Kroondal German: A new South African window on long-term language contact

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The Kroondal German Research Team

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Open access eBook on <u>Kroondal German</u>

- **First linguistic documentation** of this German variety:

  - sociohistorical and sociolinguistic backdrop against which KG emerged and continues to be spoken today

  - description of salient linguistic properties of KG

  - comparative analysis of the described properties relative to other (German) contact varieties

- **Rich in examples** from spoken and written sources, WhatsApp exchanges, native-speaker acceptability judgements

- In **close collaboration** with the community since 2014
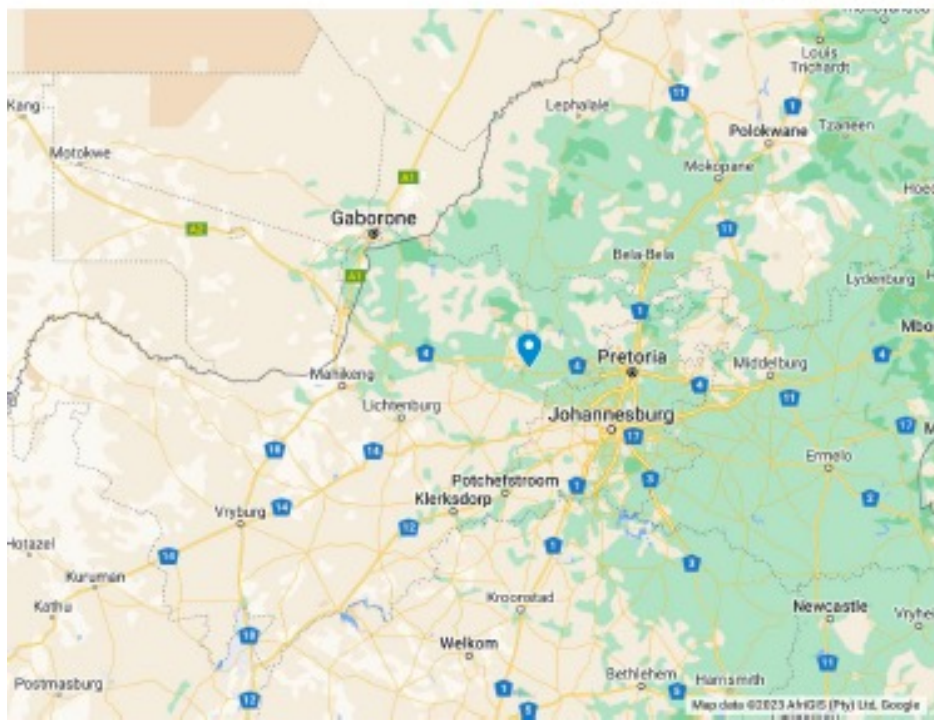
- **Audio recordings, maps, and illustrations**

To download the eBook:

https://elpublishing.org/kroondal-german/

Sixth-generation contact German
in South Africa:
The case of Kroondal German

Sheena Shah, Theresa Biberauer & Erika Herrmann

EL Publishing

Kroondal

- Located in the North West Province
- Established in 1889 as a Lutheran congregation by German missionaries
- Approx. 400 inhabitants, including surrounding farms
- Majority are L1 Kroondal German (KG) speakers
- Dominant contact languages: Afrikaans and English

Kroondalers

- Kroondal was established as a village centred on family and agriculture, based on a German-Christian lifestyle

- First Kroondalers were seven families of missionaries and settlers who came from Northern Germany and spoke Low German

- The present Kroondalers largely descend from these seven families

The Kroondal community

Threats	Countering these threats
Mining activities encroach on the village area	Action against the spread of mining by nature conservation lobbying
Decreasing agriculture activities (only four full-time KG-speaking farmers remaining)	New job opportunities in tourism, mining, etc.
Out-migration of young people because of personal and professional aspirations	Many young Kroondalers return to Kroondal when starting their own families

German in Kroondal

Deutsche Schule Kroondal (DSK): German primary school

Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche: German Lutheran church

Deutsche Schule Kroondal

The DSK offers "children a German education and upbringing on an Evangelical Lutheran basis, which is rooted and embedded in South Africa, to ensure that the German cultural heritage is respected and maintained and that the children develop into good and hard-working citizens of the country" (Deutscher Schulverein 2007: 1)

