MICROVARIATION IN THE AFRIKAANS PRONOMINAL SYSTEM: Complexification in Kaaps

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1. Introduction
This paper compares the D-systems of Standard Afrikaans (SA) and Kaaps.

Kaaps is often simultaneously described as the oldest and also the most heavily English- and more generally contact-influenced variety of Afrikaans.

Kaaps’ morphosyntax has never been systematically investigated, a lacuna which the newly initiated SEcoKa (=Syntactic Ecology of Kaaps) project aims to fill.

Here, we show how differences between the D-systems of SA and Kaaps exemplify ways in which variation arising in strongly vernacular contact varieties can be systematised to produce novel morphosyntactic distinctions, even in a highly deflected language like Afrikaans.

Key proposal: The differences between SA and Kaaps reflect a (re)morphologisation process that has taken place in Kaaps, but not SA.

It will become clear that:
- (Re)morphologisation in a heavily contact-influenced language like Kaaps challenges ideas on which grammatical simplification is inevitable in contact systems.
- In this case, the (re)morphologisation cannot be attributed to any straightforward contact-induced transfer from another system.

We will argue that complexification in the D-system of Kaaps is due to how child acquirers have structured variable input to arrive at a cohesive system.

Roadmap:
- Section 2: About Kaaps
- Section 3: Background on the data
- Section 4: Overview of SA
- Section 5: The Kaaps data
- Section 6: Discussion
- Section 7: Concluding Remarks

1 The research presented here has been conducted as part of a South African NRF-funded project entitled ‘The Syntactic Ecology of Kaaps’ (SEcoKa), project number: TTK180406318288.
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2. About Kaaps

Kaaps today is…

- An L1 spoken variety of Afrikaans.\(^4\)
- A ‘dynamic’ variety in the sense that it is fast changing and there is a lot of inter and intra-speaker variation.
- A heavily contact-influenced variety:
  - Kaaps speaking individuals and communities are typically multilingual, and most Kaaps speakers are also home language English speakers.\(^5\)
  - One readily observable effect of the intense and prolonged contact between Kaaps and English is the high degree of blending with English that is the norm in Kaaps
- Spoken mainly on the Cape Peninsula, which includes Cape Town’s inner city, the Cape Flats, and a region along the West Coast.

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\(^4\) Also sometimes called Cape Vernacular Afrikaans (Hendricks 1978:13-26; Le Cordeur 2011:763-766) and Afrikaaps (a recent endonym, coined in a play and documentary of the same name: Valley 2010; Williams 2016)

\(^5\) Other languages represented in the Kaaps speaking population include Arabic, Urdu, Hindi, isiXhosa, isiZulu, SeSotho (and other Southern Bantu languages), Somali, French, and other languages spoken by migrants and migrant communities living in Cape Town.
Historically speaking…

- Kaaps is an ‘old’ variety of Afrikaans: many features more closely resemble continental West Germanic than modern SA does (cf. Biberauer and Pretorius 2018).
- Kaaps’ predecessor(s) was spoken by the working class of the City Bowl’s culturally and linguistically diverse Bo-Kaap and District Six after abolishment of slavery (1834).
- Later (1950 onwards) Kaaps speakers moved to the Cape Flats and the rest of the Cape Peninsula.6
- Kaaps was one variety of Afrikaans which was circumvented as a resource for standardisation in the late 1800s.

3. Background on the Data

There are three main sources of data for this talk, namely

- A text-based corpus in the form of Nathan Trantraal’s (2018) collection of short stories entitled Wit Issie ‘n Colour Nie (‘White isn’t a Colour’)
- Data collected from 30 participants in the form of an elicitation task conducted via WhatsApp
- Data collected from a focus group interview with 5 participants

3.1 Trantraal (2018)

Nathan Trantraal is a writer of short stories, plays, poems, and newspaper articles. Much of his work is written in Kaaps.

Trantraal (2018) is autobiographical, a collection of short stories about growing up on the Cape Flats. One story recalls taking Standard Afrikaans as a school subject. Trantraal writes:

...Om jou hystaal te dryp was, om ôse Afrikaans menee te quote “’n gruwel in die aangesig van God”. Wat of course ironic was, waa Afrikaans wassie ôse hystaal ie.  

(Trantraal 2018: 15-16)

Translation:

…To fail your home language subject was, to quote our Afrikaans teacher “an abomination before God”’. Which was of course ironic, because Afrikaans wasn’t our home language.  

[TB, EP, CVR & FB]

The amount of Kaaps in mainstream printed media is currently on the rise; among many things, Trantraal (2018) is an act of language activism.

3.2 WhatsApp Elicitation

Participants are given a sentence or short dialogue to translate from English into Afrikaans:

- Participants were given one item per day for 28 days.
- Responses are written and audio recorded by participants themselves using the ‘voice note’ function.

6 In 1950 the Group Areas Act declared District Six a “whites only” zone, which sanctioned the forced removal and confiscation of land from people living in District Six who were classified as ‘Coloured’ under the Apartheid government.
• Participants organised into chat groups of 2-4 people.
• 21 Kaaps speakers (aged 19-47); 9 ‘non-Kaaps’ speakers (aged 33-71). In the rest of the talk, we will use “SA” as a cover term for Standard Afrikaans as well as the data from our non-Kaaps-speaking participants.
• No monolingual participants: all are proficient speakers of Afrikaans and English; other languages spoken by participants include isiXhosa, isiZulu, seSotho, Arabic, Dutch, German, and French.

The researchers occasionally asked participants for grammaticality judgements based on their translations.

Not all 30 participants responded to each item; the number of participant responses to each item varies.

