate also have been driven mainly by commercial reasons such as potential sales and market demand (H. Kruger, 2012), with the challenges posed by translating into the African languages cited as reasons why there is limited translation into these languages (Edwards & Ngware, 2011) along with the belief that their reading market is too small (Möller, 2014). In addition, African languages appear to have less support from book publishers “in the absence of a guiding discourse that promotes the publishing and sales of books in these languages” (H. Kruger, 2012, p. 45). Even though the South African government is aware of the facilitating role translation could have, it has largely neglected and underestimated translation as a crucial developmental tool from which the African languages could benefit (Beukes, 2006). As such, its attempts to build human capacity in interpreting and translation services to promote the African languages have been sluggish (Beukes, 2006). In terms of non-publishing contexts, however, it is possible that the demand for translation into the African languages may be more substantial.

The privileged position currently held by English and Afrikaans in the South African linguistic landscape is the result of changing socio-political factors and shifting power differentials between the English and Afrikaners¹ that, during the course of history, promoted the use of these two languages at the expense of other language communities. Since the nineteenth century, South Africa has been characterised by a tension surrounding control and power of English-speaking and Cape Dutch (which was later recognised as Afrikaans) communities, where language was intrinsically linked to the promotion and maintenance of power relations. The first sizeable group of Dutch colonists arrived in the Eastern Cape in 1652 under the command of the then powerful and influential Dutch East India Company (Roberge, 2002). By the time the first group of British

¹ For this study, *Afrikaners* will be used to refer to designate a socio-cultural group of white native speakers of Afrikaans. The community was designated as “the Dutch” until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the term *Afrikaner* only gained currency in its twentieth century sense from that point onwards. The national identity of this group is complicated as it has changed throughout the twentieth century. As Chapter 3 will demonstrate, Afrikaners' identity was forged in resistance to British oppression, and was underscored by notions of superiority, and racial and cultural purity. Afrikaans was intimately linked to Afrikaners' identity, and non-white speakers of the language were excluded from forming part of this cultural group for most of the twentieth century. The meaning of *Afrikaners* became problematised toward the latter part of the twentieth century when it acquired a restrictive tone of particular (right-wing) political persuasions. However, *Afrikaners* is a useful concept for the study as much of the socio-political history of the country was shaped by this identity and efforts to protect it.

settlers arrived in the Cape in 1820, Cape Dutch/Afrikaans was the language spoken by the colony (Steyn, 1980). At this stage, however, the Dutch East India Company's influence had weakened considerably and in 1814 the Dutch government formally surrendered sovereignty over the Cape to the British (Steyn, 1980). As a result, the Cape Dutch settlers had to yield to the British in all domains in public life (Steyn, 1980). In 1822 English was declared the only official language of the Cape, which was accompanied by aggressive Anglicisation policies imposed on the Cape Dutch community as a result of explicit political motives (Giliomee, 2003). At this stage, the Afrikaners largely considered their "language as an instrument rather than a symbol of identity" (Giliomee, 2003, p. 198) and this event compounded the considerably lower status of Afrikaans (Lass, 1997). As a result, the belief was enforced that Afrikaans was suitable only for communicating with uneducated people, in contrast to English, which was regarded as the language of well-educatedness among much of the Afrikaans-speaking population (Lass, 1997).

The lower status of Afrikaans was not only in respect of English, but also in terms of metropolitan or Continental Dutch. Afrikaans was used in opposition to metropolitan Dutch during the early nineteenth century to demarcate the local vernacular of the Cape, but it was not yet recognised in full as a separate language, merely as a local dialect (Deumert, 2004). During the course of the nineteenth century, the extent of the divergence between metropolitan Dutch and Afrikaans grew to such an extent that *Kitchen Dutch* became a derogatory reference to the local vernacular (Deumert, 2004). As a result of the political situation in the country, linguistic adjustment meant that considerably more speakers of Afrikaans became bilingual during this period than vice versa (Schneider, 2007). Because of reasons of harmonious contact and intermarriage, vocabulary loans were brought into English and some Afrikaans-English phonological variables were introduced into pronunciation (Lanham, 1996). Afrikaans expressions and words were naturalised and semantic shifts started to shape English to its new environment (Lanham, 1996). Despite the bilingualism of Afrikaners and the practical importance of English in the areas surrounding British colonies, English spread slowly outside the Cape (Schneider, 2007). A second major settlement of British colonists arrived in Natal from the 1850s, but these settlers had less contact with Afrikaners and more contact within their own group (Van Rooy, 2014). However, this situation changed drastically in the 1870s with the discovery of diamonds and gold in the South African interior, which resulted in an influx of new European and British settlers who established a new community (Lanham, 1996).

The tension surrounding Afrikaners and the British escalated at the turn of the twentieth century because of questions about who would benefit from the profitable Witwatersrand gold mines, which resulted in the Second Anglo-Boer War. After the war ended in victory for the British, Afrikaners were at a disadvantage, extending to being a poor community with little education, who had to work for English-speaking employers, and send their children to English schools (Steyn, 1980). They also faced Anglicisation policies during this time, which were part of a British movement to assimilate Afrikaners both culturally and linguistically to create a single national identity between the English and Afrikaans population (Orman, 2008). It was in resistance to the British's assimilation policies that Afrikaners developed *taalliefde* [love of the language] and in this context an indexical link was created between Afrikaans, ethnicity and race (Milani & Shaikjee, 2013; Orman, 2008). People started to conflate – and even equate – Afrikaans with whiteness and ethnic identity (Milani & Shaikjee, 2013). Afrikaners saw their struggle to maintain their language as a battle for their very survival as a distinct people (Orman, 2008).

After the Union of South Africa agreed on an official bilingual policy in 1910 (initially with Dutch as the second official language, which was redefined to include Afrikaans in 1925), contact between Afrikaners and English speakers increased. Afrikaans was more widespread in rural areas while English was spoken more in urban areas (Steyn, 1980). Increasing English-Afrikaans bilingualism was situated mainly in the larger towns and cities predominantly among Afrikaners who entered the civil service, while economic power remained in the hands of the English (Steyn, 1980). At this stage, the Union made deliberate attempts to actively encourage better relationships between the English and Afrikaners (Steyn, 1980). The government launched a developmental programme in 1925 where not only the neglected economy had to be promoted, but Afrikaans also had to be actualised and realised (Beukes, 1993). In this context, language workers like translators, lexicographers and terminologists, amongst other “language engineers” such as teachers, journalists, publishers, ministers and distributors, contributed to uplifting Afrikaans – an attempt to mobilise the socio-political power of the Afrikaner (Beukes, 1993). Consequently, when the National Party assumed power in 1948, Afrikaans became the favoured language in all spheres of public life (Beukes, 1994) despite the entrenched position of English as the other official language. During this time, the National Party actively sought to improve the prestige and use of Afrikaans, a language that was considered to be intrinsically linked to the Afrikaner identity, and cultivated an “antipathy to all things English” (p. 26) in an attempt to redress Afrikaans’ subordinate role in society (Lanham, 1996). The consequence of this shift in power entailed a decline in the quality of English among Afrikaners (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979).

In sum, there is evidence of prolonged contact between English and Afrikaans. However, the nature of this contact has changed over time, as have attitudes towards contact effects, because of upheavals in power structures over the course of time. This situation clearly differs from the degree of contact between, for example, German and English (the focus of the *Covert Translation* project), which has been less extensive. Direct contact between German and English has been limited to a large extent in German-speaking Europe. As pointed out by Farrar (1999), even though there were some native German speakers who had some knowledge of English toward the end of the 1990s, these speakers could not be considered to be completely bilingual. While the level of direct contact between speakers of the two languages has been growing because of closer political, strategic and economic ties, most German speakers do not have to interact with native English speakers on a daily basis (Farrar, 1999). Indirect contact has played a more important role via the influence of American culture, with advertising, television, and the fashion and music industry acting as important sources of contact between the two languages (Farrar, 1999). The South African context provides a different contact situation because of the high degree of direct contact between English and Afrikaans speakers in contrast to contact between English and German that is mainly in absentia and is textually based. However, contact effects should not just be limited to direct contact between speakers, but should also take the development of shared publishing contexts into account where Afrikaans and South African English publishing occur in the same environment or publishing companies. Situations such as these create an opportunity for contact effects to arise and to become conventionalised in written language.

Changes in the contact environment of South Africa, such as those outlined above, would not only have an effect on the languages involved, but also on the role of translation and the norms that influence the production of translations. At different times, changes and upheavals in the sociolinguistic relationship between English and Afrikaans would have contributed to different emphases on the types of texts translated. It also would have affected the ways in which these

texts were translated, such as the degree of standardisation to which they would have been exposed and the level of tolerance towards interference. For instance, during the period when Afrikaans was not yet standardised, it is possible that a greater tolerance of interference would have occurred, while during the period of Afrikaner nationalism there would have been a stronger emphasis on standardisation when discourses of linguistic, religious and national purity were intertwined. When active attempts were made to encourage parity between the languages, there may also have been a greater tolerance toward interference whereas standardisation may have played a more important role in South African English in the early twentieth century because of the prestige associated with its imperial status.

Despite the important role played by translation between Afrikaans and English across genres and contexts during the twentieth century, little is known about the exact nature of this translational exchange other than the fact that the translational exchange between these languages was not one of parity since language was used a tool to promote the interests of ruling parties. During the long period of uninterrupted contact between these two languages, the relationship between the two languages varied considerably over time due to changes in the context; the South African context may therefore offer various unique features that could contribute to an understanding of the role of translation in contact-induced language change. These changes may be reflected in differential effects for translated texts and reference corpora in the two languages over time. Furthermore, English and Afrikaans are fairly closely related typologically because of their Germanic roots, and therefore opportunities exist for borrowing – a kind of compatibility that is one of the conditions of contact-induced change. While there is some research on how English and Afrikaans have influenced each other, there has been no study to date that has concentrated on the potential role of translation in contact-induced language change in Afrikaans and English. There is thus a need to investigate in more detail how the translational exchange between English and Afrikaans developed historically, to understand the contextual factors at play, to analyse the effects of contact in translated English and Afrikaans in comparison to non-translated English and Afrikaans, over time, and to consider the implications of this for the conditions under which translation may play a role in contact-induced language change.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The discussion above leads to the following research questions:

- 1) What is the relationship between the broader processes of language change and translation?
- 2) How can translation-induced change be differentiated from other forms of contact-induced change?
- 3) Which contact-induced features are typically attributed to contact between Afrikaans and South African English in the two varieties?
- 4) What is the extent and nature of translation between Afrikaans and English in South Africa since the beginning of the twentieth century?
- 5) What evidence is there for translation-induced language change in the development of Afrikaans and South African English since the beginning of the twentieth century?

6) How can evidence for/evidence against translation-induced change in Afrikaans and South African English since the beginning of the twentieth century be explained?

1.4 RESEARCH AIMS

The aims of this study are to:

- 1) Establish the relationship between the broader processes of language change and translation.
- 2) Establish how translation-induced change can be differentiated from other forms of contact-induced change.
- 3) Determine the contact-induced features typically attributed to contact between Afrikaans and South African English in the two varieties.
- 4) Determine the extent and nature of translation between Afrikaans and English in South Africa since the beginning of the twentieth century.
- 5) Determine the evidence for translation-induced language change in the development of Afrikaans and South African English since the beginning of the twentieth century.
- 6) Formulate an explanation for the evidence for/evidence against translation-induced change in Afrikaans and South African English since the beginning of the twentieth century.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

1.5.1 General methodological approach

In order to investigate the possible role of translation in contact-induced language change, this study adopts a corpus-linguistic approach. Corpus linguistics is a method for the empirical analysis of language, and provides researchers with effective ways to analyse the occurrence of linguistic features and linguistic patterns on a large scale (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998). It also allows researchers to investigate systematic associations among co-occurring features (Biber et al., 1998). Two types of associations are important in corpus-based research, namely linguistic associations and non-linguistic associations. Linguistic associations, according to Biber et al. (1998), consist of lexical associations (how linguistic features are associated with specific words) and grammatical associations (how linguistic features are systematically associated with certain grammatical features in the immediate context). Non-linguistic associations are related to distribution across registers, dialects and time periods (Biber et al., 1998). Investigating distribution across time periods requires a historical corpus. Historical corpora have the potential to reflect diffusion patterns because the spread of sampling frames enables accurate dating of changes that is not possible in synchronic contact studies alone (Neumann, 2011).

In order to answer the first research question, the study carries out a literature review to understand the relationship between the broader processes of language change and translation. This discussion will be based on a synthesis of existing theorisations of language change as a consequence of contact, with particular attention to the role of translation. In so doing, it will examine the potential for translation to affect processes of language change. The second question will be answered using a methodological model that consists of three steps that are based on contrastive, comparable and parallel analyses. The model firstly will provide the means to

determine a change in the properties of target language features (such as frequency) that could possibly be interpreted as adaptations to the properties of contrastively different source-language features. Secondly, the model will allow the researcher to determine if evidence has been found for equivalent properties of the same features in translation into the target language which mediates between properties of the source and target language. Thirdly, the identification of causal relationships between changes in the target-language originals and the translations will be accounted for in the model. Using a corpus-based method, these contrastive, comparable and parallel analyses will enable not only the description of differences between originals and translations in Afrikaans and English but also to trace features of translation back to potential source language features, which will address the fourth question.

The third research question is answered by focussing on linguistic features that show enough similarity to allow bilinguals to perform interlingual identification and which, according to other studies, have demonstrated change as a result of language contact. These are genitive variation and modality. The fourth research question is answered by means of a combination of a literature review and an analysis of available information to investigate the role of translation in the production of various text types in Afrikaans and English in the course of the twentieth century. As pointed out by Neumann (2011), sufficient exposure of target-language speakers to translations is necessary if one wants to make a claim for translation-induced change. In other words, translations should have an effect of “simply by being around” (p. 243) so as to account for frequency changes displayed by target-language originals (Neumann, 2011). As a result, the discussion focusses on the extent to which translation occurred between English and Afrikaans in South Africa. The discussion is limited to translation in the trade sector (fiction and non-fiction) and translation in the government sector. While translation has certainly been carried out beyond these two sectors (such as in magazine and newspaper publishing), a more in-depth investigation is beyond the scope of this study. For the fifth question, the study will use statistical methods to determine the extent to which translation has contributed to language change in the genitive options and the modal systems of Afrikaans and English. The sixth question will be answered by interpreting the results of the three analyses by linking the discussion to the theoretical framework for translation-induced change and to the South African context.

1.5.2 Corpus design

A bidirectional parallel corpus is used for the study. A bidirectional parallel corpus offers the option of studying originals and their translations, as well as translations and non-translations in the same language. As such, it constitutes a better resource with which to test the effects of source texts on translations, and language and register-specific patterns (Saldana & O'Brien, 2013). It also provides a basis for analysing cross-linguistic contact not offered to the same extent by parallel and comparable corpora. A well-matched bidirectional corpus bridges the gap between translation studies and contrastive studies (McEnery & Xiao, 2008).

The main corpus is divided into four subcorpora, namely Afrikaans source texts and their English translations, and English source texts and their Afrikaans translations. The subcorpus of translations in Afrikaans can be analysed for translation-specific effects in comparison with the parallel subcorpus of the source texts in English, but can also be analysed comparatively by comparing it to the subcorpus of non-translations in Afrikaans, using the comparable approach widespread in corpus-based translation studies. The subcorpus of English translations can similarly be compared with both the Afrikaans source texts, and the comparable non-translated

English component. In addition, the Afrikaans and English non-translational subcorpora allow for cross-linguistic comparison. The corpus, in other words, contains multilingually contrastive components (originals in both English and Afrikaans), parallel components (source texts and their corresponding translations) and monolingually comparable components (source texts and translations in one language). The bidirectional design also enables the investigation of how differences in language status are reflected in different approaches to translation or translation strategies as different translation patterns were expected when translating from Afrikaans to South African English and vice versa. Differences in the patterns are expected not only because of source-text influence, but also because of the different statuses of the languages and the different roles for translation in the production of texts in the two languages. Figure 1.1 presents a graphical representation of the corpus composition.

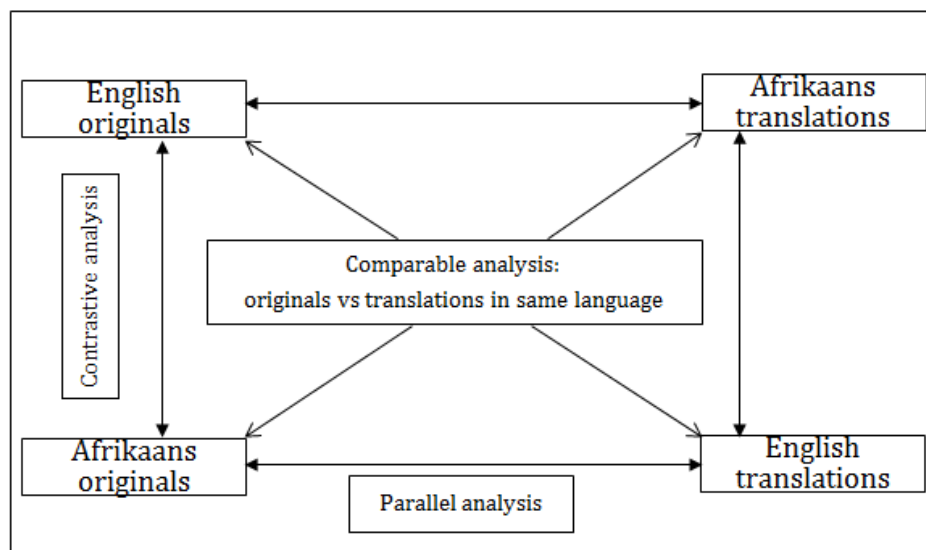


Figure 1.1: Configuration of bidirectional corpus

While the bidirectional corpus design has been used in a number of corpus-based translation studies (see for instance Hansen-Schirra, Neumann, & Steiner, 2011; Johansson, 2007; Laviosa, 1998), the innovation of this particular corpus is that it will not only contain texts from one timeframe (a synchronic component) but texts from several timeframes, which allows one to track linguistic features across time (a diachronic component). This innovation also aims to fill a gap in existing translation studies because, as pointed out by Xia (2014), previous corpus-based translation studies have focused mostly on a synchronic approach while diachronic corpora are “hardly to be found” (p. 41). The data set contains texts ranging from the early twentieth century until 2016, and is divided into four timeframes. The timeframes have been selected according to what is considered to be key political events in the country’s history. This is because it is likely that the texts selected for translation would have been influenced by changing political relations that had direct or collateral effects on the status and use of English and Afrikaans.

The events in the country’s history chosen for this study are the period when Dutch was declared an official language but before Afrikaners came into power (1910 to 1947), the period after a nationalist government came into power that promoted the interests of Afrikaners along with policies of racial discrimination under the banner of apartheid (1948 to 1975), the period after black schools in Soweto protested against the introduction of Afrikaans as medium of instruction

in local schools (1976 to 1993), and the period after the demise of apartheid up to the time of writing (1994 to 2016). While a ten-year window for text selection in the middle of every period would have been ideal, it turned out not to be possible to collect enough texts in this way. As such, it was necessary to extend the window symmetrically to obtain a corpus of sufficient size and register distribution per period. Using this corpus design enables the study of language change across different timeframes, making it possible to determine whether some of the language change was induced by translation or not.

As Zanettin (2012) points out, corpus-based translation studies profit most not just from the comparison of various corpus components, but also from reference or control corpora that were not originally produced for translation-oriented purposes. Reference corpora can be used as control data for purposes of comparison since they act as a point of reference for standard usage against which statistics for each bidirectional corpus component can be gauged (Saldana & O'Brien, 2013; Zanettin, 2012). Reference corpora are designed to be maximally representative of a language in general whereas bidirectional translation corpora are based on their 'target' orientation in the sense that the representativeness of the translation subcorpora dictate the composition of the non-translational subcorpora (Zanettin, 2012). In other words, the non-translated subcorpora of the parallel design cannot, alone, be used as representative of the languages more generally, since these corpora only contain the source texts of texts that have been chosen for translation in the target language, which involve certain selection criteria. For this reason, the data of the studies of Wasserman (2014), Kirsten (2016) and Erasmus (2018) were used for reasons of comparison.

The possible influence of register variation was also taken into account, as the corpus is controlled for register. As Biber and Gray (2013) argue, historical linguistic change is often mediated by differences in register and consequently seemingly slight register differences can correspond to systematic and meaningful differences in patterns of linguistic change. In addition, register variation is assumed to be a factor that has an impact on the characteristics of translated texts (Hansen-Schirra & Neumann, 2011). Thus, for this study some of the written text categories used by the International Corpus of English (2016) were used to classify texts by register. The categories were creative writing, instructional writing, persuasive writing and popular writing.

Even though attempts were made to ensure that the corpus is synchronically and diachronically balanced across various registers, the problems posed by the construction of a bidirectional corpus should not be underestimated. As pointed out by McEnery, Xiao, and Tono (2006) assembling the ideal bidirectional corpus is often difficult, or in some cases impossible, because of the heterogeneous patterns of translation between languages and registers. These difficulties are exacerbated with a diachronic bidirectional corpus as some text types were not widely translated in certain timeframes, which has implications for obtaining enough comparable data. As a result, some flexibility was necessary because it was difficult to collect translations in some registers. However, this accurately reflects the nature of translational activity in South Africa, which means that the corpus makes allowance for the fact that the potential effect of translation on language change has been different across periods.

1.5.3 Corpus collection and processing

The corpus was compiled from electronic texts (such as PDF or HTML files) and printed material (such as books), which have been scanned and digitised. In the cases where the quality of the

printed material was poor, which was the case with some of the older documents, the texts were typed manually. For other printed material, an Optical Character Recognition (OCR) programme was used to convert the text to an electronic format. Even though scanners and OCR programmes have reached a high degree of accuracy depending on the quality of the document, digitised texts were proofread so as to eliminate possible errors that occurred during the OCR process. Metadata (like the date of writing or publication, the register, the native language of the writer and translator, etc.) was captured in the texts. The texts were also annotated with typographical markup for formatting, and additional content (such as headings and footnotes) was marked up. After the texts were converted, they were aligned at sentence level using PlusTools, an alignment tool that can be used to create translation memories for Wordfast, as this is a more reliable method than using the semi-automatic alignment utility included in parallel-concordance programmes. The aligned texts were then copied to Microsoft Excel spreadsheets and the spreadsheets were uploaded to Sketch Engine's (2018) webpage to extract the data.

1.5.4 Data extraction and analysis

Sketch Engine (2018) is web-based software that manages corpora and allows for text analyses to be carried out. Its function is to enable people who study language behaviour (such as language learners, lexicographers, translators or researchers in corpus linguistics) to search large amounts of text collections according to linguistically motivated queries (Sketch Engine, 2018). The aligned data were extracted using Sketch Engine's (2018) concordance function and manually coded in Microsoft Excel. The data for both linguistic features studied (that is, genitive variation and modality) in Afrikaans and English were then analysed using contrastive, parallel and comparable approaches. For genitive variation, a number of conditioning factors (including translations) were studied statistically using R – a programme that allows for statistical computing (RStudio Team, 2016).

As pointed out by Neumann (2011) care should be taken to assess if contact phenomena are triggered by translation or if they are due to contact-effects in general and particular gateways (i.e. the role of English as a lingua franca, the dominant role of English in media, etc.). In this respect, the study will consider the corpus in which the innovation first appears and the direction in which it diffuses diachronically as language change involves both innovation and diffusion. If an innovative feature appears first in the translation corpus and only afterwards in the comparable corpus of original texts, it will be interpreted as evidence that translation plays a role in the innovation of a language-contact feature. If the feature remains limited to the translation corpora over time, it may be assumed that translation does not play an influential role in diffusion and the feature, as such, will be considered to be translation-specific. However, if the feature increases in the comparable corpora and the translation corpora alike there will be evidence that translation minimally plays a role in diffusion alongside other gateways.

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This study is organised in the following way. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical literature on the issue of language change and how translation-induced change potentially forms part of language change and Chapter 3 focuses on the translational relationship between English and Afrikaans in the South African context. Chapter 4 sets out the methodological concerns and the steps followed to determine whether translation contributes to language change in South Africa. The chapter also discusses the corpus that was compiled for the study and describes the corpus-analysis methods in detail, and pays attention to two particular features, namely genitive variation and

modality. Chapter 5 discusses the results for genitive variation and Chapter 6 discusses the findings for modality in the corpus. The study concludes with Chapter 7, which summarises the findings of the study, discusses its limitations and provides recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

Language change is inevitable, continuous and natural, since it is unavoidable that a language that is used will change in some way. These linguistic changes may occur at any linguistic level, including syntax, morphology, phonology, semantics – or any combination of these. In some instances, language change may be so subtle and gradual that users remain unaware of the change in progress; in other cases, change may be rapid and profound. Despite several hundred years' worth of studies of language change, a general theory of language change remains elusive (Bowern & Evans, 2015). Lass (1997) points out that this is to be expected, as answering questions about language change is highly complex since one deals with a historical system that is the product of a long evolutionary process. One also has to consider that “an enormous number” (p. 134) of different causative factors are likely to be implicated, not just in language change in its entirety, but also in any single change (Aitchison, 2001). These factors are closely interwoven, which means that it is difficult to disentangle them to identify the contribution of each factor to the process involved in a particular language change.

Numerous theories have been proposed to account for language change, emphasising different factors that can contribute to or restrict change. As Aitchison (2001) states, people have wondered about the causes of language change for centuries, and language change has been credited to a “bewildering” number of factors that range over almost every possible environmental, mental, social and physical aspect. Since many current explanations for language change only focus on particular aspects, such as sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors or contact linguistics, linguists' understanding of language change is on the whole unsatisfactory and somewhat fragmented (Winter-Froemel, 2008). Language change is thus a challenging concept as one needs to identify which postulates in current theories are well supported by evidence and need to be taken more seriously until refuting evidence is found (Aitchison, 2001). This is an important consideration to make taken against the background that “facts arise only within the framework of a defining theory” (Lass, 1997, p. 20).

Theoretical frameworks are fundamentally important to answering the two key questions of language change, namely *why* languages change and *how* languages change (Da Silva, 2010). Put another way, these questions respectively concern the motivations and mechanisms of language change (Da Silva, 2010). These two pertinent questions are based on one's understanding of what language is. As Croft (2006a) states, one cannot define or construct a theory of language change without some sort of hypothesis of what constitutes a language. Definitions of the nature of language are complicated by the fact that language is one of the most complex and most systematic forms of human behaviour (Bybee, 2010). For this reason, there are numerous theories about where its structure comes from (language use as opposed to innate structures), the types of processes that underlie its structure (those that are applicable in general cognitive domains as opposed to those that are specific to language), how language has evolved (gradually or abruptly) or what language is used for (communication as opposed to thinking), amongst others (Bybee, 2010). In short, the study of language change is fraught with complexities. An additional layer of complexity is added when one deals with a potential factor in language change that has received limited attention from previous studies, such as translation. This is because one not only has to decide which theory is the most suitable to understand why languages change, but

one also has to situate the factor in question within the theoretical framework chosen so as to understand its role as a possible mechanism in language change.

Language contact has been proposed as a possible factor in language change. It can be defined as situations where users of different languages interact (Matras, 2009). As a result of this contact, these languages influence one another, which can result in language change (Matras, 2009). In recent years, some translation scholars have argued that translation, as a form of language contact, could play an important role in facilitating language change. With a few exceptions (Malamatidou, 2016), these studies are theoretically limited in focussing only on the manifestation of particular linguistic changes in the target language, while paying less attention to theorising how translation could act as a mechanism of language change. Consequently, the relationship between broader processes of language change and translation is unclear, and it has not yet been possible to theoretically substantiate the significance of translation as a possible instigator and propagator of language change (Malamatidou, 2016). As there is a need for a theoretical model that identifies and employs appropriate descriptive mechanisms to understand situations where translation could be involved in language change, the discussion will attempt to situate translation in existing theories of language change. Broadly, the discussion will first focus on the central assumption of language change (see Section 2.2) before it pays attention to contact-induced language change (see Section 2.3). As a final step, the discussion will position translation in theories of contact-induced language to understand how translation can contribute to language change (see Section 2.4).

2.2 LANGUAGE VARIATION AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

Language can be considered as a historical entity (Croft, 2006a). In this view, any language arose at a particular time in a particular place before it spread over a particular area and persisted for a certain amount of time, before ending at a specific place and time, either by splitting into different languages or by becoming extinct (Croft, 2006a). This definition of language confronts a fundamental fact about language, namely variation (Labov, 1994, 2001, 2010). Variation, according to Hinrichs (2015), is an umbrella concept that “refers to the difference of linguistic form in any number of dimensions” (p. 19). Variation can be found everywhere in language, from the distinct details in each and every production of a sign or a sound to the visual or auditory processing of a linguistic signal (Wolfram, 1991). Language variation is also noticeable between the languages of different speech communities, which are located in different areas because of geographical factors, or differences between social groups, such as in terms of generations, genders or ethnicities (Hinrichs, 2015).

The specific patterns of linguistic difference fluctuate over time just as they vary across language users and social groups (Guy, 2011). Variation is thus important to a discussion of language change as it is the synchronic face of linguistic change and acts as a window through which ongoing linguistic change can be viewed (Labov, 1972). From this perspective, language change is nothing more than diachronic variation. Studies of language change in progress and of historical records clearly illustrate that language change cannot occur without variation (Guy, 2011). Of course, while all linguistic change involves variation, the reverse is not automatically true. Linguistic variation can endure for decades or centuries without necessarily resulting in change (Aitchison, 2001). Nevertheless, linguistic variation creates the opportunity for language change to occur (Aitchison, 2001). Because of its variable nature, it is useful to think of language not as a monolithic rigid entity, but rather as “a flexible fuzzy system, with an enormous amount of

‘synchronic’ variation” (p. 68) and it is from this variation that language change emanates (Deutscher, 2005).

In order to explain the close relationship between synchronic variation and language change, Croft (2006a) distinguishes three levels of language change. First-order variation refers to the fact that language use is highly variable in individual occasions of language use. This means that language users have a variety of linguistic options or variants available to express certain meanings (Croft, 2006a). The selection of variants may furthermore be subject to the context in which language is used (Croft, 2006a). Some contexts nearly always require a particular variant while other contexts might disfavour its use (García, 1997). As Aitchison (2001) points out, it is normal for language users to have a number of different variants in their linguistic repertoire and to vary these according to the needs of the situation, even though they may be unaware of doing so. Some variants will become part of the social fabric of language and develop sociolinguistic value in a language community. In this case, first-order variation develops into second-order variation (Croft, 2006a). This type of variation characterises different speech communities, in the sense that language can be used to exhibit membership of a particular group (Croft, 2006a; Trask, 2009). In this situation, variants are used for their social value (what is conveyed about the social context) and their communicative value (the content that is communicated). Third-order variation refers to variation across varieties of language and across different languages. It is second-order variation that has developed to the point where it becomes fixed or stable conventions in different language communities over the course of time, and can be manifested in cross-dialectal and cross-linguistic variation (Croft, 2006a).

The notion of the inherent variability of language is thus the conceptual key to linking synchrony and diachrony in language change. Linguistic change is variation at a wider scope, and it proceeds from first-order variation to second-order variation to third-order variation (Croft, 2006a). While these three types of variation go some way toward explaining how language change occurs, they do not explain why languages change in the first place. In other words, in order to understand the relationship between synchronic variation and diachronic change, an understanding of proposed mechanisms of language change is required. The following section outlines the two main processes or mechanisms involved in language change.

2.2.1 The two processes of language change: Innovation and propagation

In studies of language change, scholars typically ask two questions. The first concerns when, where and how a linguistic change starts (Brinton & Traugott, 2005; Watts, 2003). The second concerns how a linguistic change spreads through the linguistic system (Brinton & Traugott, 2005; Watts, 2003). These two questions reflect the processes of innovation and propagation, respectively. Innovation refers to the creation of new linguistic forms, which generates variation in a linguistic system (Croft, 2000). These new forms are often conceived of as idiosyncrasies that are produced by an individual (Joseph, 2012) at a given point in time, which means they are viewed as synchronic in nature (Croft, 2000). Propagation refers to the diffusion of these innovative idiosyncrasies from one individual to another, from individuals to groups, or from one group to another (Joseph, 2012). In this diffusion of linguistic forms, particular features of language develop from being individual idiosyncrasies to being the properties of a broader collection of individuals – in other words, to being part of a group’s language use (Joseph, 2012). Diffusion is a diachronic process as it occurs over a longer period of time (Croft, 2000). Viewed together, these two processes draw attention to the fact that for any instance of linguistic change,

one has to account for not only the initial appearance of an innovative linguistic form but also the subsequent diffusion of that linguistic form's use among a broader range of language users (Joseph, 2012). These two processes highlight the fact that "language change is both a synchronic and diachronic phenomenon" (Croft 2000, p. 5).

Of course, one also has to account for the fact that in many different ways languages do *not* change, or demonstrate limited change across generations of language speakers. If innovation and propagation were the only mechanisms at play, languages would constantly change in all respects. Keller (1994) and Croft (2000, 2006a, 2006b) argue that convention is in fact the main causal mechanism that is responsible for both language stability and language change. Keller (1994) draws attention to the role of convention in his distinction between static and dynamic maxims. Underlying these maxims is the assumption that people communicate in order to be understood. In the case of static maxims, attention is drawn to the fact that in most cases, language users attempt to conform to convention when they communicate. This means people communicate according to certain principles such as to talk in such a way that the other person will understand them or recognise their intentions, or in such a way that they are recognised as a member of a group, or in such a way that they do not attract attention. By adhering to such principles, stasis and homogeneity in a linguistic system are upheld, which contribute to the stability of the language.

In the case of dynamic maxims, according to Keller (1994), people operate according to other principles, which may result in them consciously or unconsciously producing idiosyncratic linguistic forms. These include talking in an amusing or funny way, in such a way that they are noticed, in an especially polite, charming or flattering way, or in such a way that they do not spend more energy than is necessary. Croft (2000) points out that Keller's dynamic maxims refer to mechanisms of economy and increased expressivity. Economy can be described as the tendency of language users to save time and effort in the communication process, in which case frequently used words and phrases are likely to be shortened (Trask, 2009). Increased expressivity is used to reinforce the meaning of words that have been weakened as a result of over-familiarity (Trask, 2009). When aiming for increased expressivity, language users use words with more powerful meanings as they wish to intensify the effect of their utterance (Deutscher, 2005).

Croft's (2000, 2006a, 2006b) theory of utterance selection also places convention at the heart of both language stability and language change. Underlying this theoretical model is the key assumption that language change occurs through language use, which Croft (2006b) equates to the evolutionary concept of replication. Every time people speak, they replicate tokens of linguistic structure – constructions, words and sounds – that have occurred in previous utterances to which they have been exposed. If these tokens of linguistic structure are replicated more or less identically by people in their language production, then normal replication occurs. Normal replication represents conformity to convention, which contributes to the stability of a language. In this way, normal replication represents the absence of change. However, according to Croft (2006a), replication does not always conform to convention and there are two ways in which change can come about. These are altered replication and differential replication.

With altered replication (which is comparable to innovation), the token of linguistic structure used in a conversation may differ in some way from that used in previous ones, in which case existing conventions are broken (Croft, 2000). For example, the author Rebecca Solnit coined the

word *mansplaining* (which is a blend of the noun *man* and *splaining*, an informal form of the verb *explaining*) in 2008 to refer to “the persistent need of some men to explain reality, even the reality of a woman’s own area of expertise, in a confrontational, clueless and somewhat gendered way” (Imperator-Lee, 2015, p. 89). Since its coinage, *mansplaining* has been used in various contexts to describe a number of men, such as Mitt Romney (the 2012 Republican presidential nominee), Malcolm Turnbull (an Australian Prime Minister), Ralph Nader (a consumer rights advocate), and actor Matt Damon. *Manplanining* was also part of the list of new words that was added to the Oxford English Dictionary in 2018, and has stimulated parallel constructions such as *rightsplaining*, *whitesplaining* and *womansplaining*. By using linguistic structures in unconventional ways, individual language users produce variants of tokens of linguistic structure, which generates variation in the linguistic system (Croft, 2000). Like Keller, Croft (2006a) is of the opinion that innovation can occur as a consequence of tendencies towards economy and expressiveness (both of which are illustrated by the example of *mansplaining*) when language users are in pursuit of realising a communicative goal.

With differential replication (a concept that is analogous to propagation), innovations occur because of the complexity of the encoding and decoding of language (Croft, 2006a), which constitutes the second level of change. In this case, innovations occur as the unintended result of language users’ intention to conform to convention (Croft, 2006a). For instance, because of the complexity associated with the morphosyntactic encoding of meaning, a speaker can use a word such *irregardless* rather than *regardless* or *irrespective*, which constitutes an unintentional innovation. In this instance, language change occurs as the unintended result of language users collectively choosing to use certain variants more than others, which means that a change occurs in the relative frequencies of tokens of linguistic structure. In terms of convention, differential replication refers to the gradual adoption or establishment of a linguistic variant by a language community.

The frequency effects associated with propagation have sometimes been compared to a competitive relationship in studies of language change, where the old, established variants and the new variants compete with one another (Aitchison, 2001; Leech, Hundt, Mair, & Smith, 2009; McMahon, 1994; Seiler, 2006). In the case of language change, new variants start to oust the old variants by virtue of being used increasingly frequently and thereby establish themselves as the sole expression (Aitchison, 2001). This process is often thought to follow an S-curve pattern (Aitchison, 2001; McMahon, 1994). Innovations usually begin slowly by affecting a limited number of words. When a certain number of words have been affected, the use of innovations gathers momentum to a point where a large number of words are affected in a rather short period of time (Aitchison, 2001). After this period of accelerated change, it slows down again, which represents the end of the S-curve (McMahon, 1994). Brinton and Traugott (2005) mention that this does not necessarily imply that ousted variants are entirely lost, but rather that these variants become fossilised or restricted in their use. As Leech et al. (2009) point out, it is generally rare for a simple rivalry between two variants to exist. It is more often the case that the growth of one variant may occur against the frequency loss of another variant with a similar function or meaning (Leech et al., 2009). Seeing as frequency plays a role in language variation and ultimately in language change, it is important to consider why this is the case and why some variants will be used more at the expense of other variants. While the discussion up to this point has mainly focussed on functional and social factors, it is necessary to consider the role of cognitive factors

in language change as well. In this regard, it will be helpful to refer to usage-based approaches where the notion of frequency plays an integral part.

2.2.2 The role of frequency in language variation and language change

When people use language, they are constantly making choices. These choices are made at various levels of granularity, which range from fine-grained, such as the pronunciation of a particular word, to coarse-grained choices, such as which language or language variety to use (Backus & Spotti, 2012). From a usage-based perspective (see Bybee, 2007, Goldberg, 2003, Langacker, 1987), these momentary choices have the result that people's linguistic knowledge is constantly refreshed and reorganised in their minds. This reorganisation occurs during usage events, which can be understood as interactions between speakers and hearers as interlocutors in social situations (Von Mengden & Coussé, 2014). In order to understand this assumption, it is essential to first be clear about how language is conceived of in usage-based theories.

Following Langacker's (1987) definition, language can be thought of as a structured inventory of linguistic units that can be of any size or complexity. Based on construction grammar, the notion of structure refers to the fact that language contains specific constructions. While the traditional notion of a construction often denotes complex syntactic structures (such as the German noun phrase construction or the English passive construction), the concept is used in a more specific sense in usage-based theories. It refers to the conventional combination or pairing of a particular form with a specific meaning or function, which a person learns (Croft, 2002). Its formal element subsumes syntactic, morphological and phonological features while its functional side comprises pragmatic, semantic and discourse-pragmatic features (Blumenthal-Dramé, 2013; Croft, 2002). These form-function pairings occur on all linguistic levels that bear meanings. Morphemes (*pre-*, *un-*, *ing*), words (*python*, *pumpkin*), complex words (*daredevil*, *tablespoon*), idioms (*spill the beans*), and grammatical assemblies (such as the imperative construction or the passive construction) are just some examples of constructions (Goldberg, 2003).

The linguistic skills and linguistic knowledge that individuals possess at any moment in time are the direct result of their experience with language across the entirety of usage events they have encountered in their lives (Tomasello, 2000). These individuals will have built up a repertoire of many thousands of constructions that are cognitively stored on the basis of their use and how frequently these constructions are experienced in usage events. Frequency is a particularly important notion in usage-based theories because it determines the degree to which constructions are stored or entrenched in an individual's linguistic knowledge (Diessel, 2004). Constructions that are used frequently are deeply entrenched, which means that people will find it easier to access them from their linguistic inventory (Bybee, 2007). High frequency results in familiarity and enables speakers to use certain constructions more quickly in their language production than low-frequency constructions. Repetition, in this way, increases the overall strength of a construction's representation (Schmid, 2017). Constructions that are used infrequently, on the other hand, will be less entrenched (Bybee, 2007). Extended periods of disuse could have a negative impact in that it might lead to the decay of the construction (Langacker, 1987; Schmid, 2017).

Usage-based theory centres on the idea that language is used to interact and communicate with other people, and that people constantly adapt their linguistic usage in order to ensure that both parties understand each other (Backus, 2014). Consequently, language users' linguistic

knowledge is in flux all the time as they adapt their linguistic knowledge to the people with whom they interact (Backus, 2014). The degree of entrenchment of certain constructions can increase, while the entrenchment levels of other constructions can decrease, and new constructions can be added to a person's mental grammar during communicative interactions (Backus, 2014). In the process of innovation, a novel or unconventional construction is produced or encountered by a language user. Many innovations occur only once and will have no further consequences for a language user's linguistic inventory. However, speakers will use some innovative constructions again in future interactions, which offers the opportunity for these constructions to become entrenched in those people's linguistic inventory. As more people are exposed to these new constructions, these constructions will gradually become more entrenched in their repertoires, and people will become more familiar with them. In this case the diffusion of innovative constructions will be underway. In such a situation, the innovative form might enter a competitive relationship with another variant that expresses a similar meaning in the language user's mental grammar.

The implication of usage-based theories is that variation patterns are largely learned from individuals' exposure to the way in which other people use language (Bresnan & Ford, 2010; Bybee & Hopper, 2001). Consequently, language is seen as inherently variable as consecutive generations of language users are exposed to sets of constructions that differ in subtle ways (Grafmiller, Szmeccsanyi, Röthlisberger, & Heller, 2018). The variation and frequency of these constructions can be shaped by functional, social or cognitive factors, whose combined influence on individual language users' production and comprehension results in linguistic phenomena at population level. As the linguistic experiences of different language users or communities vary to different degrees, usage-based theorists expect gradient differences to emerge in people's language production as people adjust their linguistic repertoires to match that of their input (Grafmiller et al., 2018).

The fact that people are cognitively sensitive to frequency is also an important component of Bresnan's (2007) hybrid usage-based approach. This school of thought emphasises that people are aware of linguistic variation because they have strong predictive capabilities. This is because there is evidence that language users' intuitions about the acceptability of certain linguistic variants in particular context often correspond to the likelihood or probability of finding specific linguistic variants in specific registers in a corpus (see for instance Bresnan & Ford, 2010). People's linguistic knowledge, in other words, has a probabilistic component. This probabilistic knowledge is thought to be derived mainly from language experience, which means that it is subtly but dynamically constructed and reconstructed throughout people's lives.

The implication of this assumption is that variation within a language does not occur haphazardly; variation is thought to be highly systematic. There rather are factors that condition language users to use one variant more frequently than another one. These factors include stylistic preferences among speakers or registers, or cognitive pressures that are related to language processing (Grafmiller et al., 2018). These preferences, of course, are not fixed across time but change along with the way in which language is used. For instance, English used to distinguish between the second person plural (*ye, you* and *your*) and second person singular pronouns (*thou, thee* and *thy*). The practice then developed where people used the plural form to be polite even if a single person was addressed (Bybee, 2010). This development changed the relationship between the *you* forms (which people used in formal situations and for the plural) and the *thou*

forms (which people only used in familiar situations) up to the point where the *you* forms were used in increasingly more situations until the *thou* forms became quite rare (Bybee, 2010). The result of this process is that English speakers have been using the *you* forms for singular and plural for a long period of time. In this case, the factors which initially conditioned the use of the *you* forms (that is, formal contexts and when addressing two or more people) changed to such an extent that people more frequently started using the *you* forms even when they were conversing in informal contexts with one person.

2.2.3 Synthesis

The discussion above highlights some of the central ideas in studies of language change. If one assumes that language is characterised by considerable variation, it follows that language change proceeds from this variation. This is because it affords people with a repertoire of linguistic options from which they make selections while they strive towards actualising successful communication. Functional motivations during language use therefore answer the question *why* languages change. The question about *how* language changes can be answered by considering the interplay between the processes of innovation and propagation. People produce novel linguistic expressions in their communicative interactions, and these expressions might be adopted gradually by the language community as a whole, because with increasing use, these novel expressions become more deeply entrenched in the community's linguistic repertoire. This interplay may be seen as the basic mechanism of language change.

However, this is not the entire picture. In studies of language change, it is often pointed out that language change may occur as a consequence of internally motivated and/or externally motivated factors (Bowern & Evans, 2015; Hickey, 2010; Milroy, 2004). Internal factors are dynamics that operate from within the language. Any linguistic change that is traceable to structural considerations that operate from within the language is thus thought to constitute internally triggered change. For instance, as an internal development, phonetic erosion means that linguistic expressions lose phonetic substance (Heine & Kuteva, 2005). This can be seen in English with the phrase *going to*, which has eroded to *gonna* and *because* which has eroded to *coz* in informal contexts. Another example is semantic bleaching, which occurs when the intensity of the literal meanings of words reduce over time. In English, several intensifying adverbs have been subject to bleaching, such as *awfully*, *terribly*, *horribly* and *literally* (Cushing, 2018). A speaker who is bored can thus use the phrase *I'm literally dying of boredom* with the word *literally* being used in non-literal way (Cushing, 2018). Externally motivated change, on the other hand, is thought to occur because of the influence of another language. The idea of external change is important when one considers that multilingualism "is far more prevalent than monolingualism" (p. 241) on both a historical and a global scale (Höder, 2012). This presents the possibility that linguistic changes might come about in situations where speakers of different languages are in contact with one another. The idea of language contact is particularly important when one considers the potential role of translation in language change. Translation, after all, represents a language-contact situation where a source and a target language come into contact with one another.

2.3 CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE

The concept of language contact refers to the situation where languages influence one another in shared socio-semiotic environments through their language users (Steiner, 2008). It occurs when speakers of different languages interact and the languages they speak influence one another (Matras, 2009). It is a complex and pervasive phenomenon that frequently extends over centuries

(see McWhorter, 2007, for a discussion of some examples) and evidence of it can be found everywhere (Winford, 2003). Winford (2003) consequently speculates that most languages are likely to have been influenced by contact with other languages at some point or another. Contact-induced language change represents an externally triggered change because it occurs under influence of another language (Jones & Singh, 2005). Thomason (2001) defines contact-induced language change as a particular linguistic change that is less likely to have transpired outside a particular contact situation. The definition, however, does not imply that language contact is the only source of a particular linguistic change: it acknowledges that multiple causation is likely to be implicated in language change as a whole, in which language contact could be a possible factor (Thomason, 2001).

A distinction is often made between societal and individual bilingualism, which correlates to two distinct emphases in contact linguistics. Kaufmann and Thomason's (1988) seminal work reflects a societal approach to contact linguistics. They distinguish between three key kinds of outcomes of language-contact situations, namely language maintenance, language shift and language creation. Language maintenance occurs in situations where language users preserve their native language from generation to generation (Winford, 2003). The notion of preservation implies that noticeable language changes come about gradually and only in small degrees because of system-internal changes and/or because of (limited) contact with other languages (Hilbert, 2008). Consequently, linguistic subsystems, such as morphology, phonology, core lexicon and syntax remain relatively intact (Kaufman & Thomason, 1988). In situations of language shift, linguistic groups abandon their native language partially or entirely in favour of another language (Winford, 2003). Changes brought on by language shift are expected to affect grammar and phonology rather than the lexicon (Kaufman & Thomason, 1988). The third situation, language creation, involves the creation of a new language that is different from the languages which are involved in the contact situation (Hilbert, 2008). The result is either bilingual mixed languages or pidgins and creoles (Hilbert, 2008), which consist of a prevalent mixture of linguistic elements from more than one language, or extreme restructuring (Winford, 2003).

While numerous synchronic and diachronic studies have been carried out that focus on the linguistic outcomes of different language-contact situations, less attention has been paid to the role of individual bilingualism in situations of language contact (Matras, 2009). Nevertheless, Matras (2009) argues that it is an important consideration, because even though isolated individuals cannot be responsible for propagating changes that shape a language diachronically, societal processes alone cannot result in language change unless individuals are prompted to innovate their speech. In this way, contact-induced change is always the outcome of innovations that are introduced by individual bilinguals over the course of communicative interactions, and which experience favourable circumstances of propagation throughout a language community (Matras, 2009). Ultimately, it is the language-processing apparatus of individual bilinguals and the use of this apparatus in communicative situations that form the relevant locus of contact (Matras, 2009; Weinreich, 1956). Together, these psycholinguistic and communicative factors condition contact-induced language change.

In contact-induced language change, the most important mechanism of innovation is cross-linguistic influence (Croft, 2000), which can be defined as a deviation from the conventions of either language in bilingual speech production because of bilinguals' familiarity with more than one language (Weinreich, 1956). It occurs when bilinguals move constructions from one language

to another during a communicative event (Matras, 2009), and can result in language change if it is propagated within a language community. The notion of cross-linguistic influence leads to questions such as how it is possible for language users to produce linguistic forms from one language while they are using another, and why they cannot keep the two languages separate from another (Croft, 2000). In terms of social diffusion, one may ask which factors facilitate or restrict the propagation of these cross-linguistic features through the linguistic system. Considering the importance of the interplay between cognitive and social factors in contact-induced language change, the next section will discuss these factors in more detail.

2.3.1 Cognitive and social factors in contact-induced language change

Grosjean (2008) points out that bilinguals activate their two languages to different degrees in different contexts. This activation can be thought of as a situational continuum (Grosjean, 2008). At the one pole, bilinguals may be in an entirely monolingual language-production mode, when they communicate with monolinguals of either of their languages. At the other pole, bilinguals may use a bilingual language-production mode when they communicate with bilinguals who share both languages, and with whom they often mix languages. Between these two poles are intermediate language-production modes (Grosjean, 2008). Underlying this continuum is the assumption that the languages used by bilinguals are active to a greater or a lesser extent. Even in cases of monolingual conversation, it “is certain [...] that bilinguals rarely deactivate the other language totally” (Grosjean, 2008, p. 18).

Following this line of thought, Matras (2012) postulates that bilingual language users have a full, complex language repertoire at their disposal. It consists not only of linguistic elements of both languages, but also contains information regarding social conventions for the appropriate use of these elements (Matras, 2009). Bilinguals will have created this repertoire through a process of linguistic socialisation during which linguistic elements were gradually associated with a range of social activities, which includes factors such as topics, institutional settings and interlocutors. One of the features of this repertoire is that bilinguals can create and maintain demarcation boundaries between their different languages that are in line with the social expectations and communicative conventions of the language community and socially dominant interlocutors (Matras, 2007, 2009; Matras & Sakel, 2007). They can then consciously or unconsciously select linguistic elements from their linguistic repertoire while other options are suppressed (Matras, 2009). Viewed in this way, language contact is not so much about how two or more linguistic systems influence one another, but rather about the challenges that bilinguals face in employing an inventory of communicative resources in a way that complies with communicative conventions and social expectations (Matras, 2009). Contact-induced language change comes about in situations where bilinguals completely remove or partially lift demarcation boundaries, while language stability occurs when bilinguals maintain these demarcation boundaries in their linguistic repertoire (Matras, 2012).

Whether demarcation boundaries are maintained or removed is in part the consequence of two key factors that exist in tension in communicative interaction in contact situations. The one is loyalty to a set of conventions which regulate the selection of elements from the linguistic repertoire, while the other is bilinguals’ wish to exploit the linguistic repertoire in its entirety regardless of situational constraints (Matras, 2012). When loyalty prevails, cross-linguistic influence is likely to be minimal as bilinguals adhere to the conventions of the language used in the communicative interaction (Matras, 2012). However, when bilinguals give some leeway to

their wish to exploit the linguistic repertoire, then the separation of context-bound repertoire components may be compromised and cross-linguistic influence may occur (Matras, 2012). Such a situation may result when bilinguals draw on elements of their repertoire in order to communicate as effectively as possible. Rather than suppressing the non-active language to a greater degree in interactions with other individuals, they might draw on this language to induce context-specific associations evoked by lexical items in this language, authenticate the selection of those words by using the original phonology of those words, or exploit subtle nuances in meaning differences (Matras, 2009).

Another reason why demarcation boundaries can be lifted is related to the fact that bilingual communication is cognitively effortful. Bilinguals are continuously engaged in processes of attentional control where they have to direct cognitive resources and attention to one of their languages and away from the other language as required by the context. This attentional control occurs in addition to other cognitive processes that monitor and direct the listener's reactions and responses to a bilingual's utterances (Matras, 2000). These processes are cognitively complex as they involve back-processing, attempts to plan ahead, trying to anticipate and control reactions, interpreting the meaning of gestures, and intervention in the case where the listener might process an element of the conversation in an undesirable way (Matras, 2000). In situations like these, according to Matras (2012), bilinguals could lose control over the selection mechanisms that maintain demarcation boundaries – especially when people are fatigued, distressed or confused, and when they are engaged in tasks which necessitate increased mental effort on speakers' part. Consequently, speech-production errors are produced unintentionally where language users fail to identify and use context-appropriate linguistic elements (Matras, 2009), which results in the manifestation of cross-linguistic influence. Matras (2010) points out that while bilinguals often self-repair these production errors immediately, in certain situations errors of this kind could remain unnoticed, unrepaired and uncorrected by the individuals who are part of a communicative interactions. This creates the opportunity for these errors to diffuse. Such situations could come about when there is full acceptance of bilingualism, tolerance toward the use of word forms from the other language, or lax normative pressure to conform to linguistic convention (Matras, 2010).

In order to keep cognitive costs low in language processing, bilinguals constantly practice some form of interlingual identification, which theorists such as Weinreich (1956) and Croft (2000) posit as another reason why cross-linguistic influence could occur. It means that bilinguals have the ability to create mental connections between linguistic units in their two languages that are perceived to correspond with one another (Croft, 2000). This process of interlingual identification enables cross-linguistic influence to occur when bilinguals connect two or more languages according to their semantic, functional or phonological properties. The cognitive advantage of interlingual identification is that it allows bilinguals to syncretise their two languages as well as their processing operations, which enables them to use similar processing operations for equivalent linguistic elements in both languages in their repertoire (Matras, 2009). Thus, bilingual language users can simplify the selection procedure by decreasing the degree to which their linguistic systems are separated from one another, which essentially enables the two languages to converge (Kühl & Braunmüller, 2014; Matras, 2009). In this way syncretisation of the two languages, by means of convergence, is thought to reduce the cognitive load bilinguals incur when they are engaged in communicative interactions (Matras & Sakel, 2007).

Cross-linguistic influence, in short, represents the innovations that bilingual language users introduce into discourse in bilingual settings when they navigate between complying with social conventions and exploiting the potential of the linguistic repertoire in its entirety (Matras, 2009). Cross-linguistic influence is a complex phenomenon since one can distinguish between two traditional outcomes of cross-linguistic influence, namely those that are due to lexical borrowing and those that occur because of what has variously been called substratum influence, transfer and structural borrowing (Winford, 2010). With lexical borrowing, speakers use words from other languages and incorporate these words along with their meanings (or functions) into the language they are using (Backus & Verschik, 2012; Winford, 2003). Lexical borrowing, in other words, entails borrowing both the form and function of a foreign word. English speakers, for example, have borrowed words such as *vodka* from Russian, *risotto* from Italian and *sherbet* from Arabic.

Structural borrowing occurs when speakers borrow a linguistic structure (rather than a word) from another language. Amongst other things, this could include the integration of entirely new phonemes, morphological material or syntactic elements into the borrowing language. For instance, Huastec, a Mexican-Mayan language, has borrowed the phonemes of /d g/ from Spanish (Kaufman & Thomason, 1988) while English borrowed several Latin derivational affixes in the past (McMahon, 1994). Structural borrowing could also occur when speakers borrow the function of a foreign structure and apply it to a linguistic structure that is already available in their language (Backus & Verschik, 2012; McMahon, 1994). Sorbian, for instance, does not have an indefinite article but its speakers grammaticalised the language's numeral *one* to serve as an indefinite article because of their contact with German speakers (Heine & Kuteva, 2005).

Lexical and structural borrowing are important as they suggest that words and structural patterns are treated in a differentiated manner when bilingual language users traverse social and cognitive aspects of language use (Matras, 2009). This means that it is necessary to gain a better understanding of these different forms of cross-linguistic influence and how they manifest in situations of language contact. To do so, Section 2.3.2 and Section 2.3.3 will discuss linguistic and structural borrowing as they have been conceived in the frameworks proposed by Johanson (1993, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2008) and Matras (2000, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2012). These two frameworks are useful since they can be used to supplement one another to better understand linguistic and structural borrowing as they correspond with one another in a number of ways (see for instance Valk, 2013, and Vershick, 2008).

2.3.2 Lexical borrowing as global copying and matter replication

As a first step, Matras (2000, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2012) and Johanson (1993, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2008) draw a distinction between the roles of the two languages in contact situations. Matras distinguishes between what he calls the recipient language and the donor language, which corresponds with Johanson's distinction between the basic code and the model code.² The recipient language is the receiving language, which provides the required morphosyntactic

² Johanson (2008) prefers "code" to "language". "Code" not only refers to languages but also to language varieties, such as registers, idiolects, sociolects and dialects. However, "language" will rather be used for this study so as to avoid terminological confusion.

information to which the borrowed material has to be adapted, while the donor language is the one from which the word is borrowed. In Johanson's framework, these adaptations can include, amongst others, changes to the lexical-semantic system, the phonological system, and the morphosyntactic system. To illustrate the distinction between the roles of the donor language and the recipient language, one can refer to the situation where German-English bilinguals have borrowed the words *computer*, *download* and *internet* from English with some slight phonological and morphological adaptations (Valk, 2013). In this situation, English is the donor language while German is the recipient language according to which words such as *computer*, *download* and *internet* are adapted. Because of these adaptations, borrowed words will never be true replicas of their donor equivalents; there will always be some dissimilarities (Johanson, 2008).

In Matras' framework, borrowing entails the direct replication of linguistic matter, that is, the concrete phonological shapes of morphemes and word forms. Johanson, however, provides a more nuanced approach by emphasising that lexical borrowing consists of four components, namely material, combinational, semantic and frequency properties. Material properties refer to phonic features of linguistic units, such as phonotactic patterns, accent patterns and sound features (Johanson, 2002a). Combinational properties are applicable to syntax and collocational patterns (Johanson, 2002a). It can be manifested, amongst others, in new rules for morphosyntax and for lexical subcategorisation, and changes in word order (Verschik, 2008). Bondarev (2013), for example, focusses on how the written register of Old Kanembu, which was used for the recital of Qur'anic interpretations from the seventeenth to nineteenth century, brought about language change in the community's spoken language. He finds a few discernible morphosyntactic features that can be attributed to Arabic syntax, such as the use of prepositions that appear to be modelled on Arabic syntax and the emergence of independent pronouns.

Semantic properties concern linguistic units' denotative and connotative meanings, which are typically understood under the label of calques (Malamatidou, 2016; Verschik, 2008). For instance, the Hebrew word for *messenger* (*ml'k*) in the Bible had the meaning of *angel* (Jones & Singh, 2005). However, as Greek did not have a word for *angel*, Bible translators copied the Hebrew word's polysemy by using the Greek word *angelos* (which means "messenger" in Greek) with the meaning of *angel* (Jones & Singh, 2005). The word *angelos* subsequently passed into Latin as *angelus*, into Italian as *angelo*, and into *ange* in French from the Greek (Jones & Singh, 2005). Finally, frequency copying involves the increase of linguistic patterns (Johanson, 2008). For instance, German immigrant communities who reside in the United States are inclined to use German verb *tun* (which means *do* in English) more frequently and in a wider range of contexts than German communities due to contact with English speakers (Heine & Kuteva, 2005). According to Johanson (2002b), lexical borrowing occurs when a word is borrowed with all four properties intact. In other words, the donor-language unit is copied with its form, meaning and functions (Valk, 2013). This is known as global copying in his framework.

While these four principles help to understand lexical borrowing better, one also needs an understanding of how borrowed items disseminate through a language. In Johanson's framework, language change occurs on a continuum. Lexical borrowings usually start as *momentary copies* in the minds of individual language users as sporadic and ephemeral instances of discourse (Johanson, 1993). They occur, in other words, as innovations. If these borrowed words are successful, they can turn into *habitualised copies*. Habitualisation refers to an increase in the regularity and frequency of use, and the acceptance of the borrowed words in individual use

(Johanson, 2008). As a quantitative development, the borrowed words can develop into *conventionalised copies*, which occur when new norms are accepted within the language community. These borrowed forms might even replace the equivalents in the recipient language (Johanson, 1998). The final stage of development occurs when copies have entered the monolinguals' linguistic repertoire. This is known as *monolingualisation of the linguistic copies*.

Johanson (2008) points out, however, that not all linguistic copies will successfully reach all the stages of development. For instance, monolingualisation does not necessarily take place in every language community even if the copies are used regularly and are conventionalised. To illustrate this point, one can refer to the study by Jeffery and Van Rooy (2004). They find that there are two levels of extensions in the functions of *now* in South African English. One involves *now* being used as an emphasiser and the other to express an emotional stance, which marks the action as a nuisance. Jeffery and Van Rooy (2004) accredit the first of these developments to Afrikaans influence and postulate that the second is an indigenous development in South African English as it is not closely paralleled in Afrikaans. Interestingly, *now* as an emphasiser is used only by bilingual speakers with a markedly strong command of Afrikaans whereas the second possibility is used by L1 speakers who have a considerably better command of English to the extent that they are almost monolingual. In this case, *now* as an emphasiser did not become monolingualised in the South African English-speaking community even though it went through the first three phases of Johanson's (2002; 2008) framework.

Matras (2009) proposes three main motivations why people borrow words, namely cognitive reasons, gaps in the inventory of the recipient language, and the prestige associated with the donor language. In the first instance, borrowing occurs because of the pressure on bilinguals to simplify the selection procedure by allowing the two languages in their repertoire to converge. Here, lexical borrowing might come about because it is cognitively effortful for the bilingual to maintain the separation of the two languages (Matras, 2009). Bilinguals consequently generalise particular lexical items across their linguistic repertoire for the sake of convenience (Matras, 2010). As these instances of borrowing are likely to be idiosyncratic in nature, they represent innovations. When lexical borrowing occurs because of the second reason, it is often in the form of cultural loans. Cultural loans are labels which accompany cultural acquisitions and social activities, and commonly refer to food and agricultural products, technological innovations, and institutions and community functions. These gap-fillers introduce new concepts to a receiving language and, in so doing, enrich that language's lexicon (Matras, 2009). In terms of the third motivation, it is thought that bilinguals imitate linguistic elements of a more powerful language community in order to gain social status and approval (Matras, 2009). Borrowings motivated by prestige can be distinguished from cultural loans in that parallel expressions are available in the replica language. However, according to Matras (2009), these parallel expressions do not perform the same pragmatic purpose for the reason that they do not have the special conversational effect that is created by the loan word. Because of the social dimension of the last two motivations, these borrowings will be more closely related to propagation as they have already diffused to being the property of a broader collection of individuals than is the case with the first motivation.

In addition to Matras' (2009) proposed motivations, Backus and Verschik (2012) point out that the copying of words can often be attributed to the semantic specificity of the words in question. The more specific the meaning of a word, the greater the likelihood that it will be copied or replicated. This has the implication that semantic factors govern the copying of linguistic matter

(Backus & Verschik, 2012). It also explains why some content words are more likely to be copied than others, and why content words are replicated more often than function words (Backus & Verschik, 2012). However, explanations such as these do not explain why foreign linguistic *patterns* are copied. In this case, the generality of meaning is less likely to be a factor. Matras (2009) also points out that words and structures are treated in a differentiated manner. He posits that people are likely to be more conscious of matter replication in a communicative interaction. This is because borrowed items are subject to tight selection and inhibition control since they may be inappropriate for certain contexts, at least up to the point where demarcation boundaries surrounding their use are lifted partially or entirely. Linguistic patterns, on the other hand, are likely to be beyond conscious processes (Backus & Verschik, 2012; Matras, 2009). This idea is explored in more detail in Section 2.3.3.

2.3.3 Structural borrowing as selective copying and pattern replication

As noted in Section 2.3.2, global copying occurs in Johanson's code-copying framework when material, semantic, combinational and frequency properties are copied as a whole into the replica language. With selective code-copying, on the other hand, only one or more of the selected model-code properties are copied onto the basic code-unit, but not all four (Johanson, 2008). Backus and Verschik (2012) and Valk (2013) note that selective copying is similar to Matras' (2012) notion of pattern replication. Pattern replication involves the reshaping of the internal structures of the replica language because of language contact. In this case, linguistic matter is not imported into the recipient language, but the use of linguistic material already present in that language is changed (Matras & Sakel, 2007). In this way, the replica language's patterns of distribution, of semantic and grammatical meanings, and of formal-syntactic arrangements at different levels (word, phrase, clause or discourse) undergo change as a result of language contact (Matras & Sakel, 2007).

Backus and Verschik (2012) postulate that whereas matter replication or lexical borrowing is governed by semantic factors, frequency and entrenchment are more likely to be key to explanations for structural change because of contact. Following the assumptions of usage-based theories, it is argued that if language users speak two languages, linguistic patterns that belong to both languages are cognitively entrenched in their linguistic representation (Backus, Doğruöz, & Heine, 2011). Elements of one language may be more strongly entrenched or more cognitively salient than those of the other language, which means that they might be in a position to impose themselves when bilinguals use the other language (Backus & Verschik, 2012). Bilinguals who often use the donor language will have a good command of its patterns and structures, in particular those ones that are frequently used (Backus & Verschik, 2012), which will be well-entrenched in their linguistic repertoire. Consequently, in cases where the degree of entrenchment of the donor-language structure is higher than the entrenchment of its equivalent in the recipient language, it is more likely for pattern replication to occur (Backus & Verschik, 2012) when language users select such patterns that come to mind first because of their use on a routine basis in particular contexts (Matras, 2009).

In addition to the role of entrenchment, the creative ability of bilinguals to establish equivalence relations between elements of the model and replica language is also an important consideration. It is this ability, after all, that allows structural borrowing to occur in the first place. Interlingual transfer has been discussed by numerous theorists (see Johanson, 2002, 2008 and Heine & Kuteva, 2005) who particularly focus on its role in structural change. Matras and Sakel (2007)

provide a comprehensive account of its relationship to structural change. Hypothesising that interlingual identification arises because of a mechanism that allows two languages to converge in speaker's linguistic repertoire, Matras and Sakel (2007) propose a sophisticated version of interlingual identification, which they call pivot-matching. Pivot-matching comes about when bilinguals identify a morpheme or structure in the donor language, which they then match with a morpheme or structure in the recipient language. The matched structure in the recipient language is reshaped internally, based on the functional constraints and scope of the model construction. This could result in the increase of a structure's frequency, an extension of its distributional context or the creation of a new category (Matras & Sakel, 2007), all of which can point to structural change because of language contact.

In Johanson's (2008) framework, structural change occurs on the same continuum as lexical borrowing. That is to say, it develops from momentary use, to habitualisation, to conventionalisation, and finally results in monolingualisation. Other theorists offer additional perspectives on and refinements of this process. Backus et al. (2011) argue that at the initial stage of structural change, there will usually be an act of nonce replication, where an individual, consciously or unconsciously, produces a novel feature in the receiving language which has been influenced by a similar donor-language feature. The nonce-replication process occurs when bilinguals use "entrenched patterns that hitherto only occurred with [donor] language lexical material, and use it to string together words and lexical chunks from the [recipient] language" (Backus et al., 2011, p. 740). In the framework proposed by Mougeon et al. (2005), the notion of nonce replication is comparable to that of overt inter-systemic transfer. This type of transfer is a qualitative development that occurs when bilinguals introduce a pattern into a recipient language that did not exist in that language prior to language contact, which presupposes that the donor and recipient language differ in some respect in terms of the inventory of patterns available to users (Kruger & Van Rooy, 2016b). As is the case with innovations generally, nonce replications are highly idiosyncratic in nature, which implies that the vast majority will not diffuse through a language community (Backus et al., 2011). However, in some cases, linguistic patterns that were not originally present in the recipient language, become entrenched in the minds of individual language users, which opens the possibility that they will catch on and end up being accepted by language users (Backus et al., 2011). Through regular use, these replications can become gradually entrenched and cognitively salient up to the point where they are adopted by a language community (Backus et al., 2011).

Heine and Kuteva (2005) point out that it is unusual for a completely novel structure to be introduced to a recipient language in this way. What happens more often is that language contact leads to an increase in an existing pattern in the recipient language. This existing pattern is a minor-use pattern, or a piece of discourse which occurs with low frequency and whose use is confined to highly restricted contexts (Heine & Kuteva, 2005). Minor-use patterns can be distinguished from major-use patterns, which exhibit higher text frequencies and can be used in a larger number of different contexts (Heine & Kuteva, 2005). Following usage-based theories, it is likely to be the case that major-use patterns will be more entrenched and cognitively salient in speakers' minds than minor-use patterns. Language contact enables minor-use patterns to be used increasingly until these patterns develop into major-use patterns when minor-use patterns in the recipient language correspond with major-use patterns in the donor language. Because major-use patterns are more entrenched, speakers of the recipient language can start to use the minor-use pattern in this language more often because it resembles the major-use pattern in the

donor language. They can also start extending this pattern to new contexts (Heine & Kuteva, 2013). Eventually these patterns will be used with a high frequency and in more general contexts, which means that they eventually become a major-use pattern (Heine & Kuteva, 2013). This can happen to such an extent that they become functionally equivalent to the pattern that was originally the dominant and preferred option in the recipient language (Heine & Kuteva, 2013).

This process can be equated to the notion of covert inter-systemic transfer proposed by Mougeon et al. (2005). This is a quantitative development where a marked increase occurs in the frequency of certain linguistic features at the expense of alternative features that already exist in the recipient language. Viewed from the perspective of usage-based theories, one can equate minor-use patterns to weakly entrenched patterns and major-use patterns to patterns that are strongly entrenched in people's language representation. Because these weakly-entrenched patterns in the recipient language resemble strongly-entrenched patterns in the donor language, speakers can model the former on the latter to such an extent that the weakly-entrenched patterns will be used more frequently in a variety of different contexts (they become habitualised copies, in other words). This can happen to the point where they become cognitively salient, which opens the opportunity that they will be accepted and conventionalised by the language community as a whole. At some point, they can become more deeply entrenched than the originally major-use replica pattern, which means that the original pattern may decline in frequency and even fall into disuse.

2.3.4 Synthesis

The discussion above highlights some of the central assumptions of language change that is brought about through language contact. These assumptions can be recast in terms of the motivations and mechanisms of contact-induced language change. Languages can change because of people's need to communicate. While language differences can present an array of challenges, people will eventually find a way around these challenges to enable some form of communication. An important tenet of contact-induced change is that bilinguals are an important locus of change because they have a linguistic repertoire that consists of two or more languages. Because of the cognitive processes and social factors that play a role in language production, bilinguals will allow linguistic effects to spill over from one language into another to a greater or lesser degree. If these effects are adopted by a society at large, contact-induced change will have occurred. This can come about because language users sometimes need new words and terms at their disposal to refer to concepts that are available in the other language or to gain social approval. There are also cases where such effects come about unintentionally, such as when bilinguals unconsciously use linguistic elements of one language in the other language. While evidence points to the extent to which the languages of societies can be changed by language contact, less attention has been given to how a specific subset of bilinguals, translators, can affect language change – especially if that subset consists of bilinguals who are highly proficient in the languages they command.

2.4 LANGUAGE CHANGE THROUGH TRANSLATION

Considering that bilinguals are the locus of language contact, and are important instigators of language change, it may appear self-evident that translators as highly skilled bilinguals will also have been considered in discussions of language contact and language change. Yet translation has largely been neglected in such discussions: major works on contact linguistics either only dedicate a small portion of attention to contact-induced language change through translation, or completely ignore the possible role of translation (Kolehmainen & Riionheimo, 2016). This is in

part because most language-contact studies focus on direct, face-to-face conversational contact between language users who live in close proximity to one another (Kranich et al., 2011; Neumann, 2011). The role of written communication in contexts of language change (particularly through contact) has received much less attention (Kranich, 2014). In fact, most studies on language change have “simply [disregarded] the possibility that grammatical innovations could develop in natural written communication” (Biber & Gray, 2013, p. 224) as it is typically thought that written language is more conservative than spoken language, which means it lags behind in change. However, as Biber and Gray (2013) argue, such a simple written-spoken dichotomy ignores the fact that the communicative demands posed by any register – whether the register is written or spoken – have the ability to facilitate the appearance of new grammatical constructions that are related to those communicative needs. It should therefore be considered that people produce texts under completely different circumstances than speech. Of course, it is possible that the emergence of these grammatical constructions might be limited to and only affect written discourse (with no further implications for spoken language use), but still one will be able to make a claim for language change in the written dimension (Biber & Gray, 2013).

Current interest in language-contact investigations has shifted from the study of individual language-contact situations to systematic comparisons of and across situations of language contact (Siemund, 2008). Accompanying this shift is an appeal for the re-definition and re-examination of the concept of language contact, and for it to include some of the many types of linguistic encounters that typically belong to other research fields (Paulasto, Meriläinen, Riionheimo, & Kok, 2014), such as educational research, cultural studies, psychology, sociology, anthropology and translation studies (Paulasto et al., 2014). It is against this background that research has recently started to emerge that combines viewpoints based on both contact linguistics and translation studies (Kolehmainen & Riionheimo, 2016). There is a general awareness that where multilingualism occurs, one can also expect translation in its various forms along with cross-cultural and cross-linguistic encounters between translators, source and target languages and the people who use these languages (Kolehmainen & Riionheimo, 2016).

The nature of translation as a mediation practice (which involves reformulating a source text in one particular language into another language) makes it particularly vulnerable to transferring linguistic phenomena from one language to another (Kolehmainen, Meriläinen, & Riionheimo, 2014; Neumann, 2011), to the extent that Paulasto et al. (2014) consider it “unavoidable”, and Kolehmainen et al. (2014) perceive it to be “a natural phenomenon in the process of translation” (p. 6). Cross-linguistic influence, which is also known as shining-through, occurs when source-text elements leave a kind of an empirically identifiable trace in translation (Hansen-Schirra & Steiner, 2011). This can include pragmatic, syntactic, morphological and lexical traces (Kranich, 2014). It is uncontroversial that cross-linguistic influence occurs to a greater or lesser extent in translations, and that translations show some traces of language contact. More contentious is the possibility that some of these cross-linguistic features might not remain restricted to translated texts but diffuse to monolingual text production. If this were the case, translations could act as a catalyst for language change in that they add variability to a target community’s linguistic system. As explained previously, an important assumption of the usage-based framework is that grammatical constructions arise out of repeated use, which means frequency of use is an important component of the development of constructions. Through mass exposure to instances of cross-linguistic influence that are manifested in translations, translation-influenced

constructions potentially have the ability to confront the target audience with competing frequencies for similar constructions in the target language.

If authors, especially those who are located in environments that involve multilingual text production, start to adopt the expressions they encounter in translation (Bisiada, 2013b), the linguistic conventions of the target language may be altered and affected over time. As Toury (2012) points out, this is more likely to occur if the languages and cultures have an unequal status. In such a case, a difference in prestige can result in an asymmetric tendency in which translations from more prestigious languages into less prestigious languages show greater tolerance towards interference effects than in the opposite direction. If the target audience is receptive to interference, it is possible that these cross-linguistic features could be integrated gradually in their linguistic repertoire as a whole or at least into the linguistic repertoire of a specific genre, register or domain (Kranich et al., 2011). Translation, in other words, can also act as mechanism of language contact. This is because it can trigger a linguistic innovation produced under contact conditions, and this translation-induced variant can diffuse into the receiving language (Kranich, 2014). Once it has diffused, the translation-induced variant can enter a competitive relationship with established variants, and gradually start ousting the old variants because it is used increasingly frequently, and ultimately contribute to language change in a language.

2.4.1 Research into translation-induced language change

2.4.1.1 Translation as part of globalisation processes

Although researchers have only recently started to study translation-induced language-change, the *Covert Translation* project initiated by House (2006, 2011, 2013) studies the possibility that globalisation presents favourable circumstances for translation-induced language change. This is because globalisation is underpinned by a need to disseminate information efficiently and quickly in situations of internationalised communication (House, 2015). There is consequently an increasing demand for texts that are meant simultaneously for different cultural and linguistic communities (House, 2011). In this context, globalisation has resulted in a “veritable explosion” (p. 102) of demand for translation because translations have proved indispensable whenever information needs to be disseminated rapidly across the world in many different languages (House, 2015). Translation, for instance, plays an ever-increasing role in multilingual news writing for social media, international press networks, blogs, the Internet and television channels amongst others. In fact, many multilingually and globally operating television channels, such as Al Jazeera International, the BBC and Russia Today, rely on translations into many different languages because speed is vitally important in transmitting information in a highly competitive market (Bielsa & Basnett, 2009; House, 2015). There is also an increasing demand for translation in software localisation industries, which covers diverse scientific, commercial and industrial activities that range from engineering to testing software and managing team projects in different languages (House, 2015). Translation has furthermore proved essential for information flow in globalised companies and for tourist information across the world, while growing digital industries that focus on e-learning and e-commerce have contributed to the need for translation. Translation, in short, has become so important in an increasing globalised world that House (2015) claims it cannot be considered as a mere by-product of globalisation; it is rather a vital and integral component thereof.

In the context of globalisation, one should also acknowledge the importance of English as a modern lingua franca. Numerous studies have started to address issues related to translations done from and into English (Malamatidou, 2016). Arguably, the most extensive research has been carried by the *Covert Translation* project, which consists of House (2006, 2011, 2013) and her team (Baumgarten & Özçetin, 2008; Becher, 2009; Becher et al., 2009; Böttger, 2008; Kranich, 2014, 2016; Kranich et al., 2012). The general assumption of the *Covert Translation* project is that global English, as the language with the most valued symbolic capital and greatest communicative potential, plays an important role in initiating and driving language change through language contact in translation (House, 2011). The researchers assume that translations from English into European languages, specifically German, are influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the omnipresence of Anglo-American linguistic and cultural norms (House, 2011). The overarching research question that guides the *Covert Translation* project is whether or not textual or cultural conventions of the target audience are disregarded in translation with the result that source and target norms start to converge (Becher et al., 2009; House, 2011). The project's results have been inconclusive, however, as both convergence and divergence of communicative norms can occur through language contact in translation depending on the features studied as well as the periods of time.

House (2008b), for instance, offers three explanatory hypotheses that may account for changes in German communicative norms as a result of contact with English as a lingua franca via translation, which are (a) the booh-factor, (b) the X-factor, and (c) the green factor. In the first of these, translation mediates "English take-over" (p. 76), which means that translation causes change in German communicative norms (House, 2008b). In the case of the X-factor, change occurs as a result of the impact of globalisation, and translation merely reflects this change, rather than instigating it. With the green factor, translation resists language change in the sense that translators act as agents of cultural conservation (House, 2010). The following brief discussion of some results illustrate these explanatory hypotheses. The results of Becher et al. (2009) and Kranich et al. (2012) can be interpreted in light of the booh-factor. Both groups find evidence that translation is responsible for the increasing use of *aber* and *doch* (which correspond to *but* in English) in the sentence-initial position of translated and non-translated popular-science texts, despite the fact that German prefers a sentence-internal position.

Kranich (2016) invokes the X-factor explanatory hypothesis. She studies the occurrence of the personal pronoun *wir* (*we* in English) in popular-scientific writing and business communication. This is motivated by the reasoning that *we* is used more often in English texts as a reflection of the person-oriented and more interactive nature of English as opposed to the more transactional style of German. Kranich (2016) hypothesises that if translators increasingly adopt Anglophone norms, a noticeable increase in the use of *wir* in German translations will be evident that could also influence German original writing. The study shows that even though *wir* is increasingly used in both German translations and German non-translations, the distribution of instances in which it is used across discourse contexts differs to such an extent that it is doubtful that translators are responsible for this change. It is more likely globalisation processes (and the importance of English in these processes) that contribute to this change.

The studies of Becher et al. (2009) and Kranich (2009) find support for the green factor hypothesis. The research is based on the premise that English, in general, tends to prefer modal markers that are of low modal strength (such as *may*, *could*, *probably*). This is in line with English

communicative norms favouring a style that is more addressee-oriented and indirect, and therefore potentially less face-threatening. German conventions, on the other hand, are characterised by a tendency for direct assertions and strong claims, and therefore rely on stronger modal markers. Both Becher et al. (2009) and Kranich (2009) find that translators consistently adapt their translations to German communicative norms and resist the influence from the English model, which means that German translators replace modal markers that are of low modal strength with stronger ones in their translations. Kranich (2009) postulates that a possible reason for this is that there are significant differences regarding modal marking in German and English, and these seem to block the occurrence of interference phenomena. So, for instance, while English expresses modality mostly with core modals, German prefers other means such as adverbs, particles and adjectives, and a greater variety of expressions.

Other studies in language change through translation have also been conducted beyond the *Covert Translation* project. Some find evidence for translation-induced change while others do not. Malamatidou (2018), for instance, studies cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions in Greek translations of English popular-science articles. These two constructions “allow for emphasis to be placed on specific constituents of the sentence” (Malamatidou, 2018, p. 126). With cleft constructions, the emphasis is usually placed on the theme (or topic) of the sentence. In the case of pseudo-cleft constructions, the rheme (or what is said about the topic) is emphasised. While cleft and pseudo-cleft construction are not thought to form part of standard Greek syntax, Greek speakers can structurally replicate constructions that correspond to cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions because of the flexible word order of the Greek language (see Section 2.3.3. on pattern replication for a theoretical discussion on how people are able to do this). It is postulated that the Greek language has adopted cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions under the influence of English, which has resulted in the introduction of new structural patterns in Greek – even though these constructions are “unnatural and infrequent [and] verge on ungrammaticality” (Malamatidou, 2018, p. 123). Following this rationale, Malamatidou (2018) investigates the patterning and frequency of cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions in Greek translations and non-translations to see if these increase over time. While she finds that the frequency of both constructions has increased in Greek original science articles, the results are not statistically significant and she cannot exclude the possibility that the increase is due to chance. She therefore cannot conclude that these constructions have increased in non-translations because of contact with English through translation.

McLaughlin (2011, 2013) reports that news translations done from English have resulted in changes in how information is provided through syntactic means in this register in French and Italian. English influence has resulted in the preposing of adjectives that are not typically associated with the prenominal position in Italian and has resulted in an increase in the frequency of passive constructions in both French and Italian (McLaughlin, 2011, 2013). Bisiada’s (2013a, 2013b) studies also find syntactic changes in German translations of business articles. In his studies, he focusses on hypotaxis and parataxis, which are basically degrees of subordination of clauses. Hypotactic constructions require a verb-final structure in German while paratactic constructions are characterised by a verb-second structure. This differs from English where the structure of sentences are expressed as subject-verb-object for hypotactic and paratactic constructions. Whereas German used to prefer hypotactic structures, Bisiada’s (2013a, 2013b) investigation points toward a tendency to increasingly use paratactic structures in both non-translated and translated business articles. He takes this development to be indicative of changing

conventions in German causal clause complexing. Musacchio (2005), in turn, finds that English has an influence on Italian economic texts in the close rendering of syntactic constructions and in the higher frequency of cohesive links, such as demonstrative pronouns, possessive determiners, subordinators and coordinators. In his study of Swedish translation of English fiction, Gellerstam (2005) finds an over-representation of head nouns in predicative phrases. This is ascribed to the fact that whereas English predicative phrases often necessitate a noun, Swedish only requires an adjective. For instance, even though a sentence such as *She is a nice person* is typical in English, it is more characteristic to use *She is nice* in Swedish. Another area includes the use of tag questions, such as *isn't it* and *haven't you*, in Swedish translations that are typical markers of modality in English (Gellerstam, 2005).

2.4.1.2 Translation during older times

While the current context of high-speed globalisation provides many fruitful situations for contact effects to occur in translation and possibly to spread to non-translated language, there is some evidence that contact-induced change through translation even occurred under less favourable conditions. Wakabayashi (2009) provides some convincing arguments about how translation from European languages and Chinese shaped the writing system of Japanese, and the literary development of the language itself. This started as early as the sixteenth century when European languages arrived in Japan. Because of Japanese readers' high receptiveness to these foreign languages, translators were not pressured to produce translations that fully conformed to Japanese conventions (Wakabayashi, 2009). As a result, a style developed where Japanese texts had strong European overtones (Wakabayashi, 2009). Furuno (2005) points out that Japan's receptiveness to foreign texts have been driven historically by a desire to import information and new ideas from abroad, which means foreign texts have been viewed as very important and valuable. This receptiveness intensified even more after Japan's defeat in World War II when Japan relied on ideas from the West to revive its power to such an extent that naturalness of the Japanese translation was of secondary importance (Furuno, 2005).

Wakabayashi (2009) uses the frequent and unnatural use of connectives to link phrases as one example to demonstrate how translations of foreign languages influenced Japanese grammatically. This is thought to have been used extensively by the translator and writer Mori Ōgai who wanted to write more logically by using Western models. His texts had a considerable impact on the young Japanese writers of the nineteenth and twentieth century. On a stylistic level, translation is thought to have introduced higher levels of repetitiveness and frequent use of explicit subjects. This, along with verbosity from a tendency towards explicitness, interrupts the cohesion of traditional Japanese writing, which prefers implicit subjects (Wakabayashi, 2009). On a syntactic level, translation is thought to have influenced the conventions for noun modifiers in Japanese. Wakabayashi (2009) notes that Japanese is a head-last language, which imposes constraints on the length of modifiers to achieve processability while English is a head-first language. Because of translation from English, some Japanese authors have started to use post-modifiers.

Kranich (2014) also provides an overview of language change through translation that might have occurred in ancient and medieval times (involving Latin, Old High German, Old Swedish, Old Norse and Old and Middle English), as well as early modern contact through translation (involving translation from French to German in the 1600s and the 1700s). In terms of syntax, there are some innovations that can be ascribed to language-contact through translation with a

degree of certainty, while others are most likely only frequency effects (that is, where a minor-use pattern develops into a major-use pattern). Those that could be ascribed to translation include new subordinating conjunctions in Old Swedish and Old English under the influence of Latin subordinating structures as well as new particle constructions (Höder, 2012). In early modern contact situations, there is mainly evidence for changes in frequency (Kranich, 2014). Wurm's (2011) investigation of German translations of French cookbooks shows that German translators adopted some syntactic patterns from the French source text, such as the plural imperative form rather than the more usual singular form. Considering that it was not so much the case that a new syntactic pattern was introduced into the German translations but rather a change in preferences that was influenced by translations, this constitutes a frequency effect (Kranich, 2014). In terms of the ancient and medieval period, there is also some evidence that translations could introduce morphological innovations. In Old Swedish translations from Latin, the use of the particle form *-ande* to represent Latin gerundives can be regarded as a morphological innovation because it meant that the Old Swedish constructions in which it was used acquired a new functional profile (Kranich, 2014). Another domain in which source-text features easily made their way into translations is the pragmatic and stylistic domain. In earlier periods, Old Swedish and Old English translators tried to imitate the more hypotactic style of Latin (Höder, 2012).