Nearly 1500 learners since the founding of the DSK 131 years ago

German in the Deutsche Schule Kroondal

- SG (Standard German) is the medium of instruction, along with Afrikaans

- Among the 19 staff members, 13 have German as L1; not all of the 6 Afrikaans L1 staff members also speak German

- Among the 108 learners, only 18 speak German with at least one parent at home

Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche

- Weekly Sunday services are attended by an average of 130 congregation members

- Services are predominantly conducted in German (with Afrikaans translations provided)

- Afrikaans services every fifth Sunday

German varieties in Kroondal

"Ich würde sagen, ich fühle mich sehr Südafrikaner, aber deutsch-sprachige Südafrikaner" (male, aged 35)

(I would say, I feel very much like a South African, but a German-speaking South African)

KG remains to be the core marker of Kroondaler identity

SG provides job and scholarship opportunities within southern Africa and in Germany

KG is threatened

by Afrikaans

- Increasing use of Afrikaans in the church
- Increasing use of Afrikaans in the school
- Through intermarriage with Afrikaners

by SG

- Use of SG in the school
- Exposure to SG in the electronic and print media
- More contact with Germans from Germany

by English

- Since 1994, the English hegemony has reached even the rural countryside and challenges the dominant position of Afrikaans, also in Kroondal

Our talk today

- Nevertheless, it is now a **sixth-generation matrilectal variety of South African German**.

<div style="text-align:center; background-color:#8DC63F; border:2px solid #0070C0; display:inline-block; padding:4px;">Our objectives today</div>

- ▪ to introduce some **salient morphosyntactic properties** as documented in on-going empirical work

- ▪ to consider these against the backdrop of contemporary understanding of the **factors shaping contact varieties**

Road map

- **Part I**: Salient morphosyntactic properties of Kroondal German (KG)

    ▪ striking stability

    ▪ intriguing variation and change

- **Part II:** Some thoughts on the data against the backdrop of the current understanding of language contact

A word on our data sources

- Native speakers and their acceptability judgements

- Spoken and written language data

Native speakers

Source	Participants	Year(s) data collection	Code
Native speaker acceptability judgement	5 participants (4F, 1M, 1961–1992)	2014–2023	native.speaker

Spoken language data

Source	Participants	Year(s) data collection	Data	Code
Semi-structured interviews (x3)	3 participants (1F, 2M, 1982–1986) 2 participants (2F, 1990–1992) 1 participant (1F, 1990)	2014 2014 2014	Approx. 3 hours	interview
Focus group discussions (x2)	18 participants (18F, 1931–1975) 13 participants (12F, 1M, 1938–1965)	2015 2019	Approx. 1 hour and 30 mins	focus.group

Written language data

Source	Participants	Year(s) data collection	Data	Code
WhatsApp messages	5 participants (5F, 1990–1991)	2014–2021	948 messages	whatsapp
Language and identity survey	23 participants (14F, 9M, 1933–1994)	2014	34 questions	survey
"Typical Kroondaler Expressions" document	1 participant (1F, 1944)	1970–2000	157 words and expressions	expressions
Autobiographic accounts	22 participants (22F, 1886–1921)	1980	94 pages	Hesse 1980
Kroondal congregation newsletters	14 participants (7F, 7M, 1933–1997)	2012–2014	11 congregation newsletters	newsletter

Part I:

Salient morphosyntactic properties of Kroondal German (KG)

I. Surprising stability

- This includes:

  - **morphological case**

  - **grammatical gender**

  - **predicate-nominal structures** (*Ich bin (ein) Lehrer* – 'I am a teacher')

  - *haben* (=HAVE) vs *sein* (=BE) **auxiliary selection**

- Why that's interesting:

  - None of these properties have survived in Afrikaans or English, and they are also unstable in other contact varieties of German with contact typically being identified as the "culprit".

