pynappel - pineapple
spaar(wiel), spaar(bril) - spare wheel, glasses
(spuit)kannetjie - spray can
(tiksters)poel - typing pool
(verkeers)vloei - traffic flow
(vlag)paal - flag pole

bank - (river) bank
ding - thing[1]
dis - dish (course)
fondse - funds
fooi(e) - fee(s)
grein - grain (wood; a grain of salt)
grond(e) - ground(s)[2]
kas - cash, case (of tomatoes)
laan - lane (freeway)
lyn - line (in a book)[3]
maak - make (brand)
merk - mark[4]
noot - note[5]
pes - pest
pan, pot - pan, pot[6]
pleisteraar - plasterer
punt - point[7]
skets - sketch (acted parody)
skou - show
skut - shot (a good shot)
spoed - speed (10-speed bike, speed limit)
stoet - stud (farm)
stoof - stove
(in volle) swang - (in full) swing
(3^e party)teken - (3rd party) token
veld - field (of science)
(in) vloed - in flood (a river)
vlot - float (in a procession)
vorm - (paper) form (to be filled in)
vuur (= brand) - fire

faal - to fail s.o., let s.o. down
groei - to grow (tr. verb)
haal - to hawl (s.o. over the coals)
kamp - to camp
kraak - to crack
lyk - to like[8]

meen (= bedoel)	-	to mean
merk	-	to mark[9]
oorkóm	-	to overcome
(skuldig) pleit	-	to plead (guilty)
reken	-	to reckon (think)
spaar	-	to spare (time)
takel	-	to tackle (s.o.)
vaar	-	to fare (well)
verplaas	-	to replace
wonder	-	to wonder[10]
aankomende (verkeer)	-	oncoming (traffic)
angstig	-	anxious
braaf	-	brave[11]
enig	-	any[12]
fyn	-	fine (a fine woman)
laas(jaar)	-	last[13]
naas(beste)	-	next (best)
olierig	-	oily (hair)
plomp	-	plump
raar	-	rare
uitgesproke	-	outspoken
uitstaande	-	outstanding (excellent)[14]
aan	-	on[15]
af	-	off[16]
al	-	all[17]
hardop	-	hard-up (broke)
reg	-	right[18]
skaars	-	scarcely (scarecely two weeks old)[19]
so	-	so[20](I believe, hope, think so)
sover	-	so far (= up till now)
wel	-	well[21]

1. As in *die in-ding, 'n snaakse ding* (fig.), *jou stoute ding, jou (eie) ding doen, die interessantste ding is dat, motorry is die lekkerste ding in die wêreld, daardie soort van ding/daardie tipe ding* (Dt.*dat soort dingen*), *dis die soort van ding wat, alle dinge gelyk synde, hoe is dinge?, dit van alle ding, dinge is aan die roer.* (cf. 7.1.1.1)

2. Also found in several compound nouns: *grondvloer, skougrond(e), speelgrond(e).*

3. Also found in several compound nouns and expressions: *hooflyn*

(newspaper) *kraglyn, pyplyn, dit is in lyn met ons politiek.* (cf. p.*98*)

4. Both the English noun and verb "to mark" are sometimes rendered by *merk: landmerk, jou merk maak, merkwerk, vraestelle merk, afmerk* (to mark down a price) (cf. 7.1.1.1)

5. As in *op daardie noot groet ons tot 8.00, op 'n noot van vertroue sluit.*

6. The semantic fields of English *pan* and *pot* (as kitchen utensils) correspond to those of Afrikaans *pan* and *pot,* which is not so in Dutch.

7. Commonly found in translated expressions: *sy sterk punt, wat is die punt daarvan?, 'n punt hê, by die punt kom, dis nie die punt nie, die punt huis toe bring.* (cf. 7.1.1.1)

8. Ostyn (1972:60) noticed the same phenomenon with Dutch *gelijken* in American Flemish (cf. p.*200-1* and *202-3*).

9. See note 4 above.

10. This word has been the subject of considerable debate during which no-one has mentioned the possibility of the noun *wonder,* which is not controversial, having simply changed function. (cf. 7.16) Mansvelt (1884:185) commented on it and Le Roux (1952:32) sees it as English in origin and attributes its *inburgering* to "sy kortheid", as does Terblanche (*Die Brandwag,* 18/10/46) who nevertheless discusses it in a column entitled "Twyfelagtige Anglisismes". Both Le Roux and Rademeyer (*Die Brandwag,* 19/7/46) seem to find it necessary to circumscribe *ek wonder* more indirectly than is necessary (e.g. *ek sou graag wil weet; ek is nuuskierig om te weet*) when in fact it corresponds exactly with *jou afvra,* an expression which is still in use. De Vooys (1925:105) mentions Dutch *wonderen* as being considered "een veld winnende Anglicisme" in poetry in 1910.

11. Whether *braaf* meaning "brave" is an anglicism or not has been the topic of much debate (cf. p.*52, 90, 131*).

12. The meanings of *enig* in Dutch (Geerts, i.a. 1984: 274) are such that it is difficult to ascertain where homophony with English "any" has affected the semantic field of this word. Mansvelt (1884:41) saw *enig* in the senses of *elk* and *een of ander* (e.g. *eenig mensch kan dat doen, noem enig dorp*) as anglicisms. His recording of the phenomenon is an indication of its antiquity in Afrikaans. Is that then the reason why it is no longer felt to be an anglicism or is it because Afrikaans has preserved an

older meaning of the word, as claimed by Francken (1912:279) who refers to Middle Dutch? Nevertheless, I feel it is highly likely that English has at least played a role (if it is not in fact the source) in the following functions of *enig: enige oomblik, te eniger tyd/enige tyd* (Dutch *te eniger tyd* = at **some** time), *enigiemand, enigeen, enigiets* (e.g. *erwe kos enigiets tussen R20 000 en R25 000*), *'n muis vreet enige ding, in enige stad in die land* (*in watter stad dan ook* is awkward by comparison), *hulle moenie op enige tone trap nie, dit kan niemand enige goed doen nie, sy wil nooit enige kinders hê nie.* The last three examples illustrate *enig* being used where English switches from "some" to "any" when a negative is involved; this particular use of *enig* is without any doubt an anglicism in my opinion.

13. German uses *letzt* as Afrikaans uses *laas* in expressions of time. This may therefore not be an anglicism although *laasnag* in the meaning of *gisteraand* definitely sounds like an anglicism, as does *laas* in *ek het twintig jaar laas van haar gehoor.*

14. Cf. also *uitstaan* p.*186.*

15. Partially homophonous *aan* is equated with English "on" in many contexts, cf. separable verbs p.*184-7* and prepositions p.*263.* It also occurs as an adverb in imitation of English usage: *Het jy iets vanaand aan?, en so aan, lateraan, verderaan.* Smith (*Die Naweek,* 28/10/48) discusses "Idiome met 'aan' wat geen Anglicismes is nie"

16. There is a large number of cases where *af* is equated with English "off" where English influence seems to be undeniable. Consequently, *af* occurs in Afrikaans in parts of speech that are unimaginable in Dutch, for example: *afspitstyd, af diens* (opposite of *aan diens*), *'n af naweek, die wyn is af.* (cf. separable verbs p.*184-5*) There is a variety of opinion about whether *welaf* is or is not an anglicism. (cf. Smith, *Die Naweek,* 11/11/48, 25/11/48, 2/12/48)

17. *Al, alles* and *almal* can all render English "all" in certain given contexts. Afrikaans syntax determines which is correct under the circumstances. On occasions *al,* presumably because of its phonological similarity to "all" is heard where Afrikaans grammar prescribes one of the other forms, for example: *Dis al van Suid-Afrikaanse materiaal gemaak, dis al, al die pad.*

18. There is some controversy about whether *jy is reg* is an anglicism or not, but the use of *reg* meaning "correct", as well as its use in the following expressions, does not seem to have been questioned at all. I think it is

highly likely that they are modelled on English and that the adverbial use of *reg* in the last four examples is without any doubt English: *dis reg, doodreg, as ek die argument reg begryp, so reg soos reën, reg oor die land, reg deur die naweek werk, reg in die middel van Johannesburg, reg vanaf die begin.*

19. The adverbial use of *schaars* as given in *Van Dale* does not seem to correspond with its use in Afrikaans but its use in Afrikaans and English is identical in certain cases.

20. In addition to the very frequent use of *so* meaning "thus" – very often at the beginning of an utterance as in English – it is also commonly heard in combination with *indien* in imitation of "(and) if so".

21. See note 16 above for *welaf* (cf. also Mansvelt 1884:182) and see p.*257* for a discussion of the conjunction *sowel as*. The use of *wel* in the following expressions where it is synonymous with *goed* would seem to be an anglicism: *hy het wel gedoen, ek kon net so wel nie gegaan het nie.* The frequency with which *wel* is used in Afrikaans at the beginning of an utterance (compare *so* in note 20 above), is probably due to English influence although this use of the word is not impossible in Dutch.

7.15 Synonymous couplets

The semantic fields of the two (and occasionally three) words in the following couplets differ somewhat from those of the cognate forms in Dutch. In all these cases English has only one lexical item to cover the semantic fields of both members of the couplet and thus it seems quite possible that the division between the two, usually quite clear in Dutch, has become blurred in Afrikaans due to them both being equated with one semanteme in English. Grüner (1980:5) calls the phenomenon *reduksie-interferensie* and Ostyn (1972:75) comments on it being a recognised phenomenon in bilingualism:

> "In the literature on bilingualism it has been noticed that if an immigrant language has several words covering a semantic area and the English language has only one, it is often this foreign element that will be introduced into the lexicon of the immigrant language. In doing so, it automatically supplants the entire set of native terms."

I do not intend to suggest that the words in all the following couplets are totally synonymous, but in certain contexts they show a synonymity that does not exist in Dutch.

Similar "synonymous" couplets where an indigenous word competes with an international loanword, are discussed in 7.4. However, *materiaal/stof* are mentioned here because they are a rare instance of the loanword being more common than the Germanic synonym and *ignoreer/negeer* have been included because both are loanwords in competition with each other.

In some of the cases mentioned below the popularity of one form over the other can be attributed to the (partial) homophony of that word with a cognate in English, for example: *laas/vorig, pyp/leiding*.

Generally speaking, the first word in each couplet occurs in contexts in Afrikaans where only the second is correct in Dutch, and not the reverse:

aansit/aantrek - to put on
aantrek/aanklee - to dress
afskrif/kopie (cf. *kopie*) - copy
bedoel/meen - to mean
been/graat - bone
behoort/moes - should (cf. p.*212*)
beskikbaar/verkrygbaar - available
brein/harsings - brain(s)
buitekant/buite - outside
dink/bedink - to think
dis/gereg - dish
dop/skild - shell (tortoise)
draai/keer - to turn
gemeensaam/gebruiklik - common
getal/aantal - number
(jouself) geniet/amuseer - to amuse oneself
graad/mate - degree
hang/ophang - to hang (a man)
ignoreer/negeer - to ignore
Kersfees/Kersmis - Christmas (cf. *Krismis* on p.*196*)
klank/geluid - sound
kopie/eksemplaar - copy
laasnag/gisteraand - last night
laas/vorig/verlede - last
leef/woon - to live
loods/gesagvoerder/piloot - pilot
lyk/uitsien - to look
materiaal/stof - material
meneer/heer - gentleman
middel/midde - middle
nodig hê/hoef - to need (cf. p.*212*)

nuuskierig/benieud - curious
omtrent/oor - about
onderwerp/vak - subject
onderwyser/leraar - teacher[28]
onthou/jou herinner - to remember[29]
oplui/opbel - to ring up[30]
opvoeding/opleiding/ opvoedkunde - education
ouderdom/leeftyd - age[31]
prop/stekker/stopkontak - plug (cf. p.*224*)
pyp/leiding - pipe
sak/tas - bag[32]
sny/knip - to cut
soos/as - as (cf. p.*256-7*)
span/ploeg - team
-sprekendes, -taliges - -speaking[33]
suid van/ten suide van - south of
teël/pan - (roof) tile
teken/bord - sign (traffic sign etc.)
teken/spoor - sign (i.e. trace)
toevoeg/aanbou - to add
toon/vertoon - to show (cf. *wys*)
verf/skilder - to paint (as in art)
verhouding/betrekking - relation
verstaan/begryp - to understand
vertoning/voorstelling - show, performance
vet/dik - fat
vra/stel - to ask (a question)
vuur/brand - fire
waardeer/takseer - to value
wys/vertoon/laat sien - to show (cf. *toon*)

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[28] According to *HAT*, *leraar* can also have the meaning of "teacher", as it does in Dutch (= secondary teacher), but this meaning is exceedingly rare.

[29] cf. Van Oostrum and Heslinga (1937:27)

[30] cf. Le Roux (1926:355)

[31] Ostyn (1972:213) found the same confusion of these two words in American Flemish. In addition *leeftyd* is found in the meaning of "lifetime" because of its partial homophony with its cognate in English. (cf. p.*226*)

[32] See Hiemstra's (1980:102) comments on *handsak* etc.

[33] Cohen in *Onze Taal* 85 (4) claims that *-talig* is a relatively new formation in Dutch and is not used by the common man, but I am not sure whether I agree with him. If it is so, the preference for *-sprekend* in Afrikaans presumably has nothing to do with English influence.