Even though studies of language-change through translation have provided some insight into the possible role translation could play in instigating language change, the field is still in its infancy and more research is needed. Translation researchers nevertheless hold high expectations for results from such investigations, e.g. that translation could act as "a significant means through which 'important' linguistic elements and uses are established in a language" (Ožbot, 2014, p. 133), or that the influence of translations on a nation's standard language could be "remarkable" (Paulasto et al., 2014). However, the hypothesis of translation-induced language change is not without problems. As Neumann (2011) points out, it is difficult to distinguish between contact phenomena that are triggered by translation and other gateways. In this regard, one particularly has to keep the dominance of English in mind. Currently, English is particularly influential and prestigious because of its role as a lingua franca and because of its dominance in the media (Neumann, 2011). In certain countries, it also gains prominence because it is used as the language of business, higher education and as the language of administration in multilingual contexts, such as South Africa or India (House, 2015), which means that it can exert considerable influence on people who are exposed to it. Literature is also increasingly read in the English original text rather than translations thereof (Neumann, 2011). In other words, it could be the case that the widespread use of English currently is more influential in the mediation of contact-effects than other language-contact gateways, such as translation.

2.4.2 The complexities of language change through translation

The proposed influence of English relies on the assumption that it has the status of a major language. By adopting such an assumption, one runs the risk that the important local dynamics of different language situations can be obscured in the process. These dynamics are not fixed, but might change over time because of shifting power differentials and socio-political factors. As Chapter 3 demonstrates, such a situation is reflected in the South African linguistic landscape where the prestige and dominance of English and Afrikaans have fluctuated over time because of

complicated sociological and political conditions that have promoted their use in higher-order functions, such as publishing, government, education and media.

While a plausible conceptual case for language-contact through translation can be provided, the details of how translation can result in language change are not well understood yet or supported by evidence. Malamatidou (2016), for instance, argues that previous studies of translation-induced language change have only provided partial links between translation and the broader processes of language contact and language change. This is largely because researchers have paid more attention to the actual occurrence of particular linguistic changes in the target language rather than to the underlying mechanisms and principles of change (Malamatidou, 2016). Without a clear theoretical framework to account for contact-induced language change, it has not been possible to substantiate the relative importance of language contact through translation. As Malamatidou (2016) points out, it is only by identifying and applying a suitable framework to understand the processes of contact when translation is involved that an understanding of translation-induced language change can be gained and for the field as a whole to move forward. A particular point of concern is that language contact is influenced by a multitude of internal and external factors, of which translation is but one (Neumann, 2011). For this reason, it is difficult to distinguish between contact effects in general and those that have been mediated by translation, and to find conclusive evidence that language contact through translation has resulted in a particular linguistic change (Bisiada, 2013b).

Recent cross-disciplinary contact-based research has drawn attention to the relationship between different types of bilingualism-influenced communication. This research not only includes translation but also varieties of English as a second language, English as a foreign language and English as a lingua franca. This cross-disciplinary research arises from the realisation that the same contact-related phenomena are often studied in different disciplines (Paulasto et al., 2014). However, because each discipline has its own terminology, tradition and methodology, these shared linguistic phenomena are viewed from divergent perspectives (Paulasto et al., 2014). This situation has the disadvantage that the evidence which has been obtained within one particular research paradigm often only provides a limited understanding into complex effects of language contact (Kolehmainen & Riionheimo, 2016; Kolehmainen & Skaffari, 2016). Some of the shared features that have recently garnered attention include lower frequencies of linguistic items or patterns that are not shared by both languages in the contact situation (Kolehmainen & Riionheimo, 2016), words or phrases that are reproduced from one language to another (Meriläinen, Riionheimo, Kuusi, & Lantto, 2016), frequency changes in usage patterns (Kruger & Van Rooy, 2016b), increased explicitness (Kruger & Van Rooy, 2016a), and grammatical simplification (Kruger & Van Rooy, 2016a) amongst others.

While there are several reasons for these shared features that have been studied in different research paradigms, it seems that the constrained nature of these contact situations is a key contributing factor. These contact situations, in other words, introduce additional constraints on communication that extend beyond what is usual (Lanstyák & Heltai, 2012). As Lanstyák and Heltai (2012) point out, while all communication is constrained in one way or another, there are instances of language production that are limited to a greater degree than others depending on certain constraining factors. Some of the obvious constraints are physiological (fatigue, stress), physical (noise, limitations imposed by time and space), cognitive (limitations of attention and memory capacity), linguistic (the available resources in a language) and social (pressure to

adhere to norms) amongst others (Lanstyák & Heltai, 2012). These factors, along with the constraints imposed by the topic, register, situation and medium, and discrepancies between cognitive environment of the speaker and listener all restrict the choices available to the speaker (Lanstyák & Heltai, 2012). As discussed in Section 2.3.1, bilingual contact situations are particularly cognitively effortful because bilinguals are engaged continuously in processes of attentional control where they direct cognitive resources and attention to one of their languages and away from the other language as required by the context.

A further challenge to understanding translation as a potential catalyst for language change is the difficulty of distinguishing translation effects from other types of contact-induced effects. Hoey (2011), for instance, points out that “if we stay with accepted theories of language, we must conclude that it is not responsible for more than a modicum of language change” (p. 166). In his opinion the effects of translation on non-translation “are likely to be benign” (p. 166) as long as the translations are not overwhelmingly done from one source language. However, this condition is not met to the extent that, under the pressures of globalisation, considerable translation is carried out from English to other languages across the world.

Malamatidou (2016) takes a more tentative approach by linking her argument to Johanson’s (1993, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2008) code-copying framework. As explained in Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3, Johanson believes language change occurs on a continuum from *momentary* to *habitualised*, *conventionalised*, and ultimately, *monolingualised* innovations. According to Malamatidou (2016), while translation has the ability to produce linguistic innovations, it rather forms part of the habituation component of the continuum. Translation, in other words, is seen as a mechanism of diffusion as opposed to a mechanism of innovation. According to this line of thought, it is rather through internally motivated factors (dynamics that operate from within the language, such as semantic bleaching) and externally motivated factors (under the influence of another language) that innovations are introduced to a language (Malamatidou, 2016). Translations (along with other factors) then only help to increase the regularity and frequency of a word or linguistic structure in the target language (Malamatidou, 2016).

While Malatidou’s (2016) explanation is an important step towards understanding how translation could contribute to language change, it is not without problems. One concern is the impression that translators are always diffusers of language change, but this oversimplifies the complexities associated with the translation process. As Section 2.4.3 and Section 2.4.4 will argue, one has to allow for the normative contexts in which translations are produced while also acknowledging that interference, whether it is manifested to a greater or lesser extent, is an unavoidable product of the translation process.

2.4.3 Socio-cultural and normative constraints operating on translation

Translations are not produced in a vacuum. They are instances of texts produced by bilinguals who specialise in the mediation of a message from one language to another, and who are situated in certain sociocultural conditions. For this reason, translators and the translations they produce are affected by certain conventions and rules. These rules are unavoidable and govern all instances of translation practice, from decisions concerning which texts will be suitable or accepted for translation, to the kind of translation and assimilation or compensation strategies to

use, to the criteria according to which translations will be judged (Katan, 2009). Translation, in other words, is influenced by norms, which Toury (2012) defines as:

the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted (p. 63).

The implication of translational norms is that they possess a directive function: they provide translators with guidance as to what is socially acceptable in a language community or target audience (Hermans, 2009). Unlike conventions that are fluid and vague in nature, norms involve sanctions (Toury, 2012). Such sanctions can be rewarding or positive (such as would be the case if a translator excels by adhering to a norm) or negative or punitive (for instance, if a translator fails to act in accordance with a norm or even violates it) (Toury, 2012). Norms therefore act as a measure for the assessment of translation behaviour and/or the translation produced (Toury, 2012). In this way, norms function as expectations that, when they are reasonable, make it easier for translators to predict how their translations will be received, in order to translate accordingly (Chesterman, 1997).

Expectancy norms are established by a target audience as to what a translation of a particular type should be like (Chesterman, 1997). The target audience (who might or might not include the client who commissioned the translation) will have expectations about the text type, about register and style, discourse conventions, lexical choice, collocations, about the suitable degree of grammaticality and the like (Chesterman, 1997). The target audience therefore determines notions of correctness and “when translators do what is expected of them, they will be seen to have done well” (Hermans, 1991, p. 166). While translations will be evaluated against certain norms, translators are not so much constrained by norms as dynamically negotiating their way through these norms (Hermans, 2009), which means that norms contribute to translators’ problem-solving strategies (Chesterman, 1997).

2.4.3.1 Two basic orientations of translation

Translation is an activity that is based on two languages and two cultures. Translators are therefore exposed to a tension between two (or more) sets of norm-systems, which include different social factors, attitudes or even the overall standardisation of the two languages (Toury, 2012). On the source-system side, translators contend with a source-text in a particular language that occupies a position in a given culture. On the target-system side, translators deal with norms that are related to a representation of the pre-existing source language and culture in another culture where the translation occupies a definite position (Toury, 2012). In what Toury (2012) calls a basic initial norm, translators have to make a choice between two orientations, which are to subject their translations either to the source text and its norms, or to norms that are active in the target culture. If the first option is selected, the translator will give preference to the norms of the source text, and consequently also the norms applicable to the source language and culture. As will become evident in the rest of the discussion, this orientation can result in particular incompatibilities with target practices and norms. If the second option is given preference, the target culture’s norm systems are activated and shifts in the relations between the source and target text are almost inevitable (Toury, 2012).

The idea that translators are faced with two basic orientations has occupied many theories throughout Western translation studies (Pym, 2014). The basic distinction goes back to 46 BC when Marcus Tullius Cicero (a Roman lawyer, orator and philosopher) proposed that translations from Greek into Latin can be done like a literalist interpreter or like a public speaker would (Pym, 2014). Many other theorists have made such a basic distinction using different terminology since then, such as Schleiermacher (1813/2012), Nida (1964), Newmark (1988) and Hermans (1991) in addition to Toury (1980, 2012) and House (2015)³. Pym (2014) points out, however, that such a distinction is often problematic because it oversimplifies the actual practicalities of translation because translations cannot be either the one or the other. Translations will rather contain elements of both (Toury, 2012). In this way, the two basic orientations can be seen as two terminal points on a continuum and translations may be oriented to more towards the one than the other. Ultimately, it is the compromise between the two orientations that will reveal the general influence of the norms (Toury, 2012).

According to Toury (1980), if a translator adheres more closely to the source-text and its norms, the translation will be *adequate*. These translations are linked to source-language culture and its community in a specific manner (House, 2015), and for this reason the source-text structure exerts a strong influence in determining correctness and accuracy (Munday, 2016). Translators will consequently aim to reconstruct the pertinent textual relationships of the original text in order to ensure the source-text message remains as intact as possible in the process where it is transferred and recoded in another language (House, 2015). This can mean matching poetry to poetry, concept to concept, sentence to sentence or word to word (Nida, 1964). The implication of texts translated from such an orientation is that they will be marked pragmatically as translations and do not hide the fact that they are translations. For this reason, House (2015) considers them to be overt translations, which is accompanied by the consequence that these translations are embedded in new speech events in the target culture while the discourse world of the target text is activated simultaneously with the source-text. A typical example of adequate translations are gloss translations which are characterised by a close approximation to the source-text structure, usually with scholarly footnotes. This kind of translation is generally used in a legal or academic environment and allows the target audience closer access to the customs and language of the source culture. However, considering its small and specialised target audience, these translations may be less likely to act as an engine for language change because there is a smaller readership and less opportunity for dissemination of translation-induced interference.

The second orientation is termed *acceptability*, which “is a function of the adherence to those norms and conventions (both linguistic-textual and literary-aesthetic) which operate in the target system” (Toury, 1980, p. 75). A covert translation is a translation that is not pragmatically marked as a translation, but creates the illusion of being the original (House, 2015). In normative situations where greater emphasis is placed on conforming to the norms of the target language, the target audience might expect translations to be indistinguishable from non-translated texts.

³ For the discussion, Toury’s (1980, 1995, 2012) terminology will be used because his notions of adequacy and acceptability link more clearly to the sociocultural emphasis in this section. The ideas of overt and covert translation will be used in conjunction with adequacy and acceptability because House’s (2002, 2015) distinction has been widely used in discussions of translation-induced language change.

According to House (2015), translators create the impression that a translation is an original by using a so-called 'cultural filter'. This notion refers to the ability of translators to make systematic allowances for and to accommodate to differences in socio-cultural norms, differences in communicative preferences and differences in conventions of text production (House, 2015). Cultural filtering is the way in which translators compensate for cultural differences (House, 2015; House & Loenhoff, 2016), which is particularly important in situations of covert translation when translators aim to recreate a functionally equivalent speech event that reproduces the function of the original text in the linguistic-cultural framework of the target system. Because of cultural filtering, covert translation often results in translations that are culturally distant from the original text (House & Loenhoff, 2016). Since translators aim to keep the textual functions in the source and target cultures equivalent, major changes could be undertaken by translators, which is why covert translations often are received by the target culture as if they were original texts (House & Loenhoff, 2016).

The outcome of covert translation is that translations not only display a degree of conformity to convention, but also act to preserve and enforce pre-existing conventions in the target language. In this regard, it is necessary to consider the extent to which source-text features are hidden in or absent from translation. According to Toury's (2012) law of growing standardisation, the textual relations of the original will be modified in favour of "habitual options offered by a target repertoire" (p. 304) – sometimes to the point where the source text's textual relations are ignored completely. By extension, it is also possible that translators overshoot the mark in that they exaggerate features aligned with target-language norms regardless of the source and target language or the text type involved in the translation process (Baker, 1996). Baker (1996) considers this tendency, known as normalisation, to be so inherent to translation that she lists it as one of her universals of translation (or in less totalising terms, features of translation). These features are defined as linguistic phenomena that typically occur in translations rather than in original texts and are thought to occur independent of the influence of the particular language pairs that are involved in the interpretation process (Laviosa, 2008).

While not uncontested, numerous studies have provided some support to the claim that translators tend to conform to the target language's typical patterns and are inclined to use more conventional target-language expressions at the expense of more creative expressions (see for instance Kenny, 2014; Kruger & Van Rooy, 2012; Laviosa, 2002; Olohan, 2004; Redelinguys & Kruger, 2015; D. Williams, 2005). These studies show the extent to which translators are aware of notions involving grammatical correctness, which steers clear of syntactic or morphological innovations in the target language and, to the extent that translators' maintenance of the standards and norms of the target language is an integral component of their job, the dissemination of innovations will be minimal. Normalisation, in this way, is notably similar to the notions of loyalty in bilingual interactions. As stated in Section 2.3.1, bilinguals are inclined to keep demarcation boundaries around their languages when they are loyal to one or both of the languages they speak. Where loyalty prevails, cross-linguistic influence is likely to be minimal as bilinguals will adhere to the conventions of their languages. When translators normalise, they are also loyal to the conventions of the language in which they translate and enforce the demarcation boundaries of that language, which means that cross-linguistic interference is likely to be minimal.

While the basic orientations give some idea as to how translators can approach a translation task, it is important to keep in mind that the contexts in which translations are produced will be affected by the sociolinguistic situation of the respective language communities, as with situations of language contact. Sociopolitical dominance of either the source or target cultures can have an important effect on how translators approach the translation task as well as the degree of standardisation of the source and target language. In order to explore this idea further, the exposition will draw on Even-Zohar's (1978/2012, 1990, 1997) polysystem theory as his theory specifically focusses on the potential effects translation could have in situations where it enjoys high prestige compared to those where it is less prestigious.

2.4.3.2 Prestige and degree of standardisation of the source and target language

According to polysystem theory, translations always belong to a cultural and/or literary environment; they can never function as texts that are entirely independent of the environment in which they are produced. The connection between translations and their environment can vary in terms of different situations or different time periods, but ultimately this connection is always present and conditions the norms that determine the acceptability or adequacy of the translation. Translation (like language, society, technology, culture, or literature) is seen as a system in the target culture. Together all of these form part of the larger polysystem, which is a hierarchised and dynamic collection of systems. These various subsystems are positioned on a dynamic cline according to which they range from being more conservative to being more innovative in nature (Even-Zohar, 1990). This cline is characterised by a tension between conservative and innovative systems that constantly compete with one another for a primary and central position in the polysystem. If a system is secondary, rather than primary, it will adopt a peripheral or marginal position in the polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1997).

Whereas previous polysystem models consistently classified the role of translations as secondary in the polysystem, Even-Zohar's theory questions this assumption. This is based on his awareness that the polysystems of older and larger nations, such as French or Anglo-American cultures, differ from those of smaller or younger cultures, such as those of the Low Countries or Israel (Gentzler, 2011). The polysystems of older, larger cultures are likely to have well-developed or self-sufficient literary traditions and many different established kinds of writing (Even-Zohar, 1978/2012). In these situations, original writing produces innovations in forms and ideas that are independent of translation, while translation is relegated to a peripheral position in the general functioning of the dynamic system (Even-Zohar, 1990). Translation is thought to play a more central or primary role in smaller or younger cultures. This is likely to occur in contexts where the target language and audience have a smaller textual production and a less well-established culture of literacy, at least in comparison to those of the dominant source language and culture (Even-Zohar, 1990). In such situations, translation can be used to introduce new literary traditions of different types of writing to the target system, opening up more opportunity for the production of innovative ideas and forms are at least partially influenced by translation (Even-Zohar, 1990).

Even-Zohar (1978/2012) concedes that in most cases translation will assume a secondary position, which means that it exerts limited influence on the central system. Because translations will be less prestigious, they will be modelled according to conventional norms that are already dominant in the target system and maintained by some publishing conventions. While original texts in the target language might continue to develop new models and norms, translated

literature will continue to preserve the established norms and conventional forms of the target system, in which case translation serves as an important conservative element (Even-Zohar, 1990). Taken against the larger discussion of this section, one can say that translations are more likely to be subject to normalisation or to be translated covertly if they have a minor status in the target language as a whole. Hence, translators will be more inclined to use a cultural filter to make sure that their translations follow conventional and established target-culture norms. Shining-through phenomena will be limited as translators will strive to accommodate to the target-audience expectations that the translation should read like an original text produced in the target language.

While translations typically assume a secondary position in a culture's polysystem, there have been instances where translations have enjoyed a particularly prestigious status. If translations assume a prestigious, primary role, they will be an important component of innovatory forces and will actively contribute to the shaping of centre of the polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1978/2012). In such a situation, translated works can introduce new linguistic principles and elements into the target language that were not present before. These include novel models of reality that can replace the established models that are no longer efficient but also a range of other features such as new poetics, techniques, or compositional patterns. In order to illustrate the important role prestige can play in situations of language contact, one can refer to the case of Latin, which was particularly prestigious in the fifteenth century. Latin had acquired this prestige because of its religious importance as it functioned as the language of Scripture and liturgy (Kranich, 2014). It was considered to be more logical, more expressive and more useful than Old Swedish (Kranich, 2014), which was considered to be an inferior vernacular to Latin. The codification of Old Swedish "was not very advanced" (p. 110) and there were no common established standards to which Old Swedish translators could have adapted their translations (Kranich, 2014). Translators consequently were not restricted by notions of correct grammar, but relied on the syntactic patterns of Latin to introduce an element of its elegance and style to their native language (Kranich, 2014; Kranich et al., 2011).

According to Even-Zohar (1978/2012) situations where translations introduce new linguistic principles and elements into the target language usually come about because of three major reasons. First, a target culture might use the ready-made models of more established literatures if their own literature is in the process of being established (that is, the polysystem has not yet crystallised). This occurred, for instance, during the period of the Hebrew Enlightenment of the eighteenth and nineteenth century in Germany when Hebrew writers were faced with limited narrative models. In order to satisfy their needs, they used new modes of writing from European cultures, initially from German, then Russian (and Yiddish) and eventually from English (Toury, 2012). The production of Finnish literature in the nineteenth century can be cited as another example as Finnish authors used models of realist novels from Britain and France (Munday, 2016).

Second, target cultures might import the literary types they lack or that are weak or peripheral in their own literature. While this situation can arise when a nation or language is dominated by another nation, one also has to consider the pervasive influence of English in the context of globalisation and even more so in particular domains. Bennett (2009, 2010, 2011), for instance, draws attention to the Portuguese academic context. Unlike in English-speaking contexts where the production of academic writing is highly regulated, Portuguese writers in social sciences and

humanities are not required to conform to any rigid norms (Bennett, 2009, 2010). Also, the limited number of manuals that focus on academic writing tend to skim over issues of style “on the grounds that it is a highly personal matter that is not really subject to standardization” (Bennett, 2009, p. 22). Against this background, Bennett (2011) states that Portuguese academic discourse consists of a traditional discourse model as well as a modern discourse model that is built on English academic discourse. These two models differ from one another in terms of certain distinguishing discourse features, which include the use of complex syntax, personal references, framing devices, the use of gerund and verbless sentences (Bennett, 2009). As the English and traditional discourse style are in tension with one another, the situation might come about where the English model replaces the traditional Portuguese discourse model because of its dominance. Translations from English could contribute to the replacement of the Portuguese discourse style because they not only import the English discourse model, but also enable it to act as an example in the Portuguese language, which can be emulated.

Third, a critical turning point might arise when established models are no longer satisfactory or if a vacuum occurs in the literature of a country. Such a situation can be domain-specific as was the case with translations of new German psychoanalytic texts, like those of Jung and Freud, into languages such as French and English in the early twentieth-century (Munday, 2016). Another example occurred in India where the popularity of science-fiction books started with the importation of models from English (Munday, 2016). Against the background sketched for polysystem theory, one may question how the position occupied by translation affects or conditions the translation strategy used by translators – and how this position ties in with the notion of language change.

According to Even-Zohar (1990), if translations assume a primary position, translators will not feel restricted to adhere closely to target-literature models, but will be more prepared to break conventions (that is, produce adequate translations). They can thus produce translations that are a close a match to the source text by reproducing the textual relations of the source text. The influence of the foreign-language model, in turn, can lend itself to the production of new literary models in the target language – for both non-translations and translations. The outcome in situations such as this is likely to be three-fold for the possibility of translation-induced language change. First, translators will consciously and unconsciously adhere more closely to the source texts, which will entail more literal (word for word) translations that are based on the literary model of the source text. In other words, interference is likely to occur to a greater extent if translation assume a prestigious position in a culture’s polysystem. Second, in such a context, translations will arguably be produced more often because there will be a demand for such texts in the target audience. Consequently, the target audience will be exposed to translations more often. Third, the target audience is likely to be more positive (and hence, receptive) to the translations of the prestigious source language. This may mean that they will be more inclined to use the source-language model as an example for their own writing in their own language and also to emulate the way in which the source text expresses itself linguistically. As a result, their language may start to show traces of contact-induced features, which can initiate the process of language change.

The converse is true in contexts where translated literature assumes a peripheral role. Translators will be more inclined to adjust their translations to existing target-language models and produce acceptable, covert translations. Interference is likely to be minimal as translators

will try to produce translations that read like originals in the target language. The target audience is also likely to be less receptive to texts that clearly contravene the norms of their language. As a result, the possibility of translation-induced language change will be curbed on two fronts. Translators will, in the first instance, actively aim to reduce the occurrence of interference in their translation, while the target audience, in the second instance, will be negative towards interference effects that were produced unconsciously by the translator. In short, such a situation is unlikely to be conducive to the dissemination of translation-induced effects.

In short, the normative contexts in which translations are produced are an important consideration to discussions of language change through translation as these can mediate the degree to which interference is produced in translations, as well as the receptiveness of target audience to such interference. While it is evident that normative conditions can play an important role as to translators' overall orientation towards adequacy or acceptability, it is important to realise that translators can hardly produce translations that do not contain traces of the translation process. So, although interference is a basic cognitive condition of translation, there are psycholinguistic constraints that can influence the nature of this interference. Section 2.4.4 will discuss this line of thought in more detail.

2.4.4 Psycholinguistic constraints

In order to appreciate the idea that translators cannot produce translations that are unaffected by the translation process, one has to consider that translation is likely to be constrained particularly strongly at the psycholinguistic level (Kruger & Van Rooy, 2016b). While bilinguals' languages could be activated cognitively to varying degrees and available at all times (Grosjean, 2008; Matras, 2009), producing translations is likely to be situated at "the most extreme end of the bilingual activation continuum" (Kruger & Van Rooy, 2016b, p. 121). The main difference between translational and bilingual communication is the difference in task. Bilingual communication is produced independently or spontaneously as opposed to translation that is by definition dependent on a pre-existing text (Lanstyák & Heltai, 2012), which restricts translators' choices both pragmatically and cognitively (Kruger & Van Rooy, 2016b). Translators are faced with the challenge to interpret the original text – using their linguistic, pragmatic and encyclopaedic knowledge – in order to transfer and reconstruct instances of text from one language to another (Tirkkonen-Condit, Mäkisalo, & Immonen, 2008).

Although cross-linguistic transfer constitutes an important indication of the translation process, it is not the only trace of the particular processing conditions of translation reflected in the target text. For instance, as Baker's (1996) hypothesis of translation universals indicates, translation is a particular kind of writing that involves a "de-complexification" of language (Zanettin, 2012, p. 13). Along with the normalisation of translations, translators are also inclined to simplify the message and/or language, and to explicitate or spell out information in translations, which may or may not include adding background information (Baker, 1996). Regardless of whether these translation universals are shared by all or most translations and whether these are truly specific to translation (see Becher, 2010; House, 2008a; Pym, 2008, for some critical discussions), these features nonetheless indicate that "not all linguistic features specific to translations are reducible to interference" (Mauranen & Kujamäki, 2004, p. 5). Like interference, they could also have their own unique implications for translation-induced language contact. This is because if translations are really simpler, more explicit or conventional than non-translations, these features might

influence the outcome of language-contact situations that involve translation (Becher et al., 2009), possibly in ways that differ from interference.

2.4.4.1 Negative and positive transfer as outcomes of the translation process

Cross-linguistic influence is unavoidable in the translation process as mentioned previously and translations consequently will bear some traces thereof regardless of a translator's basic orientation. For this reason, Toury (2012) postulates the law of interference as a counterweight to the law of increasing standardisation. According to this law "phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to force themselves on the translators and be transferred to the target text" (Toury, 2012, p. 310). As such, the laws of standardisation and interference are always simultaneously in operation, in which case translation can be conceptualised as being pulled in these two directions by opposing forces. Translation is thus expected to show traces of the source text while conforming to target-language norms and standards.

Different types of interference can occur, some of which might be resisted or tolerated by the target audience depending on the normative context. Toury (2012) draws a distinction between negative and positive transfer. Negative transfer occurs when deviations from the codified practices of the target system are manifested in a translation, while positive transfer involves an increase in the frequency of linguistic features that already exist in the target system (Toury, 2012). Following Mauranen's (2004) conceptualisation, positive transfer resembles existing linguistic features in the target language to such an extent that it is almost indistinguishable from the normal target language. In such a case, interference might only be evident when translations are confronted with their source texts (Toury, 2012). As Defrancq and Rawoens (2016) point out, this assumption creates an ontological paradox because it makes it difficult to prove that positive transfer exists if it is indistinguishable from the linguistic features that are already present in the target language. In terms of language change through translation, such a conceptualisation means that translated texts would be unable to introduce change to a language to the extent that they conform to the conventions of the target language.

However, translations often differ from non-translations in terms of linguistic frequencies as numerous corpus-based studies into the features of translation have shown. These frequency differences refer to both the underrepresentation and the overrepresentation of linguistic elements in translation. In terms of underrepresentation, one can refer to Tirkkonen-Condit's (2004) unique-items hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, every language contains linguistic elements that are unique in the sense that they do not have straightforward or obvious linguistic counterparts in other languages. These linguistic elements can be textual, syntactic, phrasal or lexical and are not necessarily untranslatable, but just not equally manifested or lexicalised in other languages (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2004). Since the source-text has no apparent linguistic stimulus to trigger them, these items do not readily present themselves as translation equivalents to translators. In the case of over-representation, translators use certain target-text linguistic items more frequently than non-translators.

Eskola's (2004) study of Finnish translations from Russian and English illustrates both underrepresentation and overrepresentation. She finds evidence of an underrepresentation of referential non-finite syntactic structures that have no straightforward equivalent in either Russian or English. These structures shorten affirmative *that*-clauses with verbs such as *say*, *believe*, *hear* and *see* in Finnish. Considering the usage-based claim that language users are

sensitive to the different frequencies, it might be the case that translations, through positive transfer, contribute to frequency shifts over time. In this way, one Finnish construction that is overrepresented in translation may have a further positive impact on its degree of entrenchment in the minds of target-language users. This may come at a price of another, functionally related construction that occurs less frequently because extended periods of disuse could lead to the decay of the other construction.

Even though it is likely that one will find instances of interference that clearly belong to negative transfer or positive transfer, such a distinction could oversimplify matters somewhat for other instances of interference. In other words, the distinction between negative and positive transfer may be strained or challenged by fuzzy or arbitrary examples of interference that do not clearly belong to either category. For this reason, Mauranen (2004) proposes that it might be useful to think of negative and positive transfer as points that are situated on a cline, ranging from gross deviation from what is typical in the target language to instances that are virtually indistinguishable from original target-language texts but which, nonetheless, can be traced back to source-text transfer, such as large-scale frequency differences (Mauranen, 2004).

Negative transfer is related to what Teich (2003) refers to as typological shining through. Typological shining through comes about when grammatical structures that are typical or characteristic of a source language, but not of the target language, are replicated in the translation (Teich, 2003). It stands in opposition to registerial shining through, which occurs when translators do not adapt the translation to the style that is characteristic of comparable non-translations in that register (Teich, 2003). With registerial shining through, translations do not exhibit structural peculiarities when compared to non-translations in the target language, but they nonetheless contain selections and combinations of linguistic features that are proportionally different from non-translated versions of similar texts in the target language (Kranich, 2016). Central to the notion of registerial shining through is the idea that translations differ from non-translations in terms of established target-language genre conventions.

Kranich et al. (2011) attempt to explain the possible manifestation of translation-induced language change by referring to Van Coetsem's (2000) theory of the transmission process in language contact. According to this theory, the outcome of language contact is largely influenced by which of a bilingual's languages is cognitively dominant. Bilinguals will produce more cases of positive transfer in their dominant language and more instances of negative transfer in the language in which they are less proficient. However, determining cognitive dominance is complicated in some situations by what Van Coetsem (2000) refers to as neutralisation. Neutralisation occurs in contact situations where none of the languages is dominant in the sense that the bilingual language-user is almost equally competent in both languages. A particular type of neutralisation, as explicitly stated by Van Coetsem (2000), is evident in translation. Consequently, the type of outcome of neutralisation is almost impossible to predict, contrary to other contact situations where either of the languages are dominant. Following Van Coetsem's (2000) line of reasoning, Kranich et al. (2011) suggest that extralinguistic factors (such as prestige assigned to the languages or the degree of standardisation of the languages) are likely to be more influential in determining the outcome of translation-induced language change.

Bisiada (2013b), however, argues that Kranich et al. (2011) use the concept of neutralisation too uncritically because it oversimplifies the translation situation. Some of the other essential factors

that could influence the outcome of the translation situation are translators' specialisation by genre, their linguistic proficiency and their attitude towards the source language – especially in situations where the source genres are better established and have more specific norms than the target language. These factors, according to Bisiada's (2013b) explanation, are more or less interrelated. A favourable attitude towards the source language, for instance, increases the chances of that language to influence translators' use of the target language (Bisiada, 2013b). This is because, amongst other things, a positive attitude towards the source language could increase the extent to which the source language becomes translators' language of specialisation. Translators are likely to read material published in the source language to maintain their subject knowledge (Bisiada, 2013b), which could particularly be the case in situations where subject knowledge is better developed in the source language. In cases such as these, the source language could actually be considered translators' dominant language as their overall subject knowledge is derived from the source language (Bisiada, 2013b), which increases the possibility that some of its features can be transferred to the target language.

This is an important consideration. As Toury (2012) hypothesises, the greater the variety of situations to which translators are exposed, along with the diverse sets of norms that accompany these situations, the greater translators' flexibility and ability to perform in a way that is socially adequate. In other words, translators acquire adaptability or "the ability to adjust to changing to situations requiring different attitudes" (Toury, 2012, p. 289) when they work in contexts such as these. Specialisation, however, has the potential to counteract translators' adaptability (Toury, 2012). Taken in the context of translation-induced phenomena, specialisation could potentially make translators more vulnerable to transferring particular kinds of source-text features – a possibility that is heightened when subject content, knowledge, terminology or genres are not as well established in the target language.

2.4.4.2 Translation experience

While explanations such as those of Section 2.4.4.1 move one closer to understanding the nature of the law of interference, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that while it is easy to think "the translator's role is that of an expert, someone with expertise, with professional translational competence" (Chesterman, 1997, p. 147), this expertise needs to be developed. Chesterman (1997) proposes that translators move through five stages as part of a skill-acquisition process, namely novice (recognition of predefined rules and features), advanced beginner (recognition of non-defined yet relevant features), competence (goal-oriented and hierarchical decision-making), proficiency (deliberative action and intuitive understanding) and expertise (deliberative rationality and fluid performance). Taken against the background of cross-linguistic influence, it is likely that negative and positive transfer will potentially be reflected to different degrees in translations based on the experience of translators who produced them.

As numerous studies have illustrated, negative transfer tends to be particularly pertinent in the form of source-text induced translation errors in translations by inexperienced, novice translators (see for instance Bensoussan & Rosenhouse, 1990; Fraser, 1996; Jääskeläinen, 1996; Malkiel, 2006; Presas, 2000). Negative transfer may be less evident in translations done by translators who have reached the competent stage. Positive transfer, in turn, is likely to be reflected to a greater degree than negative transfer in translations produced by expert translators. This is because while experienced translators will have clear ideas about grammatical correctness, which will block syntactic or morphological deviations, they are unaware of the

typical relative frequencies of particular constructions or their favoured collocation patterns, which means that they unconsciously take over source-text features in this area (Kranich, 2014). In this sense, even “good” translations that show no structural or lexical trace of language contact can “have a characteristically different “feel” to them” (p. 10), which occurs because of distributional differences from target-language patterns (Steiner, 2012). While it makes sense that translators, even experienced ones, are not immune to some sort of influence from the source text, it is important to consider the cognitive processes of translators to reach a deeper understanding of why it is that even experienced translators are susceptible to contact effects. Such an understanding, in turn, will allow one to understand the contact outcomes that can be realised in translational situations.

The overall skill-acquisition process according to Chesterman’s (1997) proposal is one of gradual automatisisation where translators are able to gradually use intuition more often as they become more skilled, drawing on critical rationality when needed. Particularly pertinent to its conceptualisation is the types of memory used in the translation process, namely procedural and declarative memory (PACTE, 2014), both of which are situated in translators’ long-term memory (Mondahl & Jensen, 1996). The main difference between these two is how material is stored cognitively (Robinson, 2012) even though it is generally thought that procedural knowledge is acquired because of a development of declarative knowledge (Shreve, 2002). In the procedural state, material is transformed into second nature or habit while in the declarative state the material is brought back out of habit and subjected to conscious analysis (Robinson, 2012). Using the procedural state, translators perform automatic information processing (Robinson, 2012), where many components of the translation process are routinised with the result that familiar or regularly encountered tasks are executed effortlessly and quickly. With unfamiliar tasks – or unfamiliar components of tasks – translators use a more conscious, effortful form of processing (Jääskeläinen, 1996) where translators utilise the declarative state to draw on controlled information processing or critical rationality (Mondahl & Jensen, 1996), which means that it is slower and more time-consuming.

Against this background, one can refer to Toury’s (2012) monitor-model hypothesis and Tirkkonen-Condit’s (2005) literal-translation model. The premise of this model is that translators, whether novices or experts, tend to translate literally, or word for word, as “a default rendering procedure” (p. 407) as long as the translation satisfies equivalence criteria (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2005), which is presumably based on routinised processes of procedural memory. This process continues until translators are interrupted by a cognitive monitor that alerts them to a possible problem in the outcome. The monitor triggers conscious decision-making to solve the problem (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2005) based on declarative knowledge, which is advantageous to translators since it allows them to reserve their energy and leaves more time for less proceduralised components of the task. Toury (2012) points out that such “shortcuts” are seemingly an important component of translators’ ability to deal with problems in real-life situations, such as incomplete knowledge, growing fatigue or time pressure.

Even though both experienced and novice translators are likely to translate literally, the biggest difference between them is located in the efficiency of their monitor models. While novice translators translate word for word, phrase for phrase and sentence for sentence, their monitoring mechanism is not developed to such an extent that it can warn them of literal renderings that are not contextually appropriate or linguistically acceptable as translation

equivalents (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2005). Consequently, negative transfer is likely to be evident to a greater degree in their translations than those of experienced translators. Of course, not all of their output will constitute negative transfer, since they will also produce transfer-induced output that is acceptable in the target audience. Experienced translators, on the other hand, have acquired the ability to look beyond the linguistic structure and the literal meaning of words, which enables them to detach themselves from linguistic signs to a greater extent than inexperienced translators (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2008). Even though they are not completely immune from negative transfer, they are likely to produce translations that will conform more to target-audience expectations with higher degrees of positive transfer because their monitor model will warn them when to switch to declarative knowledge.

It is evident that while interference is a natural part of the translation process, there are various manifestations that range from negative interference to positive interference. While the social contexts may determine or influence translators' decision to pursue formal or dynamic equivalence, they inevitably cannot produce target texts that are entirely free of interference. However, the extent to which negative or positive interference or registerial shining through is evident in translation can vary from translator to translator for the reason such as subject specialisation, adaptability and translational experience in the context of sociocultural norms. While having an understanding of the possible outcomes of the translation process gives an idea of how contact phenomena can occur in the translation process, it is necessary to reflect on how these source-text induced features can spread to such an extent that it results in language change. For this reason, it is necessary to refer back to the language contact theories discussed previously in this chapter.

2.5 THEORETICAL SYNTHESIS: THE ROLE OF TRANSLATION IN LANGUAGE CHANGE

Based on the discussion, it is clear that translation is a form of language contact and there is a possibility that it may act as an engine for language change. At this point, it is necessary to consider if traditional theories of language change can be used as an appropriate descriptive mechanism to understand translation as a site of language contact. In terms of traditional theories, the source language of the translation is the model language from which linguistic elements may be borrowed. The target language of the translation is the replica language providing the required morphosyntactic information to which the borrowed material has to be adapted. As with other language-contact situations, cross-linguistic influence in translation can manifest itself in global code-copying/matter replication and selective code-copying/pattern replication. Global code-copying/matter replication occurs when translators import new lexical material from the source text with the phonic, combinational, semantic and frequency properties of those items intact into the target language. This could occur, for instance, when translators deal with concepts that lack natural equivalents in the target language prior to translation (Meriläinen et al., 2016). These gap-fillers introduce new concepts to a receiving language and, in so doing, enrich that language's lexicon (Matras, 2009). Selective code-copying/pattern replication, in turn, occurs when translators borrow one or more of these properties in the translation process, but not all four. Although both global code-copying/matter replication and selective code copying/pattern replication can occur in translation, the latter tends to be more prevalent (Malamatidou, 2016), which leads Verschik (2008) to say that "translation is selective copying par excellence" (p. 113).

In translation, different types of pattern replication are possible, with the exception of phonic material (Malamatidou, 2016); that is to say, translators do not incorporate phonic features of the source text in the target text. Semantic properties are incorporated when translators borrow connotative and denotative meanings from the source text into the target language, whereas combinational code-copying occurs when translators transfer collocational and syntactic patterns from the source text. Frequency pattern replication occurs when translators copy the frequency of a source-text item in their translation. The incorporation of these elements in the translation process, either on their own or in combination with one another, can contribute to the reshaping and restructuring of the target language's internal structures. In this way, the target language's patterns of distribution, of semantic and grammatical meanings, and of formal-syntactic arrangements at different levels (word, phrase, clause or discourse) can undergo change as a result of translation.

The idea that language change consists of two components, namely innovation and propagation, is arguably not the best suited to investigate the role of translation in language change. Translation is likely possible to play different roles depending on the normative context in which it is used. As such, Johanson's (1993, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2008) continuum of contact-induced change will rather be used that consists of four phases (innovation, habitualisation, conventionalisation and monolingualisation) as the role of translators can be considered anywhere on the continuum. Innovation is likely to occur as instances where translators produce unconventional structures in the target language. There are conditions where this is more likely to happen, such as in cases where translators are inexperienced and more susceptible to negative transfer or where target-text conventions are not well established. However, these once-off innovations are unlikely to become habitualised in situations where there are strong normative constraints. This is because the norms operating on translation will ensure that translators are trained to avoid such anomalies in the future and it is unlikely that such innovations will make their way into published material on a large scale: they will be removed by other normative gatekeepers, such as editors.

Nevertheless, it should also be considered that increasing numbers of non-professionals are producing translations in the modern post-industrial, information society (Pérez-González & Susam-Saraeva, 2012)⁴, which are not subject to editorial intervention. In these situations, non-professional translators working with the same language combinations may collectively produce the same type of cross-linguistic influence as they experience the same type of cognitive load. If they continually produce the same nonce structures because of translation-induced interference, this negative transfer could become increasingly entrenched in translators' minds, which means they might be more inclined to produce them in future translations as well. By virtue of regularly reading translations, the target audience might encounter these nonce replications to such a degree that these replications become cognitively salient and consequently start to use them in their language production as well. In a case such as this, these nonce structures can become habitualised. However, while such a situation is possible in theory, there are also likely to be a

⁴ For instance, a growing body of literature shows that non-professional translators are involved in the development of fanfiction and fansubbing communities (Denison, 2011; Díaz Cintas & Sánchez, 2006), the blogosphere and on social networks (Pérez-González, 2010; Zuckerman, 2008), and the distribution of news (Baker, 2009) amongst others.

strong counterweight from other sources of input that provide explicit normative judgements that might keep these innovative forms restricted to particular genres or certain communicative context.

In short, it appears that there are limited opportunities for translation to introduce entirely new patterns to the target language. It is more likely the case that translation has implications for existing structures in the target language, which means it is responsible for habituation (as Malamatidou, 2016, argues). As has been explained in Section 2.2.1, propagation is usually accompanied by frequency effects, which have been compared to a competitive relationship where more established variants (which constitute major-use patterns) and less-established variants (which constitute minor-use patterns) compete with one another. In the case of language change, major-use patterns are systematically ousted by minor-use patterns that are used increasingly frequently. With increasing use, people can extend the minor-use patterns to new contexts and eventually to more general contexts, until these patterns become major-use patterns. Seeing as interference is unavoidable in translation, it is possible for translators to be primed to use a minor-use pattern in the target language because it corresponds more closely to a source-language pattern (see the discussion on underrepresentation of unique items and overrepresentation in Section 2.4.3.1). If this minor-use pattern is increasingly used in translations at the expense of the older established pattern, it can gradually develop into a major-use pattern in translations. It is possible that this type of transfer will remain limited to translation – which is likely to be the case if translations assume a peripheral role in the target audience’s literary system or if translations are not read on large scale. However, in cases where translations assume a prestigious role and are widely read, the possibility exists that the new pattern can become increasingly entrenched in the minds of the target audience. As a result, the target audience may start using the new pattern increasingly at the expense of the older, more established variant beyond translated texts. In such a case, translations will lead to language change.

An important consideration at this point is that translators do not produce translations in a vacuum: they work in particular social contexts with a variety of constraints that can affect translators. Translators may not be responsible for the diffusion of a minor-use pattern as part of the habituation process since target-language norms might encourage them to rather use more established patterns. However, translators are likely to be sensitive to developing trends in the target language and it is therefore possible that they will be more inclined to use a minor-use pattern in their translation once it is more regular and more acceptable in the target language. As Johanson (1999) points out, one usually sees “gliding transitions between degrees of acceptability” (p. 47) as the minor-use pattern starts to compete with the major-use pattern. During this process, translators may be in step with the developing trends of the target language by using the minor-use pattern more frequently and, in so doing, contribute to conventionalisation of that pattern, which means that translators form part of other forces that lead to the target audience to accept the pattern as a new norm.

However, whereas conventions are fluid and vague in nature, norms involve sanctions. These sanctions can be rewarding (such as if translators adhere to existing norms) or negative (such as if translators violate norms). Pym (2005) hypothesises that the normative type of context in which translators work may have implications for translators’ willingness to take risks where the notion of *risk* can be understood as “the probability of an undesired outcome” (p. 30). Depending on

norms that dictate the context in which translators work, translators may be averse to taking risks as it can result in undesired outcomes. These include the possibility that translators may not be paid or that they might lose the client (Pym, 2005). As such, it is possible that translators will translate conservatively by avoiding minor-language patterns and rather opt for established patterns as these will reduce the probability of negative outcomes. In addition, it is possible that translators may actively resist the production of cross-linguistic influence by maintaining the demarcation boundaries between their languages and by developing strategies to minimise the occurrence of cross-linguistic interference. In these cases, experienced translators are likely to have well-developed cognitive monitors that alert them when they are about to produce a minor-use pattern (see the discussion of the monitor-model in Section 2.4.3.1). It is likely that in these cases, translators will only gradually start using the new variant when it has reached the stage of monolingualisation. This means that the variant has become part of the speech production of monolingual target-language speakers and is also an accepted variant to use. In this case, translations do not act as a catalyst for language change, but rather actively resist it, which refutes the hypothesis of translation-induced language change. In other words, translators can contribute in the following four ways to language change: they can use new structures in the target-language because of cross-linguistic transfer, they can lead language change, they can be in step with language or they can act conservatively by resisting language change.

CHAPTER 3: **THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT**

3.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa has hosted diverse population groups from across the world for many centuries, each with their own cultures and different languages, giving rise to diverse contact situations. This contact has always been influenced and shaped by changing social, political and historical factors. Of importance to this study is the contact between Dutch/Afrikaans speakers and British/White South African English speakers as this has had significant consequences for the country as a whole in the twentieth century. To appreciate the way in which translation facilitated contact between these groups, it is necessary to understand the socio-political context in which translation was used. The present chapter will discuss some of the key events that influenced the relationship between white English speakers and Afrikaners. The chapter will first discuss the contact situation from 1652 to the beginning of the twentieth century to help one grasp the complex factors that would later play an influential role in the twentieth century.

Following the introductory section, the main discussion will be divided into four timeframes based on what are considered to be key political events in the country's history. These timeframes are necessary because it is likely that the texts chosen for translation would have been influenced by changing political relations that had direct or indirect effects on the use and relative status of Afrikaans and English. The publishing contexts of the four periods will also be discussed as these had importance consequences for translation between English and Afrikaans. The purpose of the chapter is to provide information on the factors which might have influenced the overall translation process, the type interference that might have been displayed in translations (that is, positive or negative interference) and the receptiveness of the English and Afrikaans population to interference effects. As information on the development of translation in South Africa is limited, the chapter broadly sketches the translational situation to give an overview of the extent to which translation was used in the government sector and in the publishing sector to understand the opportunities that existed for translation-induced interference to disseminate through English and Afrikaans.

3.2 A PRELUDE TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

At the turn of the twentieth century, the relationship between Afrikaners and the British was complex after nearly eighty years of close contact. Dutch colonists had arrived by sea in the Western Cape in 1652 under the authority of Jan van Riebeeck. Van Riebeeck was charged by the powerful Dutch East Indian Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC) to set up a supply station for their ships that would travel to the Dutch East Indies (Giliomee, 2003). The VOC was founded by the powerful Dutch government as an amalgamation of rival Dutch trading companies to trade with India and south-east Asia after the Dutch government gave the VOC the monopoly on the Dutch spice trade (Giliomee, 2003). Most of the colonists were single Dutch men who were semi-literate or illiterate labourers employed by the VOC as soldiers or sailors (Giliomee, 2003). According to Giliomee (2003) this was a very low status career and men would only sign up out of dire necessity. They were joined in 1688 by groups of French Huguenot families who were escaping religious persecution in France (Johnson, 2012) and came into contact with smaller numbers of Scandinavian and German language speakers in the eighteenth century (Orman, 2008). Within 50 years of their arrival, the French, German and Scandinavian were almost completely assimilated both culturally and linguistically with the Dutch colonists

(Orman, 2008). This assimilation was caused by the fact that the non-Dutch-speaking colonists were too few in number to establish their own self-sufficient communities (Orman, 2008).

Language contact also occurred with the Cape's indigenous inhabitants, the Khoikhoi. Orman (2008) points out that while the European colonists found it difficult to learn these languages, the Khoikhoi learned to speak some Dutch. This was necessitated by the fact that Dutch was the main medium of communication and the dominant language of colonial life. The VOC encouraged the Khoikhoi's linguistic assimilation for their own reasons but there was never any possibility of allowing the Khoikhoi to gain the legal privileges and social prestige of the European colonialists (Orman, 2008) even though early European colonists sometimes married indigenous Khoikhoi women (Giliomee, 2003). Regardless of the VOC's assimilation efforts, there was often tension between the Khoikhoi and the European settlers. One reason was that as the Cape slowly grew from a small supply post into a more permanent settlement, the Europeans needed more land for their farming practices (Mountain, 2003), which mainly consisted of wheat, wine and stock farming (Giliomee, 2003). According to Mountain (2003) conflict became unavoidable when they started to fan out beyond the boundaries of the settlement and encroached on the Khoikhoi's traditional grazing land, which was followed by increasingly violent clashes. Over the next century, the European settlers slowly drove the Khoikhoi off their land and their traditional structures broke down (Johnson, 2012). Some consequently settled on colonists' farms and became farm workers alongside slaves with whom they intermarried (Beck, 2014). Others were incorporated into existing family groups of Xhosa people.

The European colonists also came into contact with the languages of approximately 63 000 slaves imported between 1658 and 1808 (Giliomee, 2003). These slaves initially came from areas within Africa, such as Angola and Dahomey, and later from locations in south and south-east Asia before East Africa and Madagascar became a fruitful resource of slave labour (Johnson, 2012). Even though a high level of linguistic variety accompanied the slaves, the Cape's social conditions did not allow the long-term survival of this linguistic diversity. Slaves were rather compelled to acquire some competence in Dutch to communicate with their European masters (Orman, 2008). As a result, the slave population soon widely spoke pidgin and creolised varieties of Dutch and Dutch as a second-language (Orman, 2008). As with the Khoikhoi, the VOC encouraged the linguistic assimilation of the slaves for the instrumental benefit of the colonists, but there was never any question of allowing them to assimilate into the identity community of the settlers (Orman, 2008).

The Dutch controlled the Cape for more than 150 years, but this reign ended when the British seized control in 1806. The British had the intention to ensure a cultural transformation to accompany the political transformation that occurred when they gained control of the Cape. To realise this cultural transformation, the British pursued intense Anglicisation policies (Giliomee, 2003). This entailed an assimilationist policy to replace Cape Dutch (which was known as Kaaps-Hollands and later as Afrikaans) with English in education and in public life, so that British cultural practices could be imposed upon Cape Dutch speakers (Orman, 2008). English speakers assumed an attitude of cultural superiority to Afrikaans speakers, which was informed by the fact that the Afrikaners had produced no innovations, paintings or books on which they could pride themselves (Giliomee, 2003). The Cape Dutch were largely seen as rural, backward people of which only a few had received more than basic education (Giliomee, 2003). The British community also derided Afrikaans for its limited spheres of use and limited vocabulary (Orman,

2008). The relationship between the British and Cape Dutch was complex during the nineteenth century, with feelings of mutual antagonism that occurred at government level (W. Branford, 1996). Relationships at the individual level, however, were less strained. It was quite common for some of the more educated Cape Dutch to be bilingual and marriages between the two communities were quite common (W. Branford, 1996).

The Cape Dutch met the British assimilationist policy with resistance for several reasons, one of which was that they resented having their children educated by a foreign power in a foreign language (Watermeyer, 1996). The Cape Dutch started private Dutch-medium schools to counter the British language policy (Giliomee, 2003). It was also during this time that the Cape Dutch saw the conservation of their language as a crucial way to maintain their national and ethnic identity (Orman, 2008; Watermeyer, 1996). Consequently, the concept of the *taalstryd* (or language struggle) was born. It was during this *taalstryd* that the vital link between Afrikaners' identity and language would become established in their consciousness. This sentiment, however, did not extend to all Afrikaans speakers. It was underpinned by a racially exclusive ethnic identity that excluded coloured Afrikaans speakers (Frankental & Sichone, 2005). The sentiment of the *taalstryd* would later become a belief that would clearly direct the language policies of the apartheid period (Orman, 2008).

The period between 1835 and 1840 proved to be a pivotal turning point for the Cape Dutch. The Cape was overpopulated by this time because of the land's limited carrying capability, extensive livestock practices and the large families of the Cape Dutch (Beck, 2014). The Cape Dutch were aggrieved by Britain's decision to abolish slavery in its colonies in 1833 and despised the fact that they were denied the almost total control over their Khoikhoi workers that they had previously enjoyed (Beck, 2014; Goodman, 1999). British humanitarianism and missionary liberalism also enforced the Cape Dutch's feelings that the British had sided with the Africans. Finally, following the Sixth Frontier War, the Cape Dutch felt the government would not protect them from African attacks (Beck, 2014). This sparked action from the Cape Dutch of whom some decided to withdraw from the Cape Colony on a mass exodus into South Africa's interior. Between 1835 and 1840, some six thousand Cape Dutch embarked on what became known as the Great Trek (Goodman, 1999) to establish independent territories for themselves. For several the years, these *voortrekkers* [pioneers] travelled north into the country where they managed to establish the Boer Republics of Natalia, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State with Dutch as their official language (Kriel, 2013). The Natalia Republic, however, was short-lived as Britain annexed it in 1843 to form the Colony of Natal – four years after its establishment.

Despite the bilingualism of Afrikaners and the practical importance of English in the areas surrounding British colonies, English spread slowly outside the Cape (Schneider, 2013). A second major settlement of British colonists arrived in Natal from the 1850s, but these settlers had less contact with Afrikaners and more contact within their own group (Van Rooy, 2014). The Afrikaners were able to maintain their own identity and their language mainly because of their isolation in rural areas after the Great Trek when they resumed their farming practices on their newly acquired lands (Steyn, 1980). They were not, however, opposed to English. W. Branford (1996), for instance, points out that a strong tradition of English teaching developed in the Orange Free State and many parents from the Transvaal sent their children to private school in Natal so that they could learn English. Some Afrikaners who resided in the Cape prided themselves on

being loyal British subjects (Giliomee, 2003) and young women from affluent Afrikaans families sometimes claimed they were unable to speak Dutch (W. Branford, 1996).

However, the discovery of diamonds and gold in the Transvaal in the latter half of the nineteenth century had several important consequences for the country. This had a great impact on South Africa in that it transformed the country's society from rural to urban and its economy from agricultural to industrial (Beck, 2014). The discovery of gold and diamonds also resulted in an influx of new European settlers (Lanham, 1996) and it also brought together large numbers of Afrikaner, English and black diggers, camp-followers and entrepreneurs at some of the bigger mining sites (W. Branford, 1996). The discovery of these mineral deposits heightened tension between the Afrikaners and the British – a relationship that was already strained because of British efforts to create a single unified state (Giliomee, 2003). A war broke out (known as the First Boer War) in 1880 following British attempts to annex the Transvaal and ended in the British's defeat. However, a second war flared up in 1899 (known as the Second Boer War or the Anglo-Boer War), which was mainly driven by the British government's desire to control Johannesburg's lucrative goldmines (Goodman, 1999). The British defeated the Afrikaners by using harsh military tactics, which included a scorched-earth policy. The British destroyed the Afrikaners' farms and homesteads, killed their livestock, and forced Afrikaner women and children into concentration camps (Giliomee, 2003). Many died in the concentration camps from measles and typhoid, partly because of their weakened conditions (Giliomee, 2003). The Afrikaners finally surrendered in 1902 and signed a peace treaty in which the Boer Republics turned into British crown colonies (Goodman, 1999).

3.3 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT FROM 1900 TO 1947

3.3.1 Political tension between the British and Afrikaners

The latter half of the nineteenth century had several important consequences for the country's political landscape. Until 1890, up to 90% of Afrikaners lived on farms (Giliomee, 2003) and had little contact with English speakers (Steyn, 1980). However, in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War and because of severe agricultural challenges, a large proportion of Afrikaners were forced to move to cities that developed around the gold and diamond mining sectors. While they shared close contact with English-speakers, they were in a different niche in the industrial workforce. According to Giliomee (2003), white English speakers were usually highly skilled artisans compared to Afrikaners who mainly became supervisors of the black workers as the Afrikaners were slow to acquire industrial skills. Regardless of these differences, all white workers at mines shared a common interest in the realisation of white political supremacy (Giliomee, 2003).

At this time, Alfred Milner (a British statesman and colonial administrator) was driven by the ambition to “turn South Africa into a modern capitalist state with Johannesburg as its economic heart and begin the process of sweeping away pre-modern black and Boer pastoralism” (Louw, 2004c, p. 8). Dutch and Afrikaans were relics of the pre-modern era as far as Milner was concerned. Kriel (2013) points out that Milner wanted to create a single nation out of South Africa's two white races by assimilating the “backward” Afrikaners into the advanced British culture. He implemented a language-in-education policy in the conquered Boer republics with an emphasis on English education and used the English press to support his policy by stigmatising Afrikaans (Beukes, 1993). During this period, thousands of Afrikaners started to use English at the expense of Afrikaans (Steyn, 1980). Less educated and poorer Afrikaner adults and children

were even quite eager to learn English in the post-war period (W. Branford, 1996) – in particular those who had no option but to work for the English (Steyn, 1980).

Milner's Anglicisation policy lasted until 1910 when the two former Boer Republics merged with Natal and the Cape Colony to create the Union of South Africa. In the process, English and Dutch (which was extended to include Afrikaans in 1925) were granted equal official status as part of a conciliatory compromise on the British part (Giliomee, 2003), and the government insisted the two languages be used equally (Beukes, 1993). Milner's policy did not only fail to assimilate the Afrikaans-speaking population, but it actually bolstered the conditions for the crystallisation of an Afrikaner identity, which already started showing signs of emerging following the Anglo-Boer War (Beukes, 2007; Kriel, 2013; Orman, 2008). This emerging identity was strongly linked to Afrikaans as there was a strong rhetoric that implied that the survival of Afrikaners as an ethnic group depended entirely on the preservation of Afrikaans (Orman, 2008; Pienaar, 1943). Kannemeyer (1984) and Beukes (2007) note that this rhetoric was underpinned by two factors. First, Afrikaners feared that the rapid urbanisation of Afrikaners in cities would result in extensive Anglicisation (Kannemeyer, 1984). Second, the use of Afrikaans was reduced in the Cape colony, which made Afrikaners worry about the possibility that English would become South Africa's only official language (Beukes, 2007).

By 1905, Afrikaans journalists in the four colonies started to use Afrikaans in their newspapers to expand their circulation (Hofmeyer, 1987) and some linguistic societies were established to promote and develop Afrikaans, such as *Die Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap* [The Afrikaans Language Society] in 1905 and *Die Afrikaanse Taalvereniging* [The Afrikaans Language Association] in 1906 (Kriel, 2013). A strong advocate for the use of Afrikaans was Gustav Preller who argued for the adoption of Afrikaans as a professional discourse and for the use of the language in books, newspapers and at schools (Hofmeyer, 1987). In so doing, Afrikaans could be developed as professional entity that would provide some occupational mobility for Afrikaners in terms of their cultural and linguistic skills (Hofmeyer, 1987). However, this was no small feat considering that there were two battles that had to be fought. The first of these was that Afrikaans had to become respectable and for the language to be standardised as it was spoken by the white middle class. The second task consisted of transforming Afrikaans into a print language by means of written texts and book production (Hofmeyer, 1987). To accomplish the first of these two tasks, the Afrikaans proponents had to eliminate the strong associations Afrikaans had with poverty and particularly the fact that it was also spoken by coloureds (Beukes, 2007; Hofmeyer, 2014). In order to do so, Afrikaans advocates realised Afrikaans "needed massive injections of Dutch to save it from the English and 'Coloured' structures which permeated it" (Hofmeyer, 1987, p. 105).

In 1909, a body known as *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* [The South African Academy for Science and Arts] was created to promote the Afrikaans culture and language, and to standardise Afrikaans (Roberge, 2002; Steyn, 2014). According to Roberge (2002) and Van den Berg (2005) the academy expanded Afrikaans vocabulary by borrowing Dutch words and adjusted Afrikaans spelling norms to resemble those of Dutch. The academy also used Dutch as the official measure for the compilation of the *Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls* [Afrikaans Word List and Spelling Rules] in 1917, which helped to standardise Afrikaans orthography (Roberge, 2002). The academy's work was important as it contributed to Afrikaans proponents' attempts overall to claim the Afrikaans language as their own. By drawing on Dutch, Afrikaners were able to emphasise the relationship between Afrikaans and Dutch so that Afrikaans would be seen as a

language that was spoken by the white middle class and distance it from its coloured speakers (Beukes, 2007; Hofmeyer, 1987). This perception, Hofmeyer (2014) notes, would also afford Afrikaans entry into the Graeco-Roman tradition, which would further cement its “civilised” status.

While Dutch was instrumental in developing perceptions around Afrikaans and standardising the language, there was also a struggle between Afrikaans advocates. It was increasingly the case that some language planners saw the distance between Afrikaans and Dutch as one of the defining characteristics of Afrikaans. After the government granted Dutch official status in 1910, some language planners lobbied that Dutch should be propagated as a national language while others argued that Afrikaans should be developed so as to be able to function as an official language in its own right (Kriel, 2013). Van Rooy and Van Den Doel (2011) point out that the latter group took the stance that Dutch was essentially an alien language while they argued that Afrikaans was their own language. Over time, Afrikaners realised that Afrikaans would be more valuable to them than Dutch as it would allow for mass participation in the fight against English (Van Rooy & Van Den Doel, 2011). Another reason was that, by that point in time, Afrikaners found it difficult to use Dutch because Afrikaans had diverged so much from it (Van Rooy & Van Den Doel, 2011). Dutch was therefore unable to act as a symbol of identity and a reference point for political organisation, which Afrikaners needed.

Along with some linguistic societies that came into being to promote Afrikaans, another important development for Afrikaans was a language movement known as *Die Tweede Taalbeweging* [The Second Language Movement]. This movement was headed by a group of young Afrikaans intellectuals who had studied in Europe who wished to transform Afrikaans into a written and official language, which was independent from Dutch, with its own high-function uses, its own literature and its own history (Kriel, 2013; Swart & Van Der Watt, 2008). According to Swart and Van Der Watt (2008) the movement’s members believed that, by so doing, it would be possible to foster and construct an Afrikaner identity. The Second Language Movement encouraged Afrikaners to express themselves and their national values in the form of literature especially, but also in music and art so as to create a performance and material culture for the language (Kannemeyer, 1984). The Second Language Movement was successful in that it contributed to the mobilisation and organisation of Afrikaner nationalist consciousness and helped to elevate the status of the Afrikaans vernacular (Beukes, 2007).

By 1924, the political situation was more favourable for Afrikaners when a new government was elected. According to Feinstein (2005), the Pact government was an alliance between the National Party (which represented Afrikaner workers and farmers) and the Labour Party (which represented English-speaking white workers). This election had important consequences for Afrikaners on both a linguistic and a socio-economic level. In 1925, the Pact government granted Afrikaans official status, along with English, and launched a developmental program to promote Afrikaans (Beukes, 1993). This was done in line with requirement of The Official Languages of the Union Act (Act No. 8 of 1925) that Afrikaans and English to “be treated on a footing of equality” in South Africa. Consequently, language workers like translators, lexicographers and terminologists, and other “language engineers” such as teachers, journalists, publishers, church ministers and distributors, contributed to uplifting Afrikaans in an attempt to mobilise the socio-political power of Afrikaners (Beukes, 1993). With the recognition of Afrikaans as an official language, there also occurred a fierce stigmatisation of borrowings from English (Van den Berg,

2005). Afrikaans proponents desperately wanted people to perceive and experience Afrikaans as a unique linguistic entity, which differed significantly from English (Van den Berg, 2005). As a result, Afrikaans advocates put in considerable effort to identify and eradicate so-called Anglicisms (Gouws, 1995), which were understood as undesirable structures or words in Afrikaans that originated from English, so as to achieve a 'pure' form of Afrikaans (Van den Berg, 2005).

The principle of equal use of Afrikaans and English bilingualism was encouraged and implemented in several ways. Amongst other things, the state started to build Afrikaans-medium universities, schools and technical colleges, and English speakers had to learn Afrikaans at school (Louw, 2004a). An Afrikaans book publishing industry developed to meet the demands of the developing Afrikaans education infrastructure and the purchase of educational books by the education departments ensured that resources flowed into this publishing industry (Louw, 2004a). The growth of the Afrikaans publishing industry led to the development of an Afrikaans magazine and newspaper industry (Louw, 2004b). Bilingualism was legally enforced not only in the state bureaucracy, but also in terms of product labelling and signage (Louw, 2004a). Announcements in public areas (such as at railway stations and airports) also had to appear in both languages (Louw, 2004a).

On a socio-economic level, one of the Pact government's most pressing concerns was that of poor white Afrikaners, who constituted both a social and economic crisis. In order to address this problem, according to Feinstein (2005), the Pact government implemented a series of important policy changes to promote the interests of poor white Afrikaners who were migrating to towns and cities in large numbers. These policies involved measures that would create employment for semi-skilled and unskilled white workers, to protect these white workers from the competition they would face from black workers, and to make sure they were paid a higher rate than was usually paid for the work they performed (Feinstein, 2005). Steyn (1980) notes that the Pact government also realised that the state sector and government departments provided a fruitful area to improve the situation of Afrikaners. For instance, in the railway department, a bilingualism policy was implemented that stated that only bilingual whites could be appointed and promoted. This policy ensured Afrikaners could be employed in sectors which used to be dominated by English speakers and which exclusively used English as medium of communication before 1924 (Labuscagne, 1959). In this way, Afrikaners' bilingualism acquired value economically and careerwise (Steyn, 2014). Over time, the state sector became less attractive to English speakers who sought employment elsewhere, which had the result that the public service increasingly became Afrikaans (Coetsee, 1959).

In 1928, Pact representatives, along with private organisations, attempted to improve their understanding of the poor white problem. The Carnegie Commission consequently compiled a report on The Poor White Problem in South Africa with support from a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and focussed on five key areas, namely education, psychology, public health, economics and sociology (Steyn, 2014). The commission's members determined that poor whites had few employment qualifications excluding those for jobs that were occupied by unskilled Africans who worked for lower wages. With the beginning of the Great Depression in the 1930s, Pact representatives extended their civilised labour policy to different public relief projects and demanded the local government only employ destitute whites. Towards the late 1930s and during the 1940s, more work was provided to poor whites because of swelling state

bureaucracy, which was mainly dominated by Afrikaner nationalists. The problem of the poor white question was addressed in the 1940s when whites were given a protected status in the labour market.

3.3.2 New publishing houses and the British publishing metropole

Following the impetus created by The Second Language Movement, a number of Afrikaans role-players and institutions set out to create Afrikaans literature from 1913 so as to counter British hegemony (Berger, 2009). Amongst other things, there was an investment in developing literary production and publishing infrastructure in support of Afrikaner language nationalism, which allowed the Afrikaans publishing industry to develop rapidly. Afrikaans was endorsed through the activities of newly established publishing houses, which included book, newspapers and magazine publishing (Le Roux, 2016). To encourage literary production, Afrikaans institutions implemented literary prizes and competitions that subtly or overtly encouraged people to write about subjects that would resonate with Afrikaners, and cultivated any emerging or established Afrikaans writers (Hofmeyer, 1987). During this time, Afrikaans poets wrote fictionalised accounts of the suffering Afrikaners endured during the Anglo-Boer War, and writers heralded the voortrekkers as heroes and elevated the Great Trek as the most important moment of Afrikaner nationalism that occurred during the nineteenth century (Berger, 2009).

In terms of English publishing, several book publishing houses were thriving that were established at the turn of the twentieth century. These publishing houses were founded on both foreign and indigenous capital (Philip & Kantey, 1995). These include Thomas Maskew Miller's eponymous publishing house in 1893 and the Central News Agency (CNA) in 1896, which initially dealt with newspapers and magazines. The CNA finally started publishing books from 1902 (Donker, 1983; Kantey, 1989). Over time, several of the main British publishers made their presence known in South Africa through agents or offices that distributed their imported books. These include Oxford University Press, Collins, Penguin, Macmillan, Longmans, Hodder and Stoughton, Purnell, Heinemann, and Allen and Unwin (Kantey, 1989; Philip & Kantey, 1995). However, whereas the first half of the twentieth century saw the development of a strong publishing movement to support the emerging Afrikaner language nationalism, South African English speakers were more or less reliant on Britain to satisfy their publishing needs. Before World War II, the South African English magazine industry was almost non-existent (Spies, 1992). Most of the English community preferred magazines from London because these magazines were of superior quality and because the news published in magazines did not age as quickly as the news published in newspapers (Spies, 1992). The few South African publishers mostly focussed on school books and only occasionally published general books (Donker, 1983). Consequently, authors such as Olive Schreiner and later Roy Campbell, William Plomer, Alan Paton and Laurens van der Post had to find suitable publishers in Britain (Donker, 1983).

Even though early book publishers started to make their mark during the first half of the twentieth century, the vast majority of English books were still imported from Britain (Le Roux, 2016). Most South African writers who wrote in English also opted to use their access to a "supranational system of publication" (p. 810) that was mainly based in London and therefore had their work published by overseas publishing firms (McDonald, 2012). The war, however, hampered the circulation of books across the world and a widespread shortage of paper constrained the publishing industry not only in Britain but in other countries as well (Le Roux, 2016), which acted as an important stimulus for local English book publishing. Howard B.

Timmins, who was an agent of British publishers, was one of the first publishers to take advantage of this fact when he began publishing in 1945 and demonstrated that a publisher of local-interest books (rather than educational books) would be able to survive in South Africa (Philip & Kantey, 1995). The general books written by Lawrence Green, Thomas Victor Bulpin and Benjamin Bennett proved to be quite popular even by today's standards (Donker, 1983; Philip & Kantey, 1995).

In 1946, August Aimé Balkema arrived from Holland and started his venture as a bookseller in Cape Town. While he had published small volumes in Amsterdam, he had been an underground publisher since 1933 during the German occupation (Donker, 1983; Philip & Kantey, 1995). Although he was known as a pioneer publisher in English with books on Africana, social history, architecture and art (Philip & Kantey, 1995), he also printed some Afrikaans works by authors such as C. Louis Leipoldt and Uys Krige, before he abandoned Afrikaans publishing altogether in the early 1960s (Donker, 1983). Julian Rollnick, in turn, became the country's first oppositional publisher when he established African Bookman (Philip, 1991). He published a few English books in the 1940s with titles written by authors such as Ezekiel Mphahlele, Govan Mbeki and Julius Lewin (Philip, 1991). African Bookman was a short-lived venture, however, as Rollnick faced problems of promotion and distribution (Donker, 1983; Philip, 1991).

3.3.3 Translation in 1910-1947: Developing Afrikaans through translation

The political situation in the first half of the twentieth century, which promoted and encouraged equal use of English and Afrikaans, set the necessary foundations for Afrikaans to be promoted and developed. With a growing publishing infrastructure, Afrikaans would be given the opportunity to come into its own. While all sorts of language workers, such as teachers, journalists, publishers and church ministers, made valuable contributions in developing Afrikaans, translators would play a particularly instrumental role in cultivating and advancing Afrikaans as a language. Two important areas of development were translation in the commercial sector (i.e. book publishing sector) and the state sector (in the governmental context).

3.3.3.1 Commercial publishers: Filling a literary void with translation

As discussed in Chapter 2, the origin of modern national literary systems, particularly those of minority languages with limited literature of their own, is often based on the translation of original texts from more prestigious literary systems. Translations (which include adaptations and imitations) can hold a central position in such a minority language and contribute to the growth of that language and its culture (Even-Zohar, 1990). In South Africa, the Second Language Movement used translations from prestigious literary systems (such as English, French and Dutch) into Afrikaans (Kannemeyer, 1984) to fill a void in Afrikaans literary production and to introduce Afrikaners to prominent literary works. Two of the key figures of the movement, Gustav Preller and Eugene Marais, argued for the importance of drawing on Dutch literature because Afrikaans needed "the richness and heritage of the older language" (Swart & Van Der Watt, 2008, p. 143). Preller also wanted to increase the amount of literature available in Afrikaans through the translation of classic literary texts such as those of Shakespeare and Emile Zola (Swart & Van Der Watt, 2008).

This awareness spurred some of the movement's members to translate prose, poetry and theatre pieces from a wide variety of languages in addition to writing their own short stories, memoirs

and novels⁵. Book publishers also became aware that there was a dearth of children's books available in the first half of the twentieth century. Translation was not only used to produce more reading material for children but also to educate Afrikaans children in their mother tongue through the translation of international literature (Britz, 1999). This trend started in the 1920s with *Die Kleinspan* [The Little Ones] series. It ended in the 1950s with the *Skatkis* series [Treasure Chest] where texts from across the world were translated and adapted by prominent Afrikaans authors such as D.J. Opperman (Britz, 1999).

While literary works produced in European countries and America were often translated to Afrikaans, bibliographical and historical works were more regularly translated from locally produced South African English texts. Given the importance of the Anglo-Boer War, it is unsurprising to find that publishers often printed works produced by or about noteworthy figures during this time. Boehmer (2012), for instance, points out that the "nation-making as well as nation-breaking repercussions of the war found symbolic expression, not only at the time [...] but in ensuing decades, in national literatures in English and Afrikaans" (p. 248), which were first expressed in poetry and journalism, and then in memoirs and fiction. Examples of books translated in this period include Emily Hobhouse's *The Brunt of the War and Where it Fell* (translated in 1943), James Ramsay MacDonald's (a British statesman) *What I saw in South Africa*, and F.S. Crafford's biography of Jan Smuts. Of course, the translation of historical texts was not just limited to figures who wrote about the Anglo-Boer war. The works of Colin Graham Botha, a South African archivist and historian, were also translated to Afrikaans as were some of the works of Col. James Stevenson-Hamilton, the warden of the Sabi Nature Reserve from 1902 to 1946.

As far as translation into English during this time is concerned, it is clear that books that focus on the Anglo-Boer War were also selected for translation. However, at this time a number of these books were written and published in Dutch rather than Afrikaans. Sometimes, these books would be adapted to Afrikaans at a later stage, often only after the English translation had appeared. The small number of books that were translated from Afrikaans were often those written by members of the Second Language Movement. Some of the work of the writer, poet and naturalist Eugène Marais was translated into different languages, including English. This includes his book *Die siel van die mier* (translated as *The soul of the white ant* and published in 1937) and *Burgers van die berge*, which was translated as *My friends the baboons* (and published in 1939). One can also assume that Gustav Preller's *Argonauts of the Rand* (which was a translation of a diary that was published in 1935) and *Old Pretoria* (which was published in 1938) were translated from Afrikaans, considering that he was a prolific writer in the Afrikaans language.

In short, it is clear that translation was instrumental in the development of the Afrikaans book publishing industry. First, it allowed Afrikaans authors to fill the void in Afrikaans literary production and to construct a literary system, which would then form the foundation they needed to produce their own literature. At the same time, it also introduced Afrikaners to prominent literary works, which meant that they became educated and knowledgeable about prestigious works of literature. Most of this literary system was constructed with translation from Western

⁵ See Ehlers (1943), Pretorius (1957), Kannemeyer (1984) and Toerien (1998) for an overview of the literary and translational activity that took place during this time.

languages, but English was rarely used. The state sector, on the other hand, would prove to be a particularly valuable contact situation for Afrikaans and English as the next section will demonstrate.

3.3.3.2 Translation in the state sector: Afrikaans as *vertaaltaal*

The Union of South Africa's insistence that English and Dutch should receive equal treatment spearheaded the development of interpreting and translation as professions. As Beukes (1993) points out, even though Dutch was the country's second official language from 1910 to 1925, it strategically paved the way for the development of Afrikaans. The proclamation of bilingualism had important consequences for the public service. Circulars that promoted the policy were sent to all government departments (Mwepu, 2008). Some of these circulars indicated that all communication with the public should be replied to using the language in which the correspondence was originally written (in other words, either Dutch or English) whereas communication within departments should use both languages equally (Mwepu, 2008). Consequently, some government departments established their own translation departments (Mwepu, 2008). An example of an early translation office is the one that was founded by the Department of Defence in 1912 (Posthumus, 1936). According to Posthumus (1936) the department distinguished between two types of Dutch. The one represented a "proper" grammatical Dutch of South Africa, such as that which was used in proclamations, regulations and textbooks. The other represented the colloquial form of Dutch or, in other words, Afrikaans (Posthumus, 1936). In the beginning, translation was done from English to what was considered to be proper Dutch, but 1921 signalled a transition when Afrikaans was gradually used more in written communication. However, the department only started translating annual reports to Afrikaans from 1925 when the language received official status (Posthumus, 1936).

Translation from English to Afrikaans played an important role in the public service (Coetsee, 1959) following the Pact government's requirement that both languages had to be used equally in South Africa. Afrikaans became known as a *vertaaltaal by uitnemendheid* [translation language par excellence], especially at an official level (Du Toit, 1965), and that Afrikaners became a *volk van vertalers* [nation of translators] (Posthumus, 1955). Some even claimed that the survival of Afrikaans was dependent on its ability to meet the *vertaalbaarheidseis* [demand of translatability] that was placed on it (Donaldson, 1991). It was not an easy task, however. The lower levels of education of Afrikaners also meant that Afrikaans-speaking candidates who were less than suitable were entering the public service (Beukes, 2007). Most of these Afrikaners had limited exposure to Afrikaans at school and university, and they could not use it as efficiently as they used English (Labuscagne, 1959; Marais, 1959). Clerks were more often than not responsible for translation even though they only had modest proficiency in Afrikaans (Beukes, 2007). The fact that Afrikaans was only in early stages of standardisation and terminology development created even more problems for these translators (Beukes, 2007). De Villiers (1933, p. 115) summarised the challenges of translators in the state sector as follows:

[Vertalers] kry te doen met Hollandismes, anglisismes, barbarismes en nog 'n stuk of wat ismes om nie te praat van deelwoorde, skelwoorde, koppeltekens en deelttekens. Daarby kom nog tegniese, mediese, geologiese en gemiese benaminge, gemeng met 'n

warboel wetenskaplike, werktuiglike, letterlike, wetlike en etlike terme wat soveel bekommernis veroorsaak dat dit 'n mens half gek maak.⁶

One of the first efforts to develop Afrikaans in the public service happened in the Railway Sector (Beukes, 1993; Meiring, 1984). By this time, many Afrikaans workers in this sector had already started to shift to English as they saw it as the only way of being promoted and Afrikaans workers realised how much they used English words and terminology in the work place (Beukes, 1993; Meiring, 1984). According to Meiring (1984), a group of eight ordinary workers created the *Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging van die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë* [Afrikaans Language and Culture Association of the South African Railways] to promote and maintain Afrikaans in and outside of the service in 1930 (Meiring, 1984). The group were driven by the realisation that Afrikaans would remain a *vertaaltaal* if they continued to translate documents from English to Afrikaans (Labuscagne, 1959). For Afrikaans to function as a language in its own right, these workers needed Afrikaans railway terminology so that documentation could be compiled in Afrikaans (Labuscagne, 1959). In 1936, the *Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging* [Afrikaanse Language and Culture Association] realised the value of the railway workers' motivations and decided to give attention to the publication of a technical dictionary (Meiring, 1984). Due to these initial attempts, Afrikaans started to be used for the compilation of official forms and notifications but the Second World War would curb the further development of Afrikaans in the state sector (Meiring, 1984).

In general, the quality of the Afrikaans translations was considered to be poor (Coetsee, 1959). Taken in the context of the ferocious stigmatisation of Anglicisms that occurred at this time, it is unsurprising to find that translations in the public sector were often heavily criticised by the Afrikaner press. For instance, *Die Burger* [The Citizen], an Afrikaans newspaper, published readers' letters that disapproved of the quality of the translations. In one of these, a reader complained: "Hele paragrawe is in so 'n onbeholpe taal opgestel, dat 'n mens maar na die Engels verslag gryp om dit met gemak te lees"⁷ (Marais, 1959). In 1927, the editor of *Die Volkstem* [The Nation's Voice] complained about the "skandelike taalmishandeling" [ignominious language abuse] that was committed by translators (Marais, 1959). *Die Huisgenoot* [The House Companion] also published a few letters that criticised the poor quality of translations. One of the readers complained that Afrikaans was reduced to a clumsy caricature of a translation language because authoritative institutions relied on unskilled translators (Anon., 1939). Two other readers protested that Afrikaans in the public service was reduced to a *vertaaltaal*, which was not only mere copies of the English originals, but was also littered with translation errors (Anon., 1944, 1946). Rousseau (1937), in turn, discussed the fact that clumsy literal translations abounded in Afrikaans governmental documentation but pointed out that this was to be expected because of "die alleenheerskappy" [sovereignty] (p. 72) English enjoyed for many years in the public service.

⁶ [Translators] have to deal with Dutchisms, Anglicisms, barbarisms, and some more -isms, not to mention particles, terms of abuse, hyphens and umlauts. Along with these, there are technical, medical, geological and chemical names, along with confusing scientific, mechanical, literal, legal, and several other terms that causes so much concern it almost drives a person insane.

⁷ Entire paragraphs have been composed in such inept language that one rather reaches for the English report in order to read the text fluently.

Following repeated objections to the quality of Afrikaans as it was used in government publications, a Public Service commission recommended the establishment of a Central Translation Bureau, which would be managed by the Department of Home Affairs, to implement the country's bilingual act (Department of Education, 1957). According to Beukes (1993), the Central Translation Bureau was established in 1930 and J.D. Louw was appointed as the first state translator (also known as a government translator). As Afrikaans was in the early phases of standardisation, the state translator acted as a gatekeeper to ensure that Afrikaans was used correctly. Amongst other things, this meant that he had to use the spelling conventions as set out by the *Taalkommissie* [Language Commission] in all state publications (Van Huyssteen, 2017) and had to promote uniformity in how Afrikaans was used (Marais, 1959). In order to do so, departments were requested to ensure that any revisions made by the state translator had to be conveyed to the person who compiled the original document so that these revisions could act as a future guideline for the author (Marais, 1959). Furthermore, no changes were allowed to be made in work that was revised and improved by the Bureau except if it occurred in consultation with and with the approval of the state translator.

By 1932, Louw realised that more help was needed to edit and revise Afrikaans translations and he made a request for all full-time translators in the public service to be transferred to the Department of Home Affairs (Marais, 1959). While Louw's request was unsuccessful, it made him realise that it was time to encourage everyone responsible for the revision and translation of Afrikaans in the public service to start working more closely with one another. A conference for translators consequently took place in 1933 and even though the conference did not accomplish much, the participants made important decisions (Marais, 1959). One of these included that the translators for the various departments would start compiling lists of technical words and expressions at their respective departments, which they would send to the Translation Bureau for feedback. These lists would then be circulated in the different departments (Marais, 1959). Another important issue discussed was the need to compile official documentation in Afrikaans and then having these translated to English. In 1936, the state translator (whose title was officially changed to Head of Translation) made another request for all translators in the public service to be transferred to his department and his request was granted in 1937. Translators working at the Department of Defence and at the Department of Agriculture were the first to be transferred in 1938 and even though the head of translation gradually assumed control of the various departments, it would be some time still before all of the translators were transferred to the central Translation Bureau (Marais, 1959).

Afrikaners had no other choice but to resort to translation to develop their language in the government. As is to be expected, they found it challenging not only because of their inexperience in translation, but also because Afrikaans lacked the terminology they needed and because Afrikaans was not properly standardised at this stage. However, when Afrikaners finally managed to come into power in 1948, the situation would turn in their favour and translation would come to play a different role.

3.4 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT FROM 1948-1975

3.4.1 Nationalist agendas and growing resistance

The year 1948 signals one of South Africa's most significant political, economic and social transitions. The national (whites-only) election was won by the National Party, which not only promoted white minority rule, but also actively propagated the particular interests of the

Afrikaner. It was a political party that was based on a premise of increased racial segregation, which dictated who people could marry, where they could work, live and study, and with which people they could socialise (A. Kruger, 2012). The party named this policy apartheid and it served as the practical and ideological base for Afrikaner politics for most of the second half of the twentieth century (Attwell & Attridge, 2012). The ideology of apartheid aimed to protect the interests of Afrikaners and transformed the preservation of Christian morals and values into the philosophical foundation for segregation (A. Kruger, 2012). The bills passed by the National Party to enforce white power and implement racial segregation included the Population Registration Act, which required all South Africans to be classified as belonging to specific racial categories; the Suppression of Communism act, according to which communism was defined as attempt to bring out political change through disturbance and disorder; and the Immorality Act, which criminalised sexual relations between white and non-white people (Attwell & Attridge, 2012).

The Group Areas Act was one of the cornerstones of the apartheid regime. It was underpinned by the theory that as South Africa consists of many ethnic groups, the only way to attain peaceful co-existence is by enabling each group to develop separately in its own way and in its own area (Reagan, 2001) as part of a divide-and-rule strategy (Trimbur, 2009). Consequently, black people were displaced to *Bantustans* or *homelands*, which were set up for different language groups. The National Party further extended its hold on power when it implemented stricter control over publications and the media through the enactment of The Publication and Entertainment Act in 1963 (Willemse, 2012). This act aimed to prevent the publication of potentially subversive material in South Africa, to protect South Africans against potentially offensive and harmful material that was produced outside the country and to strengthen Christian values and morals (Willemse, 2012). This act was later reinforced by the more severe Publications Act of 1975 (Davies, 2011).

Language policy and language planning played an important role in maintaining a South African society that was divided along interracial and intraracial lines (Orman, 2008). One of the cornerstones of the apartheid language policy was *moedertaalonderwys* [mother-tongue education]. For the privileged white South Africans, it meant education in English and Afrikaans. The emphasis was placed firmly on division as white South Africans usually received their education in single medium schools and universities based on their respective mother tongues (Steyn, 1980). Orman (2008) notes that apartheid language policy, in this regard, did not seek to create a common white national identity; it sought to proclaim the national identity of Afrikaners vis-à-vis the British while black South Africans were subjugated to both Afrikaners and the British. The function of the language policy was to relieve the tensions between white English speakers and Afrikaners but not to unify them into a single identity (Reagan, 2001). The linguistic nationalism of Afrikaners also did not include black or coloured people who spoke Afrikaans. Standard Afrikaans, as was spoken by the country's white community, was passionately endorsed and non-white varieties were derided as being *plat* [coarse]. As such, the idea of a unified community of Afrikaans speakers did not exist (Orman, 2008).

While mother-tongue education for the white population meant access to languages of political power, for the black population it had severe limitations. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 made it compulsory for black people to receive mother-tongue education for the first eight years of their primary education. Thereafter, their secondary education could be in Afrikaans or English, or a combination of the two languages (Orman, 2008). However, most of the black schoolchildren

never managed to continue into their secondary education, which meant that they were prevented from acquiring a competent knowledge of English and Afrikaans. As such, channels of access to social advancement and power were closed to them (Orman, 2008). The Bantu Education Act not only tried to prevent the black population from acquiring competence in the two official languages, but also to prevent the black community from uniting in collective action against the government (Giliomee, 2003). In this way, the government used language to reinforce tribal and ethnic identity amongst black schoolchildren by encouraging ethnolinguistic division in the black population (Reagan, 2001).