Morphological case

- Most other already-studied extraterritorial varieties of German

  ➤ case is a mess, with dative being particularly vulnerable (Stielau 1980 on Natal German; Franke 2008 on Springbok German; Boas 2009 on Texas German; Yager et al. 2015, Rosenberg 2016, Bousquette 2020)

(1) a. Ich gratuliere   **dich**.   [**Natal German**; Stielau 1980: 222]
     I   congratulate   you.ACC
     'I congratulate you.'

     b. Ich gratuliere   **dir.**   [**KG/SG**]
     I   congratulate you.DAT

(2)   a. Komm ich helf **dich**!   [**Natal German**; Franke 2008: 271]
          come   I   help   you.ACC
          'Come, I'll help you!'

      b. Komm ich helf **dir**!   [**KG/SG**]
          come   I   help you.DAT

Morphological case

- Occasional KG instability:

(3) a. Er glaubt **sie** nicht. [**KG** spontaneous speech]
    he believe her.ACC not
    'He doesn't believe her.'

   b. Er glaubt **ihr** nicht. [**SG**]
      he believe her.DAT not

… but awareness of the Acc/Dat distinction (*John 'Dich'* vs *John 'Dir'*)

Morphological case

- There is some evidence of **phonologically driven** tendency to **replace marked with unmarked forms** (see also Boas 2009)

(4) a.   Wie geht es mit **dein**   Kursus usw?   [**KG** Whatsapp]
            how go   it   with your.(NOM) course   etc
         'How is it going with your course, etc.?'
   ➢ *mit* takes dative, i.e. *dein**em***

   b.   wenn man irgendwo **jemand**   trifft ...   [**KG** interview]
         when   man   somewhere someone.(NOM) meets
         'When you meet someone somewhere ...'
      ➢ *treffen* takes an accusative object = *jemand**en***

Morphological case

- The stability of the accusative-dative distinction in KG is particularly significant, given the absence of this distinction in Low German varieties like that potentially spoken by the original KG founders (undifferentiated oblique).

  ➢ **KG shaped by standard German (SG)**

- Zimmer (2020) observes the same situation in Namibian German.

- Both KG and Namibian German speakers have strong exposure to SG (see Part II).

Grammatical gender

- German is the only language that Kroondalers speak that has grammatical gender; English and Afrikaans both have only pronominal gender.

- Gender is known to be vulnerable in contact situations, particularly where it is less transparent (see i.a. Toebosch 2011, Tsimpli & Hulk 2013, Rodina & Westergaard 2015, Hinskens et al. 2021).

  - Afrikaans lost the notoriously non-transparent Dutch gender system very early (Ponelis 1993).

- Kroondal German retains a robust, SG-type 3-way gender system.

Grammatical gender

- Loan words are incorporated on various bases:

(5)   <u>Natural gender</u>

     der Sangoma – the witchdoctor (necessarily male)

(6)   <u>Nearest SG equivalent</u>

     der Spanner – **der** Schraubschlüssel ('the spanner')

     die Staptoer – **die** Wanderung   ('the hike')

     das Petrol – **das** Benzin ('the petrol')

(7)   <u>Suffixing rule</u>

     das Assignment – **die** Aufgabe ('the assignment')

    (see **das** Advertisement/Treatment; *-ment* > neuter)

     die Lorry – **der** Lastwagen ('the truck')

    (see **die** City/Party/Lobby; *-y/ie* > feminine)

Grammatical gender

- **Agreement internal to the nominal** is also perfect.

(8) a. **ein** groß**er** grün**er** Traktor   - a.M big.M green.M tractor

     b. **eine** groß**e** grün**e** Vase   - a.F big.F green.F vase

     c. **ein** groß**es** grün**es** Flugzeug   - a.N big.N green.N aeroplane

- BUT:

(9) Das   Mädchen ist traurig und **sie** heult erbärmlich.

    the.N girl.N   is sad   and she cries pitifully.

    'The girl is sad and she is crying pitifully.'

    [SG: … und **es** heult erbärmlich. > neuter pronoun]

(10) Rumpelstilzchen ist ein   kleines Männchen. **Er** kommt

    Rumpelstilskin   is a.N   little.N   man.N   he comes

    im   Märchen *Rapunzel* vor.

    in.the f airytale *Rapunzel*   before

    'Rumpelstiltskin is a little man. He comes up in the fairytale, *Rapunzel*.'