7.16 Change of function

As was discussed in 2.1.4, the close affinity of Afrikaans and English which, among other things, includes much common Germanic and international vocabulary and the loss of formal morphological distinction between the parts of speech, has worked in favour of many words changing their function, for example: as the word *bank* also occurs as a verb in English and as Afrikaans, like English, makes no formal distinction between nouns and verbs, the way was open for *bank* to also be used as a verb in Afrikaans. It is not necessary, however, for the words to be phonologically similar or etymologically related, as in the case of *bank*, for such change of function to take place, for example: where the Dutch talk of "service" (i.e. of a car, washing machine etc.) Afrikaners use the loan translation *diens*, derived from the verb *dien*, but as "service" in English is both a noun and a verb, its puristic translation also serves both functions in Afrikaans. When a word is borrowed from English that is both a noun and a verb in that language, there is a possibility that it will be borrowed in both senses, for example: *ghries* (noun and verb). The exact course of the process is not always clear, however: if the noun *prop* (cf. p.224) assumed a new meaning in Afrikaans under the influence of English, was that noun then simply used as a verb too (e.g. *inprop*) or did the Dutch verb *proppen* shift in meaning along with the noun? In other words, is the verb *prop* a case of semantic shift or change of function?

Although there are more cases of change of function from noun to verb and verb to noun, the phenomenon is not limited to these two parts of speech:

7.16.1 Noun > verb

bank			*paddastoel-*		to mushroom
blom			*poel*		
dieet			*raam*		
draf	-	to jog	*sirkel*		
galop			*spioen*		
kamp			*stort*	-	to shower
kolf			*toring oor*		
kontak			*vurk*	-	e.g. *die pad vurk*
lys	-	to list	*wonder* (cf. p.228)		
merk	-	e.g. to mark exams	*wurm*		

7.16.2 Verb > noun

breek - pause
(u-)draai
fok
gooi - e.g. *'n pragtige gooi*
kyk - e.g. *een kyk was genoeg, iemand 'n vuil kyk gee*
maak - brand (of a product)
moet
mondspoel
rook - *geen rook in die eerste 6 rye (nie)*[34]
swem - *dankie vir die swem*
wag - *'n lang wag*
weggee
wen - *dit betaal R50 vir 'n wen*

7.16.3 Noun/verb > noun/verb

bottel *ghries* *trok*
briek *monitor*

7.16.4 Noun > adjective

ek is dors, honger, jammer, reg, spyt (cf. Le Roux 1952:45)
ek voel jammer vir jou
beginsel (standpunte)
ekwivalent
gemeenplaas
gunsteling
korttermyn (probleem) (cf. p.7.28.7)

7.16.5 Adjective > noun

antiek(e) (sing, exists only as a coll. noun in Dt.)
burgerlike(s)
finaal (sport)
pedant (cf. p.*223*)
terminaal (computer)

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[34] It is not the use of an infinitive as a noun as such that constitutes the anglicism, for this is common to both Dutch and Afrikaans, but in this particular example *rook* is used nominally in a way that is not possible in Dutch (= Dt. *niet roken*).

7.16.6 Noun > adverb

volprys - *jy moet volprys betaal*
somer/winter - *die oord bied somer en winter...*

7.16.7 Adverb > noun

kontant - *hy is van kontant beroof; 'n bakkie vir kontant koop* (= Dt. *kontanten*)

7.16.8 Adjective > adverb

onbepaald - *die goudprys sal nie onbepaald* (indefinitely) *$340 per ons wees nie*
tweede - *hy het tweede gekom*

7.16.9 Adverb > adjective

'n af dag
binnenshuise versiering
onlangs (attrib. adj.) (cf. Ostyn 1972:252)
oornag - e.g. *geen oornag kampeerdery*
'n toe nes
'n verdere som van R50
'n welaf Jood

7.16.10 Adjective > verb

benodig (cf. p.*219*)

7.16.11 Preposition > adverb

af - *ons gaan af Kaapstad toe* (cf. p.*228*)
op - *ons gaan op Pretoria toe* (cf. p.*185*)
in - *is hy in?, die kar is in vir 'n diens*
voor - *padwerke voor*

7.16.12 Adverb > preposition

af - *af diens* (cf. *afhê, 'n af dag* and p.*230*)

7.16.13 Noun > preposition

binne-, buitekant

7.16.14 Verb > adverb/adjective

oornag - *geen oornag kampeerdery* (cf. 7.16.9); *dit het oornag gebeur*

7.17 Plural formation

7.17.1 The following nouns can be used in the plural in Dutch too but only when more than one item is referred to, for example: one set of "headphones" in Dutch is *een koptelefoon* whereas two sets are *koptelefoons; oorfone* on the other hand, like "headphones", has both meanings in Afrikaans:

brille
fondse[35]
fooie[35]
gronde, terreine
lyfwagte
oorfone
trappe, trappies
uitslae/resultate (of one game)
(buite)verkope
(water)valle

7.17.2 The following nouns cannot be quantified in Dutch, in as far as they exist in that language, and thus their use in the plural in Afrikaans is most probably English inspired:

baba-, seekosse
brandewyne
inruilings
kopsere
liefdadighede
magte (an individual's)
padwerke
telekommunikasies
(buite)verkope
(koue)vleise
voedsels
uit-, invoere
voere (animal feeds)

[35] It is not relevant to the point under discussion here that *fondse* and *fooie* have also undergone a shift in meaning because of their resemblance to like-sounding English words. (cf. 7.14)

7.17.3 The following proper nouns occur in the plural because they have a plural form in English:

Gouelokkies	*Parlementsgeboue*
Falklande	*Uniegeboue*

7.17.4 The following are individual cases of English inspired plurals:

hande skud (Dt. *de hand schudden*)
inrye (abbreviation of *inryteaters, -bioskope* which, like the English abbreviation "drive-ins", can take a plural ending)
nie-rokers-gedeelte van die kajuit
ek weet nie hoeveel brandewyne ek gedrink het nie (= glasses of)

7.17.5 It is not usual in European languages other than English for plurals such as the following to be used (i.e. those in bold print):

verskeie huise se ***dakke*** *is deur 'n storm afgeruk*
hulle het seker in hul ***grafte*** *omgedraai*
iemand se bloed het hierdie babas se ***lewens*** *gered*
vrouens mag nie lang ***broeke*** *dra nie*
die resepte is uitgewerk vir mense met redelike ***aptyte***

In such cases those languages regard each house as having only one roof, each person as lying in only one grave, each baby as having only one life etc. In Afrikaans there is a choice between the singular and the plural; the two compete with each other in free variation. Presumably the plural forms have arisen under the influence of English, although such plurals are occasionally heard in Dutch too.

7.17.6 As a result of parallel development in Afrikaans and English, *-s* plurals are more common in Afrikaans than in Dutch, although not as common as in English. Although the plural *arms* (< Dutch dialect) is not the result of English influence, *dwelms* (a shortened form of *dwelmmiddels*) is most probably modelled on "drugs". Although *bioskoop* and *masjien* officially take *-e* in the plural, one occasionally hears *-s*, presumably because the speaker regards them as loanwords; *kleims, sardiens, tjeks* and *tjops*, on the other hand, officially take *-s* because they are still regarded as loanwords, despite the graphical assimilation they have undergone. *Trems/tremme* and *pêls/pêlle* would seem to indicate that these loanwords have progressed a little further along the road to complete

assimilation, whereas *hotelle, plotte (plotjie)* and *tamponne* have gone even further – or is an *-s* plural in *trems* and *pêls* just as indigenously Afrikaans as an *-e* plural?

7.17.7 Weights, measures, currencies and expressions of time (i.e. *uur, jaar*) which are usually in the singular after numerals in Dutch, are found in the plural much more frequently in Afrikaans than is the case in Dutch. Nevertheless, *ik heb vyf uren staan wachten* is possible in Dutch although a certain emphasis on the amount of time one spent waiting is then implied, which is not necessarily the case in Afrikaans. The same applies to the use of *jaar*. The following are however most probably due to English influence:

'n vertraging van twintig ure
twee liters, kilometers, dollars, myle
twee onse goud

7.17.8 It is very common in Afrikaans to see firms referred to as *droogskoonmakers, brilmakers, bloemiste, algemene handelaars* etc. If the firm were *Cloete en seuns algemene handelaars* there would be a logical reason for using the plural, but it occurs just as frequently when there is only one proprietor, as in English, although the singular is also quite permissible in such cases, unlike English. The form *Serva-Uitgewers* is not unknown in Dutch but it is not frequent and would not occur in the Afrikaans cases mentioned above. It is difficult to be categorical here, as a combination of factors may be playing a role, but it seems highly likely that the influence of English cannot be dismissed out of hand. *Kruideniers* occurs as a collective in imitation of English "groceries", as does *droogskoonmakers* in the sense of one's "drycleaning", i.e. collection of items.

7.17.9 There are instances in Afrikaans where a singular is used, in line with English influence, where a plural occurs in Dutch; it is possible that contact with English has played a role in such cases:

inligting
daardie soort (van) ding (cf. p.228)
moeilikheid gee (= trouble)

7.18 Phonological influence

No-one would dispute that English has had a greater influence on Afrikaans than Afrikaans has had on English. The reasons are sociological and are discussed in chapter two. It is therefore all the more curious that the phonological interference in some forms of South African English resulting from the contact with Afrikaans seems to be more extensive than the influence of English on the sound system of Afrikaans. (see Lanham 1978:138-165 for examples)[36] Generally speaking, the only permanent and constant phonological influence in Afrikaans emanating from English is to be found in English loanwords, naturally enough, and in the international vocabulary where English and Afrikaans share cognate forms. Such cases of English influence, which form the basis of this section, now constitute an irreversible facet of Afrikaans phonology and should be regarded as examples of phonological change. The far less frequent examples of interference in the pronunciation of the phonemes of indigenous words (i.e. those of Germanic/Dutch origin), which some scholars have described, are, I would maintain, to be regarded merely as interference phenomena at this stage and cannot generally speaking yet be considered as constituting phonological change under English influence.

7.18.1 Indigenous vocabulary

The following are examples of this phonological interference in the pronunciation of indigenous vocabulary. Combrink (1968:16-17) sees omission of *r* at the end of a syllable in this light. Several scholars (e.g. Lanham 1967, Louw 1981, Du Plessis 1983) have observed the (growing) tendency in Transvaal to give long *a* a more rounded pronunciation, i.e. more like *o*. It seems to have escaped the notice of modern scholars that Mansvelt (1884) also observed this tendency in the Cape and commented:

> "A. (de lange) heeft in veler mond een klank die naar de Geldersche en Noordbrabantsche oa zweemt."

Mansvelt also maintains, quite correctly, that he has read that it occurs in Amsterdam too. It would seem to me that the phenomenon as such is not necessarily English in origin, but that English may be contributing to the current growing frequency thereof. Louw (1981:268) refers to Pienaar's (1947) comments on the aspiration of [p], [t] and [k] and unrounding of

[36] In his treatment of the pronunciation of South African English published in 1967, Lanham attributed most of its characteristic features to British English dialects or spontaneous development; by 1978 he seems to have changed his mind in this respect in some notable cases.

certain vowels. This aspiration is, in my opinion, haphazard enough to be regarded as an interference phenomenon which is as yet not common or consistent enough to be of relevance to a discussion on phonological change in Afrikaans. (cf. Van Wyk 1976:142 on aspiration of [t]) Reference to the unrouding of [œy], [ø] and [y] is, on the other hand, frequent enough to warrant further comment here. Although these three sounds do undoubtedly constitute a difficulty for native-speakers of English, I can find no valid argument to assert that their unrounding by native-speakers of Afrikaans is caused by the contact with English. In a similar way it has been claimed that the raised pronunciation of [e:][37] and [o:] in Afrikaans is the result of English influence but it is now generally accepted that this is not the case and that the so-called *Bolandse verhoging* is possibly an example of Malay-Portuguese influence. (cf. Rousseau 1937:135, Van Rensburg, and Combrink 1982:83) Nevertheless, it is perhaps worth noting that a common characteristic of an English accent in Dutch is the raising of long *e* and *o* to a position similar to that of Dutch *i* and *u* (written *ie* and *oe*).

7.18.2 Loanwords

It is interesting to compare the way in which English loanwords are pronounced in Dutch with the way they are treated in Afrikaans. Because the average Afrikaner's knowledge of English is vastly superior and more intimate than that of the average Dutchman, he tends to pronounce English loanwords more or less as in English, regardless of how they are spelt. The Dutchman, on the other hand, slavishly follows the written word; to him that is primary, whereas to the Afrikaner the spoken word is primary. A good example of this is provided by the word *poeding/pudding*. The Dutchman retains the English spelling while giving it a Dutch pronunciation, whereas the Afrikaner retains the English pronunciation while giving it an Afrikaans spelling. The Dutchman is generally speaking not able to pronounce an English (or French) phoneme in a loanword used in a Dutch sentence; the word automatically undergoes a degree of phonological assimilation, for example: garage [xaraʒə], Omo [o:mo:]. The Afrikaner, however, seems to have no difficulty whatsoever in incorporating an English word, even an indispensable, frequently used one,[38] into

[37] It is interesting to note what Mansvelt (1884:41) had to say on this issue:

> "E (de scherpe lange) klinkt in 't Bovenland in vele woorden als ie; waarschijnlijk door Eng. invloed, want anders – als 't van een Ned. dialekt afstamde, waarin b.v. been als bien, twee als twie, enz., klinkt – zou die uitspraak zich hier niet tot een zekere streek bepalen."

[38] I do not agree that what Boshoff (1921:413) claims is necessarily the case any more although his statement may have had more validity in 1921 when Afrikaner bilingualism had not reached the heights it has today: "Die graad van ingeburgerdheid van leenwoorde blyk o.a. uit die manier waarop hulle uitgespreek word."

an Afrikaans sentence while preserving phonemes which do not otherwise occur in his language, for example: [gəra:dʒ], [œumœu]. Another example is provided by the loanwords that contain the English sound [æ]. They preserve that sound more or less perfectly in Afrikaans, although it is not a phoneme of that language, but the Dutch inevitably shift it to the nearest indigenous phoneme, [ɛ]. Thus a spelling *sleng* is more justified in Dutch than in Afrikaans where such a puristic spelling is at odds with the actual pronunciation. (cf. Smith 1962:59-60)

De Villiers (1973:33) comments on the occurrence of [ɪ] in Afrikaans in words (e.g. *pienk, India*) where one might otherwise expect [ə]:[39]

> Ons sê almal pienk en ons sê ook speaker met 'n lang ie, en tog is dit teen ons klanksisteem."