Data elicited from participants through WhatsApp appears in the following format:

(1) Ek scheme ôs kry ice-cream vinaand.  
   I scheme we get ice-cream tonight  
   ‘I suggest we get ice-cream tonight.’

As mentioned, Kaaps features a high degree of blending with English. All instances of blending are italicised in the data (cf. scheme and ice-cream in (1) above).

The English prompts for participant responses to the WhatsApp translation task are indicated in footnotes throughout.

3.3 Focus Group
A subset of 5 Kaaps speakers who participated in the WhatsApp elicitation task took part in a focus group discussion where they:

• Provided oral translations to more English prompts.
• Provided grammaticality judgements.

Data elicited from participants in the focus group discussion appears in the following format:

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7 It is important to bear in mind that many of the Kaaps-speaking participants are proficient SA-speakers too, and at the same time speakers belonging to the ‘non-Kaaps’ group may be proficient in other regional or home varieties of Afrikaans, in addition to SA. Furthermore, the non-Kaaps speakers do not form a homogenous group, as many were born and raised in different parts of the country and currently belong to different communities of practice.
8 Speakers were assigned to the Kaaps or non-Kaaps groups based on whether they self-identified as speakers of Kaaps. A small number of self-identified Kaaps speakers were not born on the Cape Peninsula and have not been residing there for a period exceeding 5 years. The Kaaps spoken by these participants is sometimes strikingly different from that of the ‘Peninsula Kaaps’ speakers. Thus, it is important to bear in mind that self-identification should not be the only criterion upon which the morphosyntactic features of Kaaps are investigated.
4. An Overview of the Standard Afrikaans D-system

This section provides an overview of relevant aspects of the D-system in SA (those not principally associated with animate reference):

- Articles
- third person neuter forms
- demonstratives
- locatives

4.1 Articles

The SA indefinite and definite articles, respectively, are:

- ‘n (pronounced [ə]) and
- die (pronounced [di])

These articles consistently precede their associated nominals as morphologically independent elements.

(3) ‘n / die duur jas.
    a the expensive jacket
    ‘An / the expensive jacket.’

4.2. The third person neuter pronoun

The SA 3rd person neuter form in SA is dit

As in English, it functions both as an expletive (4) and referentially (5):

(4) (a) Dit reën vandag.
    it rain today
    ‘It is raining today.’
    [quasi-argumental / weather expletive]

(b) Dit vat drie werksdae vir die geld om in jou bankrekening te verskyn.
    it takes three work-days for the money to appear in your bank account.
    ‘It takes three working days for the money to appear in your bank account.’
    [“pure” anticipatory expletive]

9 Unless otherwise stated, all examples in this section are constructed by the authors as they are entirely uncontroversial, and can also be verified on the basis of descriptive reference works like Donaldson (1993).
As a referential pronoun, *dit* can have various anaphoric uses:

- *Tracking* pronoun for major discourse referents (entities), typically realised as DPs (5a).
- *Discourse-deictic* pronoun for discourse segments, typically CP or vP (5b).
- *Situation-deictic* pronoun for spatio-temporally local referents, compatible with pointing (5c). **NB:** this is a marked use: when used situationally, *dit* is typically stressed, i.e. *dït*

(5) (a) Ek sien die blik waarna jy gesoek het. *Dït* is heeltemal leeg. I see the container which-after you searched have it is completely empty
    ‘I can see the container that you were looking for. It is completely empty.’

(b) Ons het gister op die strand gaan stap. *Dït* was baie lekker. we have yesterday on the beach go walk it was very nice ‘We went walking on the beach yesterday. It was lots of fun.’

(c) Ek wil *dït* graag hê. I want it please have ‘I would like to have this (with pointing)’.

**Interim Summary:** SA *dit* serves as:
- An expletive (4), and
- An unmarked anaphoric pronoun:
  - argument-tracking (5a) and
  - discourse-deixis (5b)
- A situational-deictic pronoun (5c) – **marked** use.

In all of these uses, *dit* may surface in the form of lexicalised *dis* > *dit is* (it’s), where it would have preceded a copula:

(6) (a) *Dis* altyd maar sonskyn in die Kaap. it’s always just sunshine in the Cape
    ‘It’s always sunny in the Cape.’

(b) Ek was nie seker oor hierdie rok nie, maar hulle sê *dis* goed genoeg. I wasn’t sure about this dress not but they say it’s good enough
    ‘I wasn’t sure about this dress, but they tell me it’s good enough.’

(c) *Dis* ‘n goeie idee! that’s a good idea
    ‘THAT’s a good idea!’
4.3. Demonstratives

The SA distal and proximal demonstratives, respectively, are:

- *daardie* (‘that’) and
- *hierdie* (‘this’)

(7) (a) Ek wou ’n appeltert na dié ete, nie *daardie* (melktart) nie. ‘I wanted an apple-tart after the meal not there.the milktart not ‘I wanted to have an apple tart after the meal, not that (milktart).’

(b) Ek het nie geweet wat jy verkies nie, toe bring ek maar *hierdie* (ding). ‘I did not know what you preferred, so I brought this (thing).’

These demonstratives are morphologically complex:

- *daardie* (lit. there.the = ‘that’) is constructed from the distal locative adverb *daar* (‘there’) + the definite article *die* (‘the’)
- *hierdie* (lit. here.the = ‘this’) is constructed from the proximal locative adverb *hier* (‘here’) combines with the definite article

Each can be used

- Adnominally – as morphologically independent determiners preceding the nominal, or
- Pronominally

Can be used for

- *Tracking* discourse referents (entities, typically DPs)
- *Situation-deixis* (spatio-temporally local referents, compatible with pointing)

Ungrammatical / marginally acceptable when used for *discourse-deixis* (propositions, typically CP or vP):

(8) Ons vriende het voorgestel dat ons eers **ná** die vertoning eet. ‘Our friends suggested that we eat only after the performance. That doesn’t sound like a good idea to me.’