    [SG: **Es** kommt im Märchen *Rapunzel* vor.]

Grammatical gender

- Kroondal German is starting to develop **semantic gender**.

- And this is happening in accordance with Corbett's (1991) **Agreement Hierarchy**

(11)

Deflection ⟶

attributive < predicate < relative pronoun < personal pronoun

⟵ Semantic Gender

Only the far right end of the Hierarchy is affected (for now).

Grammatical gender

- What the next stage might look like (see also Toebosch 2012):

(12)   **Wisconsin German** (Bousquette 2020: 506)

Das ist **das**   **Mädchen** zu **der**,   **der**   er den Ring
that is   the.**N** girl.**N**   to whom.**F** whom.**F** he the   ring
gegeben hat   **Wisconsin German** (Bousquette 2020: 506)
given   has
'That is the girl to whom he has given the ring.'

Predicate-nominal structures and article use

- German exhibits a different pattern to both Afrikaans and English in the predicate-nominal domain:

(13)   Ich bin Süd- Afrikaner/Lehrer.   [SG]

I   am South African   teacher

'I am **a** South African**/a** teacher.'

➢ KG speakers seem to prefer the article-containing structure, although they vary in their actual usage.

➢ There may be a contrast to what we see it in Heritage Norwegian (Kinn 2020; Putnam & Søfteland 2021)

Predicate-nominal structures and article use

- It does look like there is **over-use** of another predicate structure:

(14) a. … wenn du   nur sagst du bist **deutsch**   weil
           when you only say   you are   German.PRED.ADJ   because

      deine Vorfahren **deutsch**   sind …
      your   ancestors   German.PRED.ADJ   are   [**KG**, interview]

   b. … wenn du   nur   sagst, dass du   **Deutsche**   bist
          when   you only   say   that you German.F.NOM   are

      weil   deine Vorfahren **Deutsche**   sind ….
      because your   ancestors German.NOM.PL   are   [**SG**]

Auxiliary selection

- *haben* (=HAVE) vs *sein* (=BE) in the perfect

(15)   a.   Ich **bin** 10km ge*stappt*. [**KG** native-speaker]
              I   be   10km GE-walk-T
              'I hiked 10km.'
      b.   Ich **bin** 10km gewandert/gegangen. [**SG**]
              I   be   10km GE-hike   -T GE- go-   T

- Wiese & Bracke (2021) note that *haben* with verbs of motion is sporadically possible in Namibian German (though see Zimmer 2021).

- In a small survey of 4 KG native-speakers, we observed that the two from bilingual Afrikaans-German households offered more positive assessments of *haben*-containing structures than their peers from German-only households (see also Shah 2007 on Namibian German).

Gehen (GO)-future

- GO has a restricted future use in colloquial German generally:

(17)   Sie **geht** gleich einkaufen.   [**KG** native-speaker]
        she go   soon   shop
        'She's about to go shopping.'

➢ animate (volitional) subject & immediate future

- The usual mechanisms for expressing future in spoken SG:
  - ▪ futurate present
  - ▪ *werden* ('become')
  - ➢ also available in KG

Gehen (GO)-future

- In addition, KG also has the *gehen*-future:

(18) a.   Ich **gehe** in die Zukunft weniger Alkohol trinken. [**KG** n/s]
        I   go   in the future   less   alcohol   drink
        'I'm **going to** drink less alcohol in future.'
   b. Ek **gaan** in die toekoms minder alkohol drink. [**Afrikaans**]
        I   go   in the future   less   alcohol   drink

(19)   a. Es **geht** regnen.   [**KG** n/s]
       it go   rain   = 'It's **going to** rain.'
    b. Dit **gaan** reën.   [**Afrikaans**]
        it   go   rain

➢ This looks very much like **contact** with Afrikaans and English, both of which have strongly grammaticalized GO-futures
- ▪ no **animacy requirement**, and also
- ▪ no **immediacy requirement**

e.g. *Dit **gaan** oor 50 jaar weg wees* – lit: it go over 50 years away be, i.e. 'It's   **going to** be gone in 50 years' time'.