7.18.3 International vocabulary

Although the claim that English has had little or no effect on the pronunciation of Afrikaans can be considered valid as far as indigenous vocabulary is concerned, there are several phenomena in the pronunciation of the international vocabulary which are undoubtedly due to the contact with English, presumably because of the presence of cognate forms in English and the extremely common, if incorrect, belief that such words are anglicisms in Afrikaans.

Before proceeding to look at examples of this form of English influence, it is worthwhile devoting a little time to a phenomenon which has been widely debated in the literature on anglicisms and which has been commonly attributed to English but which has also been commonly refuted; the latter point of view would seem to prevail nowadays. This concerns the pronunciation of *e* and *o* in unstressed open syllables in words of classical origin, for example: *element, president, rekreasie; opposisie, polisie, prokureur*. In Dutch such vowels are still clearly pronounced long in accordance with the rules for the pronunciation of vowels in open syllables (Actually a similar tendency has been observed in Dutch, particularly with reference to *e*. cf. Martin 1968); in Afrikaans, however, they are either reduced to short vowels or even schwa on occasions, as in English. Consequently Rousseau (1937:144) and Le Roux (1952:48) regard this phenomenon as the result of English influence, whereas Smith (1962:72)[40]

[39] Lanham (1967:107) refers to this sound as low schwa, but high schwa is a more appropriate way to describe the sound in Afrikaans in my opinion.

[40] Smith (1938:32) takes Rousseau to task on this point in the former's review of the latter's book. Smith adds, however: "Dit is moontlik dat Engels daartoe bygedra het om

questions whether other internal mechanisms are not at work here and De Villiers (1970:249) presents a convincing argument to substantiate this claim. I am not sure to what extent teachers still prescribe the use of long vowels in such cases in Afrikaans, but I suspect that the notion has not yet disappeared completely. In this regard it can be useful to note the following comment by Paardekooper with reference to Dutch which was quoted by Kloeke (1951:51):

> "Bij deze woorden [bedoeld zijn woorden als stesjón, benáál, peróchie, kemíés, kenáál, revíér, tebák, mezíék, kenón, cheféúr] is de vraag niet zo zeer, hoeveel mensen beelden zich in dat ze in tabak een [a] spreken, maar: is er nog wel iemand die het doet, en is er dus wel sprake van een [a]-foneem?... Een fonetisch onderzoek zal vrij zeker op de eerste vraag een ontkennend antwoord geven. In dat geval dient de realiteit van de šva-uitspraak hier aanvaard en 'gestandaardiseerd' te worden."

Paardekooper's, Kloeke's and De Villiers' claims amount in effect to asserting that this phonological change is part of the *vergermaansing* of such words. If one accepts this argument, the issue requires no further attention in the present work except in as far as it is yet another example of a pseudo-anglicism.

[œ] > [ʌ]

The *u* in the closed syllable of the following words is frequently pronounced as in the corresponding English cognate forms. Most people would regard this as an interference phenomenon:

multinasionaal	*rubber*	*Tukkies*
publiek	*Jan Smuts*	
reproduksie	*subkategorie*	

In the following loanwords the *u* is always pronounced [ʌ]:

bluff	*klub*[41]	*trust(ee)*[42]
bunker	*rugby*	
custard	*sultana*	

hierdie uitspraak te bevorder of te bestendig." One cannot dismiss this possibility.

[41] In this word the final *b* even retains its voicing, as it does in *snob;* it has been assimilated in spelling only.

[42] The final *-t* in *trust* is foreign to Afrikaans phonology.

[œ] > [u]

In these words the pronunciation also deviates from the spelling; here too the English pronunciation of the *u* is retained, even when *bulletin* is given a pseudo-French pronunciation, i.e. [bulə'tin]:

bulhond *bulletin* *karakul*

[y] > [ju]

Virtually every scholar that has commented on English influence on Afrikaans phonology has remarked on this phenomenon and usually condemned it. I contend that this must now be regarded as an irreversible shift, i.e. an example of phonological change under English influence. Compared with Dutch not only the insertion of [j] is new but also the shift from [œ] > [u], as in the category above.

individueel[43] *simuleer*
kultureel[43] *situasie*[43]
museum *Uganda*
ritueel

[e] > [i]

The raising of [e] to [i] in indigenous words was discussed above where it was concluded that it is not an anglicism. This is most probably not the case when it occurs in international vocabulary such as the following although a combination of factors may be at work here:

Jesus[44] *museum* *Armeniër* *TV*
kafeteria *senior* *Korea*
magnesium *spesies* *Matabele*
media *Theo* *Rhodesiër*

The following commonly used loanwords, some of which could be considered as international vocabulary, retain English phonemes which are otherwise unknown to Afrikaans:

[43] The combination of a dental consonant + [j] has also given rise to a fricative in such words, as in English, i.e. [dʒ] < [d] + [j] and [ʧ] < [t] + [j].

[44] The pronunciation of *Jesus* is recognised as having been influenced by English by Van der Merwe and Ponelis (1982: 98).

[æ]

brag(gerig)(heid)
fancy
grand
mango
pal
platform

[œu]

gigolo
judo
mango
ponie

[dʒ]

budjie
enjin
garage
gelatien
Genève
gigolo
jellie (but not *jokkie* and *jurie*)
Jesuïet
jolly/jollie
judo
margarien
prestige (also with [ʒ])
pyjamas

Van Jaarsveld (1979:19) refers to sounds such as [dʒ] in Afrikaans as *randfoneme*.

[dʒ], [tj], [ʃ] as in respectively

individueel *kultureel* *tersiêr*[45]

[g]

gigolo
(in al sy) glorie
gorilla
migraine
Uganda

[ʃ]

Rondebosch *Stellenbosch*

[45] The same tendency exists in Dutch ([ts] or [s]) but it seems to be stronger in Afr.

[v]

via	*visie*
video	*visueel*
virus	*visum*

[w]

wattelboom (cf. p.*196, 204*)
whopper-pak
(moenie) worry (nie)

Bilabial w is an allophone of [v] in Afrikaans which occurs only in certain limited positions (e.g. *twee*) but never initially as in the loanwords above. *Worcester* is pronounced with a [v] in Afrikaans but *Wellington* is not, curiously enough.

[z]

museum
zero

7.19 Stress

Changes in the stress pattern of the international vocabulary of Afrikaans have occurred, or are still in the process of occurring, which are now quite irreversible in the language, despite the fact that all prescriptive works condemn the development. The similarity between the indigenous stress patterns of English and Afrikaans are discussed on p.*51*. English too has instances of an indigenous first syllable stress competing with a final stress in words of French origin, for example: "bouquet, garage". This development is analogous to what is happening in Afrikaans in words such as *konflik* and *kontak:* in the words in 7.19.1 some native-speakers will now regard the stress on the first syllable as the only possible stress while in Dutch all these words require a stress on the second syllable, with the exception of *kano* and *sjampoe* which always take the stress on the first syllable in Dutch.

Prescriptive works all seem to assume that vocabulary such as that given below, because it occurs in Dutch, should be regarded as indigenous in Afrikaans and should therefore retain the traditional stress pattern of such loanwords in Dutch, i.e. the French pattern. It is very difficult, or even

impossible, to ascertain exactly what the source of this vocabulary is in Afrikaans:[46] it is highly likely that much of it entered Afrikaans directly from English without the medium of Dutch, as the many such loanwords that are unknown in Dutch and French prove (cf. 7.12.1) If this is the case, is there any sense in insisting on a foreign stress when the natural stress in English, the (possible) source language, is on the first syllable and when this also happens to be in line with the natural stress of indigenous words in Afrikaans? (cf. De Bruto 1970:42 – quoted on p.*51*) The word *motoris*, for example, is not Dutch or French – they use *automobilist* – and yet this word takes a final stress in Afrikaans and initial stress in English, definitely the source language in this case. This phenomenon is not exclusive to Afrikaans, however. In Dutch bisyllabic English loanwords of the type *flash-back, know-how, stand-by* etc. all stress the final syllable, presumably because the first such loans (e.g. *pick-up*) reached Dutch via French and that pattern was then fixed for all later loans. The Dutch, being more English oriented now than previously when a knowledge of French was more widespread, these days regard the French loanword *occasion* (bargain, good buy) as English and pronounce it as such with the stress on the second syllable and not on the last. The guiding principle behind the stress here is not the language of origin of the loanword, but the association in the mind of the speaker of this word with its English cognate: the same principle applies in Afrikaans.

English too, although its natural stress usually falls on the first syllable, often stresses foreign words and place names on the second/final syllable even when in the languages that the words are borrowed from the stress occurs on the first syllable, for example: *Bhután, batík, saróng;* presumably English people regard this stress as correct because it sounds so foreign.

7.19.1 The words in this group, according to prescriptive works on the topic, require a stress on the final syllable but are in fact commonly, and in some cases even usually, pronounced with the stress on the first syllable; deviations from this pattern are referred to in the footnotes:

aspek[47] *objek* *subjek* *insek*

---

[46] Boshoff (1921:414) takes up this point and takes Smith to task on his claim that the English stress in such words is evidence of English being the source language. Smith may be right but equally the stress can have been borrowed from English at a later date – with increased bilingualism – without the word itself necessarily having entered Afrikaans via English.

[47] It is noteworthy that *HAT* gives only final stress for *aspek, objek* and *subjek* but recognises both stresses in *insek*.

impak
kano[48]
karkas[49]
kompleks
konflik
kontak
kontrak
kontras
publiek
sjampoe[50]
(weer)buro

7.19.2 This group only differs from 7.19.I in the number of syllables each word contains; otherwise the phenomenon is the same. Whether such trisyllabic words are more or less susceptible to initial stress than the bisyllabic words in 7.19.1, I have been unable to ascertain.

abattoir
bulletin[51]
fantasie
hospitaal (cf. 7.19.6)
manuskrip
mikrofoon
paradoks
restourant
saxofoon
telefoon
telegram

7.19.3 It is not uncommon to hear *Amsterdam* and particularly *Stellenbosch* pronounced in Afrikaans with initial stress. The former is definitely due to English and the latter presumably – even the *-sch* is commonly pronounced [ʃ] – but it is possible that an internal analogy is at work; compare *Kirstenbosch* and *Rondebosch* which always take initial stress in Afrikaans, or did this also ultimately originate in English?

7.19.4 These three words, the first of which is an often cited case of English influenced stress, differ from the above examples in that the shift is

48 Although Dutch has only *káno, HAT* recognises both *káno* and *kanó,* while in practice one only ever hears the latter. Has English "canoo" shifted the scales in favour of final stress?

49 Van der Merwe and Ponelis (1982) recognise both stresses without further comment.

50 I include *sjampoe* here not because it is ever pronounced with initial stress in Afrikaans, but it is in Dutch. This is probably an example of an English word, borrowed in turn from Hindi, which has been adopted directly by Afrikaans without the medium of Dutch.

51 When this word takes initial stress, it is pronounced more or less as in English; when the final syllable is stressed, the final vowel is lengthened. In Dutch, where only final stress occurs in this word, the stressed syllable is pronounced with a nasalised vowel as in French. (cf. p.*244*)

from the penultimate, not the final syllable, to the first:

minister *senator* *silinder*

7.19.5 The shift here is from the final to the penultimate syllable:

epilepsie *histerie*
eutanasie *nostalgie*

Histerektomie is also stressed as in English although *HAT* maintains it has final stress.

7.19.6 It is curious that the following words are always pronounced with final stress, unlike in English, even though some of them (*basketbal, inkrement, permit*) are loanwords from English. In Dutch *kontext* and *standaard* are stressed on the first syllable. *HAT* concedes that this pronunciation of *standaard* sometimes occurs in Afrikaans too. Dutch, while also stressing *toilet* on the final syllable, pronounces the first syllable as in French too, i.e. [twa] whereas Afrikaans pronounces it as in English, i.e. [toi]. It would seem that in these words there is a conscious attempt to make them sound as un-English as possible, giving rise to a hypercorrect stress pattern. *HAT* recognises both *hóspitaal* and *hospitáál* whereas *Van Dale* recognises only the former; this could also be the result of hypercorrectism to avoid what is regarded as an English stress, but it may also be the result of analogy with other words ending in *-aal* that do take the stress on the ending in Dutch too, for example: *internasionaal, potensiaal.* The unusual stress in *akademikús, politikús, pagína,* and *platína* has nothing to do with English influence.

basket(bal) *permit*
inkrement *standaard*
konteks *toilet*

7.20 Geographic names

Because English serves as South Africa's window on the world, the form of certain geographic terms in Afrikaans often betrays English influence.

7.20.1 As in other international vocabulary (cf. p.*244*), stressed [e] is regularly pronounced as [i]: *Indonesië, Kenia, Korea, Peking, Pretoria, Rhodesië/Rhodesies, Venesië.* Both *Tunisië* and *Tunesië* occur, the former under English influence?

7.20.2 Certain place names contain English phonemes:

a) *Kirstenbosch, Rondebosch* and *Stellenbosch* are commonly pronounced with [ʃ].
b) *Constantia* is also pronounced with a [ʃ].
c) The initial sound in *Genève* is not [ʒ] but [dʒ].
d) The *ae* in *Israel* is pronounced as in English and not as two syllables.
c) *Mauritius,* a Dutch name in origin, is pronounced as in English.
f) *Venesië* is pronounced with a [v] not an [f]. (cf. p.*246*)
g) *Singapoer* is pronounced with a [ŋg].