The implementation of apartheid policies, such as those of the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act, resulted in organised protest in the South African landscape. One of the most important political groups during this time was the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC was a black nationalist organisation that had been founded in 1912 to fight for the rights of black South Africans (Giliomee, 2003). Along with parties such as those of Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), it was instrumental in spearheading the fight against the apartheid regime. Under the leadership of Albert Luthuli, the ANC began sponsoring nonviolent strikes, protests, marches and boycotts against the apartheid policies. This included a campaign against the pass laws (black people were legally required to carry permits that indicated whether they were allowed to live in white metropolitan areas) in 1952 (McKenna, 2011). In the process, leaders of the ANC became a target of police brutality and harassment with several of the party's leaders being arrested and charged with treason in 1956. In 1960, the PAC organised massive protest actions against the pass laws at Sharpeville, a township (an underdeveloped segregated urban area that was reserved for non-whites) in the South of Johannesburg. Police killed 69 unarmed protestors in what became known as the Sharpeville Massacre. The National Party outlawed both PAC and the ANC at this point, which denied these parties the necessary legal avenues to bring about political change (McKenna, 2011). The ANC consequently turned to sabotage and started to organise for guerrilla warfare. In 1961, the ANC formed the military organisation Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the nation]. Headed by Nelson Mandela, this organisation was established to carry out acts of sabotage against the apartheid government. However, Mandela and some of the other leaders of the ANC were caught and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia Trial in 1964 (Kriel, 2013). The jailing and outlawing of the ANC and PAC leadership created a political vacuum in the country.

Also important was a movement, known as the Black Consciousness Movement, that emerged in the 1960s as a social movement that promoted political consciousness for black people (Gibson, 1988). A central figure in this movement was Steve Biko, who understood that the liberation of black people would not only come from fighting for political changes like the ANC did, but also from effecting psychological changes in black people's minds (Gibson, 1988). Black people, in other words, had to believe in the value carried by their blackness because if they did not, they would not be committed to gaining political power (Gibson, 1988). An important characteristic of the Black Consciousness Movement and the ANC is that they increasingly used English as a unifying symbol of opposition to the point that it became their *de facto* preferred language (Ngwenya, 2012; Orman, 2008). Trimbur (2009) points out English became the language of liberation in part because it is not an African language and was therefore not associated with the Bantusans and the divide-and-rule strategy of the apartheid regime. English, for this reason, was more inclusive than the other languages available and quickly became the language "of consciousness-raising and national liberation" (Trimbur, 2009, p. 109).

3.4.2 The publishing landscape: Nationalist agendas and dissident voices

According to Willemse (2012), the period from 1948 to 1976 was of crucial importance in the development of Afrikaans literature and it coincides with improved education, rapid urbanisation and greater social privileges from which Afrikaners benefitted. The electoral victory of Afrikaner nationalism bolstered the role of Afrikaans in the economy, the education system and in the civil service. Changes in the economic and macro-political conditions in South Africa made it possible for Afrikaans publishing houses to develop rapidly, which was incentivised and supported by the nationalist agenda of the government (Willemse, 2012). Due to the socio-political climate, these Afrikaans publishing houses were able to create close symbiotic relationships with the significant nationalist-supporting newspaper houses and printers (Willemse, 2012). Another important consequence was that these new Afrikaans publishing houses could foster close relations with the decision-makers who were involved in the apartheid education system, which required purpose-made schoolbooks (Willemse, 2012). The cultural outcomes of these changes included attempts to canonise and stabilise the Afrikaans literary culture, which included the publication of books that explored the literary history of Afrikaans and a new anthology of Afrikaans poetry (Willemse, 2012).

Even though most Afrikaans publication houses promoted nationalist ideals, there were some writers, poets and book publishers who were uncomfortable with the “megalomania, banality, repression and lies within which writers and publishers had to work” (McDonald, 2009, p. 95). A new literary movement emerged during the early 1960s, known as the *Sestigers* (the generation of the sixties). The members of this movement embraced racial tolerance, sexual freedom, modernity and secularisation, and produced protest literature in which they re-examined different facets of their identity through modern literary techniques (Giliomee, 2003). During this time, they mostly published their work through two publishing houses, Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel [Afrikaans Press Book Trading] and Human & Rousseau (McDonald, 2009). Viewed from a historical perspective, however, these two publishers assumed different cultural positions in the Afrikaans literary world. Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel was an established and well-known part of the nationalist book publishing industry (McDonald, 2009). It was closely allied to the political elite with Prime Minister Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd who acted as chair of its Board of Directors. Following various mergers, Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel became part of the Perskor conglomerate (an Afrikaans-language publishing group that had close links with the National Party) in 1971. Human & Rousseau, on the other hand, was the leading publisher of the work produced by the *Sestigers* and quickly earned a reputation as one of the most controversial Afrikaans publishers of the period (McDonald, 2009).

Despite Human & Rousseau’s willingness to publish the work of the *Sestigers*, they became compromised over time, which was in part due to the mounting pressures of the censorship act that sought to suppress literary works that dealt with the devastating consequences of apartheid (McDonald, 2012). Due to their increasing frustration with the prevailing closed-mindedness, narrow moralism and commercialism of the dominant Afrikaner publishing houses, a group of three prominent Afrikaans literary figures, namely John Miles, Ernst Lindenberg and Ampie Coetzee, established a publishing venture in 1975. According to McDonald (2012) their venture, Taurus, would become “the most important dissident Afrikaans imprint of the late apartheid era” (p. 809). These three figures believed that the only way to protect the future of Afrikaans literature was to revive publication through private subscription so as to create an opportunity

for interventionists types of writing, allowing authors to sidestep both apartheid censors and compromised publishers like Human & Rousseau (McDonald, 2012). The need for their project became even more apparent when Human & Rousseau refused to print a book written by André P. Brink, one of the most important writers of the *Sestigers*. The book, *Oomblik in die wind* [Instant in the wind] was a historical novel that dealt with interracial love.

As stated earlier, in the first half of the twentieth century the South African English-speaking population had mostly relied on the importation of books and magazines from Britain to satisfy their reading needs. Between the 1940s and 1950s, the situation changed somewhat when several new publishing houses were established in South Africa (McDonald, 2012). McDonald (2012) points out that most of these South African English book publishers, such as Howard Timmins and Purnell focussed on the publication of marketable Africana (which included biographies, popular histories, cookbooks and bird books) and contributed to the post-war boom in literary publishing. The colonial publishing links, however, were still strong in the 1960s and 1970s, and South Africa continued to import books. Although South Africa was not the largest publishing market in the Commonwealth for British publishers, it was still an important source of income for these publishers because it was the largest market in Africa (McDonald, 2012). As McDonald (2012) notes, this is as much evidence of the durability of old networks of prestige and cultural patronage as it of the legacy of the colonial book trade, as many novels and autobiographies written by South Africans were published in Britain rather than by South African publishers.

The structures of British publishing changed greatly after World War II as did their relationships with overseas markets (McCleery, 2013). Following the Traditional Markets Agreement, which was signed in 1947, Britain and the United States had to divide the Anglophone world book market into a set of protective trading zones (McDonald, 2009). According to McCleery (2013), this agreement had the result that British publishers gained exclusive selling rights throughout the Commonwealth countries, which meant that its strong position was consolidated in the South African context. While British publishers at that time used to be represented mainly by branches overseas that oversaw the import and distribution of books, some tried to publish their own titles in those foreign countries from the mid-twentieth century (McCleery, 2013).

As the largest multinational at the time, Oxford University Press, for instance, changed its simple branch distribution of British material in 1946 to publish books locally in Afrikaans, English and the African languages (Davies, 2011; Kantey, 1989) and by 1962 had a formidable list of forthcoming books that opposed the apartheid regime (Philip, 1991). However, Oxford University Press eventually decided to turn its attention to the lucrative developing apartheid education system. Three Afrikaans publishers (namely, Nasionale Pers, Perskor and HAUM De-Jager) were already strongly positioned in catering for white schools because of their ties with some of the nationalist leaders, but the publishing market for the African languages was still ripe for expansion (Davies, 2011). By this time Longman had already ventured into the African school market (Philip & Kantey, 1995) and Oxford University Press followed suit. The publisher sought and managed to become an important supplier of prescribed books for the African-language market while it continued to distribute imported books. Maskew Miller followed Longman and Oxford University Press. As one of the local book publishers, it had already established itself in the educational field, where it benefited from several educational supply contracts and began to publish prescribed works in the African languages (Kantey, 1989).

From the mid-twentieth century, British publishers increasingly had to cope with the hazards of South African censors who controlled their access to the local market (Davies, 2011). Not only did publishers such as Collins, Heinemann, Penguin, Oxford University Press and Faber have to get their books approved by apartheid censors, but they also had to deal with increasingly cautious booksellers who refused to order books unless these books were passed by the censors (McDonald, 2012). These publishers consequently worked with South African censors to secure the release of some of their book titles and only in one instance did a publisher challenge the ruling of censors (McDonald, 2012). This happened when Heinemann went to the courts with Wilbur Smith's novel, *When the lion feeds*, which was first published in 1965 (McDonald, 2009). South African censors were particularly harsh on black writers who published through British publishers and who tried to remind white society of its political moral responsibilities (McDonald, 2009).

The early 1970s heralded an important development for South African publishers. Three white-owned imprints, namely David Philip Publishers, Ravan Press and Ad Donker, started to focus on book publishing. Although all three were general publishers, who printed works in a range of fields (such as politics, sociology and revisionist history), they began to turn their attention to the literary marketplace. All three imprints had a strong English tradition and risked to publish books that ran counter to the ideologies of the apartheid regime, including those that were written by black authors (McDonald, 2012). In so doing, they even drew the attention of the apartheid security police – a police unit that confronted anti-apartheid groups. The three publishers managed to enter various sub-licensing or co-publishing agreements with publishers from the United States and Britain, which ranged from Third World Press in New York to Rex Collings in London, and larger Africanist projects like the Heinemann African Writers Series and Longman's Drumbeat Series (McDonald, 2009). These agreements meant that local English-language writers were able to reach any of the overlapping publishing markets in the Anglosphere, namely North America, the Commonwealth, southern Africa and South Africa from the 1970s (McDonald, 2012).

3.4.3 Translation from 1948-1975: A gatekeeper of Afrikaner ideologies

In South Africa's socio-political context, translation played a very specific role up to the 1970s. Beukes (1994) and A. Kruger (2012) argue that widespread translation between Afrikaans and English was used as an ideological tool in two overarching ways. First, translation acted as a gatekeeper of Afrikaner ideologies, particularly in upholding the government's ideologies, which means that it functioned as an agent of Afrikaner nationalism (Beukes, 1994). Second, it allowed the government to consolidate its power by limiting people's access to information to the two official languages, especially considering that the two languages were inaccessible to the majority of the country's African-language speakers (Beukes, 1993). In this way, translation participated in broader processes to limit economic and political participation, social mobility and educational development to a small portion of the population (A. Kruger, 2012). As the next section will show, translation in the commercial sector was not used to reflect the growing tension in the country while in the state sector it continued to be used as a tool to further develop Afrikaans.

3.4.3.1 Translation in the commercial sector: Upholding Afrikaner ideologies

It is clear that the production of Afrikaans literature flourished under the apartheid government, but this boom in Afrikaans literature did not make translation irrelevant. Translation was in fact still widely used and a "veritable epidemic of translations from other languages" (Brink, 1976, p.

36), such as French, German and Spanish, occurred in the 1960s. These translations were predominantly produced by members of the *Sestigers*, which included the likes of André P. Brink, Jan Rabie, Bartho Smit and Chris Barnard (Britz, 1999). Behrens (1967) at the time criticised the influence of the *Sestigers* on Afrikaans and its literature because of their exposure to international tendencies in world literature and the large amount of translations from English to Afrikaans.

While growing dissent with the apartheid regime compelled authors in the 1960s to write about social injustices, the texts that were selected to be translated generally did not reflect the growing socio-political tensions in the country. The International Bibliography of Translations (UNESCO, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972) gives one an idea of range of the publication of translations in the latter half of the 1960s. This list has been published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation since 1932 and tracks the translations of a wide variety of culture's books into other languages. The bibliography included translations into and from Afrikaans from 1966 to 1970 and the bibliography shows that a considerable number of the translations produced during this period was carried out from European languages. Some of these include Afrikaans translations of Arnaud-Valence's *La longue veille* (translated in 1966), C.C. Bergius' *Heisser Sand* (translated in 1960), Marie Louise Fischer's *Die Geschworene* (translated in 1960), Barbara Bartos-Höppner's *Die Bucht der schwarzen Boote* (translated in 1961), Joop van den Broek's *Oponthoud in Rome* (translated in 1961), Gert Hofmann's *Der Bürgermeister* (translated in 1968),

Local non-fiction was considerably more popular for translation from English to Afrikaans and vice versa – especially marketable Africana. In comparison to the previous period (that is, 1910 to 1947), there was a notable increase in translation of non-fiction in the commercial market, which was in part due to the growing number of local publishing houses (as discussed in Section 3.5.1). Some book that were translations to Afrikaans include books dealing with plants, autobiographies, environmental and historical books.

In short, translation continued to be an important mechanism of book production in the commercial sector. In terms of literature, Afrikaners still relied on translation from Western languages to develop their language and its list of (literary) resources, but were increasingly inclined to translate works produced by American and British authors. In terms of local non-fiction, translation started to play an important role from 1948 to 1975 when local book publishers started using it to relay information to both their English and Afrikaans clients. While these publishers only really started to use translation from the mid-1950s, translation was already used from the turn of the century in the state sector. As the next section will demonstrate, the state sector started to change their approach to translation from the second half of the twentieth century to enable Afrikaans to shed its status as *vertaaltaal*.

3.4.3.2 Translation in the state sector: Translators as language heroes

In the 1950s and 1960s, there was a mass attempt from numerous state departments to develop Afrikaans so that it would stop functioning as a *vertaaltaal*. To become a fully-functional institutional language, Afrikaans had to develop its own *vaktaal* [subject language], which required the help of lexicographers, terminologists and translators who drew on languages such as English, Dutch and German (see Beukes, 1993; Meiring, 1984). Meiring (1984) claims that this translation of technical terminology to Afrikaans formed part Afrikaners' attempts to maintain their identity, language and self-respect in a rapidly changing world. To address the need for

Afrikaans terminology development, the Translation Bureau hosted a language conference in 1948 where they discussed the issue of promoting scientific and technical terminology for Afrikaans (Beukes, 2007). Following these developments, the Terminology Bureau of the South African Academy for Science and the Arts was founded in 1950 with generous financial support from the government (Beukes, 2007). This coincided with the establishment of a considerable number of language agencies that required the services of lexicographers or translators (Mwepu, 2008). Some of these include The Post Office Terminology Committee in 1948, The Military Terminology Committee in 1949, The Technical Terminological Bureau and The Committee for Agricultural Terminology in 1953 (Beukes, 2007; Meiring, 1984; Mwepu, 2008).

Against this background, it can be argued that while Afrikaners desperately wanted to transform their language from a *vertaaltaal*, they were obliged to rely on translation nonetheless to develop their language. However, translation was to play a different role when it was used to expand the vocabulary of their language rather than copying the message of English texts. In this capacity, translation would be used in anticipation of the terminology Afrikaners would need when they were in a position in the future to compile documents in their native language. At the time, Posthumus (1955, p. 40) summarised the situation as follows:

Uit nood het ons vertaal en met die vertalery die voorwaardes geskep vir verdere organiese groei. [...] Ons het woorde in woordeboeke opgeneem wat nog net in die woordeboeke bestaan, terwyl die normale proses net andersom is: eers ontstaan die woord in die vak en pas daarna kom die leksikograaf. Ons was verplig om die proses om te keer, want anders het ons ondergegaan. [...] Die volgende stap moet wees dat Afrikaans die taal van oorspronklike opstelling word. Die terme in ons woordeboeke moet hulle weg vind na handboeke en wetenskaplike verhandelinge en van daar na vakke en bedrywe. [...]⁸

Considering the role translation played in the expansion of Afrikaans vocabulary, it is unsurprising that translators were grouped with other Afrikaans language workers in a narrative that portrayed them as *taalhelde* [language heroes]. In this narrative, translators were held in high esteem. They were reinvented as *dapper helde* [courageous heroes] for the role they played in the *taalstryd*, which evoked notions of fighters who defended their territory, challenged their enemies (in particular, the British) and beat their enemies in great cost as the ultimate act of self-sacrifice (Beukes, 2007). The fact that they domesticated the public service (which used to be dominated by English speakers) further cemented their status as language heroes (Beukes, 2007).

The Translation Bureau had grown significantly by 1954 when it was moved to the Department of Education, Arts and Science. Along with this move, all of the various translation departments

⁸ We translated out of desperation and created the conditions for further organic growth with translation. [...] We took up words in dictionaries that only exist in dictionaries even though the normal process happens in the opposite direction: a word first comes into existence in the subject and thereafter comes the lexicographer. We were compelled to reverse the process; otherwise we would have perished. [...] The next step is for Afrikaans to become the language of original compilation. [...] The terms in our dictionary should find their way to text books and scientific dissertations and from there to subjects and proceedings.

were transferred as well so that the translators worked in the same building on the same floor (Department of Education, 1954). At this point, the scope of services provided by the Bureau changed, so that it not only revised documents, but also started to translate documents for the different departments (except for the South African Railways and provincial administration) and assumed responsibility for terminological work (Department of Education, 1953). The Translation Bureau worked with some of these committees to translate texts and to produce various language tools, such as dictionaries and preliminary term lists, such as The Preliminary List of Post Office Terms in 1951, The Post Office Dictionary in 1959, and The List of Railway and Other Technical Terms in 1959 (Mwepu, 2008). In this way, lexicography and translation were two key elements which helped Afrikaans to increase its lexicographical corpus (Mwepu, 2008).

To reflect the overall shift in focus, the Translation Bureau changed its name to the Language Service Bureau in 1956 (Department of Education, 1956; Mwepu, 2008). Around the same time, the volume of work increased at the Bureau and the number of translators employed was not sufficient to meet the demand for translation (Department of Education, 1955). The Bureau had steadily been losing experienced staff due to retirement and resignations (Department of Education, 1961) and also possibly due to the fact that the private sector often offered better career prospects and better remuneration (Mwepu, 2008). Translation examinations were the primary means through which translators were recruited but these could not provide an adequate amount of translators for the Bureau and between 1959 and 1960, only two translators were recruited (Mwepu, 2008). In 1960, 64 candidates took the exam. Only six passed, but of these only one translator decided to work for the Bureau (Department of Education, 1960). Translation examinations were finally abolished in 1962 based on the poor results they produced.

The Bureau appealed for the amount of translation work to be restricted, but such a measure would likely have had a negative impact on government communication. The Bureau consequently decided it was necessary to outsource some of its work, even though this was not a desirable solution. Some of the Bureau's members were worried about confidentiality and translation quality, whereas others saw it as admission that they had failed to adequately discharge the Bureau's duties (Mwepu, 2008). Outsourcing was used as a solution throughout the years, which in effect provided job opportunities to freelance and part-time translators and empowered the translation industry. It was only in 1972 that the Bureau acknowledged that the people who were responsible for the outsourced translations were seldom trained translators (Department of Education, 1972).

The efforts to make Afrikaans a fully-functional institutional language and language of compilation started to bear fruit from 1950 onwards. Whereas most documentation used to be written in English and translated to Afrikaans, from 1950 there was a gradual increase in the number of documents that were compiled in Afrikaans and had to be translated to English. By 1960, a survey indicated that the Bureau had to revise or translate "almost as much work from Afrikaans into English as from English into Afrikaans" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 22). This posed a challenge to the Bureau. Following the principles set out by international translation organisations, the Bureau acknowledged the importance for translators to translate into their mother tongue or home language, which meant that it would have to make special efforts to entice English speakers to a career in the Bureau. Up to that point, the percentage of English-speaking candidates for the translation examinations was "almost negligible" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 22). The complete turnaround in translation direction occurred in 1962, with English

becoming the dominant target language for translation. Only 37% of documents were composed in English compared to 63% of documents that were written in Afrikaans (Department of Education, 1960). The Bureau's failure to recruit English-speaking candidates left it with no choice other than to recruit candidates who spoke it as a second language but who had the skills needed to deal with the editing of English texts and translation into English (Department of Education, 1963).

The growth of translation services in the public service acted as an important impetus for the development of translation in South Africa as a whole. Aware of the problems that faced the public service, the Director of the Language Service Bureau, J.S.B. Marais, proposed that a university course should be introduced for translators in order to meet the increasing need for experienced translators in South Africa (Department of Education, 1959). He consequently visited different institutions that employed or trained translators in Europe, the United States of America and Canada in 1961 (Department of Education, 1961; Morris, 1987). In his subsequent report, he made several recommendations. Some of these include that an academic base should be used for translation education, in which case translation schools should be attached to universities and enjoy full academic status, with strict examination and selection standards (Morris, 1987). He also recommended that the curriculum should include subjects such as economics or law and that the qualification should constitute a degree, not a diploma (Morris, 1987). Amongst other things, his report also pointed out that translation between English and Afrikaans was "overwhelmingly preponderant" (p. 22) in South Africa and highlighted the shortage of English translators (Morris, 1987).

The Language Service Bureau made many efforts to provide competent translators both to itself and the language industry in South Africa. Amongst other things, it campaigned for the introduction of translation training to the Department of National Education, investigated different foreign institutions which provided training for translators and had discussions with Rhodes University to implement a degree for translation training (Mwepu, 2008). As a result of these efforts, the first tertiary course for translation was implemented by Rhodes University in 1975. Among some of its objectives, the course aimed to teach students basic theory and its practical application, the relationship between translation and other disciplines, translators' responsibilities and expectations, and the social functions of translations (Pinchuk, 1975). Students were also expected to be sensitive to register differences and know how to use a variety of resources, such as libraries, bibliographies and dictionaries (Pinchuk, 1975). In addition to cultivating a sense for detail and accuracy, students were expected to be able to work alone and to cooperate with colleagues whenever necessary (Pinchuk, 1975).

Along with these developments, translators in South Africa realised the usefulness of establishing their own organisation to endorse translation in the country. A group of distinguished Afrikaans translators, all of whom were employed full-time in government translation offices, consequently formed the South African Translators' Institute (SATI) in Johannesburg in 1956 (Boers, 2006). The organisation aimed to give professional recognition to translators based on a number of objectives, such as promoting translation and correct language use in general, encouraging and undertaking research in the fields of translation and language and publishing the results, and compiling language and translation manuals (Boers, 2006). Amongst other things, SATI also worked closely with the Translation Bureau to ensure that translations were produced that were of high-quality (Anon, 1965). At the time, SATI members wanted to become part of the Fédération

Internationale des Traducteurs (FIT), an international organisation for interpreters, translators and terminologists that was created in 1953. As early as 1959, M.J. Posthumus, SATI's chairperson, suggested that the Institute should make enquiries to find out if it could apply for FIT membership (Beukes, 2006). However, these early attempts were unsuccessful because SATI lacked the necessary funds and because of problems with SATI's constitution (Beukes, 2006). During the first half of the 1970s, the Institute moved its plans aside to gain membership to FIT and rather enjoyed informal relations with the Federation, as Picard's (1977) report indicates.

In short, the state sector was important for translation for two reasons from 1948 to 1975. First, it allowed language departments to compile the necessary terminology for Afrikaans by using translation. This would ultimately enable Afrikaans to function as language of compilation and relegated English to the language to which translation was done. Second, it also helped translation establish itself both as an academic subject that could be undertaken at university and allowed for the creation of a language agency that would promote translation in the country. In so doing, translation was given the opportunity to develop as a professional activity in the country. However, 1948 to 1975 was the period during which the National Party was at the height of its power. From 1976 to 1993, the situation would change for the apartheid regime when growing unrests started to reach a tipping point. As the next section will demonstrate, this had particular implications for translation in turn.

3.5 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT FROM 1976-1993

3.5.1 Growing unrest reaches a tipping point

The period from 1976 to 1993 marks a turning point for an already turbulent South Africa. It is important because language became an additional focal point of the protests that were occurring throughout the country. A census that was carried out in the early 1970s showed that the amount of people who spoke Afrikaans as their first language would steadily decline. English, as the language of commerce, was already becoming dominant among the black population in the polyglot Witwatersrand (Giliomee, 2004). A survey of young people living in Soweto found that the vast majority (up to 98%) did not want to be taught in Afrikaans (Giliomee, 2004). Driven by survival fears, the government decided that Afrikaans had to be promoted in all possible ways so that the language could attain its 'rightful position' in schools for Asians and blacks (Giliomee, 2004). In order to ensure Afrikaans and English were used equally in black schools, the government began enforcing The Afrikaans Medium Decree in 1975 (Giliomee, 2004; Reagan, 2018). This meant that Afrikaans had to be used as the medium of instruction at black high schools for social studies, arithmetic and mathematics, and English for general science and practical subjects (such as woodwork, needlework, homecraft and art). Black learners protested and revolted against this decision as they saw Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor and their resistance to the use of Afrikaans in school formed part of a more general rejection of their education system altogether (Giliomee, 2004; Reagan, 2018). Black learners started protesting on 30 April 1976 in Soweto and their protests spread rapidly. On 16 June 1976, between 10 000 and 20 000 learners marched to Orlando Stadium in resistance to the policy in what became known as the Soweto Uprising (Reagan, 2018). They were met by police who fatally shot 23 learners. By 17 June 1976, approximately 1500 armed police officers were dispatched to Soweto and the South African Army was on standby as an expression of military force (Reagan, 2018). Eventually, hundreds of learners were killed and more than a thousand were injured. Along with the earlier Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, the Soweto Uprising became one of the crucial events in

the struggle against apartheid and, according to Trimbur (2009), it helped to cement English as the language of liberation.

Up to this point, ANC members had kept their outlawed party alive in Zambia and Tanzania under Oliver Tambo's leadership but the party was revived after the Soweto Uprising (McKenna, 2011). Resistance intensified to the point where the government was placed under considerable pressure. Not only did the government face international sanctions and boycotts, but it also had to contend with a protest culture that developed in South Africa where people tried to liberate the country. After a long period of strained diplomatic relations and isolation between South Africa and the international community, the Prime Minister of the National Party, P.W. Botha, started tentative talks with the ANC and eventually abolished the pass laws, but he was not prepared to change his position on the apartheid system nor was he willing to release Nelson Mandela from prison (Kriel, 2013). His unenthusiastic attempts had serious economic consequences for the South African economy. The country was isolated even more by the international community and the South African rand fell drastically against major currencies (Kriel, 2013). Botha was succeeded by F.W. de Klerk in August 1989 who announced the end of the apartheid policy knowing that growing animosity and violence in the country would inevitably result in a racial civil war (Kriel, 2013). In 1990, De Klerk announced that the ANC would be unbanned and that all political prisoners would be released, which included Nelson Mandela. The apartheid system was finally abolished in 1993.

3.5.2 Publishing in an era of international sanctions

In the 1970s and 1980s, the publishing sector reflected the consequences of the apartheid government's intervention. Libraries acquired no books that were of a radical or liberal nature in case it would influence their white readers (Philip, 1991). Managers of bookshops, like the CNA, were unwilling to buy oppositional books for fears that it might endanger the lives of their shop assistants and because customers mutilated such books, making them unsellable (Philip, 1991). Booksellers, and in particular their scientific and tertiary departments, were severely affected by the effects of sanctions imposed by overseas publishers who refused to deal with South Africa. A few American publishers, like McGraw-Hill, even disinvested or withdrew from the country (Philip, 1991). In schools, Afrikaner Nationalist writers (who were often school inspectors) and publishers had the monopoly on the books that would be approved all over the country (Philip, 1991). Even in the profitable black-school market, Oxford and Longmans, who previously dominated the market, had lost ground. Longmans was able to recover in the 1980s by purchasing Maskew Miller. By the mid-1980s, some of the oppositional publishers, such as Ravan Press and David Philip Publishers, were harassed and violently intimidated by security police, and large quantities of books were confiscated (Philip & Kantey, 1995).

Donker (1983) notes that publishers faced various challenges and opportunities at the time. Besides the CNA that had more than 200 shops countrywide, there were a limited number of bookshops who could function as outlets for local publishers. These booksellers were also increasingly bought by conglomerate groups, which meant that publishers struggled even more to sell and distribute their books. In bigger bookstores, like the CNA, local publishers faced competition from imported books for bookshop space (Donker, 1983). Another problem was the considerable cost of paper. South Africa was largely reliant on paper from Scandinavian countries, but the sanctions implemented by these countries meant that South Africa was largely denied the possibilities of printing (Kantey, 1989). While reflecting on the situation, Kantey (1989) pointed

out that the establishment of an independent paper mill would have been a possible solution to the problem except that the high cost of building such a mill would have made it impossible. At the time, the advent of desktop publishing allowed small independent publishers (such as Skotaville Press) to proliferate but the high costs of even the cheapest computer, the monopolistic practices that operated in the bookselling industry and the high cost of paper represented major hurdles to these publishers (Kantey, 1989). Another challenge at the time was to convince local authors to publish in South Africa (rather than through publishers overseas) and to retrieve the rights of publication of titles from British publishers. It took Ad Donker, for instance, two years to secure the rights to Roy Campbell's work with the British publishers (Donker, 1983). In addition, while performing arts were well supported by corporate organisations and the government, little was done to encourage writing in South Africa and few writers could make a living from just writing alone (Kantey, 1989).

However, despite these problems, a "thriving indigenous market" (p. xi) existed for white Afrikaans and English writers with a strong possibility of translation and export rights (Kantey, 1989). Philip and Kantey (1995) note that the main general publishers at the end of the 1980s include Struik (the country's largest general publisher, mainly of beautiful reference books), Southern Books (a publisher of reference and natural history books) and Don Nelson (which focussed on home crafts, cooking and sport). Tafelberg and Human & Rousseau were major publishers of Afrikaans fiction mostly, with a list of authors that include Karel Schoeman and Etienne van Heerden (Philip & Kantey, 1995). The favourable situation was in part due to the weakness of South Africa's monetary unit: it made local publishing more viable as the price for imported books soared. Another additional factor is that books started to appear in joint runs in Afrikaans and English (and sometimes Spanish and German for the tourist market), which lowered the cost of 'coffee-table' books so that it was considerably more affordable than imported equivalents (Kantey, 1989). The situation even improved to such an extent that it was estimated that there was an equal split between local and imported books in the market. Figures of actual runs (in descending order of magnitude) in the trade sector showed linguistics, literature, religion, domestic science (which includes cookery books), natural science, commerce, history, mathematics, political science, geography and travel books were the most popular topics of books published in South Africa at the time. In 1989, 380 published writers existed in South Africa. Of these, 180 published in Afrikaans, 120 in English and 80 in the different African languages (Kantey, 1989). In 1988, the Cape Provincial Library Services noted in their annual report that Afrikaans fiction was at the top of their list of acquisitions, which was followed by English fiction and Afrikaans fiction for children (Kantey, 1989), which further illustrates the strong position Afrikaans and English had in the publishing sector.

Even more profitable was educational publishing, which includes school and academic textbooks. The data available for 1990 show that the domestic book trade grossed an estimated R431,5 million (Nishino, 2015). Of this amount, educational publications brought in R344,4 million (which translates to 77% of the total amount). Of the top ten educational publishers who published books that were adopted by the Department of Education and Training for primary and secondary schools, the top three were Afrikaner publishers (Educum as a subsidiary of Perskor, HAUM-De Jager with 16,7% and Via Afrika as a subsidiary of Nasionale Pers with 14,3%) who together had a share of 51% (Nishino, 2015). School textbook publishers were attracted to textbook publishing for three reasons. First, there was certainty of sales. Once the Education Department adopted a textbook title, the department would order and buy the required number

of textbooks for schools (Nishino, 2015). In so doing, textbook publishers were saved the costly and time-consuming practice of trying to speculate how many copies could be sold. Second, the country's mandatory bilingual legislation meant that textbooks had to be available in Afrikaans and English (Nishino, 2015). Regardless of the time required and the cost involved in translating textbooks, it broadened their market to both Afrikaans-medium and English-medium schools. Finally, there was usually high demand for replacements at schools (Nishino, 2015). Schools would usually loan textbooks to learners on an annual basis and the Education Department budgeted for textbooks to last five years before they had to be replaced (Nishino, 2015).

In terms of local academic publishing, the leading academic publishers were Van Schaik (which became one of the subsidiaries of Nasionale Pers), Juta, Butterworths (which was under South African management from 1987), Ravan Press, David Philip and the university presses of Natal and Witwatersrand (Philip & Kantey, 1995). Multinational conglomerates like Random Century (which would later become Random House), Harper-Collins, Macdonald Purnell, John Wiley and Pan Macmillan were in the country as distributors rather than as local publishers (Philip & Kantey, 1995). Local publishing was mostly restricted to the faculties of education, arts, social sciences and commerce as the market in engineering, medicine and the sciences was dominated by imports, mostly from American publishers (Kantey, 1989; Philip & Kantey, 1995). The print runs of local academic textbooks were usually small. This was because instruction was given in both Afrikaans and English, which often necessitated two versions of a textbook (Kantey, 1989). Local academic publishing was also divided at this stage, with Van Schaiks mainly focussing on conservative white Afrikaans campuses, while more liberal campuses (those that mainly consisted of white English speakers) preferred Raven, Skotaville and David Philip. Outside of the country, some local authors commanded a market in America and Europe, and usually published their novels there. Wilbur Smith was by far the most popular author and, at the time, more than 60 million copies of his books were sold worldwide. Other English writers with varying degrees of political commitment and literary quality but with high marketability included Jack Cope, Geoffrey Jenkins, June Drummond and John Gordon Davies (Philip & Kantey, 1995).

3.5.3 Translation from 1976-1993

The implications of the escalating tension in the country would be threefold for translation. The commercial sector was largely unaffected and it is possible that international sanctions actually contributed to an increased translational activity of local non-fiction trade books. At the same time, the government's censorship control meant that some Afrikaans authors' book would be banned. These authors were then compelled to have their work translated to English so that they could reach an international market to create awareness about the injustices of the apartheid regime. In this way, they would use translation as a tool of resistance against the ideologies of apartheid. At the same time, SATI would face the implications of sanctions against South Africa.

3.5.3.1 The commercial sector: Translating amidst censorship

In general, it appears that the censorship did not have negative consequences for translation in the commercial sector. As Rabie (1989) points out, 2032 Afrikaans books were published in 1982, of which 310 were translations. Popular choices for translation included youth books, religious literature and craft books. If anything, the joint runs of Afrikaans and English 'coffee-table' books that came about because of the censorship meant that translation was used more rather than less to sell books to a larger market. Local publishers that published books in English and Afrikaans

as joint runs included the likes of Struik, Tafelberg, Don Nelson, A.A. Balkema, Human & Rousseau and Centaur, and local Africana continued to be a popular choice for translation.

Whereas Africana was popularly translated, fiction was a less popular choice for translation. Translation still occurred from German, French, Italian and Spanish to Afrikaans (Du Plessis, 1979), but it appears that translations were increasingly less prestigious than was previously the case. Publishers at the time were worried that translations would not sell as well as was the case in previous years and also had a problem with the fact that translations could not be prescribed at schools or universities (Rabie, 1989). Another problem was the fact that most Afrikaners would already have read classical works in English while some would have read the original in a European language (Du Plessis, 1979; Rabie, 1989), which meant that they were less inclined to buy an Afrikaans version of a literary work.

While fiction was generally not popularly translated, the situation in the country meant that Afrikaans had started to carry a political burden and state censorship threatened the growth that Afrikaans literary production had experienced during the 1960s (Galloway, 2002), all of which would contribute to translation being used by some oppositional writers of fiction. The stigmatisation of Afrikaans had a profound effect on Afrikaans literature and led Afrikaans writers to not only reflect on the compromised status of their language but also on the country's socio-political problems (Viljoen, 2012). At the time, several Afrikaans writers started to experience the consequences of state censorship that authors of English and African-language texts suffered. In 1974, Brink's novel *Kennis van die aand* (lit. 'Knowledge of the evening') was the first Afrikaans book that was banned (Viljoen, 2012). It was followed by Breyten Breytenbach's poetry volume *Skryt*, which was banned in 1975, Etienne Leroux's novel *Magersfontein, O Magersfontein* [Magersfontein, oh Magersfontein] in 1977 and some other Afrikaans texts until the mid-1980s (see McDonald, 2009).

In order to escape state censorship, some Afrikaans writers began to translate their own work, or had it translated by translators to English so that their books could be printed abroad. The most notable of these authors was arguably Brink who translated his book *Kennis van die aand* to English following its banning in South Africa (A. Kruger, 2012). The book was consequently published as *Looking on darkness* in London in 1976. Even though *Looking on darkness* was also banned in South Africa, the ensuing publicity generated brought Brink an international following (A. Kruger, 2012). It also gave him the platform he needed to spread messages about the apartheid government's injustices and offered him the opportunity to resist the apartheid government through his works of fiction (A. Kruger, 2012) by writing about topics such as the Soweto Uprising, sabotage, exile, political oppression and revolutionary activity. His example was soon followed by other oppositional writers such as Elsa Joubert who translated *Die swerfjare van Poppie Nongena* into *The long journey of Poppie Nongena* and Breyten Breytenbach, who had his book *'n Seisoen in die paradys* translated into English by Rike Vaughan as *A season in paradise* (A. Kruger, 2012).

In short, it seems that the socio-political implications for translation in the commercial sector was two-fold from 1976 to 1993. On the one hand, translation could develop in the non-fiction trade market because of increasing sanctions. On the other hand, some of the literary translators started to use translation as a tool of resistance to defy the policies of the apartheid government.

As the next section will demonstrate, translation in the state sector was also not affected by socio-political problems of the country, but rather had to deal with the challenge of being understaffed.

3.5.3.2 Translating in the state sector: Coping with the realities of being understaffed

While the country was suffering from socio-political upheaval, translation in the state sector was unaffected by such problems. The State Language Bureau rather had to cope with the reality of being understaffed in the late 1970s and the first half of the 1980s. While up to 53% of the Bureau's positions were vacant in 1981, the Bureau particularly struggled to recruit English translators (Department of National Education, 1982). This was a problem the Bureau encountered already in the 1960s, which had resulted in the Bureau relying on candidates who spoke English as a second language and candidates who lacked the necessary skills to deal with the editing of English texts and translation into English. With between 60% to 75% of documentation being compiled in Afrikaans in 1980s, the Bureau found it particularly worrisome that it did not have enough English candidates. In 1983, for instance, only eight of 23 posts were filled by permanent personnel to translate and edit the documents of 20 government departments. The situation was more favourable for Afrikaans with 12 of 16 posts being filled by permanent staff (Department of National Education, 1984). The average level of experience Afrikaans personnel was also higher (9,7 years) compared to the experience of English staff (5,9 years). The Bureau tried to recruit more English staff by advertising and by contacting universities that provided training in translation, but while a steady stream of candidates wrote the entrance examination, only two could be appointed in 1983 for English (Department of National Education, 1984).

In order to address the problem of being understaffed, the Bureau provided in-service training of translators for the first time in 1983. This training provided candidates a high level of proficiency and also increased their knowledge of language. The Bureau was positive about the outcome of the training, particularly because candidates were able to take on some of the work themselves, which eased the work load of the Afrikaans and English branches (Department of National Education, 1984). However, in 1984, the Bureau lost a sizeable number of its candidates to "marital factors" when some of the female candidates had to resign because their husbands were transferred to other departments (Department of National Education, 1984). Despite this initial setback, the Bureau continued with its in-service training, which it referred to as language advisory services from 1985. The Bureau found that the training offered a viable solution to its problems of being understaffed and the latter half of the 1980s offered bursaries in languages or Translation Studies to entice candidates (Department of National Education, 1989).

3.6 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT FROM 1994 TO THE PRESENT

3.6.1 A new political context

In 1994, South Africa transitioned from the apartheid system to one of majority rule. The year saw a change in government when the ANC came into power, which it has retained up to the time of writing. Soon after the party came into power, it took a firm stance on its promotion of national unity and racial and gender equality, which was reflected in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa that was enacted in 1996. Language equality is also reflected in the Constitution's language policy, which awards eleven of the country's languages official status. These languages are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu along with Afrikaans and English. The Constitution affords people the right to use the language of their choice and to be taught in that language in cases where this is reasonably practical (Butler,

2017). The Constitution's official language policy is to protect and endorse linguistic diversity, and it recognises and encourages multilingualism as a national resource. Language rights are safeguarded by the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), which has been mandated to encourage multilingualism in the country (Butler, 2017).

Its role, in practice, has been to investigate complaints against private or public institutions that have been accused of violating citizens' language rights (Butler, 2017). In this way, the current government has not adopted a policy that is designed to promote separate identities (Orman, 2008). In theory, the government has chosen to see linguistic pluralism as a resource that can be used to forge a common South African identity that is non-racial and fully inclusive (Orman, 2008). While the language policy initially set the country on the right path, the situation has come about where, instead of tapping into the use of all eleven languages, the country has defaulted to English (Beukes, 2009; Heugh, 2007). Orman (2008) summarises the situation when he notes that a clear language hierarchy has developed with English at the top, the African languages at the bottom of the hierarchy and Afrikaans somewhere in the middle but gradually dropping in importance. English is dominant in institutions such as education, administration, television and courts of law, and is the dominant medium of communication in the work place (Gottlieb, 2010; Heugh, 2007).

The close relationship with the state from which Afrikaans and Afrikaners benefited has proven to be a double-edged sword in post-apartheid South Africa. While Afrikaans and Afrikaners received a valuable flow of resources, patronage and status under the National Party's rule, it has left a legacy of bitterness among Westernised urban black South Africans (Heugh, 2007; Louw, 2004b). With this group being at the heart of the ANC governing elite, they have not only terminated the apartheid regime's Afrikaner nation-building projects, but they have also terminated the flow of patronage Afrikaans enjoyed (Louw, 2004b). As a result, post-apartheid South Africa has seen a loss in the government's preferential treatment of Afrikaans in terms of social events, education, media (radio and television) and general status – all of which signal a noteworthy decline of Afrikaans in public domains (Willemyns, 2013). The government has dropped Afrikaans as the language of bureaucracy, and central, local and provincial governments have switched to the almost exclusive use of English (Louw, 2004b). Parastatals serving the government also extensively use English as do government research institutes (Louw, 2004b). The government also seeks for the country's demographic profile to be reflected in its labour force. Through the Employment Equity Act of 1998, the state sector has to be made up of 76,7% blacks, 10,9% whites, 8,9% coloureds and 2,6% Indians (Giliomee, 2004). As English is the only language in the country that is shared and spoken by almost all literate people, it is indispensable in the state service (Giliomee, 2004). For Afrikaans speakers this has meant that they have been increasingly replaced with people who are highly proficient in English (Giliomee, 2004; Heugh, 2007). All of these factors have meant that Afrikaans has lost the strong position it enjoyed in the apartheid years while English has steadily been increasing in its importance.

The country's five universities that predominantly used Afrikaans have gradually drifted in parallel- or dual-medium instruction and several university degree programmes in Afrikaans have been eliminated or consolidated with other subjects (Willemyns, 2013). The remaining Afrikaans degree programmes have seen a dwindling number of enrolments (Willemyns, 2013) There have been pressures to convert Afrikaans schools into English-medium institutions to ensure that a higher level of the country's demographic will be able to receive education. While

Afrikaans is still influential as a language of business (H. Kruger, 2012), its use declined in the early apartheid years when some Afrikaner-owned companies (such as Volkskas Bank) went so far as to change their names to conceal their Afrikaans character while others that previously conducted their business in Afrikaans switched to English (Louw, 2004b). Afrikaans also has less of a presence because there has been a dramatic decline of its use on government-funded radio and television, with English steadily developing as the country's dominant language of media (Louw, 2004b). Despite the general decline in the use of Afrikaans in public domains, Afrikaans still competes well in certain domains, as is reflected in popular internet sites, high newspaper sales and subscription-based television channels (Willemyns, 2013).

3.6.2 The post-apartheid publishing situation: Adjusting to a new government and new challenges

1994 marked a watershed year in South African publishing, ushering in a period of official multilingualism. This transition had far-reaching consequences for the publishing scene in general. Of the various sectors, educational publishers were particularly affected. During the 1990s, the government introduced a new school curriculum known as Curriculum 2005, which was founded on an outcome-based methodology. This educational approach shifted the emphasis from rote learning and parroting of authoritative knowledge collected from textbooks to developing learners' critical faculties using a wide range of learning resources (Galloway, 2002a, 2002b). The shift in the government's educational method forced educational publishers to create learning material that would be suitable and appropriate for the new school environment and they invested deeply in new projects. In 1996, however, some of the provincial departments declared they would start projects to develop and publish their own material, which meant that governmental publishing seemed imminent (Galloway, 2002a, 2002b). While the threat did not materialise, the Department of Education announced in 1997 that it did not have the necessary funds to buy textbooks (Galloway, 2002a) and in 1998, the Department spent 85% less on school textbooks compared to the previous year (Galloway & Venter, 2006). The blow was severe as the schoolbook sector was the backbone of the publishing industry.

At the time, book publishers had largely relied on the profits of prescribed schoolbooks to cross-subsidise less viable projects for many years. This was particularly the case with the publication of fiction in trade market (Morgan, 2006). Morgan (2006) notes that the situation with the Department of Education meant that these publishers suddenly had to rely on an underdeveloped book-buying market (in the early 2000s, the book-buying market involved only 5% of the South African population). As a result, many publishers were forced to downscale their production, which cost the industry half of its jobs (Galloway & Venter, 2004; Morgan, 2006). Mergers, acquisitions and closures of publishing houses were also unavoidable (Galloway & Venter, 2004; Morgan, 2006).

The Afrikaans book publishing sector thus faced two challenges. It was systematically downgraded as a language of social practice and official policy and it had to deal with the ramification of the collapse of the schoolbook market. The fact that it managed to survive these crises is testament to its strength before apartheid ended. Its survival was in part due the strong infrastructures that were created during the apartheid years and because of the support of its language community (Galloway, 2002a). Mchet (2002) explains that

although Afrikaans no longer occupies a privileged position where it is supported by the government at the expense of other languages, Afrikaans literature has continued to be published, reviewed and bought. This indicates that once a literature and reading public for a language has become established it will sustain itself even without government support. (p. 76)

In an example provided by Lubbe and Du Plessis (2013), it is also clear that this support is partly due to the perception that Afrikaans is still pressured “by people and institutions who wish to ensure that the language fades into nothingness” (p. 81). This pressure compels authors and researchers to further expand the language by producing new reading material in Afrikaans and to preserve older literary works that might be forgotten (Lubbe & Du Plessis, 2013).

Today, the book publishing industry is in a more stable position. While there is considerable linguistic diversity with the country’s eleven official languages, the vast majority of books are still published in Afrikaans or English (Buitendach & Le Roux, 2018). Afrikaans is most strongly represented in the trade sector (when compared to the educational and academic segments of the book-publishing sector) with 42,1% of books sold according to the PASA survey for 2014 (Borgstrom & Gough, 2016). The Afrikaans market is also quite stable because it does not face the same competition as the English market, which is comprised of both local and imported books (Möller, 2014; Möller & Buitendach, 2015). Because of this stability, the Afrikaans market can produce the most extensive list of new South African titles per year (with 255 titles produced in adult fiction, 190 in adult non-fiction, 276 in children fiction and 226 in non-fiction for children for 2014). While English is slightly more profitable in the trade sector (with 44,5% of books sold in 2014), this includes the sales of both local and imported English titles (Borgstrom & Gough, 2016; Möller, 2014; Möller & Buitendach, 2015). Local publishers face considerable competition from international publishers in the fiction market and English sales can be significantly influenced by an imported bestseller (as was the case with the Stephenie Meyer’s *Twilight* book series in the fiction sector). Local non-fiction, on the other hand, is usually more profitable than imported non-fiction, which explains why local English publishers produced more adult non-fiction titles than adult fiction (173 titles compared to 90 titles) in 2014. Popular non-fiction includes biographies and autobiographies, true crime, cookbooks, and historical or political titles (Möller, 2014).

When one takes a closer look at the other two book-publishing sectors (the academic and educational sector), it becomes evident that English is by far the most profitable language. The academic sector consists of academic textbooks, professional books (written by practitioners in the fields of taxation, accountancy and law, which is aimed at legal users in commerce, industry and government) and scholarly publications (mainly peer-reviewed books that are produced by university presses and research institutions). Given the strong role English plays in academia world-wide it is unsurprising to find that academic publishing is strongly dominated by English (with 97,7% of book sales), while Afrikaans books are barely represented (only 2,3% was generated by Afrikaans books) in 2013⁹. Other than the trade sector which is influenced to a large

⁹ Even though data available for the academic sector for the year 2014, Borgstrom and Cough’s (2016) database was contaminated during the draft phase. As such, the PASA publishing industry survey for 2014

degree by imported books, local academic books are noticeably more profitable (contributing 85,2% of total income) than imported books (which only contribute 11,3% of total income) for 2013 (Struik & Borgstrom, 2014).

The educational sector remains the most profitable market (contributing 51% of total turnover). The 2014 PASA survey shows that for educational books that were produced locally, 76,8% of sales were of English books, 11,8% of Afrikaans books and the African languages combined account for 11,5%. Along with more traditional school textbooks, this sector also publishes books for technical and vocational education and training (TVET) and adult basic education and training (ABET) courses. TVET courses are designed to help school learners (from Grade 10, aged from 15 to 16) and school leavers (from Grade 12, aged from 18 to 19) develop the skills needed to pursue employment or entrepreneurial possibilities. ABET courses, in turn, are available to adults to finish their basic education and include training in the subjects of natural science, technology, life orientation, and language, literary and communication. Some notable educational publishers include Pan Macmillan South Africa, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press and Pearson South Africa.

3.6.3 Translation in post-apartheid South Africa

Following the dismantling of the apartheid regime, people acknowledged the important role translation could play in mediating communication and facilitating understanding between the eleven official languages to aid nation-building practices (see for instance Beukes, 2006; Krog, Morris, & Tonkin, 2010). An example of this is the valuable role translation played in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a restorative justice body that was assembled following the end of apartheid. The Commission invited victims of human rights violations as witnesses to give statements about their experiences during the apartheid era and gave perpetrators of violence the opportunity to give testimony and to request amnesty from criminal and civil prosecution. People provided powerful testimonies in their mother tongues during the proceedings and interpreters translated these testimonies for everyone to understand.

Translation in post-apartheid South Africa has been used in very specific ways between English and Afrikaans. As the next section will demonstrate, translation continues to be used in the commercial sector and in the state sector but in different ways. Whereas Afrikaans continues to be a strong force in the trade sector (with translation still occurring between Afrikaans and English), it has lost its prestige in the government sector to English. The old bilingual policy has been gradually abandoned in favour of limited translation of key documents to all languages other than English. This means that Afrikaans has the same status as the African languages in the government sector where it, like the African languages, has to compete for state resources.

3.6.3.1 Translation in the commercial sector

Due to the strong publishing infrastructures for English and Afrikaans that were created in the apartheid years, it is unsurprising to find that translation still occurs between English and Afrikaans in the trade sector. In general, local Afrikaans works are translated more to English

does not present as much information for this sector as in previous years, and the results for 2013 are consequently reported.

than English works are translated to Afrikaans. Kleyn (2013) attributes this situation to two reasons. First, Afrikaners are bilingual to such an extent that they find English understandable and accessible, which means that they will be able to read English books. In some cases, Afrikaners even prefer to read an original text rather than a translation (Kleyn, 2013). English speakers, on the other hand, are not bilingual to the same degree. This means there is a bigger need and market for books that are translated from Afrikaans to English (Kleyn, 2013). Second, the local Afrikaans market is dominated by certain publishers (particularly, Nasionale Boekhandel¹⁰) to such an extent that English publishers find it difficult to penetrate this market with their smaller lists of Afrikaans publications. With their dominant position in the market, the leading Afrikaans publishers benefit not only from established networks to market and distribute their books, but they also do not face problems surrounding translation rights (Kleyn, 2013).

Taking a closer look at translation in the publishing context, Möller and Buitendach (2015) conducted interviews with notable book publishers who publish bilingual titles for adults. These include NB Publishers (which consists of two imprints that produce bilingual books, namely Human & Rousseau and Tafelberg), Jacana Media (a publisher of mostly English titles) and LAPA (a publisher of mostly Afrikaans titles). These publishers are aware of the interests of their target audience and catering to these. So, whereas Afrikaans speakers do not mind reading current affairs books (such as books dealing with South African politics) in English, they do prefer to read titles that deal with Afrikaner topics or issues specifically (such as the Border War¹¹) in Afrikaans. Publishers have found it more difficult to sell books that are translated from Afrikaans as they have to ensure that their English market will be able to relate to the topic and theme of the Afrikaans title. Publishers have also found it more difficult to market books written by Afrikaans authors in the English market (Möller & Buitendach, 2015).

Along with the serious cost implications and the amount of time needed to translate a book, South African publishers appreciate the fact that they have to carefully consider the choice of book to be translated and whether a book should be translated at all (Möller & Buitendach, 2015). As such, they have become quite cautious about translating books in recent years and do not consider bilingual publishing to be a trend that has really taken off (Möller & Buitendach, 2015). Reviewers are also inclined to be negative about translation in general, although there are differences in how English and Afrikaans reviewers review translations. Local reviewers will usually review an English translation as if it were an original text, rather than a translation (Kleyn, 2013). This approach is, in part, due to the fact that some reviewers do not understand Afrikaans and because some reviewers think that the source text has no value for the target audience (Kleyn, 2013). Afrikaans reviewers, on the other hand, are inclined to base their reviews on a comparison of the English source text and its Afrikaans translation, and will draw attention to unidiomatic language use (Kleyn, 2013). In general, popular topics for translation between English and Afrikaans include cookbooks, biographies, craft books, narrative non-fiction, true crime and business books (Möller & Buitendach, 2015).

¹⁰ Nasionale Boekhandel became a Naspers subsidiary in 1973.

¹¹ The Border War was a conflict that occurred in Namibia (formerly South-West Africa) between South Africa and the South-West Africa People's Organisation from 1966 to 1990.

Afrikaans authors today are aware of the important role English plays worldwide. As such, they find it particularly important to have their books translated into English as it will ostensibly bring them global recognition and access to a bigger or even international market (De Kock, 2011). Winterbach, for instance, notes in an interview with De Vries (2009) that:

As an Afrikaans writer you will only be taken seriously when read in translation. You will only be reviewed in the English press in translation. That's why there is such an enormous push towards translation.

This awareness is coupled with an increase in the translation of Afrikaans works of fiction from 1994. Some examples include Dan Sleigh's *Islands* (printed in 2004), Elbie Lötter's *It's me, Anna* (printed in 2004), Marlene van Niekerk's *The way of women* (translated in 2006), S.J. Naudé's *The alphabet of birds* (printed in 2014), Karin Brynard's *Weeping waters* (printed in 2004), Marita van den Vyfer's *Just dessert, dear* (printed in 2014), Jaco van Schalkwyk's *The alibi club* (printed in 2014) and numerous books by Deon Meyer. Some Afrikaans writers have even managed to penetrate the international market using translation. Authors such as Riana Scheepers, Marlene van Niekerk and Rachelle Greeff are examples of Afrikaans authors who have not only managed to have their works translated to English but also German, French, Dutch, Italian and Chinese amongst others. Some Afrikaans authors, like Marita van der Vyver and Deon Opperman, have even managed to become acclaimed international authors through their translations.

There has also been an increase in the number of titles translated from South African English to Afrikaans, but not to the same extent. The reason for this situation might be explained through the correspondence Aalbers (2014) had with Umuzi (a publisher of fiction and non-fiction in Afrikaans and English) and Ivan Vladislavić (a prominent South African English writer). In their market feedback, Umuzi has found that readers are increasingly negative about Afrikaans translations, even if it is the literary work of a renowned South African author, such as J.M. Coetzee. This leads Vladislavić to conclude that the situation is indicative of how widely English is read in South Africa, particularly amongst readers of literary fiction. English fiction that has been translated in the post-apartheid era include Pieter Cilliers' *Pilgrim*, Zirk van den Berg's *Nobody dies*, Paula Marais' *Shadow self*, Kirby van der Merwe's *My children have faces* and Marguerite Poland's *The keeper*. Translations of American and British works are more profitable with Christian fiction, titles from the *Mills & Boon* series by Jacklin Enterprises and a large number of children and youth literature being very popular sellers (Kleyn, 2013).

3.6.3.2 Translation in the government

In the early years of the transition, a flurry of language policy initiatives saw the light. For instance, the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) was formed in 1995 to act as an advisory committee to the minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. LANGTAG's main task was to advise the minister about issues that had to be addressed and processes that had to be followed to compile a language plan for the country. The State Language Service (formerly the Language Services Bureau), which had previously only provided editing and translation services to the government's language office, also started to become engaged in overt language activities (Beukes, 2006, 2008). PanSALB, the government's language management agency since 1996, was also expected to take a strong stand on the situation of interlingual mediation in South Africa. Amongst other things, PanSALB was and is still expected to ensure "the promotion of translation and interpreting facilities" (p. 3) as translation is a valuable tool by which *linguistic capital* can be

distributed to the people of South Africa (Beukes, 2006). In this way, the government was able to ensure that a major shift would occur from apartheid language practices to ensuring that all citizens would have equitable access to government information, services and knowledge (Beukes, 2006). In 2002, the government tabled a draft bill that made provision for interpreter and translation services on an extensive scale and committed itself to make official documentation available to a growing extent in all 11 official languages (Giliomee, 2004). Following this bill, a South African Language Practitioners' Council was to be created as a statutory body to improve the quality of language used in government documentation, to improve the status of the language profession in the country, and to manage the training, accreditation and registration of language practitioners.

While the government was initially on the right track in some of its attempts to promote multilingualism through translation, the situation has come about where it "has engaged in very little systematic translation planning and management other than supporting a variety of translation projects on an erratic, ad hoc basis" (Beukes, 2006, p. 4). The draft bill was set aside until the South African Languages Act (which would provide for the establishment of language services in all domains of the government) was promulgated (Beukes, 2006) and was only assented to in 2014. In line with the Constitution, governmental officials initially wanted to develop the African languages following the strategy used by Afrikaners to develop Afrikaans on a catch-up basis in the first-half of the twentieth century (Heugh, 2007). This would have meant that a document was compiled in one language before it was translated to the other languages, allowing the nine African languages to develop in the process. However, this was an ill-advised strategy for the simple reason that there "are not sufficient resources to play catch-up, separately, nine times over" (Heugh, 2007, p. 203).

Louw (2004a) notes that while the state might want to protect and promote Afrikaans and the African languages, it also has to take 'economically rational' decisions. From a more 'rational' point of view, the state only needs one language to administer itself and the economy (Louw, 2004a). Any governmental intervention to protect and promote the other languages would mean that more taxes would have to be collected – something that is opposed by both international and national capital (Louw, 2004a). In addition, the government is under pressure to deliver social services to its citizens and is pressured to lower state expenditure, which means that it has to look for budget areas that can be cut. In this context, the protection and promotion of South Africa's cultures and languages are relegated to the back seat and capitalist economic factors pressure the government to favour of Anglicisation (Louw, 2004a). As such, English has emerged as "the undisputed *de facto* language of preference in government" (p. 19) in post-apartheid South Africa (Kotzé, 2014).

Translation services are still available to all national departments and entities and terminology development has been ongoing in financial and technological domains as well as in social, human, economic and management sciences (Department of Arts and Culture, 2018). However, whereas the bilingual policy of the past required that government documents had to be available in English and Afrikaans (which necessitated widespread translation), the situation has changed to such an extent that only key documents are translated on request to the country's official languages. Whereas the Language Services Bureau had to translate between 6000 to 9000 pages a year in the 1980s (Department of National Education, 1984), mostly from Afrikaans to English, the current National Language Service translated a total of 728 key documents from English to the

country's other official languages in 2016 (Department of Arts and Culture, 2017). A cursory glance at the government's webpage shows that the vast majority of official documentation (such as annual reports, acts, bills and draft bills) is available only in English.

In short, post-apartheid South Africa has had a number of implications for translation at government level. Translation could act as an important tool to develop the African languages as speakers of the African languages would be able to develop new genres, registers and words (by coining new terms) through the act of translation, which would enable them to access new social domains. However, translation has not been used to its full potential and Beukes (2006) argues that the "underestimation and neglect of the facilitating role of translation [is] a distinct feature of post-apartheid South Africa" (p. 5). The changing political situation has also had implication for English and Afrikaans. While these two languages were the official languages of communication up to 1994, the situation has come about where English is the dominant language of the South African government. Whereas Afrikaans previously benefitted from its status as one of two official languages (and enjoyed considerable translation from and into English), it now shares that status with the African languages. Consequently, the government's resources are not channelled into the promotion of Afrikaans as used to be case. As such, whereas Afrikaans proponents in the twentieth century wanted Afrikaans to lose its status as *vertaaltaal* in the government, the situation has come about where Afrikaans is used only to a limited extent as language of translation. English, on the other hand, has managed to become the dominant language in government – a status that is unlikely to change anytime soon.

3.7 SYNTHESIS OF THE ROLE OF TRANSLATION IN THE DIFFERENT TIME PERIODS

Socio-political events have had important implications for the role of English and Afrikaans in South Africa, which in turn affected translation between the two languages to a greater or lesser extent. In the first period (1910 to 1947), English was the dominant language but Afrikaners rallied to standardise Afrikaans as the language had come to form an integral part of their identity. In the commercial sector, key Afrikaans authors translated a variety of languages to Afrikaans to expand the linguistic resources of their language. Translation was also used to educate Afrikaners and Afrikaans children in world literature. Considering the importance attached to translation and the fact that Afrikaans was not properly standardised at the time, this sector was likely to have been a promising site for interference to occur. The Afrikaans target audience arguably would have been quite receptive to interference phenomena because of two reasons. First, as Afrikaans was not properly standardised, it is plausible that normative constraints would have been weaker for interference effects. Second, they would have been quite positive towards translation as it meant that they were introduced to famous literary works (such as Shakespeare's works and Greek mythology) from across the world. However, at the same time, most works of fiction were translated from European languages and a limited number from American and British English. Very few were translated from South African English. As a result, it is likely that the interference would have been induced by European language rather than South African English. White South African English speakers, in turn, were mostly supplied with reading material (fiction and non-fiction) from British publishing houses, even though some local publishing houses started to come onto the scene. This means that very limited opportunity existed for interference effects to have influenced the way they used English.

The state sector, in turn, arguably provided a promising environment for interference effects. Not only was Afrikaans in the process of being standardised, but the Afrikaans workers that were

entering the government service only had a little education in Afrikaans and were more proficient in written English than they were in Afrikaans. While it was unavoidable that these inexperienced Afrikaans translators produced negative transfer, the Afrikaans press was not receptive to this interference and criticised the Afrikaans translations that were produced in the government sector. This, of course, has to be taken in the context of the ferocious stigmatisation of Anglicisms that occurred at the time. It is possible, in other words, that these inexperienced translators produced innovations (as a result of negative transfer) or that they used minor-language patterns that were already present in Afrikaans (and which might have become habituated in Afrikaans over time). However, the strong reaction of the press would have impeded such possibilities, which means that it is unlikely that these changes would have become conventionalised or monolingualised.

In the second period, translation continued to be an important production mechanism in Afrikaans – especially the translation of European works of literature. As translation was still held in high esteem, it is possible that linguistic features of these translations could have become habituated, conventionalised and/or monolingualised in Afrikaans as a whole. However, in the South African context, literary works were rarely translated between South African English and Afrikaans, with the exception of short stories that were sporadically translated from Afrikaans to English. As such, it is doubtful whether such translation would have contributed to translation-induced change. Non-fiction arguably presented a better opportunity as local publishing houses increasingly started to translate books on Africana between English and Afrikaans, which means it would have been possible for transfer effects to disseminate to its target audience.

The situation in the state sector was quite complex in the second period. English provided the terminological grid and Afrikaans translators pro-actively strove to match it so that Afrikaans would be able to become the language of compilation. As such, they started to translate English terminology to Afrikaans in anticipation of the day when translation would develop from *vertaaltaal* to *vaktaal*. However, at the same time, the mobilised efforts to develop Afrikaans as a language with its own unique character (that differed from English), meant that the possibility of English influence disseminating through Afrikaans would have been curbed to a high degree. In order to make sense of the possible influence translation might have had on Afrikaans in the state sector it may be more useful to refer to the lexical and structural outcomes of the state sector. On a lexical level, the terminology translated in advance by translators made a very valuable contribution to giving Afrikaans the subject language (and terminology) it needed to become the language of compilation. As Meiring (1984) points out, these translations were not just limited to the state sector but also diffused into the vocabulary of Afrikaans speakers in general. On a structural level, on the other hand, it is more likely that interference would have been interpreted as Anglicisms and consequently condemned. For translation from Afrikaans into English, it seems more likely that interference effects would have appeared in government documentation. Bilingual Afrikaans speakers were responsible for translation into English and the quality of their work was not considered to be up to standard. The possibility thus exists that some of these interference effects may have diffused through English by going through the stages of habituation, conventionalisation and monolingualisation.

In the third period, the growing unrest in the country did not have any particularly negative consequences for translation as a whole. The worst affected were Afrikaans literary authors who started to engage in self-translation as a means to escape apartheid-imposed sanctions. On the

literary scene, there was still somewhat limited translation done from Afrikaans to English, but less translation was done from South African English to Afrikaans, which is probably because Afrikaans readers were bilingual enough to read the original English text. Translation was more frequently done in non-fiction because local books were cheaper than imported books, which meant that there was a greater market for translation. The possibility thus exists that some instances of transfer might have disseminated to the language use of Afrikaans and English speakers. In the state sector, the situation remained largely unchanged. Afrikaans was increasingly used as the language of compilation and English functioned as the language of translation. The inexperience of the English translators might have continued to contribute to possible transfer effects. Because of the stability from the second to the third period, it is possible that some of the transfer effects of the second period might have become conventionalised at this point, in which case they were gradually developing from minor-use patterns to major-use patterns.

The changing socio-political context of the 1990s had various important implications for the publishing industry. While the collapse of the textbook market had consequences for book publishers and their employees (which would have included translators), the situation has managed to stabilise over time. The trade sector is dominated by English and Afrikaans, and translation continues to be an important tool. In terms of fiction, translation still occurs more frequently from Afrikaans to English and translation offers Afrikaans authors access to a bigger target-audience. As a result, the possibility exists for transfer effects to disseminate to the language production of English readers. Fiction is also sometimes translated from English to Afrikaans, but the negative perception of Afrikaans readers toward translation in general might curb the possibility of transfer effects becoming conventionalised or monolingualised. It is clear that the situation changed drastically in the state sector in post-apartheid South Africa. English once more became the language of communication and Afrikaans once again became the language of translation. However, today Afrikaans shares that status with nine other languages. The implication of this situation is twofold. First, increasing numbers of Black South Africans have entered the state service. Whereas white South Africans previously wrote much of the original state documentation, the situation has changed so that this documentation of this sort is mostly compiled by Black South African speakers. Second, with its loss of status, it is likely that language practitioners in the state service will not be as sensitive to transfer effects as used to be the case. The possibility thus exists for transfer effects to occur and to become conventionalised in Afrikaans translations.

CHAPTER 4: **METHODOLOGY**

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the possible role of translation in contact-induced change. This chapter sets out the methodological concerns and steps followed to determine whether translation contributes to language change in the South African context. In Section 4.2, corpus linguistics as a methodology will be discussed in more detail before attention is paid to corpus-based translation studies in Section 4.3. Section 4.4 will provide information on the corpus design in terms of its components, time periods and registers, and will also discuss how the texts were collected and processed. Sections 4.5 and 4.6 will discuss the two features chosen for analysis, namely genitive variation and modality in Afrikaans and English.

4.2 CORPUS LINGUISTICS AS A METHODOLOGY

A corpus is a collection of machine-readable texts which allows researchers to study a particular set of research questions (Biber et al., 1998). Corpus-based analyses rely on the extensive use of computers, using both manual and automatic techniques (Biber et al., 1998). Whereas analysing large amounts of text manually is not easily replicable and is prone to error, the use of computers allows for statistical reliability, the ability to handle large amounts of data and incredible speed (Biber et al., 1998). The use of computers also avoids human bias in analyses and ensures consistency, which means that the results are more reliable overall (Biber et al., 1998). Using computers, researchers can therefore address research hypotheses more efficiently over a large amount of data, which results in research findings that have greater validity and generalisability than would have been possible otherwise (Biber et al., 1998; Leech et al., 2009). The results of such analyses can challenge or support theoretical positions or theory-dependent hypotheses (Mair, 2006).

The corpus-linguistic approach may involve both qualitative and quantitative analytical techniques (Biber et al., 1998; Leech et al., 2009). Qualitative approaches, on the one hand, are interpretative in nature and rely on close analyses of specific linguistic features (Lindquist, 2009). Through these analyses, researchers are able to test hypotheses they have come up with beforehand or arrive at linguistic theories by induction (Lindquist, 2009). Using qualitative methods, they may draw conclusions about what can happen, what is possible or what might happen (J. Williams & Chesterman, 2002). Quantitative approaches, on the other hand, are based on frequencies and use various types of numerical and statistical methods to formulate and test hypotheses, and to describe languages (Lindquist, 2009), drawing on linguistic tendencies, regularities, and distributions (J. Williams & Chesterman, 2002).

While qualitative and quantitative analyses are often seen as incompatible opposites in other disciplines, these two approaches are frequently used in combination in corpus-based approaches (Leech et al., 2009). Leech et al. (2009) point out that this combination sometimes has cyclic elements in that it involves “both a movement away from the data towards more abstract formulations (generalizations, hypotheses and theories) and a movement back to the data to seek further evidence for or against such formulations” (p. 32). Consequently, researchers might shuttle back and forth between qualitative and quantitative analyses in an attempt to interpret their results against hypotheses and linguistic theories.

Two types of associations are important in corpus-based research, namely linguistic associations on a formal level and non-linguistic associations that underpin functional interpretations. On a formal level, researchers focus on lexical associations (studying how linguistic features are associated with specific words) and grammatical associations (studying how linguistic features are systematically associated with certain grammatical features in the immediate context) *within* a corpus (Biber et al., 1998; Leech et al., 2009). On the functional level, researchers interpret these linguistic features and associations in terms of elements that are *external* to the corpus, such as social, cognitive and historical factors (Biber et al., 1998; Leech et al., 2009). The interaction between formal and functional elements is often explored in corpus-based studies in order to understand how their complex relationship is both reflected in and affects language in particular ways.

According to Biber et al. (1998), corpus-based techniques are particularly useful to study language variation because even though variation is conditioned in complex ways by interactions among different language parameters, both internal and external, it is nonetheless systematic in nature. This variation can be studied synchronically (within a restricted, often contemporary, period of time) and diachronically (over a longer period of time). Using corpus-based studies, researchers have been able to describe the propagation of individual innovations in language change and have found that linguistic change, and specifically grammatical change, does not occur suddenly, but rather develops slowly and at variable speeds in different text types or language varieties (Leech et al., 2009). These changes are often so subtle that they are difficult to perceive and might not even be noticeable to researchers (Leech et al., 2009) without the systematic analyses of corpora.

4.3 CORPORA AND TRANSLATION STUDIES

4.3.1 Parallel and comparable corpora

Translation scholars have used corpora to study linguistic differences and similarities between translations and original texts since the 1990s. One type of corpus design that is used in translation research (and the most “traditional” one) is the parallel corpus. It is typically a bilingual corpus that consists of non-translations in the source language that are aligned or paired with their translations in the target language (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2013; Zanettin, 2012). This type of corpus focusses on the translation relationship between two languages (Zanettin, 2012) and can be used to determine how different or similar a translation is from its source text as well as the types of decisions translators make in the process of translation.

Another type of corpus design used in corpus-based translation studies is the comparable corpus, which is typically used to compare two varieties of the same language, namely non-translations and translations. These texts are usually collected by means of the same sampling methods and are often on the same topic, but there is no translation relationship between the non-translations and translations (Zanettin, 2012). Comparable corpora may be of two types. They can be monolingual, in which case they consist of non-translations and translations in the same language, or they can be bilingual or multilingual, in which case they consist of comparable texts in different languages (Malamatidou, 2018). Comparable corpora are generally used to study linguistic and discursive features of translations and to compare these to those of non-translations in the same language. For this reason, comparable corpora are often used to study what is widely known as “translation universals”, or recurrent features of translated language.

4.3.2 Methodological limitations and considerations

Even though comparable and parallel corpora can provide important insights into translation when they are used separately, there has been growing recognition that the limitations of the two designs when used independently can be ameliorated by combining them. In so doing, the researcher can test the potential role of both source-text influence and the other unique linguistic patterns of translation (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013). While such a parallel-comparable design is a step in the right direction to testing source-text influence on translations, a more complex design is needed if one wishes to study source-text influence on translations over time and to disentangle translation-induced change from more general contact effects. In order to account for language change through translation, it is particularly helpful to keep Neumann's (2011) four criteria in mind when it comes methodological considerations.

In the first place, a prerequisite for any claim that involves translation as a mediator of language change (whether it is only as a difference in translations when compared to non-translations, or the far-reaching impact of linguistic change) is the existence of a contrastive difference for the linguistic feature to be studied. As such, the chosen method should allow the researcher to determine a change in the properties of target-language features that can be interpreted as adaptations to the properties of contrastively different source-language features. In the second instance, the method should allow researchers to investigate if the frequency of a feature in translations approximates the frequency of an equivalent source-language feature. This provides evidence that translations differ from non-translations and can play a role in diffusing the contrastive feature. In the third instance, the method should allow researchers to identify causal relationships between changes in the original texts and their translations.

As Neumann (2011) points out, the second and third criteria are important because they indicate whether or not translation can play a role in language change. If it can be shown that the frequency of a feature in translations approximates that of an equivalent feature in the source language over two or more timeframes and if the frequency of that feature can also be shown to develop in target-language originals, then there is some evidence for language change through translation. However, as a fourth step, one also has to assess and eliminate alternative explanations in the target-language originals. This is because language contact is influenced by a variety of factors and translation is just one factor among several others.

In short, it is important for the chosen methodology to enable one to adequately address the first three criteria, which should then be followed by an evaluation as to whether or not other factors might have contributed to language change. Corpus design is a particularly important consideration in cases where the two languages in question have shared close and intimate contact for a number of years, as is the case for South African English and Afrikaans, as it should enable one to differentiate between features that are due to contact in general and those that are due to the translation process. The design should also allow one to study bidirectional effects to account for the possibility that both languages could have influenced one another to a greater or lesser extent. For instance, it is possible that English and Afrikaans could have influenced one another to different degrees over time, depending on the shifting power differentials between English speakers and Afrikaners. In order to overcome these methodological shortcomings, the next section proposes using a bidirectional comparable parallel corpus to adequately deal with the question of whether translation is responsible for language change in South African English or Afrikaans.

4.4 CORPUS DESIGN

4.4.1 Corpus components, time periods and registers

In this study, a bidirectional parallel corpus is used. The corpus contains parallel components (source texts and their corresponding translations), monolingually comparable components (non-translated texts and translations in one language) and multilingually comparable components (original texts in both languages to be studied). The main corpus is divided into four subcorpora, namely Afrikaans source texts and their English translations, and English source texts and their Afrikaans translations. The advantage of this design is that it allows for multiple comparisons to be made. For instance, the subcorpus of Afrikaans translations can be analysed for translation-specific effects in comparison with the parallel subcorpus of the source texts in English, but can also be analysed comparatively by comparing it to the subcorpus of non-translations in Afrikaans. Likewise, the subcorpus of English translations can be compared with both the Afrikaans source texts and the comparable non-translated English component. The Afrikaans and English non-translational subcorpora furthermore allow for cross-linguistic comparison to identify contrastive differences between languages.¹²

Even though this corpus design has been used before in corpus-based translation studies (see for instance Hansen-Schirra et al., 2011; Johansson, 2007; Laviosa, 1998), it has not been used to study language change through translation. The innovative element of the corpus designed for use in this study is that it contains both synchronic and diachronic components. This is because the corpus is subdivided into four timeframes, based on the historical background presented in Chapter 3. These periods are 1910 to 1947 (when Afrikaners actively tried to expand the linguistic resources of Afrikaans, which included translation from English), 1948 to 1975 (when Afrikaners dominated the state sector, which meant that translation was increasingly done from Afrikaans to English), 1976 to 1993 (when the country was increasingly affected by political upheaval) and 1994 to 2016 (when the importance of Afrikaans declined in some domains). Because of these timeframes, one can study a linguistic feature at a particular point in time or track its development over two or more periods.

The methodology allows for three types of analyses to be carried out and which will ultimately address Neumann's (2011) first three criteria. These are:

- 1) A contrastive analysis in which non-translated English and Afrikaans texts are compared. This comparison will allow researchers to determine the similarities and/or differences of linguistic features in the two languages as well as how the contrastive relationship between these features potentially change over time.
- 2) A parallel analysis in which translations are compared to their source texts. This will allow researchers to clearly determine whether the linguistic features in the translations are the consequence of source-language interference. It will also indicate whether tolerance of source-language influence increases or decreases in certain time periods (as a result of social changes) – and how this is different for Afrikaans and English.

¹² See Figure 1.1 (Section 1.5.2) for graphical representation of the corpus composition.

- 3) A comparable analysis in which translated and non-translated English and Afrikaans texts are compared. This will show how a linguistic feature changes in translated as opposed to non-translated English and Afrikaans. If the feature in question changes first in translations, and slightly later in original texts, there will be evidence for translation as an innovator of language change along with other gateways that might encourage such change (such as societal bilingualism or multilingualism). If the feature changes first in originals and slightly later in translations, translation will be a diffuser along with other gateway mechanisms. If translators follow a trend much later (or do not follow the development at all), there will be evidence that translators are conservative in that they uphold older norms and thus slow down the development of a linguistic feature in the original language.

Based on the outcome of the three analyses, it will be possible to evaluate the extent that translation contributes to language change in English and/or Afrikaans along with the influence of other gateways in the South African context. For instance, the possibility was discussed in Chapter 3 that Afrikaans translations produced in the government sector from 1910 to 1947 were prone to show traces of interference. It is possible that these instances of interference might have affected Afrikaans translations in the government sector from the second period onwards as these initial translations might have acted as an example for future translators. However, given that the public was quite negative to the interference evident in these translations, it is possible that these interference effects did not disseminate into original Afrikaans writing.

The study will also refer to the findings of other studies of English and Afrikaans. These studies use corpora that are maximally representative of English and Afrikaans – which is not the case for translation corpora. The source texts contained in bidirectional comparable and parallel corpora are problematic because they were chosen for translation according to certain selection criteria operative at a particular time in a society, and may therefore not be generally representative of the source language in question (Zanettin, 2012). For this reason, it is necessary to corroborate the frequency and usage patterns of a linguistic feature in the parallel, monolingually comparable and multilingually comparable components against its occurrence in reference corpora.

The possible influence of register variation was also taken into account, as the corpus is controlled for register. As Biber and Gray (2013) note, historical linguistic change is often mediated by differences in register. As a result, what appears to be slight register differences can correspond to systematic and meaningful differences in patterns of linguistic change. Register variation is furthermore assumed to be a factor that influences the characteristics of translated texts (Hansen-Schirra & Neumann, 2011). Thus, for this study some of the published written text categories used by the International Corpus of English (2016) or ICE were used to classify texts by register. While it was initially planned to have texts in the corpus that represented all of the registers used by ICE, the final representation of registers was limited by the availability of texts and the fact that the types of texts that are translated are variable across different languages and different time periods. While it may have been possible to trace translated texts and their source texts in these registers, they are not common and time constraints for corpus compilation meant that it was not possible to collect these texts. For instance, enough texts might have been collected for the reportage register when it is considered that the South African Press Association (SAPA), the news agency that served most of the biggest newspapers in the country with news, supplied

reports from overseas agencies such as Associated Press exclusively in English in the 1970s (Cillié, 1979). SAPA also mainly reported domestic news in English at the same time, which meant that translation from English to Afrikaans played an important role in Afrikaans newspapers (Cillié, 1979). However, even with this knowledge, it was difficult to track down translated texts as well as their source texts within the given time frame.

As such, the final registers contained in the corpus consisted of creative writing, persuasive writing, instructional writing and popular writing. Creative writing is constituted by narrative or descriptive prose and dialogue passages which encompass different fiction genres, such as thrillers, science fiction and detective novels (Nelson, Wallis, & Aarts, 2002). The persuasive writing category is less directly related to current news and contains texts that provide the writer with the opportunity to be discursive in a way in which news journalism does not. Instructional writing consists regulatory or administrative writing (Nelson et al., 2002). The regulatory/administrative category is corporate in nature and is written on behalf of government or other administrative bodies with the aim of transmitting information to the general public. Popular writing, in turn, responds to the needs and requirements for accessible reading materials of a broad literature public and is written with the general public in mind.

It is also unavoidable that some of the corpus' registers for different timeframes were affected by the translation situation in South Africa over the course of the twentieth century. As discussed in Chapter 3, translation in the government sector occurred from English to Afrikaans throughout the twentieth century to a greater or lesser extent. Afrikaans, on the other hand, was only predominantly translated to English under the Nationalist Party's rule (that is, from 1948 to 1993). Translations of Afrikaans narrative texts started to appear from 1948 onwards when short stories were translated for an English readership. Translations of English creative works, on the other hand, predominantly only appeared from 1993. A limited amount of English and Afrikaans texts dealing with South African topics were already translated in the first period, but the rapid development of the publishing industry from the second period onwards meant that higher volumes of non-fiction was translated from 1948 onwards.

4.4.2 Text collection and processing

The collection of texts for the corpus posed several challenges. An important first step was the identification of translated texts and their source texts. Sources such as Ehlers (1943), Pretorius (1957), Toerien (1998) and the International Bibliography of Translations (UNESCO, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972) were consulted, as these provide overviews of translated books in different time periods, especially fiction and books that focus on South African history. While these sources were valuable in identifying translations, they are not exhaustive. Subsequently, the electronic catalogues of various South African libraries were consulted to identify as many translations of books that were produced in the South African context as possible. Librarians and archivists were also contacted. Books were sometimes requested from libraries across the country via the North-West University's interlibrary loan service. However, most of the material included in the corpus was collected by visiting different libraries from 2015 to 2016, including the National Library of South Africa, the William Cullen Library, the Johannesburg City Library and the Ferdinand Postma Library. Sabinet Online Journals and South African History Online also proved to be valuable resources as these databases contain electronic versions of different journals published throughout the years.

The texts for the corpus were collected from the internet and printed published works. Printed works were scanned and photocopied before they were converted to electronic format using ABBY FineReader 10, an optical character recognition (OCR) programme. Some of the scanned documents were typed if the quality of the scan was too poor to use an OCR programme. Metadata (like the date of writing or publication, the register, the native language of the writer and translator, etc.) was captured in the texts. The texts were also annotated with typographical markup for formatting and additional content (such as headings and footnotes) was marked up. The texts for the entire corpus were either extracts or full texts. The goal was to work with texts (source texts and translations) that are no shorter than 2000 words so as to avoid the potential analysis problems that are associated with shorter texts. As such, shorter texts of the same text type were sometimes combined to create a text longer than 2000 words. Following the conversion process, the source texts and translations were aligned at sentence level using PlusTools, an alignment tool that can be used to create translation memories for Wordfast. The documents were also proofread during the alignment process and any errors that occurred during the conversion process were corrected. The aligned text was subsequently copied to Microsoft Excel spreadsheets that were uploaded to the Sketch Engine (2018) website to extract the data.

The instructional register consists of extracts from the Government Gazette of South Africa from the 1920s to 2016. These gazettes contain proclamations made by the different presidents of the country and both government and general notices from various governmental departments. The following excerpt provides an example of what these texts typically look like:

If a creditor has failed to comply with the provisions of notice after the paragraph (*a*) of subsection (1) of section 2 in relation to legal lapse of the proceedings which he desires to institute and the debtor has not, within fourteen days after having been requested by the creditor to do so, in writing waived his right to invoke those provisions, the court having jurisdiction in respect of such legal proceedings may, notwithstanding those provisions but subject to the provisions of paragraphs (*b*) and (*c*) of that subsection, grant to the creditor on his application and on such conditions as the court may deem fit, leave to serve the notice contemplated in the said paragraph (*a*) on the debtor after the lapse of the period prescribed in that paragraph, if the court is satisfied –

- (*a*) that the debtor is not prejudiced by the failure; or
- (*b*) that by reason of special circumstances the creditor could not reasonably have been expected to serve the notice within that period.

As was discussed in Section 3.3.3.2, governmental texts were translated from English to Dutch until 1925. Translation was carried out from English to Afrikaans when Afrikaans became the country's other official language but it was only in the 1950s that an increasing number of texts were originally compiled in Afrikaans. This has the implication that for the first timeframe in the corpus (1900s-1947) no translations from Afrikaans to English are available in the Government Gazette. For the next two timeframes (1948-1975 and 1976-1993) translation was carried out in both English and Afrikaans. However, the Government Gazettes do not indicate which is the source text and which is the translation. Consequently, research was carried out to determine

which of the two languages were preferred by which governmental departments. From 1994, the situation would have shifted again as English became the *de facto* language of government (see Section 3.6.3).

The persuasive writing register consists of editorial pieces and opinion pieces written by readers. These translations were taken from bilingual journals and political newspapers. A characteristic feature of these journals and newspapers is that articles appeared in both English and Afrikaans and, even though these articles were not translated, the opinions of the editor and readers were published in both languages. The editorial pieces with political undertones include ones from *The Black Sash* (a political newspaper published by a women's resistance organisation, fighting against apartheid's discriminatory laws; it published bilingual editorial pieces from 1956 to 1959) and *Pro Veritate* (a Christian journal that focussed on a range of topics related to apartheid from its establishment in 1962 until it was banned in 1977). The following extract is taken from *Black Sash* to illustrate the type of language that constitutes persuasive writing:

Now it is a safe guess that what has damned the name of the Nationalists overseas is, not the big issues of policy, but the series of petty meannesses and crudities of which they have been guilty. Vital as the Senate Act crisis was to us in South Africa, it is doubtful whether one person in a thousand in Britain could outline, even roughly, the course of that great constitutional dispute. The devastating implications of our "anti-Communist" legislation are probably Greek to the man-in-the-street in England, but what he does remember are the little human things that make the headlines in the popular newspapers.

The other editorial pieces included are more general in nature and discuss issues related to various organisations in South Africa. Time constraints meant that the texts collected for the third period (1976-1993) could not be processed in time for the analyses. Texts of a persuasive nature were downloaded from the internet for the fourth period (1994-2016).

The creative writing and popular writing registers are comprised mostly of books. For the creative writing register, it is apparent that while fiction was sometimes translated from Afrikaans to English, translation of (especially local) English books to Afrikaans took place considerably less frequently. As Du Plessis (1979) points out, there is a reasonable explanation for this. Even though book publishers tried to sell Afrikaans translations of English fiction throughout the twentieth century, these attempts failed as Afrikaners simply preferred to read the source text. Evidently, however, popular writing was and continues to be a profitable area for book translation as numerous books have been translated from Afrikaans to English and vice versa. The books collected for the corpus have the advantage that most show the translator's name, which makes it straightforward to distinguish between source texts and translations. For the books that do not list this information, research was carried out to determine in which language the author usually wrote or the author's educational background. For instance, if an author attended an Afrikaans primary school and high school, and attended a university that

tended to use Afrikaans as language of instruction, it was assumed that the source language of the text would be Afrikaans¹³.