Gehen (GO)-future

- KG definitely doesn't have an **animacy requirement**:

(20) a. Das Boot hat ein Loch und **geht** sinken.   [**KG**]

the   boat   has   a   hole   and   go   sink
'The boat has a hole in it and it's **going to** sink.'

   b. Die boot het 'n gat   in en   hy **gaan** sink.   [**Afrikaans**]

the   boat   has   a hole   in and   he   go   sink

(21) a. Es **geht** witzig sein.   [**KG**]

it   go   jokey   be
'It's going to be fun.'

   b. Dit **gaan** pret(tig) wees.   [**Afrikaans**]

it   go   fun(ny)   be

Gehen (GO)-future

- BUT it does still have an **immediacy requirement**:

(22) a. ?Die Katze **geht** zich nach der Operation gut   erholen.
     the   cat   go   self after the operation   good   recover
     'The cat will (readily) recover well after the operation.'
     [contrast English: The cat is readily/eventually **going to** recover well
     from the operation.]

   b. Die kat **gaan** goed herstel na   die operasie.
     the   cat   go   good   recover after the operation
     'The cat will readily/eventually recover well after the operation.'

(23) a.   *Wir **gehen** alle einmal   sterben.
      us   go   all   one.time die
      'We're all **going to** die at some point.'

   b.   Ons   **gaan** almal eendag sterf.
      us   go   all   one.day die

Gehen (GO)-future

- Contrast Namibian German:

(24)   Wir **gehn** nich unsre Beine brechn; wir **gehn** sterbn!
          we   go   not   our   legs   break   we   go   die
          'We're not going to break our legs; we're going to die!'
          [Shah & Zimmer 2021]

- It's not clear where Canadian Pennsylvania German fits:

(25)   Ich hab geglaubt - es **geht** ihm   *happene*!
        I   have believed   it   go   him.DAT happen
        'I thought: it's **going to** happen to him!'   [Burridge 1992: 206]
      (imminently or not necessarily?)

- What is clear is that GO-futures seem to require contact where German is concerned; continental colloquial German only has aspectual GO (the *go looking*-type; Demske 2020, Paul et al. in press)

- And that the Afrikaans/English pattern has not fully determined the distribution of KG future GO.

Müssen (MUST)

- KG speakers use *müssen* a LOT!

(26) a. Ich **muss** nicht soviel   rauchen.   [**KG** n/s]
      I   must not   so.much   smoke
      'I mustn't smoke so much.'   (wide-scope MUST)

    b. Sie wusste nicht, was sie tun **musste.**   [**KG** n/s]
      she knew   not   what she do   must
      'She didn't know what to do.'

    c. Du **musst** nicht stehlen.   [**KG** n/s]
      you must   not   steal
      'You must not steal.'

    d. Ihr   **müsst** es geniessen.   [**KG** WhatsApp]
      you.PL must   it   enjoy
      'You must enjoy it!/Please enjoy it!'

➢ SG would have *sollen* ('should') in every case

Müssen (MUST)

- Afrikaans also uses *moet* ('must') in all of these cases (in contrast to Dutch).

- And so can South African English (in contrast to English anywhere else; Wasserman & van Rooy 2014, 2016).

- The innovated Afrikaans imperative is a major factor here:

(27) a. **Moenie** die boek koop nie!   [**Afrikaans**]
   must.not the book buy POL
   'Don't buy the book!'
  b. Kauf das Buch **nicht**!   [**SG**]
   buy that book not

Müssen (MUST)

- Significantly, Namibian German features a clearly *moenie-* influenced negative imperative option that KG does not have:

(28) a. **Musst nicht** spät sein!   [**Namibian German** n/s]
    must   not   late   be = 'Don't be late!'
    b. **Musst nicht** weinen!   [**Namibian German** n/s]
        must   not   cry = 'Don't cry!'
    c. **Müsst**   gleich   anrufen   [**Namibian German** n/s]
        must.PL   immediately call
        wenn ihr   angekommen seid!
        when   you.PL arrived   be
        'You must call right away when you arrive!'