In colloquial SA, *daardie* is frequently reduced to *daai*.

4.4. Locative adverbs

The SA distal and proximal locative adverb, respectively, are

- *daar* (‘there’), and
- *hier* (‘here’)

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10 SA is a negative concord system, clause-final *nie* being the concord marker.
The existential expletive in SA derives from the distal locative adverb *daar* (typically the case in West Germanic languages):

(9) **Daar** is niks om (hier) te doen nie.
    there is nothing C.INF here to do not
    ‘There is nothing to do.’

4.5. *Summary of the SA D-system*

**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘n (‘a’)</td>
<td>adnominal</td>
<td>INDEFINITE ARTICLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>die</em> (‘the’)</td>
<td>adnominal</td>
<td>DEFINITE ARTICLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dit</em> (‘it’)</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>3RD PERSON NEUTER: expletive, referential (referent-tracking, discourse deictic, situation-deictic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daar</em> (‘there’)</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>DISTAL LOCATIVE ADVERB, EXISTENTIAL EXPLETIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hier</em> (‘here’)</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>PROXIMAL LOCATIVE ADVERB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daardie</em> (‘that’)</td>
<td>adnominal, pronominal</td>
<td>DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE (referent-tracking, situation-deictic and marginally, discourse-deictic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hierdie</em> (‘this’)</td>
<td>adnominal, pronominal</td>
<td>PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVE (referent-tracking and situation-deictic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. The Kaaps D-system

The Kaaps D-system
- Features a **richer** array of forms than SA does.
- Has been restructured in such a way that there are **systematic contrasts in onset** (absent in SA).

The description of the Kaaps facts is organised on the basis of their onset properties:

**Section 5.1**: elements which are *d*-less (lacking a phonologically contrastive onset)
**Section 5.2**: *d*-initial elements
**Section 5.3**: *h*-initial elements
**Section 5.4**: locative pronouns

5.1 *d*-less forms in Kaaps

Elements in Kaaps that are *d*-less (lacking a contrastive onset):
- The third person neuter pronoun
  - Expletive (10a)
  - Referential (10b)
- Articles (12)
(10)  (a)  **It vat at least twee working-class salaries om ’n phone inne hyste**

It takes at least two working-class salaries to have a phone in the house.

‘It takes at least two working-class salaries to have a phone in the house.’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:12, line 14]

(b)  **It is practically lieg.**

It is practically empty

‘It (=the previously mentioned train) is practically empty.’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:57, line 6]

Kaaps has a *d*-less counterpart of SA’s contracted *dis* (‘it’s’; cf. §4.2 above), the pronoun component which can be expletive (11a) or referential (11b):

(11)  (a)  **Is baie warm in daai kamer.**

It's very warm in that room

‘It’s very hot in that room.’

[Kaaps; 20190519_TRNS_WR_AAAM]

(b)  **“Naai, is orait is biete as niks.”**

No it’s alright it’s better than nothing

‘No, it’s (= the previously mentioned essay) alright, it’s better than nothing.’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:20, line 12]

In Kaaps,

- The indefinite article is *’n* (pronounced [ə]), like in SA, and
- The definite article typically surfaces without a *d*-onset:

(12)  (a)  **Is stil inne voorhys virre oomblik.**

is quiet in the front of the house for a moment

‘It’s quiet for a moment at the front of the house.’

(Trantraal 2018:33)

(b)  **Dai wassie laaste kee wat ek vi Amelia gesien et.**

that was the last time for Amelia seen have

‘That was the last time I saw Amelia.’

(Trantraal 2018:24)

(12) shows that Kaaps articles are enclitic:

- Incorporation into the preceding element produces assimilation effects
- Assimilation effects that obscure their onsets: *innie > in die* (‘in the’), *virre > vir ’n* (‘for a’) in (12a); *wassie > was die* (‘was the’) in (12b).
- West Germanic final obstruent devoicing remains active in Kaaps - as it does in SA
- The encliticised definite article will never surface as [di]: no preceding element will be [d]-final as a result of the obligatory final /d/ > [t] realisation requirement.

**Note:** there are *d*-initial definite articles in Kaaps (e.g. in clause-initial position):

(13)  **Die clue was inne title, as jy daan dink.**

the clue was in the title if you there on think

‘The clue was in the title, if you think about it.’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2019:10, line 7]
Interim Summary: Certain elements (the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person neuter pronoun and the definite article) in the D-system of Kaaps are \textit{d}-less (lacking a contrastive onset), where the corresponding elements of SA are \textit{d}-initial.

5.2 \textit{d}-initial forms in Kaaps

The Kaaps D-system also features a set of \textit{d}-initial items:

- \textit{dít} – Situational-deictic use of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person neuter pronoun (referent comes from the local spatio-temporal environment, compatible with pointing) (14)
- \textit{dai} – The distal demonstrative (15)
- \textit{dié} – The proximal demonstrative (16)

(14) Gie \textit{dít}/*ít vi my!\textsuperscript{11}

‘Give that to me!’

[Kaaps; 20190520\_INT\_AAAF/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]

(15) (a) \textbf{Dai} oupatjie \textit{sense} sieke my disapproval.