While attempts were made to collect as many texts as possible, it “is important to be realistic” (Biber et al., 1998, p. 250) when it comes to corpus compilation. As Biber et al. (1998) note, compromises often have to be made because of constraints on finances, time and the availability of texts. Considering the large amount of texts that had to be converted from hardcopy to electronic format, the corpus was considered to be big enough to study a specific set of linguistic features while being practically achievable. The total word count of the subcorpora combined is 1,070,511 words. The word counts of the four subcorpora are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Word count of corpus across time

| Period | English source text Word count | Afrikaans translations Word count | Percentage of the corpus |
|---------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| Period 1 | 70219 | 69364 | 22% |
| Period 2 | 81487 | 80551 | 26% |
| Period 3 | 48354 | 46988 | 15% |
| Period 4 | 117644 | 118068 | 37% |
| Total | 317704 | 314971 | |

| Period | Afrikaans source text Word count | English translations Word count | Percentage of the corpus |
|---------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| Period 1 | 25327 | 25160 | 12% |
| Period 2 | 91022 | 62337 | 30% |
| Period 3 | 48538 | 51170 | 25% |
| Period 4 | 66533 | 67749 | 33% |
| Total | 231420 | 314971 | |

Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 give a further breakdown for the corpus over time and register.

¹³ Such an estimation of the source language is problematic as it is possible to incorrectly classify the texts as the originals and their translations. Text classification is a problematic feature of diachronic parallel corpora as it is sometimes not possible to gather enough information on a particular text pair to text to know which is the original and which is translation – especially when the texts are quite old. However, care can be taken to know what an author’s strongest language was as it is plausible that s/he would have preferred to write in that language.

Table 4.2: Word counts of English source texts and Afrikaans translations

| Period | English source text | | Afrikaans translations | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| | Word count | Word count | Percentage of the corpus | Number of texts |
| Creative writing | | | | |
| Period 4 | 16851 | 17217 | 5% | 8 |
| Instructional writing | | | | |
| Period 1 | 23296 | 21898 | 7% | 11 |
| Period 2 | 21420 | 19953 | 7% | 11 |
| Period 3 | 20007 | 19006 | 6% | 11 |
| Period 4 | 18543 | 18106 | 6% | 10 |
| Persuasive writing | | | | |
| Period 2 | 9403 | 9252 | 3% | 15 |
| Period 4 | 11763 | 12065 | 4% | 10 |
| Popular writing | | | | |
| Period 1 | 46923 | 47466 | 15% | 25 |
| Period 2 | 50664 | 51346 | 16% | 27 |
| Period 3 | 28347 | 27982 | 9% | 15 |
| Period 4 | 70487 | 70680 | 22% | 40 |

Table 4.3: Word counts of Afrikaans source texts and English translations

| Period | Afrikaans source text | | English translations | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| | Word count | Word count | Percentage of the corpus | Number of texts |
| Creative writing | | | | |
| Period 2 | 25665 | 27660 | 11% | 17 |
| Period 3 | 13898 | 14686 | 6% | 8 |
| Period 4 | 22958 | 24001 | 10% | 10 |
| Instructional writing | | | | |
| Period 2 | 18325 | 20151 | 8% | 10 |
| Period 3 | 17075 | 18408 | 7% | 8 |
| Persuasive writing | | | | |
| Period 2 | 13991 | 14586 | 6% | 11 |
| Period 4 | 13540 | 12658 | 6% | 11 |
| Popular writing | | | | |
| Period 1 | 25327 | 25160 | 11% | 12 |
| Period 2 | 33041 | 34342 | 14% | 22 |
| Period 3 | 17565 | 18076 | 8% | 10 |
| Period 4 | 30035 | 31090 | 13% | 16 |

Using this corpus composition, two features were selected for further analysis, namely variation of the two genitive forms (see Section 4.5) and modality in English and Afrikaans (see Section 4.6). Section 4.5 and Section 4.6 will provide more information as to why these features were chosen and will also discuss the methodological approach for each of these features.

4.5 VARIATION OF THE TWO GENITIVE FORMS IN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

In this section, the two genitive forms of Afrikaans and English will be discussed in more detail as features to investigate the hypothesis of translations-induced change. In Standard English, there are two nominal devices to express possessive relationships between noun phrases, namely the analytical genitive and the inflected genitive (Rosenbach, 2002), which are often referred to as the *of*-genitive and the *s*-genitive respectively. These two constructions differ in the order of two key elements, namely the possessum and the possessor. With the *of*-genitive, the possessum occurs before the possessor (Rosenbach, 2014). With the *s*-genitive, the possessor occurs before the possessum (Rosenbach, 2005). These two constructions are illustrated by Examples (1a) and (1b).

- (1a) ... the flotilla was placed under **the authority** [*possessum*] **of Lieut. -Commander A.F. Trew** [*possessor*] ... [Eng-O-POP-P-2]
- (1b) I went out into the karoos on the queer missions that make up **a reporter's** [*possessor*] **life** [*possessum*]... [Eng-O-POP-P-2]

Afrikaans has two similar ways of expressing genitive relations. There is a construction where the possessum occurs in the initial position and is linked by a preposition (*van*) to the possessor, which is parallel to the English *of*-genitive. Then there is a construction where the possessor occurs in the initial position and is linked by a possessive particle (*se*) to the possessum, like the *s*-genitive (Rosenbach, 2017). This possessive particle is phonetically linked to the preceding noun phrase in the same way that the 's' is linked to the preceding noun phrase in English (Rosenbach, 2017), except that it always constitutes a separate syllable [sə]. These two Afrikaans possessive constructions will be referred to as the *van*-genitive and *se*-genitive. Examples (2a) and (2b) demonstrate these two constructions.

- (2a) Eers laat daardie aand toe ons op **die lughawe** [*possessum*] **van Brazzaville** [*possessor*] neerstryk ... [Afr-O-POP-P-2]
Gloss translation: Only late that night when we landed at the airport of Brazzaville ...
- (2b) Want **Gwaja** [*possessor*] **se string maer bokke** [*possessum*] was op pad veld toe ... [Afr-O-CREA-P-4]
Gloss Translation: Because Gwaja's string of skinny goats was on its way to the field ...

The two genitive forms in English and Afrikaans are interchangeable in a number of contexts (Kirsten, 2016; Szmrecsanyi & Hinrichs, 2008). Interchangeability, following Labov (1972), means that these genitives provide roughly equivalent “ways of saying the same ‘the same’ thing” (p. 188). For example, in English *the history of philosophy* and *philosophy's history* can alternate with one another and in Afrikaans *die ouderdom van die boom* [the age of the tree] can alternate with *die boom se ouderdom* [the tree's age]. However, the genitive forms of these languages are not always interchangeable. For instance, partitive (*one of my dogs*), descriptive (*a king of honour*) and appositive (*the city of London*) relations can only occur with the *of*-genitive, as is the case with some idiomatic expressions (*the apple of my eye*) and titles (*the Minister of Finance*). Afrikaans also has some restrictions. Titles (*die Minister van Finansies* [the Minister of Finance]), partitive relations (*deel van die meerderheid* [part of the majority]) and idiomatic expressions (*iemand van aansien* [someone of stature]) are just some examples where alternation is not possible.

The structural parallelism of the genitive constructions in Afrikaans and English makes the two languages amenable for contrastive study, but only a limited number of investigations have explored this possibility. Rosenbach (2017) and Kirsten and Rosenbach (2018) have explored genitive variation in terms of language contact between English and Afrikaans – particularly in terms of what is known as the animacy constraint. The animacy constraint has been subject to thorough investigation in English where it has found to be an important factor that conditions whether the *s*-genitive or *of*-genitive is used (see for instance Grafmiller, 2014; Hundt & Szmrecsanyi, 2012; Rosenbach, 2002; Rosenbach, 2005, 2017; Szmrecsanyi, 2010). Animacy expresses how alive or sentient a noun is. The animacy constraint means that more animate and human possessors, or possessors that convey the idea of human activity, are more likely to attract the *s*-genitive (Szmrecsanyi, 2010). Inanimate possessors, on the other hand, are more likely to condition the use of the *of*-genitive (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999; Szmrecsanyi, 2010). To determine if Afrikaans is subject to similar animacy constraints as English, Rosenbach (2017) compiled a small corpus of English source texts and their Afrikaans translations. She surmises from her comparison that there is a strong overlap in the structure and the semantics of prenominal genitives in English and Afrikaans, but notes that Afrikaans uses the *se*-genitive more frequently with inanimate possessors than English does with the *s*-genitive – a claim that is also made by Marais and Naudé (2007). This means that Afrikaans has a weaker animacy constraint than English.

There is evidence of ongoing change for both English and Afrikaans genitive variation. For South African English, Kirsten and Rosenbach (2018) find that the *s*-genitive has started to increase through the years, which they attribute to the fact that it has been used increasingly with inanimate nouns. This is a tendency that also occurs in American and British English. For instance, Leech et al. (2009) find that the *s*-genitive has overtaken the *of*-genitive in American and British English. They find that while American English leads in the increasing use of the *s*-genitive from 1961 to 1991, British English leads in the decline of the *of*-genitive. However, while some varieties of English are increasingly characterised by weaker animacy constraints, others do not show the same development. For instance, Hundt and Szmrecsanyi (2012) find that, compared to British English, authors of New Zealand English are significantly less inclined to use the *s*-genitive, except if the possessor is animate. This shows that animacy is a notably stronger constraint in New Zealand English than in British English and Hundt and Szmrecsanyi (2012) see this as a sign that New Zealand English is comparatively more conservative in terms of its genitive use. For Afrikaans, Kirsten (2016) finds that the *se*-genitive has been increasing at the expense of the *van*-genitive but the *van*-genitive is still used more overall than the *se*-genitive.

4.5.1 Language contact in genitive variation in English and Afrikaans

Bearing in mind the close contact between Afrikaans and English for close to two centuries, it is worth considering the possibility that constraints affecting genitive choice from the one language could have affected the other language over time. In other words, over time South African English may have adopted weaker animacy constraints for the *s*-genitive under Afrikaans influence (in comparison to other native varieties of English), or Afrikaans may have been influenced by the constraints of English. Rosenbach (2017) investigates the former possibility (i.e., that South African English adopts the weaker animacy constraint of Afrikaans) in a study where she asks three subject groups to complete a questionnaire. The questionnaire presented the subjects with sentences about general topics with two alternative options in English. The subjects were asked to indicate which of the options they would be more inclined to use. This allows Rosenbach

(2017) to determine how people choose between the two genitive options in English. The three groups were L1 speakers of South African English (White South African English), L1 speakers of Afrikaans and L1 speakers of British English (to act as a control group). The two South African groups are bilingual, with participants in both groups having spoken English and Afrikaans since childhood. Following the classification used by Watermeyer (1996), 'Afrikaans English' is used to designate Afrikaans first-language speakers who speak English as a second language. The results indicate that there is a language-contact effect for the speakers of Afrikaans English, who are inclined to transfer the weaker animacy constraint of Afrikaans to their English usage and thus use the *s*-genitive with inanimate possessors more frequently than speakers of British English or White South African English (Rosenbach, 2017). The genitive choices of white South African speakers, on the other hand, is not affected by their L2 Afrikaans usage as their choices are similar to those made by speakers of British English.

Rosenbach's (2017) study points to transfer effects for Afrikaans English speakers, but suggests that there has been no systemic effect on South African English (which, in her survey, follows the same preferences as British English). At first glance, one might surmise that South African English has therefore not been influenced by Afrikaans (or Afrikaans English). However, Rosenbach (2017) does not reject this possibility. Based on the assumption that English varieties from the Southern Hemisphere are often rather homogenous in their linguistic features (see for instance Schneider, 2007; Trudgill, 2004), one may have expected White South African English to be more similar to New Zealand English (which has relatively stronger animacy constraints) than British English (which has comparatively weaker animacy constraints) as Hundt and Szmrecsanyi (2012) have found. A possible explanation is that contact with Afrikaans (or Afrikaans English) boosts the occurrence of the *s*-genitive with inanimate possessors in White South African English, which results in patterns closer to the patterns found in British English, rather than other Southern Hemisphere varieties of English (Rosenbach, 2017). It makes sense to consider contact with Afrikaans as a possible reason.

In terms of Afrikaans, the *se*-genitive only grammaticalised in Afrikaans by the late nineteenth century. Ponelis (1993) claims the *se*-genitive developed as a reduced allomorph of the pronoun *sen/zijn* that was used in Dutch with the *se* genitive occurring because of atonic and nasal deletion (developing from *sein* to *sen* to *se*). Textual records show that the *se*-genitive was absent from Afrikaans in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and still very rare in the nineteenth century as Afrikaans authors used the forms *sen/zijn*. From the twentieth century, however, Afrikaans writers increasingly started using *se*. Kirsten (2016) provides an overview of how the two genitive options have changed in Afrikaans over the course of the twentieth century. She finds that the *se*-genitive is used increasingly at the expense of the *van*-genitive, particularly in contexts where the two are interchangeable. The *se*-genitive is also increasingly used with inanimate possessors whereas the *van*-genitive remains mainly limited to inanimate possessors. A possible explanation for the increase of the *se*-genitive is that whereas it used to be limited to informal registers and the *van*-genitive to formal registers, the *se*-genitive is increasingly used in more formal registers (Kirsten, 2016). The *se*-genitive, in other words, is less of a marker for informality than it used to be. The implications of Kirsten (2016) and Rosenbach (2017) is that Afrikaans leads in the increasing preference for the *se*-genitive, while South African English follows in using the *s*-genitive more frequently even than other varieties of English, because of contact with Afrikaans. This opens the possibility, in other words, that White South African English would have

been more similar to New Zealand English in terms of genitive variation were it not for contact with Afrikaans or Afrikaans English.

In order to find a more definitive answer, Kirsten and Rosenbach (2018) use a corpus of Afrikaans texts spanning from 1911 to 2010, a corpus of White South African English spanning from 1820 to the 1950 and some texts from the 1990s, and a corpus of British English spanning from 1800 to 1999. The three corpora contain newspapers and letters, and the Afrikaans and South African English corpus also include fiction and non-fiction. They find an increase in the relative frequency of the *se*-genitive with inanimate possessors in all four genres over the past 100 years in their Afrikaans corpus and note that the change accelerates from the second half of the twentieth century. They also find a steady increase of the *s*-genitive used with inanimate possessors in both White South African English and British English but note that White South African English lags behind British English until the mid-twentieth century. From the second half of the twentieth century, White South African English starts to catch up with British English. Kirsten and Rosenbach (2018) attribute their findings of White South African English to contact with Afrikaans. They postulate that White South African English speakers' contact with Afrikaans (or Afrikaans English) boosted the frequency of the *s*-genitive used with inanimate possessors so that it is used almost as much as it is used in British English. In other words, because of ongoing contact with Afrikaans speakers, White South African English speakers have been more inclined to use the *s*-genitive with inanimate possessors than used to be the case before the mid-twentieth century.

4.5.2 Translation and genitive variation in South African English and Afrikaans

Not only has there been evidence that there has been ongoing change in genitive variation in both Afrikaans and South African English, which may be at least partially ascribed to language contact, but there is also some suggestion that translation plays a role. Rousseau (1937) is an early commentator who considered this possibility. In his discussion of English influence on Afrikaans, he argues that English is an abstract language in nature and that it is “berug [...] weens sy duisternis abstrakte simbole” [it is known for its vague abstract symbols] (p. 176). Afrikaans is considered to be more concrete by comparison (Rousseau, 1937). Rousseau (1937) states that it is this abstract nature of English that is often transferred to Afrikaans translations and argues that this abstract nature is one of the defining characteristics of such translations. The abstract nature of English is taken to be manifested in Afrikaans translations through an excessive use of the preposition *van*, in particular the *van*-genitive as his examples illustrate. Some of the examples that Rousseau (1937) provides are:

- (3a) die sukses van drie vastelande
the success of three continents
- (3b) die verligting van die lyding van die arm mense
the alleviation of the suffering of the poor people
- (3c) die vraagstuk van die oorheersing van inboorlingbelange
the problem of the domination of native interests

More recently, Marais and Naudé (2007) have also considered the role of translation in genitive variation in a study on contemporary translations of popular-religious texts translated from English to Afrikaans. These translations were compared to a sub-corpus of comparable Afrikaans original writing. Focussing on the normalisation hypothesis, they set out to determine if the

Afrikaans translated corpus has a higher occurrence of the *se*-genitive or of the *van*-genitive, based on whether the possessor is animate or inanimate. They propose that if the Afrikaans source texts are influenced by their English translations, it will be reflected in a higher frequency of the *of*-genitive, which they take as evidence against the normalisation hypothesis. Evidence for the normalisation hypothesis would be found if the translated Afrikaans texts showed a higher frequency of the *se*-genitive. The results show that while the Afrikaans translations have a slightly higher incidence of the *se*-genitive than comparable Afrikaans originals, the differences between the translated and non-translated corpus are too small to be taken as evidence in support of their hypothesis.

In short, there is reason to believe that genitive alternation is a viable area where language change through translation in English and/or Afrikaans might be evident. This is because not only is there evidence of ongoing change in both languages, potentially due to language contact, but also some suggestion of translation playing a role. However, there are several limitations to existing research. Rosenbach's (2017) hypothesis and Kirsten's (2016) results suggest that Afrikaans leads in the increasing preference for the *se*-genitive, while South African English follows in using the *s*-genitive more frequently even than other varieties of English, because of contact with Afrikaans. This would explain why White South African English differs from New Zealand English in terms of using the *s*-genitive more frequently – and shows developments that are more closely aligned with those of British English. However, the possible influence of English on Afrikaans also requires investigation as it seems possible that the influence is mutual rather than unidirectional. There is a limited amount of research on the diachronic development of genitive variation in white South African English, without which it is difficult to predict how English may have affected Afrikaans. For example, genitive preferences in White South African English may have slowed down the increased preference for the *se*-genitive in Afrikaans at particular points in time.

In terms of limitations that are applicable to Rousseau's (1937) and Marais and Naudé's (2007) investigations, Rousseau (1937) only provides limited examples on which he bases his claim that a higher incidence of the *van*-genitive occurs in Afrikaans because of English translation. The study of Marais and Naudé (2007) is problematic because their study does not use a multifactorial approach. This means they do not make allowance for the impact of different factors that could condition genitive variation. While they mention animacy differences between Afrikaans and English (with Afrikaans having weaker animacy constraints), they do not factor these differences into their analysis. Marais and Naudé (2007), in other words, only focus on *se*-genitive and *van*-genitive counts without investigating if Afrikaans translations show stronger animacy constraints (where the *se*-genitive is used more frequently with animate possessors and the *van*-genitive with inanimate possessors) than Afrikaans original writing. If the Afrikaans translations show animacy constraints that are similar to those of Afrikaans non-translations, it would indicate that English source texts only have a limited influence on Afrikaans translations in this regard.

In brief, there is no research on whether genitive variation in English influences Afrikaans, in which case the genitive options of English source texts could influence Afrikaans translations – a consideration which has not received any attention yet. In addition, existing research does not consider whether the patterns that may occur in translation into either Afrikaans or English (whether the consequence of cross-linguistic influence, or of other causes) can, and do, affect usage more generally, thus contributing to overall patterns of language change in a situation of language contact. As discussed in Section 2.3, this would mean that the frequency of one of the

genitive constructions would increase at the expense of the other one in English or Afrikaans as a result of translation. According to the hypothesis of language change through translation, this would come about if translators are inclined to copy the genitive patterns of the source text in their translations. If these translations are read enough by the general population, it is possible that Afrikaans and English authors will start to follow these tendencies.

As pointed out in Section 2.2.2, people's linguistic choices are probabilistically shaped or conditioned by a variety of factors. This is also the case for the choice between the two genitive constructions. These factors, in other words, do not determine when the *s-* or *of-*genitive or the *se-* and *van-*genitive is or should be used – it is rather the case that people are more inclined to use the one rather than the other in the presence or absence of certain factors. Researchers have been particularly interested in why speakers choose one genitive construction rather than the other in different situations of language use. In order to understand genitive variation better, the next section will focus on some of the factors that have been found to influence genitive variation.

4.5.2.1 Animacy of the possessor and the possessum

One of the factors known to influence genitive variation is the animacy of the possessor. If a possessor is animate and human, or conveys the idea of human activity or of animate things, it is more likely to attract the *s-*genitive in English (Szmrecsanyi, 2010) or the *se-*genitive in Afrikaans (Kirsten, 2016). Inanimate possessors, on the other hand, are more likely to condition the use of the *of-*genitive (Biber et al., 1999; Szmrecsanyi, 2010) in English or the *van-*genitive in Afrikaans (Kirsten, 2016). A number of researchers have found it to be an important conditioning factor in English (see for instance Grafmiller, 2014; Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2004; Hundt & Szmrecsanyi, 2012; Rosenbach, 2002; Rosenbach, 2005, 2017; Szmrecsanyi, 2010) and more recently Kirsten (2016) has found it to be an important factor in Afrikaans as well. Of course, animacy is not only limited to the possessor; it is also applicable to the possessum. Some researchers (see for instance Börjars, Denison, Krajewski, & Scott, 2013; Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2004; Heller, Bernaisch, & Gries, 2017) have consequently extended their analyses to the animacy of the possessum to determine if possessum animacy conditions the *s-*genitive or the *of-*genitive. Their studies, however, have found animacy of the possessum to be a minor conditioning factor. Animacy of the possessum has yet to be considered in Afrikaans.

As Hundt and Szmrecsanyi (2012) point out, animacy is not necessarily a binary choice and more nuanced conceptualisations and categorisations of animacy are necessary. Consequently, some researchers (see for instance Ehret, Wolk, & Szmrecsanyi, 2014; Hundt & Szmrecsanyi, 2012; Rosenbach, 2005; Szmrecsanyi et al., 2017; Wolk, Bresnan, Rosenbach, & Szmrecsanyi, 2013) view animacy as a gradient construct that ranges from *more human* at the one end of the scale to *less human* at the other end of the scale. Between these two poles on the scale are categories such as *human and animal*, *collective*, *temporal*, *locative* and *other inanimates*. This gradient is based on research that indicates that possessors that are human and “higher animals” (i.e. animals that are associated with humans and seen as individuals in a text) show a stronger preference for the *s-*genitive than inanimate objects. Collective nouns (those that denote organisations or groups of individuals), temporal nouns (denoting time references) and locative nouns (those denoting places) fall somewhere between human possessors and inanimate possessors (Szmrecsanyi et al., 2017). While this scale has mostly been used for English, it also works for Afrikaans (Kirsten, 2016, 2019) with Afrikaans showing similar tendencies to English. Examples (4a-f) illustrate these categories using English examples:

- (4a) Human: Before **Cloete's time** there must have been a wall dividing it into two smaller rooms. (Eng-O-POP-P-2)
He let the words roll around in his mind as Pindar continued **the story of Racheal**. (Eng-O-CREA-POP-P-4)
- (4b) Animal: Animal: A terrific blow can be effected by **a giraffe's kick**. (Eng-O-POP-P-4)
Small as it is, that speck may still hide **the advances of a stalking predator**. (Eng-O-POP-P-4)
- (4c) Collective: The master of a foreign-going South African ship who has entered into an agreement with **the crew of the ship** ... shall ... make out and sign a list. (Eng-O-INST-P-2)
Effective sex education develops **young people's skills** in negotiation ... (Eng-O-POP-P-4)
- (4d) Temporal: **Wednesday's class** goes badly. (Eng-O-CREA-P-4)
You need to have lost [...] a finger to **the frost of '96**. (Eng-O-POP-P-4)
- (4e) Locative: ... but on account of **the river's many historical associations**. (Eng-O-POP-P-2)
[It] is located in **the foothills of the Drakensberg**. (Eng-O-POP-P-2)
- (4f) Inanimate: ... while suspended from **the helicopter's winch wire**. (Eng-O-POP-P-2)
... in which **the history of the farm** is brought to life ... (Eng-O-POP-P-1)

4.5.2.2 *The principle of end-weight*

Another factor that has been found to influence genitive variation in English is the principle of end-weight. Language users are inclined to order lexical phrases with increasing weight so that longer constituents follow shorter constituents. This facilitates the planning, production and parsing of linguistic information (Heller, Bernaisch, et al., 2017). For instance, language users are more likely to use the order *the trachea and oesophagus* (Eng-Org-POP-P-2) so that the longer item (*oesophagus* in this case, which is 10 characters) follows the shorter word (*trachea*, which is seven characters). The principle of end weight is also applicable to English genitive variation. If a possessum is long, users will be inclined to use the *s*-genitive since it places the possessum last (see Biber et al., 1999; Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi, 2007; Rosenbach, 2005). For example, a phrase such as *London's Brixton and Hackney districts* [Eng-O-CREA-P-4] with the *s*-genitive is more likely than *the Brixton and Hackney districts of London* as it allows the longer possessum (which consists of three words and 26 characters) to follow the shorter possessor (which consists of one word and six characters).

Conversely, if a possessum is shorter than the possessor, the *of*-genitive is preferred. This means that *the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement* [Eng-O-PERS-P-4] is more likely than *the Black Consciousness Movement's founder*, as the longer possessor (which is 29 characters and four words) follows the shorter possessum (which is 10 characters and two words). Kirsten (2019) notes that the relative lengths of the possessor and possessum could also play a role in conditioning genitive variation in Afrikaans texts. Measuring syntactic weight in words, Kirsten (2019) finds, in line with results for English, that possessors that are longer than their possessums are highly inclined to favour the *van*-genitive. Moreover, in cases where the possessor is shorter than the possessum, Afrikaans writers are more inclined to use the *se-*

genitive. There is thus evidence that indicates that possessor length and possessum length are also important variables in conditioning genitive variation in Afrikaans, as they are in English.

4.5.2.3 *Final sibilance*

Another well-known factor that influences genitive variation in English is final sibilance. This is a phonological factor, which entails that possessors that end in a sibilant will more likely favour the *of*-genitive (Biber et al., 1999; Rosenbach, 2002; Hinrichs & Szrecsanyi, 2007; Szmrecsanyi, 2010; Ehret et al., 2014). This is because the use of the *s*-genitive with final sibilants produces a sound sequence that English speakers find harder to pronounce. In other words, possessors that end in [s] as in *house*, [z] as in *news*, [ʒ] as in *garage*, [tʃ] as in *avalanche* and [dʒ] as in *bridge* are more inclined to be found with the *of*-genitive. Therefore, English speakers are likely to paraphrase genitives such as *Ectocarpus' illustrations* as *the illustrations of Ectocarpus* by using the *of*-genitive. As pointed out by Kirsten (2019) it is unlikely that final sibilance will be as influential in Afrikaans as a genitive constraint. This is because while the particle *se* in Afrikaans also starts with an [s], it is a complete syllable. This means that *se* is unlikely to be assimilated completely by the preceding syllable. It is therefore less likely to lead to an ambiguous reading as is the case in English.

4.5.2.4 *Register*

Some studies have shown register or text type to be an important factor that influences genitive variation in English (see for instance Biber & Gray, 2013; Biber et al., 1999; Grafmiller, 2014; Heller, Szmrecsanyi, & Grafmiller, 2017; Hundt & Szmrecsanyi, 2012; Jankowski & Tagliamonte, 2014; Szmrecsanyi, Biber, Egbert, & Franco, 2016). For instance, Biber et al. (1999) find that the *of*-genitive outnumbers the *s*-genitive in their three written registers (fiction, news and academic writing) and in their spoken register (conversation). They attribute this finding to a preference in written registers for less compact structures as the *of*-genitive allows for “less dense and more transparent means of expression” (p. 302) while the *s*-genitive, in turn, “is characteristically more compact and less explicit in meaning” (Biber et al., 1999, p. 300). However, some registers use the *s*-genitive to a greater frequency. The frequency of the *s*-genitive is found to be notably high in news writing, for instance (Biber et al., 1999; Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi, 2007; Hundt & Szmrecsanyi, 2012). The greater frequency of the *s*-genitive is thought to occur in newspaper writing because it helps to condense information, which is useful for media where physical constraints play a role. This results in a densification of information whereby content is compressed into a smaller number of words (Biber, 2003; Biber et al., 1999; Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi, 2007; Leech et al., 2009).

Biber et al. (1999) furthermore find that fiction has a higher incidence of *s*-genitives compared to academic writing. This result is likely due to a number of different factors, which interact with one another. Leech, Smith, and Rayson (2012), for instance, point out that fiction is one of the registers that is closest to conversation. By using the *s*-genitive (which is the more informal option), writers of fiction enable their texts to more closely resemble spoken language (or dialogue) in a process known as colloquialisation (Leech et al., 2012). Biber et al. (1999) also suspect that the high incidence of the *s*-genitive occurs because fiction typically uses nouns with human references, which means that animacy is also likely to be a conditioning factor. Academic writing, on the other hand, is more formal in than fiction because of its specialist nature. It provides precise information and detailed explanations, which means that the *of*-genitive is preferable because it provides a more transparent means of expression. With academic writing,

subject content is emphasised and human nouns play a less important role than in fiction (Biber et al., 1999), which once again points to the conditioning influence of animacy.

Kirsten (2019) also finds register to be an important factor in conditioning genitive variation in Afrikaans. She finds that her two text types in the academic register (namely texts dealing with natural sciences and humanities) have the strongest tendency to use the *van*-genitive. As with English, the high frequency of the *van*-genitive may occur because it helps authors of academic texts to present precise and detailed information in a more transparent manner. Unlike English, her results show that fiction has the highest frequency of the *se*-genitive, which may be related to the representation of spoken language in Afrikaans writing. News has the second largest frequency of the *se*-genitive from 2001 to 2010.

In brief, this section highlights the covariance of the conditioning variables, particularly between register and animacy. This clearly shows the need for multifactorial studies to understand the relationship between these factors and to tease apart the different extents to which they condition genitive variation. The next section will discuss the steps followed to extract and analyse the data.

4.5.3 Data extraction and annotation

4.5.3.1 Data extraction

Sketch Engine (2018) was used for the extraction of the genitive forms in both Afrikaans and English, using *of* and *'s* as search terms in the English source texts and *van* and *se* in the Afrikaans originals, to an Excel spreadsheet. This step was not repeated for the translations. As stated previously (see Section 3.2.1), the original texts are aligned on clause or sentence level with their translations, which means that by extracting the search words in the original sentence the corresponding translated sentence was extracted at the same time. As *of* and *van* also have prepositional uses (for instance, *You ever heard of Cake Mullins?* and *Jy al ooit van 'n Cake Mullins gehoor?*), this search strategy often returned a large number of hits – sometimes up to 1600 instances in a register for one period. As this volume of data was deemed to be unmanageable within the scope of the analysis, it was decided to extract a random sample of 450 examples¹⁴ of the word *of* and *van* per register per period using the sampling function available in Sketch Engine. Sampling was not used for the *s*- and *se*-genitives, as the smaller number of cases made analysis of the full dataset manageable. The original concordances were manually cleaned to remove non-relevant entries. For the concordances non-genitives that contain the clitic *'s* (*and it's so easy to close it down*), *s*-genitives with omitted possessums (*Let's meet at Jane's*) and double genitives (*his memory is like an elephant's*) were removed from the dataset. For the Afrikaans data sets, the data were easier to analyse as Afrikaans does not have the same restrictions. Only a limited number of concordance lines with *se* were removed from the dataset, usually because these constituted spelling or typing errors (such as *sê* which was converted as *se* in the text

¹⁴ It was estimated that a random sample of 450 examples would give a reasonably accurate picture of the extent to which the interchangeable genitive forms are used in English and Afrikaans originals and translations.

conversion process). In terms of the *of*-genitive, all instances were removed where *of* does not function as a genitive (which mostly included prepositional uses).

The analysis was limited to instances where the genitive forms were interchangeable, in both the English and Afrikaans texts. This means that several types of genitive forms, where alternation is not possible, were excluded from the analysis. All *of*-genitives that start with an indefinite article were excluded since in these cases the *s*-genitive and *of*-genitive are not interchangeable; for example, *a member of the association* cannot be paraphrased as *the association's a member*. The same restrictions were applied to the *van*-genitive in Afrikaans texts. Appositive genitives were also removed from the analysis, which occurs when the possessor and possessum are co-referential (*the city of Cape Town*), as were fixed expressions where the *of*-genitive is used as part of a title or name of an institution (*the National Association of Democratic Lawyers*). Fixed expressions such as *Asperger's syndrome* or *Asperger se steuring*, which cannot be expressed in the *of*- or *van*-forms as *The syndrome of Asperger* or *Die steuring van Asperger* were also removed from the dataset.

All of the concordance lines analysed were therefore variable or interchangeable in both the original texts and their translated versions. For example, the *s*-genitive in the phrase *his mother's shell lighthouse* (Eng-O-CREA-P-4) is interchangeable with *the shell lighthouse of his mother* and the *of*-genitive in *the womenfolk of Watsitville* (Eng-O-POP-P-2) is interchangeable with *Watsitville's womenfolk*. This also applied to the Afrikaans texts. Using the Afrikaans version of these examples, the *se*-genitive in *sy ma se skulp-vuurtoring* [his mother's shell lighthouse] (Afr-T-CREA-P-4) is interchangeable with *die skulp-vuurtoring van sy ma* [the shell lighthouse of his mother] and the *van*-genitive in *die vrouens van Iewersville* [the women from Iewersville] (Afr-T-POP-P-2) is interchangeable with *Iewersville se vrouens* [Iewersville's women].

Following Szmrecsanyi et al. (2016), the analysis initially included noun-noun genitives in translations as a possible form of genitive variation. In other words, *the vast majority of wives of veterinarians* (Eng-O-PERS-P-2) was translated as *die oorgrote meerderheid veeartsvrouens* [the vast majority of veterinary wives] (Afr-T-PERS-P-2), where compounding of nouns is used as a translation equivalent. However, these were eventually excluded from the analysis as there were only very limited instances of noun-noun genitives that were used as translation equivalents. Instances where translators did not use a matching genitive were excluded from the analysis. For example, the Afrikaans translation in Example (5b) uses neither the *van*- or *se*-genitive for the source-text *of*-genitive structure, but reinterprets the construction agentively and not possessively.

- (5a) In the third place, despite **the participation of these role-players**, the conference is essentially one by and for attorneys. (Eng-O-PERS-P-4)
- (5b) Derdens is die konferensie – ten spyte van deelname deur belangegroepe – hoofsaaklik een wat vir en deur prokureurs aangebied word. (Afr-T-PERS-P-4)
Thirdly, the conference is – regardless of participation by interest groups – essentially one that is presented for and by attorneys.

All other genitives were included in the analysis regardless of whether they were *likely* to be expressed by both genitive forms in a specific register or not. This is based on Rosenbach's (2014)

and Hinrichs and Szmrecsanyi's (2007) comments that the notion of interchangeability does not imply that the *of*- and *s*-genitive in English are equally felicitous or suitable for the particular context at hand. The aim is rather to explain what makes one of the genitive constructions more felicitous than the other in a particular context.

For English source texts and their Afrikaans equivalents, this meant that 1105 examples of 4765 examples of the *of*-genitive were retained in the data set, and 494 examples of 1171 cases of the *s*-genitive. For Afrikaans source texts and their matching English translation, 1230 examples of 4509 cases of the *van*-genitive were retained as were 621 examples of 887 of the *se*-genitive. After the interchangeable genitive forms were extracted from the English and Afrikaans originals and translations, each concordance line was annotated for five extratextual variables, namely LANGUAGE (levels: Afrikaans, English), TRANSLATION STATUS (levels: original, translation), PERIOD (levels: Period 1, Period 2, Period 3, Period 4), and REGISTER (levels: Creative, Instructional, Persuasive, Popular). In addition, each concordance line was annotated for five intratextual variables known to condition the alternation, namely POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, and FINAL SIBILANCE. The levels and annotation of these variables are discussed in the following section.

4.5.3.2 Conditioning factors

4.5.3.2.a Animacy of possessors and possessums

The scheme proposed by Szmrecsanyi et al. (2017) was used to code the animacy of possessors and possessums in both English and Afrikaans texts. POSSESSOR ANIMACY and POSSESSUM ANIMACY thus each had the five levels outlined in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Animacy scheme for possessors and possessums

| Category | Information | Examples |
|------------------|--|--|
| Human and animal | This category was limited to higher animals, and to both living and dead persons. It also included body parts. | <i>The queen, the students, the school pupils, the curator, Govan Mbeki, Sarah, the eyes</i> <i>Die koningin, die studente, die skoolleerlinge, die kurator, Paul Kruger, Dewald, die oë</i> |
| Collective | This included collective nouns and organisations. | <i>the staff, the crew, the public, the family, the council</i> <i>Die personeel, die bemanning, die publiek, die familie, die raad</i> |
| | | <i>the ANC, the IWA, the V.O.C., Parliament, the Wage Board, the State</i> <i>Die ANC, die IWA, die V.O.C., Parlement, die Loonraad, die Staat</i> |
| Temporal | Included in this category were nouns or adverbs with time reference. | <i>The eighteenth century, the sixties, next year, September, Friday</i> <i>Die agtiende eeu, die sestigerjare, volgende jaar, September, Vrydag</i> |
| Locative | This category was limited to places. | <i>South Africa, South-West Africa, Delagoa Bay, Eastern Transvaal, Beaufort West, Israel, Rouxville, the Drakensberg</i> <i>Suid-Afrika, Suidwes-Afrika, Delagoabaai, Oos-Transvaal, Israel, Rouxville, die Drakensberge</i> |
| Other inanimates | All other inanimates that are concrete and abstract, as well as gerunds. ¹⁵ | <i>The future, the payment, the seeds, the hotplate, fish, the arming, the suffering</i> <i>Die toekoms, die betaling, die sade, die warm plaat, visse, die bewapening, die lyding</i> |

As pointed out by Szmrecsanyi et al. (2017), animacy is an intricate concept, and the categorisation used should be seen as an investigative idealisation that does not do justice to the vague boundaries and granularity of animacy. The coding was done rather conservatively in that there had to be strong motivation to code inanimate possessors and possessums as collective, locative or temporal. If the intended lexical meaning was unclear from the context, the lowest possible animacy code was used from the animacy hierarchy (animate > collective > temporal > locative > other inanimate). For instance, it is often difficult to determine whether the names of countries referred to that country's government, the collectivity of its population, or its geographical nature (Szmrecsanyi et al., 2017). This difficulty is illustrated by Example (6) where it is unclear whether South Africa refers to the country's population, its government or the country as a geographical entity.

¹⁵ While Afrikaans does not use gerunds as liberally as English, it does have a number of nominalising suffixes that yield abstract derived nouns, such as *-heid*, *-ery* and *ende* (for instance *vryheid*, *klaery* and *lewende*).

- (6) Vorster and Van den Bergh formed a formidable team, backed by the toughest peacetime security legislation in **South Africa's history**. [Eng-O-POP-P-3]

Instances like these were consistently coded as locative as it is the lowest possible animacy code applicable to the example. In addition, it is often difficult to draw a distinction between locative and inanimate possessors and possessums. This is particularly the case when inanimate possessors and possessums refer to objects which are also locations. Following Szmrecsanyi et al. (2017), an arbitrary lexical distinction was drawn, which was determined by size. Consequently, larger geographical units such as mountains, rivers, cities and countries were coded as locative while smaller units such as buildings, airports, hospitals or roads were coded as inanimate.

4.5.3.2.b Length of possessors and possessums

To establish whether the principle of end-weight plays a role in genitive variation (see Section 4.3.2.2), two variables reflecting the length of possessors and possessums were included. While previous studies have mainly used words, phrases and nodes (see Rosenbach, 2014) to determine if long constituents follow short ones, this study followed the example set by Heller, Szmrecsanyi, et al. (2017), measuring weight according to the number of letters of possessors and possessums. To do so, a function was used that returned the number of characters in a phrase. The function counted all digits and letters, but did not count special characters such as hyphens or spaces between words. The variables POSSESSOR LENGTH and POSSESSUM LENGTH were thus continuous variables, measured in integers.

4.5.3.2.c Final sibilance

The variable FINAL SIBILANCE was included as a conditioning variable. If the possessor in the English text ended on an [s], [z], [ʒ], [tʃ] and [dʒ], the code “y” was used. All other instances were marked as “n”. While it is doubtful whether this constraint will be as strong in Afrikaans, all instances where Afrikaans possessors end on an [s] were also marked. The variable FINAL SIBILANCE thus has two levels (yes, no). Table 4.5 provides a summary of all of the variables and their respective levels that were used for the statistical analysis.

Table 4.5: Variables and levels used in the statistical analysis

| Variables | Levels |
|--------------------|--|
| LANGUAGE | Afrikaans, English |
| TRANSLATION STATUS | Original, translation |
| PERIOD | Period 1, Period 2, Period 3, Period 4 |
| REGISTER | Creative, instructional, persuasive, popular |
| POSSESSOR ANIMACY | Human and animal, collective, temporal, locative, other inanimates |
| POSSESSUM ANIMACY | Human and animal, collective, temporal, locative, other inanimates |
| POSSESSOR LENGTH | Number of characters |
| POSSESSUM LENGTH | Number of characters |
| FINAL SIBILANCE | Yes, no |

4.5.4 Data analysis

4.5.4.1 Descriptive, frequency-based analysis

This case study aims to determine:

1. how the preferences in genitive choice are the same or different in English and Afrikaans writing, across time periods and registers, both in original writing, in translations and their source texts, and in comparable translated and non-translated texts in each language
2. why Afrikaans and English users choose one genitive construction rather than the other
3. whether the factors conditioning the choice are the same or different for Afrikaans and English writers
4. whether the factors conditioning the choice change over time in Afrikaans and English (and in similar or different ways), potentially reflecting the effects of the influence of the other language
5. whether the factors conditioning genitive variation in Afrikaans and English translations are more similar to the source language, or to the target language
6. whether there is any evidence that source-language preferences are transferred to translations, and then disseminate to original writing.

The study starts with a descriptive, frequency-based analysis. This analysis consists of three components, namely a contrastive comparison between original English and Afrikaans texts; a parallel comparison between source texts and their translations in English and Afrikaans; and a comparable analysis of original English and translated English texts, and original Afrikaans and translated Afrikaans texts. The contrastive analysis highlights the similarities and differences between the two languages in terms of genitive variation in the four different registers and in the four timeframes. The purpose of this analysis is to lay the groundwork for understanding change in the two languages in terms of register and time dimensions so as to identify potential areas where translation could bring about change.

With knowledge of the differences and similarities of genitive variation in English and Afrikaans, it is possible to carry out a parallel comparison between source texts and their target texts in both language pairs. The parallel analysis indicates where translators follow or do not follow the preferences of the source text, and which alternatives they choose. If the genitive use of translations is more similar to the target language, there is evidence of normalisation. However, if the genitive use of translations is more closely aligned with that of the source language, there is evidence of transfer effects. This step is crucial as there has to be evidence that the translations are affected by the interchangeable genitive use of the source texts as a precondition for translations to act as a possible catalyst for language change. Translations, in other words, should opt for the corresponding genitive option in the other language (for example, English translations should use the *of*-genitive as a translation equivalent when the Afrikaans source texts use the *van*-genitive, or Afrikaans should use *se* as a translation equivalent where English originals use the *s*-genitive). If the genitive use of translations is more closely aligned to the conventions of the source language (and these conventions are in some way different from those of the target language), this raises the possibility that the preferences introduced by translation may find their way into original writing.

Following this analysis, it is possible to move on to a comparable analysis of original and translated texts in English and Afrikaans to see if there is evidence that source-language preferences disseminate to original writing. Evidence for this would be found if translations lead

with either a higher or lower incidence of a particular genitive in one time period, and original texts in the same language then follow suit in the next period by showing a similar occurrence of that genitive.

4.5.4.2 *Inferential variationist analysis*

Frequency-based analyses are problematic because genitive choice is conditioned by a variety of factors. The changes in genitive variation that may be observed over time or across registers may result from another factor that is confounded with or related to these different factors. To determine the real nature of change in genitive variation, an inferential variationist analysis based on statistical methods is necessary to disentangle the effects of various factors, and to determine the relative importance of the factors and their interactions. This analysis consists of three components, namely random forests, conditional inference trees and logistic regression. As a method, random forests are an algorithm that uses prediction rather than explanation when dealing with data (Couronne, Probst, & Boulesteix, 2017). In other words, given the specified set of variables (such as PERIOD, REGISTER or FINAL SIBILANCE), the random forest method seeks to predict which of the genitive forms is most probable in English and Afrikaans. The random-forests algorithm works through the data and establishes if a variable is a helpful predictor through trial and error by constructing a large number of inference trees. Each decision tree in the random forest is grown using random samples of predictors and random samples of observations. Tagliamonte and Baayen (2012) note that in statistics the metaphor is used of putting some of the observed samples into a bag, which is then known as *in-bag* observations. The data that were not sampled is known as *out-of-bag* observations. The result of this procedure is that the in-bag observations are paired with the out-of-bag observations for each decision tree, and the accuracy of the predictions of a decision tree is then determined by comparing the predictions for the out-of-bag observations with the real values that were noted for the out-of-bag observations (Tagliamonte & Baayen, 2012).

To determine a predictor's usefulness, the random forest algorithm uses a permutation variable importance measure, which randomly permutes the values of the predictor (Tagliamonte & Baayen, 2012). This breaks the association of that predictor with the response variable. So, for instance, the level of 'human and animal' of POSSESSOR ANIMACY often conditions people to use the *s*-genitive. By breaking this association, the difference between the *s*-genitive and the *of*-genitive is erased, and the level of 'human and animal' occurs equally with both genitives (Tagliamonte & Baayen, 2012). The permuted predictor, along with the other predictors, is then used by the algorithm to predict the response for the out-of-bag observations. If the permuted predictor is an important predictor of the response, a model with that permuted predictor is a less accurate classifier. Classification accuracy, in other words, decreases significantly if the original (unpermuted) predictor is indeed associated with the response (Tagliamonte & Baayen, 2012). In this way, if a model's performance decreases notably, one has a vital predictor. Thus random forests provide the importance measure for every variable, which is averaged over many conditional trees, which helps one to understand the importance of a variable in relation to other variables in the data set.

While random forests give an overview of the relative importance of the conditioning variables, it is also necessary to zoom in on these variables to understand the finer relationships and interactions that exist between the variables. To do so, the method of conditional inference trees is used. Conditional inference trees are a method for classification and regression, which is based

on binary recursive partitioning (Levshina, 2015). This involves three steps. First, the algorithm tests if any of the predictor variables are associated with the response variable (i.e. the variable one wants to measure). In this case, the genitive forms in English and Afrikaans are the response variable. The algorithm then chooses the predictor variable that is most strongly associated with the genitive. In a second step, the algorithm splits (partitions) this predictor variable into two binaries, which divides the dataset into two subsets (Levshina, 2015; Tagliamonte & Baayen, 2012). In the case of a binary predictor with the values of *A* and *B*, one of these subsets comprises all of the observations that are associated with value *A*. The other subset contains all of the observations that are associated with value *B*. In a third step, the algorithm repeats the first two steps for each subset and recursively works through all of the predictor variables up to the point where no more predictor variables are left that are associated with genitive use (Tagliamonte & Baayen, 2012). The outcome of this binary splitting is a conditional inference tree, which provides a straightforward visualisation of how various predictor variables operate together to influence the choice of one genitive construction rather than the other. The conditional inference trees and random forests analyses were done using the *party* package in package (Torsten, Hornik, & Zeileis, 2006) in RStudio (RStudio Team, 2016)..

In addition to random forests and conditional inference trees, one can also look at the odds or the probability that the two genitive forms are used in Afrikaans and English originals and translations in terms of these conditioning variables. Logistic regression has been widely used to determine the likelihood of different choices in genitive alternation (see Hundt & Szmrecsanyi, 2012; Ehret, Wolk & Szmrecsanyi, 2014; Heller et al., 2017; Gries & Wulff, 2013; Szmrecsanyi, 2013; 2016). It is used where a response variable has two outcomes (or two linguistic variants). These outcomes are influenced by a number of different factors or predictor variables and logistic regression indicates the extent to which the response variable is influenced by these predictor variables (Speelman, 2014). For instance, logistic regression can be used to predict and explain speakers' decisions between two near synonyms based on pragmatic, social, geographic or conceptual factors (Levshina, 2015). In this study, the *s-* and *of-*genitives are the response variables in the case of English texts, while the *se-* and *van-*genitives are the response variables in the case of Afrikaans texts. Logistic regression analysis was done using the *rms* package (Harrell, 2018) in RStudio (RStudio Team, 2016). The predictor variables are outlined and discussed in Section 4.5.2 and Table 4.5.

4.6 MODALITY IN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

Modality has been chosen as a second feature to test the hypothesis of translation-induced change. English has nine core modal auxiliary verbs to express modality. These are the present tense forms *can*, *may*, *shall*, *will* and *must*, of which the first four have the preterite forms *could*, *might*, *should* and *would* (Biber et al., 1999). English also has semi-modals, which “refers to a loose constellation of verb constructions” (p. 91), such as *have to*, *(had) better*, *be able to*, *be supposed to*, *be going to*, *(have) got to*, *used to* and *ought to* (Leech et al., 2009). These semi-modals are multi-word constructions that express modal meanings (Biber et al., 1999; Leech et al., 2009). It is therefore possible to paraphrase *I have to read the book again* as *I must read the book again* or to paraphrase *You aren't supposed to be here* as *You shouldn't be here*. Scholars generally agree that several of the semi-modals are suppletive forms in the defective morphological framework of modals in English (Collins, 2009). It is therefore possible to use semi-modal *had to* in the absence of the modal **musted* or to use *to be able to* in the absence of the infinitive construction **to can*. There is also a recognition that there are shades of differences between semi-modals and

modals (Collins, 2009; Rossouw & Van Rooy, 2012). For instance, the modal *must* is less objective than the semi-modal *have to*. In addition, some of the semi-modals are fixed expressions, which means they cannot be marked for person or tense (Biber et al., 1999). However, it is possible to inflect some of the semi-modals, like *be going to* and *have to*, for person and tense (Biber et al., 1999). For instance, the semi-modal in *He had to phone the doctor* is marked for past tense, while the semi-modal in *Maybe he has to grow up a bit* shows third-person agreement.

According to Biber et al. (1999) and Collins (2009) modality encompasses a range of meanings. Each of the modals and semi-modals can be grouped into three semantic clusters. There are modals and semi-modals that express possibility, ability and permission; those that express obligation and necessity; and those that express volition and prediction. In addition to these three categories, modals and semi-modals can have two different types of meaning. These are known as intrinsic (deontic) and extrinsic (epistemic) meanings. Intrinsic or deontic modality refers to events and actions that people (or other agents) control directly. By using an intrinsic modal, speakers can give permission, lay an obligation or indicate their intention (volition). For example, the modal *must* in the sentence *John must reveal all his sources of income* expresses an obligation on John, as the subject, to carry out the action that is identified in the proposition. Extrinsic (epistemic) modality refers to the logical status of events or states, which are usually related to assessments of likelihood in terms of possibility, necessity or prediction. For instance, when someone notices an approaching storm and remarks *It will rain today*, the modal *will* functions as a logical prediction of the state of the weather that day. The relationship between the different semantic clusters of modals and their meanings is depicted in Table 4.6 following Biber et al. (1999).

Table 4.6: Semantic meaning of modals and semi-modals

| Semantic group | Modals and semi-modals | Meanings |
|------------------------------------|---|---|
| permission/ability/ possibility | <i>can, could, may, might, be able to</i> | Deontic: permission, ability Epistemic: possibility |
| obligation/necessity | <i>must, should, have (got) to, need to, ought to</i> | Deontic: obligation Epistemic: necessity |
| volition / prediction | <i>will, would, shall, want to</i> | Deontic: volition or intention Epistemic: prediction |

Afrikaans, in turn, also has a number of modal auxiliaries, which correspond in a number of ways to English modality. These include *kan (can)*, *mag (may)*, *moet (must/need to/have to)*, *sal (will/shall)*, and *wil (want to)* and their corresponding preterite forms *kon (could)*, *mog (might)*, *moes (had to)*, *sou (would)* and *wou (wanted to)*. It should be noted, however, that *mog* (the preterite of *mag*) is obsolete, according to Erasmus (2018). The words *behoort* and *hoef* act as quasi-modals when they are combined with the modal particle *te* in infinitive constructions (Ponelis, 1979). The preterite forms in Afrikaans, like in English, do not only encode past tense, but can also be used to convey hypothetical cases. Example (7) demonstrates the preterite *kon* as it is used to indicate past tense and example (8) demonstrates *kon* as it is used hypothetically.

(7a) Dink: gister kon hy nie eens water inhou nie. (Afr-Org-Crea-P-3)

- (7b) She thinks: yesterday he couldn't even keep water down. (Eng-Tr-Crea-P-4)
- (8a) “Mevrou Kriel, ek wens ek kon vir u sê hoeveel ouers dit al vir my gesê het van hulle kinders!” (Afr-Org-Crea-P-4)
- (8b) “Mrs Kriel, I wish I could tell you how many parents have said this to me concerning their children!” (Eng-Tr-Crea-P-4)

Afrikaans modals can be grouped into the same semantic clusters as English based on their meanings: possibility, ability and permission; obligation and necessity; and volition and prediction. Table 4.7 shows the three categories along with the modals and semi-modals that belong to these categories.

Table 4.7: Semantic meaning of modals and semi-modals

| Semantic group | Modals |
|---------------------------------|--|
| permission/ability/ possibility | <i>kan, kon, mag, mog</i> |
| obligation/necessity | <i>moet, moes, behoort te, hoef te</i> |
| volition / prediction | <i>wil, wou, sal, sou</i> |

With English and Afrikaans being of Germanic origin, both languages have very similar modal systems, which often includes similarity in meanings, structure and pronunciation (Wasserman & Van Rooy, 2014). A brief discussion is necessary to highlight not only the similarities but also the differences between the modal systems of the two languages. This is because, as Hubbard (1979) notes, the “many broad similarities between form-meaning relations in the English and Afrikaans modal auxiliaries belie many fine but nevertheless important differences”. The modal *kan*, which is cognate with the English *can*, can be both deontic and epistemic in its use, and denotes permission, ability and possibility (Conradie, 2018a), which corresponds with the uses of *can* in English. *Kon*, the preterite of *kan*, is cognate with the English modal *could*. While *kon* and *could* have strong correspondence in meaning, there is weaker correspondence in their form (and consequently in their phonology). The modal *mag* is the cognate of *may* as these two modals correspond grammatically, semantically and to some extent phonologically (Wasserman, 2014). *Mog*, which is the archaic past tense of *mag* and which is equivalent to the modal *might*, is rare in Afrikaans because it has fallen out of use. *Mag* has taken over the equivalent meaning of *might* in Afrikaans, and conveys permission, ability and possibility along with intrinsic and extrinsic meanings.

According to Wasserman (2014) and Wasserman and Van Rooy (2014), the English modal *must* corresponds closely to the Afrikaans modal *moet* and its preterite form *moes*. *Must* and *moet* not only resemble each other phonologically, but also show a high degree of similarity of meaning (Wasserman & Van Rooy, 2014). Both can be used to express deontic and epistemic meanings, and to express obligation and necessity. Unlike *must*, the English modal *should* does not correspond semantically with *sou*, its Afrikaans cognate. *Sou* rather expresses a meaning that is closer to *would*. The Afrikaans construction *behoort te*, which acts as a semi-modal, expresses a meaning that is closer to *would* in terms of its intrinsic and extrinsic meanings (Wasserman, 2014). *Behoort te* is also close in its meaning to *ought to*. According to Conradie (2018b), the construction *hoef te* in Afrikaans has a meaning that is similar to *need to*, but it is usually used in

its negative form (*hoefnie te*). The Afrikaans modal *sal* is the cognate of *shall*, with which it shares much of its structure and its phonology, and is also the semantic equivalent of the English modal *will* (Wasserman, 2014). The actual cognate form of the Afrikaans modal *wil* is the English modal *will*, but *wil* corresponds to the meaning of the semi-modal *want to* in that it indicates volition. *Will* shares the meaning of the verb *gaan* in Afrikaans, which is more closely related in semantics and structure (in terms of a comparison of *go* and *gaan*) to the semi-modal *be going to* (Wasserman, 2014). Table 4.8 provides a comparison of the Afrikaans modals and their English equivalents (Wasserman, 2014).

Table 4.8: Afrikaans modals and their English equivalents

| Afrikaans modals | English equivalents |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>kan</i> | <i>can</i> |
| <i>kon</i> | <i>could</i> |
| <i>mag</i> | <i>may/might</i> |
| <i>moet/moes</i> | <i>must/need to/have to</i> |
| <i>behoort te</i> | <i>should/ought to</i> |
| <i>hoef te</i> | <i>need/need to</i> |
| <i>sal</i> | <i>will/shall</i> |
| <i>sou</i> | <i>would</i> |
| <i>wil/wou</i> | <i>want to/wanted to</i> |

4.6.1 Language contact in the modal systems of English and Afrikaans

A number of scholars have considered the possibility that the modal systems of English and Afrikaans may show signs of language contact. Hubbard (1979) is aware of differences in the form-meaning relations of English and Afrikaans modals, and notes that these differences are often the source of interference-based phenomena. This is because second-language learners are inclined to produce ungrammatical segments of speech under the influence of their mother tongue. Hubbard (1979) consequently studies interference phenomena in the speech production of English speakers who learn Afrikaans as a second language, and in the speech production of Afrikaans speakers who learn English as a second language. His study is a qualitative, contrastive-based analysis of modality in English and Afrikaans that seeks to understand how learners' mother-tongue systems can both facilitate and interfere with their acquisition of their second language.

In Hubbard's (1979) study of modality, four different types of cross-linguistic phenomena occur in the speech production of English and Afrikaans second-language speakers. These are:

- 1) The sentence is unacceptable and is likely to be incomprehensible.
- 2) The sentence is acceptable, but a first-language speaker would interpret it differently than what was intended by the learner.
- 3) The sentence is acceptable but contains unintended stylistic marking or implications.
- 4) The learner does not make full use of the choices available in the target language and employs a less frequently used expression rather than one which, for a first-language speaker, would have been the preferred expression.

To illustrate the categories of the scale, Hubbard (1979) provides the following examples for cross-linguistic transfer occurring in the speech production of English second-language speakers:

- a) *In the old days Stoffel may still borrow his father's car.
- b) The manager should have said that the comedian was a fool (while actually intending *The manager is supposed to have said the comedian was a fool*).
- c) You must take your girlfriend home.
- d) I would be able to see you tomorrow.

The first sentence is ungrammatical because transfer occurs from the Afrikaans modal *mag*. Non-epistemic *mag* can be used to express past, present and new possibility, but in English the non-oblique form *may* usually expresses present modality. As such, sentence (a) is ungrammatical as it uses a modal that expresses present modality but the action clearly occurred in the past. According to Hubbard (1979), the speaker in sentence (b) used *should* under the influence of *sou*, which means the speaker expresses deontic obligation in his/her statement. He suggests that the semi-modal *BE supposed to* was possibly a better option as it expresses epistemic necessity compared to *should*. In the case of sentence (c), deontic *must* was produced under the influence of the modal *moet*. Deontic *must* would be acceptable if the speaker acted authoritatively and expressed an obligation; otherwise *have to* would have been a more appropriate and politer alternative. In sentence (d), the speaker would have used conditional *sou* to express a similar meaning in Afrikaans (*Ek sou jou more kon sien* [I would have been able to see you tomorrow]). As such, the speaker was primed to use *would have been able to* in his/her utterance. However, a first-language speaker of English might rather have used the conditional *could* to express a similar meaning.

While Hubbard's (1979) study was limited to cross-linguistic influence at a particular point in time, there have also been diachronic studies on the influence of Afrikaans modality on English and vice versa. For instance, Rossouw and Van Rooy (2012), Wasserman (2014) and Wasserman and Van Rooy (2014) draw attention to the development of the modal *must* in South African English. In American English, British English and Australian English, *must* has experienced the most notable decrease in frequency in the obligation/necessity cluster. While *must* was a mid-frequency modal by the first half of the twentieth century, it declined to such an extent that it is often counted as a low-frequency modal in these three native varieties today (Collins, 2009; Leech et al., 2009; Leech & Smith, 2009; Mair & Leech, 2006). The sharp decline of a marker that was traditionally used for strong obligation, and regularly for negative commands, is thought to be the result of democratisation, with people attempting to avoid potentially face-threatening language (Myhill, 1995). Wasserman (2014) explains that in these other varieties, *must* is sometimes interpreted negatively as it has a threatening and intimidating tone. It therefore follows that people have been less inclined to modals that express a high degree of obligation (such as *must*), and have rather started to use alternatives that sound less coercive, such as the semi-modals *need to* and *have to* over time.

In South African English, on the other hand, *must* as a mid-frequency modal does not decline in frequency when compared to its decline in the other varieties of English. Its frequency rather increases until the mid-twentieth century, and thereafter remains stable until the 1990s. Wasserman (2014) and Wasserman and Van Rooy (2014) hypothesise that contact with Afrikaans is responsible for this development because of the grammatical, semantic and phonological similarities of English *must* and Afrikaans *moet/moes*. In Afrikaans, *moet/moes* is the second-most frequent modal, which leads the authors to surmise that the higher frequency of *must* "can be seen as direct influence from the use of *moet/moes*" (p. 42). In addition, Afrikaans is

also thought to have played a role in contributing to a semantic shift of *must*. There was a sharp increase in the deontic use of *must* from 1910, and while this increase stabilised over time, *must* still showed a predominantly deontic meaning in the 1990s. This development is attributed to Afrikaans (Wasserman, 2014), which makes sense when one considers the high frequency of deontic *moet* in Afrikaans (see Erasmus, 2018, for more information).

Likewise, the use of Afrikaans modals has also been influenced by contact with English. Wasserman's (2014) corpus shows that while the deontic meaning of *must* has always been more prevalent since the arrival of the British settlers at the Cape in the eighteenth century, *must* also had a notable epistemic nature up to 1910s. Erasmus (2018) consequently posits that English influenced Afrikaans from the eighteenth century to such an extent that Afrikaans gradually adopted epistemic meanings for *moet* up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

In brief, there is evidence that the modal systems of Afrikaans and English have changed in some ways over time. In some cases, these changes may have been caused by language contact as there is both synchronic and diachronic evidence that suggests speakers of the two languages are sensitive to cross-linguistic effects. Of course, it is possible that translation may have mediated change between these two languages in terms of their modal systems because of possible interference effects. However, this possibility has not been explored yet and this study aims to determine whether there is any evidence of language change through translation.

4.6.2 Data extraction

Sketch Engine's (2018) concordance function was used to extract the modals *can, could, may, might, must, should, will, would, shall* and the semi-modals *BE able to, have (got) to, need to, ought to, want to* and *wanted to* in full-sentence context in English originals and English translations. Likewise, the modals *kan, kon, mag, moet/moes, behoort te, hoef te, wil, wou, sal* and *sou* in Afrikaans originals and Afrikaans translations were extracted to Excel worksheets. In all cases, the aligned segment was extracted at the same time. For instance, the source-text sentence *What ideas would you bring to the table* (Eng-O-Pop-P-4) was extracted with the equivalent sentence *Watter idees kan jy na die tafel bring?* [What ideas can you bring to the table?] (Afr-T-Pop-P-4), and the modal of the aligned sentence was then manually entered on the spreadsheet (*kan* in this case).

The reason why modals were extracted from both originals and translations in the same language was so that one could compare the extent to which translators omitted or added modals compared to authors of original texts as a translation strategy. For example, the sentence *At first we played games so I would feel comfortable* (Eng-O-Pop-P-4) contains a modal, but the corresponding Afrikaans translation *Ons het eers speletjies gespeel om my gemaklik te laat voel* [We first played games to make me feel more comfortable] (Afr-T-Pop-P-4) does not use a modal. An example of addition occurs in the translation of *So 'n kastrol het dan min skuur nodig* [Such a stew pot requires little scouring] (Afr-O-Pop-P-4) where the English translator used a modal in his/her translation *You will then have a minimum of scouring to do* (Eng-T-Pop-P-4) even though the Afrikaans source text did not.

The extracted data set was cleaned manually to ensure that only Afrikaans modals, and English modals and semi-modals were included. This meant that cases such as *will* in *It may be His Will to lead our nation to a glorious future* (Eng-Org-POP-P-4) were removed from the data set. All of the

extracted data contained information for register and period so as to understand how modality might have changed over time.

4.6.3 Data analysis

The study of modality uses the same approach as the one used for genitive variation. It uses a contrastive analysis, a parallel analysis and comparable analysis to determine whether translation contributes to language change. These analyses divide and discuss the different modals in terms of the three semantic clusters (that is, the permission/ability/possibility cluster, the obligation/necessity cluster, and the volition/prediction cluster) as it is likely that changes occur within these three clusters. In other words, one might see that while a register preferred to use a certain modal of one of these clusters at a certain point in time, that another modal of that same cluster is preferred at a later point in time. The contrastive analysis highlights differences and similarities between Afrikaans originals and Afrikaans translations across period and register. This not only helps one to understand the distinguishing features of each language in terms of their respective modal systems but also helps to identify opportunities for cross-linguistic interference to occur. However, unlike the analysis for genitive variation, the analysis of modality uses a more standard, corpus linguistic approach that is based on frequency of occurrence. The reason why a more straightforward approach was chosen is because the nature of the data does not allow one to modulate the data so that inferential statistics can be carried out.

For the contrastive analysis, the data of this study's bidirectional corpus are discussed and compared with Wasserman's (2014) results based on her corpus of South African English, while the data of Afrikaans modals are compared to Erasmus' (2018) results derived from a corpus of Afrikaans texts. This is in line with Zanettin's (2012) point that corpus-based translation studies profit most not just from the comparison of the various components of a translation corpus, but also from data collected from reference corpora that were not originally produced for translation-oriented purposes. This is because reference corpora are designed to be representative of a language in general whereas bidirectional translation corpora are based on their 'target' orientation in that the representativeness of the translation subcorpora prescribe the configuration of the non-translational subcorpora (Zanettin, 2012). As such, the non-translated subcorpora of the parallel design cannot, alone, be used as representative of the languages more generally, since these corpora only contain the source texts of texts that have been chosen for translation in the target language, which involve certain selection criteria. This selection criteria result in a narrower selection of text types for translation, which means some text types are underrepresented due to not being selected, while others are overrepresented because they are valuable from a market point of view.

However, there are some gaps in the discussion as there are instances where the registers and/or periods of Wasserman (2014) and Erasmus (2018) differ from the ones used in this study. For instance, Wasserman's (2014) corpus of South African English consists of four periods, namely the 1820s to 1860s; the 1870s to the 1900s; the 1910s to the 1950s; and the 1990s. This has the implication that only the data from the last two periods of Wasserman's (2014) can be compared to the data of this study (that is, the period of the 1910s to the 1950s of the South African English corpus can be compared to Period 1 and Period 2 of this study while the data of the 1990s from the South African English corpus can be compared to Period 4 of the bidirectional corpus). Her corpus consists of letters, newspaper writing, fiction and non-fiction, which means that the

registers of creative writing and popular writing can be compared to her categories of fiction and non-fiction. Erasmus' (2018) corpus of Afrikaans texts, in turn, consists of texts produced from 1911 to 1920; 1941-1950; 1971 to 1980; and 2001 to 2010. It contains narrative texts (such as fiction and biographies), informal texts (diaries and personal letters), informative texts (which consists of religious, journalistic and informational writing), academic (in the fields of humanities and social sciences), and manuscripts. This means that Erasmus' (2018) Period 1 and 2 can be compared to Period 1 of this study, while her Period 4 can be compared to the fourth period of this study. Period 3 of this corpus is not comparable to Erasmus' texts spanning from 1971 to 1980, as Period 3 falls in the middle of her periods (with texts produced from 1976 to 1993). In terms of the registers, her results for fiction can be compared to the results of creative writing of this study, while her informative texts can be compared to popular writing.

The point of the contrastive analysis, in other words, is to identify where there is an indication of some difference between English and Afrikaans in the reference corpora, which is confirmed by originals contained in the bidirectional corpus. In the cases of unique registers (that is, instructional writing and persuasive writing), the non-translated corpora of the bidirectional corpus act as the baseline. The discussion focusses on instances where there is an indication of change over time in the reference corpora and in the bidirectional corpus, and in particular on cases where the result of such change is that there is some measure of greater similarity (or convergence) between English and Afrikaans originals. The areas identified in the contrastive analysis are then be subjected to a parallel analysis to determine how translators treat modals in their translations. This shows if translators are more aligned with target-language norms or source-text norms as is evident from the contrastive analysis, and whether these inclinations change over time. Addition and omission of modals are also counted as translation strategies.

For the comparable analysis, originals and translations in the same language are compared with each other in terms of changes in particular registers over time. This analysis seeks to determine if translations lead the change, whether translation is in step with the change, and whether translation lags behind by choosing an older translation option. If translation lags behind the changes identified, it refutes evidence for the hypothesis of translation-induced language change.

4.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, methodological concerns were discussed as well as the steps that were followed to determine whether translation contributes to language change between Afrikaans and South African English. The chapter discussed the corpus compilation itself and the corpus feature. The discussion now proceeds to the results chapter.

CHAPTER 5:
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION -GENITIVE VARIATION
IN SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The central aim of this study is to determine if translations contribute to language change in South African English and Afrikaans on a grammatical level. The two genitive forms in these languages were chosen as it appears to be a plausible area where such change would be able to manifest itself as there are enough linguistic differences and similarities between these languages to warrant such an examination. The corpus analysis will therefore be used to determine if translations contribute to changes in the genitive form over time and in different periods, in the two languages. The analysis proceeds in two main sections. Section 5.2 discusses the normalised and proportional frequencies of the genitive options in English and Afrikaans originals and translations, across registers and time periods, to understand the differences and similarities between these two languages in respect of variation in the choice between the two options. This analysis highlights some possibilities for translation to induce or contribute to language change. In Section 5.2, genitive variation is discussed comparatively, using three comparisons: English and Afrikaans original writing, taking a contrastive approach (Section 5.2.1); English and Afrikaans source texts and their Afrikaans and English translations, taking a parallel approach (Section 5.2.2); and originals and translations in the same language (English, and Afrikaans), taking a comparable approach (Section 5.2.3). Section 5.3 presents the results of the variationist analysis, focussing on the results from the random forests analysis (Section 5.3.1), conditional inference tree analysis (Section 5.3.2), and logistic regression analysis (5.3.3).

**5.2 GENITIVE VARIATION IN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS TEXTS ACROSS REGISTER,
TRANSLATION STATUS AND TIME**

This section discusses genitive variation in English and Afrikaans originals and translations across four registers (creative, instructional, persuasive and popular writing) and four time periods (1910-1947, 1948-1975, 1976-1993, 1994-2016) in terms of normalised and proportional frequencies. The purpose of this contrastive approach is to understand why Afrikaans and English users use one genitive construction rather than the other, which will lay the groundwork needed to understand change in the two languages in terms of genitive variation.

5.2.1 A contrastive analysis of genitive variation in English and Afrikaans original writing

The first analysis presented is a contrastive comparison of non-translated (original) Afrikaans and English texts over different registers and periods of time. This will provide a baseline understanding of the two genitive variants in the two languages, frequencies across registers, and frequency changes over time. Table 5.1 presents a summary of the proportional frequency of the two genitives in English original writing over time. There is a clear proportional frequency increase over time of the *s*-genitive in South African English, at the expense of the *of*-genitive, with a particularly noticeable increase from Period 3 (1976-1993) to Period 4 (1994-2016).

Table 5.1: Proportional frequencies of the *of-* and *s-*genitive over time in English original texts¹⁶

| | Period 1 | | Period 2 | | Period 3 | | Period 4 | |
|---------------------------|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|
| <i>Of-</i>genitive | 923 | 93% | 982 | 92% | 604 | 89% | 893 | 77% |
| <i>S-</i>genitive | 73 | 7% | 88 | 8% | 72 | 11% | 271 | 23% |
| Total | 996 | | 1070 | | 676 | | 1164 | |

For Afrikaans original writing, as Table 5.2 shows, the same trend of an increasing preference for the *se-*genitive over time is evident, with the same notable increase from Period 3 to Period 4. This is also seen in Kirsten’s (2016) data where a gradual increase of the *se-*genitive is noted at the expense of the *van-*genitive at proportional frequencies that are similar to the frequencies noted in Table 5.2. The proportional frequency of the *se-*genitive is always higher in Afrikaans than the preference for the corresponding *s-*genitive in South African English, suggesting that Afrikaans leads the change in a preference for the more compact (and more colloquial) form.

Table 5.2: Overall frequencies of the *van-* and *se-*genitives over time in Afrikaans source texts

| | Period 1 | | Period 2 | | Period 3 | | Period 4 | |
|----------------------------|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|
| <i>Van-</i>genitive | 243 | 89% | 953 | 84% | 516 | 82% | 470 | 63% |
| <i>Se-</i>genitive | 31 | 11% | 184 | 16% | 110 | 18% | 274 | 37% |
| Total | 274 | | 1137 | | 626 | | 744 | |

Register preferences clearly play a role in conditioning the variation, in similar ways for both languages (see Table 5.3 and Table 5.4). In both languages, three of the registers have a clear preference for the *of-*genitive. Instructional writing has the clearest preference for the *of-*genitive, and rarely uses the *s-*genitive, followed by popular writing and persuasive writing. Creative writing in both Afrikaans and English, on the other hand, uses the two forms at almost equal proportional frequencies.

Table 5.3: Proportional frequencies of the *of-* and *s-*genitive by register for English original texts

| | Creative writing | | Instructional writing | | Persuasive writing | | Popular writing | |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| <i>Of-</i>genitive | 46 | 46% | 1344 | 96% | 257 | 80% | 1619 | 83% |
| <i>S-</i>genitive | 54 | 54% | 49 | 4% | 65 | 20% | 325 | 17% |
| Total | 100 | | 1393 | | 322 | | 1944 | |

¹⁶ As stated in section 4.2.1, 450 examples were analysed for the *of-*genitive in English and the *van-*genitive in Afrikaans for all four subcorpora (English originals and translations, and Afrikaans originals and Afrikaans translations) per period and per register to estimate distributions for the entire corpus. This means the numbers of the *of-*genitive are estimates rather than raw numbers. These estimates were calculated by dividing the number of *of-*genitive that appeared in 450 examples per register and per period with the total number of hits that were returned for that particular subcorpus.

Table 5.4: Proportional frequencies of the *van-* and *se-*genitive by register for Afrikaans original texts

| | Creative writing | | Instructional writing | | Persuasive writing | | Popular writing | |
|---------------------|------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| Van-genitive | 231 | 52% | 604 | 97% | 308 | 75% | 1040 | 79% |
| Se-genitive | 210 | 48% | 16 | 3% | 101 | 25% | 272 | 21% |
| Total | 441 | | 620 | | 409 | | 1312 | |

These proportional comparisons give an indication of how preferences for the two genitive forms have changed over time and differ according to register in South African English and Afrikaans. The comparison now turns to considering the interaction between register and period, while also investigating normalised (rather than proportional) frequencies, to more clearly delineate the frequency differences across time and registers in the two languages.

Figure 5.1 summarises the normalised frequency of (interchangeable) *of-* and *s-*genitives across registers and time periods, for English and Afrikaans original writing. As explained in Chapter 4, in some cases it was not possible to collect translations for all periods and registers, which is why there are some gaps in the data presented. The figure maps all time periods for which data are available in the four registers. The figure clearly illustrates that English writers prefer the *of-*genitive in all registers and time periods, with the exception of creative writing. For creative writing, the *s-*genitive and *of-*genitive are used at a similar (relatively low) frequency (of around 3 per 1000 words) in the fourth period, with the *s-*genitive slightly more frequent – the only register where this is the case. The plot echoes the frequency changes over time evident in Table 5.1 for English, but highlights the more nuanced nature of this change across registers. The *of-*genitive is much more frequent in the instructional register than the other registers, which is not surprising given the formality and high information density of this register. The frequency of the *of-*genitive increases over the first three periods (1910-1947, 1948-1975, 1976-1993), from 14.2 to 18.6 per 1000 words, which is followed by a marginal decline in the fourth period, to 17.6 per 1000 words. The *s-*genitive, in turn, seems to be relatively stable over all four periods for this register, occurring at very low frequencies below 1 per 1000 words. There is a decline in the frequency in the *of-*genitive for persuasive writing from Period 2 to Period 4 (from 14.5 to 10.2 per 1000 words), which is coupled with a sharp increase in the *s-*genitive, from 1.2 to 4.6 per 1000 words. It thus seems that, in this register, over time the *s-*genitive is used more at the expense of the *of-*genitive. In popular writing, the *of-*genitive is stable for Period 1 and Period 2 (at around 10 per 1000 words), but its use decreases from Period 3 onwards, to just under 6 per 1000 words. This is coupled with a gradual but consistent increase in the frequency of the *s-*genitive.

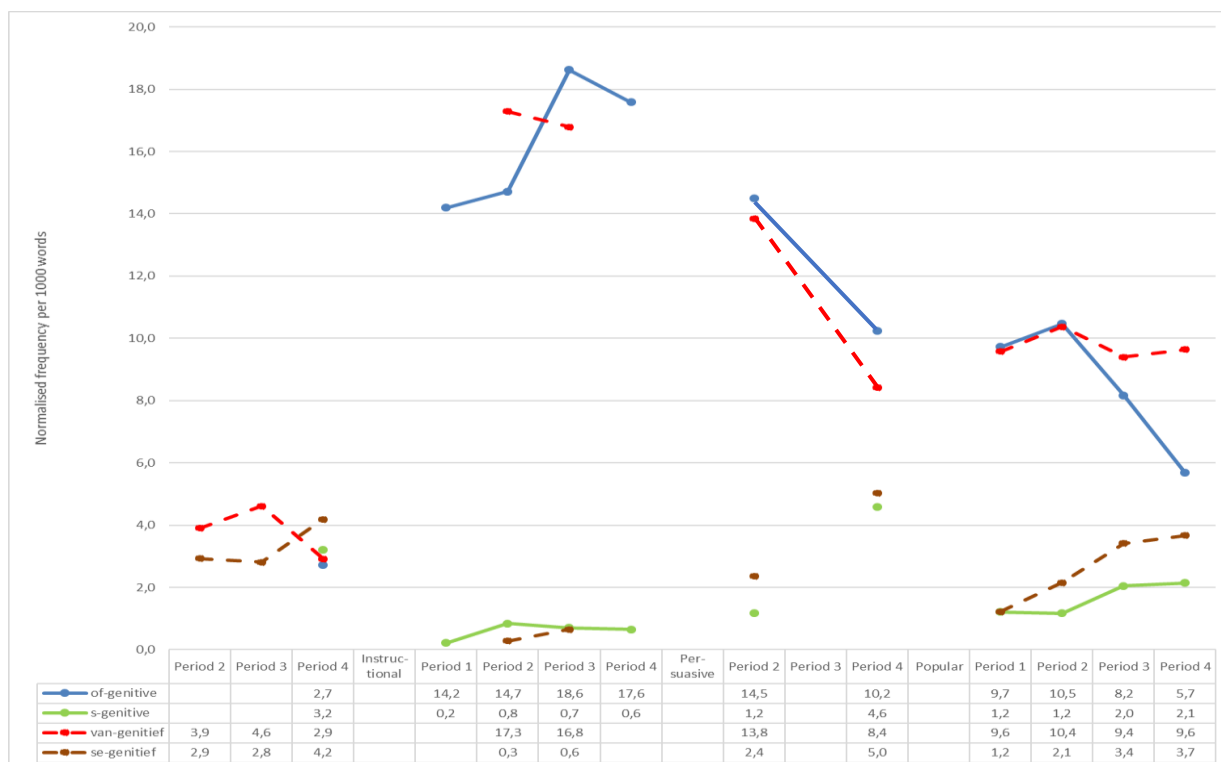


Figure 5.1: Comparison of normalised frequency of genitive forms in English and Afrikaans original writing, by register and time period

In terms of Afrikaans original writing, the *van*-genitive is used more than the *se*-genitive for all registers, with the exception of creative writing where the two genitives are used at a similar frequency. A closer look at the four registers and the different time periods reveals a more nuanced picture of the extent to which it is preferred in some register contexts, and how these preferences change (or do not) over time. As with English original writing, the instructional register has the highest incidence of the *van*-genitive for the two periods (Period 2 and Period 3) for which data are available, reflecting the register's formality and high level of information density. The occurrence of the *van*-genitive is relatively stable at around 17 per 1000 words. The *se*-genitive is rarely used and demonstrates only a slight increase from 0,3 to 0,6 per 1000 words across the two periods. The normalised frequency of the *van*-genitive is also quite stable in the popular writing register (around 10 per 1000 words), where it is clearly the preferred option. However, there is a slow but consistent increase in the frequency of the *se*-genitive over the four periods, from 1,2 to 3,7 per 1000 words. For persuasive writing, there is a sharp decline in the use of the *van*-genitive from Period 2 to Period 4 (from 13,8 to 8,4 per 1000 words), which is accompanied by an increasing preference for the *se*-genitive across the same time, which doubles in frequency from 2,4 to 5,0 per 1000 words. This suggests that the *se*-genitive is used at the expense of the *van*-genitive. In line with Kirsten's (2016) suggestions, it might be the case that the *se*-genitive is not seen as much as a marker of informality as used to be the case in the second period. Another possibility is that the register is undergoing changes as a whole in that it is becoming more informal over time. Overall, genitive constructions occur at lower frequencies in the creative register. While frequencies for the two options are very similar, the *van*-genitive is originally more frequent, but from Period 4 the *se*-genitive overtakes it in its frequency.

Taken together, the two languages show similar patterns over the four periods across the different registers analysed. However, some divergences are also evident. In persuasive writing, a clear register change is underway, shared between the two languages: while the *of*- and *van*-genitives remain dominant (at similar frequencies), from Period 2 to Period 4 there is a sharp decline in frequency evident for both languages, with a similarly sharp increase in the frequency of the *s*- and *se*-genitive, suggesting that the latter construction is taking over the semantic space of the former. In instructional writing in both languages, the *s*- and *se*-genitive remains at a low frequency. The *of*- and *van*-genitive remains dominant in both languages. Data sparsity in this register for the two languages makes trends difficult to discern. The *of*-genitive rises in frequency in English over the first three periods, and then declines in the last period. Between Period 2 and Period 3 the increase is particularly pronounced (from 14,7 to 18,6 per 1000 words), but in this period, Afrikaans is relatively stable at around 17 per 1000 words. Some register differences between the two languages are suggested by this, but more investigation is needed. The most noticeable divergences are evident in the popular register. In this register, the *s*- and *se*-genitive demonstrate a consistent increase in frequency – more pronounced in Afrikaans than in English (suggesting that Afrikaans leads the way in the change). However, in Afrikaans the *van*-genitive remains relatively stable in frequency, while in English the *of*-genitive shows a sharp decline. The identification of trends in creative writing is complicated by the fact that for English only data for Period 4 are available, which means one cannot compare the two genitives in the two languages with one another across time. Nonetheless, in Period 4, the two languages are quite similar in their use of the genitive construction. In Afrikaans the *se*-genitive occurs slightly more (4,2 per 1000 words) than the *s*-genitive in English (3,2 per 1000 words) while the two languages use the *van*-genitive (2,9 per 1000 words) and the *of*-genitive (2,7 per 1000) to the same degree.

The analysis in this section outlines the general trends in genitive variation across registers and time periods for South African English and Afrikaans. While there are some differences in the ways in which English and Afrikaans users use genitive constructions, on a whole it seems like there are many similarities between the two languages. The next step is to consider what the implications of these findings are, if one wishes to make a case for translation-induced language change. There are two criteria that have to be met to make such a claim. First, there has to be evidence that the translations are affected by the interchangeable genitive use of the source texts: In other words, translations should opt for the corresponding genitive option in the other languages (for example, English translations will use the *of*-genitive as a translation equivalent when the Afrikaans source texts use the *van*-genitive, or Afrikaans will use *se* as a translation equivalent where English originals use of the *s*-genitive). The analysis investigating this criterion is presented in Section 4.5.4, in the parallel corpus analysis of English source texts and Afrikaans translations, and Afrikaans source texts and English translation.

If this first criterion is met, the second question is whether the preferences introduced by translation (if they are different from those in original writing) find their way into original writing. Evidence for this would be found if translations lead with either a higher or lower incidence of a particular genitive variant in one time period, and original texts in the same language then follow suit in the next period by showing a similar occurrence of that genitive. To determine whether this criterion is met, a comparable corpus analysis of translated texts and non-translations in the same language is presented in Section 5.2.3. However, given that English and Afrikaans show similar tendencies for genitive variation overall, translation effects are likely to be subtle, and only evident in certain registers and time periods. Considering the discussion in

this section, it is likely that the most promising area for translation to contribute to language change is in the register of popular writing as it is the only place where there are noticeable differences between English and Afrikaans. In this case, one might see that Afrikaans translations of popular writing use the *van*-genitive less frequently than Afrikaans originals; or that English translations use the *of*-genitive in way that is more similar to the way Afrikaans original writing uses the *van*-genitive (in other words, the *of*-genitive becomes more stable over time).

5.2.2 A parallel analysis of genitive variation in source texts and their translations

Against the background of the comparison of English and Afrikaans originals, the question arises of whether translators follow the source-text preferences for genitive alternation, or whether they adjust their translations to conform to target-language preferences. For the parallel comparison, attention will be given to the extent to which translations are the same or different from their source texts in terms of genitive alternation. An important feature of this analysis is that it will consider the role of the other conditioning variables (such as POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY and FINAL SIBILANCE) in source texts and their corresponding target texts. While the similarities between Afrikaans and English may encourage translators to use the genitive option that corresponds to the one used in the source text, it should not be forgotten that there are other factors that could also influence their decision. However, these variables may affect translators to a different extent than authors considering that translators are constantly shuttling between the source language and the translated language. This constant shuttle between the two languages means that translators may be affected in some way by source-text interference. For instance, considering that Afrikaans has a weaker animacy constraint than English, it is possible that English translators may be inclined to use the *s*-genitive with inanimate possessors under Afrikaans influence. By considering these conditioning variables, the parallel analysis is different from the descriptive comparisons of Section 5.2.1 and 5.2.3 that focus on English and Afrikaans originals and translations exclusively in terms of period and register.

Table 5.5 provides the raw data and the proportional frequencies of cases where the *s*-genitive was translated with the *van*- and *se*-genitive in Afrikaans across period and register. It is clear that Afrikaans translators are generally inclined to translate the *s*-genitive with the *se*-genitive regardless of register and period (with percentages that range from 69% upward). The results for instructional writing should be treated with caution because of the token numbers. These token numbers are so low for all four periods that it makes it difficult to reach a definite conclusion since it is not possible to know whether there is a genuine difference in the third period or if there is simply not enough data to identify a pattern.

Table 5.5: Proportional frequency of the *s*-genitive translated as the *se*-genitive and *van*-genitive

| | <i>se</i> -genitive | | <i>van</i> -genitive | | Genitive count for period and register |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------|----------------------|-----|--|
| Creative writing | | | | | |
| Period 4 | 55 | 98% | 1 | 2% | 56 |
| Instructional writing | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 4 | 80% | 1 | 20% | 5 |
| Period 2 | 12 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 12 |
| Period 3 | 9 | 69% | 4 | 31% | 13 |
| Period 4 | 10 | 91% | 1 | 9% | 11 |
| Persuasive writing | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 8 | 80% | 2 | 20% | 10 |
| Period 4 | 46 | 92% | 4 | 8% | 50 |
| Popular writing | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 43 | 72% | 17 | 28% | 60 |
| Period 2 | 56 | 87% | 8 | 13% | 64 |
| Period 3 | 50 | 89% | 6 | 11% | 56 |
| Period 4 | 144 | 92% | 12 | 8% | 156 |
| Grand Total | 437 | | 437 | | 493 |

In terms of cases where the *of*-genitive was translated with the *van*- and *se*-genitive (see Table 5.6), translators almost always use the *van*-genitive (with percentages that range from 96% upward). This is the case regardless of period and register. In comparison with Table 5.5 (where there is slightly more variety in the data), one can claim that translators are more comfortable in using the *van*-genitive than the *se*-genitive.