Müssen (MUST)

- In KG, *müssen* imperatives are possible, but these always require an overt subject, as in SA English:

(29) a. Du **musst nicht** weinen.   [**KG/Namibian German**]
     you must   not   cry = 'You mustn't cry" (SAE)

   b. Du **musst nicht** soviel   worrien.   [**KG/Namibian German**]
      you must   not   so.much worry
       'You mustn't worry so much!' (SAE)

   c. Ihr   **müsst** lecker   kuiern!   [**KG/Namibian German**]
      you.PL must   enjoyably socialise
      'You must have fun when you guys start socialising!' (SAE)

➢ The contact effects that are in play here are more multi-faceted than may at first seem to be the case.

Müssen (MUST)

- The rise of *müssen* also has a number of other effects – e.g. on scrambling and the use of *kein* – 'no'.

(30) a. Wir dürfen **unseren Humor**   **nicht** verlieren.   [**KG/NG**]

        we   must   our   sense.of.humour not   lose

     'We mustn't lose our sense of humour.'   [**SG**]

  b. Wir <u>**müssen**</u> **nicht** **unsern sense of humor** verlieren.

  c. Wir <u>**müssen**</u> **nicht** **unsern *gees*** verlieren.

Müssen (MUST)

- A 2nd clause-internal effect of the over-use of *müssen*: *kein > nicht ein*

(31) a. Ich habe **keine** Fahrkarte bekommen.   [**SG**]

    b. Ich hab **nicht ein** Ticket gekriegt.   [**KG/NamDeutsch**]

      I   have not   a   ticket got

      'I didn't get a ticket.'

    c. Ek het **nie 'n/*geen** kaartjie gekry nie.   [**Afrikaans**]

      I   have not a   no   ticket   got   POL

      'I didn't get a ticket.'

      (not: 'I got no ticket.'; Biberauer & van Heukelum 2023, 2024)

Um ...zu-infinitives

- *Um ... zu* (or structurally maximal/CP) infinitives have a very restricted distribution in SG: they mostly express purpose (cf. English 'in order to'; Durrell 2002: 270-1)

- In KG, they occur in a much wider range of structures, including complementation structures:

(32) a. Ich hätte   gerne Lust   **um** euch alle wieder **zu** sehen.
       I   have.SUBJ gladly desire for you   all   again to see

[**KG**, whatsapp]

   b. Ich hätte   große Lust,   euch alle mal wieder **zu** sehen.
       I   have.SUBJ big   desire you   all MP again   to see   [SG]

   c. Ek het   baie   lus   **om** julle   almal weer **te** sien.   [**Afrikaans**]
       I   have much desire for you   all   again to see
       'I'd love to see you all again.'

Um …zu-infinitives

(33)   a. Ich weiß nicht was **um zu** tun.   [**KG** n/s]
           I   know not   what for   to do
           'I don't know what to do.'
       [**SG**: I weiß nicht, was ich tun soll – I know not what I do should]

       b. Ek weet nie wat **om te** doen nie.   [**Afrikaans**]
           I   know not what for   to do   POL

(34) a. Ich bin beschäftigt **um** etwas   **zu** tun.   [**KG** n/s]
         I   be   busy   for   something to do
         'I am busy doing something.'
   [**SG**: Ich bin gerade dabei, etwas zu tun – I am just there.by something to do.]

       b. Ek is besig **om** iets   **te** doen.   [**Afrikaans**]
           I   is busy   for   something to do

Um ... zu infinitives

- The expanded use of *um ... zu*-infinitives also occurs in other Southern African German varieties – e.g. Namibian German(Riehl 2004, Shah 2007, Zimmer 2021) and Natal German (Stielau 1980)

- As Afrikaans has also extended *om ...te*-infinitives to complementation contexts, contact again looks like a plausible explanation.

- BUT we also see extended *fer...zu*-patterns in Pennsylvania German where there is no contact 'model' (Burridge 1992, Putnam & Søfteland 2021). And Afrikaans didn't have a 'model' either ...

- This looks more like the frequently attested **edge-reinforcement** that we see in contact varieties, particularly also at clause edges (Biberauer 2021).