7.20.3 Some place names are pronounced with an English stress:

a) *Amsterdam, Kirstenbosch* and *Stellenbosch* sometimes take the stress on the first syllable.
b) *Tsjeggoslowaak* has an even stress on the first and third syllables, as in English, whereas in Dutch the first and especially the fourth are stressed.
c) *Belgrado* in Dutch is stressed on the first syllable, as in English.
The fact that the second syllable is stressed in Afrikaans may be connected with a certain unfamiliarity with the word or is it a hypercorrect pronunciation attempting to avoid an "English" stress"?

7.20.4 *Bavaries, Durbaniet* and *Australianer,* frequently heard alongside *Australiër,* are English in formation. *Mediterreens* may also be modelled on English as Dutch only has *Mediterraan.*

7.20.5 The frequent reference to *Brittanje* (without *Groot*) is prob-

ably also English in origin; as far as I am aware, "Great" is only omitted in English, not in other European languages.

These days the *VOC* seems to be better known in Afrikaans as the *Hollandse Oos-Indiese Kompanie* (even abbreviated to *HOIK*), a literal translation from English.

7.20.6 Some geographic regions occur in the plural in imitation of English: *die Himalajas, die Falklande, die Solomons;* uncontaminated forms would be *die Himilaja (-gebergte), die Falklandeilande, die Solomoneilande.* In fact, in Dutch (and German) even *Fidji* must be accompanied by the word *eilanden;* is *Fidji* thus not also an anglicism in Afrikaans?

Although it is hardly perceived as a plural any more, it is worth noting that Afrikaners regularly refer to *Brussels* (with [œ] as in Afrikaans and not [ʌ] as in English) instead of *Brussel.*

7.20.7 Sometimes Afrikaans employs puristic geographic terms to avoid using the English words which **are** used in Holland in such instances: *Bombaai, Cornwallis, Wallis/Wallies/Walliser, Kantelberg* (now used only in *de Kantelbergse vertellingen* in Dutch).

7.20.8 *Ivoorkus* is used in combination with the definite article, as in English.

7.20.9 The occasional use of *Poland* instead of *Pole* betrays a greater acquaintance with the English name than the Afrikaans, its use being facilitated by the fact that it looks as Afrikaans as it does English. The same applies to *Antwerp* and *Antwerpen.*

7.20.10 *Maleia* (compare Dutch and German *Malaja*) is an example of an Afrikaans transcription of an English pronunciation.

7.21 Abbreviations

Several abbreviations in Afrikaans would seem to be English inspired.

7.21.1 *Opul* (Opec), *Vigs* (Aids) and *...en Kie* (...and Co.) are puristic translations of the corresponding English abbreviations which also have in common with those the fact that they function as acronyms.

7.21.2 *B.B.P.* (V.I.P.), *b.v.p.* (l.b.w.), *I.K.* (I.Q.), *k.b.a.* (c.o.d.) and *L.V.* (M.P.) function as words, like their English equivalents, without the words they stand for needing to be mentioned.

7.21.3 *Bpk.* (ltd.), *edms.* (pty.) and *vk. m.* (sq. m.) resemble their English equivalents in that it is apparently considered necessary to employ more than the first letter of the word being abbreviated. In addition, the plural form *mnre* (messrs) would also seem to be in imitation of English.

7.21.4 The following lexical items are in fact abbreviations of longer compound nouns which correspond exactly with similar abbreviations current in English. *Aanglip* (slip-on), *bra* (brassière),[52] *dwelms* (drugs, < *dwelmmiddels*), *foon* (phone),[53] *galeie* (galleys, < *galeiproef*), *gereedheids* (stand-by),[54] *Southern Lewens* (Southern Life Assurance),[54] *inry* (drive-in),[55] *kaf* (caf.), *kar* (car), *naskeer* (aftershave), *sant* (sarge), *geld trek* (to draw money),[56] *'n vier-wiel aangedrewe* (a four-wheel drive).

The common colloquial saying *sien jou later* corresponds in idiom and in abbreviation with English (< see you later < I'll see you later) and is presumably English inspired.

52 This could alternatively be regarded as a loanword as the original form is seldom used any more even in English.

53 In addition to the abbreviation *foon*, the compound noun *oorfone* (also plural as in English) occurs too. (cf. p.*237*)

54 *Gereedheids* and *lewens* both contain a genitive *-s* for purposes of a compound which is not complete; the second part of the compound in the former case, as in English, can be *-kaartjie* or *-vlug* etc.

55 Not only is *bioskoop* or *teater* not necessary, but *inry* is also used in the plural in imitation of "drive-ins" (*inrye*).

56 Is it possible that one can either *trek* or *onttrek* money in Afrikaans because one can either "draw" or "withdraw" it in English?

7.22 Adjectives

7.22.1 Omission of adjectival inflection

Those cases where adjectival inflection is omitted which can be attributed to the contact with English apply only to the historically genitive ending *-s* after *iets* and *niks*. Ponelis (1979:120) states that "Die adjektiviese -s is sterk fakultatief in die omgangstaal". He makes no direct mention of English influence here but in Afrikaans sources *omgangstaal* can include *deur Engels beïnvloede taalgebruik*. (cf. use of *geselstaal* in *HAT*, p.*111*) Nevertheless, Ponelis goes on to show that this optional *-s* is less common the longer the "adjektiefstuk" is, for example *iets te erg duur(s)*, which suggests that other internal factors may (also) be at work. Van der Merwe and Ponelis (1982:88,138) do state that this development has probably occurred under English influence.

Nominalisation of adjectives (i.e. *'n geel een* versus *'n gele*) cf. 7.27.7.

7.22.2 Formation of the comparative and superlative

If one consults the rules for the use of *meer* and *meest* in the comparative and superlative in the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (Geerts i.a. 1984:334-5), one sees that although their use is limited, there are more cases in Dutch where such analytical constructions are permitted than in Afrikaans. (cf. Basson i.a. 1982:57) The following comment is made after enumeration of the rules in *ANS:*

> "Het gebruik van omschreven trappen van vergelijking in andere dan de hier vermelde gevallen is niet voor iedereen acceptabel, bijv. Zelfs de meest ingewikkelde problemen kan hij oplossen."

I dwell on the use of *meer* en *meest* in Dutch because Basson (1982:57), Botha and Van Aardt (1978:27) and Van der Merwe and Ponelis (1982: 127), to name but a few, are quick to condemn the use of this form of comparison outside a very few limited cases (far fewer than Dutch) as an anglicism. There is presumably little doubt that English has contributed to the practice but the situation in Dutch perhaps indicates that the issue is not as straightforward as has usually been assumed in South Africa. Ponelis (1979:279), where one might have expected a more thorough discussion of the matter, does not unfortunately really tackle it head on, but he also refrains from mentioning English influence. Ponelis is altogether rather wary in his *Afrikaanse Sintaksis* of postulating English influence.

Pleonastic forms such as *meer deftiger* and *mees akuutste* are particularly common in Afrikaans, as they are in substandard English. Van der Merwe and Ponelis (1982:127) see such forms as "beslis" the result of English influence. (cf. Ostyn 1972:127) However, I believe that there is even a tendency in Afrikaans to use *meer* and *mees* with monosyllabic adjectives, which is quite rare in English, so analogy may now be promoting the practice in Afrikaans in an orbit outside English influence.

The frequent use of *nog* after superlatives is in imitation of English: *die grootste nog* – the biggest yet/ever.

7.23 Articles

7.23.1 Omission of the definite article

Ponelis (1979:481) uses the term "die-ellips" but confines his observations to one specific instance. There are various categories where the definite article must be used in Dutch and where it is absent in Afrikaans. It is highly likely in such cases that the absence of an article in the corresponding English expressions has contributed to the omission in Afrikaans. Steyn (1976:33) lists several cases, not all of which correspond with English usage, however.

7.23.1.1 Omission before certain adjectives:

Meeste van die tyd/meeste van die voorrade (Afrikaans prescriptive works demand a *die* here), *volgende in Netwerk/jy is volgende, McEnroe is verste van die kamera.* Whether *verste* in the final example is the superlative of the adjective or the adverb, an article is required in both cases in Dutch.

7.23.1.2 Omission before certain nouns: *tye het verander, helfte van hulle* (cf. *meeste van hulle*), *die temperatuur het onder vriespunt gedaal, hy is in moeilikheid.* In the last case *HAT* maintains it is correct to say *in die moeilikheid,* but I suspect the whole expression is a loan translation of "he is in trouble." (cf. Dt. *hij is in moeilijkheden*)

7.23.1.3 Omission in certain prepositional phrases: *10 onder baansyfer (golf), aan bewind, na geboorte, in geheim, op hoërskool, op*

kampus, na kerk, op land, in lewe (e.g. *hy het in lewe groot plesier gehad*), *in praktyk, bo seevlak, op televisie, op universiteit, na werk, kragtens/volgens wet.*

7.23.1.4 Omission before languages, meals, seasons and street names: *in Engels, uit Duits; na aandete, middagete sal kort bedien word; gereed wees vir winter; Kerkstraat, op Hoffmanplein.*

7.23.1.5 Omission before certain abstract nouns, including religions: *Die Instituut vir Bevordering van Calvinisme* (a double example), *dis 'n groter gevaar as kolonialisme, Parlement het besluit, die geskiedenis van skrif.* Langenhoven (1935:110) was adamantly opposed to the use of *die* in such cases; he regarded *die abstrakte die* as illogical. Ponelis (1979: 481) discusses the role of English in this regard giving examples such as *(Die) instroming van vars lug kan plaasvind, dit verseker (die) instroming van vars lug.*

7.23.1.6 The definite article is frequently omitted from the expression *in die besonder,* presumably in imitation of *in particular,* as it is from *in die geheim* (in secret).

7.23.2 Insertion of the definite article: *Ivoorkus* is accompanied by the definite article, as in English and unlike Dutch. The Dutch/Afrikaans expression *die man op straat* often inserts an article or is even translated literally as *die man in die straat.*

7.23.3 Insertion of the indefinite article[57]

7.23.3.1 In the following expressions Dutch does not employ the indefinite article but English does: *'n kopseer kry, 'n oog vir 'n oog, 'n tand vir 'n tand* (*HAT* gives *oog om oog* etc. as in Dutch), *R50 'n maand (= per), 'n soort van 'n* (cf. p.*265*), *'n honderd rand* (cf. p.*260*).

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[57] De Bruto (1970:38) even regards the frequent pronunciation of *'n* as [ə] as an anglicism but in Le Roux's (1968:25-33) detailed study of the pronunciation of *'n* he makes no mention of English influence. De Bruto is presumably incorrect. It is interesting to note that the indefinite article in Yiddish (< German *ein*) has also been reduced to a schwa, as it has been in other southern German dialects.

7.23.3.2 Insertion of the indefinite article before professions and nationalities. Although the use of an article in such positions is possible in Dutch, it is not the general rule (except when the noun is preceded by an adjective). If it is used, it is heard more frequently with nationalities than with professions. No such distinction seems to exist in Afrikaans which follows English usage in practice. Ponelis (1979:120) only deals with insertion of the article before professions. Taking examples such as *Jan is/word/bly dosent aan die POK* he says "In die omgangstaal word daar nou egter algemeen *'n* hier ingeroep onder Engelse inwerking: Jan is 'n dosent aan die POK."

7.23.4 *HAT* recognises *vir die afwisseling* and makes no mention of *vir die verandering* (as in Dutch). In practice, however, *vir 'n verandering* seems to be the most common expression, the substitution of the indefinite for the definite article being presumably in imitation of "for a change".

7.24 Conjunctions

7.24.1 Afrikaans has two conjunctions, *as* and *soos*, where English has only one, "as". (Discussion here is limited to those meanings of *as* which correspond to English "as.") The distinction between *als* and *zoals* is clearly defined in Dutch (cf. Geerts i.a. 1984:664-667), as it is in theory in Afrikaans, but in practice there seems to be some confusion in Afrikaans as to where to draw the line between the functions of the two. Presumably this occurs because of a subconscious awareness of the two being one concept in English.

7.24.1.1 *Dit klink soos 'n grap (als), so hard as/soos klip* (*als* – Van der Merwe and Ponelis 1982:177 recognise both), *vyf keer so groot as/soos Brittanje (als), dis net so 'n deel van die stad as/soos die gewelhuise (als), as/soos volg, as/soos belowe (zoals).*The forms given in brackets are those required in Dutch.

7.24.1.2 In the following cases the *as/soos* is superfluous but *as* is used in the equivalent English expressions: *so gou as moontlik, sodra as/soos, sover soos ek weet,in sover as.* In the last case *HAT* gives *[in/vir] sover ek weet* where only insertion of *voor* is possible in Dutch (The anglicism *vir al wat ek weet/my betref* also occurs.); is this *in* not

also English (i.e. in as far as) or is it the result of confusion with the semantically and syntactically different *in sover/re?* In the clause *sover as... betref* (= *wat*), not only the *as* but the whole expression is a literal translation from English, as in the case with *so vroeg as 1900* (= *al/reeds in 1900*).

7.24.1.3 English "as" can also mean *namate*, and thus *soos* is commonly heard in such contexts: *die aantal huwelike tussen blankes en slavinne het toegeneem soos die bevolking vermeerder het; ek verwag dat soos ons in die winter ingaan...; soos die Bantoe al meer met hierdie dinge te doen gekry het, moes sy taal...*

7.24.1.4 Unconnected with the *as/soos* controversy is the fact that "to look like" is often rendered by *lyk soos* where *HAT* gives only *op* and *na*. My impression is that *soos* is the most frequently heard variant but that a subtle semantic distinction is sometimes present, for example: *dit lyk soos 'n diamant – dit lyk na 'n diamant.* I am not sure whether this use of *soos* is the result of English influence.