Table 5.6: Proportional frequency of the *of*-genitive translated as the *van*-genitive and *se*-genitive

| | <i>van</i>-genitive | | <i>se</i>-genitive | | Genitive count for period and register |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|------|---------------------------|----|---|
| Creative writing | | | | | |
| Period 4 | 44 | 98% | 1 | 2% | 45 |
| Instructional writing | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 104 | 99% | 1 | 1% | 105 |
| Period 2 | 115 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 115 |
| Period 3 | 136 | 99% | 1 | 1% | 137 |
| Period 4 | 127 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 127 |
| Persuasive writing | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 87 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 87 |
| Period 4 | 101 | 99% | 1 | 1% | 102 |
| Popular writing | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 94 | 99% | 1 | 1% | 95 |
| Period 2 | 116 | 98% | 2 | 2% | 118 |
| Period 3 | 93 | 96% | 4 | 4% | 97 |
| Period 4 | 87 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 87 |
| Grand Total | 1104 | | 11 | | 1115 |

Moving on to Afrikaans source texts and their English translations, Table 5.7 shows that English translators will usually translate the *se*-genitive with its corresponding English version, the *s*-genitive. With figures that range from 70% upward, this is the case across time and register.

Table 5.7: Proportional frequency of the *se*-genitive translated as the *of*-genitive and *s*-genitive

| | <i>s</i> -genitive | | <i>of</i> -genitive | | Genitive count for period and register |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|--|
| Creative writing | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 75 | 91% | 75 | 91% | 82 |
| Period 3 | 34 | 83% | 34 | 83% | 41 |
| Period 4 | 90 | 92% | 90 | 92% | 98 |
| Instructional writing | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 3 | 80% | 3 | 80% | 5 |
| Period 3 | 10 | 91% | 10 | 91% | 11 |
| Persuasive writing | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 26 | 79% | 26 | 79% | 33 |
| Period 4 | 45 | 70% | 45 | 70% | 64 |
| Popular writing | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 24 | 83% | 24 | 83% | 29 |
| Period 2 | 59 | 89% | 59 | 89% | 66 |
| Period 3 | 54 | 89% | 54 | 89% | 61 |
| Period 4 | 94 | 87% | 94 | 87% | 108 |
| Grand Total | 514 | | 84 | | 598 |

Table 5.8 shows that English translators almost always translate the *van*-genitive with its corresponding form, the *of*-genitive regardless of time and period. Looking at Tables 5.5 to 5.8, a clear pattern emerges. Afrikaans and English translators are strongly inclined to use the genitive in the target language that corresponds to the one of the source language. They especially have a strong preference for the older and more formal of the two genitives (that is, the *van*-/*of*-genitive). They almost always use the older and more formal option if the source text uses the corresponding formal genitive in the source language, and are more inclined to switch to the more formal option than to the more informal option (that is, the *se*-/*s*-genitive). The fact that translation switches are generally made toward the older, more established variant suggests that translators lag behind change based on the evidence of this analysis.

Table 5.8: Proportional frequency of the *van*-genitive translated as the *of*-genitive and *s*-genitive

| | <i>of</i> -genitive | | <i>s</i> -genitive | | Total |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------|--------------------|----|-------|
| Creative writing | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 104 | 96% | 4 | 4% | 108 |
| Period 3 | 66 | 96% | 3 | 4% | 69 |
| Period 4 | 73 | 97% | 2 | 3% | 75 |
| Instructional writing | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 129 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 129 |
| Period 3 | 135 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 135 |
| Persuasive writing | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 152 | 96% | 7 | 4% | 159 |
| Period 4 | 111 | 96% | 5 | 4% | 116 |
| Popular writing | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 116 | 99% | 1 | 1% | 117 |
| Period 2 | 102 | 97% | 3 | 3% | 105 |
| Period 3 | 103 | 95% | 5 | 5% | 108 |
| Period 4 | 136 | 99% | 2 | 1% | 138 |
| Grand Total | 1227 | | 32 | | 1259 |

There were also instances where the translation did not use a genitive at all. In this case, it can be questioned to what extent English translators omitted translation equivalents for the *van*- and *se*-genitive, and to what extent Afrikaans translators omitted translation equivalents for the *of*- and *s*-genitive. For instance, a writer used the *s*-genitive in example (1) but the translator of the text did not use the *se*-genitive or the *van*-genitive in his/her translation.

(1a) That boy saved three people's lives. (Eng-O-Pop-P-4)

(1a) Daardie seun het drie lewens gered. (Afr-T-Pop-P-4)

That boy saved three lives.

Table 5.9 shows the numbers and frequencies for cases where Afrikaans translators did not use a genitive in their translation even though there was one present in the English source text. It should be noted that the figure for the *of*-genitive and figure for cases where the *van*-genitive was omitted, are estimates. It seems that there are different tendencies across time and register regarding the extent to which *of*-genitive or *s*-genitive are omitted in Afrikaans translations. In instructional writing, translators were more inclined to omit the *se*-genitive as a translation for the *s*-genitive in the first and second period (54,4% and 61,1%), but are more inclined to use the *se*-genitive from the third period onward (with an omission ratio of 14,3% and 8,3%). The *van*-genitive, by comparison, is quite stable in its use (with an omission ratio that ranges from 13,9% to 20,5%) in instructional writing. For popular writing, Afrikaans translators were inclined to omit *se* as a translation option for the *s*-genitive in the second and third period (42,4% and 32,8%), but used the *se*-genitive more in the first and fourth period (with an omission ratio of 19,3% and 13,9%). In general, translators are more inclined to use either the *van*- or *se*-genitive if an *s*-genitive appears in the source text.

Table 5.9: Proportion of omission of English source-text genitives in Afrikaans translations

| Period | <i>of</i> -genitive | <i>van</i> -genitive omitted | Percentage omitted | <i>s</i> -genitive | <i>se</i> -genitive omitted | Percentage omitted |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Creative writing | | | | | | |
| Period 4 | 46 | 12 | 26,1% | 54 | 9 | 16,7% |
| Instructional writing | | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 331 | 68 | 20,5% | 44 | 24 | 54,5% |
| Period 2 | 315 | 53 | 16,8% | 18 | 11 | 61,1% |
| Period 3 | 373 | 52 | 13,9% | 14 | 2 | 14,3% |
| Period 4 | 326 | 50 | 15,3% | 12 | 1 | 8,3% |
| Persuasive writing | | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 136 | 44 | 32,4% | 11 | 4 | 36,4% |
| Period 4 | 120 | 25 | 20,8% | 54 | 23 | 42,6% |
| Popular writing | | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 456 | 199 | 43,6% | 57 | 11 | 19,3% |
| Period 2 | 531 | 145 | 27,3% | 59 | 25 | 42,4% |
| Period 3 | 231 | 51 | 22,1% | 58 | 19 | 32,8% |
| Period 4 | 400 | 133 | 33,3% | 151 | 21 | 13,9% |

In terms of English translations, it seems that translators are generally more inclined to use a genitive if an *of*-genitive occurs in the source text regardless of register. The *se*-genitive is also usually translated with an *s*-genitive, but it has a higher rate of omission in creative writing, the first period of instructional writing, and the first and fourth period of popular writing.

Table 5.10: Proportion of omission of Afrikaans source-text genitives in English translations

| Period | <i>van</i> -genitive | <i>of</i> -genitive omitted | Percentage omitted | <i>se</i> -genitive | <i>s</i> -genitive omitted | Percentage omitted |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Creative writing | | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 100 | 19 | 19,0% | 75 | 33 | 44,0% |
| Period 3 | 64 | 17 | 26,6% | 39 | 14 | 35,9% |
| Period 4 | 67 | 15 | 22,4% | 96 | 37 | 38,5% |
| Instructional writing | | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 316 | 61 | 19,3% | 5 | 2 | 40,0% |
| Period 3 | 286 | 85 | 29,7% | 11 | 1 | 9,1% |
| Persuasive writing | | | | | | |
| Period 2 | 193 | 40 | 20,7% | 33 | 7 | 21,2% |
| Period 4 | 114 | 39 | 34,2% | 68 | 26 | 38,2% |
| Persuasive writing | | | | | | |
| Period 1 | 242 | 36 | 14,9% | 31 | 13 | 41,9% |
| Period 2 | 342 | 91 | 26,6% | 71 | 20 | 28,2% |
| Period 3 | 161 | 34 | 21,1% | 60 | 13 | 21,7% |
| Period 4 | 289 | 66 | 22,8% | 110 | 46 | 41,8% |

In brief then, the parallel investigation up to this stage points to three important findings. First, translators are highly inclined to use the genitive that corresponds to the one of the source texts. Second, translations in both languages show a preference for the more formal and older, more conservative genitive, which suggests translators are lagging behind language change. At the same time, translators are inclined to retain the corresponding genitive in their translation. While this provides important information, it is possible to take the analysis even further by considering the influence of the conditioning variables on the translations.

In the raw data, Afrikaans translators use the *van*-genitive in 1104 cases when the English source texts use the *of*-genitive, and in 437 cases Afrikaans translators use the *se*-genitive as a translation equivalent for the *s*-genitive. In terms of English translations, in 1227 cases English translators use the *of*-genitive as a translation to the *van*-genitive, and in 470 examples they use the *s*-genitive to translate the *se*-genitive. The data for English source texts and their Afrikaans target texts are presented in Tables 5.11 and 5.12, and the data for Afrikaans source texts and their English target texts are presented in Tables 5.13 and 5.14. It should be noted that some of the columns of Tables 5.11 and 5.13 (possessor animacy, cases where the possessor ended on a final sibilant, and possessum animacy) provide estimates rather than the raw data. This is because, as pointed out in section 4.2.1, the data for *of*-genitives and *van*-genitives were sampled per 450 examples.

Table 5.11: Comparison of the of-genitive in English source texts and the van-genitive in Afrikaans target texts

| | English source texts | | | | | Afrikaans target texts | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length |
| Human | 493 (14%) | 13,7 | 148 | 329 (10%) | 11,8 | 480 (14%) | 14,8 | 46 | 332 (10%) | 12,7 |
| Collective | 710 (21%) | 13,7 | 112 | 92 (3%) | 15,2 | 710 (21%) | 14,0 | 20 | 105 (3%) | 14,6 |
| Temporal | 69 (2%) | 8,8 | 7 | 13 (0%) | 17,5 | 69 (2%) | 8,2 | 0 | 13 (0%) | 7,6 |
| Locative | 391 (11%) | 12,5 | 23 | 69 (2%) | 14,1 | 394 (12%) | 12,1 | 0 | 79 (2%) | 13,1 |
| Inanimate | 1739 (51%) | 13,3 | 398 | 2899 (85%) | 13,1 | 1749 (51%) | 14,6 | 3 | 2896 (84%) | 13,6 |
| Total | 3402 | 12,4 | 687 | 3402 | 14,3 | 3402 | 12,6 | 69 | 3402 | 12,3 |

Table 5.12: Comparison of the s-genitive in English source texts and the se-genitive in Afrikaans target texts

| | English source texts | | | | | Afrikaans target texts | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length |
| Human | 258 (55%) | 8,71 | 4 | 64 (14%) | 11,6 | 258 (55%) | 11,0 | 6 | 60 (14%) | 10,7 |
| Collective | 95 (20%) | 11,80 | 1 | 13 (3%) | 13,5 | 92 (20%) | 12,0 | 3 | 15 (3%) | 13,2 |
| Temporal | 14 (3%) | 7,70 | 0 | 10 (2%) | 7,6 | 14 (3%) | 7,9 | 1 | 10 (2%) | 6,8 |
| Locative | 59 (13%) | 8,88 | 2 | 2 (0%) | 19,5 | 59 (13%) | 8,3 | 5 | 2 (0%) | 9,2 |
| Inanimate | 40 (9%) | 10,24 | 8 | 377 (81%) | 11,2 | 43 (9%) | 14,6 | 17 | 379 (81%) | 11,9 |
| Total | 466 | 9,4 | 15 | 466 | 12,7 | 466 | 10,8 | 32 | 466 | 10,4 |

Table 5.13: Comparison of the van-genitive in Afrikaans source texts and the of-genitive in English target texts

| Afrikaans source texts | | | | | | English target texts | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|--|
| Animacy categories | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | |
| Human | 417 (19%) | 12,5 | 122 | 232 (11%) | 11,3 | 419 (19%) | 11,7 | 72 | 230 (11%) | 10,6 | |
| Collective | 376 (17%) | 14,2 | 56 | 48 (2%) | 13,2 | 382 (18%) | 13,9 | 48 | 48 (2%) | 13,5 | |
| Temporal | 85 (4%) | 10,3 | 85 | 22 (1%) | 7,6 | 85 (4%) | 12,4 | 9 | 22 (1%) | 7,7 | |
| Locative | 182 (8%) | 11,6 | 9 | 52 (2%) | 14,0 | 180 (8%) | 13,2 | 22 | 50 (2%) | 13,0 | |
| Inanimate | 1120 (51%) | 13,3 | 182 | 1826 (84%) | 12,8 | 1114 (51%) | 12,5 | 434 | 1830 (84%) | 12,6 | |
| Total | 2180 | 12,4 | 454 | 2180 | 11,8 | 2180 | 12,7 | 687 | 2180 | 11,5 | |

Table 5.14: Comparison of the se-genitive in Afrikaans source texts and the 's-genitive in English target texts

| Afrikaans source texts | | | | | | English target texts | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|--|
| Animacy categories | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | |
| Human | 349 (74%) | 9,4 | 53 | 81 (17%) | 8,1 | 347 (74%) | 9,5 | 40 | 90 (19%) | 8,6 | |
| Collective | 47 (10%) | 10,7 | 3 | 16 (3%) | 10,8 | 48 (10%) | 10,3 | 4 | 8 (2%) | 11,8 | |
| Temporal | 10 (2%) | 8,8 | 0 | 1 (0%) | 7,0 | 10 (2%) | 8,2 | 0 | 2 (0%) | 8,5 | |
| Locative | 43 (9%) | 8,4 | 1 | 7 (1%) | 9,5 | 46 (10%) | 8,8 | 2 | 11 (2%) | 17,5 | |
| Inanimate | 21 (4%) | 10,0 | 1 | 365 (78%) | 9,5 | 19 (4%) | 9,2 | 2 | 395 (84%) | 10,1 | |
| Total | 470 | 9,5 | 58 | 470 | 9,0 | 470 | 9,2 | 48 | 470 | 11,3 | |

The four tables show that, in general, Afrikaans translations closely follow their English source texts, and English translations are notably similar to their Afrikaans source texts. In terms of cases where the *of*-genitive is translated with the *van*-genitive (see Table 5.11), Afrikaans translations follow the preferences of their source text showing a similar distribution of animacy categories. Both source and target texts show that inanimate possessors are strongly associated with inanimate possessors (51% of possessors are inanimate in *of*- and *van*-genitive constructions), while human animates are less frequent (14% in both languages). This is in line with the animacy constraint, which posits that inanimate possessors are more likely to condition the use of the *of*-genitive and the *van*-genitive. One also sees similarities between English source texts and their Afrikaans translations in terms of the animacy of possessums, with inanimate possessums occurring the most frequently (85% in both source and target texts), which is followed by human possessums (10% of both cases). Table 5.12 also provides confirmation for the animacy constraint in English originals and their Afrikaans translations. 55% of human possessors take the *s*-genitive – a tendency which is also reflected in the Afrikaans translations. The *s*-genitive and the *se*-genitive, however, rarely accompany inanimate possessors (only 9% in both source texts and their target texts). In terms of possessums, inanimate nouns are the most frequent (81% in both English source texts and their Afrikaans translations). As a whole then, there is strong suggestion that the different animacy categories of the possessors and possessums play an important role equally in both English translations and their Afrikaans source texts.

Table 5.13 (which provides information on when English translators translated the *van*-genitive with the *of*-genitive) shows that English translators are also largely inclined to follow the trends of the source text, especially in terms of animacy. Afrikaans source texts mostly use the *van*-genitive when dealing with inanimate possessors (in 51% of the cases) but are less inclined to do so when it comes to human possessors (in 17% of the examples). In terms of possessums, Afrikaans translations show a similar distribution of animacy categories (in 84% of instances). These tendencies are mirrored in the English source texts that prefer to use inanimate possessors with the *of*-genitive (51% of the examples), and inanimate possessums (up to 84% of examples). Of course, it is also possible that English translators are to some degree motivated to use the *of*-genitive as 27% of the possessors end on a final sibilant. Table 5.14 shows the extent to which Afrikaans authors and English translators use the more informal *se*-genitive and *s*-genitive. Human possessors mostly condition Afrikaans authors to use the *se*-genitive (in 74% of cases), which is followed by collective possessors (in 10% of the examples). Inanimate possessums are most frequently used with the *se*-genitive (up to 78%). These tendencies are reflected to the same extent in the English source texts, which use human possessors up to 74% of the time and collective possessors in 10% of cases, while inanimate possessums are preferred (84% of all cases). As is to be expected, only a small number of instances of possessors end on a final sibilant in English (only 10% of cases). In short then, the comparison between Afrikaans source texts and their English source texts clearly illustrate the extent to which these English translations follow the patterns of their source texts. Animacy appears to be a particularly important factor in that the *van*-genitive and the *of*-genitive are associated with inanimate possessors while the *se*-genitive and *s*-genitive are associated with human possessors.

While it is clear that Afrikaans and English originals and their respective translations are notably similar to one another, one should also consider the cases where translators did not use the corresponding genitive structure but rather opted for the other genitive (for instance, using the *van*-genitive when the English source text used the *s*-genitive or using the *of*-genitive when the

Afrikaans source text used the *se*-genitive). This information is presented in Tables 5.15 to 5.18. It should be noted that some of the columns of Tables 5.15 and 5.17 (possessor animacy, cases where the possessor ended on a final sibilant, and possessum animacy) provide estimates rather than the raw data to allow for the fact that the data for the *of*-genitive and *van*-genitive are based on samples.

Table 5.15: *of-genitive in English source texts translated with the se-genitive in Afrikaans target texts*

| English source texts | | | | | | Afrikaans target texts | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----|----------------|------|
| Animacy categories | Possessor animacy | | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | | Average length | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | | Average length | |
| Human | 26 | (72%) | 11,1 | 13 | 3 | (8%) | 11 | 26 | (72%) | 13 | 0 | 3 | (8%) | 7 |
| Collective | 10 | (28%) | 11,2 | 0 | | | | 10 | (28%) | 7,5 | 0 | | | |
| Temporal | | | | | 33 | (92%) | 10,7 | | | | | 33 | (92%) | 10,3 |
| Total | 36 | | 11,2 | 13 (36%) | 36 | | 11,0 | 36 | | 10,0 | 0 | 36 | | 9 |

Table 5.16: *s-genitive in English source texts translated with the van-genitive in Afrikaans target texts*

| English source texts | | | | | | Afrikaans target texts | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----|----------------|-------|
| Animacy categories | Possessor animacy | | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | | Average length | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | | Average length | |
| Human | 20 | (36%) | 10,00 | 1 | 4 | (7%) | 6,5 | 19 | (34%) | 10,7 | | 3 | (5%) | 11,0 |
| Collective | 11 | (20%) | 11,36 | 0 | 1 | (2%) | 7,0 | 10 | (18%) | 14,2 | | 1 | (2%) | 7,0 |
| Temporal | 1 | (2%) | 8,00 | 0 | 1 | (2%) | 4,0 | 1 | (2%) | 13 | | 2 | (4%) | 6 |
| Locative | 15 | (27%) | 9,53 | 0 | 0 | (0%) | 0 | 15 | (27%) | 8,3 | | 0 | (0%) | 0 |
| Inanimate | 9 | (16%) | 9,22 | 0 | 50 | (89%) | 11,4 | 11 | (20%) | 11,8 | | 50 | (89%) | 15,83 |
| Total | 56 | | 9,62 | 1 (2%) | 56 | | 5,79 | 56 | | 11,61 | | 56 | | 9,96 |

Table 5.17: van-genitive in Afrikaans source texts translated with the s-genitive in English target texts

| Animacy categories | Afrikaans source texts | | | | | English target texts | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|--|
| | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | |
| Human | 16 (50%) | 10.63 | 2 | 6 (19%) | 4 | 15 (47%) | 10,25 | 2 | 4 (13%) | 8,07 | |
| Collective | 8 (25%) | 9.00 | 3 | 0 | 6 | 9 (28%) | | | 0 | 12,78 | |
| Temporal | 1 (3%) | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 (3%) | | | 0 | 11 | |
| Locative | 3 (9%) | 7.67 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 (9%) | | | 0 | 12 | |
| Inanimate | 4 (13%) | 9.50 | 0 | 26 (81%) | 0 | 4 (13%) | 9,71 | | 28 (87%) | 10,75 | |
| Total | 32 | | | 32 | | | 9,78 | 6% | 32 | 10,19 | |

Table 5.18: se-genitive in Afrikaans source texts was translated with the of-genitive in English target texts

| Animacy categories | English source texts | | | | | Afrikaans target texts | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|--|
| | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | Possessor animacy | Average length | Final sibilant | Possessum animacy | Average length | |
| Human | 38 (45%) | 13.34 | 14 | 7 (8%) | 9 | 40 (48%) | 13,4 | 10 | 8 (10%) | 12,65 | |
| Collective | 13 (15%) | 13.61 | 0 | 3 (4%) | 17,67 | 11 (13%) | 11 | 2 | 3 (2%) | 17,33 | |
| Temporal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Locative | 13 (15%) | 11.84 | 0 | 2 (2%) | 17.5 | 11 (13%) | 11.1 | 4 | 2 (2%) | 18 | |
| Inanimate | 20 (24%) | 13.25 | 1 | 72 (86%) | 8,18 | 22 (26%) | 13.25 | 8 | 71 (85%) | 11,67 | |
| Total | 84 | | | 84 | | 84 | | 22% | 84 | | |

Looking at cases where translators used the *se*-genitive as a translation equivalent of the *of*-genitive (Table 5.15), it is evident that English authors use the *of*-genitive mainly because the human possessor ends on a final sibilant (in half of the examples). None of the collective possessors ends on a final sibilant and it is unlikely that the principle of end weight plays a role as there is less than a character's difference between the possessors and possessums (that is, the possessors and possessums are almost the same length). Afrikaans translators are quite conventional in their approach in that they use the *se*-genitive so that human or collective possessors can be listed first, as one would expect. In this case, it might be argued that the animacy constraint is a strong motivator for Afrikaans translators to rather use the *se*-genitive than the *of*-genitive. Examples (9) to (11) illustrate the human possessors that end on a final sibilant in English that were translated with the *se*-genitive in Afrikaans:

- (9a) ... the opposite is true, namely that they merrily take part in the demolition of **esteem of judicial officers**. (Eng-Org-Pers-P-4)
- (9b) ... die teenoorgestelde is eerder waar, naamlik dat hulle lustig meedoen aan die aftakeling van **regsprekers se aansien**. (Afr-Tr-Pers-P-4)

- (10a) the gaps closed by bundles of mimosa thorn; **the attack of the Zulus**, the air thick with assegais... (Eng-Org-Pop-P-3)
- (10b) ... hoe die gapings tussen die waens met doringtakke toegepas is; **die Zoeloes se aanval**, honderde assegaie in die lug... (Afr-Tr-Pop-P-3)

- (11a) The MVA fund shall ... cause **the names of the said agents** ... to be published in the Gazette. (Eng-Org-Inst-P-3)
- (11b) Die MVO-fonds moet ... **genoemde agente se name** ... in die Staatskoerant laat afkondig. (Afr-Tr-Inst-P-3)

Table 5.16 provides information on cases where Afrikaans translators use the *van*-genitive to translate the *s*-genitive. In line with the animacy constraint, English authors used the *s*-genitive mostly with human possessors (up to 36% of the time) and inanimate possessors were used less (only 16% of the examples). If Afrikaans translators had followed the tendencies of the English source texts by translating the *s*-genitive with the *se*-genitive, their translations would have been in line with the animacy constraint that (while weaker in Afrikaans than in English) is nonetheless also an important factor in Afrikaans. However, by using the *van*-genitive mostly with human possessors (34% of the time) rather than with inanimate possessors (only 20% of examples), Afrikaans translators do not follow the prototypical use of the *van*-genitive (which would have meant a higher frequency of inanimate possessors). This begs the question why Afrikaans translators would rather use the *van*-genitive construction. The effect of end weight seems unlikely as the average possessor length (11,6 characters in length) is almost the same as the average possessum length (10 characters in length). This for instance the case with “die aangesig van die Jesuskind” [the face of the Jesus child] where the possessor is 12 characters and the possessum is 11 characters. Final sibilance is also unlikely to have been a determining factor as it not as an important constraint as it is English. A possible reason is that Afrikaans translators are conservative in their translation approach. As the *van*-genitive is more established than the *se*-genitive (while it has been increasing over recent years is still used less frequently) in Afrikaans, it is possible that Afrikaans translators used the *van*-genitive to be in line with the fact that the

van-genitive is used more often in Afrikaans in general. The following examples (12 to 15) illustrate these points:

- (12a) It is, of course, impossible to grasp **God's essence** ... (Eng-O-POP-P-2)
(12b) Dit is natuurlik onmoontlik om **die wese van God** te begryp. (Afr-T-POP-P-2)
- (13a) ... **the Minister's decision** on such an appeal shall ... be deemed to be the decision of the registrar. (Eng-O-INST-P-3)
(13b) **die beslissing van die Minister** by so 'n appèl, word ... geag die beslissing van die registrateur te wees. (Afr-T-INST-P-3)
- (14a) It could easily be mistaken for Ambien, an American brand name for a sleeping pill – and one of the prescription drugs thought to have played a role in **actor Heath Ledger's premature death**. (Eng-O-POP-P-4)
(14b) Dit kan maklik verwar word met Ambien, 'n Amerikaanse naam vir 'n slaappil, een van die voorskriptomiddels wat waarskynlik 'n rol gespeel het by **die vroeë dood van die akteur Heath Ledger**. (Afr-T-POP-P-4)
- (15a) Your experience of the Eastern Cape... would not be complete without knowing something about some of the famous sons and daughters from this region who have left their mark on **South Africa's literary, cultural, political and educational life**. (Eng-O-POP-P-4)
(15b) Jou ervaring van die Oos-Kaap... sal nie volledig wees sonder kennis van party van die beroemde seuns en dogters van hierdie streek wat hul merk op **die literêre, kulturele, politieke en opvoedkundige lewe van Suid-Afrika** gemaak het nie. (Afr-T-POP-P-4)

In cases where the *van*-genitive was translated with the *s*-genitive in English (see Table 5.17), it likewise appears that normativity plays an important role. This is because translators restore the most conventional option of the target language rather than choosing the older form in the face of a newer one in the source text. English originals are inclined to use *s*-genitives with human possessors (with a frequency of 55%), and *of*-genitives are used in only 14% of cases (see Tables 5.11 and 5.12 respectively). This is in line with the prototypical animacy constraint of English, which means that English writers are more inclined to use the *s*-genitive with animate possessors (and to a lesser extent with collective possessors) and the *of*-genitive with inanimate possessors. It appears that English translators' decisions are motivated by this constraint as 47% of the changes from the *van*-genitive to the *s*-genitive are for human animates and 28% for collective animates. Examples (16) to (20) illustrate the replacement of *van*-genitives in Afrikaans source texts with *s*-genitives in English translations.

- (16a) **Die vrou van die sendeling** het op die voorstoepie gesit en weer het dit skemer geword. (Afr-Org-Crea-P-2)
(16b) **The missionary's wife** sat on the front verandah as dusk fell. (Eng-Tr-Crea-P-2)
- (17a) Die Van Akens praat nou minder oor **die weggaan van pater Lex** as vroeër.
(17b) The Van Akens spoke less about **Father Lex's departure** than they had before. (Eng-Tr-Crea-P-3).

- (18a) Teen die einde van daardie jaar was honderde ANC-jeugdige, hoofsaaklik deur **die toedoen van Mandela**, reeds vir rewolusionêre opleiding na Kuba, Algerië ... en Tsjeggo-Slowakye gestuur. (Afr-Org-Pers-P-4)
- (18b) Towards the end of that year, thanks to **Mandela's efforts**, there were already hundreds of ANC youths in revolutionary training in Cuba, Algeria ... and Czecho-Slovakia. (Eng-Tr-Pers-P-4)
- (19a) "Slegs **die opgesaalde pêrd van my broer** het ons weer teruggekry," vertel Maria. (Afr-Org-Pop-P-1)
- (19b) "We recovered **my brother's saddled horse** only," she said. (Eng-Tr-Pop-P-1)
- (20a) Eliza du Plessis en Petro Marais ondersoek die praktyk in skole om talentvolle leerders te 'koop' en fokus op **die sienings van verskeie rolspelers...** (Afr-Org-Pop-P-4)
- (20b) Elize du Plessis and Petro Marais explore schools' 'buying' of talented learners by illustrating **various role players' different viewpoints...** (Eng-Tr-Pop-P-4)

In cases where the *se*-genitive was translated by the *of*-genitive (see Table 5.18), it is evident that English translations follow a similar distribution of animacy categories to their Afrikaans source texts. In 48% of cases, English translators used human possessors while inanimate possessors were used less frequently (in 26% of examples). In order to understand why English translators do not follow the animacy constraint of English, it is necessary to take a look at other factors. In 22% of cases, final sibilance likely plays a role. The principle of end weight looks to be less important, however, as the average length of possessors (11,5 characters) and possessums (11,9 characters) is similar to each other. It is possible that English translators are conservative in their translation approach. As the *of*-genitive is more established than the *s*-genitive (while it has been increasing in recent years is still used less often) in English in general, it is possible that English translators normalise the frequency of the *of*-genitive by using it more in their translations. Examples (21) to (25) show a possessor ending on a final sibilant in the English text while examples (26) to (27) show some general examples where the *se*-genitive was translated with the *of*-genitive.

- (21a) By dié geleentheid het Aäron en Hur **Moses se hande** opgehou en Israel het die oorlog gewen. (Afr-Org-Pers-P-4)
- (22b) At this occasion Aaron and Hur held **the hands of Moses** in the air and Israel won the battle. (Eng-Org-Tr-P-4)
- (23a) Daar word in die jongste tyd 'n interessante debat gevoer oor **die TBVC-state se toekomstige verhouding** met Suid-Afrika ... (Afr-Org-Pop_P-3)
- (23b) In recent times there has been an interesting debate about **the future relationship of the TBVC countries** with South Africa ... (Eng-Tr-Pop_P-3)
- (24a) En nou kom hierdie brief wat meld dat hy sy erfposisie slegs kan opeis deur te reis na Amsterdam, om hom aldaar te vergewis van **die testament se ander bepalings**. [Creative writing, Period 4]
- (24b) And now this letter arrives, stating that he can claim his inheritance only by voyaging to Amsterdam, there to acquaint himself with **the further stipulations of the will**.

- (25a) ... van dié af onderneem die Hábakuk-serp en die blik kondensmelk so te sê al **Paulus se sendingreise** en vergesel hulle so te sê ook al sy sendbriewe. (Creative writing, Period 3)
- (25b) ... and from there the Habakkuk sash and the tin of condensed milk undertook just about all **the journeys of St. Paul** and accompanied just about all his epistles too!
- (26a) Toelating op grond van ras eerder as meriete tas **jongmense se menswaardigheid** aan. (Afr-Org-Pers-P-4)
- (26b) Admission based on racial profiling instead of merit, is an attack on **the dignity of young people**. (Eng-Tr-Pers-P-4)
- (27a) 'n Stuk aluminiumfoelie op **die motor se enjinkap** kan dien as uitrolplank. [Popular writing, Period 2]
- (27b) [P]lace a piece of aluminium foil on **the bonnet of the car** to serve as a pastry board.

Based on the discussion in this section, there is reasonable evidence that Afrikaans and English translations are influenced by the genitive option selected in the source texts. The translations use these genitives at similar frequencies, and appear to be affected by the same constraints in general. The possibility exists, in other words, that these translation-induced effects can influence and affect the genitive variation of comparable source-texts. However, there are two points that need to be considered at this point. First, as English and Afrikaans are quite similar in their use of genitive options over time and in different registers (as pointed out in section 5.2.1), such effects (if they occur) are likely to be subtle. This means that one should not expect translation to lead to drastic changes in either English or Afrikaans. Second, as has been pointed out in this section, translators appear to be conservative in their translation decisions. This means there is a possibility that translators follow (and hold back) language change rather than actively leading it. If it is confirmed in the remainder of the chapter that translators hold back language change, there will be evidence against the hypothesis of translation-induced language change. The next section will compare English and Afrikaans originals and comparable translations in the same language to understand how translation participates in the ongoing language change.

5.2.3 A comparable analysis of genitive variation in original texts and translations in the same language

Figure 5.2 illustrates the normalised frequency of the two genitive options in English source texts and English translations. While it demonstrates the ways in which English translations are both similar to and different from comparable English texts, there is little indication to suggest translation contributes to language change. As pointed out in section 4.2.3.2, evidence will be found for translation-induced language change if translations lead with either a higher or lower incidence of a particular time period, and original texts in the same language then follow suit in the next period by showing a similar occurrence of that genitive. There is somewhat of a suggestion that this may be the case in instructional writing. English translations of instructional writing use the *of*-genitive less in Period 3 than the comparable original English texts. By Period 4, English original texts use the *of*-genitive less than in Period 3, which raises the possibility that translation may have played a role. It is possible, in other words, that the tendency of translations to use the *of*-genitive less over time has managed to disseminate to original texts. Unfortunately, translated data are only available for Period 2 and Period 3 of this register, which makes it difficult to draw conclusions.

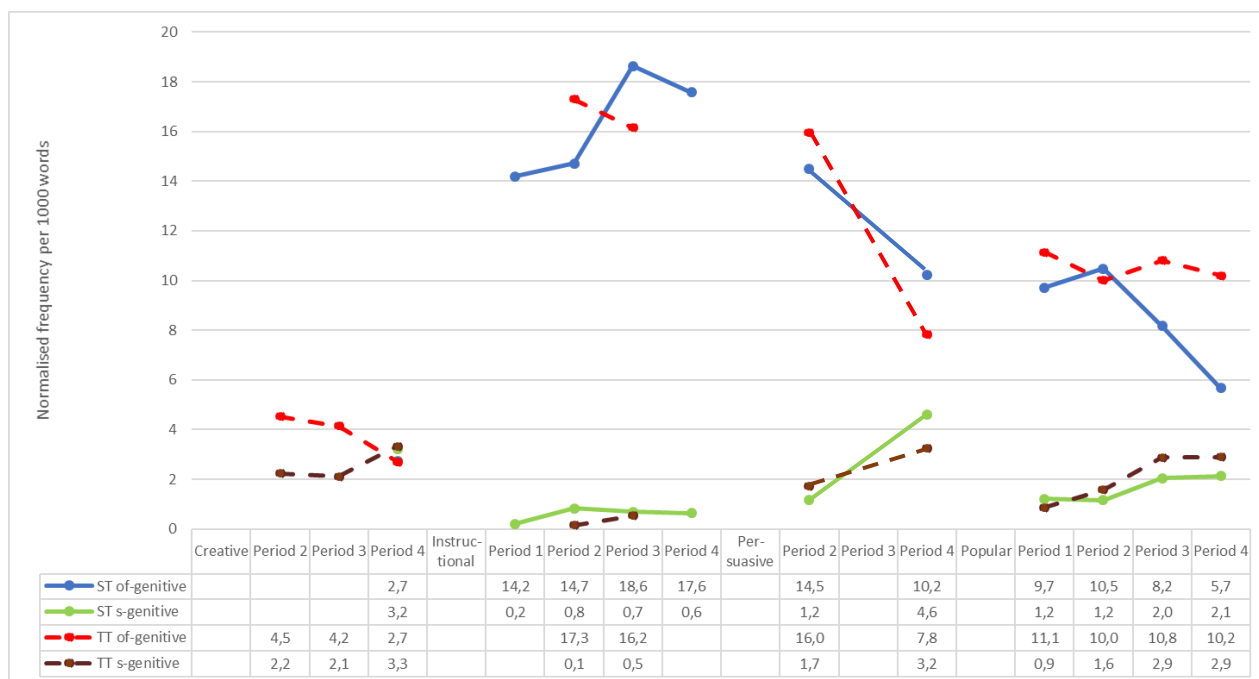


Figure 5.2: Comparison of normalised frequency of genitive forms in English original and translated texts, by register and time period

For persuasive writing, there is a general decline of the *of*-genitive and an increase in the *s*-genitive, regardless of translation status. This suggests that it is a development in the register as a whole, across translated and non-translated texts, rather than a development that can be attributed to translation. In terms of popular writing, there is an increase of the *s*-genitive from Period 2 onwards for both translations and original texts. This also appears to be a tendency of the register, developing in parallel in original and translated texts, rather than a development that appears initiated by translation and then disseminating to original writing. There is also a diverging tendency for the *of*-genitive as English translations use it at a consistent frequency across time (which suggests stability in its use) while there is a decline in its use from the third period onward in original writing. This may point to a tendency of translations to be more conservative in resisting the change that is evident in original writing.

There is also limited evidence to suggest that translation initiates changes demonstrated in Afrikaans original writing, as Figure 5.3 shows. In the register of instructional writing, while Afrikaans translations demonstrate a noticeable increase in the *van*-genitive from the first to the third period, original texts produced in Period 2 and 3 are stable in frequency – at a frequency similar to that in Period 3 and 4 in translated Afrikaans texts. Considering the notably lower frequency of the *van*-genitive until the third period, it is possible that translators slowly became aware of the high frequency at which the *van*-genitive is used by Afrikaans authors. With this growing awareness, they started using the *van*-genitive increasingly (as a process of normalisation) up to the point where they managed to catch up with the frequency to which the *van*-genitive is used in original instructional writing. The use of the *van*-genitive is also stable in original popular writing Afrikaans, accompanied by an increase of the *se*-genitive. Afrikaans translations show a dramatically different pattern, however, in that the occurrence of the *van*-genitive declines from Period 3 onward, while the *se*-genitive is relatively stable in its limited use through the four periods, with slight increases. Considering how similar Afrikaans translations

are to their English source texts in this regard (see section 5.2.2), it is likely that Afrikaans translators follow English source-text norms for genitive variation more closely in popular writing than they follow Afrikaans norms. For persuasive writing, there is a sharp decrease of the *van*-genitive in original Afrikaans texts. This decrease is also evident in translations, but in translations the *van*-genitive is already much less frequent in Period 2 than it is in original writing. This suggests a trend which may have been initiated by translations, and carried over to original writing, leading to a convergence in original and translated Afrikaans by Period 4. At the same time there is also an increase in the *se*-genitive for both translated and non-translated Afrikaans texts, which suggests that it is a trend of the register rather than being driven by translation.

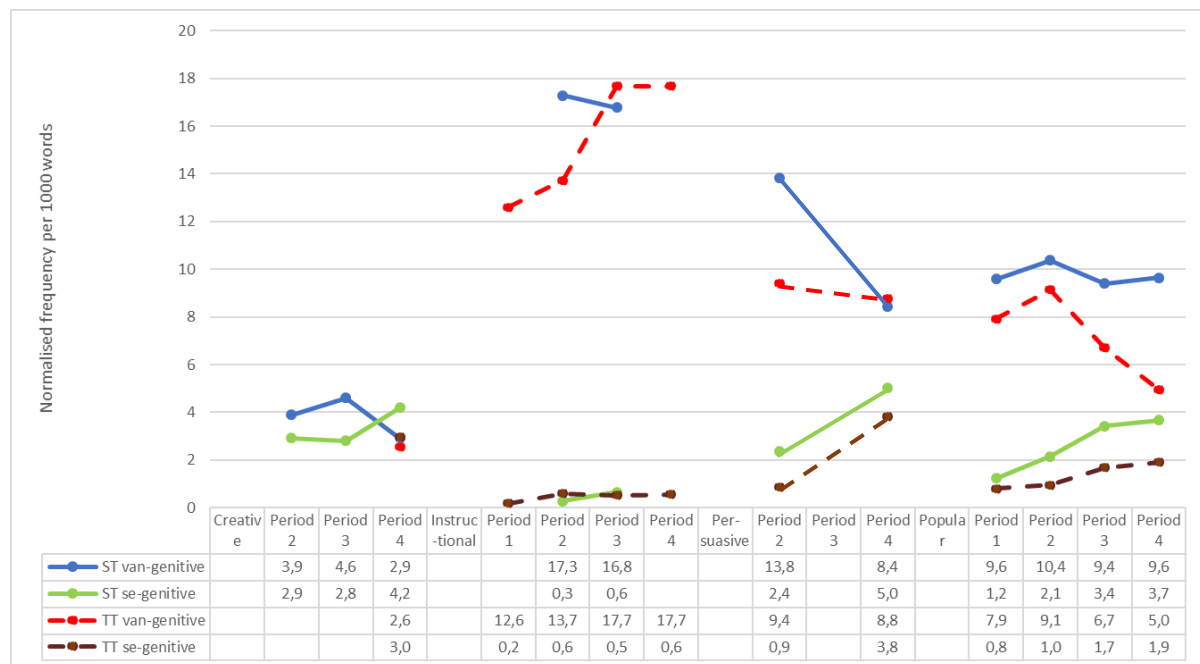


Figure 5.3: Comparison of normalised frequency of genitive forms in Afrikaans original and translated texts, by register and time period

To summarise the main findings of this section, it seems that translation plays a limited role as a possible cause of language change. In terms of English, there seems to be somewhat of an indication that English originals are following the trend of English translations by using the *of*-genitive less frequently over time. In terms of Afrikaans persuasive writing, there is a suggestion that the lower frequency of the *van*-genitive in translations may initiate the lower incidence that is consequently seen in Afrikaans original writing but this might rather be a register trend towards greater informality rather than one that is caused by translation.

The findings of sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.3 can be summarised as follows. First, Afrikaans and English are similar enough in their genitive options that translators could be inclined to use target-language genitives that corresponds with the genitive constructions used in the source text. However, while translators do follow the genitive trends of the source text, they are also quite conservative in their approach to translation. By upholding target-language norms, they tend to lag rather than lead language change. Afrikaans translators appear to be more conservative than English translators but given the stigmatisation of Anglicisms in the twentieth century (see Chapter 3), this is to be expected. There is only a slight indication that English originals follow the trends set by English translations.

The following section extends the largely frequency-based analysis presented so far to a variationist analysis. As discussed in Section 4.5 given that it is well documented that various intra- and extralinguistic factors condition the genitive alternation (and that these factors interact in complex ways), a variationist analysis will provide more detailed insights into the causes of changes in preferences for the two genitive constructions over time – and whether translated and non-translated texts in the two languages demonstrate the same probabilistic conditioning (and possible changes thereof) or not.

5.3 VARIATIONIST ANALYSIS

The frequency-based analyses presented in Section 5.2 already provide some insight into genitive alternation in English and Afrikaans originals and translations, but the possible role of all the predictor variables (POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE) should also be considered. The interaction of these variables along with LANGUAGE (English, Afrikaans), TRANSLATION STATUS (original, translation), REGISTER (creative, instructional, persuasive, popular writing), and PERIOD (Period 1, 2, 3, 4) can be determined by means of random forests, conditional inference trees and logistic regression modelling. This allows for the assessment of the precise explanatory value of the different variables that influence the selection of one genitive variant at the expense of the other.

The first analysis, which makes use of random forests (see Section 4.5.3.2), identifies the most important factors that condition the variation in English and Afrikaans separately. The algorithm, in other words, predicts why English and Afrikaans users choose one genitive form rather than the other, and a comparison of the two random forest analyses will show whether the factors that condition genitive choice are the same or different for English and Afrikaans users. With POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER, PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS as predictor variables, the random forest shows the extent to which a predictor variable is important in determining genitive use in English or Afrikaans. The most important variable listed is first and the least important variable is listed last. PERIOD is included as a predictor variable so as to understand whether the factors conditioning genitive choice change over time in English and Afrikaans. PERIOD does not have to be listed first, but it has to contribute meaningfully to account for some variability in the data (in other words, language change has occurred). TRANSLATION STATUS will show the extent to which translations differ from original writing. Following the discussion of the factors that condition variation in English and Afrikaans separately, the study will also combine English and Afrikaans into one analysis by adding LANGUAGE as an additional variable. This is in order to understand the extent to which the two languages differ from one another in terms of genitive variation. If LANGUAGE is listed among the first variables, it will show that there are substantial differences in the genitive variation of English and Afrikaans.

5.3.1 Random forests analysis for Afrikaans and English writing: An overview of the strength of predictor variables

5.3.1.1 Random forest analysis for South African English

Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5 present the variable importance plot yielded by a random forests analysis of the factors that condition the choice between the two genitive options, for English and Afrikaans writing, respectively. It is evident that the most important predictor for the choice

between the *s-* and *of-*genitive in English and the *se-* and *van-*genitive in Afrikaans is POSSESSOR ANIMACY. For English, POSSESSOR ANIMACY has an importance score of 0.021, which indicates its relative importance to other variables, and is followed by POSSESSOR LENGTH and REGISTER, of which all three score 0.002. FINAL SIBILANCE and POSSESSUM ANIMACY both score 0.001. TRANSLATION STATUS, with a score of 0.000, plays no role in predicting which of the two genitive options will be used in English, suggesting that translators and original writers do not make significantly different choices. In other words, for South African English writers and translators the choice between the *s-* and *of-*genitive is primarily based on the animacy of the possessor. While the choice between the two genitives has changed slightly over time and is affected by different registers, animacy of the possessor is a much stronger conditioning factor overall.

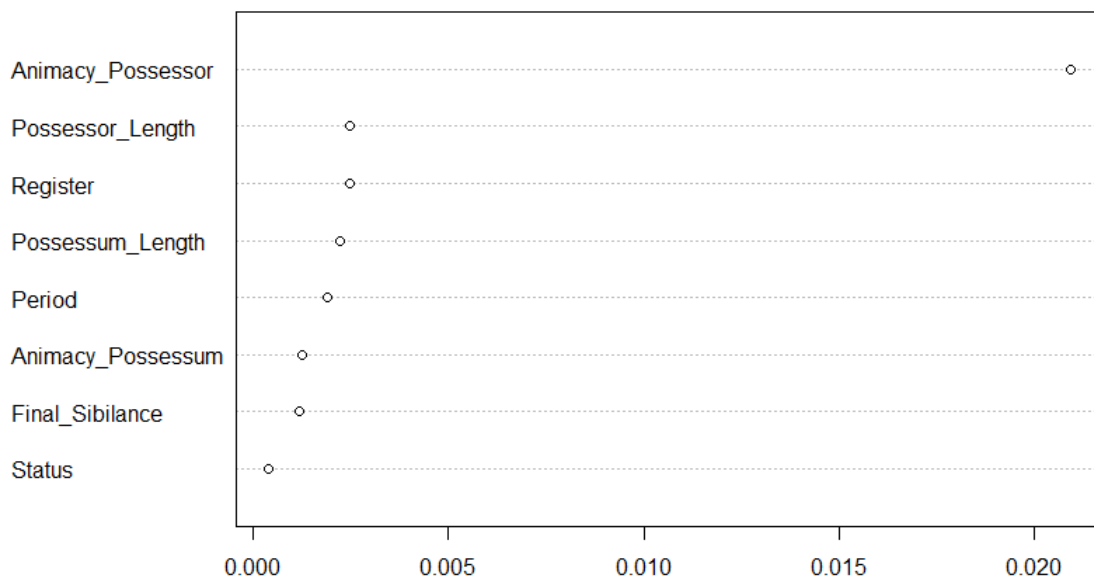


Figure 5.4 Variable importance plot for English writing, with POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER, PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS as predictor variables for the choice between the *s-*genitive and the *of-*genitive

5.3.1.2 Random forest analysis for Afrikaans

The results for the Afrikaans analysis (Figure 5.5) are similar to those for English, with some differences in the relative importance of predictor variables. As is the case for English, POSSESSOR ANIMACY is the most important predictor (0.017), but REGISTER is the second most important predictor in Afrikaans (0.006). POSSESSOR LENGTH and POSSESSUM LENGTH carry the same weight as predictors (both score 0.005), and are followed by PERIOD (0.002). FINAL SIBILANCE and TRANSLATION STATUS are not important (both score 0.00) in predicting genitive choice. These findings confirm that for Afrikaans writers and translators alike, the choice of the *se-* or *of-*genitive depends most strongly on the possessor's animacy. Though it is the strongest of the predictor variables, animacy of the possessor is not as strong a constraint in Afrikaans as it is in English. This is in line with the results of Rosenbach (2017) and Kirsten and Rosenbach (2018) who find that Afrikaans has a weaker animacy constraint than English. Register plays a more important role in Afrikaans than in English, which shows Afrikaans writers and translators are

influenced more by register differences than English writers and translators in terms of genitive choice¹⁷.

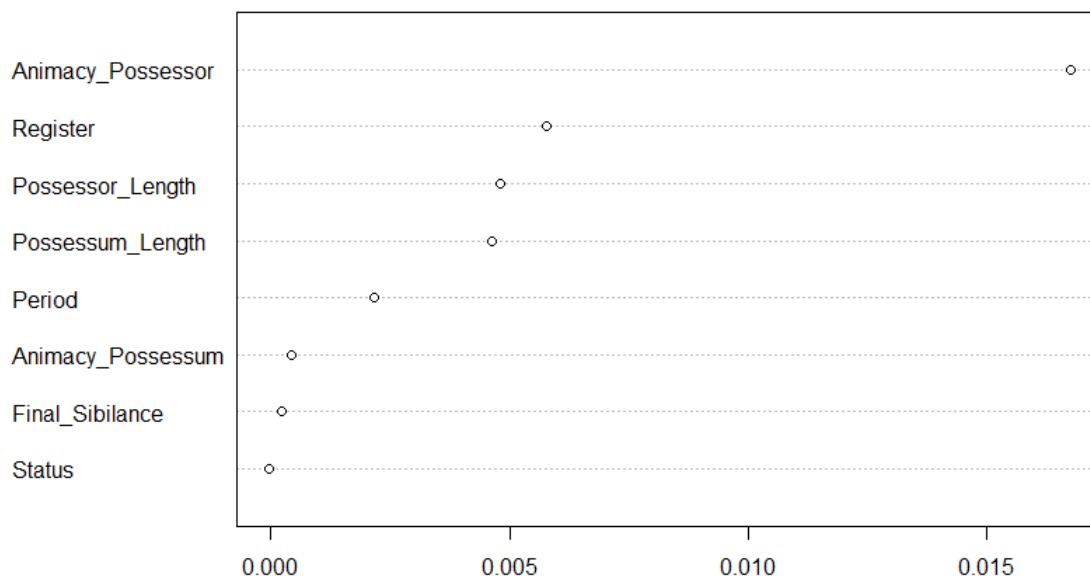


Figure 5.5. Variable importance plot for Afrikaans writing, with POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER, PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS as predictor variables for the choice between the *se*-genitive and the *van*-genitive

5.3.1.3 Random forest analysis for South African English and Afrikaans combined

The last analysis in this section aims to confirm the above findings by investigating what role the different predictor variables play when the English and Afrikaans datasets are combined, and LANGUAGE is added as a predictor variable. If LANGUAGE appears as an important predictor it would indicate that there are noteworthy differences between English and Afrikaans in how the two languages use the genitive. The variable importance plot produced by the random forests analysis is shown in Figure 5.6. POSSESSOR ANIMACY remains the strongest of all the predictors (with a score of 0.012), followed by REGISTER (0.007). PERIOD, POSSESSOR LENGTH and POSSESSUM LENGTH all show the same importance score (0.003). LANGUAGE and TRANSLATION STATUS play marginal, but nevertheless perceptible roles, while there is little evidence of an effect of POSSESSUM ANIMACY and FINAL SIBILANCE. These findings show that Afrikaans and English show only limited differences in how they use their genitive forms. Rather, for both English and Afrikaans writers and translators the choice between the *s*-/*se*-genitive and the *of*-/*van*-genitive is primarily based on the animacy of the possessor. STATUS shows that translations do behave somewhat differently from source texts, which points to some evidence of interference.

¹⁷ Questions can be raised regarding the differential strength of the animacy effects based on Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5, which respectively show that English has a score of 0.017 and Afrikaans has a score of 0.017. These two scores shows that in comparison with other factors (such as REGISTER, PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS), English has a stronger animacy constraint than Afrikaans. The other factors involved in conditioning genitive variation in English therefore play less of a role in English.

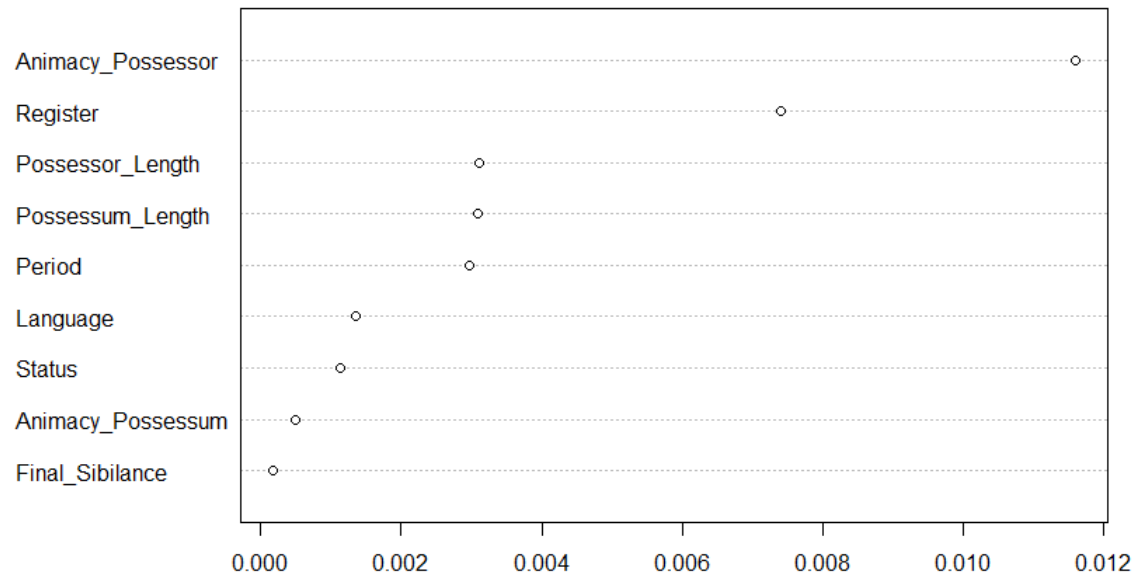


Figure 5.6: Variable importance plot for Afrikaans and English writing, with POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER, PERIOD, LANGUAGE and TRANSLATION STATUS as predictor variables for the choice between the *s-/se-*genitive and the *of-/van-*genitive

The random forests analyses presented in this section suggest that there is a high degree of similarity between South African English and Afrikaans in the factors that condition the selection of the genitive construction. It appears that there are limited differences in the conditioning variables affecting how English and Afrikaans authors and translators select genitive options; however, Figure 5.6 suggests that LANGUAGE, PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS do have some roles to play, suggesting possible (subtle) relationships between Afrikaans and English language change and translations over time. While these factors are not as strong as factors like POSSESSOR ANIMACY, REGISTER, POSSESSOR LENGTH and POSSESSUM LENGTH, they do appear to play some role in the choice between genitive options. The results discussed in this section highlight the relative importance of the conditioning variables compared to one another. However, these do not help understand the finer relationships and interactions that exist between the variables. The next section will focus on and discuss the interactions between the different variables in more detail, using conditional inference tree analysis.

5.3.2 Conditional inference tree analysis for Afrikaans and English writing: The interaction of predictor variables in genitive choice

5.3.2.1 Conditional inference tree for South African English

Figure 5.7 presents the results of the conditional inference tree analysis for South African English writing, with POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER, PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS as predictor variables. It demonstrates that the *of-*genitive is generally preferred in South African English: of the 29 end nodes, only 10 demonstrate a preference for the *s-*genitive rather than the *of-*genitive. The first split on node 1 (and thus the most important conditioning variable) is POSSESSOR ANIMACY, with human, collective, locative and temporal possessors grouped together in the left branch of the tree, and inanimate possessors grouped together to the right. This split demonstrates that genitive choice with inanimate possessors is conditioned in a different way

from the other four categories of possessors. All 10 end nodes with a preference for the *s*-genitive belong to this first left branch of the tree, and all belong to the creative, persuasive and popular writing registers (node 2, where the second split in the tree is on REGISTER). They are further influenced by the animacy of the possessum (node 10) and then by whether the possessor is collective, locative and temporal, or animate (node 18).

The complex interaction of the different variables in conditioning the choice between genitive options in English is clearly evident in the left branch of the tree and will not be discussed in detail. Instead, the focus will be on where PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS arise as significant conditioning variables in this branch. There is some suggestion of language change being underway in terms of the role that final sibilance plays in genitive variation for animate possessors in original texts (node 20, $p = < 0.001$) with English writers in the first, second, and third period always preferring the *of*-genitive when using a possessor that ends on a final sibilant (100% in 19 cases). When dealing with animate possessums that do not end on a final sibilant, English authors in these three periods are inclined to use the *of*-genitive more (0,94 of 25 cases) than when using an inanimate possessum (0,63 of 17 cases). In the fourth period (node 21), there is a notable increase in the use of the *s*-genitive when a possessor does not end with a final sibilant (0,62 of 14 cases) but in general, English writers still prefer to use the *of*-genitive when dealing with a possessor that ends on a final sibilant (0,91 of 13 cases). Translations, however, do not share this tendency. Translators (regardless of period) prefer the *of*-genitive (node 29) when using animate or temporal possessums (0,76 of 20 cases) but prefer the *s*-genitive when they use inanimate possessums (0,95 of 85 examples). The change that is seemingly underway in original texts (which is mediated by sibilance and possessum animacy) is thus not applicable to translation, which shows translation does not play a role in mediating this change nor does it follow this development; it rather acts conservatively by constraining this change.

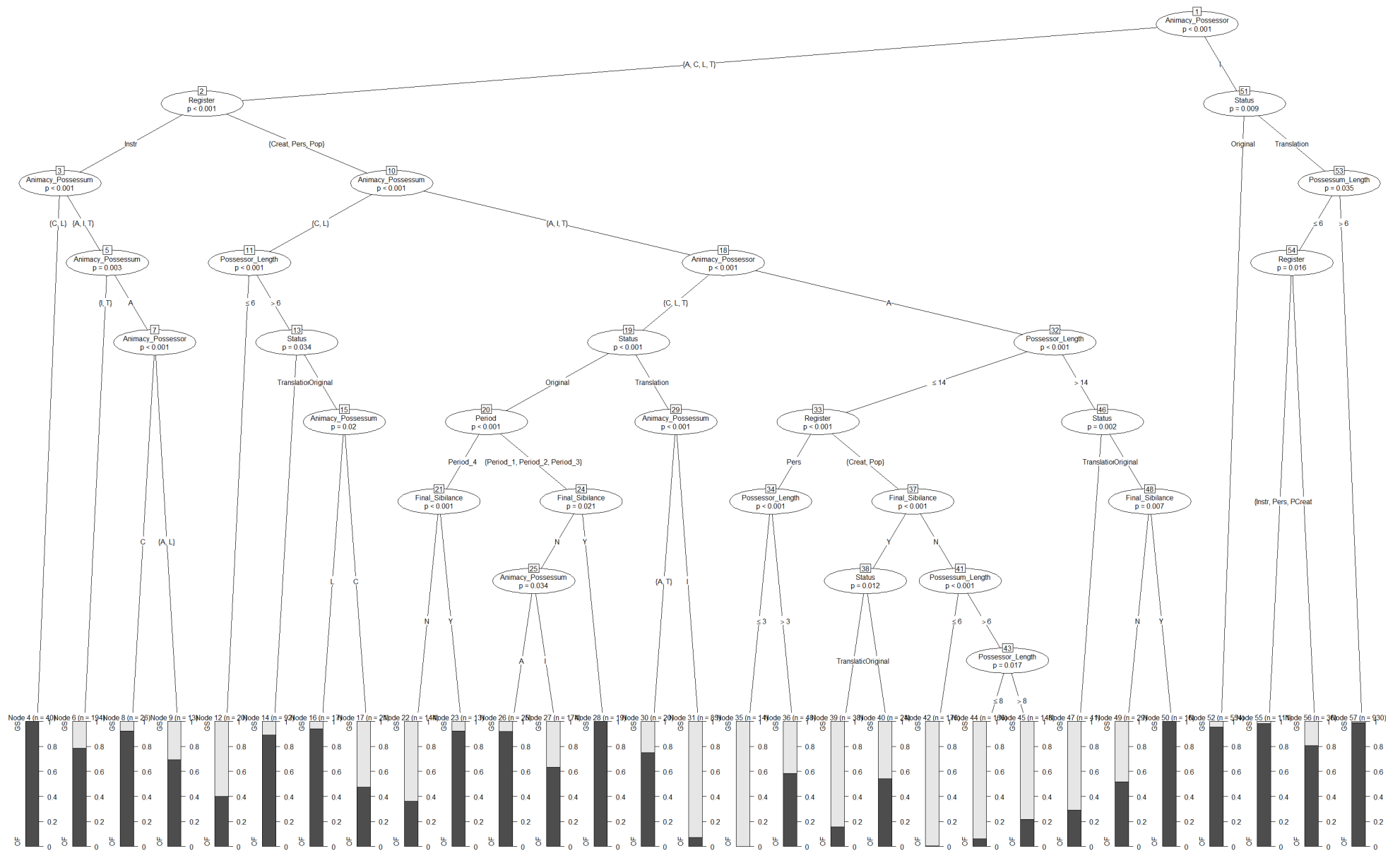


Figure 5.7: Conditional inference tree for English writing, with POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER, PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS as predictor variables for the choice between the s-genitive and the of-genitive

One also sees a difference between translations and originals in terms of possessor length (node 11, $p < 0.001$ and node 32, $p < 0.001$). With possessors that are more than six characters in length and which occur with collective and locative possessors, translators opt for the *of*-genitive (0,90 of 92 cases). Original texts demonstrate a finer distinction. English authors use the *of*-genitive when the possessor is more than six characters in length and when a locative possessum is present (0,96 of 17 cases). However, they are more inclined to use the *s*-genitive when a collective possessum is present (0,52 of 21 cases). This is in line with the animacy gradient (animate > collective > temporal > locative > other inanimate) that proposes that collective nouns (as they are closer to animate nouns on the hierarchy) are more likely to take the *s*-genitive while locative nouns are more likely to take the *of*-genitive (as they are positioned closer to the inanimate nouns on the hierarchy). In terms of animate possessors that are fourteen characters or less in length (node 32), translators of creative and popular texts are inclined to use the *s*-genitive more (0,2 of 38 cases) if the possessor ends on a final sibilant than English authors (0,44 of 24 cases). There is evidence that translators, in this case, do not follow target-text conventions. Considering that final sibilance is not an important conditioning variable in Afrikaans (see Figure 5.5) there is reason to suspect that translators may be affected by source-text conventions in this case. If the possessor is more than fourteen characters in length, translators (regardless of register) use the *s*-genitive at a frequency of 0,69 per 41 cases. English authors, on the other hand, always prefer the *of*-genitive when using a possessor that is more than fourteen characters in length (100% of 16 examples) compared to if the possessor does not end on a final sibilant (0,52 of 29 cases). Here, there is also reason to suspect that translators may be more closely aligned to the Afrikaans input text than to English norms.

Translation status clearly plays a more important role in the main right branch of the tree (node 51, $p = 0.009$) for inanimate possessors, which means that there are more notable differences in the conditioning of genitive choice with inanimate possessors in English source texts and comparable English translations. This is possibly the case because English translators are influenced to some degree by the weaker animacy constraint of Afrikaans. In general, writers of original English texts straightforwardly use the *of*-genitive for inanimate possessors, with a frequency of 0,96 in 554 cases (reflecting the strong animacy constraint of English). Genitive choice in translation, however, is influenced by other factors too. If the possessum is less than or equal to six characters in length, translations of instructional and persuasive texts use the *of*-genitive more frequently, in line with the preferences of English original writing (0,98 of the time for 111 cases). However, in popular and creative texts, the *-s* genitive is slightly more frequent (around 0,20 for 36 cases). While this is a small difference it appears that in these registers, the weaker animacy constraint of Afrikaans is transferred to English translations. If the possessum length is more than six characters in length, translators are inclined to use the *of*-genitive 99% of the time (for 930 examples).

In short, there are limited areas of linguistic change for South African English in terms of genitive variation. The factors that condition genitive variation have mostly stayed stable over time with animacy of the possessor as the most important conditioning factor. The only change that is seemingly underway in original texts is mediated by sibilance and animacy of the possessum. Translations differ from English originals in the extent to which they prefer to use *of*-genitive with animate or temporal possessums, the extent to which they prefer the *s*-genitive when using inanimate possessums and the extent to which they prefer the *s*-genitive in popular and creative texts. These three differences show how English translations are perceptibly different from

English originals in terms of genitive variation and their differences can be ascribed to contact with Afrikaans. English translations are, in other words, influenced to some degree by Afrikaans norms. However, as these differences are not related to period in any way, one can surmise that translations neither induce change in English originals nor does it follow the developments that are underway in South African English. In other words, English translations are, under some conditions, perceptibly different from English originals in terms of genitive variation, which may be ascribed to contact with Afrikaans.

5.3.2.2 Conditional inference tree for Afrikaans

Figure 5.8 shows the conditional inference tree for Afrikaans texts. As for English writing, the most important conditioning variable (the first split in the tree on node 1) is POSSESSOR ANIMACY. However, whereas inanimate possessors are subject to different constraints in English, in Afrikaans it is human possessors. The left branch of node 1, reflecting cases with human possessors leads to eight end nodes of which five favour the *se*-genitive. This illustrates that Afrikaans authors and translators prefer to use the *se*-genitive with human possessors, which is in line with the results of Kirsten (2016) and Kirsten and Rosenbach (2018). In creative and popular texts (the left branch of node 2, split on REGISTER), there is a notable preference for the *se*-genitive regardless of factors such as possessor length and whether the possessor ends on a final sibilant or not. If length of the possessum (node 11) is more than six characters, Afrikaans writers and translators are more inclined to use the *van*-genitive (0,69 of 83 cases). Instructional and persuasive writing, on the other hand, have clear preferences for the *van*-genitive regardless of possessor length (node 14), although longer possessums increase the likelihood of the *van*-genitive even further.

In the right branch of node (1), the following split on POSSESSOR ANIMACY (node 17) reflects differences in how genitive choice is conditioned for collective, locative and temporal possessors in comparison to inanimate possessors. Ten of the thirteen end nodes indicate a preference for the *van*-genitive, which is in line with Kirsten's (2019) findings that Afrikaans has a tendency to use the *van*-genitive with collective, locative, temporal and inanimate possessors. PERIOD (node 18) is a conditioning variable for collective, locative and temporal possessors, and it is thus only in grammatical contexts with these possessors where change is actually evident. The first three periods clearly show a preference for the *van*-genitive regardless of register or possessor length, although Afrikaans writers and translators are more inclined to use the *se*-genitive if the length of the possessor is less than 14 characters (node 31). In Period 4, texts produced in the creative, persuasive and popular registers are marginally more inclined to use the *se*-genitive in two contexts (node 21). First, the likelihood of the *se*-genitive increases (0,64 of 171 cases) when collective, temporal and inanimate possessums occur with a possessor that does not end on a final sibilant (node 22). Second, the likelihood of the *se*-genitive increases (0,58 of 21 cases) when an animate or locative possessum is more than 15 characters. There is thus some indication in the first case that the animacy constraint of possessums has weakened in the fourth period as authors and translators start to use the *se*-genitive with collective, temporal and inanimate nouns. In the second case, there is some suggestion that Afrikaans authors and translators are inclined to place longer possessums last in the fourth period. This may indicate that Afrikaans authors and translators are increasingly trying to facilitate the readers' parsing of linguistic information by placing longer constituents last.

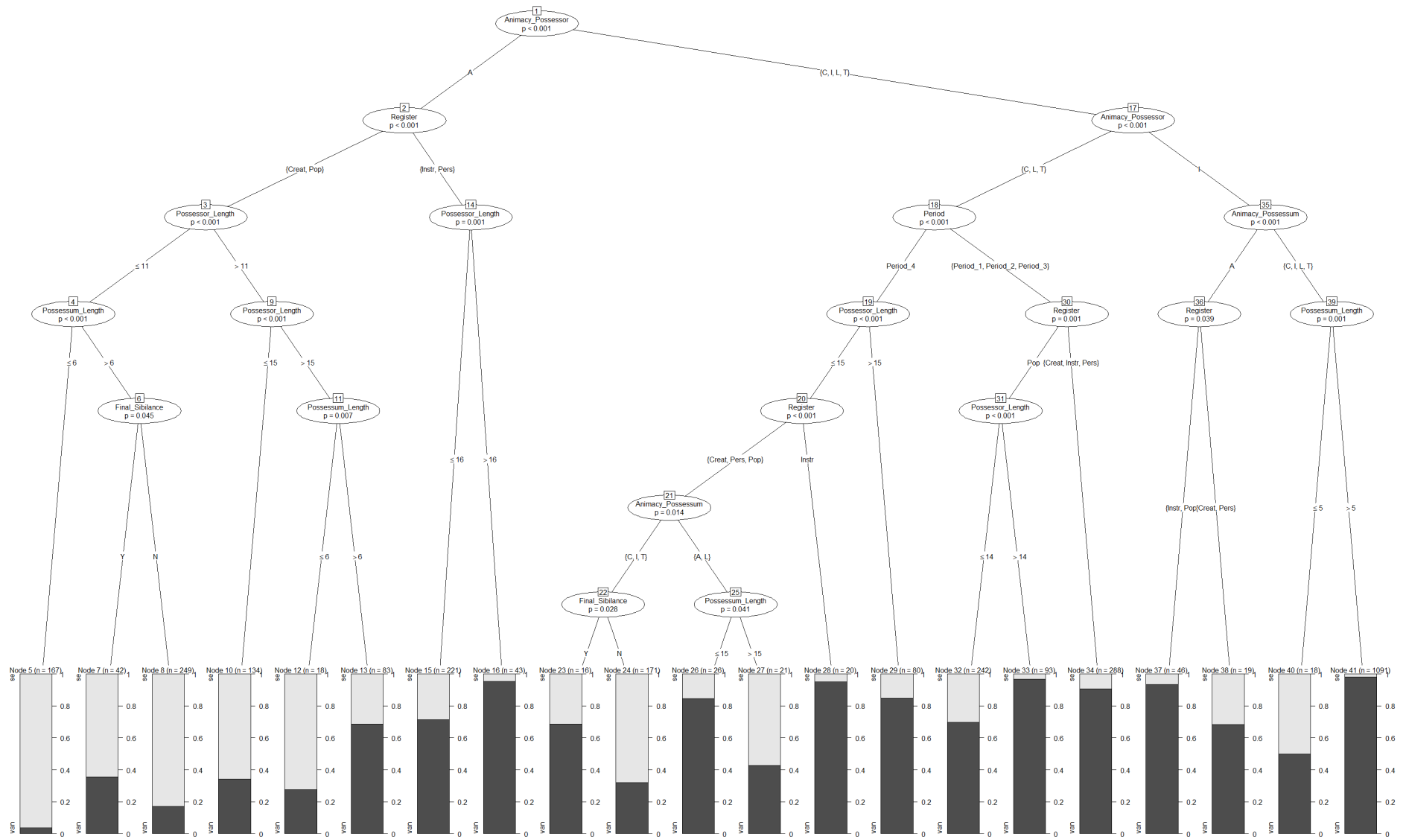


Figure 5.8: Conditional inference tree for Afrikaans writing, with POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER, PERIOD and TRANSLATION STATUS as predictor variables for the choice between the s-genitive and the of-genitive

In short, the conditional inference tree confirms that for Afrikaans POSSESSOR ANIMACY is the strongest conditioning factor, followed by REGISTER. As with English, there is limited evidence that genitive variation has changed in Afrikaans as a whole. The factors that condition genitive variation in Afrikaans have mostly stayed stable over time. Change is only noticeable in the fourth period with collective, temporal and inanimate possessums used in conjunction with a possessor that ends on a final sibilant, and when animate and locative possessums are longer than fifteen characters. It is interesting that TRANSLATION STATUS is not identified as a significant predictor of genitive variation in Afrikaans writing, in contrast to English writing, where it is. This suggests that Afrikaans translations are not distinguishable from original writing in terms of genitive variation; Afrikaans translations therefore normalise to the norms of original writing, and carry no statistically significant interference effects from English. In contrast, English translations are, under some conditions, perceptibly different from English originals in terms of genitive variation, a fact that may be ascribed to contact with Afrikaans.

The fact that interference is evident in English translations but not in Afrikaans translations runs somewhat counter to predictions made by theorists such as Toury (2012) who hypothesise that interference is more likely in situations where translation is done from a more prestigious to a less prestigious language (see also the discussion in Section 2.3). While English has been particularly prestigious in South Africa in the twentieth century, Afrikaans speakers have been quite consciously aware of the normative distinctions between the two languages, and have resisted the possible influence of English on Afrikaans (see Chapter 3 for a more in-depth discussion). The fact that Afrikaans translations are indistinguishable from Afrikaans originals, but English translations are distinguishable from English originals shows that Afrikaans translators have resisted transfer effects to a higher degree than English translators have resisted transfer effects from Afrikaans. This points to a refinement of ideas about interference as it appears that it is also possible for relatively smaller languages (such as Afrikaans) to be very resistant to shining-through effects because of social, historical and political reasons.

The last analysis presented in this section combines the English and Afrikaans data in a single conditional inference tree analysis, adding LANGUAGE to the set of predictor variables.

5.3.2.3 *Conditional inference tree for English and Afrikaans combined*

Figure 5.9 shows that POSSESSOR ANIMACY is the most important predictor of genitive choice in both English and Afrikaans. The fact that LANGUAGE is not listed as one of the most important predictors (its effects are limited to nodes 14, 42 and 70), once again highlights the high degree of similarity between South African English and Afrikaans in terms of genitive variation. The split on node 1 groups collective, temporal and inanimate possessors on the left, and human and locative possessors on the right. The left main branch of the tree (node 2) reflects an overall preference for the *of-/van*-genitive (of the 14 end nodes, only three reflect a stronger preference for the *s/se*-genitive). Node 4 ($p < 0.001$) on the right side of the tree shows that translations (regardless of language) differ from original texts when an inanimate possessor is used with a possessum that is five characters or less. Translations are inclined to use the *of-/van*-genitive (0,92 of 106 cases) while originals rather prefer the *s-/se*-genitive (0,62 of 20 examples). The fact that LANGUAGE is not listed as an accompanying factor shows that this tendency is unique to Afrikaans and English translations. This may point towards a higher degree of conservatism on the part of translators in that they are more inclined to use *of-/van*-genitive when dealing with an inanimate possessor than English and Afrikaans writers. The decision tree does not show any

further developments for this tendency, which means that it is a tendency that is probably limited to translation, which has no further implications for the main hypothesis of the study.

Taking a closer look at node 12 ($p < 0.001$), one sees an indication of language change in terms of collective and temporal possessors with the fourth period differing from the first three periods. In the first three periods, Afrikaans and English differ in the extent to which they use their genitive options (node 14, $p = 0.001$) in creative and popular texts with Afrikaans preferring the *van*-genitive (0,81 of 213 cases). For English, there is a clear difference in how authors and translators use the *of*-genitive in creative and popular texts (node 15, $p = 0.002$). Original English texts prefer the *of*-genitive (0,68 of 106 cases) but English translations prefer the *s*-genitive (in 0,72 of 25 cases) when dealing with animate, collective and temporal possessors in creative and popular texts. This difference is possibly due to translators aligning themselves closer to target-language norms, which have weaker animacy constraints than English in general. The fact that this tendency has no further implications for the decision tree means that it is limited to English translations and does not affect written South African English as a whole. In the fourth period, REGISTER (node 20, $p < 0.001$) is the most important variable, and there is no indication that language or translation plays a role. This has two implications. First, the variables (particularly register) that condition differences between the two languages have become so similar in the fourth period that these languages have converged in their preferences for the genitive variant used. Second, these conditioning variables are so strong that even English translators follow and align themselves with the tendencies and norms of original Afrikaans and English writing.

In the right main branch of the tree, reflecting animate and locative possessors, REGISTER is the second factor of importance (node 29) and there is some indication that LANGUAGE plays a role. Creative and popular texts, and instructional and persuasive texts have distinct preferences in genitive variation, with the former two registers showing a preference for the *s*-/*se*-genitive (of the 17 end nodes, 9 have a greater proportion of the *s*-/*se*-genitive than the *of*-/*van*-genitive). The *s*-/*se*-genitive is preferred regardless of possessum length, final sibilance, possessor length and period, in cases where human possessors have a length of 14 or less characters in creative and popular texts. In cases where these human possessors are coupled with collective or locative possessums, there is a notable difference between originals and translations (node 42, $p < 0.001$). Here, one also sees a translation effect regardless of whether translators are working in English Afrikaans. Translations clearly prefers the *of/van*-genitive (in 0,88 of 16 examples) while originals prefers the *s/se*-genitive (0,85 of 35 cases). This, once again, may point towards a higher degree of conservatism on the part of translators in that they are more inclined to use *of/van*-genitive when dealing with collective or locative possessums.

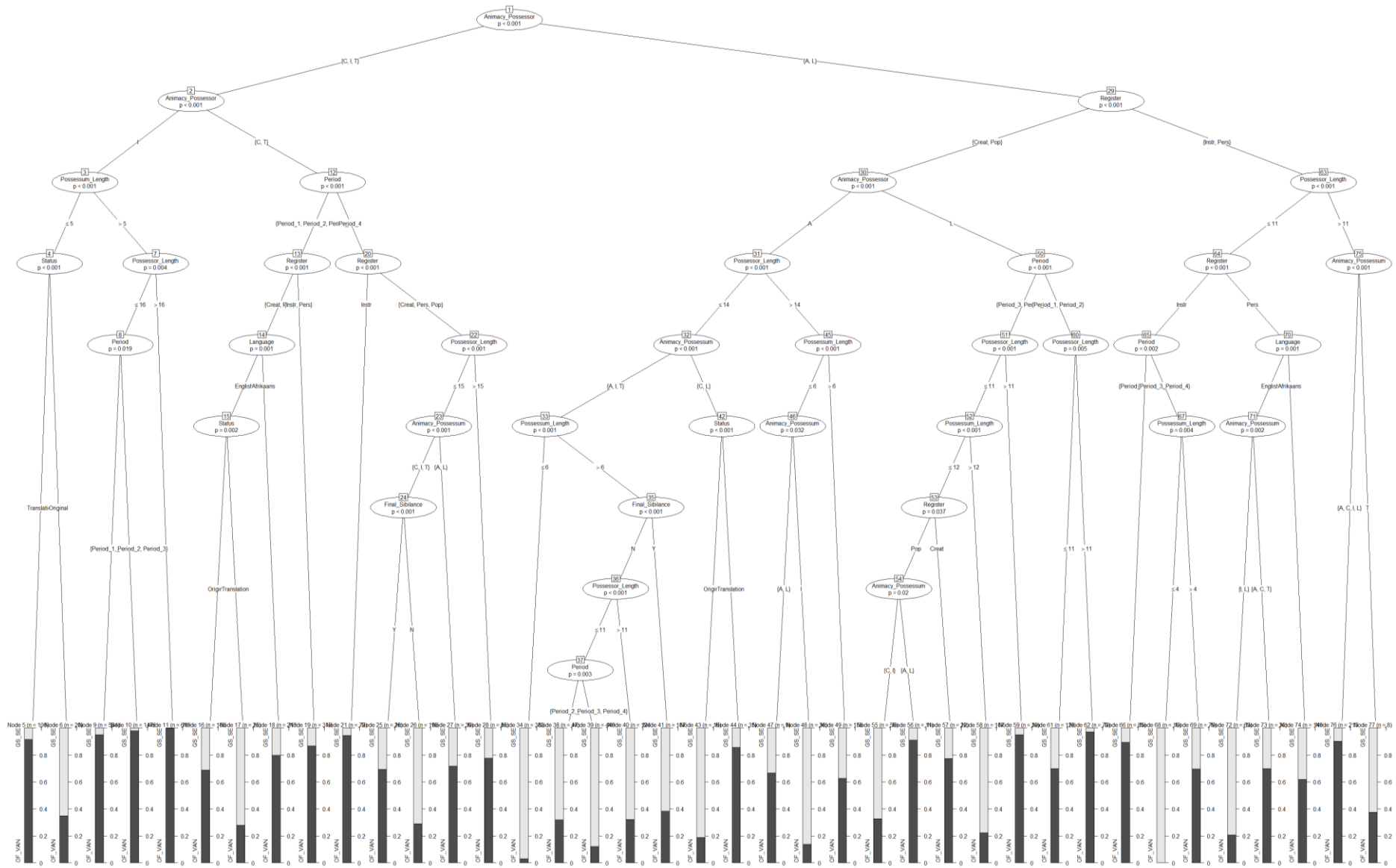


Figure 5.9: Conditional inference tree for Afrikaans and English writing, with POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER, PERIOD, LANGUAGE and TRANSLATION STATUS as predictor variables for the choice between the s-/se-genitive and the of-/van-genitive

LANGUAGE (node 70 $p = 0.001$) plays a role for persuasive writing when authors and translators deal with possessors that are eleven characters or less. Afrikaans authors and translators are inclined to the *van*-genitive when using a possessor that is eleven characters or less (0.62 of 140 examples), but there is a further conditioning variable for English. If English authors and translators use an inanimate or locative possessum with the possessor, they use the *of*-genitive (0.70 of 30 cases). When the possessor is coupled with inanimate and locative possessums, on the other hand, they prefer the *s*-genitive (0.21 of 63 cases). The fact that STATUS is not involved in either of the tendencies discussed here shows that translators are affected by the same conditioning variables to the same extent as English and Afrikaans authors, which means that their translations are not distinguishable from original writing in this regard.

A change in preferences has occurred over time in instructional writing for both languages. In the first two periods (node 65, $p = 0.002$), authors in both languages were inclined to use the *of*-/*van*-genitive (0.90 of 85 cases) when they dealt with a possessor that was eleven characters or less. This tendency changes somewhat in the third and fourth period, with authors and translators using the *of*-genitive when the possessor occurs with a possessum that is more than four characters in length (0.70 of 63 cases). It appears that authors and translators use the *s*-genitive by default (100% of 10 examples) if the possessor is used with a possessum that was four characters or less, but given the small number of examples this finding might be due to sampling variance. As there is no node for TRANSLATION STATUS, it is clear that translation follows these same tendencies and that translations (regardless of language) are affected to the same extent by the same conditioning variables as original writing.

In short, the decision tree for English and Afrikaans combined clearly illustrates the similarities between the languages in terms of genitive variation, which provides further support for the findings discussed in 5.2 and 5.3.1. If LANGUAGE were listed as the first node on the decision tree, it would have provided evidence that the two languages differ very extensively in terms of genitive variation. However, with POSSESSOR ANIMACY as the strongest conditioning factor (with collective, temporal and inanimate possessors being treated differently from animate and locative possessors) it is clear that English and Afrikaans are generally very similar in their selection of which genitive construction to use. Other factors that condition both Afrikaans and English users to choose one genitive construction rather than the other are REGISTER, POSSESSOR LENGTH and POSSESSUM LENGTH. In the instances where Afrikaans and English show different tendencies, REGISTER plays a role (with differences shown in creative, popular and persuasive writing) as does POSSESSUM ANIMACY (in terms of collective and locative possessums).

In general, language users' choice of which genitive to use is also quite stable across time. The most notable change is between the first three periods and the fourth period with LANGUAGE and TRANSLATION STATUS playing somewhat of a role. In creative and popular texts, English originals and English translation differ in their genitive preferences with originals preferring the *of*-genitive and translations preferring the *s*-genitive – a difference which may be caused by translators following the weaker animacy constraint of Afrikaans. By the fourth period, this difference disappears, and translations become indistinguishable from original writing in terms of genitive variation. However, considering the limited number of times that TRANSLATION STATUS is listed on the decision tree, it appears that translators are quite adept in keeping with the norms that are applicable to genitive variation in Afrikaans and English as whole, and

replicating these in their translations. Their ability to do so is also in part due to the similarity of Afrikaans and English in their genitive preferences, because it does not create much opportunity for translators to transfer source-text norms to their translations.

The analyses presented in this section and the previous suggest the overall importance of predictor variables that condition genitive alternation in Afrikaans and English, and highlight some of the areas in which the two languages are similar and different, how conditioning variables change over time, and where translation plays a role. The analysis presented in the following section presents a different angle, in using logistic regression to determine the importance and strength of the predictor variables POSSESSOR ANIMACY, POSSESSUM ANIMACY, POSSESSOR LENGTH, POSSESSUM LENGTH, FINAL SIBILANCE, REGISTER and PERIOD for each of the four subcorpora individually: Afrikaans originals, Afrikaans translations, English source texts and English translations, in order to identify similarities and differences in the effects of predictor variables for the four subcorpora.

5.3.3 Conditioning variables for Afrikaans originals, Afrikaans translations, English source texts and English translations: Individual logistic regression models

As stated in Section 4.5.2.2, logistic regression estimates the odds or probability of a given outcome (in this case the choice between the *s-* and *of-*genitive in English, and the *se-* and *van-*genitive in Afrikaans), in relation to certain predictor variables. This analysis is used to determine the strength of the different predictor variables for each of the four subcorpora separately. Tables 5.19 and 5.20 show the results of the logistic regression models for English originals and translations, and Afrikaans originals and translations. In order to make sense of the data presented in these tables, a short overview is required that explains the different components of the logistic regression models. In the logistic regression models presented in tables 5.19 and 5.20, the reference level is the *s-*genitive for English texts and the *se-*genitive for Afrikaans texts. This means that the *s-* and *se-*genitives are used as the basis of comparison for the *of-* and *van-*genitives.

The corresponding estimated coefficient in the table indicates the extent to which the observations of the *of-* and *van-*genitive differ on average when compared to those of the *s-* and *se-*genitives respectively. In terms of the predictor variables, the level human possessors is the reference level for POSSESSOR ANIMACY, human possessums is the reference level for POSSESSUM ANIMACY, creative writing is the reference level for REGISTER, and Period 1 is the reference level for PERIOD. This means, for example, that Periods 2, 3 and 4 are compared to Period 1, while instructional, persuasive and popular writing are compared with creative writing. The intercept values (-1.58 for Afrikaans source texts, -1.03 for Afrikaans translations, -1.69 for English source texts and -1.94 for English translations) listed in Tables 5.19 and 5.20 show the estimated odds of a given outcome when all predictor variables are at their reference levels. The tables also show that some coefficients are negative while others are positive. Positive coefficients indicate that the probability for *of-* and *van-*genitives increase while a negative coefficient shows the probability of the *s-* and *se-*genitives increases depending on the predictor variables. For example, the likelihood of *of-* and *van-*genitives will increase for inanimate and temporal possessors, or in instructional texts, regardless of language or translation status.