‘That little grandpa probably senses my disapproval.’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:63, line 14]

(b) "Los \textbf{dai}…"

‘Leave that (stop what you’re doing).’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:61, line 18]

(16) (a) Ek het vi Joe gesê ek wil \textit{dai} skoene hê…\textsuperscript{12}

I have for J. said I want those shoes have

nie \textit{dité} skoene nie. [SA: hierdie]

‘I told Joe I wanted those shoes, not these shoes.’

[Kaaps; 20190515\_TRNS\_WR\_AAAY]

(c) Nou skryf ek ma \textit{dité} instead. [SA: hierdie]

‘So now I’m writing this (= short story) instead.’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:30, line 12]

(14) shows that

- the \textit{d}-less from \textit{it} is a necessarily unmarked pronominal
- the \textit{d}-initial form can serve deictically, i.e. as a marked pronominal.

(15-16) show that both of the Kaaps demonstrative forms

- Can be used \textbf{ad nominally} and \textbf{pronominally} (an issue we return to in §5.3)
- May serve both basic \textit{situations-deictic} and \textit{argument-tracking} – like in SA

\textsuperscript{11} Participants in the focus group produced this expression in response to an English translation prompt for which they were given the following context: A child is playing with a fragile ornament. The speaker reaches for the object and says \textit{Give me that}!

\textsuperscript{12} The English translation prompt for (16a) was: \textit{I told Joe I wanted those shoes, not \textbf{these} ones.}
Kaaps differs from SA in that the **distal demonstrative** *dai* – and its corresponding copula-contracted form *dais* (‘that’s’) – is the unmarked form for encoding **discourse-deixis** (17).  
- In harnessing the distal demonstrative as the unmarked discourse-deictic form, Kaaps patterns with English (see the translations of the examples in (17)), rather than SA.  
- It is crosslinguistically uncommon for discourse deixis to be neutrally encoded by the 3rd person pronoun, as it is in SA (Himmelmann 1996:212).

(17) (a) **Dais** waa *political activists* soes Noam Chomsky my veloo…
that's where political activists like N. C. me loses
‘That’s where political activists like Noam Chomsky lose me…’

…hulle dink meer van mense as wat mense ooit van hulleself sal dink.
they think more of people as what people ever of themselves will think
‘…they think more of people than what people would ever think of themselves.’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:9, line 14]

(a') **Dis** waar polietise aktiviste soos Noam Chomsky my verloor. [SA]

(b) **Dai** is Amelia vi jou.
that is A. for you
‘That is Amelia for you.’

[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:21 line 15]

(b') **Dit** is Amelia vir jou. [SA]

The Kaaps **proximal demonstrative** *dié* is also available for **discourse-deixis**; again, the SA proximal demonstrative *hierdie* is not:

(18) My vrinne drink ammel Red Bull innie *exam* tyd,
my friends drink all R. B. in the exam time
‘My friends all drink Red Bull in the exam time

(a) …ma ek *likes* nie *dié* storie nie. [SA: ✓ *hierdie*]
but I like not this story not
‘…But I don’t like this situation.’

[Kaaps; AAAF; AAAH; p.c.]

(b) …ma ek *likes* nie *dié* nie. [SA: *hierdie*]
but I like not this not
‘…But I don’t like this (= drinking red bull in the exam time).’

[Kaaps; AAAF; AAAH; p.c.]

**Interim Summary**: The primarily deictic elements - the proximal and distal demonstratives (*dié* and *dai*, respectively) plus deictically used *dit* are consistently *d*-initial.

By contrast, the unmarked core definites -the 3rd person singular neuter pronoun (*it*) and the definite article (*ie*) are systematically *d*-less.

**5.3 h-initial forms in Kaaps**

Kaaps features an *h*-initial variant of the distal demonstrative:
- *hai* (‘that’).
Hai(situasie) gaan moeilik wies om op te los.
‘That situation is going to be difficult to solve.’
[Kaaps; 20190520_INT_AAAF/AAAG/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]

(b) Hai jare wasit moontlik om Chappies te koep mette vyf sent.
‘In those years it was possible to buy Chappies (bubblegum) for five cents.’
[Kaaps; 20190520_INT_AAAG]

c) Ek kan hai vrou nie verdra nie!
I can’t stand that woman!
[Kaaps; 20190520_INT_AAAF/AAAG/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]

The proximal demonstrative *dié* has no *h*-initial correlate.

The proximal demonstrative *dié* has no *h*-initial correlate.

Ha(a)i in place of *daai* is also possible in colloquial SA
But this is conditioned by extralinguistic factors, e.g. production speed.

In Kaaps the occurrence of *hai* vs. *dai* is also syntactically conditioned:
• *dai* and *hai* occur in overlapping distribution (e.g. sentence-initially, cf. 15&19)
• *dai* can be used adnominally and pronominally,
  *hai* can only be used attributively (20).

(20) (a) Dai / *hai* kan ‘n problem wies.
  ‘That could be a problem.’
  [Kaaps; 20190520_INT_AAAF/AAAG/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]

  (b) Ek wonne hoe hai president van ons dai / *hai* sal hanteer.
  ‘I wonder how that president of ours that will handle
  that president of ours will handle that.’
  [Kaaps; 20190520_INT_AAAZ]

  ➔ *dai* and *hai* are not simply variants of a single lexical item.