7.24.2 It has often been maintained that *beide...en* is not an anglicism despite the fact that Dutch uses *zowel...als (ook)* and *(èn)... èn* in such contexts. In Afrikaans it stands in free variation with *sowel...as(ook)* and, I believe, is now more commonly used than the latter. Van der Merwe and Ponelis (1982:14), leaning on examples found in *WNT*, do not attribute it to English influence but add: *Engels kon dus hierdie gebruik bestendig het, maar hy het dit beslis nie veroorsaak nie.* This may be so, but the existence of *beide...en* and *sowel...as(ook)* where English has only the former, plus the existence of "as well as" (= *asook* in Afr.) has given rise to a variety of contaminated forms which are most probably the result of contact with English, for example: *beide...sowel as – beide van die studenteraad se kant sowel as van die kant van die kerk, beide...asook – hy het probeer om meer lig te werp op die ontstaansgeskiedenis van beide die latere Afrikaners asook die groepe wat as Kaapse Kleurlinge bekend sou word, sowel as – dit het 'n badkamer sowel as 'n garage/dit het binne sowel as buite die huwelik plaasgevind.* Smith (1962:58) quoting a 1918 Dutch dictionary, provides *hij zoowel als zijn broeder* as "evidence" that the last example is not an anglicism.

7.24.3 The possibility of *hoekom* being English inspired is not raised in any of the literature on the topic although an identical idiom exists

in English. *WAT* sees it simply as a contraction of *hoe kom dit*, the form it has in Dutch. *WAT* quotes an example of its use in *Die Kaapse Taalargief* from 1769, but the syntax in that case is not that of the current expression as it is followed by *dat*. Might English not have at least played the role of a contributing factor in the adoption of this structure? It is true, however, that *hoekom* occurs in cases where "how come" cannot be used, i.e. in indirect questions, for example: *daar is geen rede hoekom dit nie moontlik is nie*.

Van der Merwe and Ponelis (1982:81) do not mention English influence either but do discuss the alternative *vir wat* (= *waarvoor* which they don't give) under the lemma *hoekom*. They emphasise that *vir wat* is *omgangstaal*. Can *omgangstaal* in this instance be equated with English influence, whether consciously or otherwise?

7.24.4 *Siende dat* (= *aangesien*) occurs frequently enough for *HAT* to consider it worth mentioning as incorrect.

Indien nie (*zo niet* in Dt.) as in *hy is 'n bietjie snaaks indien nie heeltemal gek nie* is not mentioned anywhere in the literature as an anglicism although I would contend it probably is. It is perhaps no longer recognised as such because it has completely replaced *so nie* in such cases but not in *ek sal jou om 10 uur kom oplaai, so nie om 11 uur*, where one would be more inclined to say "otherwise" rather than "if not" in English anyway.

7.24.5 Nowadays a superfluous *wat* is heard after *as* in comparatives (e.g. *hy is groter as wat ek gedog het*). The phenomenon has attracted attention among linguists but no-one seems to have noticed that "what" occurs frequently in colloquial English in the same position (e.g. he's bigger than what I thought he was). Scholtz (1980:76), referring to Verhage (1965?), maintains that this *wat* has replaced *dat*, another example of the overall preference for *wat* forms in Afrikaans. I can find no mention of *as wat* constructions in Verhage's article. Nevertheless, even if the structure did occur in Dutch – it does no longer – the role of English as a contributing factor in its ever-increasing frequency cannot be disregarded.

7.24.6 *In dat* (= *in sover dat*) is literally translated from English.

7.25 Numerals

It is a generally accepted fact that counting, however bilingual one may be, is something one normally prefers to do in one's mother tongue but this is not necessarily the case in South Africa (cf. figures given in the HSRC report referred to below). Le Roux (1926:359) complained:

> "Maar hierdie taalvermenging het in baie gevalle al eerder begin, want op die Engels-mediumskool is al geleer om net op Engels op te tel en af te trek, te deel en te vermenigvuldig, en iedereen wat dit deurgemaak het, weet hoe swaar dit gaan om dit later weer af te leer."

Although Le Roux's explanation for the Afrikaner's inability to cope with his own counting system may have been valid in 1926, one cannot attribute the difficulties he still seems to have to the same cause any more. It is not uncommon for Afrikaners to read *vier-en-tagtig* for 48 and is his preference for reading out phone numbers cypher by cypher not also in order to avoid such errors? It should be noted that both the Dutch and the Germans, for example, have no difficulty in reading a phone number as *eenenvijftig drieëndertig zesenzeventig*. It is of course possible that Afrikaners read a phone number as they do because that also happens to be the normal way in English, despite the fact that English does not reverse the order of its numerals.

In the early 1980's a body calling itself the *Logiese Taal Hervormers* submitted a request to the *Akademie* requesting the latter's support to officially change the counting system of Afrikaans on grounds of the English system being more "logical" and because evidence had been collected to indicate that "omdraaifoute" were frequent in Afrikaans. The *Taalkommissie* ultimately rejected the proposal claiming that "Die sentrale probleem lê nie in die aard van die Afrikaanse telwoordsisteem nie, maar in die aanwesigheid van Engels en die predominansie van die Engelse telwyse in Suid-Afrika." (page 8 of the "Verslag van die Taalkommissie aan die Akademieraad oor die RGN-verslag 'Getallebenoeming in Afrikaans'," Verslag nr. P33, 1981) This incident is worthy of mention because it is an indication of the extent of the problem in some people's minds.

Apart from acquaintance with English contributing to occasional difficulties with numerals in Afrikaans, there is a host of other subtle influences English has had on the way Afrikaners use their numerals.

7.25.1 The use of the indefinite article before *honderd* and *duisend* would seem to be the result of English influence, for example: *'n honderd rand, 'n duisend mense*. Whether the use of *en* after *honderd* when a numeral between 1 and 20, or an even ten follows, is in imitation of English, is difficult to determine, e.g. *'n honderd en elf, tweehonderd en vyftig*.

7.25.2 The preference for *een-en-'n-half* over *anderhalf* (both in *HAT*) could be the result of English influence as a contributing factor. The following expressions are definitely loan translations: *'n jaar en 'n half, hy is 'n goeie meter en 'n half voor* (in running), *die afgelope week en 'n half*.

7.25.3 It is possible that Dutch expressions of time such as *tien voor half vier* and *vijf over half vijf* disappeared from Afrikaans because they were at odds with the English system of telling the time. On the other hand, *half agt* etc. has survived and this is also foreign to English.

7.25.4 The following expressions involving decades are modelled on English: *vroeg in die 1940's* (now more common than the Dutch constructions *in die jare veertig/in die veertiger jare*, at least in speech), *in die middel sewentigs, sy is in haar dertigs*. Puristic avoidance of the last expression has spawned the hybrid form *'n meisie in haar jare dertig*.

7.25.5 The following plural forms involving numerals are probably English in origin: *tiene* (ten rand notes), *twintigs* (twenty rand notes, cf. in die 1940's above too), *die standerd-vyfs, twee derdes so groot soos*.

7.25.6 The use of *dubbel* and *trippel* (an English loanword – not in *HAT*) in saying phone numbers is an English custom, for example: 455666 – *vier dubbel vyf trippel ses. Dubbelbed, dubbelbaanpad* and *dubbeldeuryskas* also sound like loan translations.

7.25.7 The following expressions are all translated from English: *een uit vier, een uit elke agt Afrikaners, een punt vyf miljoen* (instead of *komma*), *in hul honderde/duisende, die drie/vier/ tien van ons/julle/hulle* (cf. Ponelis 1979:121).

7.25.8 The tendency to talk in dozens, e.g. *by dosyne,* is undoubtedly a British legacy although the word itself is Dutch.

7.25.9 Although the *Akademie* decided in 1973 that *biljoen* would be used in the traditional British sense of a million million, it is commonly heard in the American sense of a thousand million where *HAT* advocates the use of *miljard.*

7.25.10 The following uses of ordinal numerals have arisen under English influence: *die tweede beste, elke tweede Duitser, jou studie kom tweede, hy het tweede gekom* (in a race), *ek is in tweede* (gear), *Nedbank sorg vir 'n eerste in die Suid-Afrikaanse bankwese.*

Indigenous structures to avoid the use of ordinals in this way are probably regarded as cumbersome, for example: *jou studie kom in die tweede plek.*

7.25.11 Referring to the petrol consumption of a car in the following way is in imitation of an English custom: *my kar ry 14 kilometer op 'n liter.*

7.25.12 The following use of *heel* before ordinals which are in themselves superlatives, is translated from English: *die heel eerste/laaste* (compare Dt./Afr. *allereerste/-laaste*).

7.26 Prepositions

Le Roux (1952:41) remarks on prepositions that *Deur hulle vae betekenisinhoud is die gebruik van voorsetsels baie sterk onderhewig aan veranderinge met verloop van tyd* and Ostyn (1972:66) maintains that because of their infinite variety "They constitute... a serious burden on our long term memory" and that "The evidence coming from American Flemish overwhelmingly supports the thesis that prepositions are highly unstable elements in language." The frequent falling together of certain prepositions in Afrikaans and English is thus a good example of what Ostyn refers to as "economy of storage". It is highly likely that the phonological similarity between some Afrikaans prepositions and their cognate forms in English (e.g. *by, in, vir*) has also contributed to contamination. For comparison the preposition required in Dutch is given in brackets.

7.26.1 *by*

By verre, by iets sweer, hierby (hiermee), sy is sleg – wat bedoel jy by sleg? (met), hulle het by die duisende gekom, skeur die sakkie oop by die gleufie voorsien (met), weersomstandighede verander by die uur/hulle word ouliker by die dag, by die datum/by die jaar 2000/by die tyd waar jy... The last examples are presumably an attempt to compensate for the lack of a preposition in Dutch/Afrikaans that has the same temporal connotation as English "by"; otherwise only *voor/teen* exist, although German uses *bis* in such contexts.

By is occasionally used in passive constructions instead of *deur*, for example: *Die aandag word bepaal by die belangrikheid van die taal.*

7.26.2 *in*

In die agtergrond (op), in die lang termyn (op), in 'n rekening (in)betaal (op), in sigself (op), die man in die straat (op), in die platteland (op), vroeër in die dag (op), in ander woorde (met), in my mening (na).

It is possible that the last example is not in imitation of English but the result of contamination with *in my opinie* (cf. Dt. *na mijn mening, in mijn opinie*), although *HAT* maintains that that expression is *na my opinie* in Afrikaans.

7.26.3 *met*

Met enkele uitsonderings na (op), vervang met (deur), wat is verkeerd daarmee (aan – but the whole expression is probably translated English)

7.26.4 *na*

Vyf na ses grade (tot), oorskakel na (op), na die grond toe val (op), opsien na (teen).

HAT prescribes *teen* in the last example although I suspect that the entire expression is a loan translation (i.e. in the sense of "to respect s.o.") or else a semantic shift under English influence of the original idiom (i.e. to be anxious about s.t.).

7.26.5 *naas*

Prins Willem, wat naas Prins Charles, die Britse troonopvolger is (na). *Naas* means "together" or "in combination with", unlike English "next to". I believe I have occasionally heard it used in Afrikaans where *na* is required.

7.26.6 *omtrent*

Daar is geen twyfel omtrent nie (aan), wat kan ek daaromtrent doen (aan), wat is so besonders omtrent 'n huis (aan), wat gaan sy doen omtrent haar bed (met), wat omtrent (= wat van). Are these possibly examples of the adverb *omtrent* (= about, approximately) being equated with the meanings of the English preposition "about", reinforced by the fact that *omtrent* does exist as a preposition in Dutch/Afrikaans, but not with these exact meanings.

7.26.7 *oor*

Oor 'n vyf jaar-tydperk/iets oor twaalf maande afbetaal (gedurende, tydens), oor die jare heen (deur), oor tagtig rand (meer as), hy werk al oor tien jaar (langer as), ek is jammer oor wat gebeur het (Eng. idiom?), *mal/dol/gek oor (op).* *HAT* gives *mal oor* as *geselstaal, dol op* and *gek na,* Dutch has only *dol/gek op.* Presumably *mal oor* is a loan translation of "mad/crazy about" and thus *HAT*'s label *geselstaal*(cf. p.*111*), and *dol/gek oor* are contaminated analogies.

7.26.8 *op*

Op die stadsraad/bestuur/personeel (*in* – cf. Van der Merwe, and Ponelis 1982:148), *op die telefoon (aan), op 'n spoorlyn woon (aan, by, langs), op die linkerkant (aan), op universiteit (aan die), op die grens (aan), op diens* (whether *op* or *aan,* both are anglicisms. cf. Terblanche 1972:48), *geld op iets uitgee (voor), hy werk op die myne (aan), op die pil (aan), inruil op* (*HAT* gives *vir* but Dt. uses *tegen*), *daar is 'n program op die lug* (Eng. idiom), *op verlof (met), op die naweek* (*in/tydens* – but the expression is unique to Afrikaans), *op iets verbeter* (Eng. idiom), *dis op rekord dat* (Eng. idiom), *het jy al op 'n loopbaan besluit* (Eng. idiom), *hy het 'n hartaanval gehad op 32* (*met* – or is this a contamination with *op 32-jarige leeftyd?*), *kind op trein verkrag (in), navorsing doen op iets/hy werk op siektes (aan).*

Because both *op* and *aan*, in the meaning of "on", are both rendered by the same preposition in English, confusion seems to be rife, and *op* is totally *ingeburger* and even indispensable in many expressions where it cannot originally have been used. Ponelis (1979:329) discusses very few of these whereas in *Die Korrekte woord* (Van der Merwe, and Ponelis 1982:148-9) there is a substantial discussion of the concept.

7.26.9 *teen*

Hoe hoog staan die rand teen die dollar (ten opsigte van)

7.26.10 *uit*

Een uit elke twintig kinders/agt uit twintig/jou kans is een uit 100 (*op* – Ostyn 1972:67 observed the same phenomenon in American Flemish), *uit asem* (*buiten* in Dt.), *uit verband* (*buiten kontext* in Dt.)