More reinforced complementisers

- There are other signs in KG of "reinforced" subordinators (= expanded complementizer domain)

(35) a. Ich muss noch Zähne putzen, **vor** **dass** ich ins Bett

    I   must still teeth clean   before that I   in.the bed

  gehe.

  go   [**KG**]

  b. Ich muss mir noch die Zähne putzen, **bevor** ich ins

    I   must me still   the teeth   clean   before I   in.the

  Bett gehe.

  bed go   [**SG**]

  c. Ek moet nog my tande borsel **voordat** ek in die bed klim.

    I   must still my teeth brush   before.that I   in the bed climb

  'I still need to brush my teeth before I go to bed.'   [**Afrikaans**]

Part II:

Some thoughts on the data against the backdrop of the current understanding of language contact

Trends

- 2 major trends observed:

  - **stability** apparently referencing SG

  - apparently **contact-driven variation**

Contact as a source of variation and change

- Plausibly contact-induced grammatical patterns rather consistently take on a form that doesn't simply replicate what's seen in the relevant contact language(s).

  - **systematic constraints** that don't hold in the source languages

- One key contact site: "two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternatively by the same persons. **The language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact**." (emphasis in original; Weinreich 1953: 1)

➢ Raises the question what speakers are "borrowing"/"gaining" in contact situations, and how they're integrating the borrowed structure into their existing grammars.

Contact as a source of variation and change

- Key difference between communities dominated by L1 speakers vs those with a majority of "shifted" L1/L2 speakers (van Coetsem 1988, 2000, Trudgill 2011, Walkden STARFISH project)

  - **Source language agentivity ('interference')**

  - **Recipient language agentivity**

  - ➤ **Extensions** of **minor** > **major patterns** (Heine & Kuteva 2003)

  - ➤ **PAT(tern) replications** (Matras 2007, 2009, Matras & Sakel 2007) > the **existing ecology of the grammatical system** matters (Adger 2017)

  - ➤ **transmission** rather than **diffusion** in the sense of Labov (2007) > stable cross-generational transmission featuring **incrementation-type changes**

- Crucial here: the **interaction** of **'internal' and 'external' factors**

Verticalisation, stability and change

- 'Ich wurde Dez 2021 für einen Deutschen aus Hannover [= northern Germany] gehalten als ich da war.'   [**KG** survey]

  'I was taken to be a German from Hanover when I was there in December 2021.'

- KG = strikingly vital until now, with **strong cross-generational transmission**

- The retention of notoriously vulnerable grammatical properties (case, gender, verbal inflection, auxiliary selection) = particularly surprising

- The **Verticalization Model** (Salmons 2005a,b, Lucht 2007, Frey 2013) offers an appealing explanation.

Verticalisation, Stability and Change

The Verticalization Model of bi/multilingual communities

- **vertical ties** orient speakers to larger society

- **horizontal ties** orient speakers to their local community, emphasizing its core institutions

(36) Gradient scale of internally and externally oriented domains (Bousquet 2020)

Internally Oriented ←——————————→ Externally Oriented

Home – Religion – Education – Media – Regional – National

Heritage Variety ←——————————→ Hegemonic Variety

Verticalization, Stability and Change

(36) Gradient scale of internally and externally oriented domains (Bousquet 2020)

Internally Oriented ←——————————→ Externally Oriented

Home – Religion – Education – Media – Regional – National

Heritage Variety ←——————————→ Hegemonic Variety

- Until recently, KG speakers were SG-oriented in relation to Religion and Education (unlike the Namibian Germans, they have never had their own German-language newspaper, although they do consume various German-language media – e.g. films, devotional texts)

➢ a "buffer" against Afrikaans and English, which is now rapidly disappearing

Final thoughts

- **Kroondal German** constitutes an immensely rewarding research domain (also true beyond morphosyntax).

- It is a 6th generation variety of South African German that may not survive – at least in its current vital form – for much longer.

- **Stability** can be as illuminating as **innovation / change** (Biberauer & Roberts 2012, Breitbarth et al. 2019)

- **Internal** <u>and</u> **external factors** need to be considered in understanding stability and variation – and not independently of one another either.

- The **Verticalization Model** (Salmons 2005a,b, Bousquette 2020) = valuable in modelling the interaction between **horizontal** (intra-community) and **vertical** (inter-community) **factors** in producing complex innovation-and-stability patterns in bilingual communities.

BAIE DANKIE!

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

VIELEN DANK!