*Hai* and *dai* are also assigned different interpretations:
• *dai* is used for situation-deixis (21; all compatible with pointing; recall §5.2 above)
• *hai* is not available for situation-deixis (22; not compatible with pointing)

(21) Compatible with pointing (= situation-deixis)
(a) Gie dai ding!
  ‘Give (me) that thing!’
  [Kaaps; 20190520_INT_AAAF/AAAG/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]

13 This example was produced during the focus group interview by all five participants in response to an English translation prompt. The context provided for the prompt was that the speaker and a friend are planning a surprise party for the friend’s brother, and the friend has just told the speaker that the brother is planning to see a movie on the same night as the party. The speaker says *That could be a problem.*

14 The English translation prompt for (20b) was: *I wonder how that president of ours will handle that!*

15 (21a) was produced during the focus group interview by all five participants in response to an English translation prompt. The context provided for the prompt was that a child is playing with a fragile ornament. The speaker reaches for the object and says *Give me that thing!*
(b) Ek nodig **dai** pen.\textsuperscript{16}  
I need that pen  
‘I need that pen.’  
[Kaaps;20190520\_INT\_AAAG/AAAZ/AABA]  

(c) Kôs gaan na **dai** Chinese takeaways op Main Rd. toe.\textsuperscript{17}  
let us go to that Chinese takeaways on Main Rd. to  
‘Let’s go to that Chinese takeaways on Main Rd.’  
[Kaaps;20190520\_INT\_AAAG/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]  

(22) *Incompatible with pointing (= situation-deixis)*  
Kom ôs gaan na **hai** Chinese takeaways toe op Main Rd.  
let us go to that Chinese takeaways to on Main Rd.  
‘Let’s go to that Chinese takeaways on Main Rd.’  
[Kaaps;20190520\_INT\_AAAF]  

Participant provided context for (22):  
- Not uttered in the spatio-temporally local vicinity of the restaurant  
- \textit{[hai Chinese takeaways]} = a restaurant that is familiar to both speaker and hearer  

Directly analogous set of examples: ((23a) is repeated from example (19c) above):  
- Spontaneously produced alternative translations of \textit{I really can’t stand that woman!}  

(23) \textit{(a)}  
Ek kan **hai** vrou nie verdra nie!  
I can that woman not stand not  
‘I can’t stand that woman!’  
[Kaaps;20190520\_INT\_AAAF/AAAG/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]  

\textit{(b)}  
**Dai** vrou kan ek regtig nie verdra nie.  
that woman can I really not stand not  
‘That woman (over there) I really can’t stand.’  
[Kaaps;20190520\_INT\_AAAF]  

Participant provided explanations for (23):  
- **Dai** in (23b) is compatible with pointing  
- **Hai** in (23a), is incompatible with pointing – referent of **hai**  
  o cannot be taken from the spatio-temporal local vicinity  
  o is a person who is known to both speaker and hearer.  

\textit{Hai} serves a recognition\textit{al function}.\textsuperscript{18}  
- It can be felicitously accompanied by \textit{you know?} or \textit{remember?}  
- ‘The intended referent is to be identified via specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse’ (Himmelmann 1996:227).  
- Allows for first-mention uses  
  o Unlike various techniques for tracking referents (e.g. definite NPs / tracking pronouns like personal pronouns, and demonstratives)  

\textsuperscript{16} The English translation prompt for (21b) was: *I need that pen.*  
\textsuperscript{17} This is a focus group interview example, produced by four of the participants in response to the English translation prompt *Let’s go that Chinese takeaways on Main Rd.*  
\textsuperscript{18} Cf. i.a. Himmelmann 1996; Diessel, 1999, 2006; Partee 2006 on so-called familiar demonstratives; Šimík 2016 on pragmatic demonstratives; and i.a. Lakoff 1974, and (Wolter, 2004) on emotional deixis.
Examples in (24) are all first-mention uses (none preceded by prior discourse):

(24) (a)  Ek hoor **hai** kar het gebriek.¹⁹
    I hear that car has broken
    ‘I hear that car (you know the one, right?) broke.’

    [Kaaps: 20190413_TRNS_VN_AAAA]

(b)  Amal wat nou zuma se naam hoo **picture hai** showerkop.
    everyone what now Z. POS name hears pictures that showerhead
    Is **basically automatic.**²⁰
    it’s basically automatic
    ‘It’s basically automatic.’

    ‘Everyone who hears Zuma’s name now just pictures that (infamous)
    showerhead.’

    [Kaaps; 20190514_TRNS_VN_AAAA]

(c)  Ek wiet jy dink hyt **hai** hond van jou gevat…²¹
    I know you think he has that dog of yours took
    ‘I know you think he took that dog of yours (the one we both know is missing)
    …’

    [Kaaps; 20190522_TRNS_VN_AAAA]

(25) (a)  **Oh yes.** Ek gan nou soema op sign op **hai link** ne.
    oh yes I go now PRT up-sign on that link PRT
    ‘Oh yes. I’ll now just quickly sign up via that link, ok!’

    (hai link = a link where, in a conversation that took place a week ago,
    participants were asked to sign up for a study)

    [Kaaps: 20190428_AAAC; p.c]

(b)  Ek is vesieke dat hy nie al **hai** gel hettie.²²
    I am sure that he not all that money has not
    ‘I am sure that he doesn’t have all that money.’

    [Kaaps: 20190427_TRNS_VN_AAAY]

**Hai** can also serve to communicate speakers’ negative evaluation (26)

- In (26a): the car is regarded as a piece of rubbish;
- In (26b): the woman has more new clothing than the speaker deems acceptable;
- In (26c): the participant explains -
  “*if you use daai & haai in the same sentence as in [26c] ... it could imply that
  you [sic] degrading the other jacket*”;
- In (26d): implicit lack of confidence towards the president, very undermining.

(26) (a)  A: **Ek hoor die kar het gebriek.** …
    I hear the car has broken
    ‘I hear the car broke down.’