7.26.11 *van*

Tipies van (*voor* in Dt.), *kenmerkend van (vir), van die oomblik dat* (*vanaf* in Dt.), *wat van* (translation of "what about?"), *moeg van* (*vir* – *HAT* gives *vir* but is the idiom in the figurative sense not a loan translation?) (cf. 7.26.13, Insertion of prepositions)

7.26.12 *vir*

Sy doen dit vir 'n hobby (as), vir water boor (na), vir twee redes/vir watter rede/vir die eenvoudige rede, vra vir (om), soek (vir) (*naar* or no preposition in Dt.), *wag vir (op)*. Although the use of *vir* with *soek* and *wag* when personal objects are involved may have nothing to do with English influence (cf. Raidt 1969:47) that does not explain its use with inanimate objects. (cf. Hiemstra 1980:133) (cf. Insertion of prepositions below)

7.26.13 Insertion of prepositions

Sometimes a preposition occurs in Afrikaans where none is required but where English requires one: *ons het dit in gemeen, ek het byna van die fees vergeet, op iets besluit, iets van iemand ontneem, met iets wegdoen.*

Ponelis (1979:160) treats the topic of *van-invoeging:* "In al drie die tipes NS + NS-konstruksies kom daar variante met ingevoegde *van* voor wat aan Engelse inwerking toegeskryf kan word." He then gives examples of the three:

"1) lys name – lys van name etc.
2) hierdie soort geelhout – hierdie soort van geelhout 'n slegte tipe mens – 'n slegte tipe van mens
3) iemand met die naam Gert – iemand met die naam van Gert etc, die Departement Nasionale Opvoeding – die Departement van Nasionale Opvoeding."

From the point of view of Dutch idiom it would seem likely that the examples given under 1) are anglicisms; *soort van* + noun does occur in Dutch, although far less frequently than without the preposition. This does not necessarily mean that the construction is not an anglicism in Afrikaans. The very common expression *daardie tipe van ding* is undoubtedly a loan translation and thus I tend to agree with him in the case of *tipe van.* I do not think, however, that constructions of the sort *die Departement van Nasionale Opvoeding* are the result of English influence; in such instances the *van* is even obligatory in Dutch. On the other hand, I would see *die stad van Pietermaritzburg* as a definite anglicism. (cf. Hegman 1968:250 where a convincing argument is presented to suggest that *Die Republiek van Suid-Afrika* is an anglicism)

There is a great number of expressions in Afrikaans which contain a superfluous *vir* where English requires "for". With the exception of *behalwe vir, vir seker* and *ek het vir geen oomblik daaraan gedink nie* all examples contain a temporal *vir* expressing duration: *sy het daar vir 'n lang tyd gebly, die potte wat vir 14 dae in die son gestaan het, die koek moet vir 'n uur bak* (no preposition would be correct Diets). *Die huis is vir bäie jare deur die predikant bewoon, dié houer hou die wyn vars vir weke nadat hy oopgemaak is, vir eeue/jare en jare* (*jare, weke* and *eeue lank* or simply omission of the preposition would be correct Diets although contamination can occur e.g. *Vir 12 jaar lank staan hy aan die spits van die taalstryd* – praesens historicum). With actions that began in the past and continue into the present (i.e. instances where English uses a perfect tense + "for" and Dutch/Afrikaans use a present tense + *al*) a contamination of the Afrikaans and English is frequently heard: *ek koop al vir 50 jaar hier, dit verduur ons nou al vir die afgelope 8 jaar* but also *vir 50 jaar doen ons dit.* (cf. Raidt 1969:47)

7.26.14 Omission of prepositions

Sometimes a preposition is omitted in Afrikaans where none is used in the corresponding English idiom:

eendag (*op een dag* in Dutch. NB. this expression also contains the numeral, as in Eng., whereas Dt. uses the indefinite article), *dusver* (*tot dusver* – so far), *op datum bring (tot op datum bring), hy kom naweke terug/ons is Saterdae oop (op), die pad vra (na), hierdie glas is handgemaak (met die hand gemaak), droogtegeteisterde gebiede (deur droogte geteisterde), iemand trou (met iemand trou: met* is sometimes omitted in Dutch too but it is unusual to do so – cf. p.*217*) *iemand skei (van), ball'n fliek kyk (na voetbal kyk* – watch *televisiekijken* occurs in Dutch, as in Afrikaans, without a preposition and thus the loss of *na* in such cases may be analogy at work and not English influence.) Ponelis (1979:200-1) and Raidt (1983: 183) mention this phenomenon without any reference to English influence although Raidt does state that it is a "Merkmal der Umgangssprache".

7.26.15 Preposition stranding is a syntactical issue which is discussed under 7.27.1 and 7.28.4.

7.27 Pronouns

7.27.1 Ramifications of preposition stranding for pronouns[58]

Although preposition stranding as such is not unique to Afrikaans and English – in combination with R-structures it is even more common in spoken Dutch than in Afrikaans – the use of *dit/wat* instead of *daar/waar*, made possible by the separation of the pronoun from its accompanying preposition, is a distinctive feature of (spoken) Afrikaans although Ponelis (1985:122) does quote some cases of its occurrence in Dutch. Ponelis describes the role of English in this issue as follows:

> "Hoewel Engels weliswaar nie gewone setselskeiding in Afrikaans laat ontstaan het nie, het die Engelse invloed gewone setselskeiding in Afrikaans na alle waarskynlikheid tog so

58 This issue is looked at in detail from a syntactical point of view by Ponelis (1985) where the author postulates the possibility of English having functioned at least as a contributing factor (p.121-2). Steyn (1976:51) also broaches the topic briefly and mentions the possible role of English (p.53).

> sterk gestimuleer dat gewone setselskeiding vandag in die Afrikaanse omgangstaal dié tipe setselskeiding is, en R-skeiding selfs in geskrewe Afrikaans byna heeltemal uitgesterf het."

I support this explanation of constructions such as the following:

a) *Dit het ek nie aan gedink nie (= daar) Dit hou ek nie van nie (= daar)*
b) *Wat ons nie mee tevrede is nie, is... (= waar)*
Wat praat jy nou van? (= waar)
Die boek wat ek al van gepraat het, is... (= waar)

On the final example, where *wat* + preposition occurs in a relative clause, Ponelis (1985:123) has this to say:

> "Die parallellisme tussen onveranderlike *wat* in Afrikaans en onveranderlike *that* in Engels lê voor die hand."

One might add that not only the parallel with the English relative "that" but also the alternative relative pronoun "which" (like *wat*, a w-form) may have contributed to the frequency of this structure in Afrikaans. (cf. also "What is he talking about?")

Du Plessis (1983:60) seems to see such uses of *wat* as a peculiarity of JOT (*Johannesburgse omgangstaal*) and thus of non-standard Afrikaans, but Ponelis (1985:119) correctly points out that "...*wat*skeiding...kenmerkend is van en oorheersend is in die hedendaagse Afrikaanse spreektaal." It is interesting to compare Ponelis' brief treatment of relative *wat* + preposition in his *Afrikaanse Sintaksis* (1979:467), where he makes no mention of English influence, with this more recent analysis of the concept. Du Plessis also seems to imply English influence.

7.27.2 Closely related to the above functions of *dit* and *wat*, but outside contexts where preposition stranding is being applied, is the occurrence of the same pronouns in the following constructions where English influence would seem to be undeniable.

7.27.2.1 Use of preposition + *dit*, for example:

Sy is nog nie heeltemal oor dit nie (= daaroor)
Ek hou van dit (= hiervan/daarvan) (cf. Ponelis 1979:64)

Cf. Ponelis (1979:181) for a fuller account of the phenomenon. I can find no reference in Ponelis, however, to constructions where preposition + *hom/hulle* with reference to an impersonal object occurs and where Dutch permits only *er/hier/daar* + preposition. I think this should be seen in the same light as a preposition + *dit*. Maintaining the original Dutch structure in Afrikaans does not enable one to distinguish between a singular and a plural prepositional object as one can and must in English, for example: *Kom, neem hierdie sakke. Jy kan al jou goeters in hulle sit (= daarin).*

It is equally likely that English influence has also played a role in the frequency of constructions involving preposition + *hierdie/daardie (een)*, e.g. *Ek het uit hierdie (een) gedrink. (= glas)*. Use of this construction in Afrikaans also enables the speaker to distinguish between "this" and "that" glass which *uit dit* does not although the Dutch/Afrikaans structure *hieruit/daaruit* does of course. Ponelis (1979:90) does refer to the possible influence of English in such cases.

7.27.2.2 Use of preposition + *wat* in questions, for example: *Vir wat wil jy dit hê? (= waarvoor)*

This structure – mentioned by Ponelis (1979:180) without reference to English influence – although it does not correspond literally with colloquial English, is a stylistic variant of *Wat wil jy dit voor hê?* (i.e. with preposition stranding) where *wat* does occur under English influence according to Ponelis (1985:122). At least the frequency in Afrikaans of structures such as *In verband met wat is dit?* over *waarmee* constructions would seem to be the result of contact with English, even if the theoretical possibility of such forms exists in Dutch.

There are several cases of non-pronominal *wat* in Afrikaans which are at odds with Dutch usage but which correspond with English "what", for example: *hy is groter as wat ek gedink het* (*als* in Dutch, cf. p.*258*); *wat van* (= what about, cf. Le Roux 1968:167); *wat is jou naam?, wat bedoel jy?* (both *hoe* in Dutch, although in certain contexts *wat* is used with *bedoelen* in Dutch too)). It is difficult to ascertain for sure whether English has contributed to the preference for *wat* in such instances.

Without intending to imply that English necessarily had any influence on the adoption of *wat* as an invariable relative pronoun (i.e. in contexts where there is no preposition), I find it interesting to note what Ostyn (1972:202) observed in American Flemish:

> "Most likely under the influence of English *wh*-words, the distinction between the Flemish relative pronouns with or without antecedent is not always observed."

Scholtz (1980:76) comments on the general preference in Afrikaans for *wat* constructions in various contexts. Ponelis (1985:118-9), on the other hand, refers indirectly to the preference for *wat/dit* structures over *waar/daar* (i.e. a preference for R-less forms). Ponelis (1979:453) discusses the use of *dit* instead of *daar* in passive constructions under the influence of English, for example: *Dit word beoog om 'n studie van die gebied te maak.*

7.27.3 Independent use of *hierdie/daardie*

It is traditional to regard the independent use of *hierdie/daardie* as subject or object pronouns as an anglicism, although as a very well established one. *HAT* (cf. p.*117*) only refers to their use as subject pronouns and warns against such structures. Ponelis (1979:90) refers to *versterkende Engelse invloed* having played a role in *hierdie/daardie* replacing *dit* in *Hierdie/daardie sal uit Suid-Afrika ingevoer moet word, Waar het jy hierdie/daardie gekry?, Vir hierdie/daardie kon ek nie die regte onderdele kry nie.* (cf. 7.27.2.1 for the use of *hierdie/daardie* after prepositions) In the context of the same discussion he gives an example of these pronouns being used in the plural: *Hierdies is beter as daardies.*

I feel inclined to question whether English influence lies behind the occurrence of *hierdie/daardie* as singular subject and object pronouns not preceded by a preposition – in combination with prepositions the possibility would seem to be greater. This is the only possible means in Afrikaans of rendering the opposition expressed by Dutch *dit/dat* given that pronominal *dat* did not survive in South Africa. This is also implied by Ponelis (1979:90) where he states:

> "Naas Engelse inwerking moet hier daarop gewys word dat die sistematiese onderskeid ten opsigte van 'nabyheid' nie by *dit* bestaan nie, en dat die behoefte aan dié onderskeid baie bydra tot die vestiging van *hierdie/daardie* in selfstandige gebruik."

Van der Merwe in Van der Merwe and Ponelis (1982:79) also questions whether English influence lies at the root of the issue, but he quotes an even more probable anglicism to defend his point of view:

> "Ek twyfel egter daaraan of ons hier bloot met Engelse

invloed te make het. Dis gewone Afrikaans om te sê: *Hierdie een* is 'n moeilike geval; en nou vra ek my af of ons nie dalk met ellips van *een* te make het nie in: *Hierdie is 'n moeilike geval.*" (cf. 7.27.7 for this pronominal use of *een*)

7.27.4 Certain functions of personal pronouns

7.27.4.1 From a Dutch point of view *jy/jou* are used much more indiscriminately in Afrikaans than in Dutch, even occurring in combination with each other or with other forms of address that would seem to require *u*, for example: *nou verseker jou bank alles wat vir u belangrik is;* or in combination with *dame, meneer, professor* etc. The artificiality of *u* in Afrikaans in many social contexts is commonly recognised (cf. Scholtz 1963:52-72) and yet the traditionally Afrikaans form of polite address, the third person, now often seems too formal, giving rise to a higher frequency of *jy*. (cf. Ponelis 1979:67; Odendal 1976:108, 111) It seems highly likely that the Afrikaner's acquaintance with only one second person pronoun in English and the distinct social advantages of the simplicity of the English system, have contributed to the spread of *jy/jou* to contexts where the informal form of address would be unthinkable in most European languages. The precise role of English in this regard has not however yet been investigated.

7.27.4.2 Ponelis (1979:68) mentions the use of *sy* with reference to a car or ship as being the result of English influence but distinguishes this use from the indigenous practice of personifying concepts such as the moon and nature in this way. (cf. Scholtz 1966:123)

7.27.4.3 Raidt (1983:141) sees *hulle* as an unspecified pronoun meaning "one" (where both the speaker and the listener are excluded) as a possible anglicism. Ponelis (1979:100) does not mention English influence in his discussion of *hulle* in this sense and Dutch usage (cf. Geerts, i.a. 1984:265) would seem to indicate that there is no reason to suspect English influence in this case.