Table 5.19: Logistic regression model of English originals and translations

| English originals | | | | | English translations | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|----------------|-------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------|----------------|-------|---------------------|------|
| Model likelihood ratio test | | Discrimination | | Rank discrimination | | Model likelihood ratio test | | Discrimination | | Rank discrimination | |
| LR chi2 | 793.75 | R2 | 0.58 | C | 0.90 | LR chi2 | 1431.26 | R2 | 0.82 | C | 0.97 |
| d.f. | 17 | g | 2.98 | Dxy | 2.98 | d.f. | 17 | g | 4.57 | Dxy | 0.94 |
| Pr (> chi2) | <0.0001 | gr | 19.69 | gamma | 19.69 | Pr (> chi2) | <0.0001 | gr | 96.47 | gamma | 0.95 |
| | | gp | 0.35 | tau-a | 0.35 | | | gp | 0.38 | tau-a | 0.37 |
| | | Brier | 0.11 | | | | | Brier | 0.05 | | |

| Predictor variables | English originals | | | English translations | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------|
| | Co-efficients | Standard errors | p-values | Co-efficients | Standard errors | p-values |
| Intercept | -1.69 | 0.47 | 0.0003*** | -1.94 | 0.56 | 0.0006*** |
| Possessor animacy: Collective | 1.26 | 0.21 | <0.0001*** | -0.67 | 0.43 | 0.12 |
| Possessor animacy: Inanimate | 3.65 | 0.26 | <0.0001*** | 5.78 | 0.32 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessor animacy: Locative | 1.52 | 0.24 | <0.0001*** | -0.78 | 0.46 | 0.09 |
| Possessor animacy: Temporal | 2.35 | 0.42 | <0.0001*** | 1.90 | 0.58 | 0.0011** |
| Possessum animacy: Collective | -0.63 | 0.48 | 0.19 | 2.60 | 0.46 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessum animacy: Inanimate | -0.31 | 0.24 | 0.21 | -1.70 | 0.28 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessum animacy: Locative | 1.87 | 0.81 | 0.02* | 2.65 | 0.53 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessum animacy: Temporal | -1.07 | 0.72 | 0.14 | 0.83 | 0.95 | 0.38 |
| Possessor length | 0.12 | 0.02 | <0.0001*** | 0.11 | 0.02 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessum length | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.03** | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.0021** |
| Final sibilance | 2.65 | 0.35 | <0.0001*** | 1.13 | 0.32 | 0.0004*** |
| Register: Instructional | 1.42 | 0.37 | 0.0001*** | 2.55 | 0.48 | <0.0001*** |
| Register: Persuasive | -0.07 | 0.36 | 0.83 | 1.86 | 0.38 | <0.0001*** |
| Register: Popular | -0.81 | 0.33 | 0.02* | 0.36 | 0.28 | 0.19 |
| Period: Period 2 | 0.21 | 0.26 | 0.41 | -1.06 | 0.45 | 0.02* |
| Period: Period 3 | -0.16 | 0.27 | 0.56 | -1.21 | 0.48 | 0.01* |
| Period: Period 4 | -1.69 | 0.47 | <0.0001*** | -1.59 | 0.45 | 0.0004*** |

Table 5.20: Logistic regression model of Afrikaans originals and translations

| Afrikaans originals | | | | | Afrikaans translations | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|----------------|-------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|---------------------|-------|-------|------|
| Model likelihood ratio test | | Discrimination | | Rank discrimination | | Model likelihood ratio test | | Rank discrimination | | | |
| LR chi2 | 784.78 | R2 | 0.54 | C | 0.89 | LR chi2 | 717.36 | R2 | 0.56 | C | 0.90 |
| d.f. | 17 | g | 2.64 | Dxy | 0.79 | d.f. | 17 | g | 42.85 | Dxy | 0.80 |
| Pr (> chi2) | <0.0001 | gr | 14.05 | gamma | 0.79 | Pr (> chi2) | <0.0001 | gr | 17.34 | gamma | 0.80 |
| | | gp | 0.32 | tau-a | 0.32 | | | gp | 0.33 | tau-a | 0.32 |
| | | Brier | 0.11 | | | | | Brier | 0.11 | | |

| Predictor variables | Afrikaans originals | | | Afrikaans translations | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| | Co-efficients | Standard errors | p-values | Co-efficients | Standard errors | p-values |
| Intercept | -1.58 | 0.40 | <0.0000*** | -1.03 | 0.48 | 0.03* |
| Possessor animacy: Collective | 1.45 | 0.21 | <0.0001*** | 1.10 | 0.21 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessor animacy: Inanimate | 3.79 | 0.25 | <0.0001*** | 3.83 | 0.29 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessor animacy: Locative | 1.28 | 0.24 | <0.0001*** | 1.49 | 0.25 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessor animacy: Temporal | 2.57 | 0.39 | <0.0001*** | 2.14 | 0.42 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessum animacy: Collective | -0.26 | 0.44 | 0.56 | -0.52 | 0.48 | 0.28 |
| Possessum animacy: Inanimate | -0.11 | 0.21 | 0.59 | -0.24 | 0.25 | 0.34 |
| Possessum animacy: Locative | 0.93 | 0.51 | 0.07 | 2.05 | 0.81 | 0.01* |
| Possessum animacy: Temporal | 1.73 | 1.15 | 0.13 | -1.24 | 0.76 | 0.10 |
| Possessor length | 0.12 | 0.02 | <0.0001*** | 0.11 | 0.02 | <0.0001*** |
| Possessum length | 0.07 | 0.01 | <0.0001*** | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.10 |
| Final sibilance | 0.71 | 0.21 | 0.0008*** | 1.32 | 0.31 | <0.0001*** |
| Register: Instructional | 1.48 | 0.36 | <0.0001*** | 1.36 | 0.38 | 0.0003*** |
| Register: Persuasive | 1.29 | 0.23 | <0.0001*** | 0.14 | 0.36 | 0.70 |
| Register: Popular | -0.29 | 0.19 | 0.12 | -0.78 | 0.34 | 0.02** |
| Period: Period 2 | -0.96 | 0.32 | 0.0026** | -0.13 | 0.27 | 0.62 |
| Period: Period 3 | -0.92 | 0.33 | 0.005** | -0.42 | 0.29 | 0.14 |
| Period: Period 4 | -1.60 | 0.40 | <0.0001*** | -1.03 | 0.48 | <0.0001*** |

The standard errors of the coefficient act as a measure of how sure one can be about the estimate of the coefficient (Baayen, 2008). Standard errors that are unusually high (when compared to a relative measure, such as the size of the coefficients) might signal data sparseness but, as can be seen here, it is not a problem for the four logistic regression models where similar figures are shown throughout. Another important consideration is the *p*-value of the data, which shows the statistical significance for the results of statistical tests. If the *p*-values are less than a certain

conventional level, there is reason to believe that the results, given the size of the sample, are not due to random difference. However, a *p*-value larger than the conventional value means one cannot reject the likelihood that the differences are due to random difference. Tables 5.19 and 5.20 shows the *p*-values for the four logistic regression models. Following Gries (2013) these results can be divided into four categories. First, *p*-values that are less than 0.001 are considered as highly significant and are indicated with ***. Second, *p*-values that are equal to 0.001 but less than 0.01 are considered to be very significant and are indicated with **. In the third instance, *p*-values that are equal to 0.01 but less than 0.05 are referred as significant and is indicated * in the data set. Those that are more than 0.05 are not considered to be significant.

Following this explanation of the different components of the logistic regression models, one can take a closer look at the data to understand the strength of the different predictor variables for each of the four subcorpora. In general, the logistic regression models not only support the results of Section 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 but also serve to clearly illustrate the similarity of the four subcorpora. For instance, the probability that Afrikaans authors and translators will opt to use the *van*-genitive increases for the collective, inanimate, locative and temporal levels when compared to the human level of POSSESSOR ANIMACY. The results for both corpora are highly significant, which means the findings are not due to random difference. This is not surprising when one considers the picture presented in Figure 5.8 and Kirsten's (2019) results that Afrikaans prefers to use *van*-genitive with collective, locative, temporal and inanimate possessors. Likewise, the probability increases that English authors will prefer *of*-genitive with collective, locative, inanimate and temporal possessors when compared to human possessors. English translators are inclined to use *of*-genitive with inanimate and temporal possessors and while the coefficient suggests they will prefer the *s*-genitive with collective and locative possessors, the *p*-value is not significant. It is thus possible that these results are due to random difference.

In terms of register (which has been shown to be an important predictor and conditioning variable in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2), there is also considerable similarity between the four subcorpora. This is particularly evident in instructional writing where the probability increases that authors and translators will choose the *of*-/*van*-genitive. There are some finer nuances in the data where one of the subcorpora (specifically either English originals or English translations) shows a different tendency, but none of these cases are significant. For instance, the likelihood increases that Afrikaans (regardless of status) and English translations will prefer the *of*-/*van*-genitive. While the coefficient of English translations shows that there is a bigger probability that the *s*-genitive will occur in this register, the result is not significant. Likewise, while the odds increase that the *s*-/*se*-genitive will be used in popular writing in all of the subcorpora except for English translations, the *p*-value is not significant for English translations in this case.

A noteworthy finding of the logistic regression models is that the probability for the use of the *s*-/*se*-genitive has increased over time (compared to the first period) for all four subcorpora. Interestingly, the results for Afrikaans originals are very significant in the second and third period, before the *p*-value becomes highly significant in the fourth period. This is also seen in Figure 5.8 where the decision tree shows that preferences for the two genitive forms change in the fourth period when compared to the preferences of the first three periods. English originals, on the other hand, are not significant until the fourth period (when the results become highly significant). These results can be linked to the implications of Kirsten's (2016) and Kirsten and Rosenbach's (2018) studies, which indicate that Afrikaans leads in the increasing preference for

the *se*-genitive, while South African English tends to lag in its use of the *s*-genitive until the second half of the twentieth century with a notable increase of the *of*-genitive by the 1990s. Interestingly, there seems to be a translation effect evident. While the probability is very significant to highly significant that the *se*-genitive increases over time in Afrikaans originals, this tendency is not evident in Afrikaans translations. Like their English source texts, the odds of the *se*-genitive being used increasingly is not significant until the fourth period. From the fourth period, the probability is highly significant that Afrikaans translations will use the *se*-genitive. As translators only follow this tendency from the fourth period, there is evidence that translators translate conservatively and, in so doing, hold back a change in progress.

5.4 SYNTHESIS OF THE RESULTS

The analysis in this chapter set out to determine whether the relative preferences for the two genitive constructions are the same or different in English and Afrikaans writing, across time periods and registers, both in original writing, in translations and their source texts, and in comparable translated and non-translated texts in each language, and it used several statistical methods to arrive at its answers. This was done in order to determine if translation is related contact-related language change. South African English and Afrikaans are strikingly similar in their choice of either the *s*-/*se*-genitive and the *of*-/*van*-genitive as a whole. For both languages, animacy of the possessor is by far the strongest factor that conditions the choice of either the *s*-/*se*-genitive and the *of*-/*van*-genitive. Other than possessor animacy, genitive variation is conditioned to some extent by register and length of both the possessor and the possessum in Afrikaans and English.

In general, the two languages are quite similar over time in terms of their genitive preferences and indications of language change are only noticeable in a few cases. In Afrikaans originals and translations, there is some suggestion of language change in terms of genitive choice with collective, locative and temporal possessors in certain registers. From 1910 to 1993, creative, instructional and persuasive texts had a strong preference for the *van*-genitive but popular texts were more inclined to use the *se*-genitive with shorter possessors. From 1994, Afrikaans writers and translators are more inclined to use the *se*-genitive in creative, persuasive and popular texts, but still prefer the *van*-genitive in instructional writing. This result is similar to that of Kirsten (2019) who finds that while collective, temporal and locative possessors are usually used with the *van*-genitive, Afrikaans users have increasingly started to use these possessors with the *se*-genitive over time. This change over time might indicate that attitudes towards Afrikaans have changed since 1994 – particularly in creative, persuasive and popular texts. While notions of purism reigned for most of the twentieth century when the apartheid government fuelled fears that English threatened Afrikaans, it is possible that Afrikaners have more a relaxed attitude towards the language, which has meant that they are more inclined to use the more informal *se*-genitive.

For English, there is some suggestion of language change in that final sibilance does not play as important a role in conditioning the *of*-genitive for collective, locative and temporal possessors from 1994 to 2016 as it did earlier. Final sibilance aside, there has been an increasing use of the *s*-genitive with collective, locative and temporal possessors since 1994 in South African English. These results are therefore different from those of Kirsten and Rosenbach's (2018) who find that the *s*-genitive has increased from the second half of the twentieth century to the 1990s in its increasing use with inanimate possessors, but it should be pointed out that there are differences

between the two studies. Kirsten and Rosenbach (2018) exclusively focussed on the use of *s*-genitive in terms of its use in news, letters, fiction and non-fiction, with news spearheading the development of its increasing use. This study, on other hand, considered several other variables and was based on creative writing, instructional writing, persuasive writing and popular writing, which means that the differences between the two studies might be due to design differences. However, when the two studies are compared to one another it is clear nonetheless that while the *s*-genitive is typically associated with human possessors, there has been an increasing use of the *s*-genitive with other animate categories (that is, collective, locative, temporal and inanimate possessors) in South African English since the latter part of the twentieth century. Considering that Afrikaners officially came into power from 1948, it is possible that the regime change meant that English speakers were more exposed to Afrikaans than was previously the case. This is because the apartheid government endorsed Afrikaans to a large extent during its rule, which meant that Afrikaans was more visible (in the government, in terms of publishing, and on the radio and eventually television) than used to be the case in the first half of the twentieth century. Because of this exposure, it is possible that they were influenced by the weaker animacy constraint of the *se*-genitive.

Both Afrikaans and South African English show language change in terms of collective, locative and temporal possessors, albeit for different reasons (Afrikaans in terms of register differences and English in terms of final sibilance), and they only change from 1994 onward. This suggests that the two languages have been developing in tandem with each other, although Afrikaans leads through time with a higher frequency of the *se*-genitive. In other words, while South African English shows similar developments to Afrikaans, it still lags behind Afrikaans in the extent to which it prefers the more colloquial *s*-genitive. It is possible that contact with Afrikaans boosts the occurrence of the *s*-genitive as Rosenbach (2017) and Kirsten and Rosenbach (2018) speculate, which would make it possible for South African English to show a similar tendency across time as Afrikaans.

The contrastive analysis highlights the similarities and differences between the two languages in terms of genitive variation. Close similarity, in particular, is an important condition. As explained in Section 2.2.1, bilinguals have the ability to create mental connections between linguistic units in their two languages that are perceived to correspond with each other in a process that is known as interlingual identification. The cognitive advantage of interlingual identification is that it allows bilinguals to syncretise their two languages as well as their processing operations, which enables them to use similar processing operations for equivalent linguistic elements in both languages in their repertoire. In other words, if the genitive forms in Afrikaans and English are notably similar to one another, there will be greater opportunities for bilinguals to match the properties of the *of*-genitive to those of the *van*-genitive, and match the properties of the *s*-genitive with the *se*-genitive than if there notable differences between the two languages.

The similarity of the two languages means that Afrikaans and English norms for genitive variation are very much similar to one another, which will encourage bilinguals to create mental connections between the genitive options in the languages, and thereby downplay residual differences between the languages even further. However, at the same time, the languages are so similar to each other that translators have little room for even closer alignment to source-language norms (which would have resulted in interference), and English and Afrikaans translators are quite adept in adhering to the norms of English and Afrikaans so that one cannot

distinguish between originals and translations based on genitive variation in the majority of cases. There are only two exceptions to the general similarity uncovered in this chapter. In the first instance, originals and translations differ from one another human possessors are coupled with collective or locative possessums with originals preferring the *s/se*-genitive and translators preferring the *of-/van*-genitive. As language does not play a role here, one can assume that translators (regardless of whether they are translating into English or Afrikaans) are more conservative than authors of original texts in that they prefer the more formal equivalent.

In the second instance, English translations are in some ways different from English originals, which can be ascribed to contact with Afrikaans and source-text influence. English translations differ in the extent to which they prefer to use *of*-genitive with animate or temporal possessums, the extent to which they prefer the *s*-genitive when using inanimate possessums and the extent to which they prefer the *s*-genitive in popular and creative texts. English translations are, in other words, influenced to some degree by Afrikaans norms. In order to make a claim for language change, it would have to be shown that these Afrikaans norms (which were used by English translators) were eventually used increasingly by English authors as a result of these authors following the tendencies that occurred in English translations. However, these differences are not related to period in any way, which means it can be surmised that translations did not induce change in English originals. If anything, by using the more conservative choice, translators resisted the ongoing language change very slightly.

CHAPTER 6:
ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS MODALITY
AND THE ROLE OF TRANSLATION-INDUCED CHANGE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to determine if translations contribute to language change in South African English and Afrikaans on a grammatical level. The modal systems of these languages were chosen as this appears to be a plausible area where change would be able to manifest itself as it provides enough linguistic differences and similarities between these languages to warrant such an examination, together with evidence of some ongoing change in both languages. The corpus analysis will therefore be used to determine if translations contribute to changes in the modal systems of these two languages over different time periods. The modal systems are discussed comparatively using three comparisons: English and Afrikaans original writing, taking a contrastive approach (Section 6.2); English and Afrikaans source texts and their Afrikaans and English translations, using a parallel approach (Section 6.3); and originals and translations in the same language, using a comparable approach (Section 6.4). The discussion will report instances where there is any suggestion of contact-induced language change underway. All of the results were reviewed extensively, and it was found that register is an extremely important determinant, with very different distributions and patterns across registers. Within the array of possibility, promising candidates were selected and the complete set of results is included in the Appendix. Occasional cross-reference is made to these results, but this chapter only highlights results for particular clusters within registers so as to delineate the cases of potential converging language change where it appears that translation has an influence.

6.2 A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MODAL SYSTEMS IN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS ORIGINAL WRITING

This section will discuss the modals according to the three semantic groups in English and Afrikaans originals and translations across the corpus' four registers and four periods. The purpose of this contrastive approach is to provide a baseline understanding of the modals of the two languages, their frequencies in the registers, and frequency changes over time. It seeks to identify areas where frequency changes in Afrikaans and English point to one of two outcomes: a) one language leads with a higher occurrence of a particular modal in one period and the other language follows this example in the subsequent period, and b) instances where there is greater similarity (or convergence) in the different registers in English and Afrikaans over time. As stated in Section 4.6.3, the discussion will compare the English originals of the bidirectional corpus to Wasserman's (2014) results for English modals, and the Afrikaans originals of the bidirectional corpus to Erasmus's (2018) findings for Afrikaans modals, for reference purposes. This will be done for creative writing and popular writing. As the South African English corpus and the Afrikaans corpus do not contain texts that are comparable to persuasive writing and instructional writing, the original texts contained in the bidirectional corpus are used as a baseline.

6.2.1 Modals of permission/ability/possibility in English and Afrikaans source texts

A notable finding for this cluster of modals appears in the popular writing register, where there is a suggestion of convergence between *kan* and its cognate form *can* (see Figure 6.1). *Kan* appears to be stable from the third to the fourth period, and it seems that it is rather *can* that is catching up in the bidirectional corpus. However, these results have to be compared to those of Wasserman (2014) and Erasmus (2018) to see whether this trend also occurs in the reference

corpora. Figure A.4 in the addendum confirms that *can* has increased its frequency from the period 1911-1950 to 2001-2010 and the frequencies (from 1,8 to 3,3 instances per 1000 words) are comparable to those of English texts contained in the bidirectional corpus. Erasmus (2018) finds a different picture for *kan*. As Figure A.16 shows, *kan* increases sharply from period 1b to period 4 in the Afrikaans corpus (from 3,6 to 4,9 to 5,7 occurrences per 1000 words). It is thus possible that the frequency of *kan* has not stabilised as the Afrikaans originals of the bidirectional corpus suggest, but that it is still increasingly used. Nevertheless, even if *kan* has kept on increasing from the third to the fourth period, it is possible that English originals are following suit by using *can* more frequently under the influence of Afrikaans. A possible reason for this can be assigned to the prestige associated with Afrikaans from 1948 to 1993 as it is probable that English speakers would have been exposed to Afrikaans more frequently during this period. This might have meant that they were more inclined to create mental connections between the linguistic units of their two languages because of their typological closeness, which meant that *can* became more entrenched in their minds. While English is the more prestigious language since 1994, the increasing use of *can* under the influence of *kan* during the apartheid era could have created the impetus for English writers to use it increasingly up to 2016.

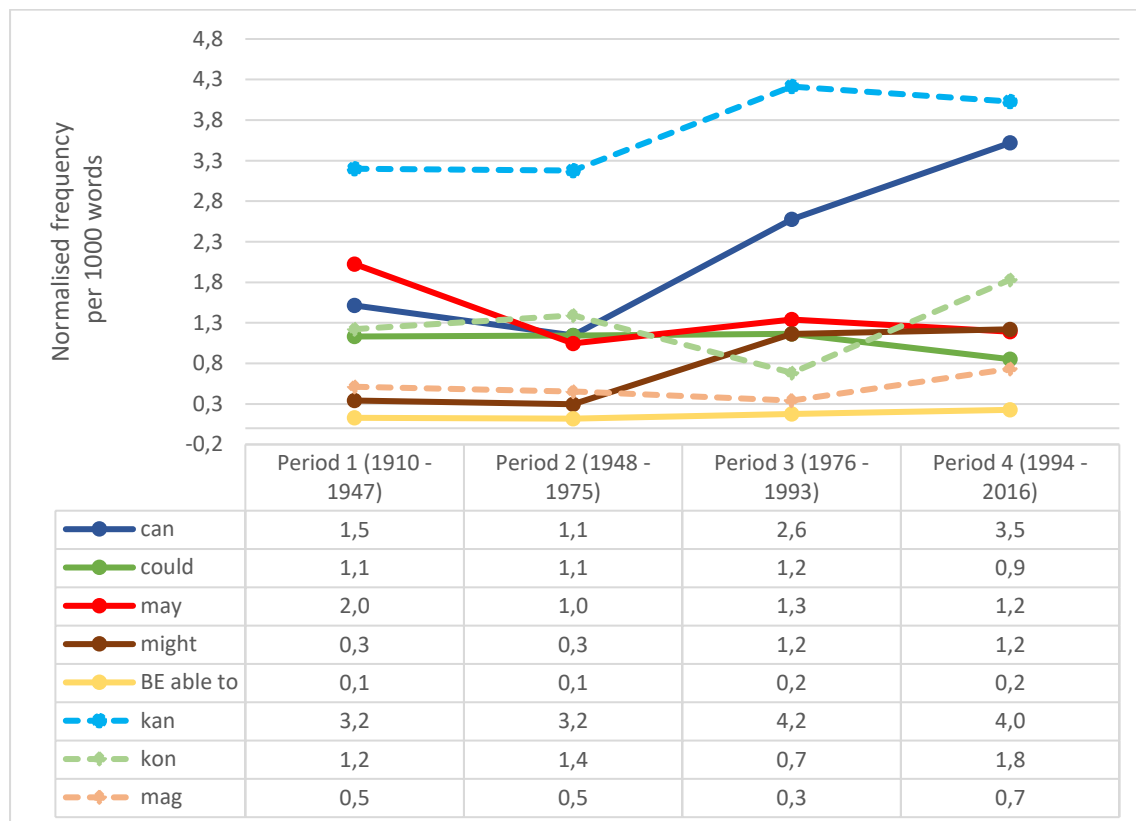


Figure 6.1: Modals of permission/ability/possibility in English and Afrikaans originals of popular writing

6.2.2 Modals of obligation/necessity in English and Afrikaans source texts

There is a suggestion of language change in the obligation/necessity cluster for instructional writing. As Figure 6.2 shows, Afrikaans leads with a higher occurrence of *moet* in the second and third period. English, on the other hand, does not use *must*, the cognate of *moet*, at all in the first three periods, but the fourth period, there is a notable increase in its numbers.

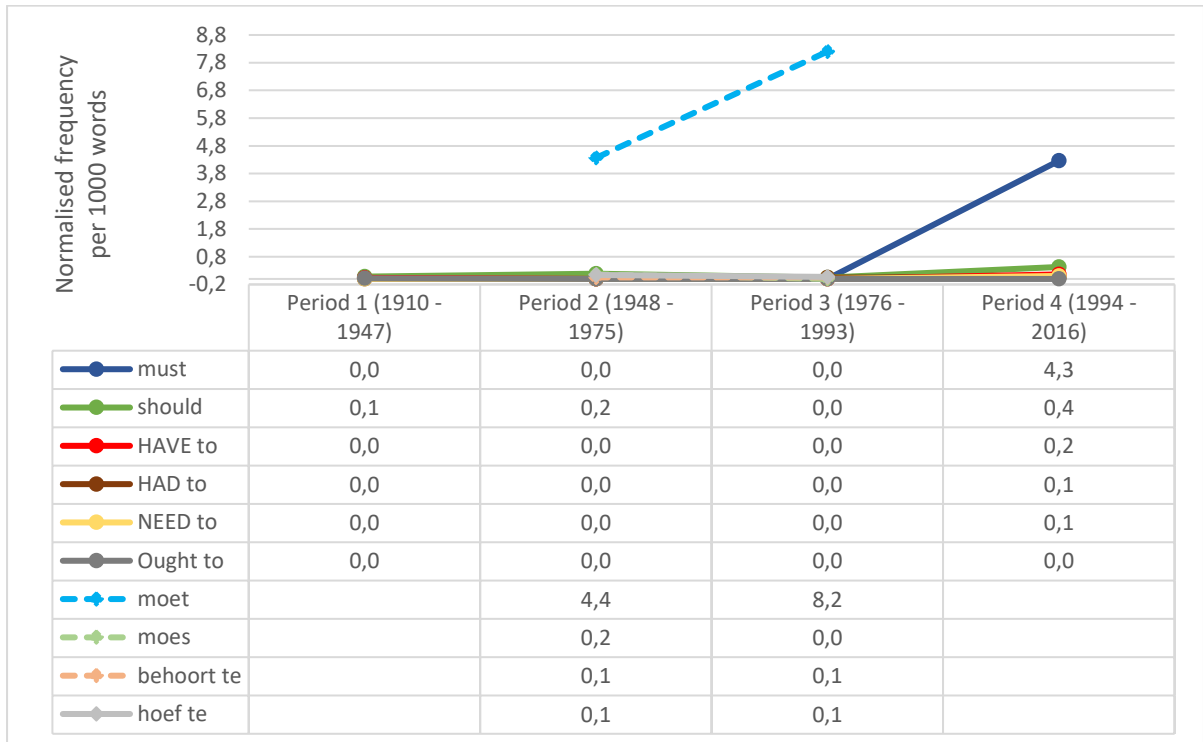


Figure 6.2: Modals of obligation/necessity in English and Afrikaans originals of instructional writing

When this development is compared to Figure 6.3 and Figure A.25 in the addendum, it appears that *must* has increased particularly at the expense of *shall* and, to a lesser extent, *may*.

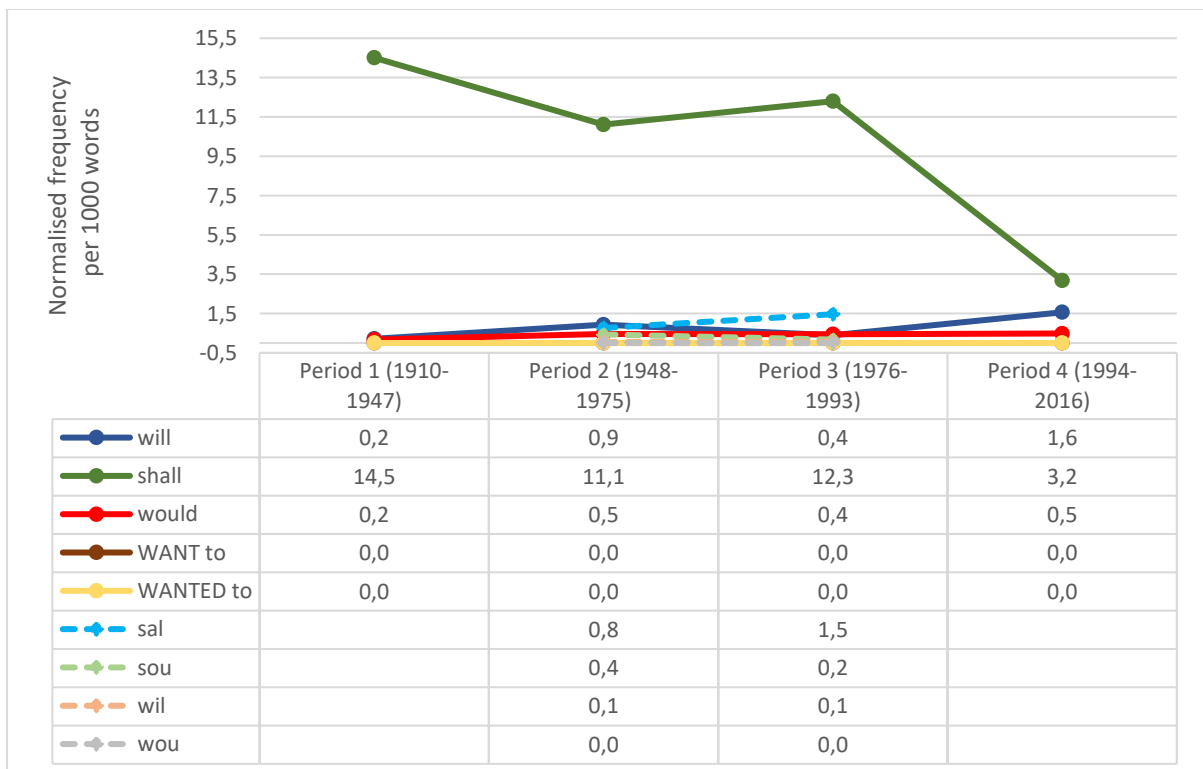


Figure 6.3: Modals of volition/permission in English and Afrikaans originals of instructional writing

This is an interesting development as the possibility exists that contact with Afrikaans might have conditioned compilers of English instructional writing to use *must* more frequently. Caution is nevertheless advised before this tendency is only attributed to Afrikaans. As Section 3.6.1 points out, governmental structures have changed drastically in post-apartheid South Africa when compared to those of the first three periods. One of the results of these changes is that Black South African English speakers have increasingly entered the government sector since 1994. As all of the instructional texts for the fourth period were written by Black South African speakers, there is a possibility that what is observed here is due to a shift to another English variety, rather than being due to language contact. However, according to Van Rooy and Wasserman (2014), *must* not only occurs more frequently in White South African English but it also shows less of a decline than is the case for *must* in Black South African English. While their corpus consists of different text types (mainly magazines and newspapers), it still shows that *must* plays a stronger role in White South African English. Another point of consideration is that *shall* is generally restricted to archaic or formal usage contexts (Wasserman & Van Rooy, 2014). It has, however, declined to such an extent that it is rarely used in British, American and White South African English. The possibility therefore exists that *must* has become the beneficiary of *shall's* decline. In brief, it is unclear why such a change has developed so quickly, and the role of contact with Afrikaans (and consequently the influence of translation) cannot be discounted.

In terms of persuasive writing, there is somewhat of a visual indication that *moet* and *should* may converge in the future. This is because the decline of *moet* co-occurs with an increase of *should* from the second to the fourth period. While Wasserman (2014) finds that *should* has been decreasing in South African English, Figure 6.4 shows that *should* went from not being used in the second period to being the most popular modal in the obligation/necessity cluster in the fourth period. A reason for this development may be that *should* expresses weaker deontic meanings than *must*. While Erasmus' (2018) study does not contain a persuasive writing register, she provides a plausible reason as to why *moet* decreased in general from 1950s. She notes that Afrikaner nationalism boomed during the 1940s and the 1950s and that texts produced during this time often promoted Afrikaner interests. Propaganda was rife and prescriptive texts with the purpose to bolster Afrikaner nationalism occurred frequently. *Moet* was therefore used to encourage Afrikaners to engage in certain political, cultural and religious behaviour (Erasmus, 2018). However, the frequency of *moet* declined from the 1970s in general, which coincides with a tendency of people to use language that is less face-threatening to get their meaning across efficiently (Erasmus, 2019). Even though the bidirectional corpus does not contain texts for persuasive texts written in the 1970s, it does confirm that *moet* declined from 1994 onwards. Considering South Africa's socio-political context where Afrikaans lost its prestige with the rise of democracy, there is reason to suspect that Afrikaans authors try to use less face-threatening language to argue their case than was the case in the past.

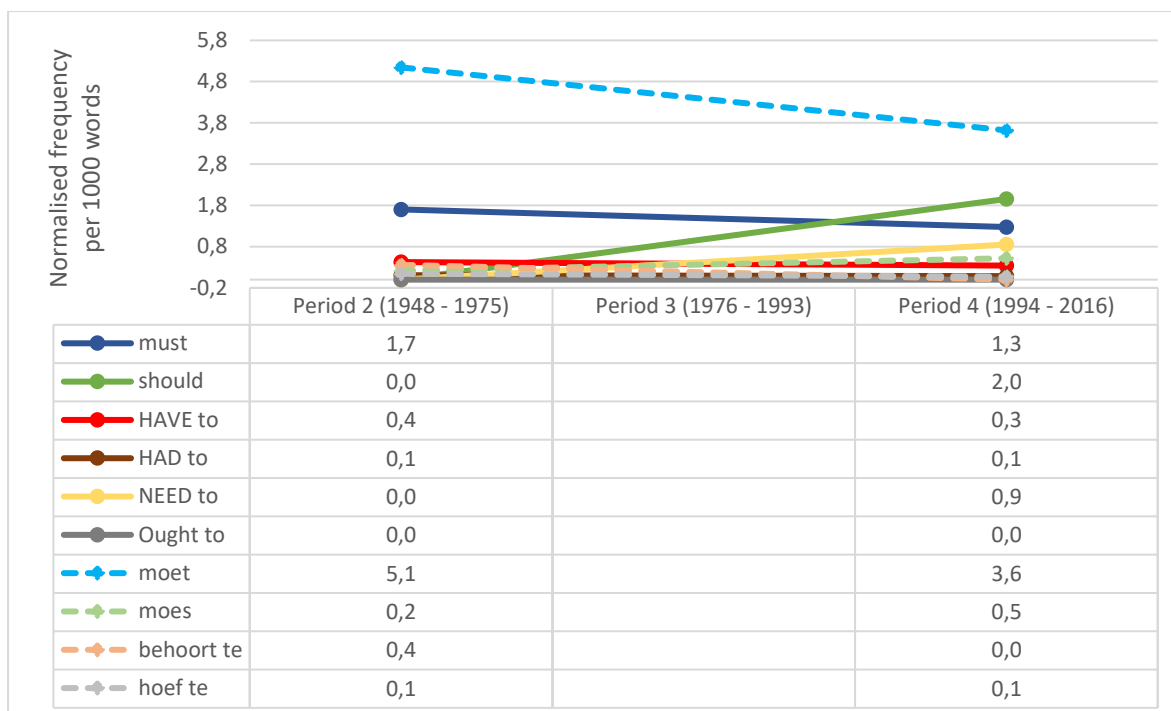


Figure 6.4: Modals of obligation/necessity in English and Afrikaans originals of persuasive writing

6.2.3 Modals of volition/prediction in English and Afrikaans originals

There is also some indication that convergence of the corresponding modals *will* and *sal* is underway. In this case, it appears that Afrikaans converges with English register preferences. Figure 6.5 shows that *will* remains quite stable from the second to the fourth period, but *sal* declines to such an extent that it is used to a similar frequency to *will* in the fourth period. Considering that Afrikaans has lost the prestige it enjoyed during the National Party's rule, it can be postulated that Afrikaners have been compelled to use English increasingly with the rise of democracy and the important role English plays as the country's main lingua franca. As such, it is possible that Afrikaners have used *sal* less frequently under the influence of *will*.

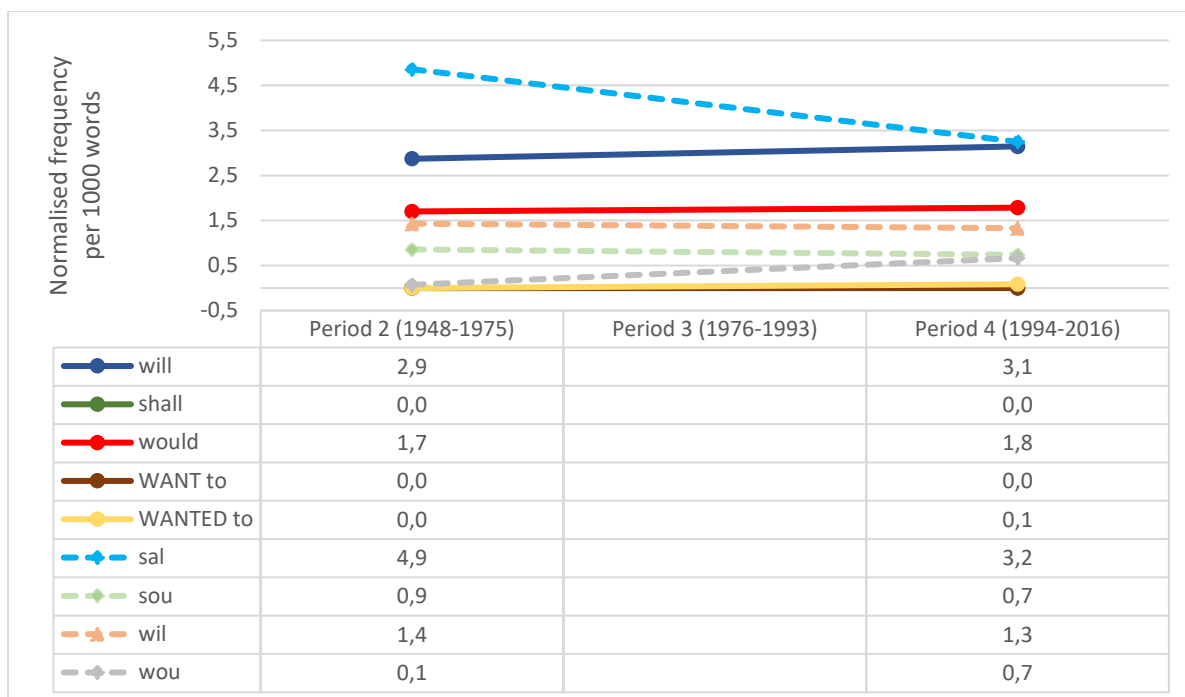


Figure 6.5: Modals of the volition/prediction cluster in English and Afrikaans originals of persuasive writing

6.2.4 The possibility of translation-induced language change in other registers

With the exclusion of the four cases highlighted here, there is little indication of language change being underway as a result of contact in the distribution of modals across register. In some cases, there are developments that appear to be related to register effects. For instance, in the permission/ability/possibility cluster of persuasive writing (see Figure A.26 in the addendum), *can* and *kan* show a decrease in the fourth period. This seems to be linked to a tendency in the register which displays an overall decline of modals of permission/ability/possibility. In the volition/prediction cluster of popular writing, *sal* and *will* show the same trend over time (see Figure A.31 in the addendum). The frequency of *will* and *sal* declines in the second period, but this is followed by an increase in the third period and then by another decrease in the fourth period. This seems to suggest that there are times when *will/sal* are preferred more than at other times in popular writing.

In some cases, there are even clear signs of divergence. For instance, with the obligation/necessity cluster of popular writing, *moet* is the most frequent modal (see Figure A.29). In the bidirectional corpus, it is used increasingly over the four periods while *must* shows a very sharp decline over time. Of course, these results have to be compared to those of the Afrikaans corpus and the South African English corpus for corroboration purposes. The Afrikaans corpus shows that the frequency of *moet* has declined slightly from the second to the fourth period (see Figure A.20 for a comparison), but the bidirectional corpus and the Afrikaans corpus agree that *moet* occurs with a frequency that ranges from 3,2 to 3,4 occurrences per 1000 words in the fourth period. The South African English corpus shows that *must* has declined slightly over time in popular writing, but it does not show the same sharp decline as *must* in the bidirectional corpus (see Figure A.8). Nevertheless, even by comparing the results of Wasserman (2014) and Erasmus (2018) there does not seem to be an indication that the frequency of *moet* and *must* show signs of convergence.

Based on the discussion, it appears that there are only four features that are potential candidates for convergence and possibly language change. Of the four cases, only one seems to be for Afrikaans moving closer to English; the other three seem to be cases where English modals move closer to Afrikaans.

6.3 A PARALLEL ANALYSIS OF THE MODAL SYSTEMS IN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS SOURCE TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Based on the contrastive analysis in 6.2, it appears that there are only four features that point toward convergent language change and which are consequently worth exploring in more detail in the parallel analysis. The purpose of the parallel analysis is to determine whether translators' strategies are closer to source-text norms (which is indicative of cross-linguistic transfer) or to target-text norms (which is indicative of normalisation), and whether these strategies have changed over time. Omission and addition are also included as possible strategies. Omission occurs when a translator does not use a modal in the target text even though one was present in the source text. Addition, in turn, occurs when a translator uses a modal in the target text even though the source text did not use a modal. Omission and addition are included as the frequency of target-text modals will be affected by the extent to which translators omit or add modals in their translations.

6.3.1 Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in popular writing

In the permission/ability/possibility cluster of popular writing, one sees a change in translation strategies through the years (see Table 6.1). Somewhat unsurprisingly, *kan* is usually translated with *can* but its proportional frequencies have changed through the years. In the first period, it was just as likely for a translation for *kan* to be omitted as for *can* to be used as a translation equivalent (both options scoring 44,4%). This remained the situation in the second period, although translators were slightly more inclined to translate *kan* with *can* (in 35,3% of the cases) than to omit a translation for *kan* (33,3%). Examples 28 and 29 demonstrate instances where translators used *can* as a translation in their translation, while examples 30 and 31 demonstrate where translators did not use corresponding modals in their English translations.

- (28a) Koeldrank en bier kan ook so koel gehou word. (Afr-O-Pop-P-1)
*Gloss translation: Cool drinks and beer **can** also be kept cool in this way.*
- (28b) Cool drinks and beer **can** also be stored in the same way. (Eng-Tr-Pop-P-1)
- (29a) Hulle **kan** maklik verduidelik word. (Afr-O-Pop-P-1)
*Gloss translation: They **can** easily be explained.*
- (29b) These **can** easily be explained. (Eng-Tr-Pop-P-1)
- (30a) Een mier **kan** maklik miljoene nakomelinge hê. (Afr-O-Pop-P-1)
*Gloss translation: One ant **can** easily have millions of descendants.*
- (30b) It is quite possible for one ant to have millions of descendants. (Eng-Tr-Pop-P-1)
- (31a) Soos ons duidelik aan die illustrasie **kan** sien... (Afr-O-Pop-P-2)
*Gloss translation: As we evidently **can** see from the illustration...*
- (31b) The illustration clearly shows... (Eng-Tr-Pop-P-1)

From the third period, there is a marked increase in translating *kan* with *can* (in 57,8%) of the third period and it appears that this tendency stabilises into the fourth period (56,9%). The rate of omission also declines over time (dropping from 31,3% to 24,8% from the third to the fourth period.)

Table 6.1: Source text modal and translation equivalents in popular writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|------------|-----|------------|-----|------|-----|
| | | <i>kan</i> | | <i>kon</i> | | <i>mag</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>can</i> | 1 | 20 | 44,4% | 42 | 60% | 42 | 62% | 8 | 42% |
| <i>could</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 20 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 26% |
| <i>may</i> | 1 | 3 | 12,0% | 0 | 0% | 19 | 28% | 1 | 5% |
| <i>might</i> | 1 | 1 | 2,2% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 1 | 1 | 2,2% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 26% |
| No modal used in TT | 1 | 20 | 44,4% | 8 | 11% | 6 | 9% | - | - |
| <i>can</i> | 2 | 36 | 35,3% | 23 | 36% | 23 | 68% | 10 | 24% |
| <i>could</i> | 2 | 9 | 8,8% | 21 | 33% | 2 | 6% | 8 | 20% |
| <i>may</i> | 2 | 15 | 14,7% | 1 | 2% | 3 | 9% | 18 | 44% |
| <i>might</i> | 2 | 4 | 3,9% | 2 | 3% | 1 | 3% | 3 | 7% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 2 | 5 | 4,9% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 5% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 34 | 33,3% | 16 | 25% | 5 | 15% | - | - |
| <i>can</i> | 3 | 37 | 57,8% | 14 | 54% | 14 | 54% | 7 | 44% |
| <i>could</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 7 | 27% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>may</i> | 3 | 5 | 7,8% | 1 | 4% | 11 | 42% | 7 | 44% |
| <i>might</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 3 | 2 | 3,1% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 13% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 20 | 31,3% | 4 | 15% | 1 | 4% | - | - |
| <i>can</i> | 4 | 62 | 56,9% | 30 | 37% | 30 | 53% | 11 | 44% |
| <i>could</i> | 4 | 9 | 8,3% | 28 | 34% | 1 | 2% | 6 | 24% |
| <i>may</i> | 4 | 7 | 6,4% | 0 | 0% | 21 | 37% | 6 | 24% |
| <i>might</i> | 4 | 1 | 0,9% | 3 | 4% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 4 | 3 | 2,8% | 1 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 8% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 27 | 24,8% | 20 | 24% | 4 | 7% | - | - |

These findings suggest that translators are sensitive to developing tendencies in English source texts where an increase in the frequency of *can* converges on the much higher frequency of Afrikaans *kan*, and they mirror this tendency in their translations. As shown in Figure 6.1, the occurrence of *can* was quite stable from the first to the second period, but the frequency of *can* started to increase notably from the third period and the fourth period. The parallel analysis indicates that while translators do not lead these developments (if they did, there would have been a higher frequency of *can* in their translations in the first and second period) but that translators are nonetheless in step with these changes and contribute to their conventionalisation. This development might have been influenced by the importance of Afrikaans during the second half of the twentieth century. English translators might have had a more positive view of Afrikaans because of its importance in the country at the time or might have translated from Afrikaans so frequently that the *can* modal became more entrenched in their minds under the influence of *kan*.

6.3.2 Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster

6.3.2.1 Instructional writing

Table 6.2 shows the Afrikaans source text modals of the obligation/permission cluster, and their English translation equivalents. *Shall* was added as a translation equivalent even though it belongs to the volition/cluster as *moet* is most frequently translated with *shall* (in 89% of cases in the second period and 86% of the time in third period). Examples 32 and 33 demonstrate this translation choice:

- (32a) Die verkoper **moet** binne een maand ... aan die verkoper 'n gratis afskrif daarvan oorhandig. (Afr-O-Inst-P-2)
*Gloss translation: The seller **must** within one month ... hand a free copy thereof to the purchaser.*
- (32b) Within one month ... the seller **shall** hand to the purchaser ... a copy thereof free of charge. (Eng-T-Inst-P-2)
- (33a) Die dop **moet** alle dele bo vlak AA bedek... (Afr-O-Inst-P-3)
*Gloss translation: The shell **must** cover all components above level AA...*
- (33b) The shell **shall** cover all areas above plane AA... (Eng-T-Inst-P-3)

As translators of instructional writing very rarely translate *moet* with *must*, their translation strategy is one of conservation. They are upholding the register conventions of instructional writing where *shall* is the by far the most popular modal. This is regardless of the fact that Afrikaans was the more prestigious language from 1948 to 1993, which means that translators were so set on preserving English register norms that the country's socio-political situation did not affect them to use *must* more under the influence of its cognate form. If translators were closer aligned to source-language norms (and produced cross-linguistic transfer by using *must* more frequently than *shall*), one could have made the claim that translators potentially contribute to the development of *must*, which is seen in the fourth period.

Table 6.2: Source text modal and translation equivalents in instructional writing

| TT modal | Per iod | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|-------------------|-----|-------------|------|-------------------|------|----------------|------|------|------|
| | | <i>moet</i> | | <i>moes</i> | | <i>behoort te</i> | | <i>hoef te</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>must</i> | 2 | 1 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>should</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>shall</i> | 2 | 70 | 89% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 160 | 100% |
| No modal | 2 | 8 | 10% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 1 | 100% | - | - |
| <i>must</i> | 3 | 10 | 7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>should</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% |
| <i>shall</i> | 3 | 117 | 86% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 87 | 98% |
| No modal | 3 | 9 | 7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 0% | - | - |

Table 6.2 demonstrates an interesting finding: for the second period, *shall* was added more times (160 times) than *moet* was used in the source text (70 times). This strategy changes in the third period, however, so that *shall* is added less frequently (87 times) than *moet* occurs (117 times) in the source text. Examples (34) and (35) demonstrate cases where *shall* was added.

- (34a) Hierdie regulasies is ook in die gebied Suidwes-Afrika van toepassing. (Afr-O-Inst-P-2)
Gloss translation: These regulations are also applicable in the area of South-West Africa.
- (34b) These regulations **shall** also apply in the Territory of South-West Africa. (Eng-T-Inst-P-2)
- (35a) Hierdie wet bind die staat. (Afr-O-Inst-P-3)
Gloss translation: This act binds the state.
- (35b) This act **shall** bind the state. (Eng-T-Inst-P-3)

These translation strategies are likely to have frequency consequences when English translations are compared to English originals in that English translations will have a higher or lower frequency of *shall* than the originals. In order to determine these consequences, it will be necessary to move onto a comparable analysis of English originals and English translations (see Section 6.4).

6.3.2.2 Persuasive writing

In terms of the proportional frequencies for the obligation/necessity cluster of persuasive writing, one sees a shift in translation strategies (see Table 6.3). In the second period, *moet* was usually translated with *must* (68,7% of the time), and *moet* was the most frequently added modal (50% of cases). *Should* was used as a translation equivalent in only 7,5% of cases. Examples (36) and (37) demonstrate cases where *moet* was translated with *must*, while examples (38) and (39) show instances where translators added *must* to their translations.

- (36a) Die fokus **moet** gevolglik op die samelewing van die mens en sy worsteling wees. (Afr-O-Pers-P-2)
*Gloss translation: The focus **must** therefore be on the person and his struggles.*
- (36b) The focus **must** therefore be on the society of man and its struggles. (Eng-T-Pers-P-2)
- (37a) Uiteindelik sal 'n botsing van magte **moet** plaasvind! (Afr-O-Pers-P-2)
*Gloss translation: Eventually a clash of powers **must** occur!*
- (37b) Eventually a clash of powers **must** take place! (Eng-T-Pers-P-2)
- (38a) Liefde vir die grond is seker in elke mens ingebore... (Afr-O-Pers-P-2)
Gloss translation: Love of the soil is probably inborn in every person.
- (38b) Love of the soil **must** be inborn in every man and woman... (Eng-T-Pers-P-2)
- (39a) Die antwoord lê opgesluit in ... verteenwoordigers van alle "groepe" wat bereid is om die rasmaatstaf af te sweer... (Afr-O-Pers-P-2)
Gloss translation: The answer is situated in representatives of all "groups" who are prepared to relinquish race as the measuring rod...
- (39b) The answer to this question depends... on the representatives of all the various groups - and they **must** be prepared to relinquish race as the measuring rod... (Eng-T-Pers-P-2)

Table 6.3: Source text modal and translation equivalents in persuasive writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-------------|-----|-------------------|------|----------------|-----|------|-------|
| | | <i>moet</i> | | <i>moes</i> | | <i>behoort te</i> | | <i>hoef te</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>must</i> | 2 | 46 | 68,7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 50,0% |
| <i>should</i> | 2 | 5 | 7,5% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 2 | 1 | 1,5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 67% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal | 2 | 15 | 22,4% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 33% | | |
| <i>must</i> | 4 | 16 | 40,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 14,3% |
| <i>should</i> | 4 | 8 | 20,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 42,9% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 4 | 4 | 10,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | 3 | 42,9% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 4 | 1 | 2,5% | 2 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal | 4 | 11 | 27,5% | 5 | 71% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | - | - |

By the fourth period, there was an increasing preference to translate *moet* with *should* (up to 20%) and *HAVE to* (10%) at the expense of *must* (now accounting for only 40% of the translation options). *Should* and *HAVE to* also became the most frequently added modals (each added three times), while *must* was only added once. Examples (40) to (41) indicate instances where *moet* was translated with *should*.

(40a) Maar as dit by die Afrikaner kom, glo ons, **moet** 'n mens liewer sê: soek die plaas (Afr-O-Pers-P-4)

*Gloss translation: But we believe that when it comes to Afrikaner a person **must** rather say: look for the farm.*

(40b) Well, concerning the Afrikaner, we **should**, I think, say: look for the farm. (Eng-T-Pers-P-2)

(41a) Ja, ons **moet** dit herdenk en daaruit leer... (Afr-O-Pers-P-4)

*Gloss translation: Yes, we **must** commemorate it and learn from it.*

(41b) Yes, we **should** commemorate that event and we **should** learn from it... (Eng-T-Pers-P-2)

From the discussion, it is evident that translators have started to use different translation strategies to translate *moet* as part of the obligation/necessity cluster in persuasive writing. It seems that these strategies are in step with changing preferences in the register, which means that they are making somewhat of a contribution to conventionalisation. If translators led these developments through processes of habituation, there would already have been a higher preference for *should* as a translation option in the second period. As suggested in Section 6.2.2, it is possible that translators, like authors, knew that *must* was associated with more face-threatening language by the fourth period and therefore tried to avoid it by using other modals more frequently. As the use of *moet* also had started to decline from 1994 onward, it is also likely

that they were less exposed to it, which meant that they might have been less inclined to create strong mental connections between *moet* and *must*.

6.3.3 Modals of the volition/prediction cluster of persuasive writing

As stated in Section 6.2.3, the modals of the volition/prediction cluster of persuasive writing appear to be the only instance where the potential exists for English to have an influence on Afrikaans. This is because *sal*, in its decline from the second period, is used to a similar frequency to *will*, its corresponding English modal, in the fourth period. As is to be expected, *will* is usually translated with *sal* (85,2% in the second period and 88,6% in the fourth period – see Table 6.4). Examples (42) and (43) demonstrate this:

- (42a) None of us **will** feel quite the same about politics from now on. (Eng-O-Pers-P-2)
 (42b) Geeneen van ons **sal** van nou af aan nooit die politiek in presies dieselfde lig beskou nie. (Afr-T-Pers-P-2)
Gloss translation: None of us will from now on consider politics in exactly the same light.
- (43a) Once again the purpose **will** be a positive one. (Eng-O-Pers-P-4)
 (43b) Weereens **sal** dit 'n positiewe doel hê. (Afr-T-Pers-P-4)
Gloss translation: Once again it will have a positive purpose.

Table 6.4: Source text modal and translation equivalents in persuasive writing

| TT modal | P er iod | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------|-------------------|-------|--------------|------|--------------|-----|----------------|----|------------------|--------|-------------|-------|
| | | <i>will</i> | | <i>shall</i> | | <i>Would</i> | | <i>WANT to</i> | | <i>WANTED to</i> | | <i>Zero</i> | |
| <i>sal</i> | 2 | 23 | 85,2% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 20% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 36,4% |
| <i>sou</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 11 | 73% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 45,5% |
| <i>wil</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 18,2% |
| <i>wou</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal | 2 | 4 | 14,8% | 1 | 100% | 1 | 7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | - | - |
| <i>sal</i> | 4 | 31 | 88,6% | 0 | 0% | 14 | 67% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 22 | 75,9% |
| <i>sou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 10% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 6,9% |
| <i>wil</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 5 | 17,2% |
| <i>wou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100,0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal | 4 | 4 | 11,4% | 1 | 100% | 5 | 24% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | - | - |

However, while it is to be expected that translators are inclined to translate *will* with *sal*, it is interesting to note that translators are notably more inclined to add *sal* to their translations in the fourth period than they were in the second period (up from 4 instances to 22). Examples (44) and (45) illustrate cases where translators added *sal* to their translations.

- (44a) Please say something to us people in Lindley to give us some hope, please. (Eng-O-Pers-P-4)
 (44b) Sê asseblief iets vir ons mense in Lindley wat ons hoop **sal** gee. (Afr-T-Pers-P-4)
Gloss translation: Please say something to us people in Lindley that will give us hope.

- (45a) This education is to include a certain amount of medical ethics. (Eng-O-Pers-P-4)
(45b) Hierdie opleiding **sal** 'n sekere hoeveelheid mediese etiek insluit. (Afr-T-Pers-P-4)
*Gloss translation: This education **will** include a certain amount of medical ethics.*

This high frequency of addition runs counter to the development seen in Afrikaans where *sal* has decreased from the second to the fourth period. If anything, it seems that Afrikaans translators overrepresent the modal that is most commonly used in persuasive writing in the fourth period. It is possible, in this case, that while Afrikaans has lost its prestige in the fourth period that translators still sometimes try to uphold its norms rather than following the change that is underway in Afrikaans original writing (which might be influenced by English norms to an extent).

In brief, this section shows that translators essentially play two roles when it comes to the translation of modals. First, in the case of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in popular writing and obligation/necessity cluster of persuasive writing, English translators are sensitive to developing trends in English originals. These trends consist of certain modals (particularly *can* and *should*) showing frequency changes that point to convergence with the frequency of Afrikaans modals. As these trends are also reflected in English translations, to a greater or lesser degree, there is evidence that English translators are in step with these developments and thus contribute to their conventionalisation. Second, translators are inclined to follow established target-language norms. In the case of instructional writing, English translators are aware of the fact that *shall* (a modal of volition/prediction) is the preferred modal in English governmental texts, even though Afrikaans texts prefer *moet* (a modal of obligation/necessity). Their awareness of this register convention is so strong that they frequently add *shall* their translation. In terms of the volition/prediction cluster of Afrikaans translations of persuasive writing, one also sees a conservative element. *Sal* has declined over time in Afrikaans originals, but Afrikaans translators continue to use *sal* in their translations and in fact its usage has increased. In this way, they can be seen to actively resist a process of language change.

From the parallel analysis, there is no indication that translation leads language change through processes of habituation. If it did, one would have expected to see a higher occurrence of cross-linguistic influence in the translation at an earlier period than in original writing. The parallel analysis shows that the strategies of translators sometimes form part of the conventionalisation component of the contact-induced change continuum and that translators, at other times, resist language change by translating conservatively.

6.4 A COMPARABLE ANALYSIS OF THE MODAL SYSTEMS IN ORIGINALS AND TRANSLATIONS

Based on the discussion in 6.3, there seems to be limited evidence that translations are the catalyst for language change. For English, it appears that translators are largely in step with the developments shown in English originals, but with Afrikaans it appears that translators resist trends underway in Afrikaans original writing. These decisions are likely to result in frequency effects where translations show different frequency patterns compared to those of originals.

6.4.1 Modals of permission/ability/possibility in English originals and translations

Figure 6.6 shows that English translators are quite aware of the developments of *can* in the popular writing register. Translations have a higher frequency of *can*, but nonetheless show the

same pattern of distribution (a decline in the second period, which is followed by an increase from the third period). It seems that it is only in the fourth period that this tendency stabilises in translations, while original English texts continue to show a rise in frequency and overtake the normalised frequency found in the translations.

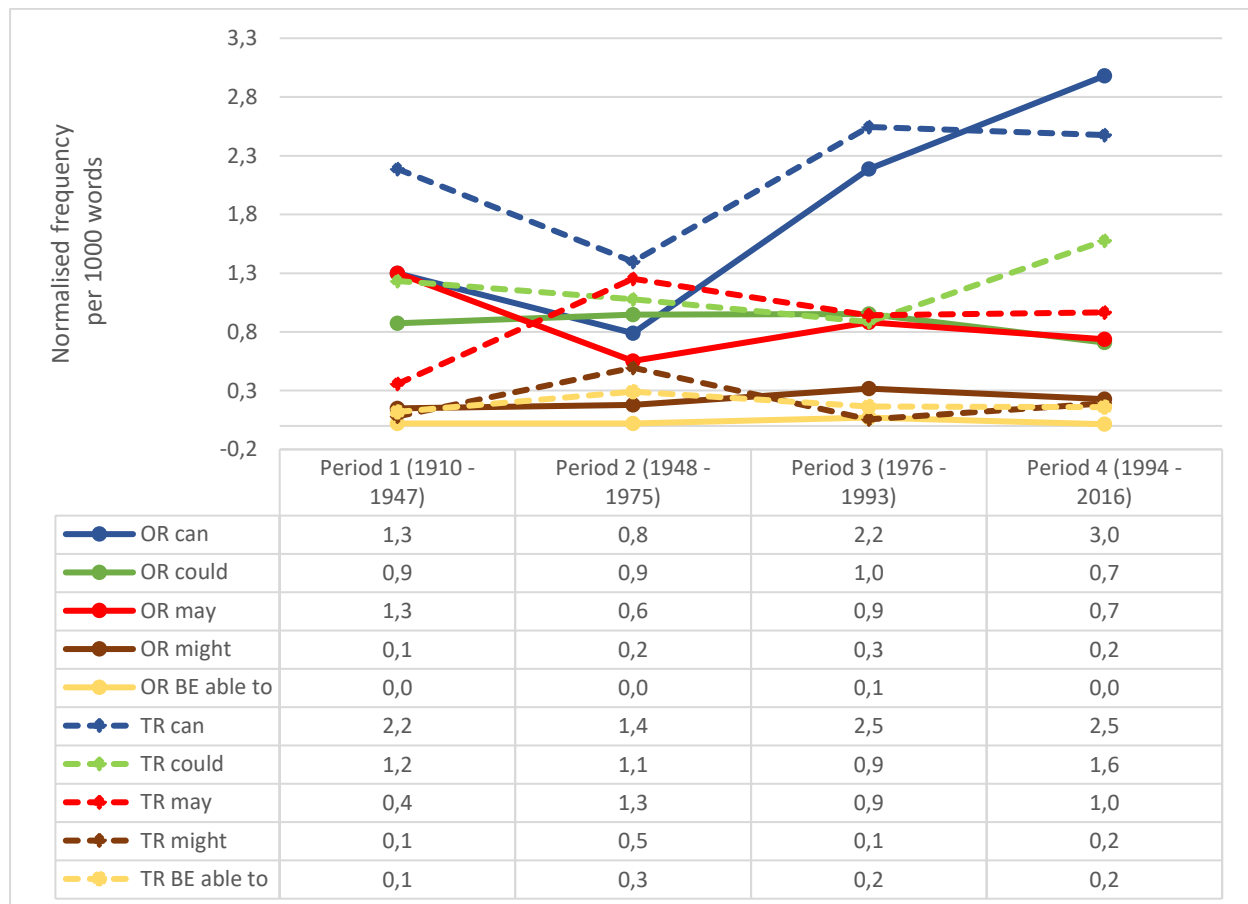


Figure 6.6: Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster of popular writing

As was hypothesised in Section 6.2.1, Afrikaans does seem to condition this change that is underway in English (which started with the increased exposure English speakers had with Afrikaans during the National Party's rule) but there is not sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis of translation-induced change as translations do not lead the originals. Translations at best stay abreast with the pattern of change, which shows that translators of popular writing are sensitive enough to changing conventions that they are able to closely reproduce the frequency of *can* in their translations. By being in step with these developments, translations contribute to the conventionalisation of a higher frequency of *can* in English original writing.

6.4.2 Modals of obligation/necessity in English originals and translations

6.4.2.1 Instructional writing

Figure 6.7 shows that there was a marginal increase of *must* in English translations in the third period, which was followed by a sharp increase of *must* in the fourth period of English originals. The magnitude of this change, however, cannot be related to the very slight difference in the translations from Period 2 to Period 3. To make sense of this change, one has to appreciate that the use of *shall* has been limited to formal usage contexts in South African English, but it has steadily declined to the point where it is rarely used. In this case, it appears that *must* presented

itself as the best alternative with the decline of *shall* in instructional writing. Given the prominence of *moet* and Wasserman's (2014) evidence that Afrikaans *moet* has influenced English *must* in a number of ways, this is likely to be a contact effect one sees here.

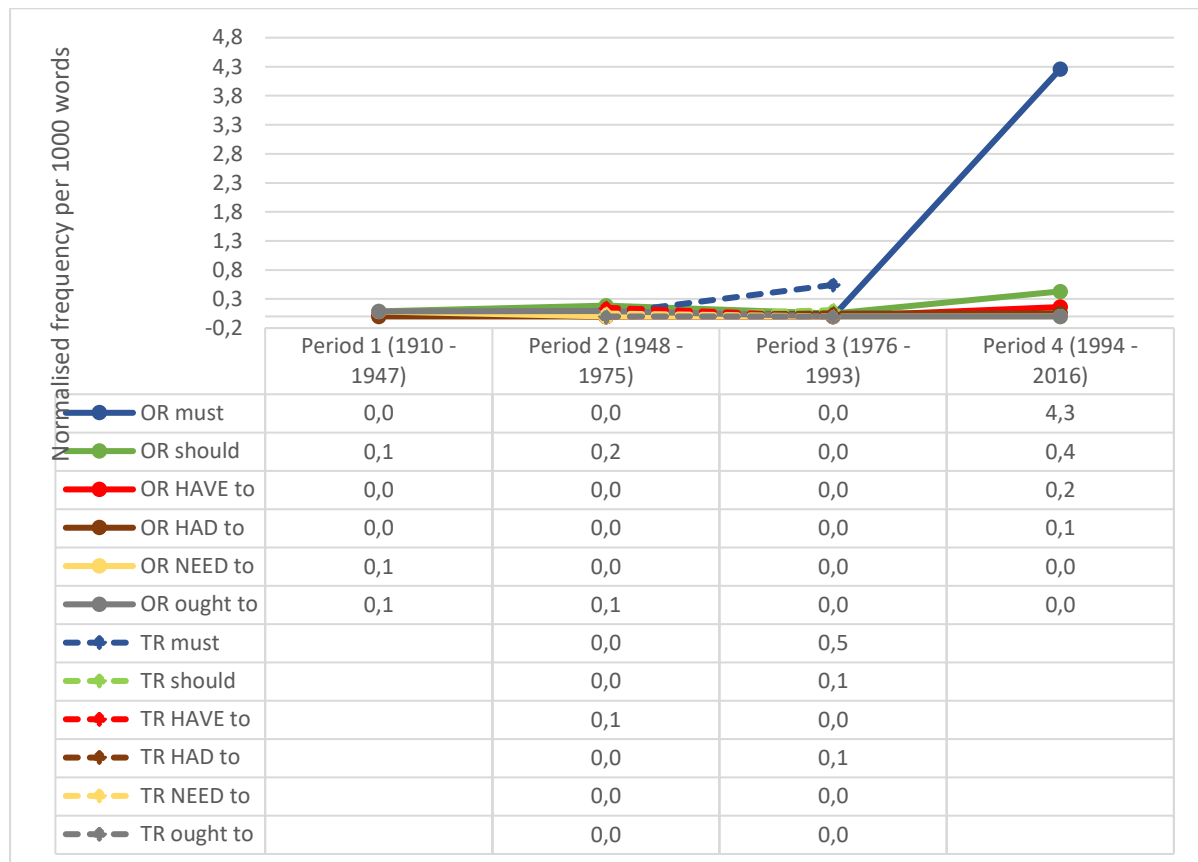


Figure 6.7: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster of instructional writing

While the increase of *must* is likely to be due to language contact with Afrikaans, it is not a contact effect that was either instigated (innovated) or disseminated through habitualisation or conventionalisation by translation. As was pointed out in the parallel analysis of Section 6.2.3.1, English translators are strongly inclined to use *shall*, which is the more conservative option, and rarely use *moet* as a translation for *shall*. Figure 6.8 shows that translators are very much aligned with English norms for instructional writing in that *shall* follows a similar pattern of distribution in their translations when compared to English original writing. If translators disseminated this change through habitualisation, one would have seen a higher frequency of *must* in English translations in the third period. However, English translators of instructional texts appear to be one step behind in the process where *shall* is disappearing from South African English.

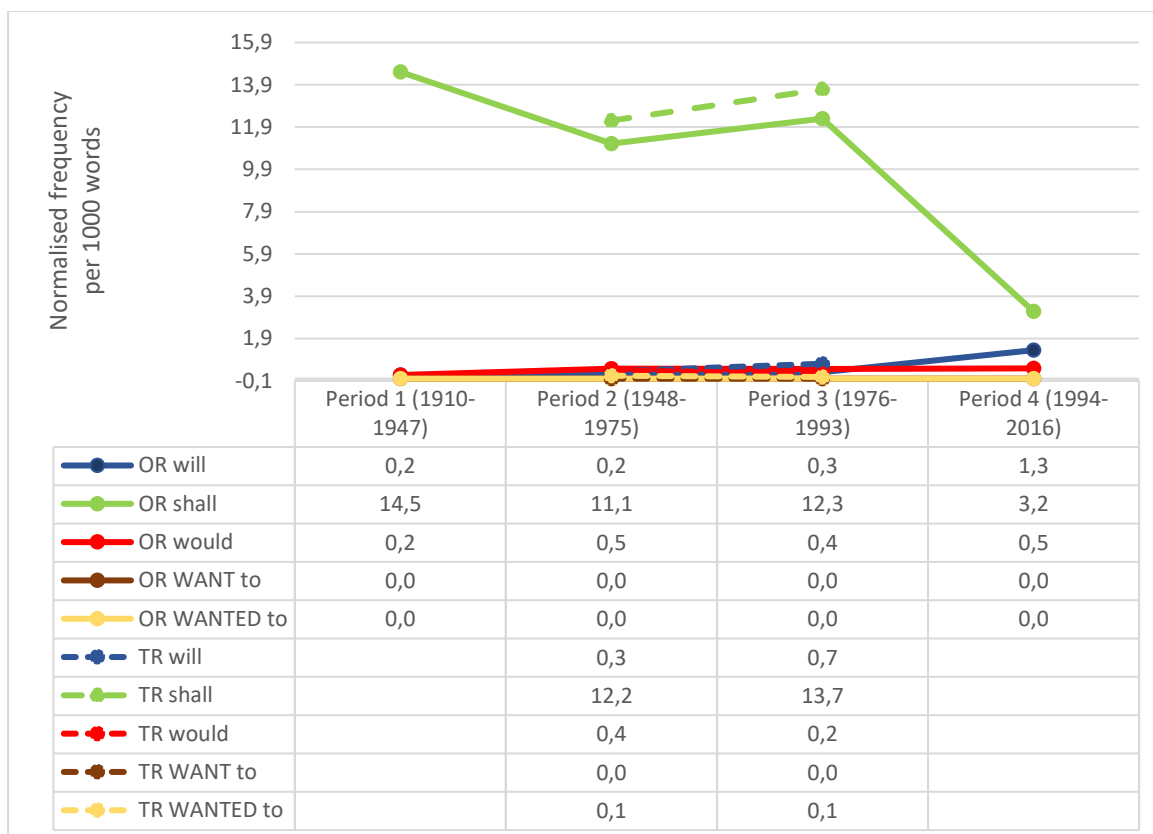


Figure 6.8: Modals of the volition/prediction cluster of instructional writing

6.4.2.2 Persuasive writing

For persuasive writing (see Figure 6.9), one sees English translators' growing sensitivity to English norms that apply to the register. Translators used *must* to a much higher frequency than English authors in the second period but, by the fourth period, translators have adjusted to use *must* to a similar frequency compared to English originals. The higher frequency of *must* in the second period might have been mediated to some extent by the role Afrikaans during the second period because, as noted in Section 6.2.2, Afrikaans used *moet* quite frequently in the apartheid era to encourage Afrikaners to partake in certain activities. The lower frequency of *must* in the fourth period can possibly explained by the fact that both English and Afrikaans writers preferred less face-threatening language by the fourth period.

There is, however, little indication of translation-induced language change. If there were, one would have seen a higher frequency of *must* in English originals in the fourth period that reflected that higher incidence of *must* in English translations in the fourth period. Translations, in other words, would have been shown to lead language change as a process of habitualisation by which *must* would have been used to a higher frequency in English originals as an outcome of the process. However, translators appear to have become more conservative over time by becoming closer aligned with English norms.

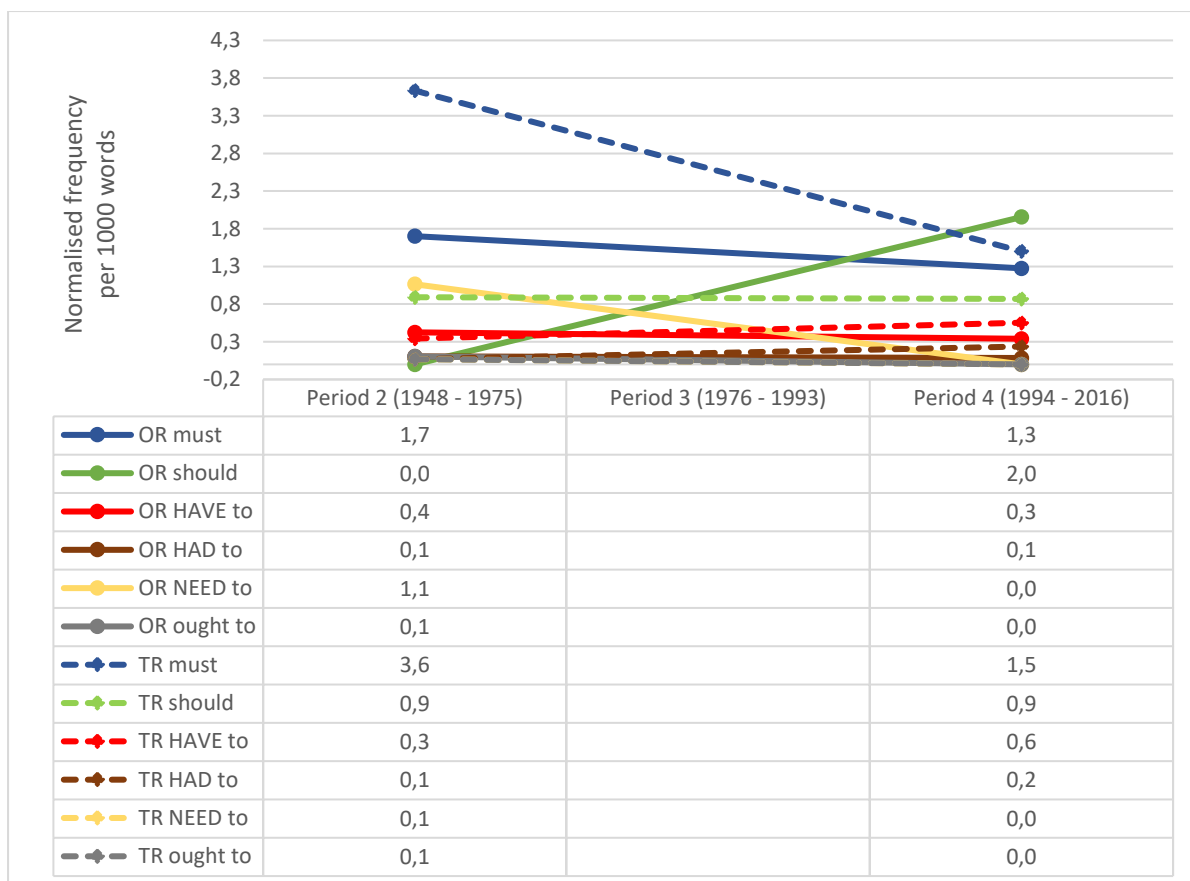


Figure 6.9: Modals of the volition/prediction cluster of persuasive writing

6.4.3 Modals of volition/prediction in Afrikaans originals and translations

Figure 6.10 shows the distribution of the modal *moet* in Afrikaans originals and translations. As has been pointed out in Section 6.3.3, Afrikaans translators seemed inclined to add *sal* to their translations more frequently in the fourth period. This is reflected in Figure 6.10 where Afrikaans translations show the opposite development to Afrikaans originals. To account for the lower frequency of *sal* in the fourth period of Afrikaans originals, one can refer to Kirsten's (2019) study. She notes that *sal* is in competition with *gaan* (which can be used as a linking modal auxiliary and as a future modal auxiliary), and that *gaan* has been increasing at the expense of *sal*. It is therefore possible that Afrikaans translators are more inclined to follow older, more established norms, to the extent that they overrepresent *sal* in their translations. Because of this conservative tendency, one cannot make a claim for translation-induced language change as translators clearly resist the developments that are underway in Afrikaans original writing.

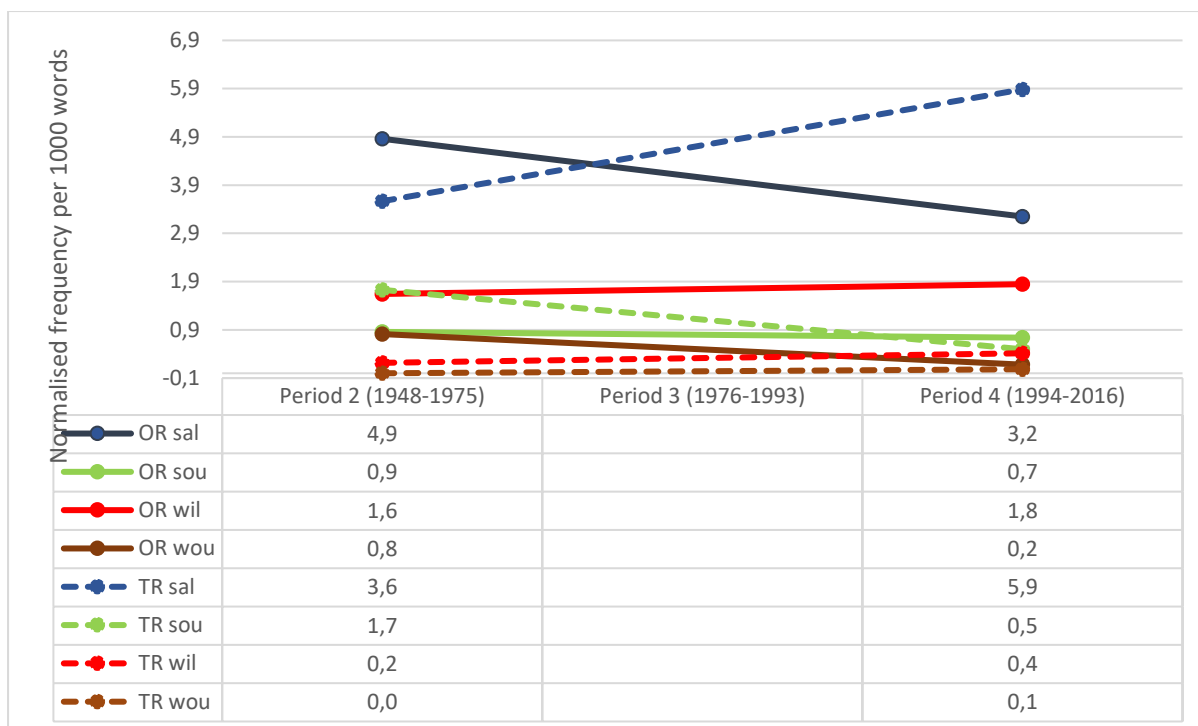


Figure 6.10: Modals of the volition/prediction cluster of persuasive writing

6.5 SYNTHESIS OF THE RESULTS

The analysis set out to determine if there were changes in the modal systems in Afrikaans and English across time and register for the modal clusters of permission/ability/possibility, obligation/necessity and volition/prediction, both in original writing, in translations and source texts, and in comparable translated and non-translations. The analysis was limited to instances where there is suggestion of contact-induced language change underway. The contrastive analysis highlighted four instances where Afrikaans and English originals show signs of language change. Three showed English moving closer to Afrikaans (the frequency of *can* moving closer to the frequency of *kan*, *must* following the pattern of *moet* in instructional writing, an increase of the modal *should* at the expense of *must* in persuasive writing), and one showed an Afrikaans modal moving closer to an English modal (*sal* being used with the frequency of *will*).

However, the parallel and comparable analysis showed that translators do not lead language change (through processes of habitualisation) – they either contribute to processes of conventionalisation or resist processes of language change that are underway. In the first case, translators are sensitive to developing trends in the target language and use these patterns in their translations too. This is the case with the permission/ability/possibility cluster in popular writing and obligation/necessity cluster of persuasive writing, where English translators use *can* and *should* to a frequency that is reflective of the greater changes that are underway in English original writing. In the second case, English translations act conservatively by continuing to use *shall*, the established variant, in their translation – even though *shall* has been steadily declining in South African English – to such an extent that it has all but disappeared. In the case of Afrikaans persuasive writing, Afrikaans translators overrepresent *sal* in their translations, even though its frequency has started to decline in Afrikaans original writing.

In terms of the discussion for instructional writing, the analysis has also disentangled translation from other contact effects. While the comparative analysis suggested that translation might be responsible for the change that is underway in instructional writing (where *must* has increased drastically at the expense of *shall* in the second period), further analysis indicated that it is more likely to be contact with Afrikaans that is responsible for this change. Contact with Afrikaans has bolstered the frequency of *must* and *must* is consequently thought to be a more viable alternative than *shall*, which has declined notably in South African English.

CHAPTER 7: **CONCLUSION AND AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This study has investigated the role translation plays in language change between Afrikaans and South African English, within the context of the general question of the possible contribution of translation to language change. The study has aimed to make a contribution by situating translation within existing theories of language change, by developing a methodology that distinguishes between translation-induced change from other forms of contact-induced change, and by investigating the role of translation in two linguistic features in South African English and Afrikaans that show signs of contact-induced change. The study is comprehensive in that it places theory, methodology and empirical investigation at its forefront. This chapter presents a broad synthesis of the results of the investigation. As Chapters 2 to 6 conclude with a synthesis of the findings of each chapter, these detailed results will not be repeated here. This chapter rather takes a step back from these findings and considers the bigger picture of the study. The conclusions of the study will be summarised in terms of the research questions formulated in Chapter 1 and the chapter will conclude with a brief overview of potential avenues for further investigation that have emerged from the research.

7.2 ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As pointed out in Chapter 1, translation is a form of language contact, but little is known about the role translation can play in bringing about language change. This study has aimed to address this research gap by exploring how translation fits into existing theories of language change and by looking for evidence of translation-induced language change in South African English and Afrikaans. The following sections address, in turn, each of the six research questions set out in Section 1.3.

7.2.1 What is the relationship between the broader processes of language change and translation?

On a theoretical level, this study has shown how translation fits in well with the broader processes of language change, especially contact-induced language change. Translation has the potential to occur anywhere on a continuum of contact-induced language change that consists of the processes of innovation, habituation, conventionalisation and monolingualisation (Croft, 2000; Johanson, 1993, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2008). Innovation occurs when translations instigate change by introducing new linguistic structures to the target language; habituation occurs when translations lead language change; conventionalisation occurs when translations stay abreast of developments that are already occurring in the target language; and monolingualisation occurs if translators are only willing to use a linguistic structure once it is accepted in the linguistic norms of the target language. However, translators also act conservatively by resisting language change, which means they constrain processes of language change by selecting older forms more often than newer innovations entering a particular language. The position translation assumes on this continuum is ultimately affected by a complex interaction of normative and psycholinguistic factors that are applicable to the translation process.

7.2.2 How can translation-induced change be differentiated from other forms of contact-induced change?

This study has demonstrated how translation-induced change can be differentiated from other forms of contact-induced change by using a methodological model with diachronic elements that consists of three steps that are based on contrastive, comparable and parallel analyses. In the contrastive analysis, non-translations in two languages are compared to determine the similarities and/or differences of linguistic features in these languages, and how the relationship between these features change over time. For instance, English and Afrikaans have two genitive forms, namely the *of*-genitive and *s*-genitive, and the *van*-genitive and *se*-genitive. The choice of which genitive to use is conditioned by the animacy constraint, with more animate or human possessors being inclined to take the *s*-genitive/*se*-genitive while inanimate possessors are more likely to use the *of*-genitive/*van*-genitive. However, the animacy constraint is weaker in Afrikaans than in English, which means Afrikaans uses the *se*-genitive more frequently with inanimate possessors than English does with the *s*-genitive. Because of contact with Afrikaans, South African English has been more inclined to use *s*-genitive with inanimate possessors (see for instance Kirsten & Rosenbach, 2018). The contrastive analysis highlights these differences and similarities between Afrikaans and South African English and, in so doing, provides a baseline understanding of the two genitive variants in the two languages.

In the parallel analysis, translations are compared to their source texts to determine if the linguistic features in the translation are aligned closer to those of the source language or those of the target language. If the linguistic features are aligned closer to the source language, there is evidence of cross-linguistic interference. If the features are aligned closer to target language, there is evidence of normalisation. For instance, Afrikaans instructional writing prefers the modal *moet* but English instructional writing strongly prefers *shall*. If English translators frequently used *must* (the cognate form of *moet*) as a translation for *moet*, there would be an indication of interference. Normalisation would occur if they were more inclined to translate *moet* with *shall*. This analysis also indicates whether there are changes in the extent to which cross-linguistic influence and/or normalisation occurs in translations. In the comparable analysis, non-translations and translations in the same language are compared. If the feature in question changes first in translations and slightly later in original texts, there is evidence that translation acts as a force of propagation (along with other gateway mechanisms). For instance, as Chapter 3 notes, Afrikaans translators who worked in the government sector in the mid-twentieth century translated English terminology to Afrikaans so that Afrikaners would have the terminology they needed available once they started to compile documents in Afrikaans. Meiring (1984) points out that this terminology is still used in Afrikaans today. If translations show the same changes at the same time as originals, there is evidence that translation, along with factors such as the media or societal bilingualism, contributes to conventionalisation. If translators follow a trend at a later point in time (or do not follow the development at all), there will be evidence that translators are conservative in that they uphold older norms and, as such, slow down the development of a linguistic feature in the original language.

7.2.3 Which contact-induced features are typically attributed to contact between Afrikaans and South African English in the two varieties?

Based on a literature review of existing evidence, the study focussed on genitive variation and modality in South African English and Afrikaans. There is evidence of ongoing change for these two features in English and Afrikaans (see Kirsten, 2016, 2019; Kirsten & Rosenbach, 2018), but

the role of translation in these changes needed to be considered and understood. These seemed likely candidates for translation-induced language change as both features share many similarities in Afrikaans and English, but these similarities sometimes belie the subtle but nevertheless important normative differences in the two languages. Because of these similarities, translators would have been able to create mental connections between the genitives and the modals of their two languages. These mental connections create the possibility of translators syncretising their two languages as well as their processing operations. Through this process of convergence, it was possible for cross-linguistic transfer to occur in translation in terms of genitive variation and modality.

7.2.4 What is the extent and nature of translation between Afrikaans and English in South Africa since the beginning of the twentieth century?

Chapter 3 of this study provided a detailed discussion of how translation has played some important roles in South Africa since the beginning of the twentieth century – roles that have very much been influenced by the country's changing socio-political contexts. Translation played a primary role when Afrikaners started to come into power as the country's bilingual policy meant that governmental texts had to be translated from English to Afrikaans. Afrikaans was underdeveloped at that stage, and translators (along with terminologists, lexicographers, journalists and publishers) played an instrumental role to develop the language's linguistic resources and contributed to its standardisation (Beukes, 1993, 1994, 2007; Van den Berg, 2005). However, when Afrikaners assumed power in 1948, they wanted Afrikaans to shed its status as *vertaaltaal* and actively sought to make Afrikaans the language of compilation (Posthumus, 1955). In order to do this, they translated English terminology to Afrikaans so that Afrikaners would have the necessary terminology at their disposal once they started to compile documents in Afrikaans. However, the situation changed again following the demise of apartheid. At present, English is the preferred language of the government, which means most documentation is compiled in English. Translation is not done as extensively in the government as was the case during the National Party's rule because there are now nine other official languages that also compete for the government's resources.

Translation was also an important production mechanism in the translation of non-fiction in the mid-twentieth century. This is because an increasing number of English and Afrikaans publishing houses were established at the time. The publication of Africana (which included bird books, biographies, popular histories and cookbooks) was quite profitable in the trade sector as both English and Afrikaans readers were interested in reading books dealing with popular South African topics. It is therefore understandable that translation was used to tap into this demand. The socio-political upheaval of the 1970s and the 1980s contributed to more extensive translation between English and Afrikaans as the country's weak monetary unit resulted in the price of imported books soaring. As a result, book publishing was more viable and books increasingly started to appear in joint runs in Afrikaans and English. Today, non-fiction continues to sell well and is a more popular choice for translation between Afrikaans and English than fiction. Fiction, in comparison, was rarely chosen for translation for most of the twentieth century. Translation sometimes occurred from Afrikaans to English but rarely from South African English to Afrikaans. This is because Afrikaners were and continue to be bilingual to such an extent that they can (and often prefer to) read the English original.

7.2.5 What evidence is there for translation-induced language change in the development of Afrikaans and South African English since the beginning of the twentieth century?