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¹⁹ The English translation prompt for (24a) was: *I heard that the car broke down.*
²⁰ The English translation prompt for (24b) was: *Now, everyone who hears Zuma’s name just pictures that showerhead. It’s basically automatic.*
²¹ The English translation prompt for (24c) was: *I know you think he took that dog of yours...*
²² English translation prompt for (25b): *I’m sure that he doesn’t have all that money.*
Thus, hai has at least two distinct, discernible uses:

- **Recognition**al marker
- **Evaluative** marker

**Hai** encodes an additional, *intersubjective layer of meaning*:

- Not necessarily encoded by definite articles, personal pronouns, or “regular” demonstratives.
- Intersubjective interpretations are available for demonstratives in English and SA. *But* neither English nor SA has a special form encoding this function. The *h*-onset appears to be emerging as such in Kaaps.

➔ *Hai* = an emerging pragmatically-oriented demonstrative

Recall:

- *dai* can be used adnominally and pronominally;
- *hai* can only be used adnominally.

Given the status of *hai* as a pragmatically-oriented item, this positional restriction falls into place:

- Intersubjective adjectives are known to be restricted to attributive positions (cf. i.a. Demonte 1999, Laenzlinger 2005, and Morzycki 2009).

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23 The English translation prompt for (26a) was: *A: I heard that the car broke down… D: That car was rubbish, I’m telling you.*

24 The English translation prompt for (26b) was: *A: Hennie says that Susan has a new red hat. B: I could believe that woman even has two new hats.*

25 The English translation prompt for (26d) was: *I wonder how that president of ours will handle that!*
• Attributive-first pattern fits observations of Himmelmann (1996): 26
  o Crosslinguistically, the adnominal use of demonstratives appears to be more basic than the pronominal use.
  o Adnominal use is clearly more frequent.
  o When a language distinguishes between pronominal and adnominal forms, the former tend to be morphologically more complex; in some cases pronominal forms clearly derive from the adnominal forms.
  o Pronominal demonstratives are often restricted in terms of permissible referent; apparently no such restrictions on adnominal uses demonstratives.

So, adnominal demonstratives get established before pronominal demonstratives

This also appears to be the case with the hai-demonstrative in Kaaps.

 ➔ The possibility that Kaaps may be in the process of formalising a novel pragmatically oriented demonstrative thus needs to be taken seriously.

5.4 Locative and Existential Pronouns

The Kaaps distal and proximal locative adverbs, respectively, are
• daa (‘there’)
• hie (‘here’)

Below, we first discuss the forms and uses of the distal and then the proximal pronoun.

The existential expletive
• is based on the distal locative form daa
• alternates between d-initial and h-initial forms: daa/haa (‘there’) (27-28)

(27) (a) …En as ôssie mee it kan afforditie
    and if we not more it can afford.have.not ‘and when we couldn’t afford it any more’

    was haa net dai depressing amputee phone line…
    was there just that depressing amputee phone line

    ‘there was simply that depressing dead phone line (but no phone)…’
    [Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:12, line 16]

(b) …om jouself te convince daa isse regte kans dat jy sal bel.

    INF.C yourself to convince there’s a real chance that you will phone

    ‘…to convince yourself there’s a real chance that you’ll phone.’
    [Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:13, line 9]

26 These observations, in turn, fit with Corbett's (1979) classic Agreement Hierarchy, in terms of which attributive relations (here involving adnominal demonstratives) are always in place where corresponding predicative ones (here involving pronominal demonstratives) are also identified, i.e. attributive agreement precedes predicative agreement, with the latter only arising where the former is established.
(28) (a) **Haa/daa** wasse man byrrie dee wie vi jou gesoek et.
‘There was a man at the door looking for you.’
[20190520_INT_AAAF/AAAG/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]
(b) **Haa** wasse tyd toe…
‘There was a time when…’
[20190520_INT_AAAZ]
(c) **Haa** gie die man vi jou vyf rand. Hoe sê mens?
‘The man is giving you five rand. What do you say?’
[20190522_AAAF; PC]

The distal locative can be used for
- **Tracking referents** (places typically PPs)
- **Situation-deixis** (spatio-temporally local referents, compatible with pointing)

Strong tendency for *daa* to be used in preference to *h aa* for both tracking (29a-b) and situation-deixis (29c).

(29) (a) Jy gan niks minner as vyf ure van jou liewe op Sondag
‘You go nothing less as five hours of your life on a Sunday

*daa* moet vegetate ie.
‘You will spend no fewer than five hours of your life vegetating there each Sunday.’ (*there* = the Pentecostal church, previously mentioned)
[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:11, line 1]
(b) …En *daa* gan bel.
‘…and go there to phone.’
(*there* = the payphone at the fisheries, previously mentioned)
[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:13, line 4]
(c) Sit it *daa* /??#/h aa nee.27
‘Put it down there.’ [Kaaps; 20190520_INT_AAAF/AAAG/AAAH/AAAZ/AABA]

27 The context created for the focus group participants around this expression was as follows: You and a friend are carrying a heavy box. You indicate a spot in the corner and say Put it down over there.