7.27.4.4 Generic *jy/jou* (cf. Ponelis 1979:105-6) occurs in Dutch, Afrikaans and English but the possessive pronoun is used in instances in Afrikaans and English where it is not possible to do so in Dutch, for example: *Neem jou taalkundige byvoorbeeld, heel bo-op kom jou*

aartappels (in a recipe). Ponelis (1979:106) gives examples without reference to English influence, for example: *Die bankkoers kan invloed hê op (jou) rentekoerse.* But definition 4 under *jou* in *WAT* reads as follows: "Dan is daar al jou onvoorsiene uitgawes (waarsk. Angl.)." English influence is most likely in these cases.

7.27.4.5 The English use of the possessive *hulle* in the expression *in hulle honderde/duisende* is mentioned under 7.25.7.

7.27.4.6 Subject pronouns are frequently used in passive constructions in Afrikaans, in imitation of English usage, where in Dutch an object pronoun is required. In these Afrikaans and English constructions the **indirect** object of the active becomes the subject of the passive, for example: *Nie eenkeer is ek in Engels geantwoord nie, weet jy van die pos wat hy aangebied is, hy is drie jaar gegun om die projek te voltooi, dit* (e.g. *'n skikking*) *moet 'n kans gegee word om te werk* (with an impersonal indirect object).

If pronominal substitution were not applied and nouns were used instead of pronouns, these structures would also be grammatical in Dutch, for example: *Weet jy van de post die die man aangeboden is?* (where *die man = aan die man*); compare *Weet jij van de post die hem aangeboden is?* The manner of pronominal substitution constitutes the anglicism in this case because without it there is no formal difference between a nominal subject and a nominal indirect object.

7.27.5 Reflexive pronouns

There are several cases involving reflexive pronouns where there are striking similarities with English and differences from Dutch where English influence has undoubtedly contributed to the situation as it now is in Afrikaans. (cf. p.*167*)

7.27.5.1 There are more reflexive verbs in Dutch and Afrikaans than in English but fewer in Afrikaans than in Dutch. There are many cases of verbs which Afrikaans prescriptive works insist are reflexive but which commonly occur without the reflexive pronoun, for example:

Milner sou in sy graf omdraai
Die maatskappy gaan nie uit Suid-Afrika onttrek nie
'n Taal lewe en ontwikkel

aanpas	*bewus wees*	*inskryf*	*spesialiseer*
aantrek, -klee	*gereedmaak*	*konsentreer*	*verbeter*
afspeel	*herstel*	*omdraa*[60]	*verslaap*
bekommer	*identifiseer*	*onttrek*	*(tuis) voel*
beweeg[59]	*inmeng*	*ontwikkel*	*voortplant*

There is some inconsistency in the way prescriptive works treat such cases. *HAT*, for example, maintains *jou* is optional with *spesialiseer*. No dictionary would prescribe a reflexive pronoun for *voel* but the attitude to *tuisvoel* is ambivalent; *HAT* gives it as non-reflexive whereas Bosman, Van der Merwe and Hiemstra (1984) give it as reflexive.

Raidt (1983:112) seems reluctant to attribute this phenomenon to English influence but sees it rather as an old tendency in Cape Dutch. Ponelis (1979:228) has the following to say, where he also avoids any reference to English: "Wederkerendheid gaan egter wel by 'n klompie werkwoorde, veral in die omgangstaal, verlore." He lists the following verbs: *aanmeld, afspeel, iets op die hals haal, onttrek, oorgee, regmaak, roem, uitpraat, tuis/aangetrokke/geroepe voel.* In addition he maintains that "aansluit en bewus wees is net in die formele skryfstyl wederkerend."

Steyn (1976:39) also looks at this phenomenon as one of several *sintaktiese onvasthede* under discussion in his article and gives examples of the following reflexive verbs being used without a reflexive pronoun: *aantrek (x 2), bekommer, aanpas, klee, te pletter loop, kalmeer, vestig, aanmeld, ingrawe, verenig, regruk, hou, verslaap, assosieer (x 2), intrek, haas, lê, verseker, uittrek, skaam, kwel.* He adds "Om misverstand te vermy, beklemtoon ek dat hierdie woorde nie altyd almal as wederkerende werkwoorde gebruik word nie. Die gevalle wat ek opgeteken het, is in uitinge waarin die spreker dit wel bedoél het om die werkwoord wederkerend te gebruik, maar die wederkerende voornaamwoord weggelaat het. Dis 'n weglating wat 'n mens, 'logies gesproke', kan begryp, want die voornaamwoord is eintlik oorbodig."

This comment of Steyn's corresponds to Langenhoven's (1935:109) reaction to the same phenomenon:

> "Deurdat die 'hom' as onpersoonlike refleksief onnatuurlik gevoel word in Afrikaans het die taaleie langsamerhand 'n groot aantal oorspronklik terugwerkende werkwoorde onterugwerkend gemaak. So sal niemand, behalwe 'n onkundige of aanstellerige skrywer, droom om in Afrikaans te sê 'die

59 There is a subtle semantic distinction in Dutch between *bewegen* and *zich bewegen*.

60 Cf. Hiemstra (1980:99) on the subtle distinction between *omdraai* and *jou omdraai*.

> vlakte strek hom uit' nie maar eenvoudig 'die vlakte strek uit'. En daarmee is daar niks verlore nie behalwe 'n onlogiese oorbodigheid."

Steyn (1976:53) comes closer than either Raidt or Ponelis to admitting that English influence may be at work in this issue where he carefully states, with reference to this and other syntactical variants in Afrikaans, that these developments "...vind plaas in 'n rigting wat ten minste Engels **lyk**" but, he adds "Soos ek egter betoog het, is dit nie altyd verskriklik in stryd met die 'suiwer Afrikaanse' patroon nie," supporting Raidt's statement above.

7.27.5.2 Those verbs that are reflexive in English correspond with reflexive verbs in Afrikaans. As the English reflexive pronoun is a compound formed from an object or possessive pronoun plus *-self*, a form which corresponds with the emphatic reflexive pronoun in Afrikaans, such verbs commonly employ this emphatic form even when no particular emphasis is implied (cf. Ponelis 1979:83), for example: *jouself afvra, gedra, ophang, verdedig, vererg, verontskuldig, was.*

This Afrikaans reflexive pronoun with *-self*, emphatic in form but not in meaning, also occurs in several verbal idioms which are literal translations from English, for example: *geniet, oppas, tuismaak, wees, weggee* as in *pas jouself mooi op, maak julself tuis, sy was die dag nie haarself nie.*

7.27.5.3 Sometimes the compound reflexive pronoun occurs in contexts where "correct" Afrikaans requires the adverb *self* but where English too employs the pronoun, for example: *Baie van ons onderwyskragte is dikwels nie voldoende geskoold om hulself rekenskap te kan gee van wat eintlik 'n isme is nie.* (cf. Ponelis 1979:82)

What Ponelis (1979:82) refers to as adnominal *self* is commonly replaced by *persoonlik* in imitation of English usage, for example: *Persoonlik gebruik ek hierdie uitdrukking baie.*

7.27.6 Occasionally in what purports to be formal written style *wie* instead of *wat* occurs as a relative pronoun after a personal antecedent. The distinction between animate and inanimate which can be crucial for the choice of the correct relative pronoun in English, is being applied in such cases in Afrikaans which has never made such a distinction, at least not in contexts where no preposition is involved, for example: *Parkering streng verbode behalwe persone wie magtiging daartoe het, Besoekers wie van hierdie kampeerterrein gebruik wil maak,...*

7.27.7 The indefinite pronoun *een/enetjie*

Examples:
'n moeilike punt en een waaroor al baie gedebatteer is (Rousseau,1937:191)
jy is een om te praat
ek vir een sou dit nie doen nie

The use of *een* in those expressions, which is also discussed by Rousseau (p.191), is undoubtedly of English origin, as is its use in *watter een, hierdie/daardie een.*

die/'n mooi een
dit is 'n skaars een (compare: *dit is een van die skaarses*)
die 1922-een
hierdie is 'n battery-enetjie

This is one of the most controversial constructions in Afrikaans with scholars maintaining 1) it is not English in origin, 2) it is English in origin, 3) English has simply served as a contributing factor. Changuion (1844) states:

> "Een wordt in navolging van het E. overtollig gebruikt, b.v.: dat is een mooije een, geef my een groote een enz. in plaats van dat is er een mooije, geef my een groote."

Changuion thus belongs to group two. Mansvelt (1844:41) states:

> "Een wordt als voornaamwoord ter vervanging van 't zelfstandige naamwoord na een bijvoeglike naamwoord gebruikt, evenals in 't Friesch en 't Engels, b.v. das 'n mooie eene (iene)."

Mansvelt may belong to group 2 but his mention of the presence of the construction in Frisian implies he may belong to group three. Tromp (1879:174) seems to accept Du Toit's (1876) opinion without question, namely that "Uitdrukkens so's die een, die ander een, ens. kom weer uit Engels." They thus both belong to group two. Schonken (1914:90) unequivocally puts himself in group one when he quotes this construction, together with others, which according to him occurred in seventeenth century Dutch. Rousseau (1937:190-191) discusses the phenomenon in some detail, mentioning Middle Dutch, various dialects and Frisian (as does Mansvelt) but places himself ultimately in group three. Le Roux (1952:44) belongs to group two, as do Botha and Van Aardt (1978:38) who advise that the use of *'n bloue* etc. is preferable to *'n blou een.*

I would say that all the above scholars, with the exception of Rousseau, see the issue far too simplistically. Rousseau distinguishes various pronominal uses of *een* which escaped the notice of most scholars but even as far as article + adjective + *een/enetjie* constructions are concerned, he sees some as indigenous and others as English, for example: *Hy het die kleinste appel geneem en die grootste een aan my gegee; 'n dom seun en 'n slim een.* He does not, however, explain what the distinction he makes here is based on.

As both Rousseau and Mansvelt mention, the construction occurs in Frisian but with a difference from the examples provided (a difference that they do not comment on): although both *in readen ien ('n rooi een)* and *in readen ('n rooie)* occur in that language, *ien* is only used when the adjective is preceded by the indefinite article, "with *de* or *it* the adjective alone (without *ien*) suffices: *de reade...*". (Tiersma 1985:52) This may be an indication that the extent of the use of *een* in such constructions in Afrikaans has been influenced by English although the phenomenon itself may well have been inherited from Dutch dialect. The fact that Changuion observed this morphological difference from Dutch as early as 1844 may also indicate that there were more factors at work than merely contact with English.

In Frisian, where influence of the adjective is grammatically determined (as in Dutch), the attributive adjective takes an *-e* after the definite articles *de* and *it;* after the neuter indefinite article it remains uninflected (once again as in Dutch) and precisely then the combination with *ien* (in lieu of an ending on the adjective?) is used, although adjectives referring to common gender nouns also occur in combination with *ien*. Even in Dutch there is an avoidance in speech of *een wit, een groen* where one often hears *een witje, een groentje* if the semantics of the situation permit the use of the diminutive.

In Afrikaans, where adjectival inflection is phonologically determined, adjectives such as *wit* and *groen* would not normally be inflected before a noun, but when used independently with reference to a previously mentioned noun, they do, for example: *'n witte, 'n groene* or alternatively *'n wit een, 'n groen een.* The fact that use of the plural *enes* (cf. Ponelis 1979:575) after an adjective in such cases is still regarded very much as a colloquial (sub-standard?) form, which is not the case with the singular, may be an indication that although a construction like *mooi enes* may be modelled on 'pretty ones', *'n mooi een* may not simply be in imitation of 'a pretty one', or that at most English may merely have served as a contributing factor.

7.28 Word order

Ostyn (1972:VI) concluded that "syntax is no more immune to the influence of the source language than the lexicon." But the syntax of Afrikaans, in the narrow sense of word order, does not yet seem to have been nearly as affected as one might have expected, given the very substantial differences that exist between Diets and English in this respect.

7.28.1 Verb not in final position

In contexts where Diets and German require the order SOV, Dutch applies the rule less strictly than German and spoken Afrikaans less strictly than Dutch. In Dutch a final finite verb, infinitive, past participle or separable verbal prefix is not required to stand at the end of its clause if what follows is an adverbial phrase introduced by a preposition, for example: *hij heeft altijd een dagtocht willen maken naar Antwerpen.* Standard Afrikaans has the same rule. The following deviations from that rule in spoken Afrikaans coincide with English practice and presumably English is the cause.(cf. Steyn 1976:45-6)

7.28.1.1 Examples one and two below illustrate the verb occurring before adverbial expressions without a preposition and example three is too short an utterance for final positioning of *van haar* to be warranted:

Donderbuie sal voorkom vanmiddag.
Het u verskaffingsprobleme gehad sover?
Ek het gehoor van haar.

Also: *Vul in 'n vorm.*

Steyn (1976:45-6) states:

> "In die spreektaal, en al hoe meer in die skryftaal, bestaan die neiging om die 'agterste lid' van die werkwoordgroep (die voltooide deelwoord of infinitief dus) so gou as moontlik na die persoonsvorm (die hulpwerkwoord) uit te spreek/neer te skryf."

Steyn makes no direct reference to English influence, however.

7.28.1.2 No SOV after *dat*

Examples one and two below are clear-cut cases of omission to apply SOV

where grammar requires it – although Steyn (1978) presents a case with Dutch precedents to justify the first example – but the next two examples illustrate a difference between Afrikaans and Dutch in this regard which has not necessarily arisen because of the contact with English although the end result is an English type construction. Afrikaans has a greater tendency than Dutch to leave nominal, verbal and adverbial particles together with the verbs to which they apply, treating them in much the same way as separable verbal prefixes where *tangconstructies* are also less commonly applied in Afrikaans than Dutch, i.e. *Hij wist dat ik haar op had gebeld/dat ik mee wou gaan.* Compare also the origin of verbs such as *beeldhouwen* and *raadplegen:*

Dan moet ons sê dat hierdie is net die eerste stap
Mama werk omdat sy is 'n onderwyser
...omdat dit kan lig werp op die saak
Elf persent het gesê dat dit moet verstaanbaarder gemaak word

Constructions akin to the above *lig werp* and *verstaanbaar maak* are more frequent in Belgium than in Holland.