The study set out to find evidence that translations are responsible for bringing about language change. In Section 2.5 it was posited that only limited opportunity exists for translation to bring about innovation (by introducing entirely new linguistic patterns to English or Afrikaans), but that translation might take the lead in bringing about frequency effects and thereby lead to a minor-use pattern developing into a major pattern. However, the study finds no evidence that translation results in the habituation of a linguistic pattern. The study points to two findings: translators can contribute to the conventionalisation of linguistic changes that are already underway or they resist language change by adhering to established (older) target-language norms. Evidence of conventionalisation came to light in the modality analysis of Chapter 6. It was found that English translators are sensitive to developing trends in South African English and sometimes use these developing patterns at the expense of older, more established patterns. In this case, they are in step with the developing trends and by using these patterns, contribute to their conventionalisation along with other forces of language change (such as societal bilingualism).

Conventionalisation only appeared in a few cases and the study shows that translators are more inclined to resist language change (which refutes the hypothesis of translation-induced language change). For the analysis into genitive variation, Afrikaans and English translations were found to be indistinguishable from comparable originals in the same language, which means that there is little evidence of interference. This finding shows that translators quite adept in adhering to the norms of English and Afrikaans. The only exception to the general similarity between originals and translations is a small number of cases where English translations are in some way different from English originals (with differences shown for animacy). This finding was related to period, which shows evidence of language change being underway. While English writers from 1910 to 1993 always preferred the *of*-genitive when using a possessor that ended on a final sibilant, they increasingly started to use *s*-genitive more from 1994 when dealing with possessors that ended on final sibilants. In terms of the sociohistorical context, it should be remembered that apartheid was abolished in 1994. It is therefore possible that English authors have relaxed their overall writing style since 1994, which resulted in them using the *s*-genitive more when dealing with possessors that end on final sibilants. Translators, however, do not follow this tendency as they still predominantly prefer the *of*-genitive in these situations. For modality, there is also indication that translators are inclined to follow target-language norms closely and to uphold (and overrepresent) these norms even when language change is underway. By upholding English and Afrikaans norms, translators act conservatively, which has the implication that they resist and curb processes of language change that are related to genitive variation and modality.

7.2.6 How can evidence for/evidence against translation-induced change in Afrikaans and South African English since the beginning of the twentieth century be explained?

The evidence emerging from the corpus analysis in this study constitutes refutation of the notion of translation-induced change in Afrikaans and South African English. The reason for this is that translators adhered closely to well-established norms in the target language, which means that cross-linguistic phenomena were reduced in their translations. A further implication is that by adhering to well-established norms, translators actually resisted processes of language change

that were already underway and, in so doing, curb the development of such changes. By using the approach, the hypothesis of translation-induced language change is refuted. While future research may yet uncover supporting evidence, there are plausible reasons in the nature of language change and the nature of the translation activity, which point to very restricted opportunity for translation to be a leading role player in the innovation or transmission of new grammatical structures. Translation may well be a stronger innovator at the lexical level, as evidenced by the terminological work done in the mid-twentieth century by the South African government.

7.3 SIGNIFICANCE, LIMITATIONS AND AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The investigation reported in this thesis contributes to translation studies by focussing on an area that has not received much attention to date. There have been theoretical limitations in previous studies of translation-induced change in that most researchers paid little attention to theorising how translation could contribute to language change. This study set out to substantiate theoretically the significance of translation as a possible catalyst and diffuser of language change while also considering the normative and psycholinguistic constraints that act on translation. In so doing, the study provided a more refined exposition of the different roles translation can play in language change, which range from introducing innovative structures, to leading language change, to conventionalising language change to resisting language change.

This study, however, did have some limitations, which opens up avenues for further research. Only four registers were chosen and it is possible that evidence for translation-induced language change may be found in other registers or through other mediums. For instance, magazines might also play an important role in the dissemination of changes. Geldenhuys (2009) notes that the translation of magazines in South Africa is a phenomenon that started occur in the early 1980s and examples of magazines that are printed in Afrikaans and English today include *Huisgenoot* and *You, Tuis* and *Home, Weg* and *Go!* and *Wegry* and *Drive Out*. Another possibility that should be considered is that Afrikaans predominantly used translation from European languages to build and expand its linguistic resources. Because of the high prestige that was assigned to these languages, it is possible that transfer effects occurred that might have disseminated into Afrikaans as a whole. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, it was also difficult to collect and process data for the four registers over the four time periods. As such, the results for some of the registers (such as persuasive writing) do not give a complete picture of the role translation might have played in language change. This means that other studies with more complete corpora might provide better insight into the role translation plays in language change.

Future research in the field can also try to determine translators' awareness of the processes of language change. While the corpus-based method can show the differences/similarities between translations and original texts over time and across register, it cannot account for how consciously aware translators are of synchronic or diachronic variability in the source and target language. As a promising avenue of research, it will be necessary to move beyond the corpus-based approach and to incorporate process-oriented methods in studies of language change. For instance, interviews with translators who worked in different time frames will not only provide a better understanding of the factors that influenced translators in a particular time frame but will also show how these factors changed over time. Such a study should preferably situate the results in the historical context of the country to understand how changing socio-political situations may have influenced translators' decisions.

Of course, it can be pointed out that the study showed that only very restricted opportunity for translation to be a leading role player in the innovation or transmission of grammatical structures, which means that it might not be viable to pursue translation-induced language change in future studies. However, it should also be considered that the study made two important methodological contributions. The study is the first that used a parallel-comparable bidirectional corpus design with a time dimension, which means that it was to account for differences in two languages across time. Another contribution of this study is that it developed a step-wise methodology that distinguishes translation-induced change from other forms of contact-induced change. This made it possible to assess if contact phenomena are triggered by translation or if they are due to contact-effects in general (such as the role of English as a *lingua franca* or the dominant role of English in the media). While the methodology was used to distinguish contact-effects from translation-induced effects, it can be extended to other fields of enquiry too, which include studies of language change and language contact. In this regard, future studies can use the robust methodology proposed in this study to distinguish between the effects of internal and external motivations of language change.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to contribute to our understanding of translation-induced language change through very extensive and detailed work. Amongst other contributions, the study situating translation in existing theories of languages change, developed a methodology that distinguishes between translation-induced change from other forms of contact-induced change, and investigated the role of translation in two linguistic features in South African English and Afrikaans that show signs of contact-induced change. It is hoped that this extensive work will provide a platform for researchers to investigate further areas of study in translation-induced change.

ADDENDUM 1: DISTRIBUTION OF MODALS IN ENGLISH ORIGINAL WRITING

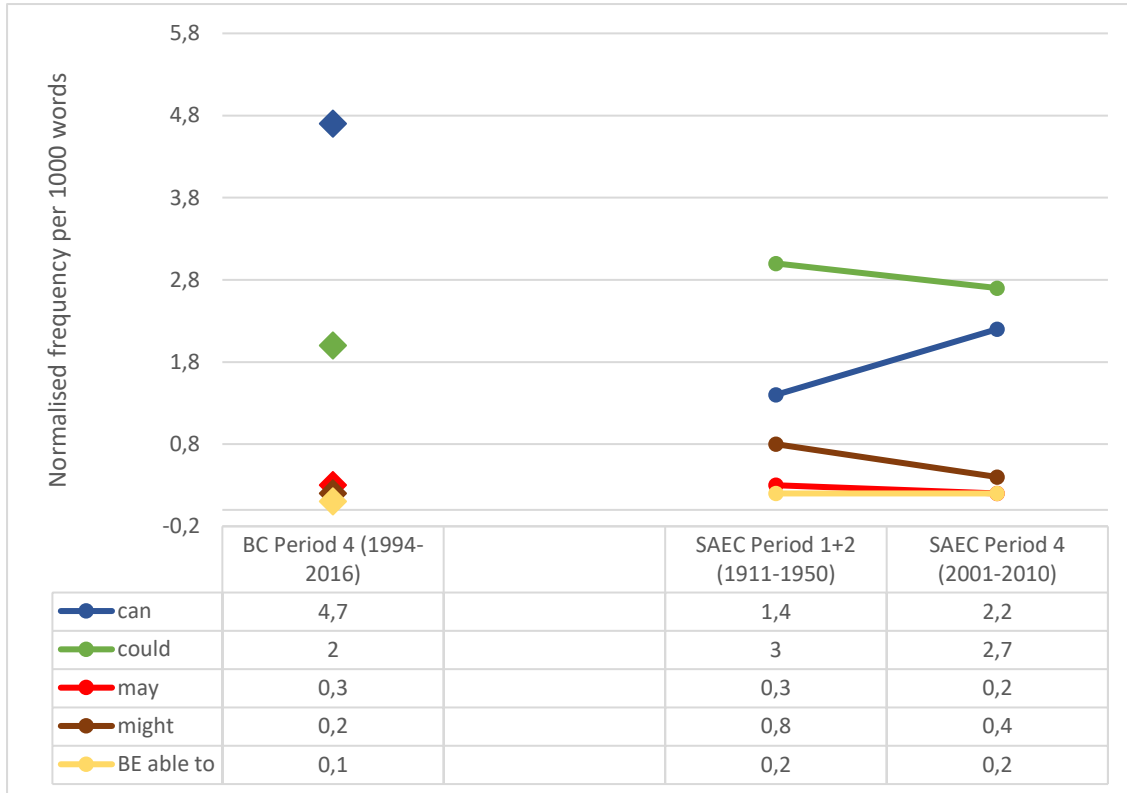


Figure A.1: English modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the South African English corpus

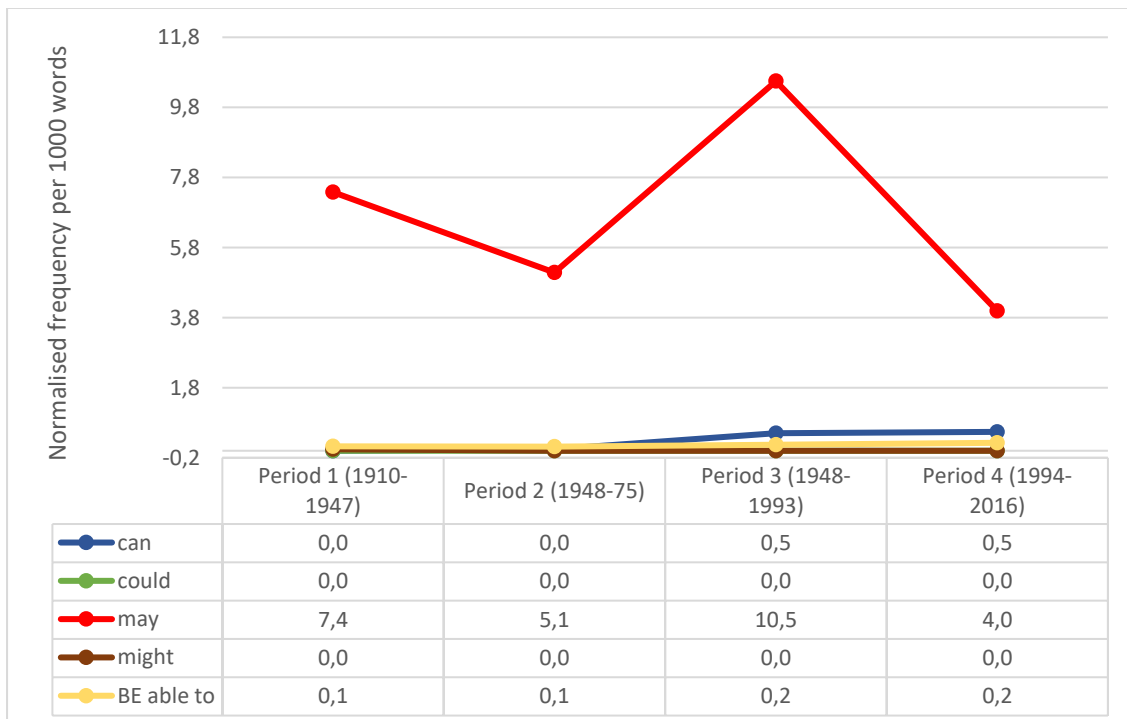


Figure A.2: English modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the instructional writing register of the bidirectional corpus

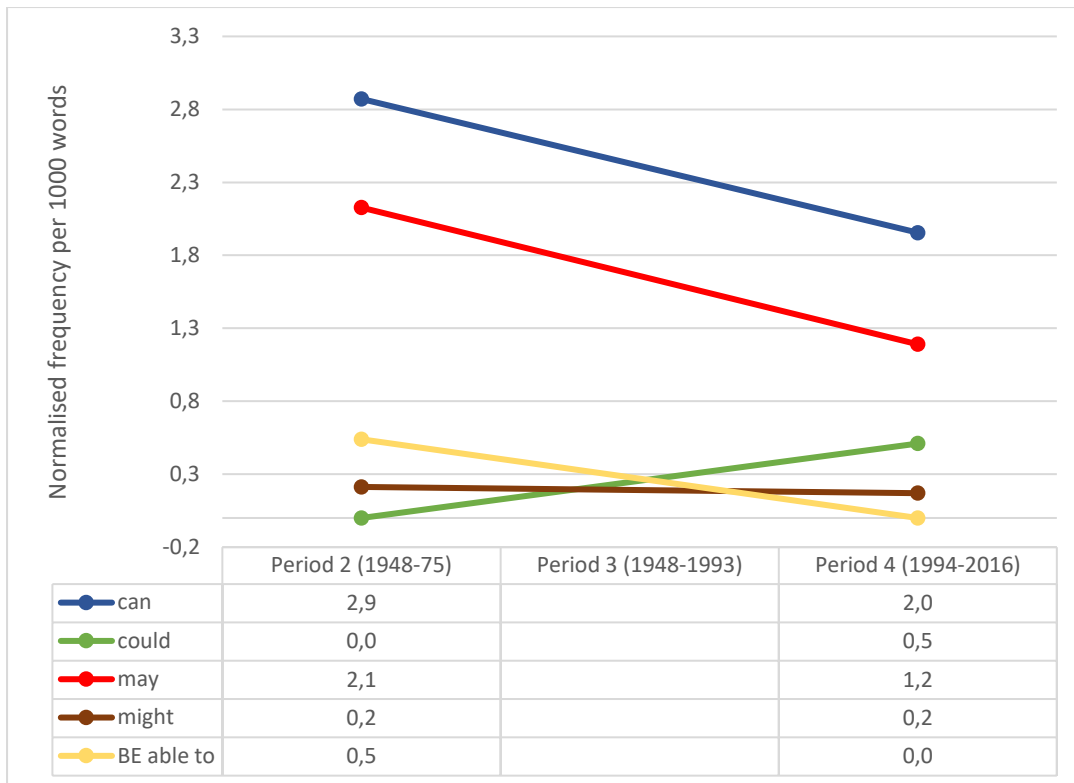


Figure A.3: English modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the persuasive writing register of the bidirectional corpus

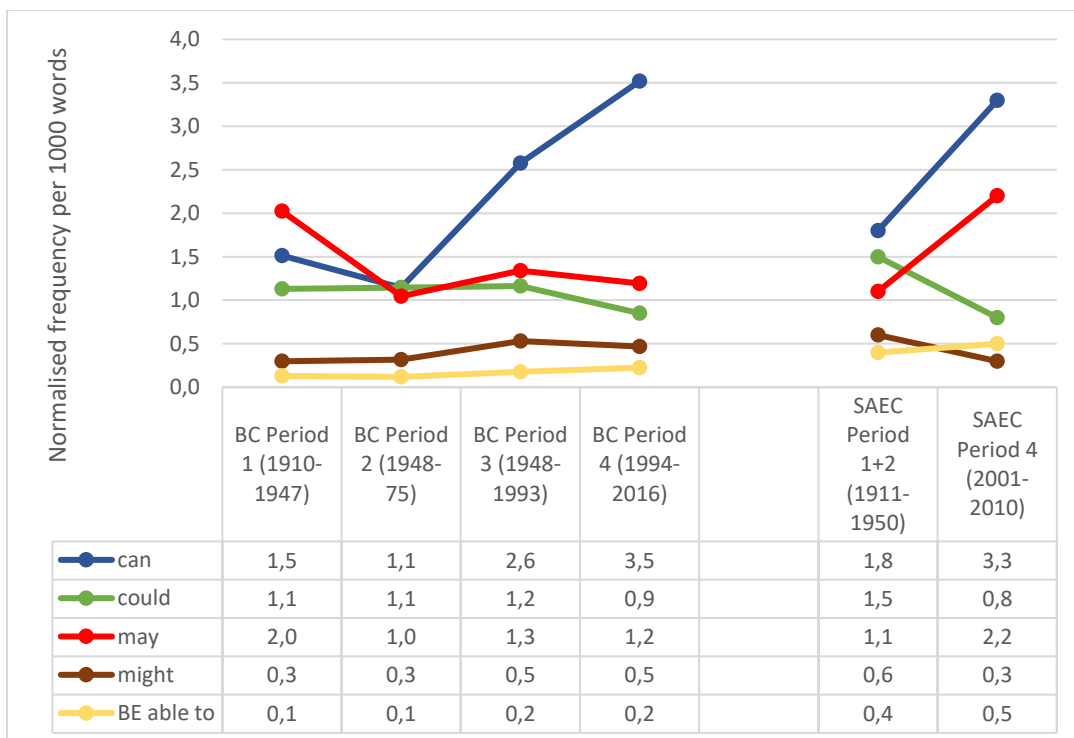


Figure A.4: English modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the popular writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the South African English corpus

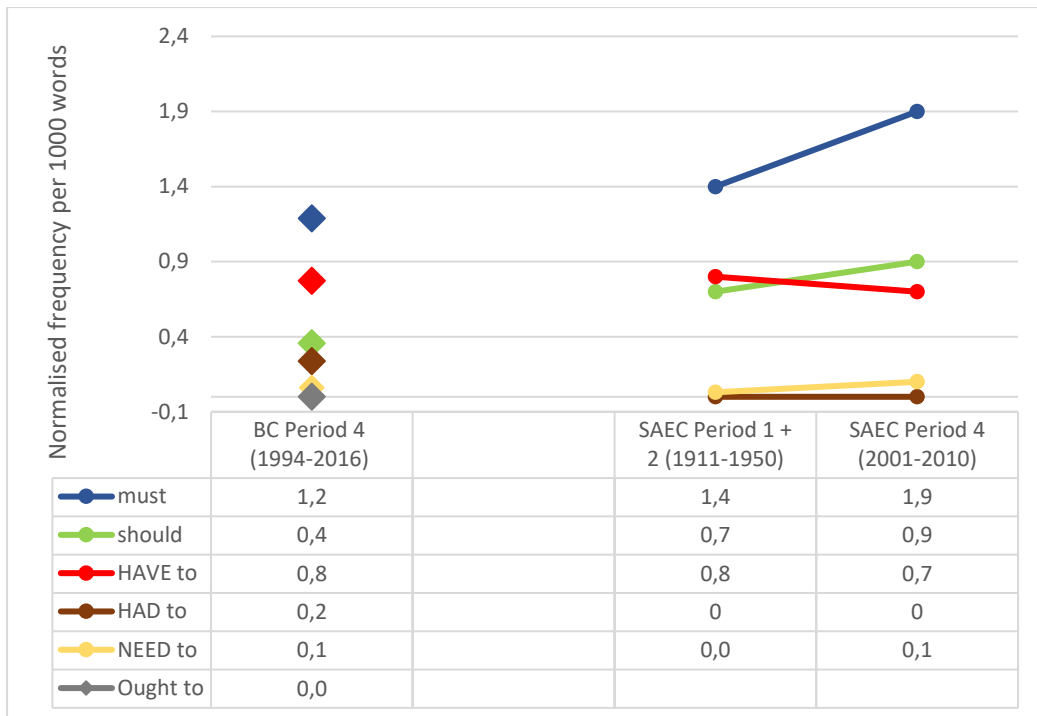


Figure A.5: English modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the South African English corpus

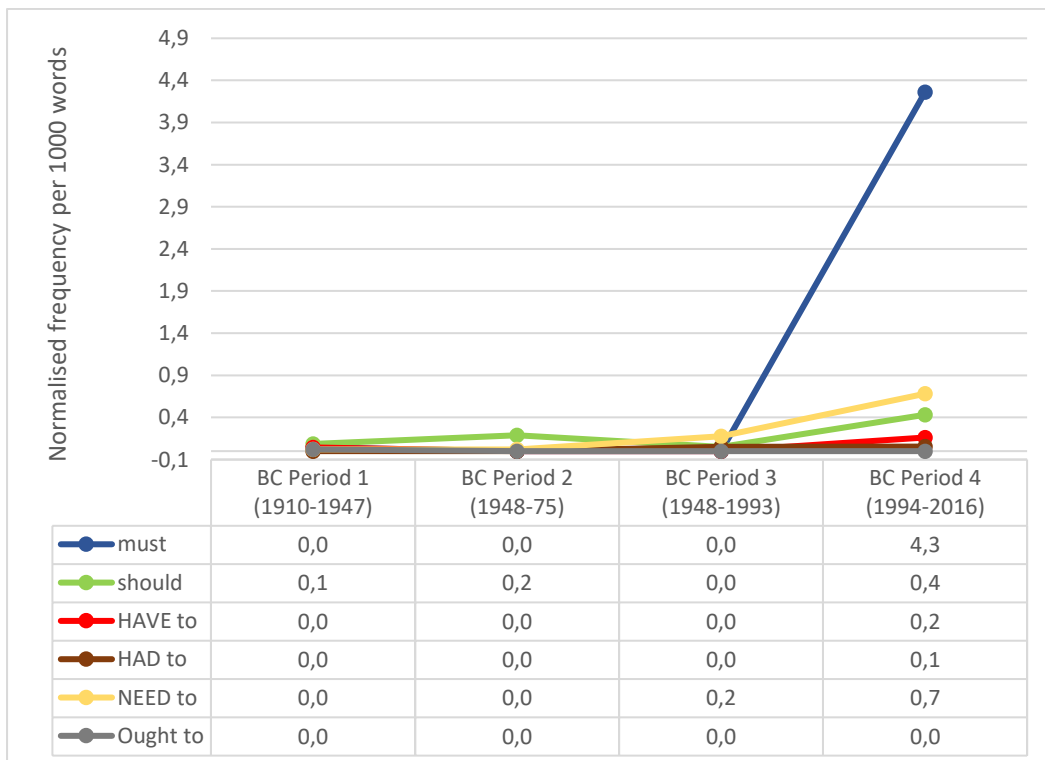


Figure A.6: English modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the instructional writing register of the bidirectional corpus

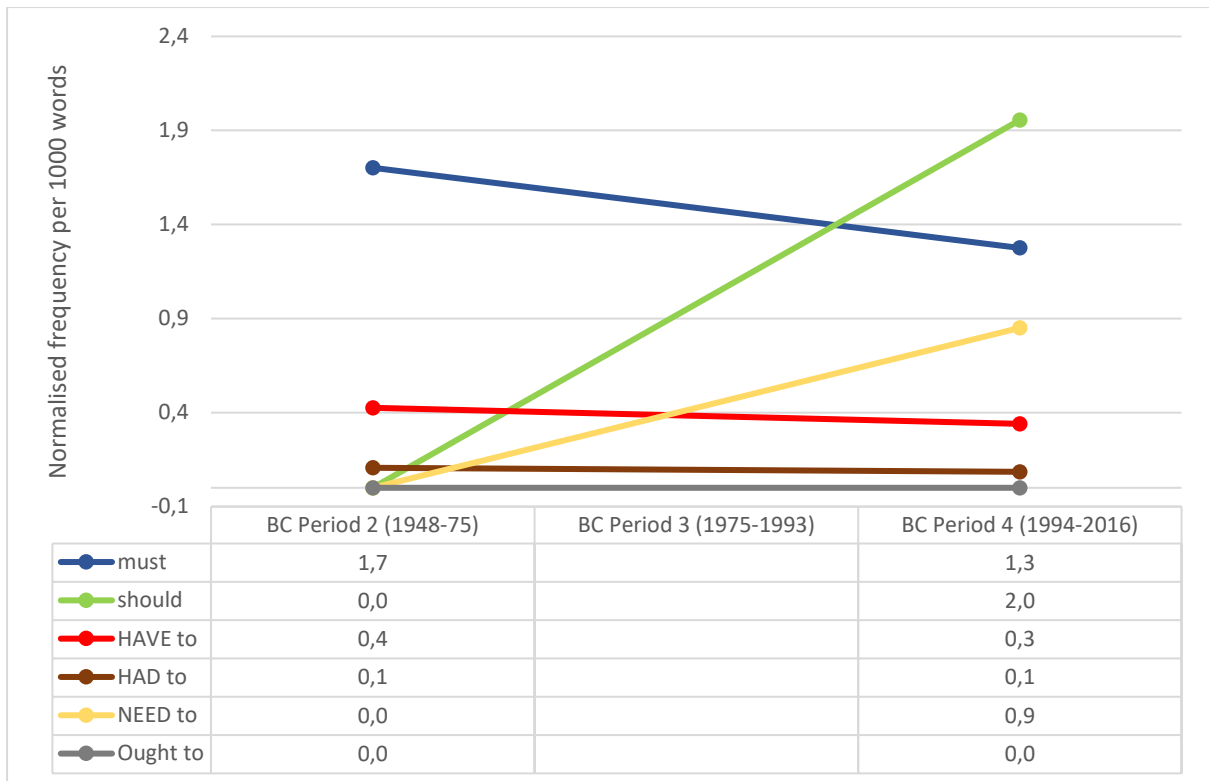


Figure A.7: English modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the persuasive writing register of the bidirectional corpus

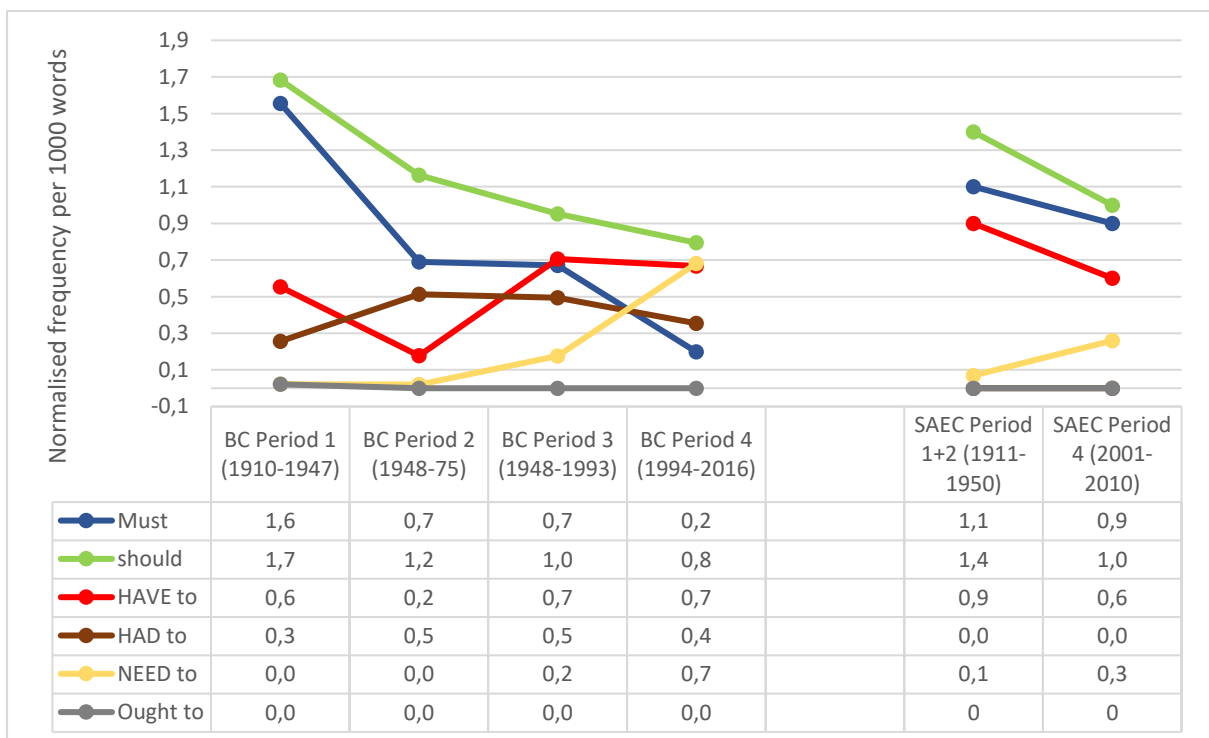


Figure A.8: English modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the popular writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the South African English corpus

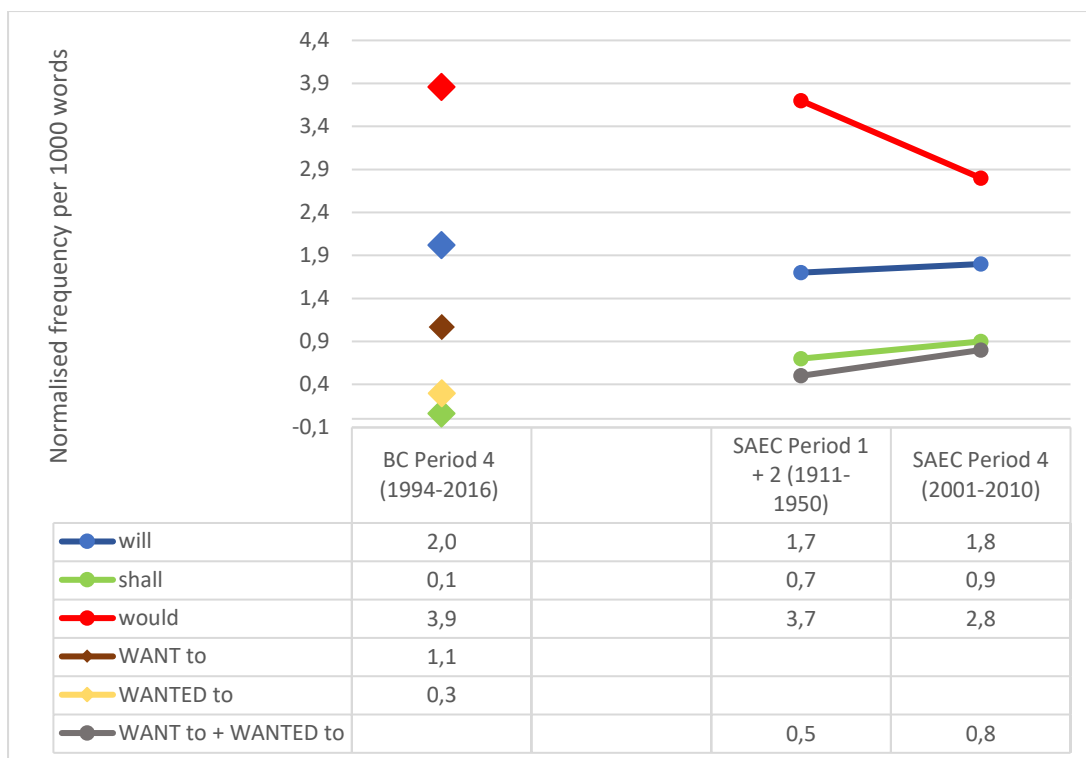


Figure A.9: English modals of the volition prediction cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the South African English corpus

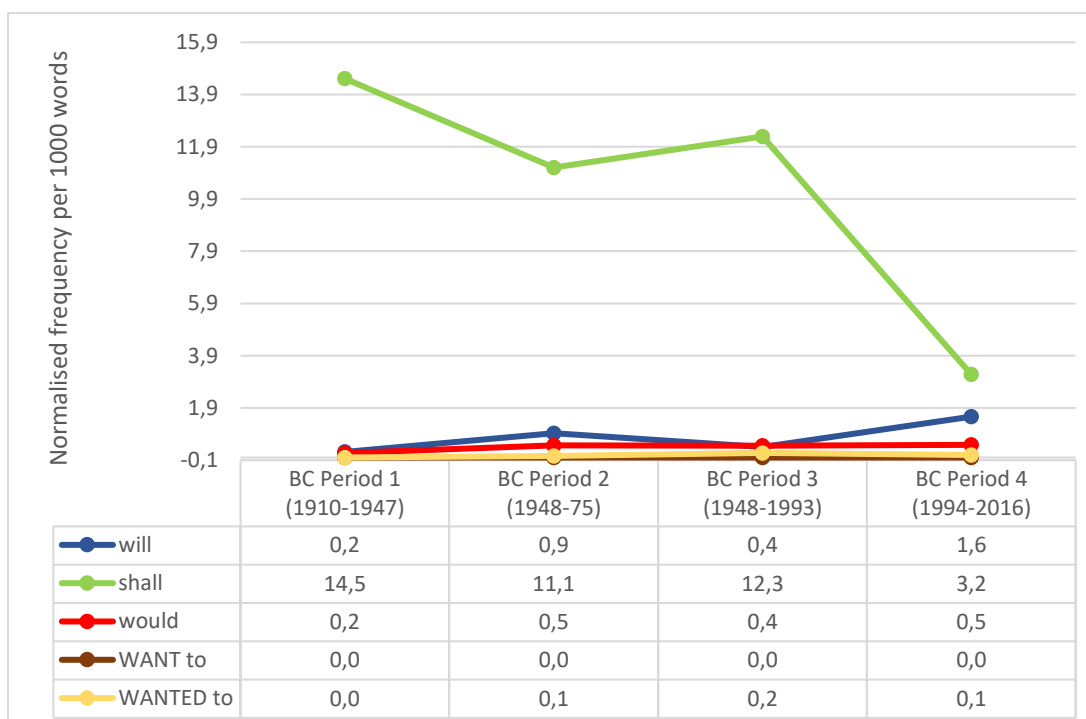


Figure A.10: English modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the instructional writing register of the bidirectional corpus

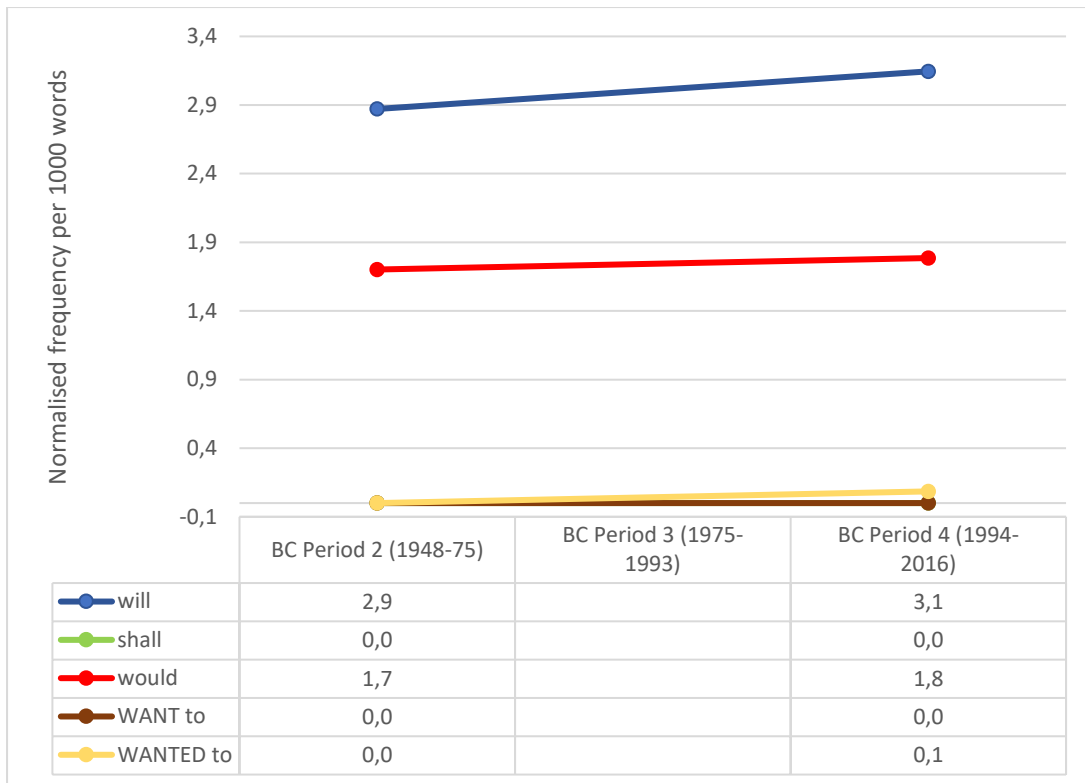


Figure A.11: English modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the persuasive writing register of the bidirectional corpus

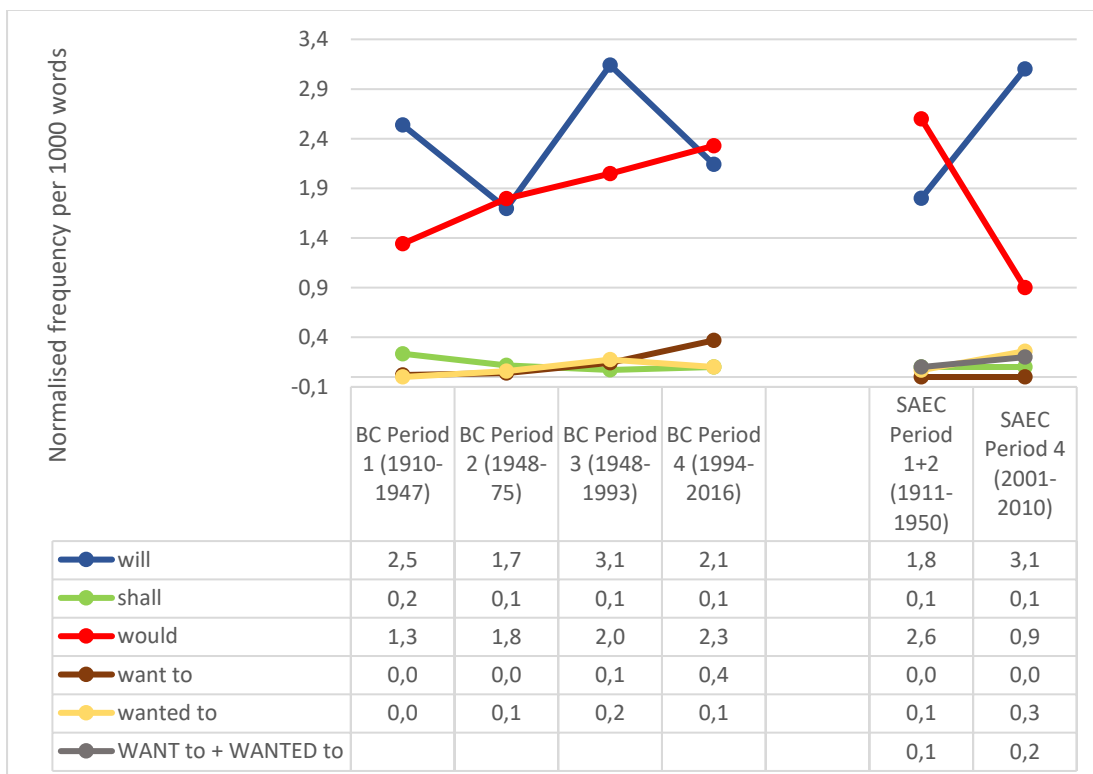


Figure A.12: English modals of the volition prediction cluster in the popular writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the South African English corpus

ADDENDUM 2: DISTRIBUTION OF MODALS IN AFRIKAANS ORIGINAL WRITING

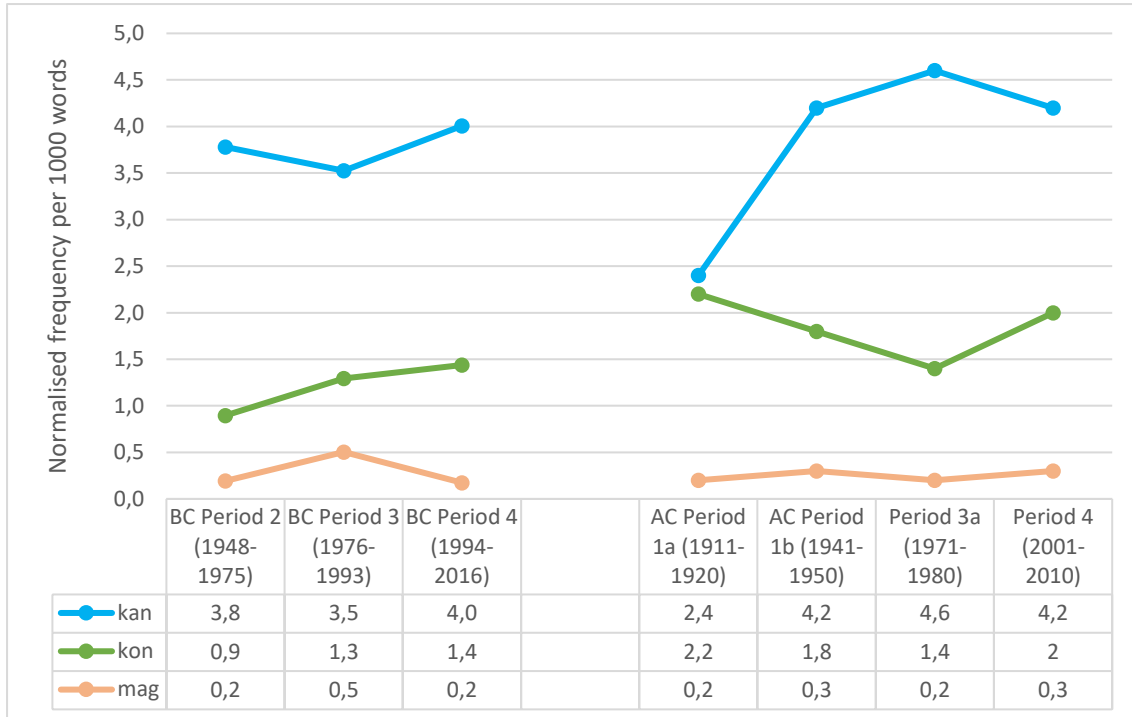


Figure A.13: Afrikaans modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the Afrikaans corpus

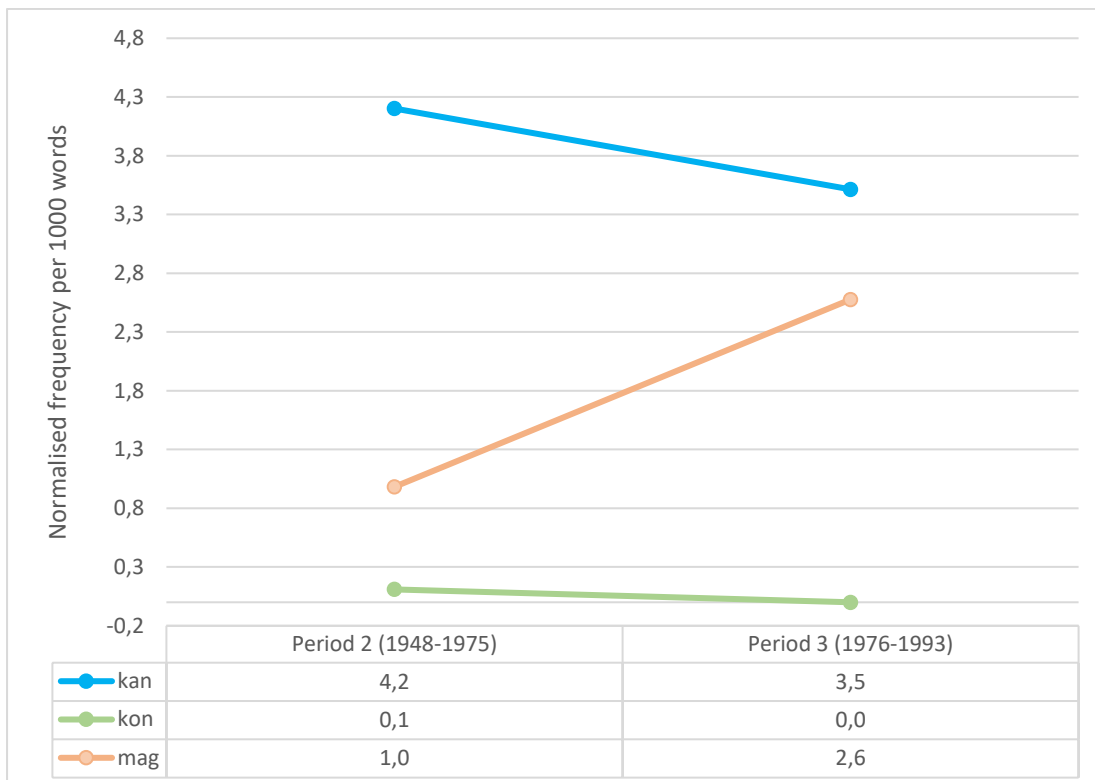


Figure A.14: Afrikaans modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the instructinal writing register of the bidirectional corpus

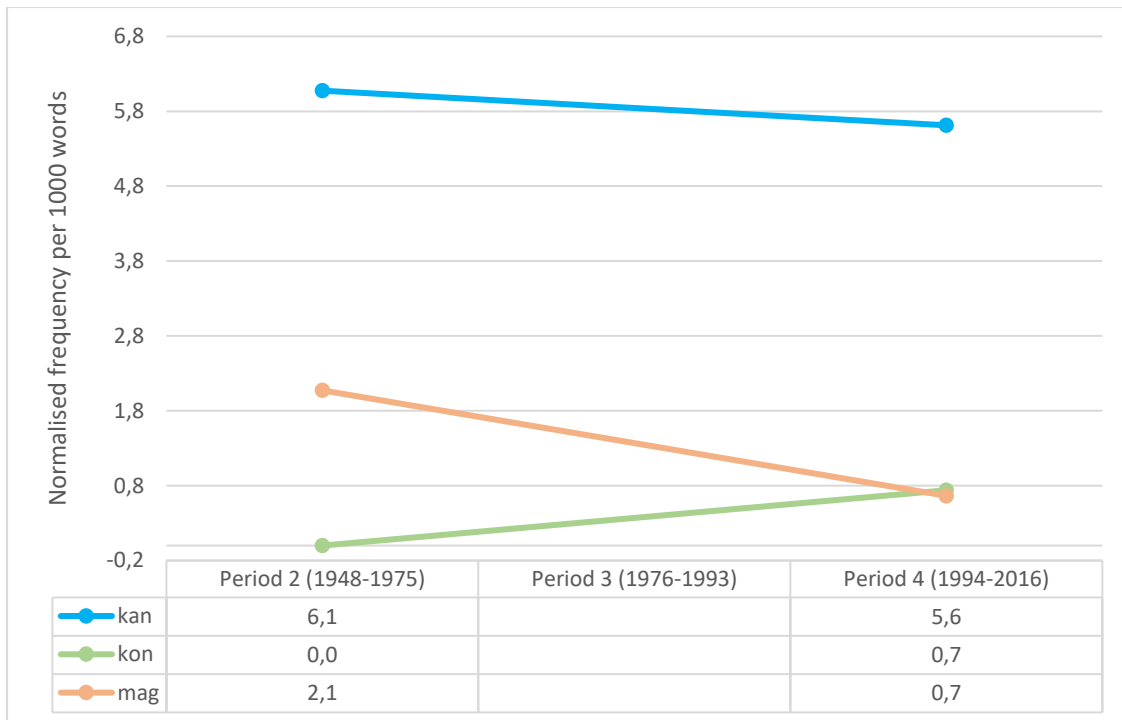


Figure A.15: Afrikaans modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the persuasive writing register of the bidirectional corpus

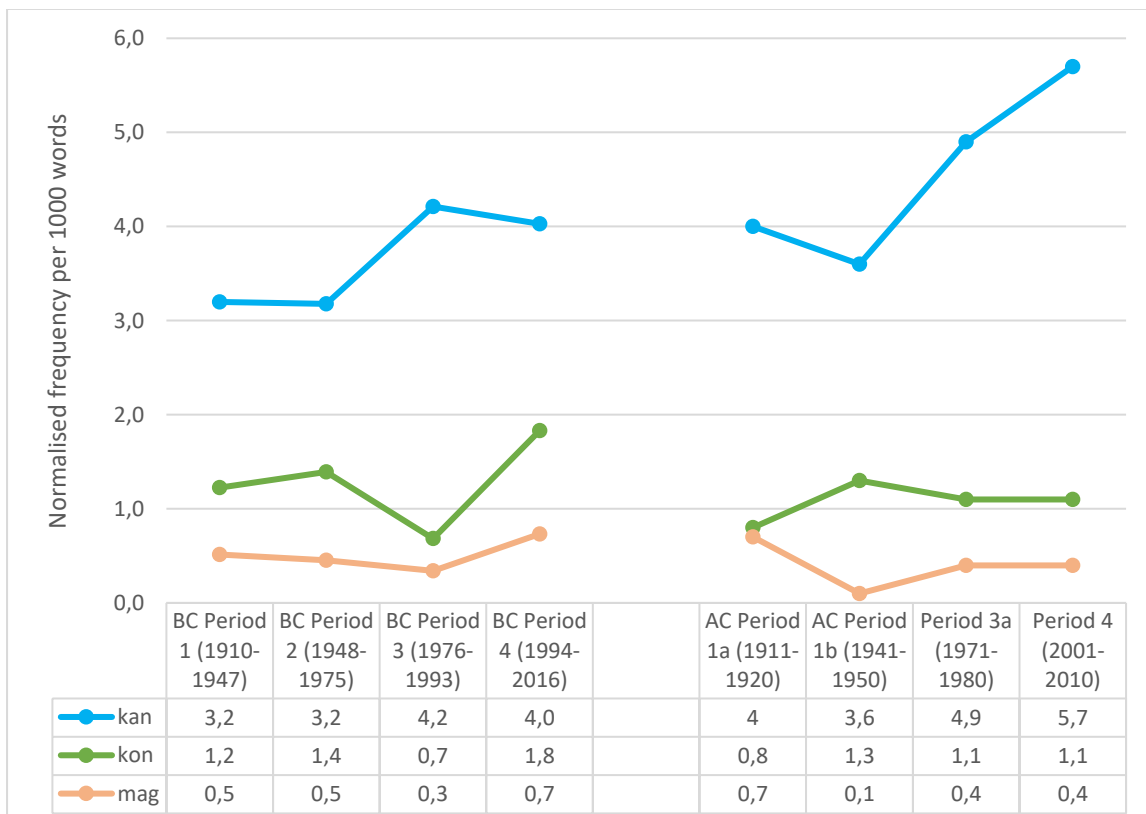


Figure A.16: Afrikaans modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the popular writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the Afrikaans corpus

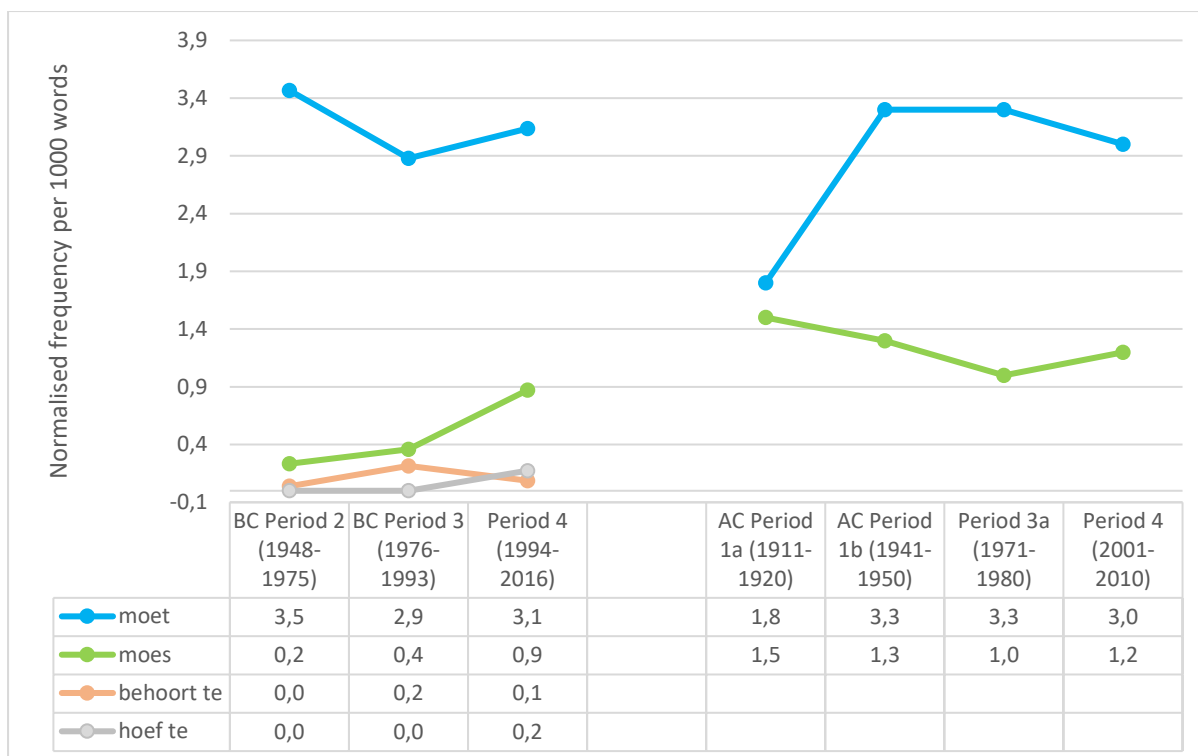


Figure A.17: Afrikaans modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the Afrikaans corpus

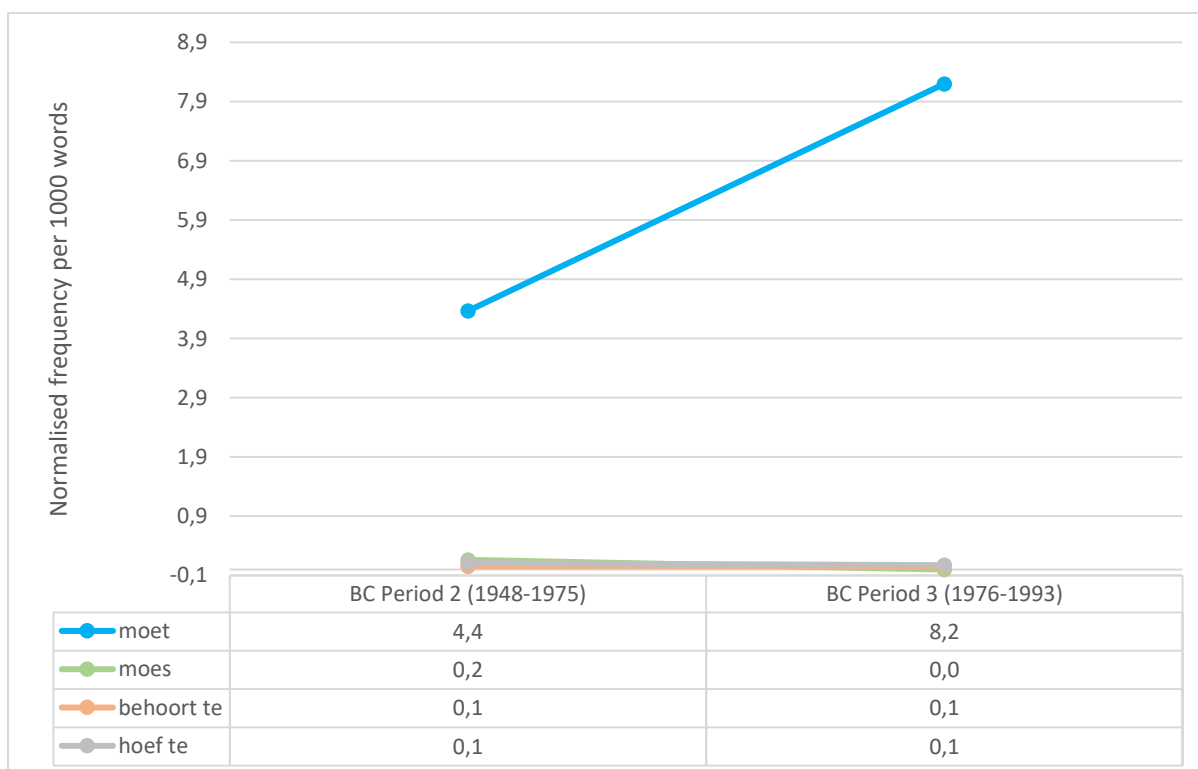


Figure A.18: Afrikaans modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the instructional writing register of the bidirectional corpus

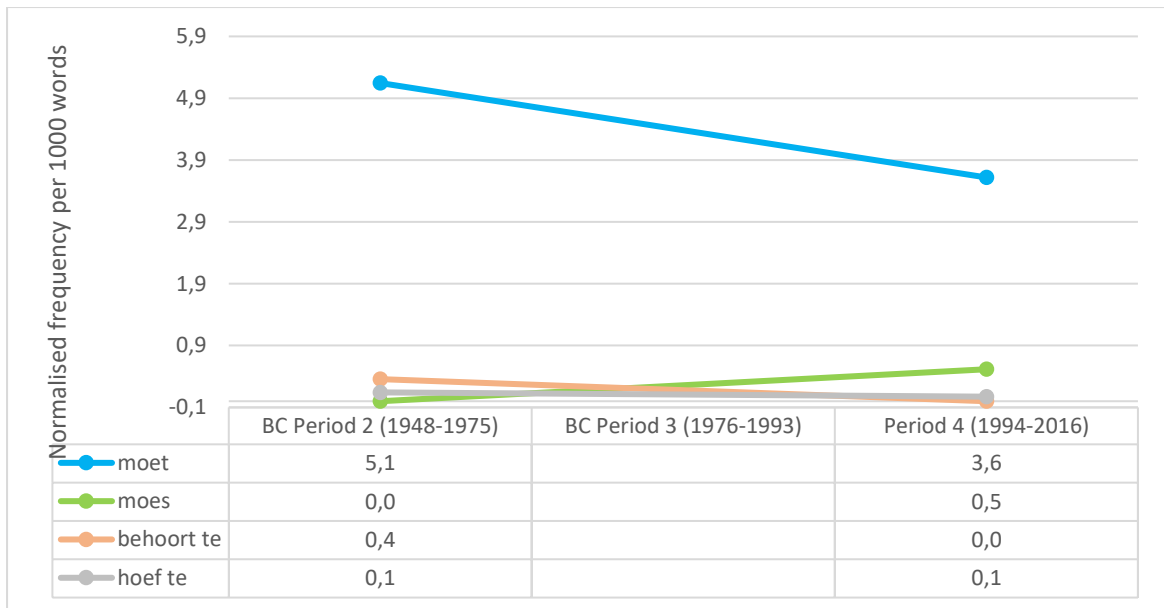


Figure A.19: Afrikaans modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the persuasive writing register of the bidirectional corpus

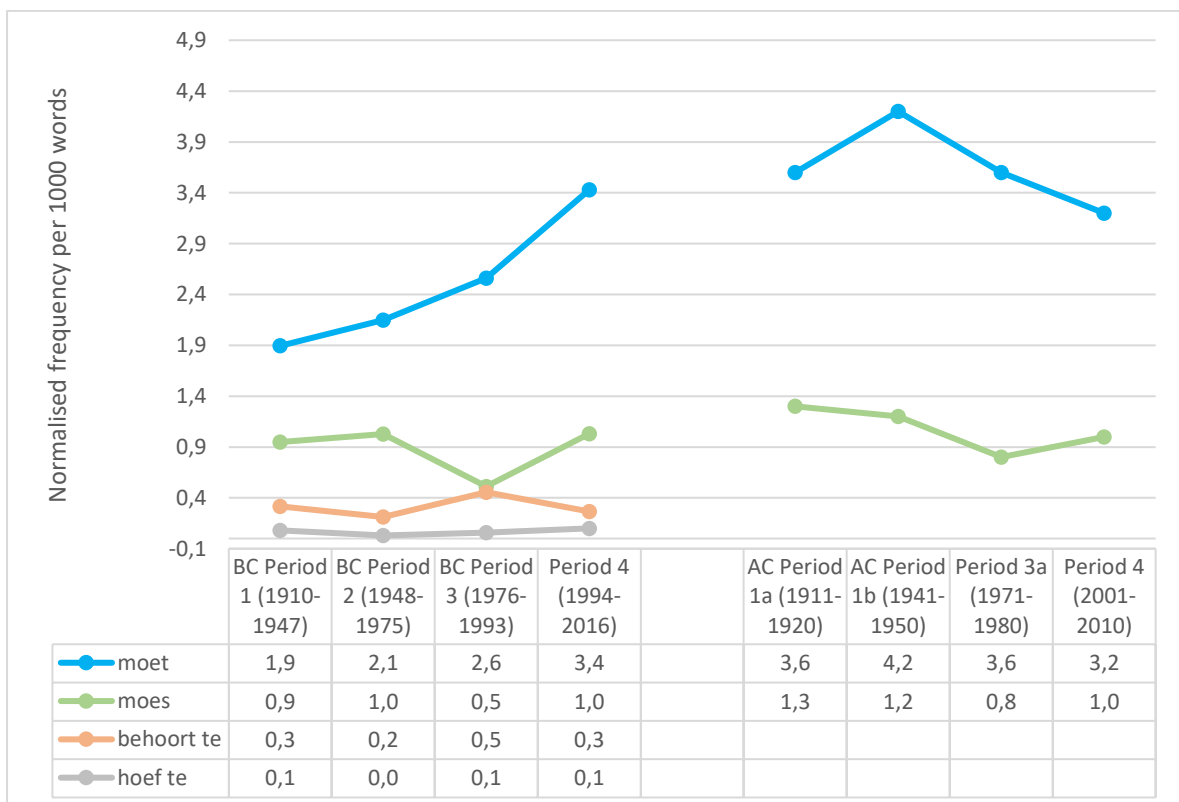


Figure A.20: Afrikaans modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the popular writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the Afrikaans corpus

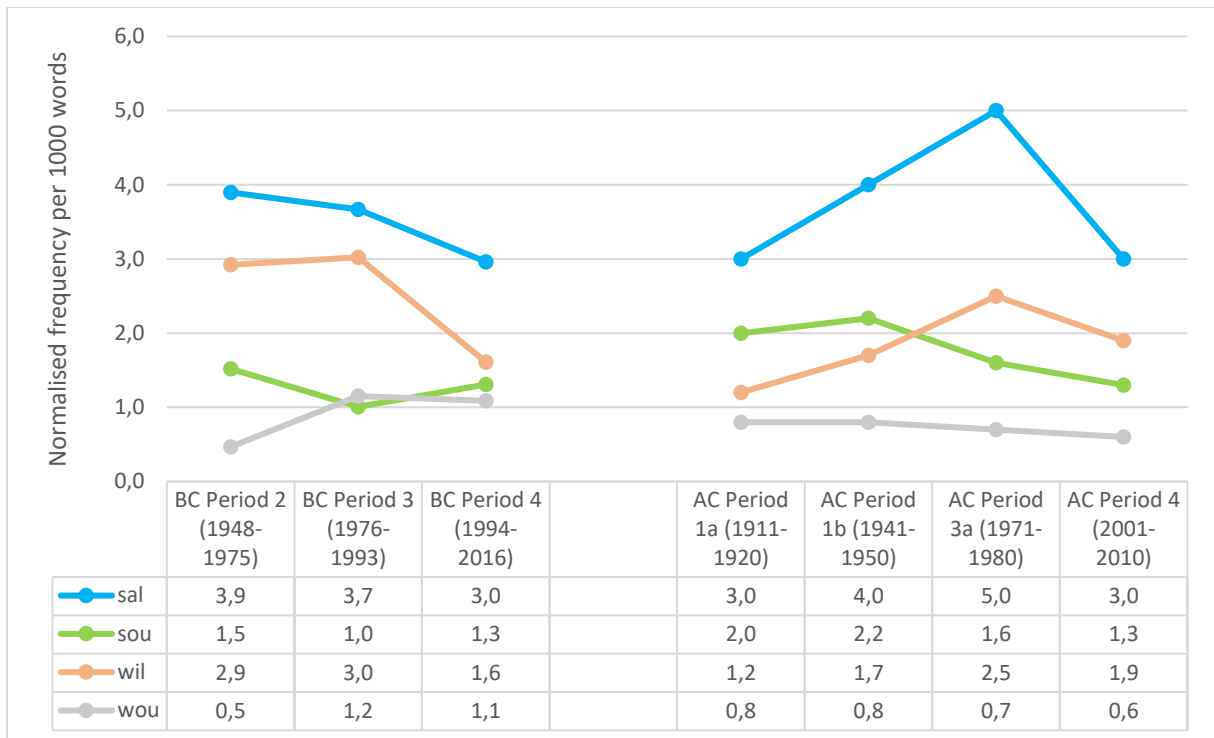


Figure A.21: Afrikaans modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the Afrikaans corpus

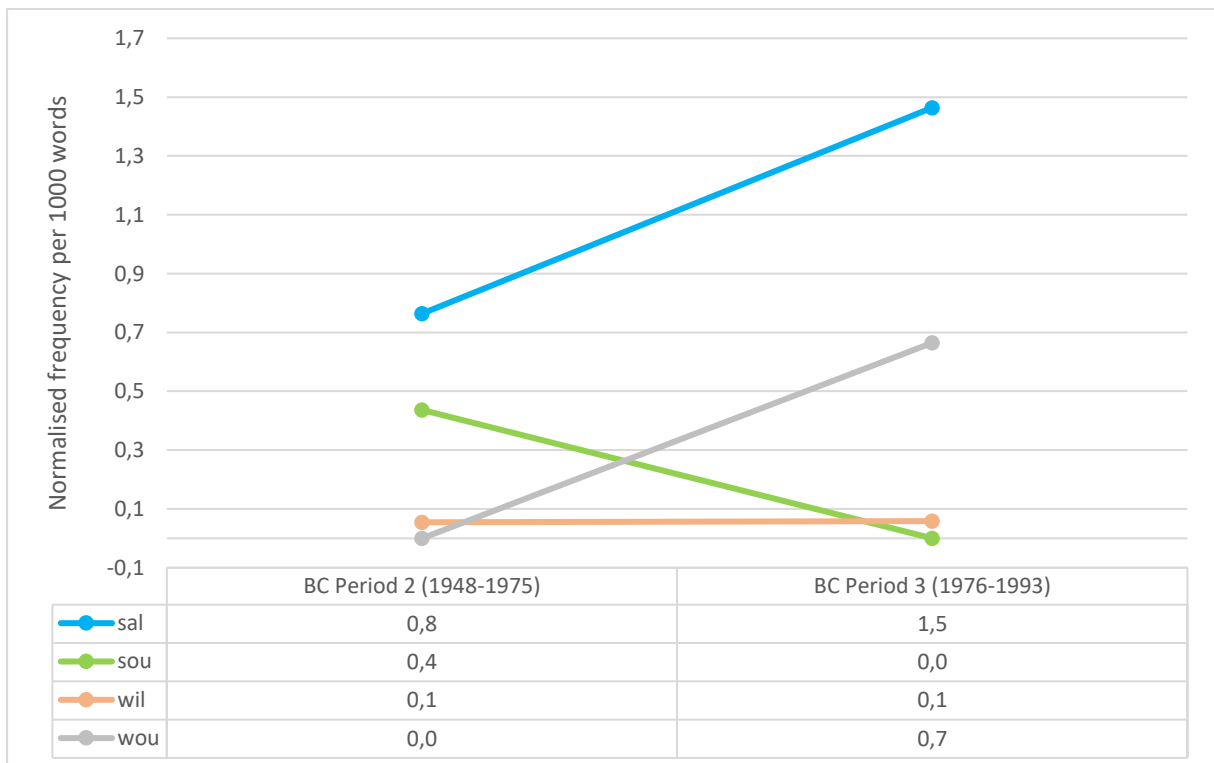


Figure A.22: Afrikaans modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the instructional writing register of the bidirectional corpus

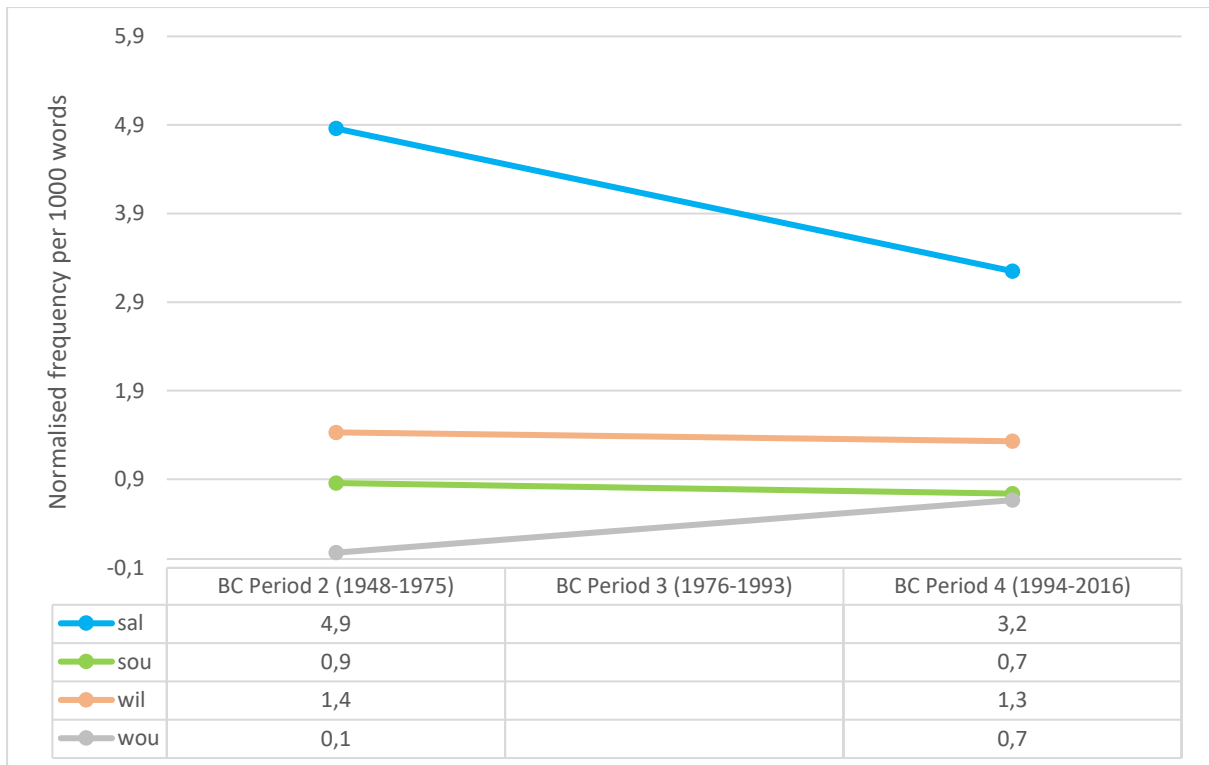


Figure A.23: Afrikaans modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the persuasive writing register of the bidirectional corpus

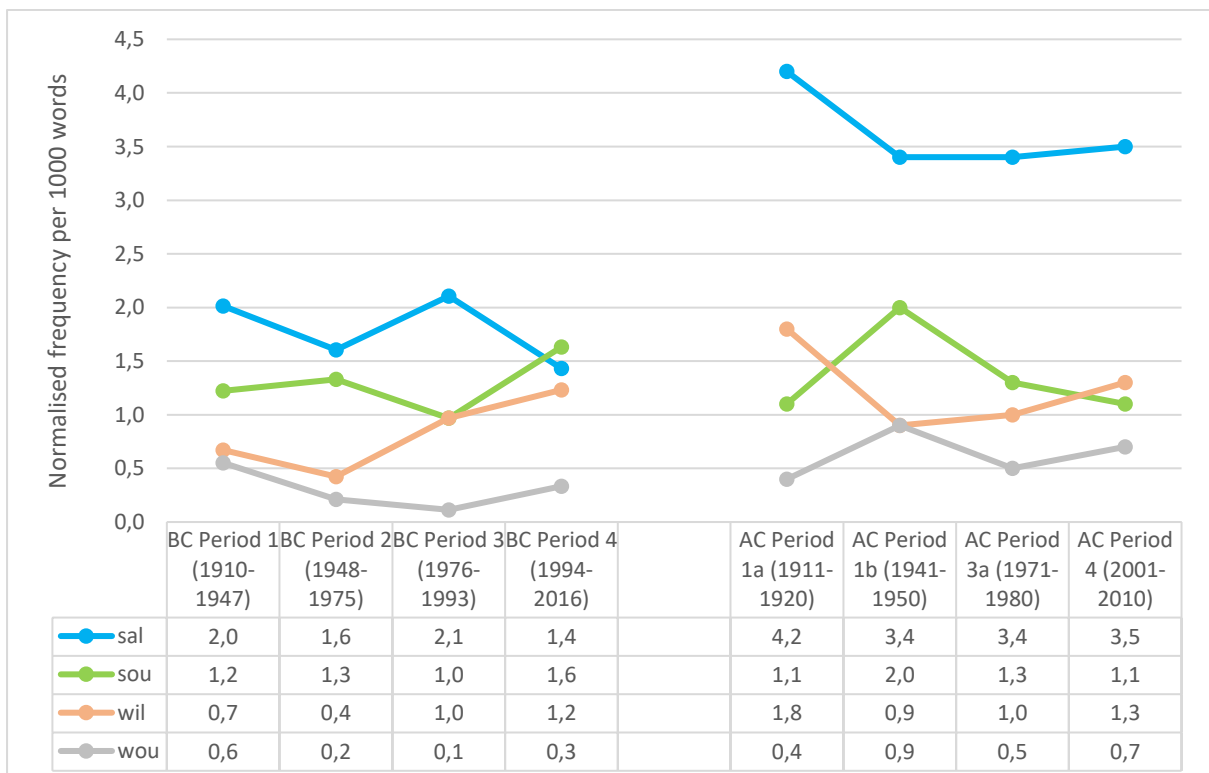


Figure A.23: Afrikaans modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the popular writing register of the bidirectional corpus and the Afrikaans corpus

ADDENDUM 3: CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS ORIGINALS

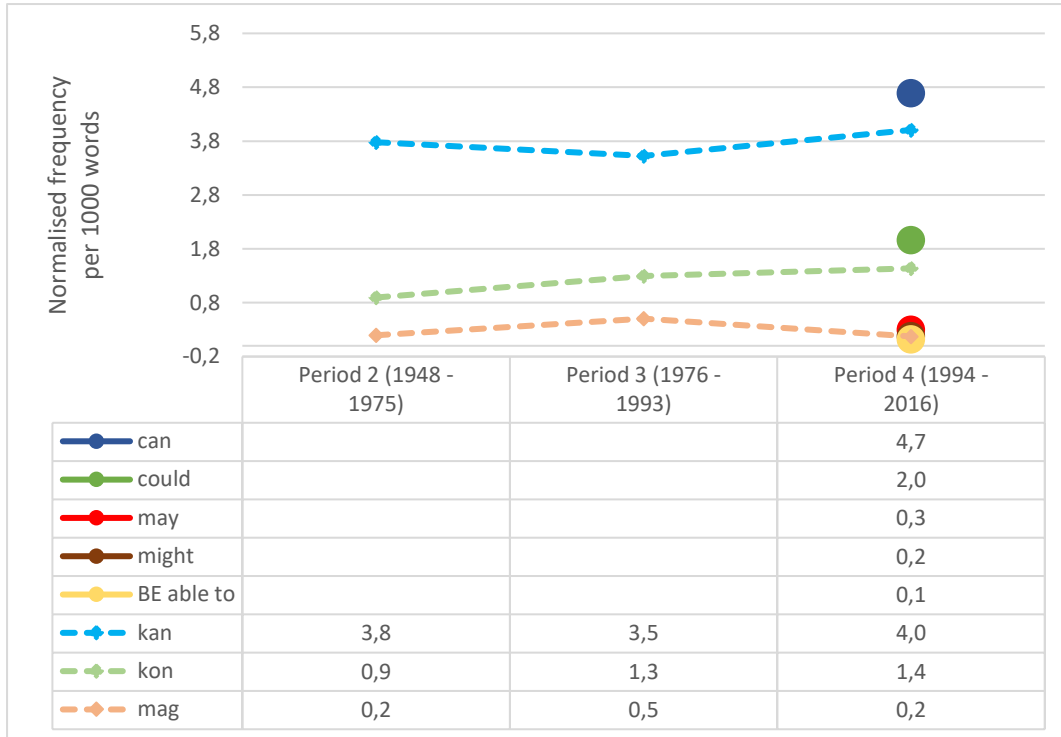


Figure A.24: English and Afrikaans modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus

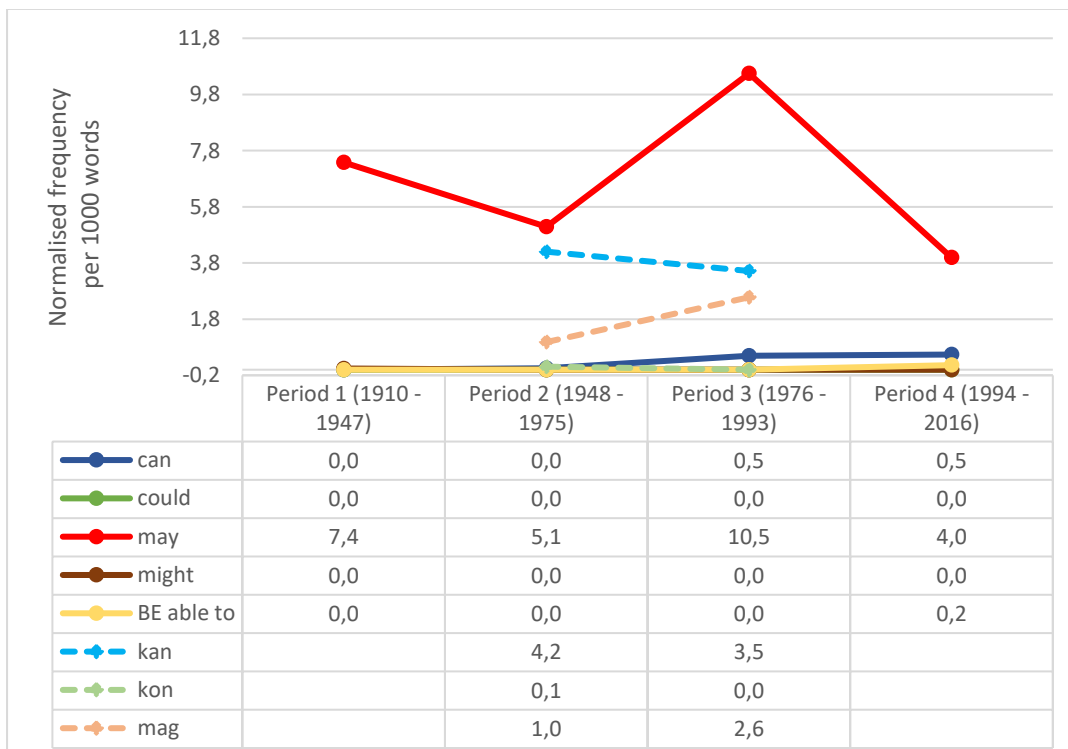


Figure A.25: English and Afrikaans modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the instructional writing register of the bidirectional corpus

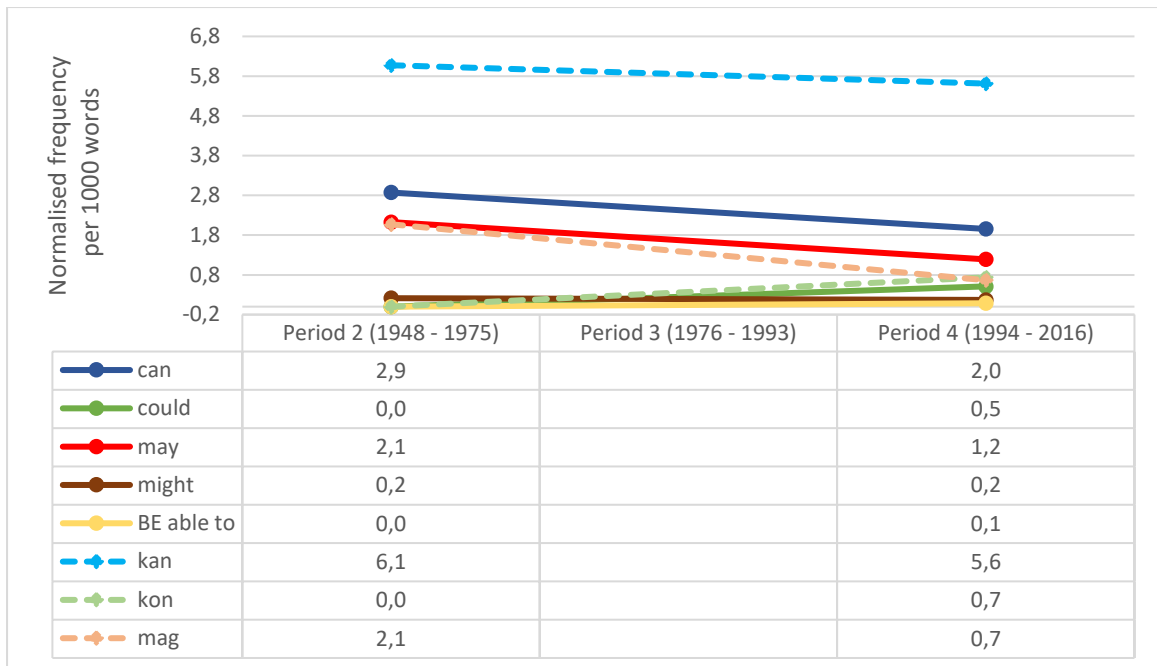


Figure A.26: English and Afrikaans modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the persuasive writing register of the bidirectional corpus

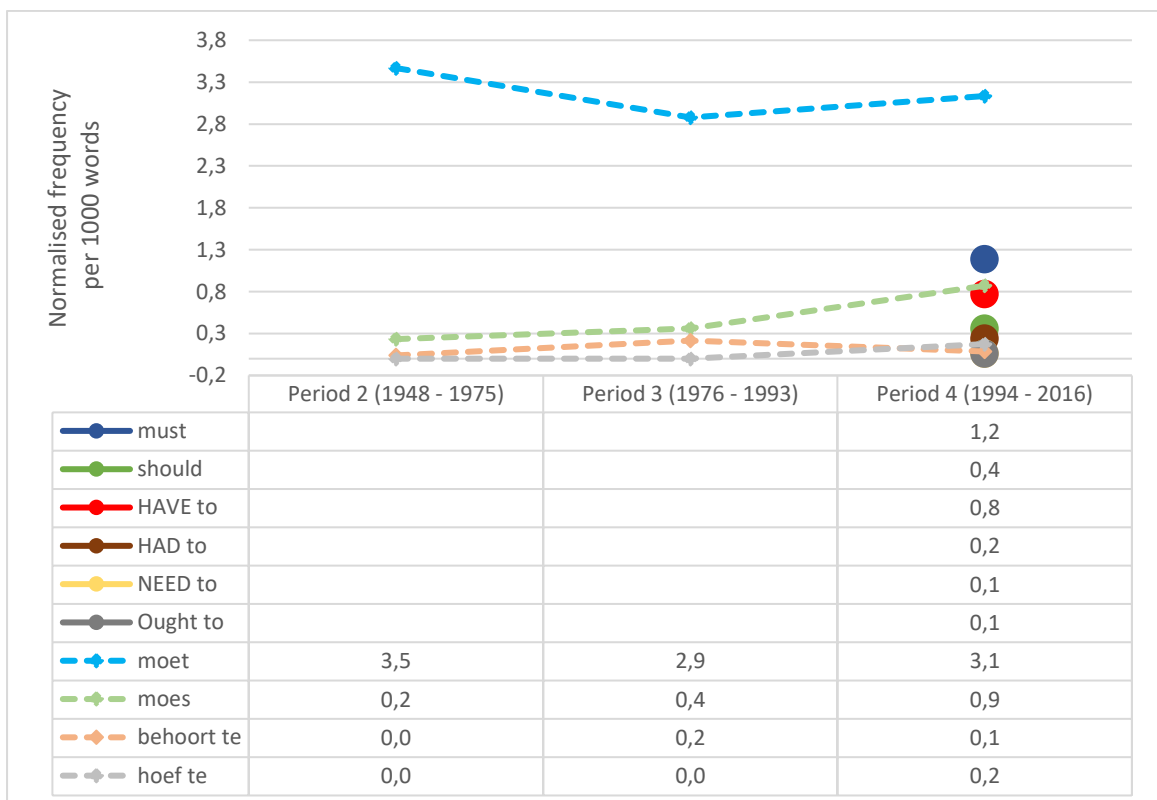


Figure A.27: English and Afrikaans modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus

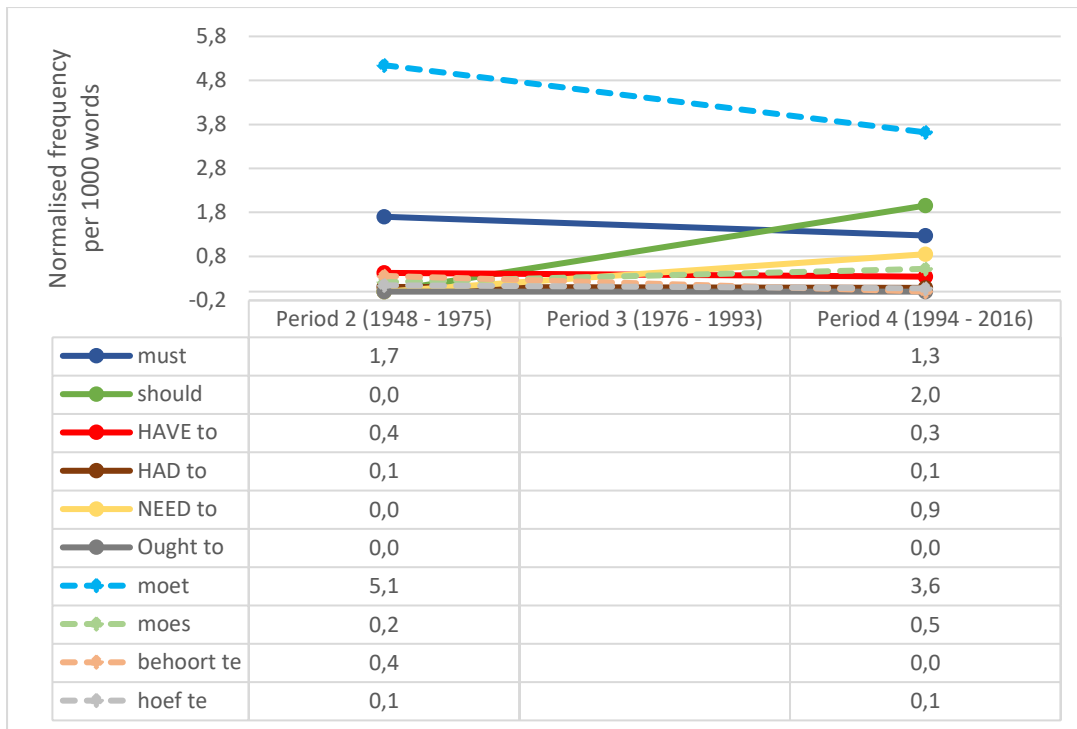


Figure A.28: English and Afrikaans modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the persuasive writing register of the bidirectional corpus