(30) (a) Jy moet ’n lid *dáá* oppie vullis blik sit.
‘You must put a lid on the rubbish bin over there.’
[Kaaps; 20190418_TRNS_VN_AAAN]
(b) Die menee het gesê omnie blik *haa* anne kant se deskel op te sit.
‘The teacher said to put a lid on the bin over that side.’
[Kaaps; 20190418TRNS_VN_AAAC]

28 The English translation prompt for (30) was: *The teacher said to put a lid on that bin over there.*
Haa is unexpected in the context of situation-deixis:
- Previous sections established situation-deixis as the domain of d-initial forms

Given hai as a pragmatic demonstrative encoding intersubjective meaning (§5.3)
- haa in examples like (30b) might not be encoding situation-deixis.
- haa could be another pragmatic D-element, in the locative series.
  - In such a case, haa in (30b) would not take its referent from the spatio-temporally local environment (e.g. through pointing)
  - haa would be encoding shared knowledge to do with place, i.e. as a recognitional use.
  - On such a use in the case of (30b), haa might be interpreted as 'that side of the building which neither of us can see right now, but with which we are both familiar'.

Support for a pragmatic use of haa:
- (30b) seems to involve an ‘intermediate’, speaker- and hearer-referencing interpretation of the locative pronoun, found in both Kaaps and SA (31).
- We designate this use ‘close to you; far from me’.
- In SA, ‘close to you; far from me’ encoded by daar (31a); in Kaaps, haa is available (38b-c)

(31) (a) Gee gou daar die skroewedraaier aan.
give quickly there the screwdriver on
‘Quickly pass me screwdriver (it’s close to you but far from me).’ [SA]
(b) “Skryf ’n paa stukkies haa, jou ma se poes…”
write a few pieces there you mother.***er
‘ “Write something there, you mother f***er.” ’
[Kaaps; Trantraal 2018:17, line 12]
(c) Gie haa/daa gou ’n vyf rand, man.
give there quickly a five rand, man.
‘Just give (me) five rand, man.’
[Kaaps; 20190521_AAAF; PC]

‘Close you; far from me’ ≠ situation-deixis
- It is an intersubjective meaning which based on speaker’s perception of what is (physically or emotionally-psychologically) closer to the hearer than to the speaker.

This allows us to give a consistent assessment of what h- ‘means’: something intersubjective/pragmatically oriented.

But can the same assessment of h- in hai and haa be applied to the proximal locative form hie, which is also h-initial?

Interim Summary: The h-initial variant haa of the distal locative daa (‘there’) is like the h-initial variant hai of the demonstrative dai:
- Haa is available to encode intersubjective, pragmatically-oriented meanings in the locative series
• Namely, *haa* can express (i) a recognitional version of ‘*that PLACE*’, and (ii) the ‘*close to you; far from me*’ function

• ‘*Close to you; far from me*’ is an intersubjective / pragmatically-oriented use:
  o the speaker is the deictic centre
  o the use depends on the speaker’s perception of what (physically or emotionally-psychologically) closer to the hearer than to the speaker.

If the above is correct, we are moving towards analysing *h-* as a contrastive unit / morpheme that is specialised in encoding an additional intersubjective ‘layer’ of meaning.

This necessitates that all *h-*initial forms in the Kaaps D-system be analysable in terms of this intersubjective layer of meaning

➔ What about the proximal locative pronoun *hie* (‘here’), which is necessarily *h-*initial?

Following well-established ideas in phenomenology and pragmatism about human conceptions of space, we suggest: 29

• **HERE** is in fact a **fundamentally intersubjective / pragmatically-oriented** notion.
  o **Cartesian conceptions:**
    ▪ Space is homogenous, constituted by points, lines, and dimensions.
    ▪ Such points, lines, and dimensions are undifferentiated in quality: none are ‘special’ / privileged in relation to others – *everywhere is anywhere*
    ▪ No special place for the speaker.
  o **Lebenswelt (‘life-world’; Husserl) conceptions:**
    ▪ Space is oriented, constituted by embodied experiences.
    ▪ **HERE** is ‘special’ / privileged among other places, functions as a *zero point*, the origin of the deictic field (Bühler, 1982)
    ▪ **HERE** is the place of the speaker (and cannot be defined in terms of objective Cartesian dimensions).

➔ The *h-*initial items in the Kaaps D-system, *hai, haa,* and *hie,* all encode the intersubjective / pragmatically-oriented ‘layer’ of meaning

5.5. **Summary of the Kaaps D-system**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘<em>n</em> (‘a’)</td>
<td>adnominal</td>
<td>INDEFINITE ARTICLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ie</em> (‘the’)</td>
<td>adnominal (enclitic)</td>
<td>DEFINITE ARTICLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>die</em> (‘the’)</td>
<td>adnominal</td>
<td>DEFINITE ARTICLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>it</em> (‘it’)</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>3RD PERSON NEUTER: expletive, referential (referent-tracking, discourse deictic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dit</em> (‘it’)</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>3RD PERSON NEUTER: referential (situation-deictic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daa</em> (‘there’)</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>EXISTENTIAL EXPLETIVE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 These definitions are based on the discussion in Waldenfels (2007:108-113).
DISTAL LOCATIVE ADVERB: referent-tracking, situation-deictic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha‘a ('there')</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>hie ('here')</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dai ('that')</td>
<td>adnominal, pronominal</td>
<td>hai ('that')</td>
<td>adnominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dié ('this')</td>
<td>adnominal, pronominal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Discussion

Table 3: Overview of the differences between SA and Kaaps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Kaaps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>'n 'a'</td>
<td>'n 'a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die ‘the’</td>
<td>DEF. ART.</td>
<td>a. ie ‘the’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. die ‘the’</td>
<td>DEF. ART.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>dit ‘it’</td>
<td>3.NEUTER.SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. it ‘it’</td>
<td>3.NEUTER.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. dit ‘it’</td>
<td>3.NEUTER.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>daar ‘there’</td>
<td>DIST. LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. daa ‘there’</td>
<td>DIST. LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. hie ‘here’</td>
<td>PROX. LOC; pragmatic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hier ‘here’</td>
<td>PROX. LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>daardie ‘that/those’</td>
<td>DIST. DEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. dai ‘that’</td>
<td>DIST. DEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. hai ‘that’</td>
<td>DIST. DEM; pragmatic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hierdie ‘this/these’</td>
<td>PROX. DEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. dié ‘this/these’</td>
<td>PROX. DEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observations & generalisations:

- The Kaaps system is more complex than that of SA, true even within individual series.
  - Kaaps has d-less articles and 3rd person neuter pronouns which SA does not
  - Kaaps has h-initial locatives and demonstratives which SA does not

- **Generalisation A:**
  3rd person neuter pronoun in Kaaps (the unmarked referential and expletive uses) are d-less items (it, is)
  Not true for SA, which has no D-system items lacking contrastive onsets

- **Generalisation B:**
  Situation-deixis in Kaaps is expressed by d-initial items (dit, daa, dai, dié)
  Not true for SA (dit, daar, daardie, hierdie)

- **Generalisation C:**
  Pragmatic functions expressed by h-initial items (hai, haa, hie)
  Not true for SA, which has no contrastive h-initial initial items
Kaaps is (re-)morphologising distinctions that do not exist as such in SA: the d- and h-onsets are morphological exponents bearing formal features.

6.1 Contact, Kaaps ... and complexification?!

Recall that Kaaps is heavily contact-influenced (§2)... so we might expect simplification (on the common understanding of contact leading to grammatical simplification).

- But: also recall that Kaaps is a matrilectal variety with a long history.

Trudgill's (2011) Sociolinguistic Typology: Alternative approach to contact-induced grammatical change:

- Many L1 speakers (typical of long-term co-territorial language contact) → additive complexification
- Extensive L2 use (typical of short-term contact) → simplification
- NB: Child vs. adult language acquisition

Complexification of the D-system in Kaaps

- is not unexpected, given Trudgill’s ideas.
- undermines (simplistic) approaches to contact where simplification is expected/predicted.

If child acquirers are driving complexification, it is important to investigate matters from their perspective

6.2 Acquisition

Afrikaans is a largely analytical, minimally fusional language.

- Why should acquirers begin to postulate agglutination-style morphology at all?
- Why only in one small corner of their grammar?
- More accurately, why should Kaaps acquirers do this and SA acquirers not?

Assuming a Maximise Minimal Means (MMM) framework, we propose that

- Kaaps acquirers receive evidence that d- and h-onsets in the D-system correspond in systematic ways to pieces of functional meaning (Generalisations A, B, and C)
- In contrast, SA acquirers receive no evidence of such systematicity

In assessing what acquirers may deduce from the input, we need to take into account which aspects of this input they can attend to (i.e. their intake).³¹

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³⁰ MMM is a 3 Factors model of the mental grammar, very basically represented in (i) below. For an exposition of MMM, cf. Biberauer 2017, and cf. Biberauer 2018b, 2019 for further discussion.

(i) UG (Factor 1) + PLD (Factor 2) + MMM (Factor 3) → adult I-language

³¹ Cf. i.a. Evers and Van Kampen 2008, Gagliardi 2012, Lidz and Gagliardi 2015 on ‘input’ vs. ‘intake’.
Crosslinguistic acquisition sequence of demonstratives, pronouns and articles:
- Demonstratives > I/it pronouns > Articles
  - Of demonstratives, deictic use precedes anaphoric (Diessel 1999, Van Kampen, 2004)
  - Of 3rd Person pronouns, referential use precedes expletive (Kirby 2005, Kirby and Becker 2007)

Given Generalisations A, B, and C, we know that
- By paying attention to demonstratives, Kaaps child acquirers will learn early on that situation-deictic items are always d-initial
- By paying attention to the 3rd person neuter pronouns, Kaaps child acquirers will learn the d-initial situation-deictic items contrast systematically with d-less referential (and eventually also expletive) uses

⇒ the onset is analysable as a distinct morphological unit.

- Establishing the d-onset as a distinct morpheme lays the necessary formal groundwork for introducing other ‘moving parts’ as interpretively contrastive onsets in the D-system, e.g. the pragmatically-oriented h-onset

7. Some Concluding Remarks
Intensive language contact does not necessarily lead to grammatical simplification.
- The Kaaps data support Trudgill’s (2011) view that sociolinguistic context is an important factor
  - Where there are L1 speakers we tend to see complexification.

Thus, acquirers play an important role in structuring variable input, particularly in strongly interactively based vernacular varieties.

We presented an empirical picture:
- Systematic contrasts in onsets of the Kaaps D-system serve as input to acquirers.
- On this basis, acquirers postulate a formalised system in which the onsets of D-items are morphologically ‘moving parts’ of the system – they have been ‘morphologised’.
- These systematic cues are absent in SA.

What still needs to be worked out:
- Analysis: which formal features are associated with the each of the Kaaps ‘morphologised’ onsets?
- What is the exact distribution of d-initial and d-less definite articles in Kaaps? (This is non-trivial, given the strong association between d- and situation-deixis observed elsewhere in the system.

32 Demonstratives: these are among 1st 10-50 words (Diessel 1999); Pronouns: I and it are earlier than other pronouns, appearing in 2nd year (13-24 months for English; Gotzke and Gosse (2007); Articles: indefinite article precedes definite article, but both only appear later in the 3rd year (37-30 months for English), with mastery during the 4th year (28-46 months for English).
References
Šimík, R. 2016. *Inherent vs. accidental uniqueness in bare and demonstrative nominals*. Ms.