7.28.1.3 Omission of *dat*

Whereas SVO constructions with *dat* are relatively rare, SVO constructions without *dat* are very common in Afrikaans and after verbs such as *beweer, dink, glo, hoop, sê, vertel, vertrou, voel, vrees, weet* and *wil hê* they can be said to be the general rule, although *dat* + SOV remains possible (cf. Steyn 1976:48; Lubbe 1983:74-84). It is well-known that *dat*-less clauses occurred in Middle Dutch (cf. Steyn 1978:81) and Van der Horst (*Onze Taal* 1984, 7, p.122), remarking on the frequency of such structures in letters written by Multatuli's wife, postulates that it was much more common in nineteenth century Dutch. In both cases, however, *dat*-less clauses were accompanied by SOV word order. Steyn (1978) presents a convincing argument to support the following tenet:

> "Terwyl die gebruik van *dat* in elk geval verskillend verloop het in die twee tale [Afrikaans and English], lê dit voor die hand om te vra of die a–variant [dat + SOV] nie maar van oudsher af in Suid-Afrika bestaan het nie?" (p.83)

But Steyn admits that "Dis moontlik dat die invloed van Engels bygedra het tot die afstomping van die taalgevoeligheid vir die onderskikkende woordorde." (p.89) Ostyn (1972:69) noted the same tendency in American Flemish.

7.28.1.4 Repercussions of preposition stranding for the final position of verbs

In Ponelis' (1985) article on preposition stranding in Afrikaans, where he sees English as having probably played the role of a contributing factor (cf. 7.27.1), Ponelis concludes with some examples where English influence is undeniable and where the English pattern has consequences for the position of the verb, for example: *drie acre wat hulle boer in, wat het die ou mense altyd vertel van?* etc.

7.28.2 No inversion of subject and verb

Transgression of the rule for the inversion of subject and verb after adverbs (e.g. *Môre kom ek terug*) and subordinate clauses (e.g. *Voordat jy gaan moet jy dit doen*) is something which I seldom observed even in very colloquial Afrikaans. However, inversion is never applied after *so* (an *ingeburgerde* anglicism), despite the fact that it is after *dus*, for example: *So jy kan vergeet wat ek gesê het – Dus kan jy vergeet wat ek gesê het.* Apparently the anglicism extends beyond the mere homophony of English and Afrikaans *so* (cf. p.*231*) to the syntax associated with English "so".

7.28.3 STOMP: subject – time – object – manner – place

Steyn (1976:44-5) states:

> "Met allerlei voorbehoude kan 'n mens sê dat die bywoordelike bepaling van tyd 'n bywoordelike bepaling van plek voorafgaan in 'n sin met die 'normale' sinsdeelvolgorde onderwerp + persoonsvorm + ander sinsdele... en dat albei bywoordelike bepalinge voor die laaste lid van die werkwoordgroep sal staan as dié meer as een werkwoordelement bevat."

Exceptions to the latter part of this statement are discussed under 7.28.1. As far as the first part is concerned, however, I think it is correct to say that STOMP, a rule for the priority of adverbs and the direct object – presuming that the object is a noun – which is traditional in German grammar, also applies to Afrikaans, for example:

S		**T**	**O**	**M**	**P**	
Ek	het	gisteraand	die koerant	lekker	in die tuin	gesit en lees

Steyn comments in particular on the occurrence of place before time: "In die spreektaal is daar baie keer volgordes wat ons in 'versorgde' taal sal vermy", but once again he refrains from attributing non-observance of the TMP rule to English influence. No-one has commented on the less frequent occurrence of time before a nominal object in Afrikaans compared with German and Dutch. As OT, like PMT (e.g. I go to town by bus every day), coincides with English practice, English influence cannot be discounted.

7.28.4 Preposition stranding

The ramifications of preposition stranding for the use of pronouns (i.e. *dit* instead of *daar, wat* instead of *waar*) are discussed under 7.27.1. Where only nouns are involved and no pronominal substitution is required, preposition stranding simply has syntactical consequences (cf. Ponelis 1979:178-9 and 1985:106-7), for example:

Watter boom praat jy van?
Die miljeu waarin ons nou lewe voel ons heeltemal tuis in.

Despite the fact that precedents for this have been found in Dutch, Ponelis (1979:122) concludes "Desnieteenstaande is die getuienis vir ontlening aan Engels baie sterk."

7.28.5 Position of *alleen(lik)*

It is very common to find the adverb *alleen* placed after the noun it qualifies, in imitation of English, instead of before it (i.e. as in *slegs Blankes*):

Die rook van sigarette alleen is/word toegestaan
Parkering vir kliënte alleen
Busse alleenlik (cf. 7.8.5 on *-lik*)

The following example follows a similar English syntactical pattern: *belasting eksklusief.* Note: *Dié myn alleen lewer meer goud as Kanada,* where *alleen* is presumably in imitation of English "alone", although *alleen al* would be possible here in Dutch.

7.28.6 The following examples all show syntactical divergences from Diets syntax which are the result of contact with English:

meer of min(der)
hulle almal breek
hulle het vier meer setels gewen

7.28.7 Prenominal phrases

Ostyn (1972:251) noticed in American Flemish how "frequent is the use of elements which would not be used in prenominal position in Flemish. Some of them are transfers from English, others seem to be relaxations of the rules governing the attributive use of lexical items"; he then gives the example *deze twee uur lange uitzending*. This type of construction is extremely common in Afrikaans and yet mention of it in the literature on anglicisms is rare. Ostyn's observations of immigrant Flemish may be of just as much relevance to Afrikaans as there is currently also a tendency in Dutch to relax these rules, although English influence on Dutch in this regard cannot be completely discarded either; *het acht uur journaal* (compare *die sewe uur nuus*) is now established TV language but *een drie-tonner* is still preferable to *een drie ton vrachtwagen*. A couple of the following Afrikaans examples do have similar indigenous parallels in Dutch but only where the noun in the prenominal phrase has its own adjectival form, for example: *een vierbaanse weg ('n vier laan/baan pad)* and *een vijfdaagse werkweek ('n vyf dag werksweek)* but *over een vijfjarige tijdperk (oor 'n vyf jaar tydperk)* is questionable. The issue is clearly closely related to word formation. (cf. p.*205*) I believe, however, that one can safely assume English influence in all the following examples:

die jaar ou diere
'n drie jaar waglys
oor 'n vyf jaar tydperk
'n vier-en-twintig uur tydperk (cf. Hiemstra 1980:84 where he makes a plea for etmaal)
'n drie maande lang kursus
langtermynvoordele
'n drie miljoen rand hospitaal
'n drie stuk pak (Dt. *driedelig*)
'n vyf stuk eetkamerstel
'n vier slaapkamer huis
'n vier laan pad
'n agt-en-sewentig plaat
die half nege trein
daar is 'n sewe uur vliegtuig
die 1983 begroting

It is difficult in such cases to know what to join and what to hyphenate.(cf. p.*205*)

The following compound adjectives are also translated English:

'n leergebinde boek
die Russiesgebore kunstenaar B.D.
'n staatsgefinansierde maatskappy

Dutch would either rephrase by means of a relative clause (e.g. *de kunstenaar R.M.., die in Rusland geboren is*) or use an adjectival adjunct, a possibility that does not exist in Afrikaans, for example:

een in leer gebonden boek
de in Rusland geboren kunstenaar R.M.
een door de staat gefinancierde maatschappij

The following prenominal constructions are also translated English: *beste gehalte plante, hoë gehalte gebruikte motors, gehalte vars vleis* and *'n groot genoeg pot.*

7.29 Special registers strongly influenced by English

7.29.1 Swearing

Whereas the official recognition of Afrikaans in 1925 opened the way for the emancipation of Afrikaans from Dutch and English, that emancipation took place predominantly at an official level. The infinite number of English loanwords used across a wide spectrum of fields, particularly among the lower socio-economic classes, is one example of the limits of that emancipation. Another example is the Afrikaner's slang (cf. Ponelis 1984[1]:40), best illustrated in the way in which Afrikanerdom swears: Afrikaners swear like Englishmen – or would it be more appropriate to say like their fellow colonials in Australia? There is nothing remotely akin to the Afrikaner's potential to swear in Holland. Elsewhere in this work reference was made to the old saying that the Afrikaner is trilingual: *Hy praat Afrikaans, bid in Nederlands en vloek in Engels.* But he does not just swear **in** English, but **à** l'anglaise: to refer to an unsavoury character as a *doos* or to an unpleasant woman as a *teef* is a translation of English idiom; the exclamations *stront* and *kak* or statements such as *jy praat kak* or *hy is 'n pyn* all have an English ring to them. Du Toit (1965:134) says of the many English swearwords in Afrikaans that "...sonder veel van

die inheemse te verdring, het hulle op dié gebied ons woordeskat verryk(!)" [his exclamation mark]. The borrowing has not just been in the one direction, of course, because English speaking South Africans have also availed themselves of the potential to expand their vocabulary of expletives by borrowing extensively from Afrikaans, for example: *donderse, helse, moerse, not a donder*. Du Toit (1965:125) maintains that such foreign expletives are employed as euphemisms, a point also made by I. Feinauer (1983), but I feel that the Afrikaner's knowledge of, and feeling for, English is now too intimate for English swearwords to have any euphemistic value left – *jou fokken dief* is no more euphemistic in Afrikaans than in English. I think Le Roux's (1926:358) explanation is closer to the truth: "gewaarwordinge en gevoelens word kragtiger uitgedruk deur geleende woorde. Vandaar: demmit, dash it, nonsens, olrait, bloeming, bleddie, cheecky [sic!], bother of bodder."

The potential of *bleddie, bloomin, flippin* and *fokken* to be inserted in the middle of polysyllabic words is in direct imitation of a practice found in colloquial English, for example: *abso-bleddie-luut niks*, "not nece-bloody-ssarily". The mechanics of this phenomenon are dealt with very competently by I. Feinauer (1983) but to my amazement she does not attribute its existence in Afrikaans to English influence, despite the fact that the very words that are infixed are thinly disguised loanwords. As they are seldom written, it is difficult to know whether to write *blooming, bloemen, bloomin,* or *bloomen :*

bleddie/blerrie	*boggerol/bokkerol*	*doos*	
bloomen	*boggerop/bokkerol*	*poepol*	- (arsehole?)
flippen	*bogger/bokker* (n. & v.)	*teef*	
fokken (cf. p.*196*)	*bogger/bokker julle* etc.		

shame
not a damn/donder
waar op aarde was jy so lank?
hoe/wat/wie de/the hel/heck
jolly(wel), e.g. *hy weet so jolly baie*
oh, heng (< hang)
oh, hel(l)
fok off, fok all

7.29.2 Greetings, farewells, thanking and forms of address

Cultural blending in South Africa has led to Afrikaners employing English customs of greeting and thanking etc. Mackey (1972:574) remarks on a

similar phenomenon in Amerindian languages. This is a good example of what Barnouw (1934:41) was referring to when he wrote "As a social animal the Afrikaner belongs to the species called Briton". (cf. p.*45*)

The way in which *asseblief* and *dankie* are used corresponds exactly with English usage and differs markedly from Dutch and German. In fact, even Mansvelt (1884:31) remarked: "Evenals de Engelschen zegt men ja-danki voor alsjeblieft en nee-danki voor dank-je (u) alleen." Dankie on its own implies "yes thank you", as in English, not the opposite, as is the case in several European languages; it also renders "yes please" just as "thanks" can in English. Sometimes even the position of *asseblief* in the sentence (cf. Basson, i.a. 1982:79) is in imitation of English (e.g. *Asseblief, gaan nou huis toe*) and the very European use of *alstublieft, bitte schön* and *s'il vous plaît* etc. when handing something to someone, which has no equivalent in English, has no equivalent in Afrikaans either. Having been thanked for a service rendered, one frequently retorts with *(Dit is 'n) plesier* where once again European languages commonly use a form of "please". Such practices in Afrikaans are in accordance with English protocol.

The farewells *bye bye* and *ta ta,* as well as *ek sien (vir) jou (later),* are integrated loans from English, as are the greeting *hallo daar* and the standard expressions *ontmoet my dogter* and *pas jouself op.* And *cheers* is just as commonly heard as *gesondheid.*

Concluding letters with *liefde* and *opreg* is an English tradition, as is the formal title *Sy Edele die Eerste Minister.* Du Toit (1965:134) observed:

> "'n Interessante gebied is dié van ons aanspreekvorme (titulatuur). Hier tref ons o.a. aan: Mr., mrs, miss, auntie, cousin, deary, darling, daddy ens., in gebruik gekom deels weens 'n wysiging in die sg. 'gevoelswaarde' van die ekwivalente Afrikaanse benamings, deels uit modesug en 'n onderskatting van die eie teenoor die vreemde."

His examples may not all be as valid as in 1934 when this was written, but the principle is still the same: *Auntie* and *uncle*[61] are usually (but still not always) found in translated form nowadays and *Mrs.* and *Master* are still used in Afrikaans by non-Whites with reference to Whites. Odendal (1976:107) comments on the increasing frequency of *dame* over *mevrou* and *(me)juffrou:*

[61] I have been told that in India, even today, the terms *auntie* and *uncle* are used as general forms of address to respected persons, both in Indian English and in Indian languages by those who know no English. The parallel with their use in Afrikaans earlier this century is striking.

"'n Redelike jong vorm, moontlik onder Engelse invloed is dame, veral wanneer die huwelikstaat van 'n vroulike persoon onbekend is."