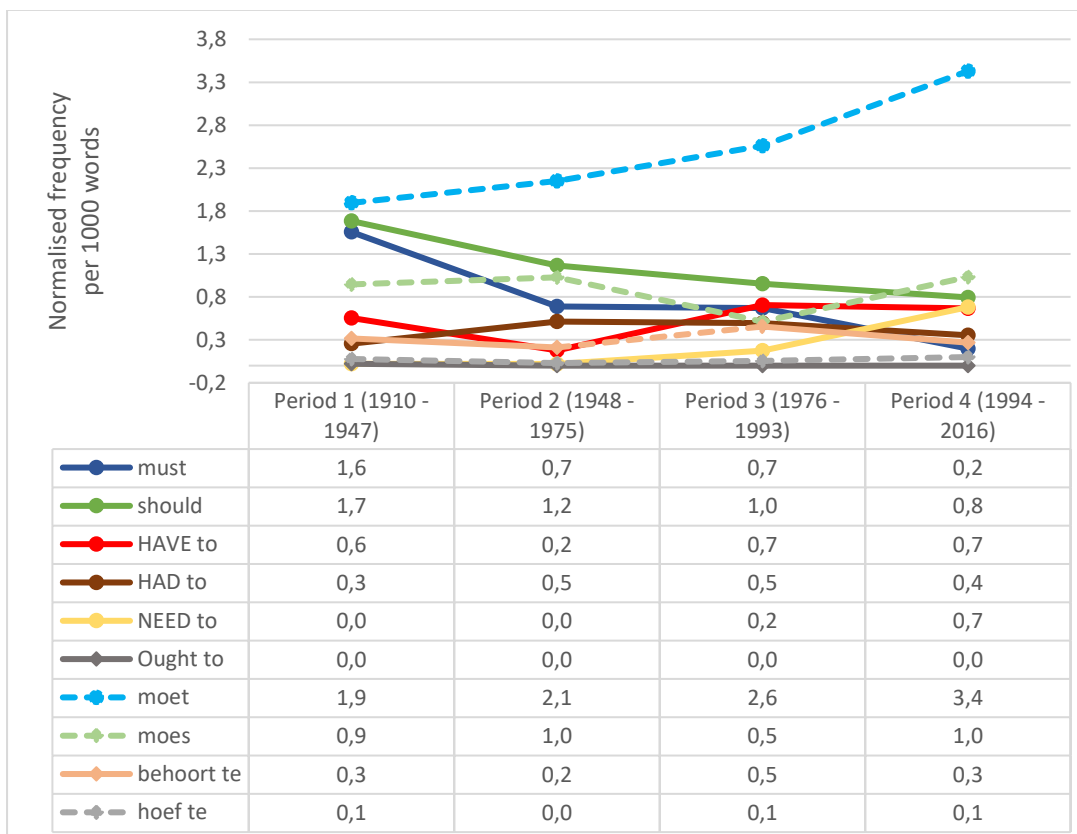


Figure A.29: English and Afrikaans modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the popular writing register of the bidirectional corpus

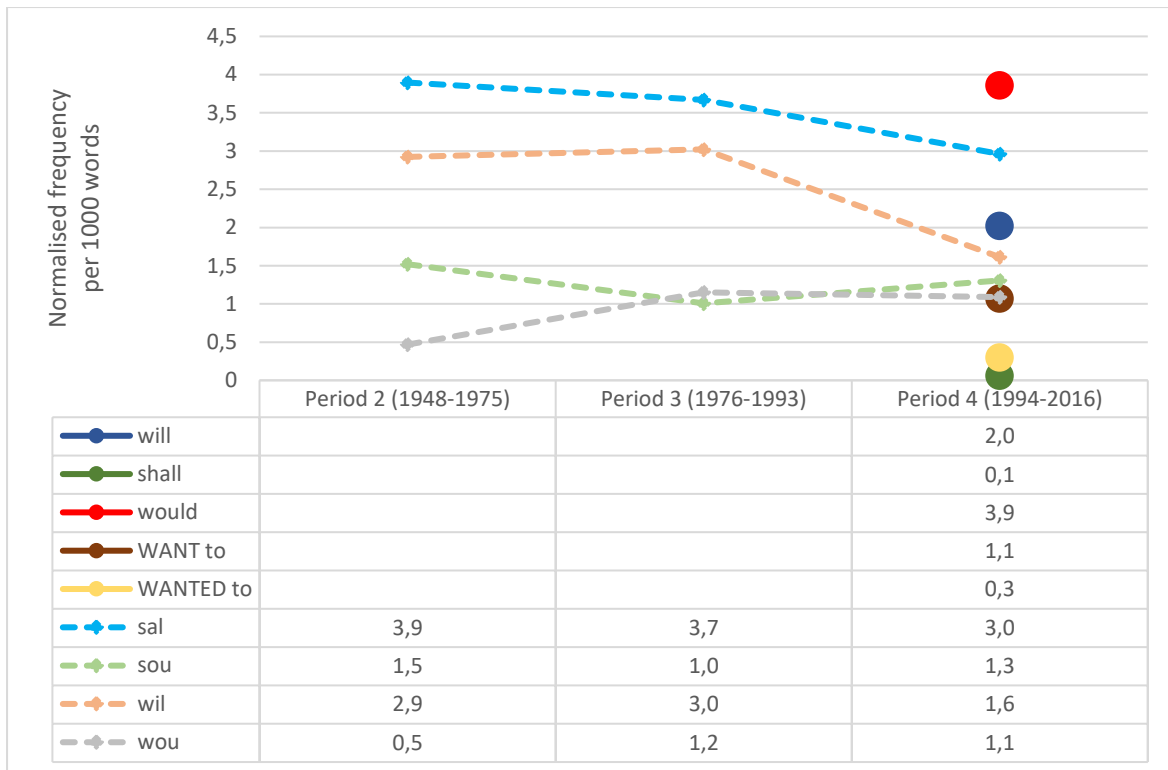


Figure A.30: English and Afrikaans modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the creative writing register of the bidirectional corpus

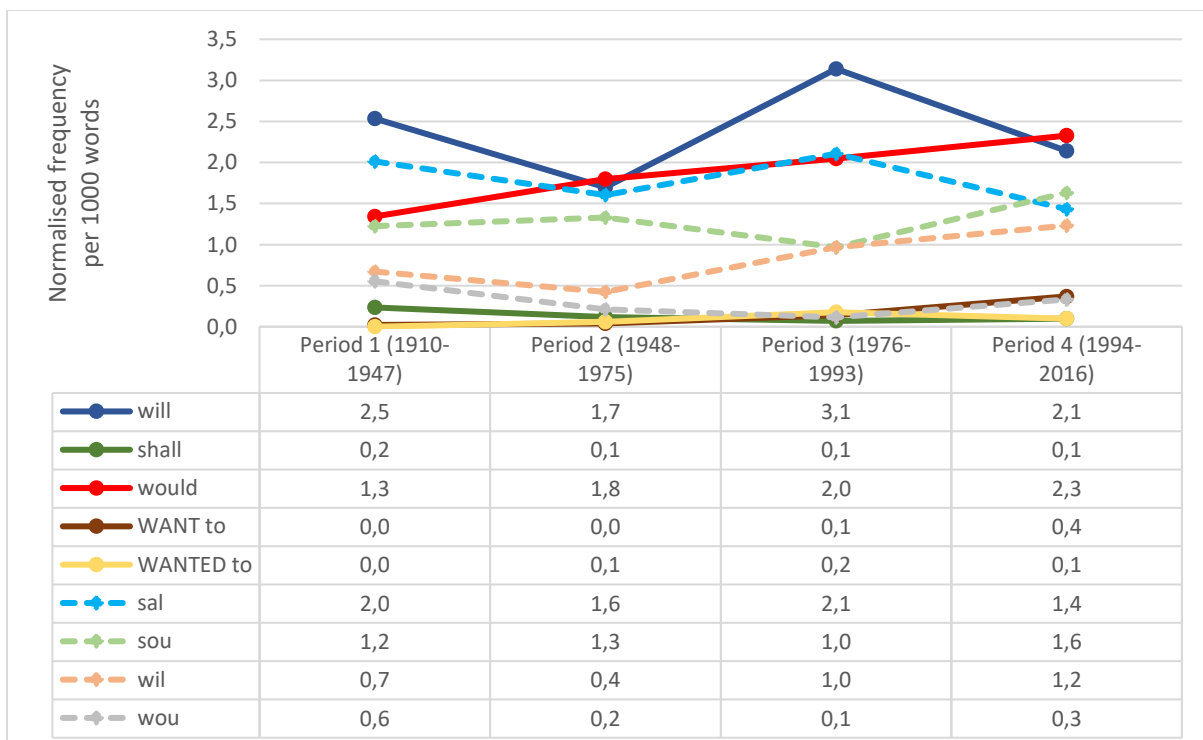


Figure A.31: English and Afrikaans modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the popular writing register of the bidirectional corpus

ADDENDUM 4: PROPORTIONAL FREQUENCIES IN AFRIKAANS SOURCE TEXTS AND AFRIKAANS TRANSLATIONS

Table A.1: Proportional frequencies of permission/ability/possibility cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of creative writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|------------|-----|------------|-----|------|-----|
| | | <i>kan</i> | | <i>kon</i> | | <i>mag</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>can</i> | 2 | 41 | 43,6% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 7 | 41% |
| <i>could</i> | 2 | 26 | 33,3% | 17 | 77% | 0 | 0% | 7 | 41% |
| <i>may</i> | 2 | 2 | 2,6% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | 1 | 6% |
| <i>might</i> | 2 | 5 | 5,3% | 2 | 9% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 12% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 2 | 4 | 4,3% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 16 | 17,0% | 3 | 14% | 1 | 50% | - | - |
| <i>can</i> | 3 | 24 | 51,1% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 45% |
| <i>could</i> | 3 | 12 | 30,8% | 14 | 82% | 1 | 14% | 5 | 45% |
| <i>may</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 9% |
| <i>might</i> | 3 | 2 | 4,3% | 1 | 6% | 1 | 14% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 3 | 1 | 2,1% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 8 | 17,0% | 2 | 12% | 5 | 71% | - | - |
| <i>can</i> | 4 | 34 | 39,5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 13 | 43% |
| <i>could</i> | 4 | 34 | 45,9% | 27 | 84% | 2 | 50% | 13 | 43% |
| <i>may</i> | 4 | 1 | 1,4% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 25% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>might</i> | 4 | 1 | 1,2% | 2 | 6% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 13% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 4 | 4 | 4,7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 12 | 14,0% | 3 | 9% | 1 | 25% | - | - |

Table A.2: Proportional frequencies of permission/ability/possibility cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of instructional writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|
| | | kan | | kon | | mag | | Zero | |
| <i>can</i> | 2 | 2 | 2,6% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>could</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>may</i> | 2 | 66 | 86,8% | 0 | 0% | 8 | 80% | 17 | 100% |
| <i>might</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 2 | 1 | 1,3% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 10% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | - | - |
| <i>can</i> | 3 | 3 | 5,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 9% |
| <i>could</i> | 3 | 1 | 1,7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>may</i> | 3 | 48 | 80,0% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 63% | 10 | 91% |
| <i>might</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 8 | 13,3% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 38% | - | - |

Table A.3: Proportional frequencies of permission/ability/possibility cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of persuasive writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| | | kan | | kon | | mag | | Zero | |
| <i>can</i> | 2 | 50 | 59,5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 42% |
| <i>could</i> | 2 | 9 | 10,7% | 17 | 89% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>may</i> | 2 | 3 | 3,6% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 6% | 7 | 58% |
| <i>might</i> | 2 | 2 | 2,4% | 2 | 11% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 2 | 1 | 1,2% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 19 | 22,6% | 0 | 0% | 17 | 94% | - | - |
| <i>can</i> | 4 | 40 | 55,6% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 20% |
| <i>could</i> | 4 | 9 | 12,5% | 27 | 82% | 2 | 25% | 1 | 20% |
| <i>may</i> | 4 | 1 | 1,4% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 13% | 1 | 20% |
| <i>might</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 6% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 4 | 2 | 2,8% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 40% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 20 | 27,8% | 4 | 12% | 5 | 63% | - | - |

Table A.4: Proportional frequencies of permission/ability/possibility cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of popular writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|------------|-----|------------|-----|------|-----|
| | | <i>kan</i> | | <i>kon</i> | | <i>mag</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>can</i> | 1 | 20 | 44,4% | 42 | 60% | 42 | 62% | 8 | 42% |
| <i>could</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 20 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 26% |
| <i>may</i> | 1 | 3 | 12,0% | 0 | 0% | 19 | 28% | 1 | 5% |
| <i>might</i> | 1 | 1 | 2,2% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 1 | 1 | 2,2% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 26% |
| No modal used in TT | 1 | 20 | 44,4% | 8 | 11% | 6 | 9% | - | - |
| <i>can</i> | 2 | 36 | 52,2% | 23 | 36% | 23 | 68% | 10 | 24% |
| <i>could</i> | 2 | 9 | 13,0% | 21 | 33% | 2 | 6% | 8 | 20% |
| <i>may</i> | 2 | 15 | 21,7% | 1 | 2% | 3 | 9% | 18 | 44% |
| <i>might</i> | 2 | 4 | 5,8% | 2 | 3% | 1 | 3% | 3 | 7% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 2 | 5 | 7,2% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 5% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 34 | 49,3% | 16 | 25% | 5 | 15% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>can</i> | 3 | 37 | 84,1% | 14 | 54% | 14 | 54% | 7 | 44% |
| <i>could</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 7 | 27% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>may</i> | 3 | 5 | 11,4% | 1 | 4% | 11 | 42% | 7 | 44% |
| <i>might</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 3 | 2 | 4,5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 13% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 20 | 45,5% | 4 | 15% | 1 | 4% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>can</i> | 4 | 62 | 75,6% | 30 | 37% | 30 | 53% | 11 | 44% |
| <i>could</i> | 4 | 9 | 11,0% | 28 | 34% | 1 | 2% | 6 | 24% |
| <i>may</i> | 4 | 7 | 8,5% | 0 | 0% | 21 | 37% | 6 | 24% |
| <i>might</i> | 4 | 1 | 1,2% | 3 | 4% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>BE able to</i> | 4 | 3 | 3,7% | 1 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 8% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 27 | 32,9% | 20 | 24% | 4 | 7% | - | - |

Table A.5: Proportional frequencies of obligation/necessity cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of creative writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-------------|-----|-------------------|-----|----------------|------|------|-------|
| | | <i>moet</i> | | <i>moes</i> | | <i>behoort te</i> | | <i>hoef te</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>must</i> | 2 | 24 | 42,1% | 1 | 8% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 11,1% |
| <i>should</i> | 2 | 3 | 5,4% | 2 | 17% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 22,2% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 2 | 23 | 41,1% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 33,3% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 2 | 6 | 10,5% | 3 | 25% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 22,2% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 11,1% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 2 | 1 | 1,8% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 16 | 28,1% | 6 | 50% | 59 | 98% | 10 | 100% | - | - |
| <i>must</i> | 3 | 6 | 27,3% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 18,2% |
| <i>should</i> | 3 | 4 | 18,2% | 1 | 20% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 27,3% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 3 | 7 | 31,8% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 36,4% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 3 | 5 | 22,7% | 1 | 20% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 9,1% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 9,1% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 3% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 5 | 22,7% | 3 | 60% | 36 | 97% | 13 | 100% | - | - |
| <i>must</i> | 4 | 14 | 35,9% | 1 | 5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 8 | 47,1% |
| <i>should</i> | 4 | 6 | 15,4% | 2 | 10% | 2 | 6% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 17,6% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 4 | 11 | 28,2% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 9% | 4 | 23,5% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 4 | 7 | 17,9% | 12 | 60% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5,9% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 4 | 1 | 2,6% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5,9% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 7 | 17,9% | 5 | 25% | 33 | 94% | 20 | 91% | - | - |

Table A.6: Proportional frequencies of obligation/necessity cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of instructional writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-----|-------------|------|-------------------|------|----------------|------|------|------|
| | | <i>moet</i> | | <i>moes</i> | | <i>behoort te</i> | | <i>hoef te</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>must</i> | 2 | 1 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>should</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>shall</i> | 2 | 70 | 89% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 160 | 100% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 8 | 10% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 1 | 100% | - | - |
| <i>must</i> | 3 | 10 | 7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>should</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% |
| <i>shall</i> | 3 | 117 | 86% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 87 | 98% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 9 | 7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 0% | - | - |

Table A.7: Proportional frequencies of obligation/necessity cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of persuasive writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-------------|-----|-------------------|------|----------------|-----|------|-------|
| | | <i>moet</i> | | <i>moes</i> | | <i>behoort te</i> | | <i>hoef te</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>must</i> | 2 | 46 | 68,7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 50,0% |
| <i>should</i> | 2 | 5 | 7,5% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 2 | 1 | 1,5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 67% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 15 | 22,4% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 33% | | |
| <i>must</i> | 4 | 16 | 40,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 14,3% |
| <i>should</i> | 4 | 8 | 20,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 42,9% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 4 | 4 | 10,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | 3 | 42,9% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 4 | 1 | 2,5% | 2 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 11 | 27,5% | 5 | 71% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 50% | - | - |

Table A.8: Proportional frequencies of obligation/necessity cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of popular writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-------------|-----|-------------------|-----|----------------|------|------|-------|
| | | <i>moet</i> | | <i>moes</i> | | <i>behoort te</i> | | <i>hoef te</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>must</i> | 1 | 14 | 35,0% | 3 | 14% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 18,2% |
| <i>should</i> | 1 | 4 | 10,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 14% | 0 | 0% | 8 | 72,7% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 1 | 5 | 12,5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 9,1% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 1 | 2 | 5,0% | 6 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 1 | 15 | 37,5% | 12 | 57% | 6 | 86% | 1 | 100% | - | - |
| <i>must</i> | 2 | 18 | 30,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 23,5% |
| <i>should</i> | 2 | 10 | 16,7% | 2 | 7% | 1 | 14% | 0 | 0% | 6 | 35,3% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 2 | 7 | 11,7% | 1 | 3% | 1 | 14% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 23,5% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 2 | 1 | 1,7% | 17 | 59% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 11,8% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5,9% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 24 | 40,0% | 9 | 31% | 5 | 71% | 2 | 100% | - | - |
| <i>must</i> | 3 | 16 | 23,9% | 1 | 17% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 20,0% |
| <i>should</i> | 3 | 24 | 35,8% | 0 | 0% | 6 | 75% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 50,0% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 3 | 15 | 22,4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 10,0% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 33% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 10,0% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 3 | 1 | 1,5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 10,0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 11 | 16,4% | 3 | 50% | 2 | 25% | 1 | 100% | - | - |
| <i>must</i> | 4 | 6 | 6,4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5,9% |
| <i>should</i> | 4 | 40 | 42,6% | 1 | 3% | 5 | 63% | 0 | 0% | 10 | 58,8% |
| <i>HAVE to</i> | 4 | 24 | 25,5% | 1 | 3% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 25% | 5 | 29,4% |
| <i>HAD to</i> | 4 | 1 | 1,1% | 14 | 48% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5,9% |
| <i>NEED to</i> | 4 | 5 | 5,3% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>ought to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 18 | 19,1% | 13 | 45% | 3 | 38% | 3 | 75% | - | - |

Table A.9: Proportional frequencies of the volition/prediction cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of creative writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|------------|-----|------------|-----|------------|-----|------|-------|
| | | <i>sal</i> | | <i>sou</i> | | <i>wil</i> | | <i>wou</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>will</i> | 2 | 20 | 22,2% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 3% | 0 | 0% | 7 | 17,9% |
| <i>shall</i> | 2 | 9 | 12,2% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>would</i> | 2 | 45 | 60,8% | 28 | 82% | 11 | 10% | 2 | 13% | 31 | 79,5% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 33 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 8 | 7% | 4 | 25% | 1 | 2,6% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 16 | 17,8% | 6 | 18% | 59 | 51% | 10 | 63% | - | - |
| <i>will</i> | 3 | 27 | 58,7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 9 | 32,1% |
| <i>shall</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>would</i> | 3 | 14 | 34,1% | 10 | 77% | 5 | 8% | 2 | 7% | 18 | 64,3% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 18 | 30% | 2 | 7% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 3% | 10 | 37% | 1 | 3,6% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 5 | 10,9% | 3 | 23% | 36 | 59% | 13 | 48% | - | - |
| <i>will</i> | 4 | 31 | 54,4% | 1 | 4% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 25,0% |
| <i>shall</i> | 4 | 1 | 2,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5,0% |
| <i>would</i> | 4 | 18 | 36,0% | 22 | 79% | 4 | 8% | 5 | 8% | 13 | 65,0% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 10 | 19% | 6 | 10% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 8% | 28 | 47% | 1 | 5,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 7 | 12,3% | 5 | 18% | 33 | 63% | 20 | 34% | - | - |

Table A.10: Proportional frequencies of the volition/prediction cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of instructional writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|------|--------|
| | | sal | | sou | | wil | | wou | | Zero | |
| <i>will</i> | 2 | 7 | 23,3% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>shall</i> | 2 | 7 | 23,3% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 160 | 100,0% |
| <i>would</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 8 | 57% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 16 | 53,3% | 6 | 43% | 59 | 100% | 10 | 100% | - | - |
| <i>will</i> | 3 | 12 | 44,4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1,1% |
| <i>shall</i> | 3 | 8 | 29,6% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 87 | 98,9% |
| <i>would</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 3 | 38% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 7 | 25,9% | 5 | 63% | 15 | 100% | 20 | 100% | - | - |

Table A.11: Proportional frequencies of the volition/prediction cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of creative writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|
| | | sal | | sou | | wil | | wou | | Zero | |
| <i>will</i> | 2 | 35 | 58,3% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 18% | 4 | 40% | 3 | 60,0% |
| <i>shall</i> | 2 | 5 | 8,3% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>would</i> | 2 | 5 | 8,3% | 4 | 40% | 2 | 9% | 2 | 20% | 1 | 20,0% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 14% | 3 | 30% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 20,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 15 | 25,0% | 6 | 60% | 13 | 59% | 1 | 10% | - | - |
| <i>will</i> | 4 | 23 | 62,2% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 12 | 75,0% |
| <i>shall</i> | 4 | 1 | 2,7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>would</i> | 4 | 9 | 24,3% | 6 | 60% | 2 | 15% | 2 | 12% | 3 | 18,8% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 6 | 46% | 6 | 35% | 1 | 6,3% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 4 | 10,8% | 4 | 40% | 5 | 38% | 9 | 53% | - | - |

Table A.12: Proportional frequencies of the volition/prediction cluster of Afrikaans source texts and English translations of popular writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|------------|-----|------------|-----|------------|------|------|-------|
| | | <i>sal</i> | | <i>sou</i> | | <i>wil</i> | | <i>wou</i> | | Zero | |
| <i>will</i> | 1 | 30 | 62,5% | 3 | 11% | 4 | 19% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 28,6% |
| <i>shall</i> | 1 | 4 | 9,8% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>would</i> | 1 | 7 | 17,1% | 17 | 63% | 2 | 10% | 4 | 29% | 10 | 71,4% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 1 | 7 | 14,6% | 7 | 26% | 14 | 67% | 10 | 71% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>will</i> | 2 | 31 | 72,1% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 22 | 68,8% |
| <i>shall</i> | 2 | 2 | 4,7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 3,1% |
| <i>would</i> | 2 | 10 | 23,3% | 14 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 40% | 8 | 25,0% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 33% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 3,1% |
| No modal used in TT | 2 | 4 | 9,3% | 34 | 71% | 8 | 67% | 3 | 60% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>will</i> | 3 | 27 | 93,1% | 1 | 5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 11 | 57,9% |
| <i>shall</i> | 3 | 1 | 3,4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5,3% |
| <i>would</i> | 3 | 1 | 3,4% | 4 | 20% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 6 | 31,6% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 19% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 5,3% |
| No modal used in TT | 3 | 4 | 13,8% | 15 | 75% | 17 | 81% | 2 | 100% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>will</i> | 4 | 33 | 91,7% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 7 | 30,4% |
| <i>shall</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>would</i> | 4 | 3 | 8,3% | 25 | 49% | 4 | 7% | 1 | 10% | 16 | 69,6% |
| <i>WANT to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 24 | 39% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>WANTED to</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal used in TT | 4 | 4 | 11,1% | 26 | 51% | 32 | 52% | 9 | 90% | 0 | 0,0% |

ADDENDUM 5: PROPORTIONAL FREQUENCIES IN ENGLISH SOURCE TEXTS AND AFRIKAANS TRANSLATIONS

Table A.13: Proportional frequencies of the permission/ability/possibility cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of creative writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|------------|----|------|-----|
| | | can | | could | | may | | might | | BE able to | | Zero | |
| <i>kan</i> | 4 | 72 | 91,1% | 20 | 56% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 7,1% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 5% |
| <i>kon</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 8 | 22% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 47% |
| <i>mag</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 40% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 47% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 7 | 8,9% | 8 | 22% | 3 | 60% | 13 | 92,9% | 0 | 0% | | |

Table A.14: Proportional frequencies of the permission/ability/possibility cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of instructional writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------|----|-----|-------|-------|--------|------------|--------|------|------|
| | | can | | could | | may | | might | | BE able to | | Zero | |
| <i>kan</i> | 1 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 94 | 54,7% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>kon</i> | 1 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 0,6% | 1 | 50,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>mag</i> | 1 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 57 | 33,1% | 1 | 50,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 100% |
| No modal in TT | 1 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 20 | 11,6% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>kan</i> | 2 | 1 | 100,0% | 0 | 0% | 47 | 44,8% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>kon</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>mag</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 32 | 30,5% | 2 | 100,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 100% |
| No modal in TT | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 26 | 24,8% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>kan</i> | 3 | 10 | 100,0% | 0 | 0% | 132 | 62,6% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% |
| <i>kon</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>mag</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 26 | 12,3% | 1 | 100,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal in TT | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 53 | 25,1% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>kan</i> | 4 | 10 | 100,0% | 0 | 0% | 35 | 47,9% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 50% |
| <i>kon</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>mag</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 24 | 32,9% | 10 | 100,0% | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 50% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 14 | 19,2% | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 100,0% | | |

Table A.15: Proportional frequencies of the permission/ability/possibility cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of persuasive writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-------|------|-----|-------|-------|--------|------------|----|------|-----|
| | | can | | could | | may | | might | | BE able to | | Zero | |
| <i>kan</i> | 2 | 22 | 81,5% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 16,7% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 67% |
| <i>kon</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 50,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 33% |
| <i>mag</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 10 | 76,9% | 1 | 50,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal in TT | 2 | 5 | 18,5% | 8 | 100% | 5 | 27,8% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>kan</i> | 4 | 20 | 87,0% | 4 | 31% | 1 | 7,7% | 1 | 100,0% | 0 | 0% | 15 | 88% |
| <i>kon</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 8% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>mag</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 83,3% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 12% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 3 | 13,0% | 8 | 62% | 7 | 53,8% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | | |

Table A.16: Proportional frequencies of the permission/ability/possibility cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of popular writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-------|-----|------------|-------|------|-----|
| | | can | | could | | may | | might | | BE able to | | Zero | |
| <i>kan</i> | 1 | 61 | 85,9% | 8 | 16% | 42 | 52% | 3 | 30% | 1 | 25,0% | 33 | 73% |
| <i>kon</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 33 | 65% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 30% | 2 | 50,0% | 10 | 22% |
| <i>mag</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 19 | 23% | 1 | 10% | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 4% |
| No modal in TT | 1 | 10 | 14,1% | 10 | 20% | 20 | 25% | 3 | 30% | 1 | 25,0% | | |
| <i>kan</i> | 2 | 40 | 71,4% | 5 | 9% | 23 | 47% | 3 | 25% | 0 | 0,0% | 42 | 64% |
| <i>kon</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 43 | 77% | 2 | 4% | 4 | 33% | 1 | 33,3% | 20 | 30% |
| <i>mag</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 6% | 2 | 17% | 0 | 0,0% | 4 | 6% |
| No modal in TT | 2 | 16 | 28,6% | 8 | 14% | 21 | 43% | 3 | 25% | 2 | 66,7% | | |
| <i>kan</i> | 3 | 62 | 87,3% | 13 | 39% | 14 | 40% | 7 | 54% | 1 | 50,0% | 18 | 72% |
| <i>kon</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 14 | 42% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 8% | 0 | 0,0% | 7 | 28% |
| <i>mag</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 11 | 31% | 1 | 8% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal in TT | 3 | 9 | 12,7% | 6 | 18% | 10 | 29% | 4 | 31% | 1 | 50,0% | | |
| <i>kan</i> | 4 | 210 | 88,2% | 44 | 48% | 30 | 42% | 4 | 14% | 4 | 26,7% | 65 | 74% |
| <i>kon</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 39 | 43% | 1 | 1% | 2 | 7% | 2 | 13,3% | 20 | 23% |
| <i>mag</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 21 | 30% | 10 | 34% | 0 | 0,0% | 3 | 3% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 28 | 11,8% | 8 | 9% | 19 | 27% | 13 | 45% | 9 | 60,0% | | |

Table A.17: Proportional frequencies of the necessity/obligation cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of creative writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|---------------|-----|----------------|-----|---------------|-----|----------------|-----|-----------------|------|-------------|-----|
| | | <i>must</i> | | <i>should</i> | | <i>HAVE to</i> | | <i>HAD to</i> | | <i>NEED to</i> | | <i>Ought to</i> | | <i>Zero</i> | |
| <i>moet</i> | 4 | 9 | 64,3% | 4 | 67% | 6 | 55% | 1 | 20% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 14 | 93% |
| <i>moes</i> | 4 | 3 | 21,4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 60% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 7% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 33% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>hoefte</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 9% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 2 | 14,3% | 2 | 33% | 4 | 36% | 1 | 20% | 2 | 67% | 0 | | | |

Table A.18: Proportional frequencies of the necessity/obligation cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of instructional writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|---------------|------|----------------|------|---------------|----|----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|--------------|------|-------------|------|
| | | <i>must</i> | | <i>should</i> | | <i>HAVE to</i> | | <i>HAD to</i> | | <i>NEED to</i> | | <i>Ought to</i> | | <i>shall</i> | | <i>Zero</i> | |
| <i>moet</i> | 1 | 1 | 100,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 73 | 100% | 4 | 100% |
| <i>moes</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal in TT | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | - | | | |
| <i>moet</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 3 | 75% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 83 | 100% | 8 | 89% |
| <i>moes</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 2 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 11% |
| No modal in TT | 2 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 25% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | - | | | |
| <i>moet</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 64 | 100% | 5 | 71% |
| <i>moes</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 14% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 14% |
| No modal in TT | 3 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | - | | | |
| <i>moet</i> | 4 | 63 | 80,8% | 6 | 75% | 3 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 33% | 2 | 33% | 18 | 100% | 11 | 100% |
| <i>moes</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 15 | 19,2% | 2 | 25% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 0% | 2 | 67% | 0 | 0% | - | | | |

Table A.19: Proportional frequencies of the necessity/obligation cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of persuasive writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|---------------|-----|----------------|------|---------------|------|----------------|-----|-----------------|----|-------------|-----|
| | | <i>must</i> | | <i>should</i> | | <i>HAVE to</i> | | <i>HAD to</i> | | <i>NEED to</i> | | <i>Ought to</i> | | <i>Zero</i> | |
| <i>moet</i> | 2 | 13 | 100,0 | 3 | 38% | 3 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 44% |
| <i>moes</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 33% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 22% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal | 2 | 8 | 61,5% | 5 | 63% | 1 | 33% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>moet</i> | 4 | 11 | 100,0 | 20 | 95% | 2 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 6 | 67% | 0 | 0% | 13 | 81% |
| <i>moes</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 13% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 6% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal | 4 | 3 | 27,3% | 1 | 5% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 33% | 0 | 0% | | |

Table A.20: Proportional frequencies of the necessity/obligation cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of popular writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|---------------|-----|----------------|-----|---------------|-----|----------------|------|-----------------|------|-------------|-----|
| | | <i>must</i> | | <i>should</i> | | <i>HAVE to</i> | | <i>HAD to</i> | | <i>NEED to</i> | | <i>Ought to</i> | | <i>Zero</i> | |
| <i>moet</i> | 1 | 57 | 73,1% | 59 | 78% | 13 | 54% | 1 | 8% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 19 | 51% |
| <i>moes</i> | 1 | 3 | 3,8% | 9 | 12% | 2 | 8% | 9 | 75% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 17 | 46% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 1 | 3% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| No modal in TT | 1 | 18 | 23,1% | 8 | 11% | 8 | 33% | 2 | 17% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>moet</i> | 2 | 17 | 38,6% | 38 | 68% | 3 | 50% | 1 | 4% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 27 | 53% |
| <i>moes</i> | 2 | 10 | 22,7% | 6 | 11% | 0 | 0% | 22 | 88% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 22 | 43% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 2% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 2% |
| No modal in TT | 2 | 17 | 38,6% | 12 | 21% | 3 | 50% | 2 | 8% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>moet</i> | 3 | 14 | 56,0% | 19 | 70% | 8 | 47% | 1 | 7% | 2 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 18 | 78% |
| <i>moes</i> | 3 | 2 | 8,0% | 2 | 7% | 2 | 12% | 12 | 86% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 17% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 14% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 4% |
| No modal in TT | 3 | 9 | 36,0% | 6 | 22% | 7 | 41% | 1 | 7% | 4 | 57% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>moet</i> | 4 | 10 | 47,6% | 40 | 74% | 26 | 60% | 0 | 0% | 28 | 56% | 0 | 0% | 39 | 65% |
| <i>moes</i> | 4 | 1 | 4,8% | 6 | 11% | 2 | 5% | 19 | 79% | 2 | 4% | 0 | 0% | 20 | 33% |
| <i>behoort te</i> | 4 | 1 | 4,8% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 4% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| <i>hoef te</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 6 | 12% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 2% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 9 | 42,9% | 7 | 13% | 14 | 33% | 4 | 17% | 13 | 0% | 0 | 0% | | |

Table A.21: Proportional frequencies of the volition/prediction cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of creative writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|-------|--------------|------|--------------|-----|----------------|-----|------------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| | | <i>will</i> | | <i>shall</i> | | <i>would</i> | | <i>WANT to</i> | | <i>WANTED to</i> | | <i>Zero</i> | |
| <i>sal</i> | 4 | 21 | 63,6% | 0 | 0% | 23 | 37% | 15 | 88% | 0 | 0,0% | 3 | 27,3% |
| <i>sou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 13 | 21% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 18,2% |
| <i>wil</i> | 4 | 1 | 3,0% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 5% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 20,0% | 4 | 36,4% |
| <i>wou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 6% | 4 | 80,0% | 2 | 18,2% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 11 | 33,3% | 1 | 100% | 24 | 38% | 1 | 6% | 0 | 0,0% | | |

Table A.22: Proportional frequencies of the volition/prediction cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of instructional writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------|-----|-------|------|---------|------|-----------|------|------|--------|
| | | will | | shall | | would | | WANT to | | WANTED to | | Zero | |
| <i>sal</i> | 1 | 4 | 100,0% | 3 | 4% | 17 | 85% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 15 | 62,5% |
| <i>sou</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 1% | 3 | 15% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 6 | 25,0% |
| <i>wil</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 8,3% |
| <i>wou</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 4,2% |
| <i>moet</i> | 1 | | | 73 | 95% | | | | | | | | |
| <i>sal</i> | 2 | 5 | 100,0% | 1 | 1% | 12 | 63% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 4 | 66,7% |
| <i>sou</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 1% | 7 | 37% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>wil</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>wou</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>moet</i> | 2 | | | 83 | 98% | | | | | | | | |
| <i>sal</i> | 3 | 6 | 100,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 11% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 100,0% |
| <i>sou</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 2% | 8 | 89% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>wil</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>wou</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>moet</i> | 3 | | | 64 | 98 | | | | | | | | |
| <i>sal</i> | 4 | 25 | 100,0% | 2 | 10% | 1 | 11% | 0 | 0% | 0 | | 5 | 83,3% |
| <i>sou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 4% | 8 | 89% | 0 | 0% | 0 | | 1 | 16,7% |
| <i>wil</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>wou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | | 0 | 0,0% |
| <i>moet</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 18 | 86% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | | 0,0% | 0 |

Table A.23: Proportional frequencies of the volition/prediction cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of persuasive writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|-------|--------------|------|--------------|-----|----------------|----|------------------|--------|-------------|-------|
| | | <i>will</i> | | <i>shall</i> | | <i>would</i> | | <i>WANT to</i> | | <i>WANTED to</i> | | <i>Zero</i> | |
| <i>sal</i> | 2 | 23 | 85,2% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 20% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 36,4% |
| <i>sou</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 11 | 73% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 45,5% |
| <i>wil</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 18,2% |
| <i>wou</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal in TT | 2 | 4 | 14,8% | 1 | 100% | 1 | 7% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | - | - |
| <i>sal</i> | 4 | 31 | 88,6% | 0 | 0% | 14 | 67% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 22 | 75,9% |
| <i>sou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 10% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 2 | 6,9% |
| <i>wil</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 5 | 17,2% |
| <i>wou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100,0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 4 | 11,4% | 1 | 100% | 5 | 24% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | - | - |

Table A.24: Proportional frequencies of the volition/prediction cluster of English source texts and Afrikaans translations of popular writing

| TT modal | Period | Source text modal | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|-------|--------------|------|--------------|-----|----------------|------|------------------|--------|-------------|-------|
| | | <i>will</i> | | <i>shall</i> | | <i>would</i> | | <i>WANT to</i> | | <i>WANTED to</i> | | <i>Zero</i> | |
| <i>sal</i> | 1 | 88 | 78,6% | 3 | 25% | 17 | 29% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 30 | 57,7% |
| <i>sou</i> | 1 | 1 | 0,9% | 0 | 0% | 30 | 51% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 14 | 26,9% |
| <i>wil</i> | 1 | 1 | 0,9% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 8 | 15,4% |
| <i>wou</i> | 1 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal in TT | 1 | 22 | 19,6% | 9 | 75% | 12 | 20% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | | |
| <i>sal</i> | 2 | 54 | 65,9% | 1 | 50% | 12 | 14% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 32 | 36,4% |
| <i>sou</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 51 | 59% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 37 | 42,0% |
| <i>wil</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0,0% | 14 | 15,9% |
| <i>wou</i> | 2 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 100,0% | 5 | 5,7% |
| No modal in TT | 2 | 28 | 34,1% | 1 | 50% | 22 | 25% | 1 | 50% | 0 | 0,0% | | |
| <i>sal</i> | 3 | 55 | 65,5% | 0 | 0% | 14 | 25% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 14 | 58,3% |
| <i>sou</i> | 3 | 2 | 2,4% | 0 | 0% | 27 | 48% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 1 | 4,2% |
| <i>wil</i> | 3 | 1 | 1,2% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 9% | 3 | 75% | 1 | 20,0% | 9 | 37,5% |
| <i>wou</i> | 3 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 4% | 0 | 0% | 3 | 60,0% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal in TT | 3 | 26 | 31,0% | 1 | 100% | 8 | 14% | 1 | 25% | 1 | 20,0% | | |
| <i>sal</i> | 4 | 102 | 71,8% | 2 | 50% | 31 | 21% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 45 | 72,6% |
| <i>sou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 67 | 44% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0,0% | 8 | 12,9% |
| <i>wil</i> | 4 | 3 | 2,1% | 0 | 0% | 7 | 5% | 18 | 72% | 2 | 28,6% | 9 | 14,5% |
| <i>wou</i> | 4 | 0 | 0,0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 1% | 3 | 12% | 5 | 71,4% | 0 | 0,0% |
| No modal in TT | 4 | 37 | 26,1% | 2 | 50% | 45 | 30% | 4 | 16% | 0 | 0,0% | | |

ADDENDUM 6: ENGLISH ORIGINALS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

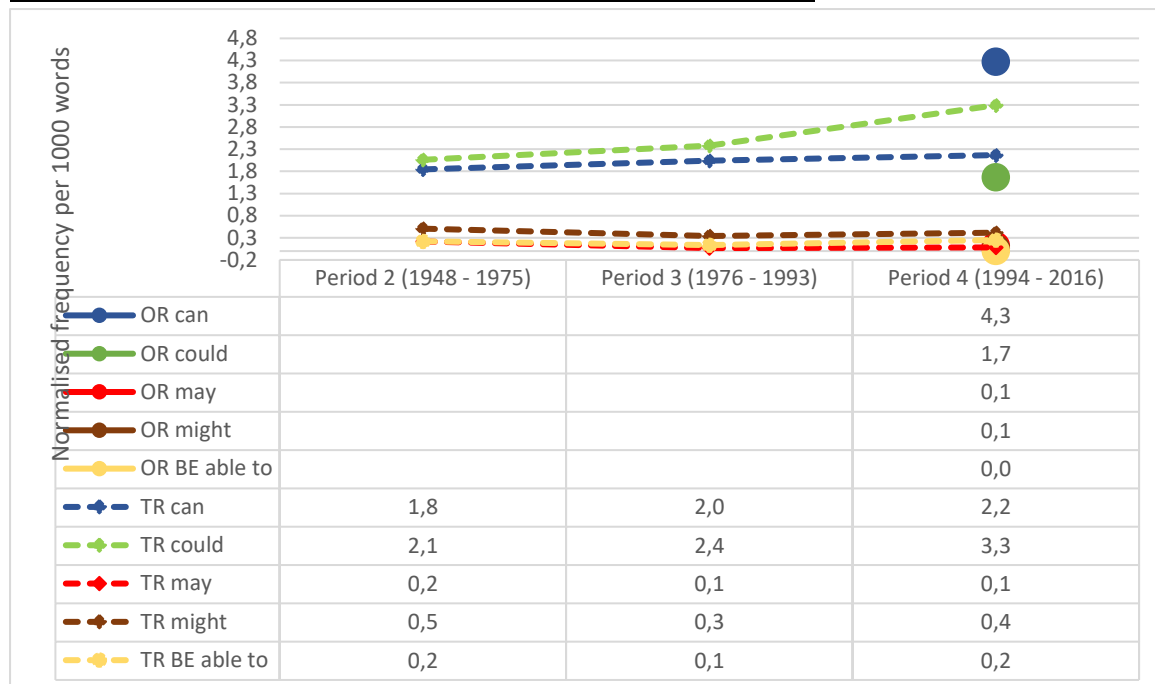


Figure A.32: Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the creative writing register of English originals and translations

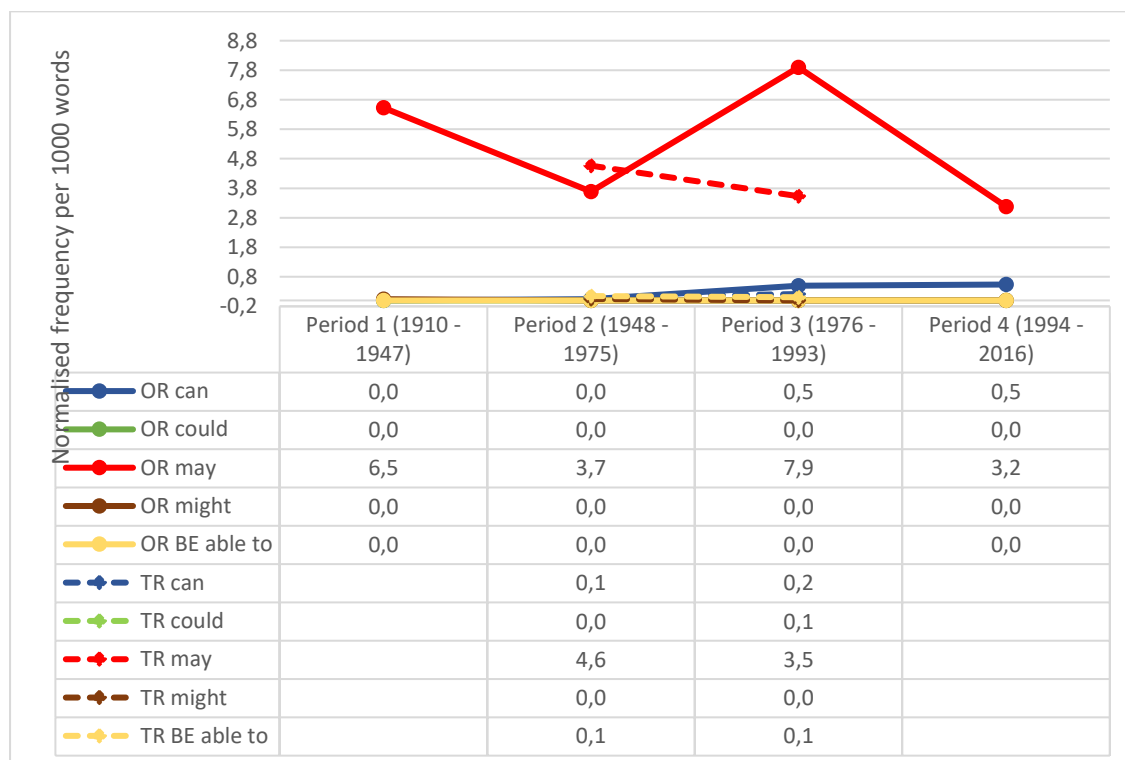


Figure A.33: Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the instructional writing register of English originals and translations

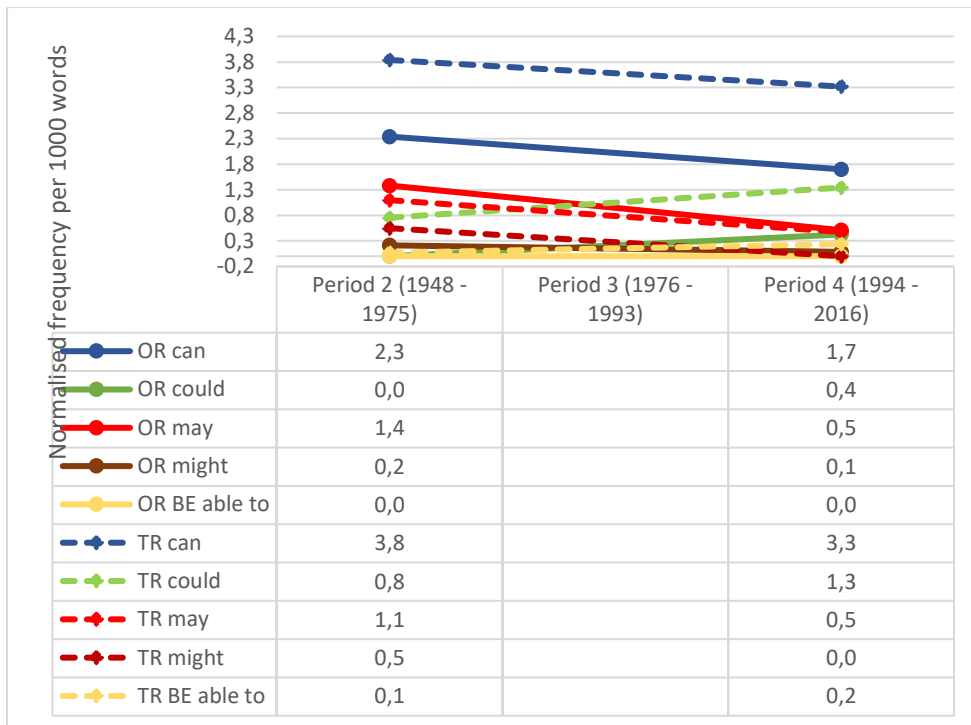


Figure A.34: Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the persuasive writing register of English originals and translations

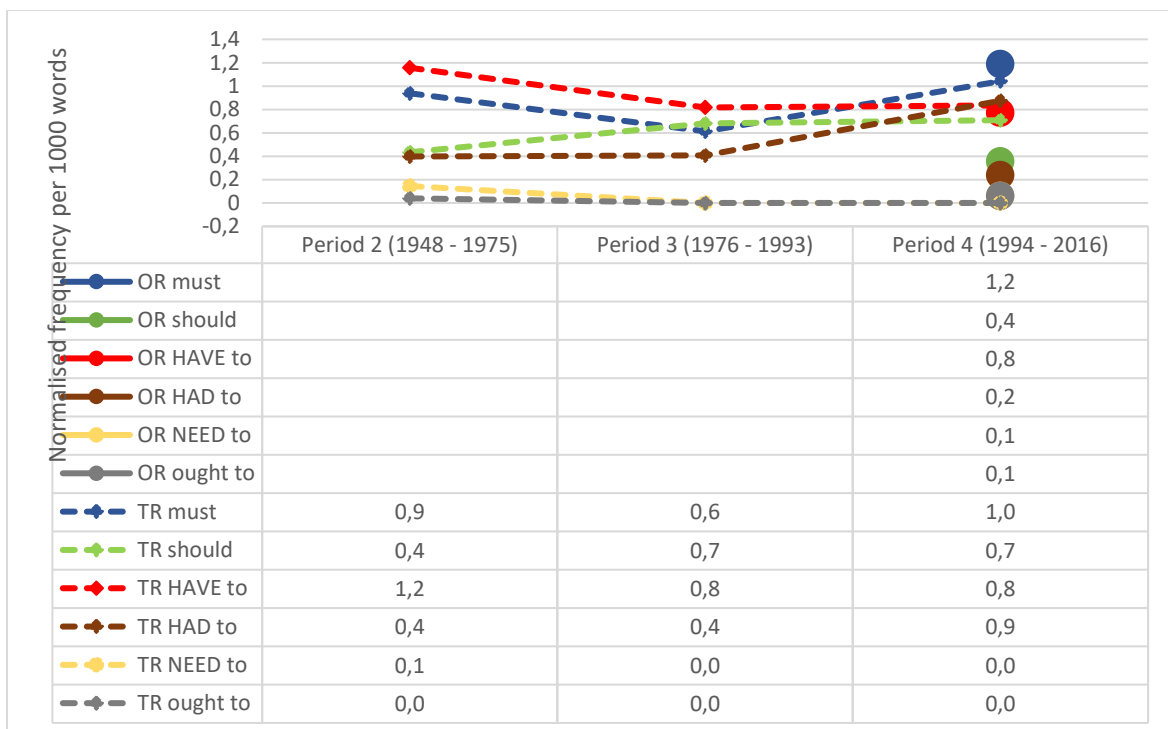


Figure A.36: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the creative writing register of English originals and translations

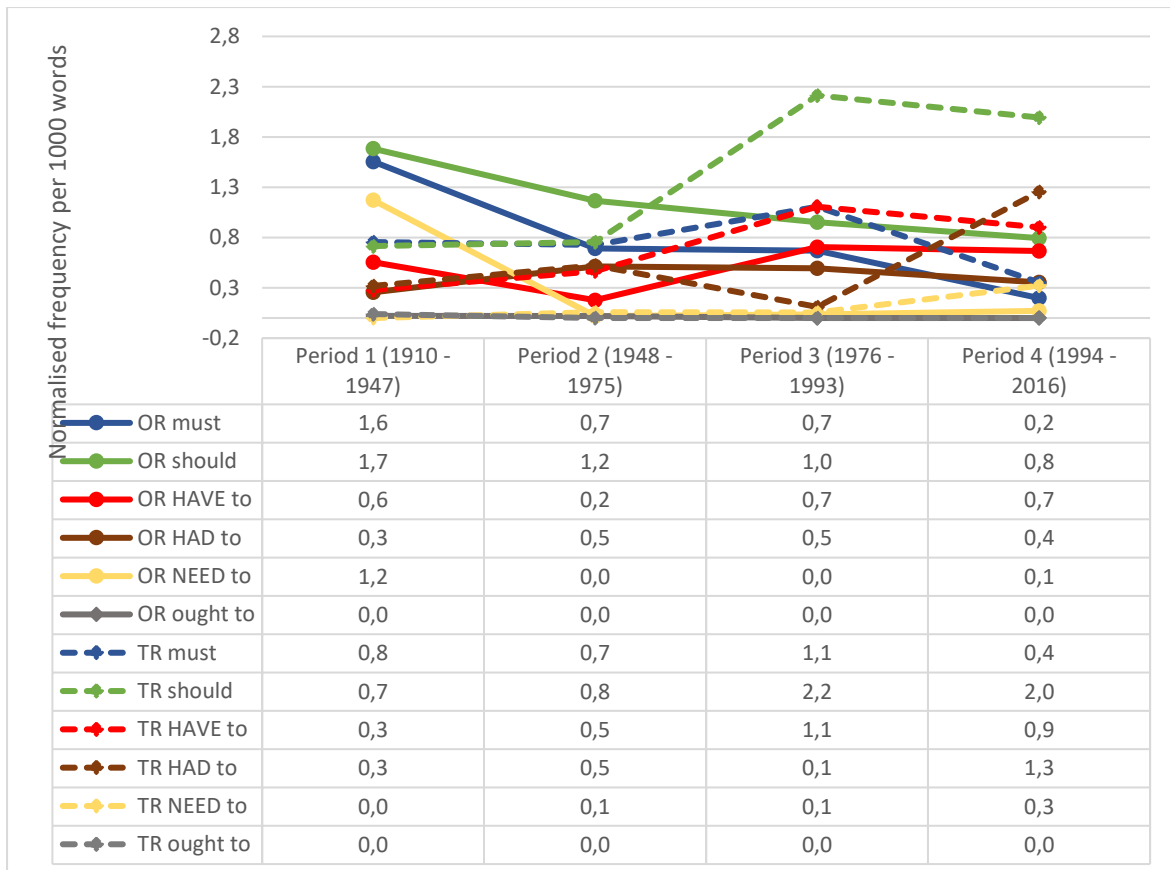


Figure A.37: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the popular writing register of English originals and translations

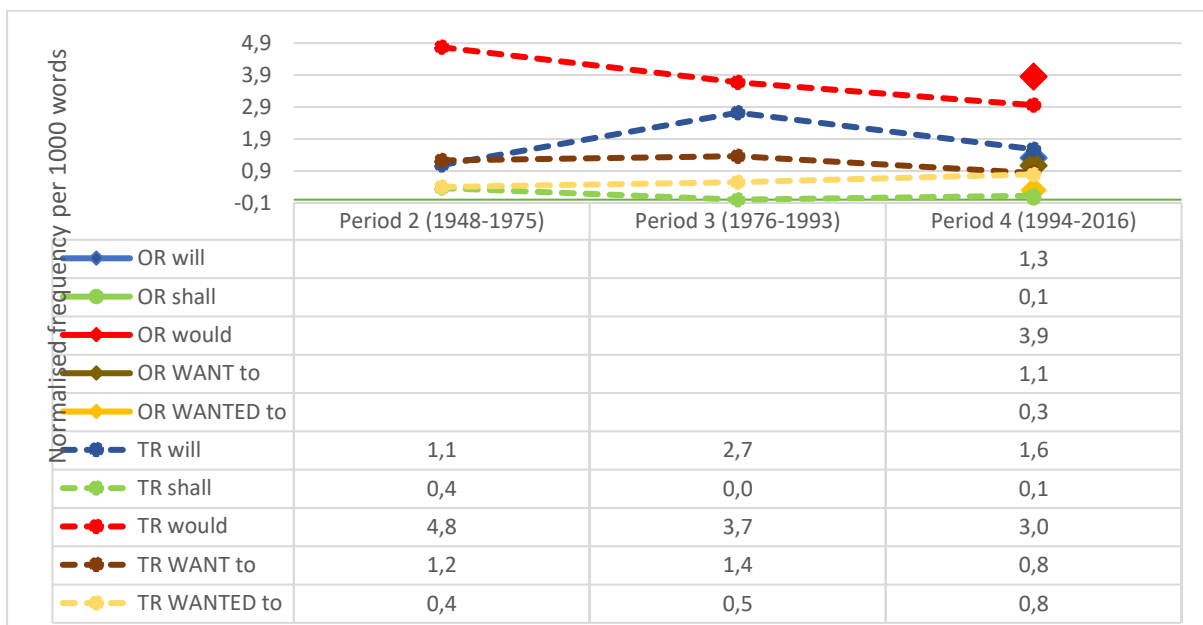


Figure A.38: Modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the creative writing register of English originals and translations

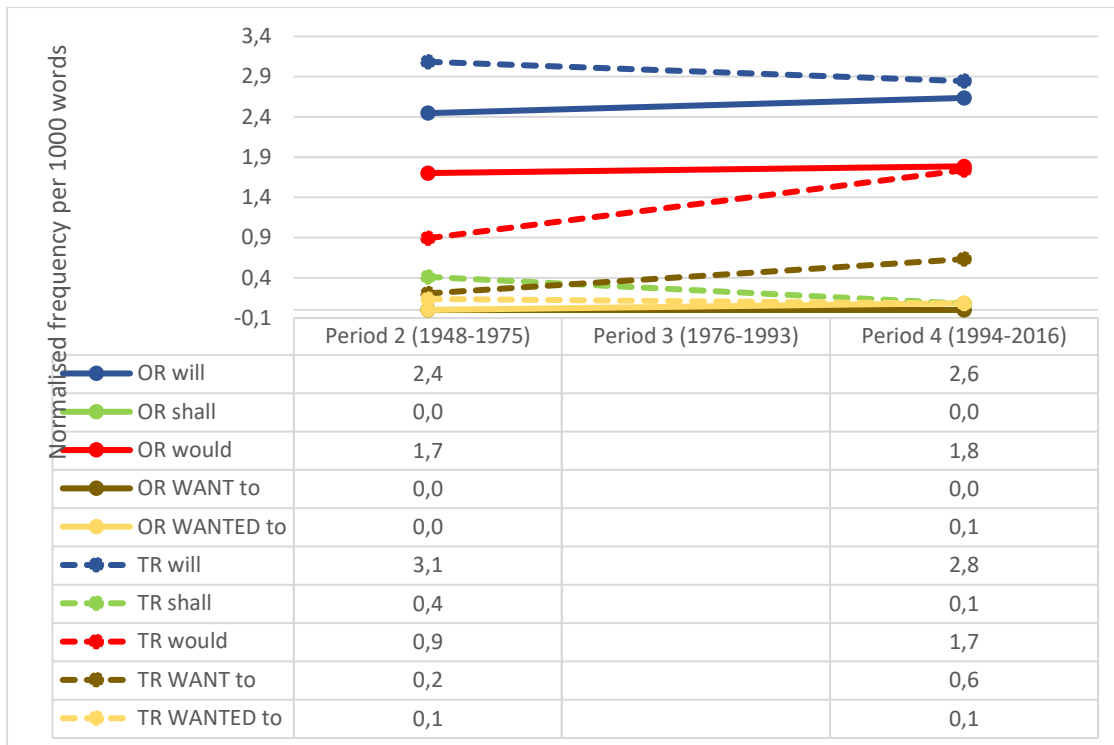


Figure A.39: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the persuasive writing register of English originals and translations

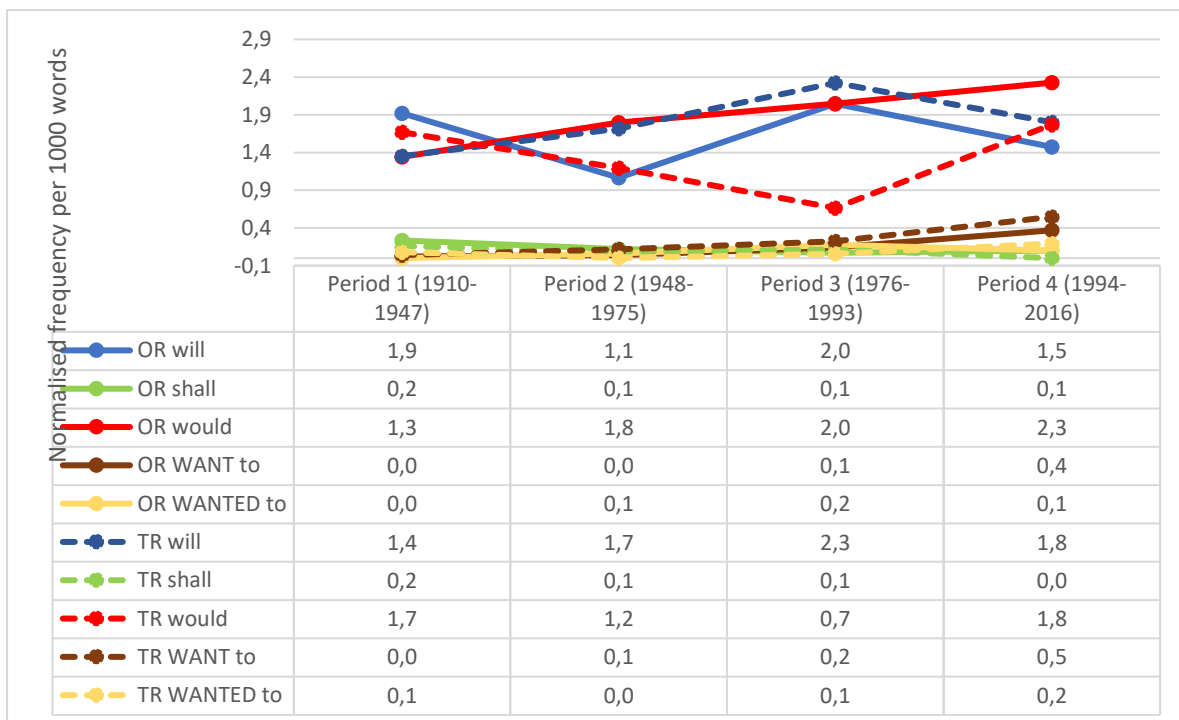


Figure A.40: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the popular writing register of English originals and translations

ADDENDUM 6: ENGLISH ORIGINALS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

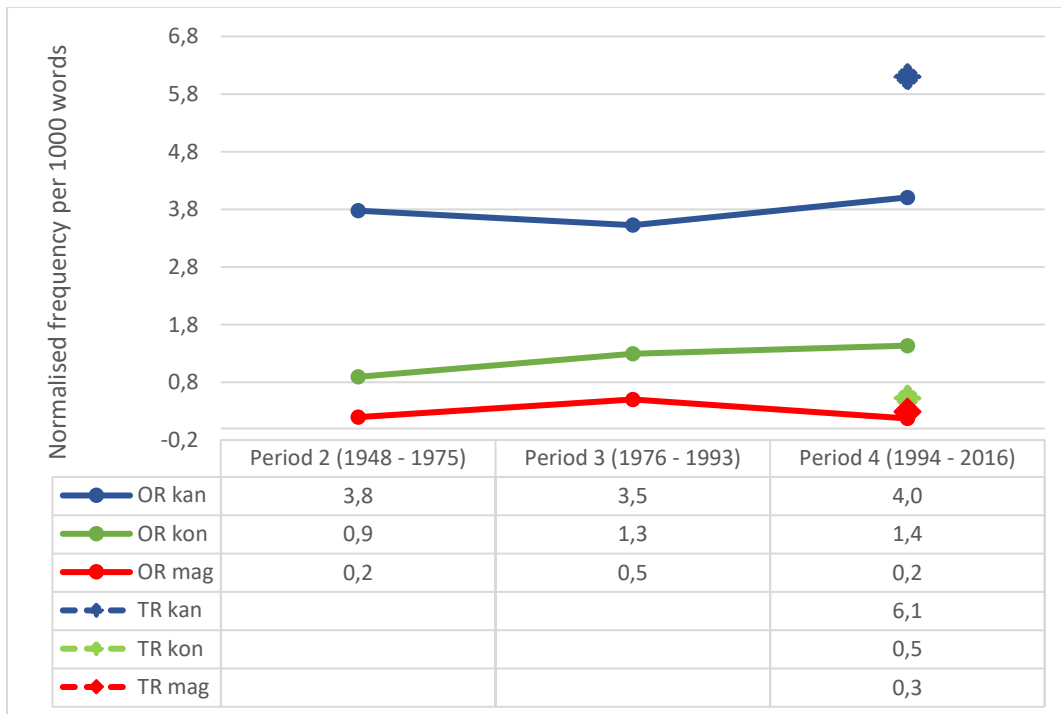


Figure A.41: Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the creative writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

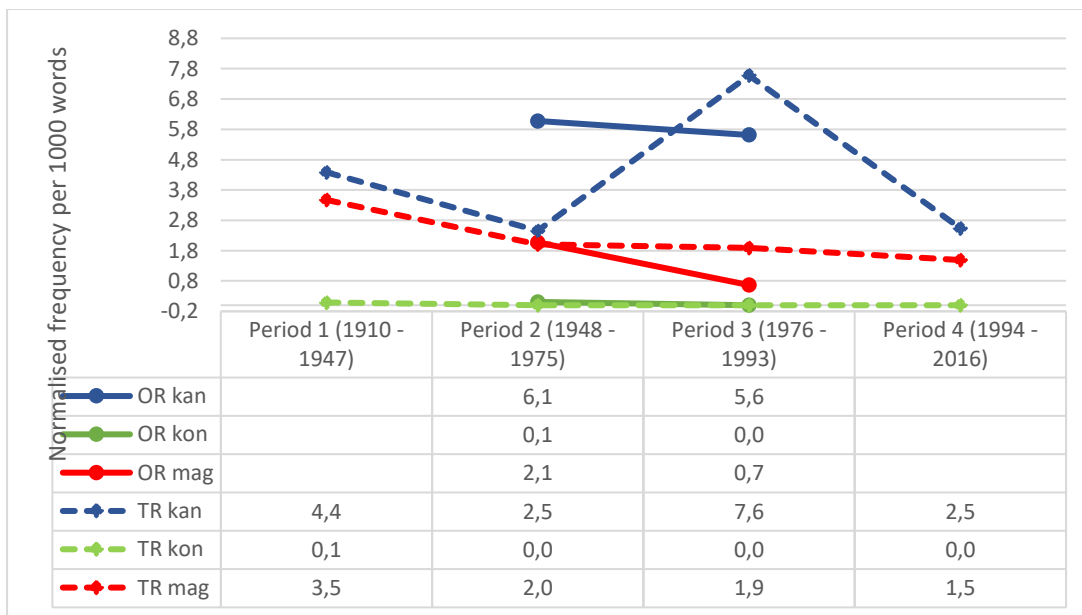


Figure A.42: Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the instructional writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

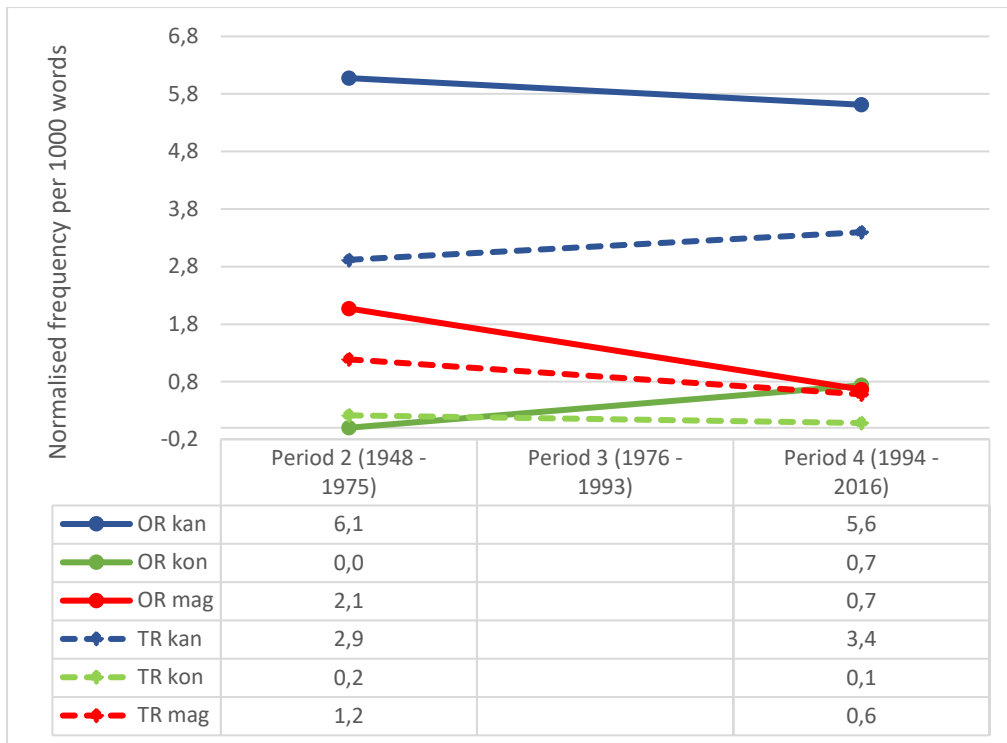


Figure A.43: Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the persuasive writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

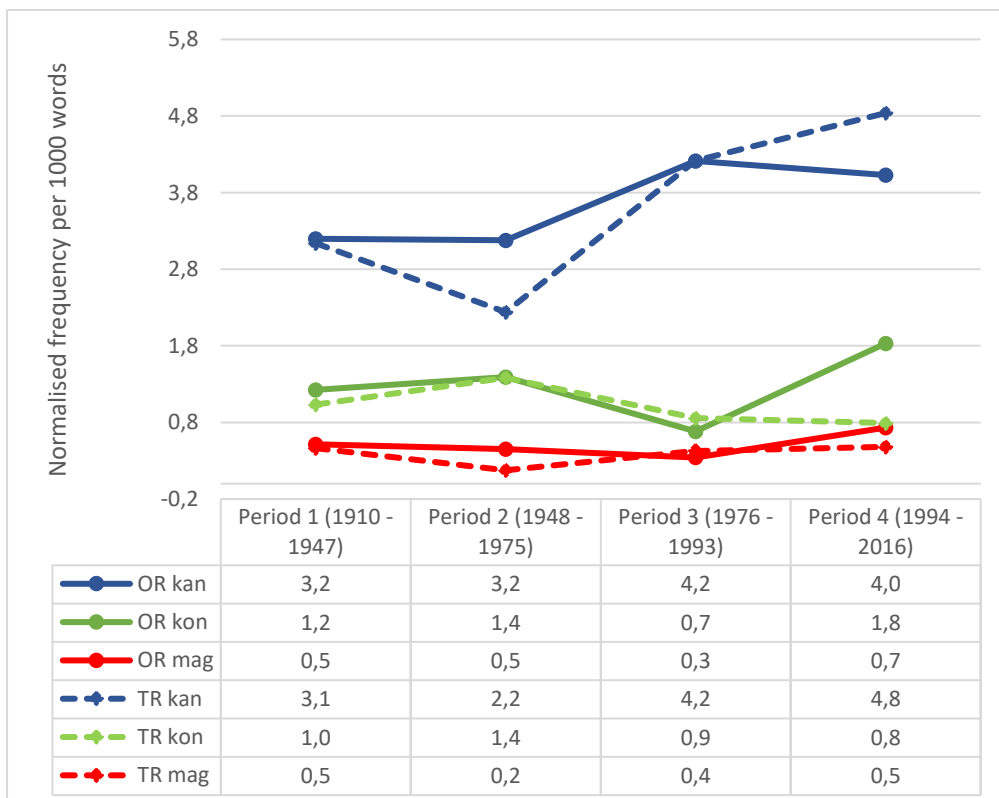


Figure A.44: Modals of the permission/ability/possibility cluster in the popular writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

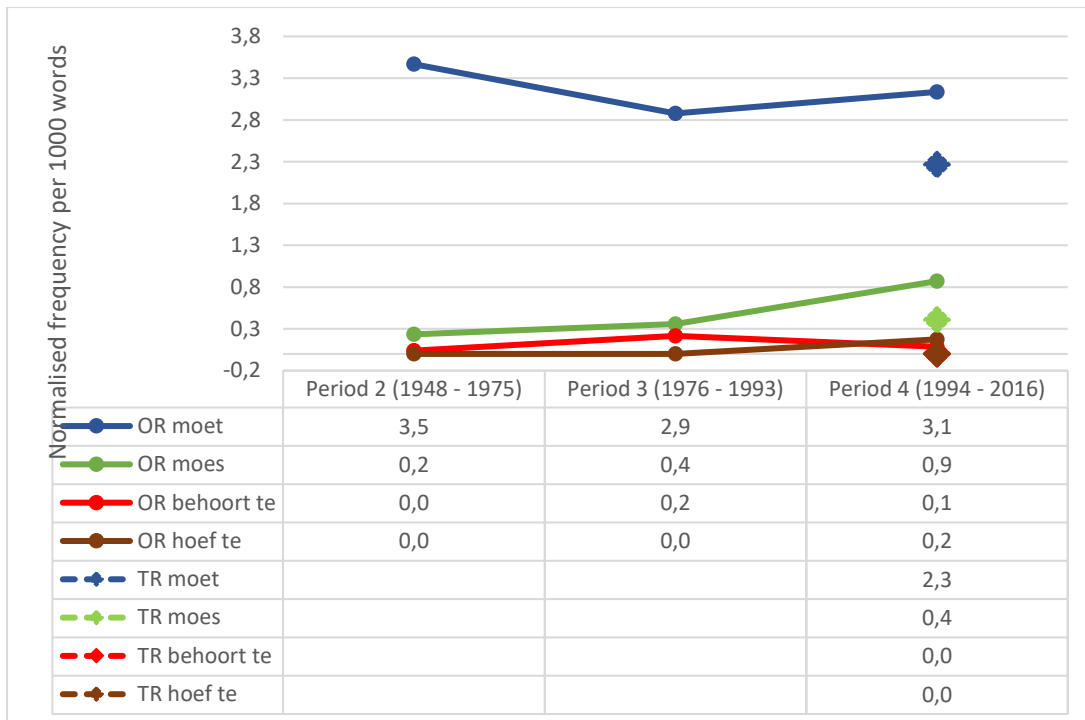


Figure A.45: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the creative writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

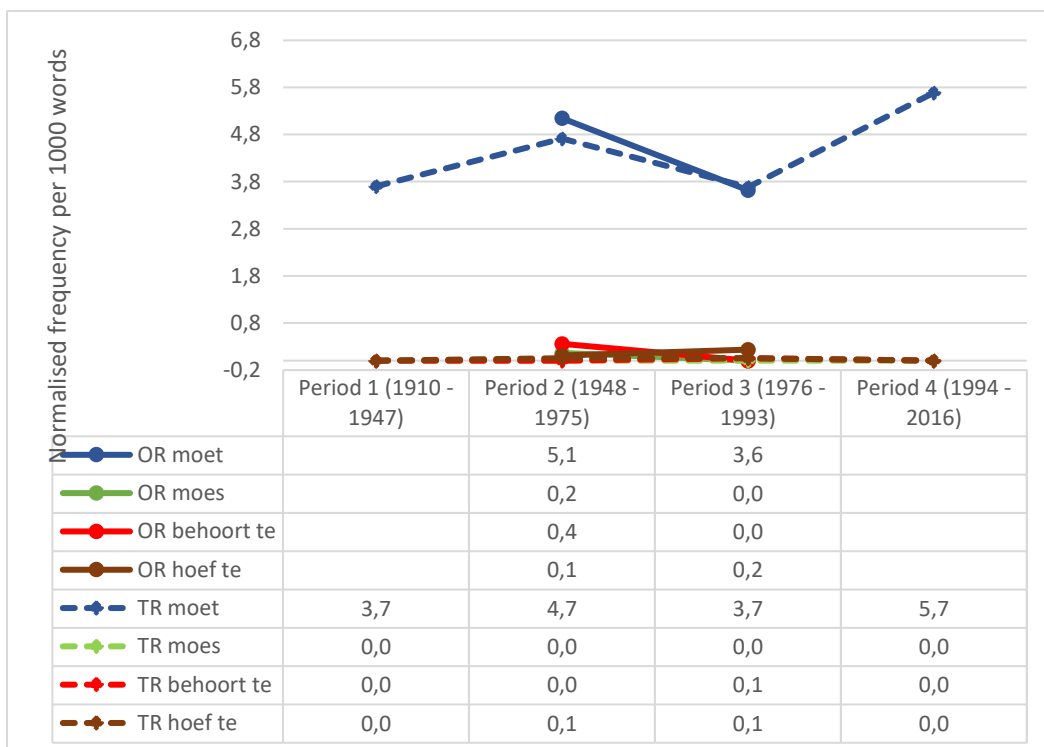


Figure A.46: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the instructional writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

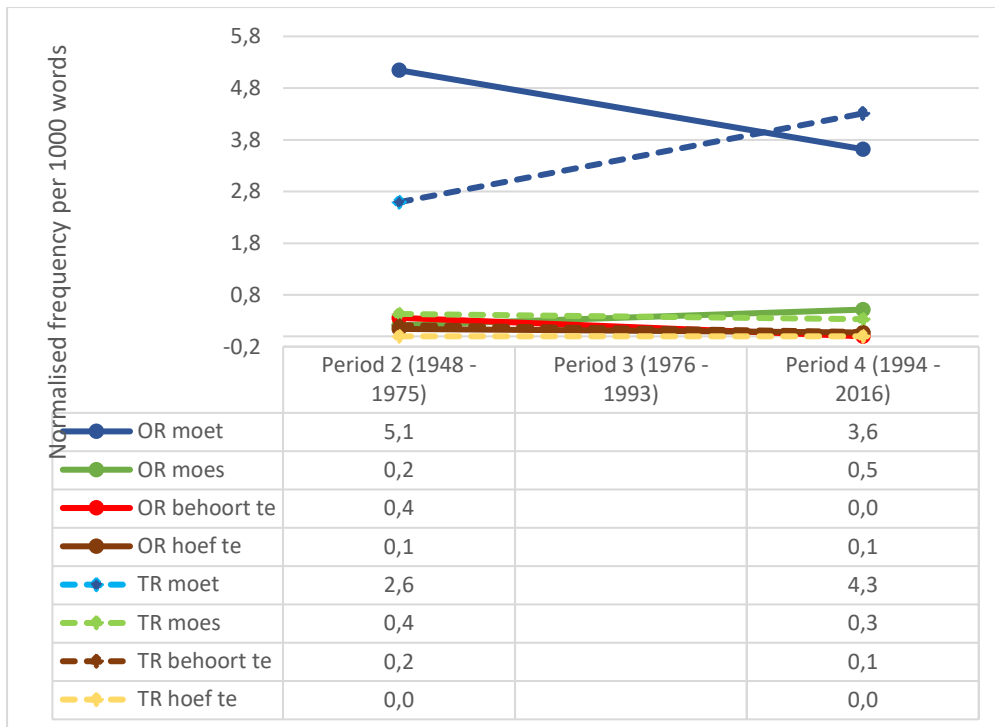


Figure A.47: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the persuasive writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

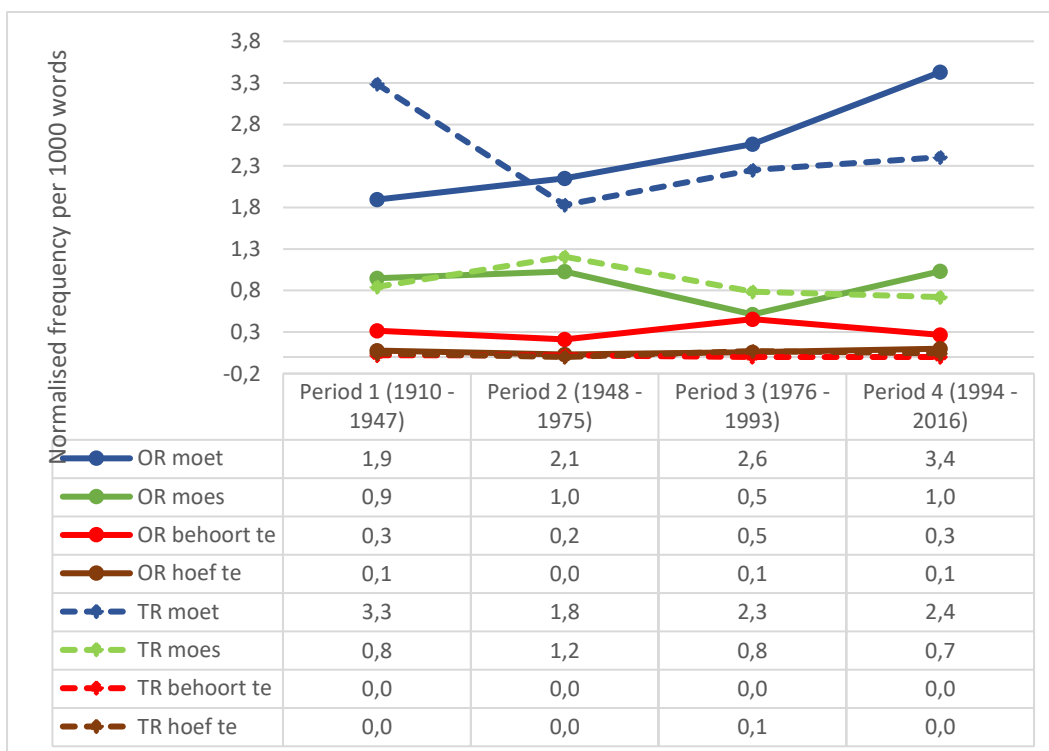


Figure A.48: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the popular writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

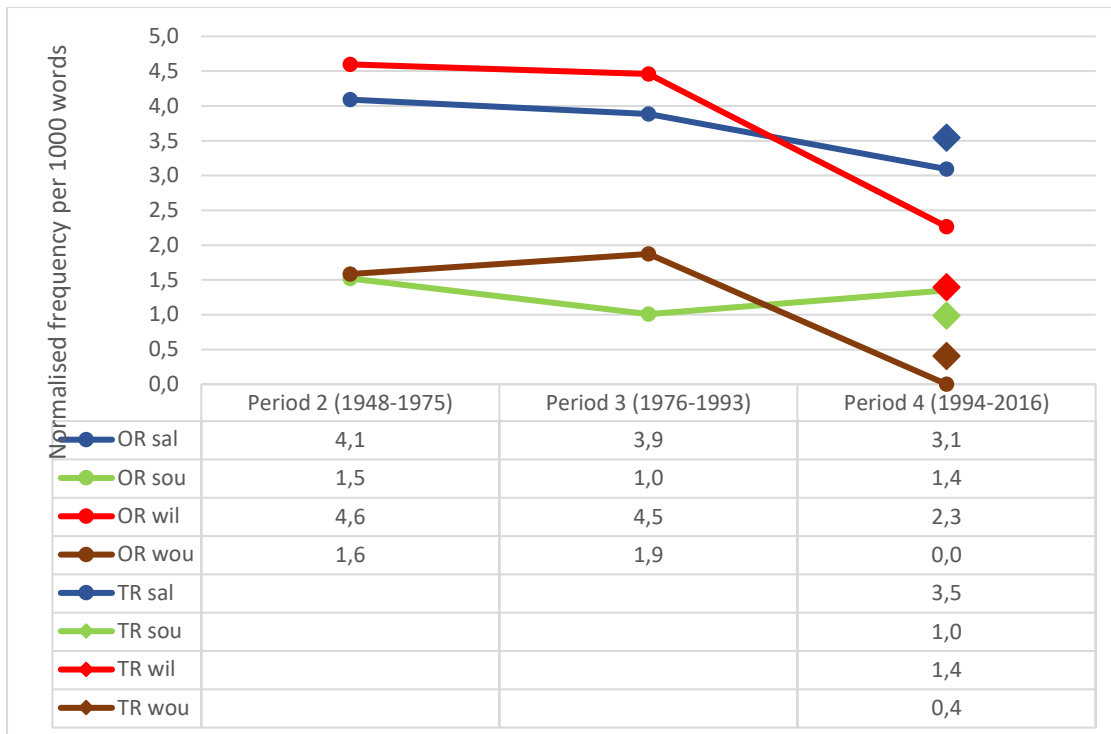


Figure A.49: Modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the creative writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

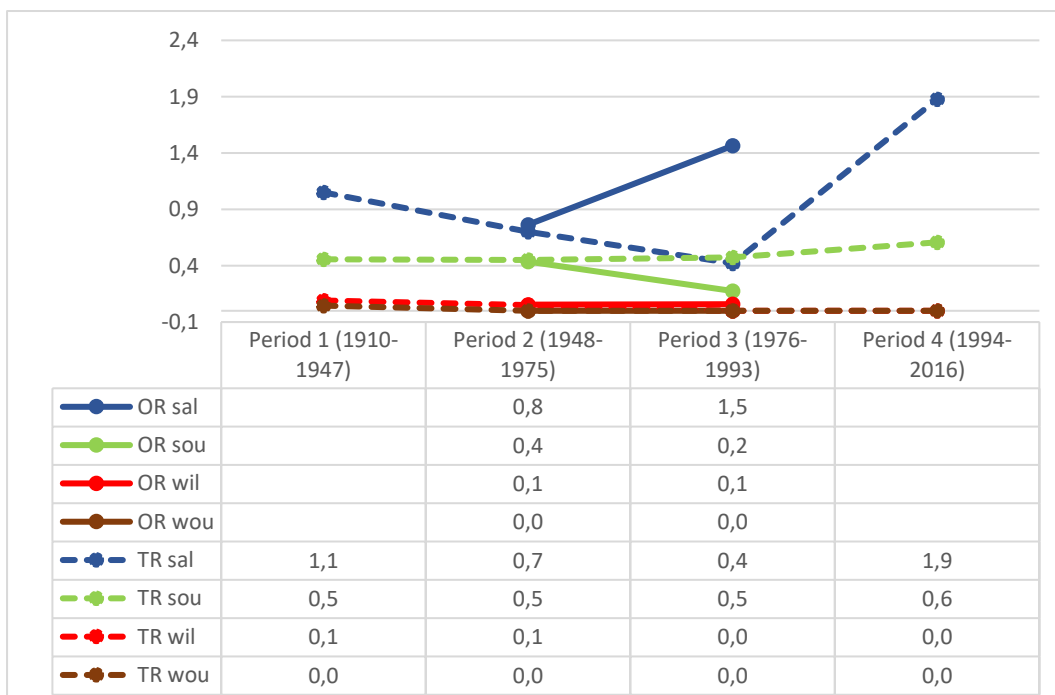


Figure A.50: Modals of the volition/prediction cluster in the instructional writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

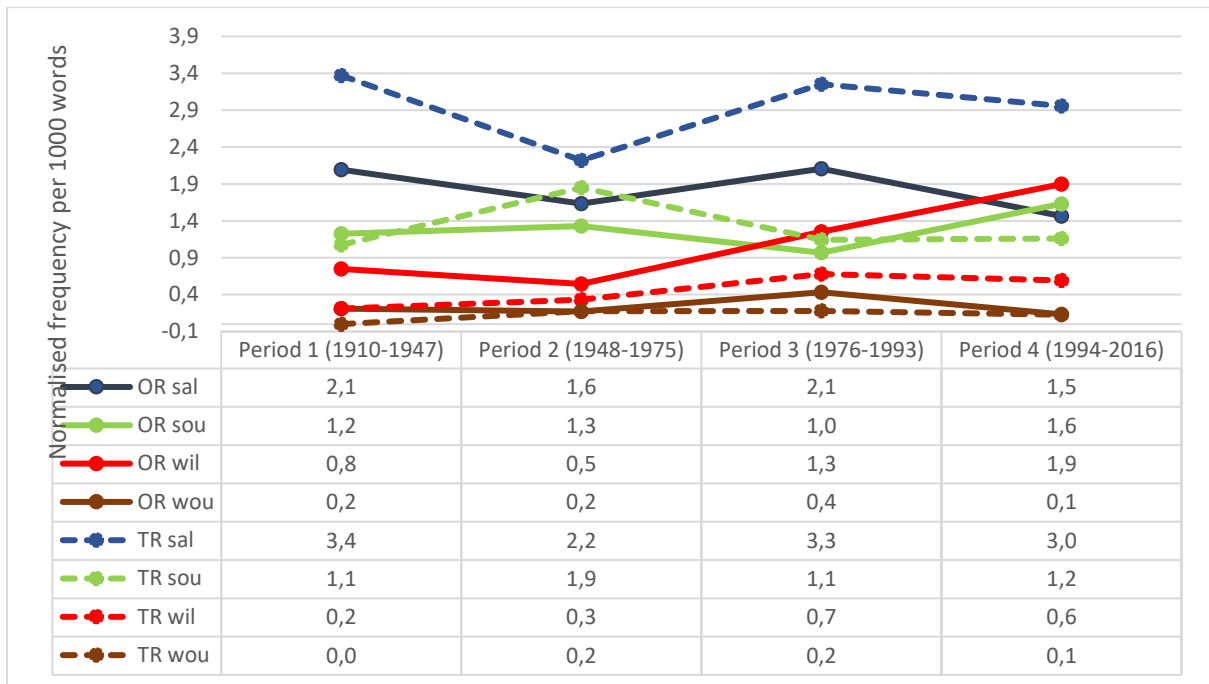


Figure A.51: Modals of the obligation/necessity cluster in the popular writing register of Afrikaans originals and translations

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